This document contains information on the sources used in compiling the PRIO Battle Deaths Dataset, Version 3.0. To obtain that dataset and the accompanying codebook, please visit http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Armed-Conflict/Battle-Deaths/. This dataset is designed for use with the Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset, Version 4 (Gleditsch et al., 2002).

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Acknowledgements and a Note on Citations and Copyrights

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Users of the battle deaths dataset should cite the article in which the data are presented:


Additional analysis of the data presented here can be found in:

Users of this data should contact Bethany Lacina (battledeaths@prio.no) with comments or corrections so that this dataset may be improved in further versions.

For permission to make extensive use of their materials would like to thank the Human Security Report Project at Simon Fraser University; Project Ploughshares; Juan Fernando Giraldo; Enric Martínez-Herrera, Jorge Restrepo; Michael Spagat; the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute; the Uppsala University Conflict Data Project; and Juan F. Vargas. The copyrights to the materials produced by these and all of sources are retained by their original authors and publishers. These excerpts presented here should not be used as a basis for quotation, reproduction, or distribution of the included materials. Users must contact the original authors and/or publishers if they wish to gain permission for such activities. In a few cases, manuscripts and other works-in-progress have been cited. Users should be aware that they must contact the original authors to obtain the most up-to-date versions of those documents, and that the authors’ language or findings may have changed somewhat when these documents appear as published works.
Definition of Battle Deaths

Our definition of battle deaths closely follows from the definition of conflict used to create the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset (Gleditsch et al. 2002). According to codebook for the UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset (UCDP/PRIO, 2009), a conflict is:

“a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths.” The separate elements of the definition are operationalized as follows:

(1) Use of armed force: use of arms in order to promote the parties’ general position in the conflict, resulting in deaths.

(1.1) Arms: any material means, e.g. manufactured weapons but also sticks, stones, fire, water etc.

(2) 25 deaths: A minimum of 25 battle-related deaths per year and per dyad (see Item 3.3 in this definition) in an incompatibility.

(3) Party: A government of a state or any opposition organization or alliance of organizations. UCDP distinguishes between primary and secondary parties. Primary parties are those that form an incompatibility by stating incompatible positions (see Item 5 in this definition). At least one of the primary parties is the government of a state. Secondary parties are states that enter a conflict with troops to actively support one of the primary parties. The secondary party must share the position of the primary party it is supporting in the incompatibility.

(3.1) Government: The party controlling the capital of a state.

(3.2) Opposition organization: Any non-governmental group of people having announced a name for their group and using armed force to influence the outcome of the stated incompatibility (see Item 5 in this definition). The UCDP only deals with formally organized opposition. The focus is on armed conflict involving consciously conducted and planned political campaigns rather than spontaneous violence.

(3.3) Dyad: A dyad consists of two conflicting primary parties. At least one of the primary parties must be the government of a state. In interstate conflicts, both primary parties are state governments. In intrastate and extrasystemic conflicts, the non-governmental primary party includes one or more opposition organization(s). A conflict can include more than one dyad. If e.g. a government is opposed by three rebel groups over the same incompatibility, the conflict is made up of three dyads. Note that secondary parties (i.e. intervening states supplying troops to one of the primary parties) do not lead to the formation of additional dyads.
(4) State: A state is an internationally recognised sovereign government controlling a specific territory or an internationally unrecognised government controlling a specified territory whose sovereignty is not disputed by another internationally recognized sovereign government previously controlling the same territory.

(5) Incompatibility concerning government or territory: The incompatibility, as stated by the parties, must concern government and/or territory.

(5.1) Incompatibility: The stated general incompatible positions.

(5.2) Incompatibility concerning government: Incompatibility concerning type of political system, the replacement of the central government, or the change of its composition.

(5.3) Incompatibility concerning territory: Incompatibility concerning the status of a territory, e.g. the change of the state in control of a certain territory (interstate conflict), secession or autonomy (internal conflict).”

For further details on the UCDP/PRIO definition of conflict see: http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Armed-Conflict/UCDP-PRIO/ and http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/definitions_all.htm

The PRIO Battle Deaths Dataset dataset defines battle deaths as deaths resulting directly from violence inflicted through the use of armed force by a party to an armed conflict during contested combat. Contested combat is use of armed force by a party to an armed conflict against any person or target during which the perpetrator faces the immediate threat of lethal force being used by another party to the conflict against him/her and/or allied fighters. Contested combat excludes the sustained destruction of soldiers or civilians outside of the context of any reciprocal threat of lethal force (e.g. execution of prisoners of war).

Timeframe: We have collected annual battle deaths data which includes both deaths during combat and deaths from wounds received in combat. Some of those considered dead of wounds may have died in a year following that in which combat actually took place, especially in the case of battles taking place late in the calendar year. These deaths were included, however, if they were the direct and immediate result of injuries sustained during combat violence. Long term reduction in life expectancy because of wounds or disability was not included.
Information for Users Interested in War-Related Deaths and Conflict Mortality Statistics

It is quite difficult to obtain information on war-related deaths for many conflicts. However, the following list alerts users to conflicts that are known to have caused significant numbers of deaths that are not battle-related according to the definition used here. The list may be of particular interest for users who do not wish to exclude one-sided violence or intracommunal violence from their data. Those interested non-battle violence should also consult the estimates of one-sided and intra-communal deaths by the UCDP (www.pcr.uu.se).

Conflicts with a Significant Disparity between Violent and Non-Violent Deaths:
Afghanistan civil war, 1978-2002
Algerian war of independence, 1954-62
Angolan civil war, 1975-2002
Burma (Myanmar) civil war, 1948-2002
Cambodia civil war, 1967-75 and 1979-98
Democratic Republic of Congo, civil war 1998-2008
East Timor, war with Indonesia from 1975-98
Ethiopia, civil war 1976-91, civil war in Ogaden 1960-2002, civil war in Eritrea 1962-91
French Indochinese war, 1946-54
Indonesian war of independence, 1946-49
Korean War, 1950-53
Laos, civil war 1959-73
Liberia, civil war 1989-96 and 2000-02
Madagascar, war of independence 1947
Mozambique, civil war 1976-92
Nigeria, civil war in Biafra 1967-70
Pakistan, civil war 1971
Philippines, insurgency in Mindanao 1970-2002
Sierra Leone, civil war 1991-2000
Somalia, civil war 1981-96
Sudan, civil war 1963-72
Sudan, 1983-2008
Vietnam War, 1955-75
Conflicts with Significant Intracommunal/Unorganized/Non-political Violence:
Algerian war of independence, 1954-62 (intra-Algerian fighting after independence is not defined as a war by Uppsala/PRIO)
Colombia, civil war from 1965-2002
Ethiopia, civil war in Eritrea 1962-91
Haiti, coup activity in 1991
India, civil conflict in Punjab/Khalistan in 1983-93
India, civil conflict in Tripura in 1980
Iranian revolution and subsequent conflict, 1979-2002
Gulf War, 1990-1 (post-war attacks on Palestinians in Kuwait are not included as battle deaths)
Somalia, civil war 2001-2
South Africa, civil war 1981-8 (violence between the ANC and Inkatha)

Conflicts with Significant One-sided Violence:
Argentina civil war, 1973-77 (“Disappeared” persons are not considered battle-related deaths)
Bosnia-Herzegovina civil war, 1992-95 (see Balkans)
Bangladesh, Chittagong Hills Tracts insurgency 1974-92
Burundi civil wars, 1965, 1990-2002
Cambodia civil war, 1967-75 (The Cambodian genocide is not included in the Uppsala/PRIO coding)
Chad, civil war from 1965-94
Chile, military coup in 1973 (The “Dirty War” of disappearances was excluded)
China, rebellion in Taiwan in 1947
China, rebellion in Tibet in 1959
Democratic Republic of Congo/Zaire, civil war 1996-97
Democratic Republic of Congo, civil war 1998-2001
East Timor, war with Indonesia from 1975-98
El Salvador, civil war 1979-91
Greece, civil war 1946-49
Guatemala, civil war 1965-95
Indonesian war of independence, 1946-49
Iranian revolution and subsequent conflict, 1979-2001
Nigeria, civil war in Biafra 1967-70 (massacres in 1966 not included)
Pakistan, civil war 1971
Peru, civil war 1982-99
Rwanda, civil war 1990-94 (Rwandan genocide is not included)
Somalia, civil war 1981-96
Uganda, attempted coup in 1977 (There was significant one-sided violence throughout Idi Amin’s control of Uganda 1971-9)
Uganda, civil war 1981-91
Uganda, civil war 1994-2002
Afghanistan

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Afghanistan:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>ID</th>
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<td>137</td>
<td>2370</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
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<td>137</td>
<td>2370</td>
<td>Afghanistan</td>
<td>Taliban</td>
<td>2003-08</td>
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N.B.: The Soviet Union entered Afghanistan on 24 December 1979 and withdrew completely by February 15, 1989. The operation that culminated in the capture of Kabul is separated as conflict #256.

For information on conflict in Afghanistan between the US, Afghanistan, and allies against al-Qaida, see below under United States.

Fatalities information for conflict #256, initial Soviet invasion:

(Grau, 2002): Estimates Soviet losses at 24 killed in action, and mentions 170 Afghan casualties (killed, wounded, and missing).

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 24 (Grau's estimate of Soviet KIA)
High estimate: 194 (Grau's estimate of Soviet KIA and all Afghan casualties.
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #137, civil war in Afghanistan and Soviet invasion from 1978-89:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict number 698, “Afghanistan vs. Mujahedin,” 1978-92, 1,045,000 Afghan states deaths, 14,454 Soviet deaths, 1,300,000 total deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1978-89 civil war/Soviet intervention: 1 million total war-related deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1978-92 “USSR intervenes in civil war;” 1 million civilian war-related deaths, 500,000 military war-related deaths, 1.5 million total war-related deaths.
(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 187: “The Afghanistan conflict cost 1.5 million lives - most of them civilian. The Soviets lost approximately fifteen thousand military personnel, while Afghan troop losses were two to three times greater.”

(Sliwinski, 1989):
Gives estimates of the yearly loss of Afghan life through 1989 based on surveys conducted among refugees from Afghanistan in Pakistan. The study includes deaths due to factors such as exhaustion as well as violent deaths. The totals have also been adjusted upward to include an increased rate of infant mortality among infants in refugee camps (p. 42-43, 45).
P. 39: the number killed from April 1978 to 1989 is approximately 1.25 million, with a high estimate of 1.5 million and a low estimate of 1 million.

(Brogan, 1998):
p. 647: 1978-continuing, 600,000 deaths.
P. 123-24: “Estimates vary wildly. In the war against the Communist government and the Soviet occupation, 1979-92, guesses ranged from 100,000 to 1 million, the figure favoured by the American government, certainly too high even if it is taken to include those who died of disease or starvation. A better estimate would be 400,000. The Soviets lost about 150,000 killed, 311 missing and 35,000 wounded. Perhaps another 200,000 have been killed since 1989 in fighting between Mujahedeen groups and in the civil war between the Taleban and its opponents since 1994. Relief agencies estimate that 2 million people have been permanently disabled by the fighting, land-mines and disease.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 672: “[Soviet] battle deaths had totaled 11,897 (9,511 KIA and 2,386 DOW), 817 Soviets had died of disease, and 1,739 had died of all other causes.
P. 672: “In March 1989 the biggest battle yet of the war commenced when the Mujahideen opened what all assumed would be the final triumphant offensive that would end with the liberation of Kabul. …At least 5,000 lives were lost in the siege…”
P. 672: “By 1990 Afghanistan was a devastated country. Half of the nation’s 30,000 villages had been destroyed. As many as 1.3 million Afghans had died from causes directly related to the war…”
P. 672: “Kabul was shelled and rocketed for 13 months, January 1994-February 1995, with 8,000 people killed there and 30,000 wounded. …the Taleban arose in the south and swept forward to Kabul to capture the city on September 27, 1996…Three-fourths of Kabul was in ruins by then and 50,000 people had died in the city since 1992 because of the continuing chaos.”

SIPRI Yearbooks
(Goose, 1987): Gov and USSR vs. Mujahideen since 1978. >200,000 fatalities.


(Lindgren et al., 1990): Gov and USSR vs. Afghan Mujahideen since 1978. 1978-87: 1 million. 1989: >15,000. Note saying this figure probably includes all war-related deaths rather than only battle deaths.

(UCDP, 2009): Coder’s note for 1989: “The Afghan civil war was estimated to have killed about 1,000,000 people between 1978 and 1989. (Including about 15 000 Soviet security personnel) This estimate is likely to include all casualties in connection with the conflict, not merely battle related deaths. According to the government in Kabul 243 900 members of the armed forces and ‘civilian supporters of the state’ had been killed in the conflict.”

Interpretation:

1978-89: Although Sliwinski’s methodology is not entirely clear, his figure of 1.3 million deaths is in line with other estimations of total war-related deaths. For battle-related deaths, the Brogan figure of 400,000 dead and the SIPRI figure of 450,000 agree. (Brogan gives a very high estimate of Soviet losses).

As a best estimate, the annual death rates provided by Sliwinski were used to trend the SIPRI estimate of 450,000 deaths from 1978-87; 1988 estimate averaged the 1987 and 1989 estimates, corresponding to qualitative reports of a descalation of violence; 1989 was estimated with 15,000 battle deaths, following SIPRI.

A very conservative low estimate is based on Soviet losses. Clodfelter lists 14,453 Soviet deaths, including 11,897 KIA and DOW. The former figure corresponds with COW’s estimate of Soviet losses. There seems to be no possibility that Afghan fatalities were any lower than Soviet fatalities. The low estimate for deaths in the conflict is 24,000 deaths from 1978-1988 (the Soviets withdrew completely in February 1989) or about double Soviet losses. The low estimate for deaths in 1989 is 15,000, from SIPRI.
The high estimate is 600,000 deaths from 1978-1989. This figure is taken from Brogan. If 1 million non-violent war related deaths were also assumed (as reported in several sources), the high estimate for all war deaths would be 1.6 million, above Sliwinski’s maximum figure and the 1.5 million high estimate seen in several sources. This estimate is trended based on the best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #137, civil war in Afghanistan from 1990-2001:

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1991-95 “fighting between factions:” civilian and military deaths not available, 50,000 total war-related deaths

(Brogan, 1998): P. 123-24: Estimates 200,000 killed since 1989


(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
2002: At least 1,500 people were killed in the fighting this year [2002]. Most of those killed were Taleban and al Qaeda soldiers. However, civilians also fell victim to fighting between rival factions, and between the coalition forces and Taleban and al Qaeda combatants.
2001: …At least 1,000 conflict-related deaths occurred during the year [2001]. Prior to the beginning of the US bombing campaign, there were reports of at least 300 deaths. After the bombing began, estimates of civilian deaths ranged from 600 to 5,000. Likely hundreds of Taleban soldiers were also killed.
2000: …It is likely that hundreds died this year [2000] in the ongoing fighting or as a result of widespread human rights abuses.
1999: …Spring and summer fighting left hundreds, likely thousands, of civilians and combatants dead [in 1999].
1998: …With estimates ranging upward from 3,000, there was a sharp increase in civilian deaths in 1998.
1997: …There were reports of as many as 3,000 Taleban killed during and after a May battle [in 1997].
1996: … Rocket attacks and troop clashes killed hundreds in 1996. In addition, malnutrition and disease arising from war shortages may have killed 250,000 children.
1994: …8000 Kabulis have been killed and 100,000 more have been injured.

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(Amer et al., 1993): Note saying that it is no longer possible to distinguish sides or government. Conflict includes Mujahideen and military factions. Direct and indirect deaths 1978-90: 1 million. 1992: unknown.


(UCDP, 2009):
1990: >5,000 deaths. Coder’s note: “There is little information on casualties in the period following Soviet troop withdrawal. The above estimate is built on information by an international human rights organisations and includes the number of people killed in rocket attacks on Kabul during a seventh month period. The actual number of battle-related deaths can be assumed to be higher.”

1991: >2,500. Coder’s note: “The information of casualties in the period following Soviet troop withdrawal is sparse. The above number should merely be regarded as a low estimate built on sporadic reporting throughout the year. The actual number of battle related deaths can be assumed to be much higher. If subsequent years are taken to be representative the estimate could be as high as 7000.”

1992: > 7000 – 8000. Coder’s note: “The above number of total battle related deaths [7,000] refers to casualties in the third phase of the Afghan civil war that started with the replacement of the Najibullah government with the Mujahideen government in April 1992.”

1993: 2000 – 3000. Coder’s note implies this is a low estimate. Also a “very conservative” estimate of 10,000 deaths “since the outing of the Najibullah government in [April] 1992.”

1994: 4000 – 10,000. Coder’s note: “The above low estimate serves only as an indicator of the absolute minimum of battle-related deaths; the actual figure might be much higher.”

1995: >1,000. Coder’s note: “The above estimate serves only as an indicator of the absolute minimum of battle-related deaths; the actual figure might be much higher. A high estimate, built on the revision of a number of sources, is 5000.”

1996: >1,000. Coder’s note: “The above estimate serves only as an indicator of the absolute minimum of battle-related deaths; the actual figure might be much higher. A high estimate, build on the revision of a number of sources, is 5000.”

1997: >2,000. Coder’s note: “The above estimate serves only as an indicator of the absolute minimum of battle-related deaths; the actual figure might be much higher. A best estimate, build on the revision of a number of sources, is 3000.”

1998: >2,000. Coder’s note: “The above estimate serves only as an indicator of the absolute minimum of battle-related deaths; the actual figure might be much higher. A high estimate, build on a revision of several sources is 7000.”

1999: >2,000. Coder’s note: “The above estimate serves only as an indicator of the absolute minimum of battle-related deaths; the actual figure might be much higher.”

2000: >3,000. Coder’s note: “The above estimate serves only as an indicator of the absolute minimum of battle-related deaths; the actual figure might be much higher.”

2001: 2,877. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 2772, High estimate: 4703. Prior to the US coalition entering the conflict on the side of UIFSA on 7 October, there had been 843 battle-related deaths reported. The aerial bombing campaign that followed was accompanied by UIFSA offensives that led to increased intensity of fighting during the following month until the Afghan Taleban government fell.”

Interpretation:

1990:
Low estimate: 5,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on Brogan’s estimate of about 200,000 deaths 1989 to approximately 1998)
No best estimate.

1991:
Low estimate: 2,500 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on Brogan’s estimate of about 200,000 deaths 1989 to approximately 1998)
No best estimate.

1992:
Low estimate: 7,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on Brogan’s estimate of about 200,000 deaths 1989 to approximately 1998)
No best estimate.

1993:
Low estimate: 2,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on Brogan’s estimate of about 200,000 deaths 1989 to approximately 1998)
No best estimate.

1994:
Best estimate: 10,000 (UCDP, SIPRI; Project Ploughshares notes report of 8,000 deaths in Kabul)
Low estimate: 4,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on Brogan’s estimate of about 200,000 deaths 1989 to approximately 1998)

1995:
Best estimate: 5,000 (UCDP coding notes)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on Brogan’s estimate of about 200,000 deaths 1989 to approximately 1998)

1996:
Best estimate: 5,000 (UCDP coding notes)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on Brogan’s estimate of about 200,000 deaths 1989 to approximately 1998)
1997:
Best estimate: 3,000 (UCDP coding notes; Project Ploughshares notes estimates of >3,000)
Low estimate: 2,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on Brogan’s estimate of about 200,000 deaths 1989 to approximately 1998)

1998:
Best estimate: 7,000 (UCDP coding notes)
Low estimate: 2,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on Brogan’s estimate of about 200,000 deaths 1989 to approximately 1998; High estimates given in the battle death datasets sum to 198,182 for that period)

1999:
Low estimate: 2,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 10,000 (IISS)
No best estimate.

2000:
Low estimate: 3,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 10,000 (IISS)
No best estimate.

2001 (Prior to US invasion only):
Best estimate: 2,877 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 2,772 (UCDP)
High estimate: 4,073 (UCDP)

Fatalities information for conflict #137, Taleban conflict in Afghanistan from 2003-05:

(IISS, 2006):
2003: > 1,200
2004: 1,000
2005: 1,400
2006: 3,890
2007: 4,950
2008: 8,000

(iCasualties.org, 2009a):
2003: 57 coalition battle deaths (48 US)
2004: 59 coalition battle deaths (52 US)
2005: 131 coalition battle deaths (99 US)
2006: 191 coalition battle deaths (98 US)

(National Counterterrorism Center, 2009):
2004: 2 suicide attacks
2005: 15 suicide attacks
2006: 90 suicide attacks
2007: 90 suicide attacks

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: >1,200
2004: >250
2005: 1,100

(Ploughshares, 2009):
2006: 3,700 to 4,000. NATO reports about 1,000 militants killed.
2007: 5,000 to 6,500
2008: > 6,340

(UCDP, 2009):
2003: Best estimate of 383 deaths. Coder's note: “Low estimate: 326, High estimate: 892. There were also numerous incidents when the opposition group is unclear. If all of those were included, it is possible that the conflict caused over 1000 fatalities in 2003.”
2004: 621. Coder's note: “Low estimate: 597. High estimate: 1559. It is unlikely that the actual number of deaths is close to the high estimate, as that number includes many claims by the Taliban that were unconfirmed, and which are highly unlikely to have actually occurred.”


2008: Best estimate: 4,489. High estimate: 5842. Low estimate: 4099. Coder's note: “The UCDP estimates for the Afghanistan conflict 2008 are significantly lower than the estimates given for 2007. This does not necessarily indicate that the conflict's intensity decreased in 2008. Instead, during 2008, ISAF and the US-led coalition were extremely cautious in releasing casualty estimates from the battles they were involved in, leading to problems in coding event-based deaths. The estimates should therefore be used with caution.”

(Human Rights Watch, 2008):
2006: At least 929 civilians killed, 699 by insurgents
2007: At least 1,633 civilians killed, 950 by insurgents
2008: Through July, at least 540 civilians killed, 367 by insurgents

(Abrashi and Straziuso, 2006):
2005: Estimate 1,500 Afghans, including insurgents, civilians, and security forces, killed in 2005.
2006: Estimate 3,000 Afghans, including insurgents, civilians, and security forces, killed by October 2006.

(AFP, 2006): “Around 1,700 people were killed in insurgent-linked violence last year [2005], many of them militants killed by Afghan security forces or by troops from the US-led coalition helping the government to hunt down insurgents.”


(Cordesman, 2009)

(Straziuso, 2008): Estimates 4,478 insurgents killed in 2007
(United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan (UNAMA), Human Rights Unit, 2009):
2007: 1,523 civilians killed in 2007
2008: 2,118 civilian deaths

(Brisbane Times, 2009): 5,000 insurgent deaths in 2008

*Interpretation:*

2003:
Best and high estimate: 1,200 (IISS; Project Ploughshares. Used as high estimate based on UCDP coder's note)
Low estimate: 383 (UCDP)

2004:
Best estimate: 621 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 597 (UCDP low estimate)
High estimate: 1,559 (UCDP high estimate; IISS estimates 1,000 deaths)

2005:
Most estimates for this year are quite similar.
Best estimate: 1,268 (Slightly lower than an estimate of 1,631 deaths based on 131 Coalition deaths reported in iCasualties and 1,500 Afghan deaths reported in Abrashi and Straziuso. UCDP's conservative estimate is probably a better figure for battle deaths if we assume Abrashi and Straziuso's figures include some one-sided violence)
Low estimate: 1,100 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 2,331 (131 Coalition deaths and 2,200 Afghan deaths. Human Rights Watch estimate reported (Associated Press, 2007) 2,200 total deaths, including one-sided violence)

2006:
Best estimate: 3,154 (UCDP. Similar to IISS estimate of 3,890 and to Abrashi and Straziuso's estimate of at least 3,000 Afghan deaths)
Low estimate: 2,120 (Total of iCasualties estimate of 191 coalition deaths, 929 civilian deaths per Human Rights Watch, and 1,000 insurgent deaths per NATO, reported by Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 4,591 (191 Coalition deaths and 4,400 Afghan deaths. Human Rights Watch estimate reported (Associated Press, 2007) 2,200 total deaths, including one-sided violence)

2007:
Estimate: 6,233 (Total of iCasualties estimate of 232 Coalition deaths, UNAMA estimate of 1,523 civilian deaths, and Straziuo estimate of 4,478 insurgent deaths. Note that a figure for Afghan security force deaths was not available)
High estimate: 6,569 (UCDP high estimate)
Low estimate: 4,950 (IISS)

2008:
Best estimate: 4,489 (UCDP best estimate)
High estimate: 8,000 (IISS; Total of iCasualties estimate of 294 Coalition deaths, UNAMA estimate of 2,118 civilian deaths, and Brisbane Times estimate of 5,000 insurgent deaths is 7,412)
Low estimate: 4,099 (UCDP low estimate)
Algeria

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Algeria:

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<tr>
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<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
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<td>France</td>
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<td>Morocco</td>
<td>1963</td>
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<td>2930</td>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>FIS, Various Islamist insurgent groups</td>
<td>1991-2008</td>
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</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #49, Algerian war of independence versus the French from 1954 to 1962, and conflict #73, French conflict with the OAS from 1961-62:

Correlates of War Project (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #432, Franco-Algerian War from 1954-62: 18,000 state deaths and 100,000 total deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1952-62 and 1962-63, “France intervenes in civil war; Rebel leaders vs. Government:” 83,000 civilian war-related deaths, 19,000 military war-related deaths, 102,000 total war-related deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1954-62 “independence struggle vs. France:” 1 million total war-related deaths.
1962-63 “rebels leaders vs. government:” 1,000 military, 1,000 civilian, and 2,000 total war-related deaths.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 14.1, line 630): Total war dead 1954-62 estimated as: 100,000 (low), 611,000 (middle), 1.003 million (high). Additional low estimate of 13,000 killed in OAS democide from 1961-62.

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.
Algeria, July-Dec 1962. Victimized groups: Harkis, OAS supporters. Number of victims: 12,000-60,000.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
“Fifteen thousand French troops died during the conflict, while tens of thousands of civilians, most of them Algerians, were killed in terrorist attacks and reprisals.”

(Brogan, 1998):

t. 6: “600,000 people were killed in the War of Independence”

Pg 9: Algerians cite figure of 1.5 million deaths in war of independence.

P. 645: “Algeria: colonial insurrection” 1954-62, 100,000

(Clayton, 1988):

P. 173-89: description of the conflict.

P. 177: French forces increase from 80,000 by end 1954, to 100,000 in June 1955 to 190,000 in March 1956 and to 390,000 in August 1956. Peak in late 1957 with Army alone at 415,000.

P. 179: FLN casualties April to December 1956 were over 13,000.

P. 188-89: “The campaign’s casualty figures can never be adequately reckoned. French estimates claim that 141,000 ALN were killed, a further 12,000 died in internal FLN purges, and some 1,500-2,000 were killed by the Tunisian and Moroccan armies in efforts to maintain order. To these figures must be added several thousand more Moslems who died in the grim conditions of the French regroupment camps. In respect of the French side of the equation, the French admitted 13,000 soldiers of European origin and 3,500 indigenous killed in action, with further totals of 7,000 and 1,000 respectively killed in accidents and a further combined total of 11,000 died from disease or suicide. About half of these deaths occurred after April 1961. To these totals must be added 2,788 Europeans and 13,296 indigenous disappeared, presumed dead, figures all covering the pre-April 1961 period only. The activities of the OAS and the measures necessary to repress this organization caused many further European and Moslem deaths. French estimates suggest a further 50,000 indigenous disappeared between March 1961 and March 1962, with the likelihood of revenge killings of indigenous after the March cease-fire totaling at least 151,000, almost certainly more. In addition over 4,000 Algerians were killed in France during internal factional strife. Nationalist claims extend to totals of 300,000 indigenous dead.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):

P. 610: “By July 1, 1962, the date that Algerian independence was mandated, 2,360 people had died and 5,418 had suffered wounds in the Secret Army’s campaign of terror.”

P. 610: “Postwar feuding between opposing factions of the FLN, mostly pitting the “interior” forces…against the “exterior” forces…cost up to 150,000 lives. Another 30,000 Algerians, from the 200,000 harkis who served with the French during the war, were massacred by the rebel victors. All told, there were 42,090 acts of terrorism committed by Algerian against Frenchman, Frenchman against Algerian, Algerian against Algerian, and Frenchman against Frenchman. French and French Algerian civilian losses from this terror totaled 2,788 killed, 7,541 wounded, 375 missing and believed dead. Muslim civilian casualties due to terrorism were 16,738 killed, 13,610 wounded, and 13,296 missing and
believed dead. In France another 4,300 Muslim Algerians were killed and 9,000 wounded, mostly in clashes between the FLN and the rival independence organization, the MNA. … Military casualties in the guerilla conflict fought in the countryside were even heavier than those of the war in the cities. The FLN lost at least 141,000 killed. Combined with civilian losses … the Arab Algerian death toll may have reached 300,000. The French military lost 17,456 killed…French records listed 5,966 of the military fatalities as death by accident, but this is suspiciously high…”

_Interpretation:_

For conflict #49, the FLN versus the French forces:

Best estimate of 182,526 battle deaths, based on the following groups:
13,000 European soldiers KIA (Clayton; similar to Clodfelter’s figure)
3,500 non-European French forces KIA (Clayton)
141,000 FLN KIA with French (Clayton)
1,500 FLN KIA with Tunisian or Moroccan armies (Clayton)
2,788 French and French Algerian civilian deaths (Clodfelter; Clayton states this figure is pre-April 1961 only)
16,738 Algerian civilian deaths (Clodfelter)
4,000 deaths in inter-factional fighting in France (Clayton, Clodfelter)

The low estimate of 100,000 deaths was made based on the figure in many conflict mortality compilations. This may be appropriate for battle deaths given the large amount of one-sided violence in the conflict and the potential overlap with deaths counted under the OAS conflict.

A high estimate of 443,453 battle deaths is designed to include all violent deaths, although it may include double counting and may duplicate some of the deaths recorded in the OAS conflict:
17,456 European soldiers KIA (Clodfelter; may include deaths due to accident or disease)
3,500 non-European French forces KIA (Clayton)
141,000 FLN KIA with French (Clayton)
2,000 FLN KIA with Tunisian or Moroccan armies (Clayton)
12,000 FLN purges (Clayton)
2,788 French and French Algerian civilian deaths (Clodfelter; Clayton states this figure is pre-April 1961 only)
375 French and French Algerians missing and presumed dead (Clodfelter)
16,738 Indigenous Algerian civilian casualties (Clodfelter)
13,296 Indigenous presumed dead prior to April 1961 (Clayton)
50,000 Indigenous presumed dead March 1961-March 1962 (Clayton)
180,000 Fighting after March 1962 ceasefire (Clodfelter’s estimate of 150K dead in fighting and 30,000 harkis killed; much of this is thought to be one-sided violence)
4,300 deaths in inter-factional fighting in France (Clayton, Clodfelter)

No trend was coded for the Best and high estimates; the low estimate was trended according to UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

For conflict #73, the OAS versus the French forces:

Best estimate of 2,360 deaths, from Clodfelter’s figure which provides the only separate figure for deaths in the OAS campaign.
Low estimate of 2,000 deaths, from UCDP/PRIO coding rules and Leitenberg.
High estimate of 12,000 (Harff and Gurr; Rummel. The origin of these estimates is not clear and both purport to contain large amounts of one-sided violence)

No trend was coded.

Fatalities information for conflict #81, border war between Algeria and Morocco in 1963:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003): Between 127 and 350 deaths total, 101-250 for Algeria and 26-100 for Morocco.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 116: “There were thought to be as many as a thousand fatalities during the conflict.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 613: “cost Algeria 300 dead and Morocco probably 200 slain.”

Interpretation:
Clodfelter estimates just slightly higher fatalities for each participant than the MID coding suggests. His estimate of 500 total fatalities was used as a best estimate based on further information on single battles in Clodfelter. A low estimate of 127 deaths was made based on the MID minimum and a high estimate of 1,000 deaths was based on Bercovitvh and Jackson.
Fatalities information for conflict #191, civil war in Algeria from 1991-2008:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #739, Algeria vs. Islamic Rebels from 1992-ongoing (1997): 80,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.

2003: One report suggests < 1,500 deaths, most due to fighting between security forces and GIA and GSPC. Second report that 900 total died and 430 of those were Islamic extremists
2004: > 500; evenly split between security forces and militants with some civilian casualties
2005: 490
2006: 191
2007: 467
2008: 267

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1992-95, “Rebels leaders vs. Government:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 50,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
p. 6: “Between 50,000 and 100,000 have been killed in fighting between Islamic terrorists and the army since 1992.”

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1990-95, “government vs. Muslim extremists:” 30,000 total war-related deaths.
1993-2000, “government vs. Muslim extremists”: 100,000 total war-related deaths.
These estimates are based on private archives.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 618: “In the first eight months of 1997 at least 1,500 people died in the campaign of terror and counterterror. Although the Islamic Salvation Army agreed to a cease-fire that year, the 3,000-man Armed Islamic Group continued to slaughter those who disagreed with their vision of a theocratic Algeria. ... Official government figures to the end of January 1998 listed 26,536 security personnel and civilians killed and 21,000 injured, but other observers estimated as many as 100,000 dead in the violence by June 1999.
(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
Total: An estimated 130,000 people have been killed in the past 10 years.
2002: According to independent media reports, approximately 900 people died in the first eight months of 2002.
1999: There were estimates that as many as 3,000 people, mostly civilians, died in 1999.
1998: Between 7,000 and 10,000 people were killed in conflict during 1998, marking a further increase in casualties from the previous year’s already extreme death toll.

(Ploughshares, 2009):
2003: 1,000 deaths
2004: 429, official death toll; in most serious incident, over 60 combatants killed (GSPC rebels and Chadian soldiers)
2005: 76 civilians, 177 security force members, 235 suspected terrorists. Total of 488 deaths. GIA responsible for at least 14 civilian deaths
2006: >124, of which 15 were reported as battledeaths.
2007: >371, of which 99 can be considered battledeaths
2008: No estimate made

SIPRI Yearbooks


(SIPRI, 2004): < 50 in clashes with GIA in 2003

(SIPRI, 2005): < 25 in clashes with GIA in 2004

(UCDP, 2009):
1991: Estimate of 39 battle deaths
1992: 600
1993: Low estimate: 1,100; High estimate: 2,400. Estimate of total deaths: 1,700-3,000.
1994: >5,000. Estimate of total deaths: 10,000-25,000
1995: >3,000. Estimate of total deaths: 25,000-45,000
1996: >2,000. Estimate of total deaths: 40,000 - 60,000
1997: >3,000. Estimate of total deaths: 40,000-80,000
1998: >4,000. Estimate of total deaths: 40,000-100,000
1999: >1,000. Estimate of total deaths: 40,000-100,000
2000: >1,000. Estimate of total deaths: 40,000-100,000
2001: >1,000. Estimate of total deaths: 40,000-100,000
2002: 150. Estimate of total battle deaths >99,999. Coder’s note regarding total: “Estimating the total battle related deaths in Algeria is problematic. The estimate stated for this year is based on the commonly held claim that by this time in the conflict over 100,000 people had bied in battle related incidents.”
2003: Best and low estimate of 198. High estimate of 507. Same coder’s note regarding the total deaths as in 2002.
2004: Low estimate of 401 deaths, high estimate of 504 deaths, best estimate of 415 deaths. Coder’s note: “The high estimate battle related [sic] deaths includes GSPC killed in fighting with government troops of Chad, Mali and Niger. In other words the other estimates do NOT include battles between GSPC and other neighbouring countries.” Same total and coder’s note regarding the total deaths as in 2002.
2005: Low estimate of 268 deaths; high estimate of 281 deaths; best estimate of 272 deaths. Same total and coder’s note regarding the total deaths as in 2002.  
2006: Best and low estimate is 255. High estimate is 286.  
2007: Best and low estimate is 468. High estimate is 511.  
2008: Los and best estimate is 339. High estimate is 411. 

*Interpretation:*

1991:  
Low estimate: 39 (UCDP)  
High estimate: 5,000 (Based on UCDP estimate of up to 25,000 deaths by 1994)  
No best estimate.  

1992:  
Low estimate: 600 (UCDP)  
High estimate: 5,000 (Based on UCDP estimate of up to 25,000 deaths by 1994)  
No best estimate.  

1993:  
Low estimate: 1,100 (UCDP)  
High estimate: 5,000 (Based on UCDP estimate of up to 25,000 deaths by 1994)  
No best estimate.  

1994:  
Low estimate: 5,000 (UCDP)  
High estimate: 10,000 (Based on UCDP estimate of up to 25,000 deaths to date)  
No best estimate.  

1995:  
Low estimate: 3,000 (UCDP)  
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on UCDP estimate of up to 45,000 deaths to date)  
No best estimate.
1996:
Low estimate: 2,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 15,000 (Based on UCDP estimate of up to 60,000 deaths to date)
No best estimate.

1997:
Low estimate: 3,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on UCDP estimate of up to 80,000 deaths to date)
No best estimate.

1998:
Low estimate: 4,000 (UCDP. The official figure, given in CLodfelter, is 26,536 civilians and security personnel killed to date. The low estimate through this date is 18,739, implying that it is probably too conservative an estimate)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on UCDP estimate of up to 100,000 deaths to date)
No best estimate.

1999:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 3,000 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2000:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,500 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2001:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,650 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.
2002:
Low estimate: 150 (UCDP)
High estimate: 900 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2003:
Best and high estimate: 1,500 (IISS. The high estimate through 2003 totals 109,550, somewhat lower than the 130,000 estimated by Ploughshares but well above the IISS estimate of over 88,500 deaths in the same period)
Low estimate: 475 (UCDP; SIPRI figure does not include groups other than the GIA)

2004:
Best estimate: 500 (IISS)
Low estimate: 401 (UCDP)
High estimate: 503 (Based on UCDP coder’s notes. Includes the GSPC clashes with non-Algerian armies)

2005:
Best and high estimate: 490 (IISS; Ploughshares estimate is similar, as is that of Amnesty International)
Low estimate: 268 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and low estimate: 191 (IISS)
High estimate 255 (UCDP)

2007:
Best and low estimate: 467 (IISS, UCDP is similar.)
High estimate: 511 (UCDP)

2008:
Best estimate: 339 (UCDP)
High estimate: 410 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 267 (IISS)
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Angola:

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<th>ID</th>
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**Fatalities information for conflict #66, Angolan war of independence against Portugal 1961-74:**

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #434, “Angolan-Portuguese War,” 1961-75: 8,000 state deaths and an unknown total number.

(Brogan, 1998, 13): “About 90,000 people were killed during the colonial war, 1961-75.”

(Rummel, 1997, Table 14.1, line 1676): Estimates for the period 1961-75: 30,000 (low), 55,000 (middle), 90,000 (high) total dead.

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1961-75, “independence struggle vs. Portugal:” 300,000 civilian, 300,000 military, and 600,000 total war-related deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1961-75, “Indep vs. Port; USSR, S Af interv:” 30,000 civilian war-related deaths, 25,000 military war-related deaths, 55,000 total.

(Clodfelter, 2002, 620): “Portuguese battle deaths by year up to December 1, 1968, were as follows: 1961-134; 1962-115; 1963-83; 1964-101; 1965-87; 1966-90; 1967-88; 1968-102. After twelve years of war Portuguese military losses in Angola stood at 1,071 KIA…Guerilla combat fatalities totaled more than 10,000 ….Estimates of total violent deaths in the colonial wars, 1961-74, were as follows: Portuguese military and civilian dead 4,000 in Angola…guerilla dead 25,000 in Angola…African civilian dead 50,000 in Angola”

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(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 101): “Guinea-Bissau formally gained independence on September 10, 1974. Mozambique completed the transition to independence on June 25, 1975, and Angola on November 11, 1975. More than a hundred thousand people were killed during the struggle for independence, including large numbers of civilians and Portuguese troops. As many as five thousand Portuguese troops died in the war…”
(Note: Unclear whether these figures refer to all three conflicts or only to Angola)

Interpretation:

Clodfelter’s figures are 4,000 state deaths and 75,000 Angolan deaths or 79,000 in total. This falls within the range presented by Rummel, and relatively close to figures presented by Brogan, COW, and Eckhardt. Leitenberg’s figures seem to be a major outlier. Because Clodfelter’s figures are based on detailed information on Portuguese fatalities and because other higher figures purport to be total war-related deaths, Clodfelter’s figure was used as the best estimate.

Estimates:
Best: 79,000 (Clodfelter)
Low: 9,900 (maximum deaths implied by Uppsala estimates; very low outlier per other sources)
High: 90,000 (Brogan, Rummel)
Best and high estimates are not trended. Low estimate trended to correspond to UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #131, Angolan civil war with UNITA from 1975-95:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #693, “Angola vs. UNITA of 1975” from 1975-91: 341,000 Angolan “state” deaths, 4,000 Cuban deaths, 800 South African deaths, ‘Total Deaths’ unknown.

(Laffin, 1994, 14): At least 350,000 deaths up to 31 May 1991.

(Lamphear, 2003): A half million deaths in the Angolan Civil War, no dates specified.

(Brogan, 1998, 13): “About 50,000 were killed in the civil war and foreign intervention, 1975-6, and 500,000 people have been killed since 1976. These are all very approximate totals.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 156): From 1975-95, “more than 360,000 people were killed … Two thousand Cuban troops died in the fighting; South Africa lost about one thousand personnel and Zaire a few hundred.”


(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 625-626: “The conventional war was over by February 12, 1976, although a vicious guerilla war continued with UNITA in southern Angola. In this conventional phase, as many as 50,000 Angolans, the majority of them non-combatants, were killed or died from starvation and disease caused by the war. South Africa reported its casualties, up to the final withdrawal of its forces from Angola on March 27, 1976, as 28 killed and 100 wounded. …observers estimated the Cuban toll at from 7,000 to 11,000. On May 31, 1991, UNITA and the central government negotiated a power-sharing arrangement that finally ended more than a decade and a half of civil war. The death toll among soldiers and civilians from all causes was estimated at 340,000. All-out warfare broke out again in October 1992…By April 1, 1999 another 6,000 soldiers and 4,000 civilians had died…”

SIPRI Yearbooks:


Casualties from 1975-89: >25,600. In 1990: unknown. Note saying that from January to October 1990 the government and UNITA claimed to have killed over 1,800 of each other’s soldiers but admitted only small loses. According to the government, UNITA also killed 1,720 civilians during that period.

(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): Gov vs. UNITA, FLEC since 1975
Casualties from 1975-91: 100,000 (approximately 1/3 military). Total war casualties including indirect deaths estimated at 300,000-500,000. In 1991: unknown.

(Amer et al., 1993): Angola vs. UNITA since 1975/1992 and vs. FLEC since 1975. Casualties from 1975-92: 32,000 military and 70,000 civilian in only the conflict with UNITA. 3,000 deaths in 1992, in only the conflict with UNITA.

(Wallensteen and Axell, 1994): Govt. vs. UNITA since 1975. Casualties from 1975-93: >36,000 military and >86,000 civilian. 4,000 military deaths and 16,000 civilian deaths in 1993. Notes that the UN estimates that a total figure for war victims, including starvation and disease between October 1992 and December 1993 is 450,000 to 500,000. UN estimates about 1,000 war-related deaths per day in 1993.

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1995): Gov vs. UNITA since 1975. Casualties from 1975-94: >36,000 military and >86,000 civilian. Deaths in 1994 unknown. A note says that 4,000 military deaths and 16,000 civilian deaths in 1993 was a conservative estimate and that there is ample evidence that figures were no lower in 1994.

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996): Gov vs. UNITA since 1975. Casualties from 1975-95: >40,000 military and >100,000 civilian. Deaths in 1995: 500-1,500. Note that an estimated 1.5 million war-related deaths have occurred since 1975, approximately 50% of them since the war restarted in October 1992.

The Uppsala Conflict Database provides no estimates for this period of this conflict.

*Interpretation:*

The SIPRI yearbooks provide the only source for battle-related, rather than total war-related, fatalities. For 1975-1991, the data were coded as follows:

Best estimate: The total for battle deaths from 1975-91 was taken from SIPRI’s 1991 estimate of 100,000 total battle deaths.
Low estimate: An absolute minimum estimate of 1,000 battle deaths per year from 1975-1991 was made based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

High estimate: It is known that war-related deaths vastly outstripped violent deaths in this conflict. It may also be that prevailing estimates of battle deaths are also too low, but no information is available for estimating a ceiling on the battle-related mortality in the Angolan civil war. For the period of 1975-1994, the high estimate is identical to the best estimate.

1992:
Best and high estimate: 3,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1993:
Best and high estimate: 20,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1994:
Best and high estimate: 20,000 (Note in SIPRI, 2005)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1995:
High estimate: 1,500 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 500 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #131, Angolan civil war with UNITA from 1998-2002:


(Clodfelter, 2002, 626): “Another ceasefire was negotiated on November 21, 1994, but it collapsed in December 1998. By April 1, 1999 another 6,000 soldiers and 4,000 civilians had died...”
(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
1998: “Approximately 600 people died in the renewed conflict, with most of the casualties occurring during the major escalation in fighting in December.”
1999: “Thousands - with one report estimating over 10,000 people - died in the conflict in 1999.”
2000: > 1,000 people, including one-sided violence.
2001: > 800 people died “as a result of the fighting between January and August of 2001.”
2002: not available

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(Seybolt, 2001): Gov of Angola, Namibia vs. UNITA since 1998. Unknown total fatalities. Deaths in 2000, 2001 >1,000, with a note saying that this is only an absolute minimum. The real figure may be much higher and comparisons with the previous year are not meaningful.


Interpretation:

1998:
Best estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 600 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 2,500 (Based on Clodfelter’s report of 10,000 deaths December 1998 - April 1999; assigned ¼ of those deaths to 1998)

1999:
Low estimate: 10,000 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on IISS estimate of 27,000 deaths from 1998-2003)
No best estimate.

2000:
Low estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 2,000 (Based on IISS estimate of 27,000 deaths from 1998-2003)
No best estimate.

2001:
Low estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 2,000 (Based on IISS estimate of 27,000 deaths from 1998-2003)
No best estimate.

2002:
Best estimate: 400 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 332 (UCDP)
High estimate: 508 (UCDP; high estimate for 1998-2002 is 27,008, which is close to the IISS estimate of deaths for 1998-2003)

(Africa Confidential, 1991a):
P. 6: “Within Cabinda, FLEC-R, with around 500 combatants, was behind the skirmishes with FAPLA soldiers in May and June in which 29 Angolan soldiers and 6 FLEC combatants died.”

(IISS, 2006): In 2006, FLEC allegedly killed 47 soldiers and lost 4 fighters

(Project Ploughshares, 2006):
Estimate between 1,000 and 1,500 people have died since the most recent phase of the conflict erupted in 1994.
Approximately 30,000 people were killed in earlier phases of the conflict since 1975: “some 30,000 people have died in 25 years of fighting for independence for the enclave...” [Agence France Presse, October 9, 2003]
2006: …rebels claim that atrocities and human rights abuses persist within the province of Cabinda and point to 10 assassinations which reportedly included the killing of 4 women and 2 children under the age of 1. … “There is no war in Cabinda, there are only acts of banditry as
fighting has been limited to rebel ambushes on the road between Cabinda and Bacu-Zau in the Northwest of the enclave.” [IRIN, 15 March 2006]

2005: There were few reports of casualties this year. Rebels claimed 20 government troops were killed during clashes in May. There was little information reported regarding casualties following a government summer offensive.

2004: Although there were few and conflicting reports, 2004 saw a death toll in Cabinda of at least six and possibly more than 50. Early in the year there were also reports of human rights violations related to the conflict.

2003: At least 50. Few reports detailing the intensity of the fighting or the numbers of fatalities came out of Cabinda in 2003. However, human rights violations were documented by local organizations which reported approximately 50 civilians killed by either FAA or FLEC soldiers in Cabinda in 2003. Significantly, this figure includes only confirmed civilian fatalities and does not include combatants killed throughout the year.

(US State Department, 2004a): 100 killed in 2004, including 73 killed by mines

(UCDP, 2009):

2004: >25. “Media coverage of the Cabindan conflict is very limited. Most reports of battles come from either the government side or from the FLEC factions, and there are rarely any neutral sources confirming or denying these reports. Thus, summing up the number of battle-related deaths in any given year is a difficult task. Due to this, no exact number is given here. Years coded as active are the ones where the activity of the parties is high, where there are numerous reports of deaths and where the surrounding circumstances, e.g. statements made by Angolan government officials, commenting on the efficiency of the rebels or large flows of refugees, all point to a death toll above 25.”

2007: Coded as active but no estimate of fatalities given.

Interpretation:

Information about this conflict is extremely limited.

1991:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1994:
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 230 deaths (Project Ploughshares’ maximum estimate of 1,500 deaths 1994-2006)
No best estimate.

1996:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 230 deaths (Project Ploughshares’ maximum estimate of 1,500 deaths 1994-2006)
No best estimate.

1997:
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 230 deaths (Project Ploughshares’ maximum estimate of 1,500 deaths 1994-2006)
No best estimate.

1998:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 230 deaths (Project Ploughshares’ maximum estimate of 1,500 deaths 1994-2006)
No best estimate.

2002:
Best estimate: 315 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 350 (UCDP)

2004:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 230 deaths (Project Ploughshares’ maximum estimate of 1,500 deaths since 1994)
No best estimate.

2007:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

*Additional Information:*
(Congo et al., 2003): This report details a number of specific incidents of human rights abuse and one-sided violence perpetrated by both insurgents and government forces in Cabinda.


(Porto, João Gomes, 2003): Additional information on fighting in Cabinda.
Argentina

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Argentina:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
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<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1963</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1974-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>1500</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>ERP, Montoneros</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>2520</td>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #50, military coup in 1955:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #647, Argentina vs. Army 1955, 3,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1955-55, “Armed forces vs. Peron:” 2,000 civilian war-related deaths, 2,000 military war-related deaths, 4,000 total war-related deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 716: “On June 16, 1955, upon hearing the news of Perón’s excommunication by the Vatican, units of the navy revolted and planes bombed Casa Rosada…About 400 people were killed, mostly civilians caught in the crossfire or in the bombing. … Another revolt began in Córdoba on September 16, 1955, and it quickly spread to Buenos Aires, where 4,000 naval personnel…joined the uprising.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
P. 14278: “A revolt against the Government broke out in Buenos Aires on June 16 … The first official reports said that 156 people had been killed in the bombing and street fighting and 846 wounded, but later reports gave the figures as over 300 killed and about 1,000 injured.”
P. 14437-8: “The Peronista regime, which had been in power for ten years, was overthrown by a four-day revolt of the Argentine armed forced on Sept. 16-19. … Total casualties in the revolution were not officially published, but unofficial estimates placed the number of dead at about 500.”

Interpretation:
Keesing’s estimate of >300 dead in June and Clodfelter’s estimate of 400 dead in June agree closely. Keesing’s notes an additional 500 deaths in the September phase of the conflict.
Low estimate: 800 deaths. 300 (Keesing’s minimum estimate for June) + 500 (Keesing’s estimate for deaths in September)
High estimate: 900 deaths. 400 (Clodfelter’s June estimate) + 500 (Keesing’s estimate for September)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #50, attempted military coup in 1963:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
December 1964 - ARGENTINA
“…confused fighting, in which the rebels were supported by sections of the Navy under Admiral Reins, resulted, according to unofficial reports, in 25 persons killed and 34 wounded.”

Interpretation:
Best estimate of 25 fatalities.
No further information was found, so the low and high estimates were based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #50, war with the ERP and Montoneros from 1974-77:

(Lopez, 1988):
P. 514: over 20,000 disappearances between 1976 and 1981.

(Leitenberg, 2003): up to 30,000 people were killed in the 1976-79 disappearances

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII. Argentina, 1976-80. Victimized groups: leftists. Number of victims: 9,000-30,000.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 457: Over 10,000 people were killed by the Argentinean military and police during the “dirty war” in the 1970s.
Pg 459: Best estimate of between 10,000-15,000 people killed in Dirty War.
(Eckhardt, 1996): 1976-79, Disappearances: 12,000 civilian war-related deaths, 3,000 military war-related deaths, 15,000 total war-related deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 718-9: “By the end of 1980 the guerrilla movement had been crushed with 5,000 people killed in the junta’s repression since 1976 and 9,000 since 1970. Another 7,000 (los desaparecidos) had disappeared after arrest by the junta. The junta claimed 2,050 civilians were killed by terrorists of the left and right, 1973-79, but only 688 deaths can be convincingly blamed on the leftists. Later investigations into the toll inflicted by political violence from 1969-83 determined that 790 people had been killed by the leftist guerillas, 2,462 civilians had been killed in armed confrontations with security forces, and 8,910 individuals had been made to disappear by the military and police forces…”
P. 719: “Argentina had entered into a secret alliance with other South American tyrannies to exterminate one another’s opponents living in exile. In this Operation Condor, Argentina’s military regime had killed 118 Uruguayan exiles, 57 Paraguayans, 49 Chileans, and 9 Brazilians.”
1976: 1,480 deaths
1977: 677 deaths

Interpretation:

Clodfelter’s information is the only source that separates the campaign of “disappearances” from violence related to battle.

Best and high estimate:
1974: 1,520 (Based on Clodfelter estimate of about 4,000 deaths between 1970 and 1976.
1975: 1,000 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
1976: 1,480 (Clodfelter. Best estimate from 1973-1976 totals 4,000)
1977: 677 (Clodfelter)


Fatalities information for conflict #151, the Falklands Islands dispute between Argentina and the UK:


(Brogan, 1998):
Pg 464: 5 Falkland civilians, 746 Argentinean servicemen, 250 British servicemen killed.
(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 204: “Throughout the conflict more than 1,200 troops and civilians were killed…”

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1982-82, Argentina vs. UK in Falklands: civilian war-related deaths not available, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 1,000 total war-related deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 720-722: See Clodfelter for a detailed military history of this war, with exact fatalities for various stages of the engagement
P. 722: “Falklands War fatalities totaled: United Kingdom KIA - 218 (122 army, 87 navy, 26 Royal Marines, 9 merchant navy, 7 Royal Fleet Auxiliary, 1 RAF, 3 Falkland civilians); deaths from other causes (all services) - 37. … Argentina KIA -746 (393 navy, 261 army, 55 air force, 37 marines).”

Interpretation: There is general agreement among all authors here. A low estimate of 910 deaths was taken from COW. Clodfelter’s estimate of 964 total fatalities was used as the best estimate as it is the most completely specified available. 1,200 deaths were coded as a high estimate to reflect Bercovitch and Jackson and Uppsala’s coding rules.
Azerbaijan

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Azerbaijan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>2840</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>Azerbaijani Popular Front</td>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>2830</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>Government of Armenia</td>
<td>Nagorno-Karabakh</td>
<td>1990-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>2950</td>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>Republic of Nagorno-Karabakh</td>
<td>Nagorno-Karabakh</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>3030</td>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>Husseinov military faction</td>
<td></td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>3030</td>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>OPON forces</td>
<td></td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #182, Azerbaijani nationalist rebellion in 1990:

(Clodfelter, 2002):

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
January 1990 - SOVIET UNION
“The official death toll from the assault was put at 83, including nearly 70 civilians, but nationalists claimed that it was as high as 600.”

(UCDP, 2009):
Best estimate of 25 deaths; high estimate of 120 deaths.
Coders’ note reads: “At least 25 people died in battle related deaths on 19 January when the Soviet troops launched their large-scale attack to restore order in Baku. However, it is problematic to know how many more that died in the clashes since some figures might include one-sided deaths. But reliable sources, UNHCR, say that a total of 120 were killed during the riots. Therefore 120 are set as the high battle related estimate for this conflict.”

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 120 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 83 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 600 (Keesing’s)
Fatalities information for conflicts #181 and 193, the separatist war in Nagorno-Karabakh in 1990-94:


(Eckhardt, 1996):
1989-95, “Armenia vs. Azerbaijan:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 20,000 total war-related deaths

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 398: 25,000 killed between 1991-94.

(Leitenberg, 2003):

(IISS, 2003): >22,010 combat-deaths since 1992

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 251: “By the end of 1995 it was estimated that twenty thousand had been killed and 1 million people displaced as a result of the conflict.”

(Clodfelter, 2002, 606): “Up to January 1, 1994 the Armenians had lost 4,000 dead and 140,000 wounded; the Azeris had lost 6,600 dead and 20,000 wounded. A higher count claims 20,000 dead to the end of 1994, two-thirds of them noncombatants.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

Deaths in 1992: 2,000


(UCDP, 2009):
1990: >200 deaths
1991: 500 deaths. Coder’s note: “According to Keesing’s record of world events 270 Armenians, 216 Azerbaijanis and 15 servicemen of various nationalities died during 1991. In sum, there were 501 deaths in 1991. It is however not clear if this number includes battle-related deaths only.”
1992: estimate 1,200 deaths. Coder’s note: “Total number of deaths in the conflict is 2,000 if the battle related deaths before Azerbaijan’s independence (when the conflict was between Nagorno Karabakh and the USSR) is included, and 1,200 if 1992 is considered the first conflict year of the conflict within Azerbaijan.”
1993: >2,000. Coder’s note: “Number of deaths estimated by the Sipri Yearbook 1994. It is not clear whether this number includes battle related deaths only or if other deaths are included as well.”
1994: 1,000-6,500. Coder’s note: “The number of deaths during 1994 is unknown, in February the Republic of Nagorno Karabakh acknowledged 300 own fatalities during the year while they said they had killed 6000 soldiers on the Azerbaijani side. The parties regularly claimed hundreds of losses on the enemy side but only a few deaths of their own soldiers.”

Interpretation:
The range from 10,000 to 20,000 total deaths is used by most sources for this conflict, with most preferring the higher figure. Clodfelter implies the lower figure may be limited to military deaths. Estimates are as follows:

1990 (Conflict #181):
Best estimate: 300 (UCDP’s estimate of 2,000 total battle deaths 1990-1992)
Low estimate: 200 (UCDP’s minimum estimate for 1990)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1991 (Conflict #181):
Best estimate: 500 (UCDP’s estimate of 2,000 total battle deaths 1990-1992)
Low estimate: 500 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1992 (Conflict #193):
Best estimate: 1,200 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 1,200 (UCDP)
High estimate: 5,751 (Based on total of 20,000 deaths in the war)

1993 (Conflict #193):
Low estimate: 2,000 (UCDP minimum)
High estimate: 5,751 (Based on total of 20,000 deaths in the war)
No best estimate.

1994 (Conflict #193):
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP minimum; low estimates total to 5,110 deaths, well below most estimates for total fatalities)
High estimate: 6,500 (UCDP maximum; best estimates total to 20,000 deaths, the maximum figure cited by most sources)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict # 193, the separatist conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh in 2005:

(UCDP, 2009):
Low estimate of 21; best estimate of 25; high estimate of 90. Coder’s note: “The estimate of 90 might include some one-sided events.”

(International Crisis Group, 2005a): > 60 soldiers and civilians killed in frontline areas in the first 9 months of 2005 (Report No. 57)

*Interpretation:*
The low, high, and best estimates were taken from UCDP; the International Crisis Group estimate falls within that range.

Fatalities information for conflict #201, coup in 1993:

(The Economist, 1993): “On June 4th anti-government rebels from the local garrison seized the country’s second city, Ganja. More than 50 people were killed.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
June 1993 - AZERBAIJAN
“…rebellion began in the Gandja area after a violent clash on June 4 between his forces and the National Army, in which dozens were reportedly killed.”
(Lieven, 1993):
“In the wake of a revolt in Gyandzha, Azerbaijan’s second city, at the weekend in which more than 60 people died, opposition demonstrators gathered outside the parliament in Baku yesterday to demand the government’s resignation. Meanwhile, the revolt in Gyandzha seemed to be spreading.”

(UCDP, 2009):
Estimate 83 deaths. Coder’s note: “68 people died in the attack on Gyanja ordered by the President. On 15 June Rebel soldiers fought government troops with tanks and rockets outside the Azerbaijani capital 15 people were reported killed.”

Interpretation:

Best and high estimate: 83 deaths (UCDP)
Low estimate: 68 deaths (UCDP minimum based on coder’s note)

Fatalities information for conflict #201, coup attempt in 1995:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
March 1995 - AZERBAIJAN
“Official figures put the total number of dead at 36, with 58 injured, but unofficial figures put the toll at 100 people dead and 150-200 injured. Some 200 rebels were arrested, including Makhir Javadov.”

(International Herald Tribune, 1995): “Troops in Azerbaijan on Friday crushed a four-day coup attempt … As many as 80 people were reported to have been killed, including civilians, and there were unconfirmed reports most of the rebels had surrendered.”

(BBC Monitoring Service, 1995):
Excerpting from ITAR-TASS news agency, Moscow, 17 March 1995: “A later report from Interfax news agency quoted sources in the Azerbaijani Health Ministry saying that at least 28 had been killed and over 60 wounded among government troops and rebels during the fighting. It said that losses on the government side were eight killed and 22 wounded, while on the rebel side over 20 had been killed and about 40 wounded. Up to 10 civilians were also killed and wounded as a result of the fighting, the agency said.”

Excerpting from The Guardian, 18 March 1995: “Up to 80 people were believed to have died in the attack, Russian television said.”
Excerpting from ITAR-TASS news agency, Moscow, 22 March 1995: “The (security) agency also gave the official casualty figures for last week’s mutiny as 38 dead and 67 wounded. According to a joint report by the republic’s Prosecutor’s Office, and the interior, security and defense ministries issued on the 22nd, the dead included 22 members of the government forces, 10 rebels and six civilians.”

(UCDP, 2009):
Estimate 50 deaths. Coder’s note: “50 people were killed in the clashes between the OPON and the government forces. Five people were killed in Kazakh and Akstafa. 45 people in the Baku violence. 28 government soldiers, 13 OPON forces, 3 policemen and 7 civilians according to the prosecution authority.”

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 50 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 38 (Azerbaijani Health Ministry, reported in BBC)
High estimate: 80 (Russian state television)
## Balkans

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in the Balkans:

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<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
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<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>2910</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Republic of Slovenia</td>
<td>Slovenia</td>
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</tr>
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<td>190</td>
<td>2920</td>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Republic of Croatia, Croatian irregulars</td>
<td>Croatia</td>
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<td>195</td>
<td>2970</td>
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<td>1992-93</td>
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<td>3210</td>
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<td>Kosovo</td>
<td>1998-99</td>
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<td>2001</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Fatalities information for conflict #189, Slovenian secession from Yugoslavia in 1991:**

(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): “The fighting in Slovenia is estimated to have resulted in c. 50 persons killed, 15 of whom were civilians.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 604: “The 150,000-man federal Yugoslavian army made only a token effort to prevent the secession of Slovenia. After ten days of fighting which left at least 63 dead and over 250 wounded, hostilities in Slovenia ceased…”

(UCDP, 2009):
Estimate 53 deaths. Coder’s note: “several sources estimated that around 50 battle-related deaths occurred. One source gave the exact information that 47 JNA soldiers and 6 Slovenian soldiers died in fights. The total death figure in the conflict was around 64. It was not clear whether these extra 11 people died as a direct result of battles or no.”

**Interpretation:**
Best estimate: 63 (SIPRI, Clodfelter)
Fatalities information for conflicts #190 and #195, Croatian secession from Yugoslavia and war within Croatia in 1991-93 and 1995:

Correlates of War Conflict Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #733, “Yugolavia/Serbia vs. Croatians’ 1991-2: 10,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.


(Eckhardt, 1996): 1991-92, “Croatia; civil war;” military and civilian war-related deaths not available, 25,000 total war-related deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 604: “Fourteen separate cease-fires were negotiated only to break down within hours or days before a more stable agreement was reached on January 3, 1992. … The first seven months of the Serb-Croat conflict had cost the lives of probably 10,000 soldiers and civilians…Most of the areas of Croatia held by the Serbs at the time of the ceasefire were recovered by the Croats in a sudden offensive in 1995…”

SIPRI Yearbooks


(UCDP, 2009):
1991 (Conflict in Yugoslavia with Croatian region): 1,500-6,000 deaths. Coder’s note: “There was no detailed information on how many battle-related deaths occurred in 1991. Many civilians died, but it was difficult to determine if/when they were killed in crossfire between the armies or/and when because of their ethnicity. Croatian health authorities stated that 1419 Croatian civilians, 1168 members of the Croatian National Guardsmen and 320 police had been killed during the year. It remained unclear how many of these were killed by the JNA. A number of other sources stated that up to 6000 people had been killed in the conflict. No information could be found on the death figure for JNA soldiers or for Serbian civilians killed in crossfire.”

1992 (Conflict in Croatia with Serbian region): <100 deaths. Coder’s note: “Because of the high number of killings of civilians, carried out on basis of their ethnic affiliation, it was difficult to estimate how many of the 1992 deaths that were battle-related. It was not possible to determine if/when the civilians were killed in crossfire between the armies or/and when because of their ethnicity. One source estimated around 100 deaths in the conflict in 1992, however it did not specify to what extent this figure included deaths resulting from one-sided violence against civilians.”

1993: 100-150. Coder’s note: “Because of the high number of killings of civilians, carried out on basis of their ethnic affiliation, it was difficult to estimate how many of the 1993 deaths that were battle-related. It was not possible to determine if/when the civilians were killed in crossfire between the armies or/and when because of their ethnicity. One source estimated around 100-150 deaths in the conflict in 1993, however it did not specify to what extent this figure included deaths resulting from one-sided violence against civilians.”

1994: 0-24

1995: 500-999. Coder’s note: “Because of the high number of killings of civilians, carried out on basis of their ethnic affiliation, it was difficult to estimate how many of the 1995 deaths that were battle-related. It was not possible to determine if/when the civilians were killed in crossfire between the armies or/and when because of their ethnicity. One source estimated that 700-1250 deaths had occurred in the conflict in 1995. However it was not specified to what extent this figure included deaths resulting from one-sided violence against civilians.”

*Interpretation:*

Conflict #190:

1991:
High estimate: 6,000 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 1,500 (UCDP)
No best estimate.
Conflict #195:

1992:
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP)
High estimate: 4,000 (Based on estimate of 10,000 deaths 1991-1992 in SIPRI, Clodfelter)
No best estimate.

1993:
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP)
High estimate: 500 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1995:
Low estimate: 500 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflicts #194, 202, and 203, the secession of Bosnia and Herzegovina from Yugoslavia and war within Bosnia and Herzegovina:

Correlates of War Conflict Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #733, “Bosnia/Herzegovina vs. Serbs’ 1992-5: 250,000 Bosnian “state” deaths, and unknown number of Yugoslavian state deaths, and total deaths unknown.

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1991-96, “Former Yugoslavia” (Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina) civil war:” 300,000 total war-related deaths. Estimate based on personal archive.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1992-95, “Bosnia; civil war; massacres;” military and civilian war-related deaths not available, 263,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 643: Estimate 60,000 total deaths. “Many of the deaths were among civilians - victims of massacres, summary executions, large-scale disappearances, concentration camps, and other atrocities.”

(Brogan, 1998):

P. 648: 1992 “Bosnia, civil war:” 150,000.

P. 437: massacre of over 8,000 men in Srebrenica in 1995

(Clodfelter, 2002):

P. 604: “In all of Bosnia 17,000 people had been killed in 1992.”

P. 604: Estimates 7,414 Muslim noncombatants killed at Srebrenica

P. 604: UN forces lost 212 including 66 in traffic accidents

P. 604: “Another 3,091 people were killed in Sarajevo in 1993 and 1,794 more in 1994.”

P. 605: “By the end of 1997, 50,000 American servicemen had rotated in and out of Bosnia and had lost 1 killed by hostile action, 6 wounded, and 11 nonhostile deaths. The death toll for the Bosnian Civil War, 1992-95, totaled at least 150,000, including 30,000 Serbs. Another 27,000 people, mostly civilians, were missing.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Amer et al., 1993): Serbs of Bosnia Herzegovina, Govt of Serbia, and Serb irregulars vs. Rep of Bosnia Herzegovina since 1992. Total deaths including 1992: 10,000 to 20,000. Deaths in 1992: 10,000 to 20,000

(Wallensteen and Axell, 1994): Serbs of Bosnia Herzegovina, Govt of Serbia, and Serb irregulars vs. Rep of Bosnia Herzegovina since 1992, and Croats of Bosnia Herzegovina, Croatia vs. Rep of Bosnia Herzegovina. Total deaths including 1993: 20,000 to 50,000. Deaths in 1993: 10,000 to 30,000


(UCDP, 2009):

Information for conflict #194 in Serb regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina:
1992: 10,000-20,000 battle-related deaths. Coder’s note: “No detailed sources on the number of deaths could be found. It was also difficult to estimate how many battle-related deaths occurred in 1992 because of the high number of killings of civilians, carried out on basis of their ethnic affiliation. It was not possible to determine if/when the civilians were killed in cross-fire between the armies or/and when because of their ethnicity. Most sources included one-sided violence against civilians when giving figures. In those sources, the number of deaths was usually stated higher than the above figure. 10,000-20,000 is an estimate of the number of battle-related deaths, however, the figure remains uncertain.”

1993: 10,000-30,000 battle-related deaths. Coder’s note: “No detailed sources on the number of deaths could be found. It was also difficult to estimate how many battle-related deaths occurred in 1993 because of the high number of killings of civilians, carried out on basis of their ethnic affiliation. It was not possible to determine if/when the civilians were killed in crossfire between the armies or/and when because of their ethnicity. Most sources included one-sided violence against civilians when giving figures. In those sources, the number of deaths was usually stated higher than the above figure. 10,000-30,000 is an estimate of the number of battle-related deaths, however, the figure remains uncertain. Furthermore, it was unclear how many of the deaths that occurred in Bosnia that was a result of the conflict with the Serbian forces. Killings also took place in Bosnia’s conflicts with the Bosnian Croats and with Fikret Abdic’s forces (Bihac). However, the majority of deaths occurred in the conflict between Bosnia and the Serbian forces.”

1994: <999. Coder’s note: “No detailed sources on the number of deaths could be found. It was also difficult to estimate how many battle-related deaths occurred in 1994 because of the high number of killings of civilians, carried out on basis of their ethnic affiliation. It was not possible to determine if/when the civilians were killed in crossfire between the armies or/and when because of their ethnicity. Most sources included one-sided violence against civilians when giving figures. In those sources, the number of deaths was usually stated higher than the above figure. 999 is an estimate of the number of battle-related deaths, however, the figure remains uncertain. Furthermore, it was unclear how many of the deaths that occurred in Bosnia that was a result of the conflict with the Serbian forces. Killings also took place in Bosnia’s conflicts with the Bosnian Croats and with Fikret Abdic’s forces (Bihac). However, the majority of deaths occurred in the conflict between Bosnia and the Serbian forces.”

1995: 800-999. Coder’s note: “It was unclear how many of all the deaths that occurred in Bosnia (800-900) that was a result of the conflict about Bihac. Killings also took place in the Bosnian government’s conflict with Serbian forces. The great majority of deaths occurred in this latter conflict.”

Total deaths: 25,000-55,000
Information for conflict #202 in Bihac:
1993: 25-999 deaths. Coder’s note: “It was unclear how many of all the deaths that occurred in Bosnia (10 000-30 000) that was a result of the conflict about Bihac. Killings also took place in the Bosnian government’s conflict with Serbian forces. The great majority of deaths occurred in this latter conflict.”
1994: 25-999. Coder’s note: “It was unclear how many of all the deaths that occurred in Bosnia (up to 999) that was a result of the conflict about Bihac. Killings also took place in the Bosnian government’s conflict with Serbian forces. The great majority of deaths occurred in this latter conflict.
1995: 25-999. Coder’s note: “It was unclear how many of all the deaths that occurred in Bosnia (800-900) that was a result of the conflict about Bihac. Killings also took place in the Bosnian government’s conflict with Serbian forces. The great majority of deaths occurred in this latter conflict.”

Information for conflict #203 in Croat areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina:
1993: 1000-9999. Coder’s note: “It was unclear how many of all the deaths that occurred in Bosnia (10 000-30 000) this year that was a result of the government’s conflict with the Bosnian Croats and the Croats. The majority of deaths occurred in the Bosnian government’s conflict with Serbian forces.”
1994: 25-999. Coder’s note: “It was unclear how many of all the deaths that occurred in Bosnia this year (up to 999) that was a result of the government’s conflict with the Bosnian Croats and the Croats. The great majority of deaths occurred in the Bosnian government’s conflict with Serbian forces.”
1995: 0-24

Interpretation:
The civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1993-5 is coded as three conflicts by Uppsala/PRIO: conflict #194 between the government and the Serbian seperatists; conflict #203 between the government and Croatian seperatists and conflict #202 in the Bihac region.

Conflict #194:

Widely cited estimates of 100,000-150,000 dead are considered here to refer to the significant and systematic one-sided violence that marked this conflict rather than battle deaths. Clodfelter estimates that 3,060 died in Sarajevo in 1992 and 17,000 in all of Bosnia. He then estimates another 3,091 people were killed in Sarajevo in 1993 and 1,794 dead in 1994. If violence outside of Sarajevo changed intensity in a parallel manner, this would imply perhaps 17,000 total killed in 1993 and about 10,000 in 1994. That total of 44,000 is roughly in line with the figure of 20,000 to 50,000 total deaths reported by SIPRI through the end of 1994.
1992:
Best estimate: 17,000 (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 10,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (UCDP)

1993:
Best estimate: 17,000 (Based on total deaths (see below) and extrapolation from Sarajevo deaths provided in Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 10,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 30,000 (UCDP)

1994:
Best estimate: 10,000 (Based on total deaths (see below) and extrapolation from Sarajevo deaths provided in Clodfelter)
High estimate: 15,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1995:
Best and low estimate: 800 (UCDP)
High estimate: 900 (UCDP coder’s note)
The range of battle deaths estimate by SIPRI and UCDP is 25,000 to 55,000. The low estimate here totals 20,825 and the high estimate totals 65,900. The best estimate totals 44,800.

Conflict #202:
Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Conflict #203:
1993: Low estimate of 1,000 battle deaths and a high estimate of 9,999 battle deaths based on UCDP. No best estimate.
1994: Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #218, civil war between Yugoslavian government and Kosovo 1998-9:


(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 605: “The Physicians for Human Rights reported 9,269 Albanian Kosovars killed during the war, 2,500 of whom were killed in the year prior to the NATO bombing campaign. … No NATO personnel were killed in combat and only 2 American pilots were killed when their Apache helicopters crashed in neighboring Albania.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
Total: “Estimates of conflict deaths range from 4,000 to over 12,000.”
2002: “Media reports suggest that at least 25 people were killed this year.”
2001: “At least 50 people were killed in 2001.”
1999: “Estimates of civilian deaths during Serb operations against ethnic Albanians range from 2,500 to over 10,000. Another 500 Serbian civilians died in NATO’s air bombing campaign.”
1998: “Reports from most major sources put the 1998 death toll at well over 1,000, with some reports as high as 2,000.”

SIPRI Yearbooks


(UCDP, 2009):
1998: 1000-2000. Coder’s note: “No detailed sources on the number of deaths could be found. It was difficult to estimate how many battle-related deaths occurred in 1998 because of the high number of killings of civilians, carried out on basis of their ethnic affiliation. It was not possible to determine if/when the civilians were killed in crossfire between the armies or/and when because of their ethnicity. Most sources included one-sided violence against civilians when giving figures. In those sources, the number of deaths was usually stated higher than the above figure. 1000-2000 is an estimate of the number of battle-related deaths, however, the figure remains uncertain.”
1999: 1000-3000. Coder’s note: “No detailed sources on the number of deaths could be found. It was difficult to estimate how many battle-related deaths occurred in 1999 because of the high number of killings of civilians, carried out on basis of their ethnic affiliation. It was not possible to determine if/when the civilians were killed in crossfire between the armies or/and when because of their ethnicity. Most sources included one-sided violence against civilians when giving figures. In those sources, the number of deaths was usually stated higher than the above figure. 1000-3000 is an estimate of the number of battle-related deaths, however, the figure remains uncertain. One source estimated that in mid-May, the NATO air campaign had resulted in 1200 civilian deaths.”

**Interpretation:**

1998:
Project Ploughshares, SIPRI, UCDP, and IISS all agree on a range of 1,000 to 2000 deaths
Best and low estimate: 1,000
High estimate: 2,500 (Clodfelter)

1999:
Best estimate: 3,000 (Ploughshares; IISS estimate of <4,000 total combat deaths)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 6,769 (Clodfelter)
Project Ploughshares suggesting about 3,000 deaths accords well with SIPRI and IISS. Low estimate of 1,000. Best and high estimate of 3,000.

**Fatalities information for conflict#223, civil war in Macedonia in 2001:**

Keesing’s (2004): reports filed in March to September 2001 noted a total of 145 deaths.

(IISS, 2003): Provides a timeline and description of the events in this conflict which notes a total of up to 122 deaths in 2001.

(UCDP, 2009):
Estimate 50-100 deaths. Coder’s note: “No exact figure could be given, as it at times was difficult to distinguish between battle-related deaths and atrocities committed against civilians. At least 50 battle-related deaths occurred with certainty, but the number of battle-related deaths was most likely closer to 100.”

**Interpretation:**
Best estimate: 122 (IISS; used as best estimate because most detailed incident information available)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 145 (Keesing’s)
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Bangladesh:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>ID</th>
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<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>2260</td>
<td>Bangladesh JSS/ Shanti Bahini</td>
<td>1975-92</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #126, civil war in Bangladesh 1975-92:


(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, lines 184-194): Estimates of deaths from 1972-87: 2,000 (low); 6,000 (middle); 9,000 (high).

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 157: Estimate more than 3,500 total deaths

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 139: guerilla insurgency in Chittagong Hill tracts began in 1976 and “has so far resulted in the deaths of at least 3,500”
P. 140: In 1972 JSS was formed, Shanti Bahini formed as its military wing “which in the mid-1970s began attacking army outposts and harassing Bengali villages. Hundreds of people were killed during this campaign.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 670: “The bloodiest incident in this Buddhist Rebellion was the May 31, 1984 murder of 100 Muslim Bengali villagers by Shanti Bahini terrorists. Government troops retaliated by killing 200 Buddhist noncombatants in the nearby hills. By the time the insurgency had faded away in 1996 at least 8,500 people had become victims of the violence.”

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: Best and low estimate of 25 deaths
1990: Best and low estimate of 43 deaths
1991: best estimate of 46 deaths
1992: Best and low estimate of 38 deaths
SIPRI Yearbooks:

Not included in 1988-89


Not included in later SIPRI Yearbooks.

Interpretation:

1974-1988:

Best estimate: 1,000 total deaths (SIPRI 1990, no trend)
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules, no trend)
High estimate: 3,500 total deaths (SIPRI 1998, no trend)
1989:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 50 (SIPRI)

1990:
Best and low estimate: 43 (UCDP)
High estimate: 100 (SIPRI)

1991:
Best and low estimate: 46 (UCDP)
High estimate: 100 (SIPRI)

1992:
Best and low estimate: 38 (UCDP)
High estimate: 100 (SIPRI)
Bolivia

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Bolivia:

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<tr>
<th>ID</th>
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<th>Side B</th>
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<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>Popular Revolutionary Movement</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>MNR</td>
<td>1952</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1010</td>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>ELN</td>
<td>1967</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #1, civil war in Bolivia in 1946:

(OnWar.com, 1999): Provides background information on Bolivian Popular Revolt 1946

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
August 1946 - Bolivia
“President Villarroel’s Government was overthrown on July 21 in a successful uprising by a “Popular Revolutionary Movement,” which commenced on July 18 at La Paz … Fierce fighting had also occurred at another barracks in La Paz … and at Oruru, Bolivia’s second largest city, total casualties in the 4 days of street fighting being reported as 1,000 killed and 2,000 wounded.”

Interpretation:
Best and low estimate of 1,000 battle dead, based on Keesing’s Record of World Events and Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. High estimate of 9,999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #1, civil war in Bolivia in 1952:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #643, “Bolivia vs. Leftists” 1952: 1,500 state deaths and an unknown total number of deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1952-52: “Revolution vs. Government:” 1,000 civilian war-related deaths, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 2000 total war-related deaths.
(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 716: “Three days of fighting in the capital of La Paz and in other Bolivian cities cost at least 600 and as many as 3,000 lives.”

(Library of Congress Federal Research Division, 1989): “On April 9, the MNR launched the rebellion in La Paz by seizing arsenals and distributing arms to civilians. … After three days of fighting, the desertion of Seleme, and the loss of 600 lives, the army completely surrendered; Paz Estenssoro assumed the presidency on April 16, 1952.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
May 1952
“The military junta under General Hugo Ballivian which seized power in May, 1951, after the Presidential elections of that year was overthrown by a revolt which broke out on April 9 … Although no definite figures of casualties were available it was authoritatively stated that at least 450 soldiers and civilians had been killed.”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 450 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 3,000 (Clodfelter)
No best estimate

Fatalities information for conflict #1, civil war in Bolivia 1967:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 132: “Fatalities caused by the conflict were reported at 138”

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1955-67, “guerilla insurgency:” 200,000 total war-related deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 718: “Of the 54 guerillas…40 were killed, including 15 of the 18 Cubans. The Bolivian army…suffered 42 fatalities; and 32 wounded.”

Interpretation: Best estimate of 82 total deaths, from Clodfelter. This estimate was preferred to Bercovitch and Jackson’s figure because it is more exactly specified. Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths were coded based on the UCDP/PRIO coding rules. Unable to account for the extremely high figure used by Leitenberg.
Brunei

The Uppsala/PRI Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Brunei:

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<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>1760</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>North Kalimantan Liberation Army</td>
<td>North Borneo</td>
<td>1962</td>
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</table>

**Fatalities information for conflict #76, conflict between British Commonwealth and North Borneo in 1985:**

(Clodfelter, 2002):

P. 686: “British Commonwealth forces…put down a four-day rebellion in Brunei in December 1962, in which 40 of some 4,000 poorly armed rebels of A.M. Asahari’s North Kalimantan National Army and 5 Royal Marines were killed…”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):

March 1963 - BRUNEI

“Limbang was also recaptured on Dec. 12 by No. 42 Royal Marine Commando, after fierce fighting in which the Marines overcame strong rebel resistance; five Marines were killed and six wounded in the battle, rebel losses being described as “very considerable.”

**Interpretation:** Best estimate of 45 battle deaths coded from Clodfelter. Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths were coded based on the UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
Burkina Faso

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Burkina Faso:

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<td>Mali</td>
<td>Agacher</td>
<td>1985</td>
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<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>2660</td>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>Popular Front</td>
<td>Strip</td>
<td>1987</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #160, between Burkina Faso and Mali in 1985:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003): MID coded with a minimum of 26 and a maximum of 100 fatalities on each side of the dispute.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“May 1986 - BURKINA
… Estimates of the number of dead over five days of sporadic fighting (Dec. 25-29) varied between 60 and 100 (with one unconfirmed report placing the number of dead at about 300). Burkina in mid-January announced that 41 of its nationals had been killed, including 21 civilians; no official figures were issued by Mali.”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 60 (From Keesing’s)
High estimate: 300 (From Keesing’s)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #165, civil conflict in 1987:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“October 1987 - BURKINA
… Unconfirmed reports stated that up to 100 people, among them Capt. Sankara, had been killed in the coup during clashes in the capital, Ouagadougou, between troops loyal to the President and Capt. Compaore’s forces.”
(OnWar.com, 1999): “In Ouagadougou (Wagaduga), the capital, rival groups of soldiers exchanged heavy gunfire, killing about 100 people; Sankara and 12 of his aides were shot to death and hastily buried in a mass grave.”

Not included in SIPRI Yearbooks.

*Interpretation:* Best estimate of 100 battle deaths. Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths were coded based on the UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
**Burma (Myanmar)**

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Burma/Myanmar:

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<td>BCP, leftist organizations</td>
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<td>1948-88</td>
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**Fatalities information for fatalities in various civil wars in Burma from 1948-2008:**

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #639, ‘Burma vs. Karens’ 1948-51: 8,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.
Conflict #673, “Burma vs. Ethnic Rebels’ 1968-80: 25,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.
Conflict #639, “Burma vs. Kachin” 1983-95: 9,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.

(IISS, 2003): Total of >10,000 deaths since 1985.

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1981-93, “Government vs. opposition (mostly Karen):” 9,000 military and total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 64: Since independence “perhaps as many as 140,000 people lost their lives, many of them civilians.”

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1948-51, “Karens vs Govt; China interv:” civilian and military deaths not available, 8,000 total war-related deaths.
1980, “Communists vs Government:” civilian and military deaths not available, 5,000 total war-related deaths.
1985-95, “Rebels vs Government:” civilian and military deaths not available, 8,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 644: 40,000 total deaths since 1948
P. 142: “The American University country study for Burma (1983) lists 28 insurgent groups operating in Burma, whose forces ranged in size from the Burmese communist party (8,000-15,000) and the Karen National Union (5,000-8,000) down to the Kayah New Land Revolution Council (50) and the Karenni People’s United Liberation Front (70). Their total manpower was between 27,000 and 44,000."

Smith (2002):
P. 10: “hundreds of thousands’ dead by the early 1980s. In 1988, as many as 10,000 people died
P. 16: Between 1961 and 1986 the Kachin Independence Organization “claims to have recorded the deaths of over 30,000 Kachin villagers at the hands of government forces, and, by the early 1990s, over 130,000 Kachins (over 10 per cent of the population) had become internally displaced or refugees.”
P. 21: “Decades of conflict have witnessed casualty rates of at least 10,000 fatalities a year if hunger, disease and the true costs to society are included.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 682-3: “One estimate of violent deaths attributable to the insurrections in Burma 1948-55 exceeds 28,000.”

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P. 683: “Insurgency was far from ended, however. From November 1958-April 1960 rebel strength declined from 9,300 to 5,000 as they took losses of 2,278 KIA…and 4,022 surrendered. The fighting went on sporadically through the 1960s and into the following decades. The fighting was low-level but never ending. A typical year was 1984, when 1,870 members of the various rebel factions were killed and 506 captured. Government losses that year numbered 566 killed…”

P. 693: “The insurgent armies received an influx of up to 5,000 new recruits from the cities in 1988 in the wake of massive repression by the dictatorship of General Ne Win…As many as 3,000 people were killed nationwide in the street violence and army roundups of dissidents, beginning August 8 and lasting six weeks.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
2002: “sporadic fighting between rebel groups and the Burmese army along the Thai-Burmese border claimed at least 100 lives.”
2001: “More than one hundred soldiers, rebels and civilians were reported killed.”
2000: “Hundreds of people, mostly civilians, were reported killed.”
1999: “Beyond an unknown number of combatant deaths, dozens of farmers and villagers were killed by the military and several government officials were executed by insurgents.”
1996: “skirmishes between government troops and ethnic insurgents and government-supported attacks on refugee camps killed over 100.”
1995: “Although the military regime released the opposition leader in July, hundreds of people died in 1995 from government attacks on ethnic rebel bases and from government slave-labour projects.”

Project (Ploughshares, 2006)
2005: Over 100 deaths. “The number of deaths from intense fighting is likely far higher but difficult to determine due to lack of press freedom and lack of access to the country’s remote regions where most of the fighting occurred.”
2003: Between 15 and 80 fatalities. “As many as 70 people may have died in the violence [of May 30], according to exiled opposition groups, who blame the attack on the ruling military junta.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2009):
2006: “between a few dozen and a hundred” in all of Burma
2007: “between a few dozen and a hundred” in all of Burma
2008: No estimate.

Smith (1999):
P. 4: “sein Lwin’s declaration of martial law on 3 August [1988] was immediately followed by the call for a general strike. … In Rangoon alone doctors were later to put the death toll as high as 3,000 in what rapidly became a blood-bath as troops repeatedly opened fire on demonstrators. … Similar shootings were reported in many other towns across the country.”

P. 15-16: “The death toll in the year’s violence is today generally estimated to have passed the 10,000 mark.”

P. 100-101: “As with other government statistics, after the tens of thousands of casualties in the open civil war of 1948-52, there has been a certain symmetry to official Tatmadaw battle reports, with the government usually claiming the deaths in battle of an average 2,000 insurgents each year against the loss of some 500-600 government troops. Insurgency leaders, however, more than put these figures in reverse. … I suspect that civilian casualties are just as high. Few reliable records have been kept but the KIO claims to have recorded the verifiable deaths of 33,336 civilians at the hands of government forces in the years 1961-86; for its part, in the first nine months of 1965 alone, the Tatmadaw claims to have “crushed” 4,500 Kachin insurgents. Under present circumstances it is impossible to verify any of these claims or statistics, but a figure of about 10,000 deaths a year nationwide from the insurgencies over the last five decades is probably fairly accurate.”

(US State Department Human Rights Report 2003): up to 70 pro-democracy activists killed in 2003


(Human Rights Watch, 2006): numerous deaths in various incidents reported for 2005

(BBC Monitoring Service, 2003): “Between January and April 2003 ... A total of 16 people were killed and 57 others were wounded in these terrorist attacks.”

SIPRI Yearbooks


Total deaths:
1948-51: 8,000
1950: 5,000
1981-84: 400-600 yearly
1985-87: >1,000 yearly
1988: 500-3,000
(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): Burma vs. KNU, KIA, NMSP, All-Burma Students Democratic Front, RSO. Breakdown of total deaths same as that given in 1991.

(Amer et al., 1993): Burma vs. SBSDF, Arakan insurgents, KIO/KIA, KNPP, KNU, Naga insurgents.
Total deaths:
1948-49: 3,000
1950: 5,000
1981-84: 400-600 yearly
1985-87: 1,000 yearly
1988: 500-3,000
1992: <2,000

(Wallensteen and Axell, 1994): Burma vs. KNU since 1948
Total deaths:
1948-49: 3,000
1950: 5,000
1981-84: 400-600 yearly
1985-87: 1,000 yearly
1988: 500-3,000
1993: unknown

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1995): Burma vs. KNU since 1948
Burma vs. MTA since 1993
Total deaths:
1948-50: 8,000
1981-88: 5,000-8500
1993-94: >1,000 in Shan area only
1994: >1,000

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996): Burma vs. KNU since 1948
Total deaths:
1948-50: 8,000
1981-88: 5,000-8,500
1993-94: >1,000 in Shan area only
1995: >500

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1997): Burma vs. KNU
Total deaths:
1948-50: 8,000
1981-88: 5,000-8,500
1996: <100

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1998): Burma vs. KNU
Total deaths:
1948-50: 8,000
1981-88: 5,000-8,000
1997: 50-200

(Sollenberg, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999): Burma vs. KNU
Total deaths:
1948-50: 8,000
1981-88: 5,000-8,000
1998: unknown

(Seybolt and Uppsala Conflict Data Project, 2000): Burma vs. KNU
Total deaths:
1948-50: 8,000
1981-88: 5,000-8,000
1999: unknown

(Seybolt, 2001): Burma vs. KNU
Total deaths:
1948-50: 8,000
1981-88: 5,000-8,000
2000: 50-200

(Seybolt, 2002): Burma vs. KNU
Total deaths:
1948-50: 8,000
1981-88: 5,000-8,000
2001: 50-200

(Wiharta and Anthony, 2003): Burma vs. KNU
Total deaths:
1948-50: 8,000
1981-88: 5,000-8,000
2002: 50-150

SIPRI 2004:
2003: more than 25 deaths in KNU-government related violence

SIPRI 2006:
2005: Estimate 25 to 100 deaths in Governement of Myanmar – KNU violence.

(UCDP, 2009):

UCDP notes on conflict #23, versus Karen rebel groups:
1989: > 25. Total deaths: 13,800. Coder’s note on total deaths: “This number should be considered an absolute low estimate. Counts since the conflict started in 1949.”
1990: > 25
1991: > 25
1992: > 1000
1995: > 25
1997: 50. Coder’s note: “It was estimated that the fighting in 1997 led to between 50-200 deaths.
1998: > 25
1999: > 25
2000: 75. Coder’s note: “There were at least 25 battle-deaths in the fighting with God’s Army and between and 50-200 in the fighting with KNU. Some reports, however, suggested substantially higher figures up to several hundred battle-related deaths.

2001: >25
2002: 60. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 50; High estimate: 120”
2004: 0-24
2005: 42. Low estimate: 42; High estimate: 46. Total deaths: 15,208. Coder’s note on total deaths: “This estimate covers the time period since the conflict started in 1949 and should be considered a very conservative minimum.”
2006: Low estimate: 96. High estimate: 110. Best estimate: 104. Coder’s note: “sources close to the KNU suggested that the group had killed and injured some 1150 soldiers of the government troops, but these figures could not be verified by any other sources. As part of the government offensive during the year, the army often attacked the civilian population in these areas, but these attacks are not included in the battle-deaths estimate.”
2007: 104.
2008: 34.

UCDP notes on conflict #24, which is over control of central government:
1990: > 25 Total deaths: > 17,525. Coder’s note on total deaths: “The number given is for the period since 1948.”
1991: > 25
1994: > 25

UCDP notes on conflict #25 versus Arakan insurgents:
1991: > 50. Coder’s note: “Due to the limited access of independent observers in the conflict, it was very hard to find information about conflict activity. It was claimed that civilians were targeted.”
1992: > 25. Coder’s note: “It was difficult to know any casualty figures. The Myanmarese government had banned access to the region for foreigners, and most attention was focused on the alleged one-sided violence that occurred.
1994: > 25. Coder’s note: “Due to the lack of information from the conflict, it is hard to assess the conflict intensity. The estimate given should be considered a conservative low.” Total deaths: > 100. Coder’s note regarding total deaths: “The estimate given should be considered a very conservative low. Possibly intermediate. [>1,000 total deaths]”

UCDP notes on conflict #26 versus Mon insurgents:
1990: 100. Total battle deaths unknown.
1992: 0-24
1993: 0-24
1994: 0-24
1995: 0-24
1996: 80. Coder’s note: “At least around 80 people were killed in clashes between the Myanmar military and the BMA in late 1996.”

UCDP notes on conflict #34 versus Kachin insurgents:
1989: > 25. Coder’s note: “Due to its geographical location, there is less reporting from the Kachin conflict than from the government, Shan, and Karen conflicts. As a consequence, the severity of the conflict was hard to properly assess. Total deaths: > 15,325. Coder’s note regarding total deaths: “The number given should be considered an absolute minimum. It is referring to all battle-related deaths in the conflict since 1961.”
1990: 25-999
1991: 25-999
1992: 25-999
1993: 0-24

UCDP notes on conflict #56 versus Karenni insurgents:
1992: 25-999. Coder’s note: “In September, a regrouped KNPP launched a surprise attack on their former headquarters and killed as many as 50 Myanmarese soldiers. Soon the area was retaken by the army, and in November a big offensive was launched throughout Kayah state.” Total deaths: 25-999.
1993: 0-24
1994: 0-24
1995: 0-24
1996: > 25
1998: 0-24
2005: 35

UCDP notes on conflict #67 versus Shan insurgents:
1993: 25-999. Total battle deaths: 1000-9999. Coder’s note on total deaths: “The number of total battle-related deaths in the Shan-conflict is almost impossible to estimate. Partly because reliable information from the area is difficult to obtain, but also because much of the violence has been directed against civilians, and much fighting has taken place between different armed groups - some political, some allied with the government, etc.”
1994: 1000-9999
1995: 25-999
1996: 25-999
1997: 25-999
1998: > 25
1999: 25-999
2000: 25-999
2001: > 25
2005: 28. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 20. High estimate: 128.” Total deaths: 1000-9999. Coder’s note on total deaths: “The conflict in Shan State started some 45 years ago. The reporting from the region is sporadic at present and has been even worse historically why it is nearly impossible to give a reliable estimate of the total battle deaths from the conflict. UCDP has always tried to present a conservative low estimate but it is a strong possibility that there has been more than 10 000 total battle deaths in the conflict.”
2006: Low, high, and best estimate of 54 deaths.
2007: Low, high, and best estimate of 25 battle deaths. Coder’s note: “There was sparse reporting from the area where SSA-S was active and it was repeated clashes at several occasions without any estimates of casualties.”
2008: 32. Coder’s note: “The conflict in Shan State erupted in 1959 and has involved several different rebel groups as well as much one-sided violence. It is thus impossible to give a reliable estimate for the total number of battle related deaths.”

UCDP notes on conflict #228 versus Wa insurgents:
1997: 25-999 battle deaths

Interpretation:

Conflict #23, versus Karen rebel groups:

1949:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 3,000 (SIPRI estimate for all deaths in country)
No best estimate.
1950:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 5,000 (SIPRI estimate for all deaths in country; COW estimates 8,000 deaths in Karen conflict 1948-51. High estimate totals 8,999 for that period).

1951-64:
High estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.
No best estimate.

1965-87:
High estimate of 1,500 deaths per year based on COW estimate of 25,000 deaths in “ethnic” conflicts in the country 1965-1980. High estimate for 1965-80 totals 24,000.

1988:
High estimate: 7,000 (Based on Smith’s estimate of 10,000 total deaths, with 3,000 occurring within the capital)

1989:
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1990-91: Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1992:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 9,999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1995:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1997:
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 200 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1998-99:
Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

2000:
Low estimate: 75 (UCDP)
High estimate: 225 (UCDP coder’s note)
No best estimate.

2001:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

2002:
Best estimate: 60 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 120 (UCDP)

2003:
Best and low estimate: 31 (UCDP)
High estimate: 37 (UCDP)

2005:
Best and low estimate: 42 (UCDP)
High estimate: 46 (UCDP)

2006:
Best estimate: 104 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 96 (UCDP)
High estimate: 265 (IISS estimate for deaths in all of Burma)
2007:
Best and low estimate: 104 (UCDP)
High estimate: 407 (IISS estimate for deaths in all of Burma)

2008:
Best and low estimate: 34 (UCDP)
High estimate: 100 (Project Ploughshares estimate for deaths in all of Burma)

Conflict #24, over control of the central government:

1948-49:
Low estimate: 1,000 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 3,000 (SIPRI estimate for all deaths in country; no trend)
No best estimate.

1950:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 5,000 (SIPRI estimate for all deaths in country)
No best estimate.

1951-53:
Low estimate: 1,000 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
High estimate: 4,000 deaths per year (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 28,000 deaths in the country from 1948-55)
No best estimate.

1954-55:
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
High estimate: 4,000 deaths per year (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 28,000 deaths in the country from 1948-55. High estimate for that period totals 28,000)
No best estimate.
1956-67:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1968-78:
Low estimate: 1,000 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
High estimate: 9,999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1979-80:
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
High estimate: 999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
No best estimate.

1981-87:
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
High estimate: 25,000 deaths 1981-1992 from COW. No trend with the exception of 1988.
No best estimate.

1988:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 3,000 (Smith estimate for deaths in capital; probably includes one-sided violence)
No best estimate.

1990-92:
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
High estimate: 25,000 deaths 1981-1992 from COW. No trend with the exception of 1988.
No best estimate.

1994:
Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Conflict #25 versus Arakan insurgents:
1948-88: Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1991:
Low estimate: 50
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.


Conflict #26 versus Mon insurgents:

1949-63: No information found on this conflict in isolation from other wars in Burma. Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1990:
Best and low estimate: 100 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1996:
Best and low estimate: 80 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Conflict #34 versus Kachin insurgents:

1949-50: No information specific to the Kachin conflict was found. Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1961-75:
Low estimate of 1,000 deaths per year from UCDP/PRIO coding rules. High estimate of 5,000 per year based on Smith (1999). No best estimate.

1976-82: Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.
1983-92:
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year from UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
High estimate: 9,000 total battle deaths or 900 per year based on COW estimate of 9,000 Kachin deaths 1983-95.
No best estimate.

Conflict #56 versus Karenni insurgents:
1957, 1992, 1996, 2005: No information found on this conflict in isolation from other wars in Burma. Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Conflict #67 versus Shan insurgents:
1959-63: No information found on this conflict in isolation from other wars in Burma. Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1964-70: Low estimate of 1,000 deaths per year and high estimate of 9,999 deaths per year from Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1972-73: Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.


1994: Low estimate of 1,000 deaths per year and high estimate of 9,999 deaths per year from UCDP. No best estimate.

1995-2001: Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

2002:
Best estimate: 170 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 60 (UCDP)
High estimate: 400 (UCDP)
2005:
Best estimate: 28 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 20 (UCDP)
High estimate: 128 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and low estimate: 54 (UCDP)
High estimate: 365 (IISS estimate for all conflicts in Burma)

2007:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 407 (IISS estimate for all conflicts in Burma)

2008:
Best and low estimate: 32 (UCDP)
High estimate: 100 (Project Ploughshares estimate for all conflicts in Burma)

Conflict #228 versus Wa insurgents:

1997: Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Other information:

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Burundi

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Burundi:

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<td>Burundi</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1965</td>
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Fatalities information for conflict #90, military coup in 1965 and subsequent executions and massacres:

(OnWar.com, 1999): “Establishment of First Burundian Republic 1965-66 … In the complicated sequence of events that followed the abortive coup, some 34 Hutu officers were executed in the first of a series of steps intended to give Tutsi elements unfettered control of the government.”

(Brogan, 1998): P. 28: “The first Hutu revolt occurred in October (1965); before it was suppressed, between 2,500 and 5,000 Hutu had been killed, including over 100 prominent officials and officers.”


(United Nations Economic and Social Council Commission on Human Rights: Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, 1985): “The Tutsi minority government first liquidated the Hutu leadership in 1965, and then slaughtered between 100,000 and 300,000 Hutu in 1972.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004): “December 1965 - BURUNDI …According to press reports, some 40 rebels and 10 loyalists were killed during the fighting, including several loyalist officers who were imprisoned and then machine-gunned to death by the rebels.”
… Thirty-four mutineers - five gendarmerie and two Army officers and 27 men - were shot on Oct. 21 at the Rwagasore sports stadium outside the capital after trial by court-martial; two other convicted men escaped while being taken to the place of execution. Seven more gendarmerie officers and two warrant officers were executed on Oct. 25, and 10 leading politicians on Oct. 27-28; virtually all those executed were Bahutu. … Disorders of a tribal character had meanwhile broken out in rural areas outside Bujumbura following the first executions of rebels on Oct. 21."

*Interpretation:*
Best estimate of 50 battle-related deaths from Keesing’s estimate of deaths “during the fighting.” Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths were coded based on the UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

*Fatalities information for conflict #90, civil war in Burundi 1991-92:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #735, “Burundi vs. Tutsi Supremacist” 1991: 3,000 state deaths and total deaths unknown.

(Africa Confidential, 1991b):
P. 6-7: “A spate of violent attacks in late November [1991]… leaving some 270 people dead. … Most of those killed were civilians, though the army suffered fairly heavily, with around 70 dead.”

(Africa Confidential, 1992):
“since the 23 November attacks by the extremist Hutu party Palipehutu, there has been a distinct rise in Tutsi extremism. In December, troops indiscriminately killed Hutu Civilians in Musagati and other northern areas…On 3 January, official figures were 550 people killed since 23 November, though a visiting European team said perhaps 3,000 could have died.”

(African Studies Center, 1995):
“Attacks by Paliphutu rebels in the northwest provinces of Cibitoke and Kayanza take place on November 23 [1991]. The government reports that over 270 people have been killed in fighting in Bujumbura. … Human rights groups estimate that 3,000 Hutu have been killed in army reprisals…”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004): “December 1991… According to government figures issued on Dec. 1 more than 270 people were killed in several simultaneous attacks by rebels on Nov. 23 … On Jan. 3, 1992, the Burundi government stated that the number of deaths since the November
uprising had risen to 551 ... By contrast, a group representing European human rights organizations which had returned from a 12-day visit to Burundi, maintained the same day that at least 3,000 people had been killed in reprisals by the army and paramilitary groups after the rebellion.”

(UCDP, 2009): Estimate 300 battle deaths in 1991. Coder’s note: “Approximately 300 deaths were reported in 1991. At least 70 of these were army deaths.” Estimate >58 killed in battle in 1992. Coder’s note: “The figure indicates the absolute minimum. The real death toll may be significantly higher.”

*Interpretation:*

The figure of 3,000 Hutu deaths from 1991-92, which was estimated by the European human rights organization, was used as a high estimate. However, this figure reflects significant amounts of one-sided violence as well as battle deaths.

1991:
Low estimate: 300 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,500 (based on African Studies Center report)
No best estimate.

1991:
Low estimate: 58 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,500 (based on African Studies Center report)
No best estimate.

*Fatalities information for conflict #90, civil war in Burundi, 1994-2006, 2008:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #745, “Burundi vs. Hutu of 1993” 1993-ongoing: 200,000 state deaths and an unknown total number of deaths.

2006: 145
2008: 154
By the end of 1999 as many as 200,000 Burundians had died in this conflict. In 1995, an estimated 10-15,000 died.

Independent media reports estimate that approximately 300,000 people have been killed since 1993. …

There were reports of hundreds killed in 2000 …

At least 2,500 people died in the fighting during 1998, with some reports suggesting many more.”

2003: 400 low, 800 high; at least 200 killed when FNL attacked suburbs in July
2004: 250 low, 300 high
2005: > 300
2006: 10 government, 23 rebels; 40 civilians; 38 missing (killed by intelligence agents). Implies up to 73 battle deaths.

SIPRI Yearbooks
SIPRI 1987-97: not included
(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1998):
Government vs. CNDD since 1994. Total deaths 1994-97 >1,000. Deaths in 1997: 800. Note saying that “Political violence in Burundi since 1993, involving other groups than the CNDD, has claimed a total of at least 100,000 lives.”

(Sollenberg, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999):
Government vs. CNDD since 1994, vs. Palipehutu since unknown. Total including 1998 >2,000. Deaths in 1998: 1,000. Note saying that “Political violence in Burundi since 1993, involving other groups than the CNDD, has claimed a total of at least 100,000 lives.”

(Seybolt and Uppsala Conflict Data Project, 2000):
Government vs. CNDD-FDD since 1998, vs. Palipehutu since unknown. Total deaths including 1999 >3,000. Deaths in 1999: >600. Note saying that “Political violence in Burundi since 1993, involving other groups than the CNDD-FDD, has claimed a total of at least 100,000 lives.”

(Seybolt, 2001):
Government vs. CNDD-FDD since 1998, vs. Palipehutu since unknown. Total including 2000 >4,000. Deaths in 2000: c. 1,000. Note saying that “Political violence in Burundi since 1993, involving other groups than the CNDD-FDD and Palipehutu, has claimed a total of at least 200,000 lives.”

(Seybolt, 2002):
Government vs. CNDD-FDD since 1998, vs. Palipehutu since unknown. Total including 2001 >5,000. Deaths in 2001: >1,000. Note saying that “Political violence in Burundi since 1993 is reported to have claimed a total of at least 200,000 lives. This figure includes deaths incurred by groups other than those listed above that are no longer active, deaths in intra-group fighting, as well as deaths that have not been classified as battle-related.”

(Wiharta and Anthony, 2003):
Government vs. CNDD-FDD since 1992/unknown, vs. Palipehutu-FNL since 1992/unknown. Total including 2002 >6,000. Deaths in 2002: 1,100. Note saying that “Political violence in Burundi since 1993 is reported to have claimed a total of at least 200,000 lives. This figure includes deaths incurred by groups other than those listed above that are no longer active, deaths in intra-group fighting, as well as deaths that have not been classified as battle-related.”

(SIPRI, 2004):
925 deaths in 2003; FNL causes 200 deaths in July
(SIPRI, 2005):
< 400 deaths in 2004

(UCDP, 2009):
Estimates:
1994: 200-800.
1995: 150-200. Coder’s note: “The figure indicates the absolute minimum. The real death toll may be significantly higher.”
1996: >250. Coder’s note: “The figure indicates the absolute minimum. The real death toll may be significantly higher.”
1997: 800. Coder’s note: “The figure indicates the absolute minimum. The real death toll may be significantly higher.”
1998: 1,000.
1999: 600.
2000: 1,000.
2001: 1,000-1,500.
2006: 137.
2008: Best estimate: 201, low estimate: 201, high estimate: 205

Interpretation:
The SIPRI yearbooks and Uppsala Conflict Database provide the only figures for this conflict that explicitly attempt to separate significant levels of one-sided and unorganized political violence from battle deaths in this conflict.

1994:
Low estimate: 200 (UCDP)
High estimate: 800 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1995:
1996:
Low estimate: 250 (UCDP; Coder’s note implies uncertainty as to upper bound)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1997:
Low estimate: 800 (UCDP; Coder’s note implies uncertainty as to upper bound)
High estimate: 1,000 (Based on IISS estimate of 7,500 deaths from 1997-2002)
No best estimate.

1998:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP; UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 2,100 (Based on IISS estimate of 7,500 deaths from 1997-2002; Project Ploughshares reports 2,500 deaths in 1998)
No best estimate.

1999:
Best estimate: 600 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 500 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 600 (UCDP)

2000:
Best estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 200 (Ploughshares report of at least “hundreds” killed)
High estimate: 1,000 (UCDP; also based on IISS estimate of 7,500 deaths from 1997-2002)

2001:
Best estimate: 1,000 (UCDP minimum)
Low estimate: 400 (Ploughshares’ report on civilian deaths)
High estimate: 1,500 (UCDP maximum; also based on IISS estimate of 7,500 deaths from 1997-2002)

2002:
Best estimate: 1,000 (Best and low estimates from UCDP; Project Ploughshares report lies within the range reported)
Low estimate: 460 (UCDP; low estimate through 2002 is 3,960 deaths)
High estimate: 1,300 (UCDP; also based on IISS estimate of 7,500 deaths from 1997-2002. High estimate of deaths through 2002 is 10,298. SIPRI’s estimate of 6,500 deaths including 2002 lies within the range defined by the low and high estimates.)

2003:
Best estimate: 938 (UCDP; similar to SIPRI)
Low estimate: 400 (Project Ploughshares’s low estimate; similar to IISS figures)
High estimate: 1,100 (UCDP)

2004:
Best and low estimate: 377 (UCDP; similar to Project Ploughshares and SIPRI)
High estimate: 1,000 (IISS)

2005:
Best and low estimate estimate: 284 (UCDP)
High estimate: 354 (UCDP; Project Ploughshares and IISS lie within the range defined by high and low estimates)

2006:
Best estimate: 137 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 73 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 145 (IISS)

2008:
Best estimate: 201 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 154 (IISS)
High estimate: 205 (UCDP)
Cambodia

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Cambodia:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>1966</td>
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<td>1977-78</td>
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<td>103</td>
<td>2030</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>Khmer Rouge, FUNK</td>
<td>1967-75</td>
</tr>
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<td>2320</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1975-77</td>
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<td>103</td>
<td>2030</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>KNUFNS</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>2030</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>Khmer Rouge, FUNCINPEC, KPNLF</td>
<td>1979-98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: The Khmer Rouge was deposed in January, 1979 by Vietnamese invasion

Fatalities information for conflict #97, conflict between Cambodia and Thailand in 1966:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004)
Report from September, 1967 says that “During 1966 over 300 frontier incidents occurred in which 320 people were killed or wounded, 151 of them by mine explosions.”

Interpretation:

No further information was found on this conflict. Keesing’s reports 320 KIA and WIA. 320 was used as a high estimate of battle deaths. The low estimate is 25 deaths, from UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #97, conflict between Cambodia and Thailand in 1977-78:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003): MID#1231 coded from 1975-6 with 1-25 dead on each side.
(This MID is possibly related, although the dates are different.)

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 174: “Thai military officials indicated that 111 border incidents had occurred in the first half of 1978 … About 120 fatalities resulted from this conflict, a number of them civilian.”
During 1977 Cambodian probes into Thai territory cost the lives of 173 Thais, including 117 civilians. Another 272 Thais were wounded and 48 abducted."

**Interpretation:**

Low estimate: 120 (from Bercovitch and Jackson)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules. 173 Thai deaths implied by Clodfelter, who gives no estimate for Cambodian deaths)
No best estimate.
No trend was coded.

**Fatalities information for conflict #103, Cambodian civil war from 1967-75:**

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #675, “Cambodia vs. Khmer Rouge of 1970” 1970-75: 185,000 total deaths, including 50,000 Cambodian state deaths, 500 state deaths from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 5,000 from the Republic of Vietnam and 500 from the United States.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 4.1A, line 73): Estimates of total battle-related dead in Cambodia 1970-75: 170,000 (low), 455,000 (middle), 650,000 (high).

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 141: Estimate 300,000 people dead

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1970-75, “NV and US intervene in civil war:” 78,000 civilian war-related deaths, 78,000 military war-related deaths, 156,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 646: Estimates 150,000 killed between 1970-75.
P. 689-690: “The last months of the conflict were the costliest for the army of the Khmer Republic. In January 1975 government KIAs numbered 2,400; for the first 20 days of February 1975 they totaled 1,857. Government casualties from January 1-April 17, 1975 totaled at least 10,000 killed, 20,000 wounded… Government military losses for all five years of the conflict are believed to total at least 50,000 killed … With Communist and civilian losses added, the number of war dead was probably in excess of 250,000. Some estimates that include those who succumbed to disease, starvation, and other war-related causes place the total number of civil war deaths at 600,000.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987):
Govt. vs. Khmer Rouge, KPNLF and ANS since 1970.
1970-78: 2,000,000-3,000,000 casualties. 1979-86: 24,000.

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988):

(Lindgren, Wilson and Wallensteen, 1989):

Interpretation:
The earliest SIPRI estimates seem to include the genocide. Brogan’s range of 700,000-1 million is more reasonable for war-related than battle-related deaths. Among battle-related death figures, the low figures are the COW estimate of 185,000 (with 56,000 military deaths) and the SIPRI 1989 estimate of 156,000 deaths (probably derived from 56,000 military deaths and 100,000 other deaths). Clodfelter estimates at least 250,000 dead, and proposes that the COW figure of 50,000 Cambodian military deaths is sufficient only for government, not Khmer Rouge, forces.

Low estimate: 185,000 (COW)
High estimate: 300,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)
Best estimate: 250,000 (Clodfelter; preferred because of detailed battle information)
Data was trended somewhat based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules and the information in Clodfelter.

Fatalities information for conflict #132, Cambodia vs. Vietnam from 1975-77:
Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #187, “Vietnamese-Cambodian” 1975-79: 5,000 Cambodian deaths and 3,000 DRV deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 692: “Fighting was restricted to border skirmishes for more than two years. … Cambodia admitted to 559 KIA in all of 1977 and losses of 470 KIA…during the period of escalated warfare, September 1977-January 7, 1978. According to the Pol Pot government, Vietnamese losses since September 1977 totaled 30,000 killed or wounded. A more reliable count puts Cambodian losses in 1977 at 2,500 killed and wounded, not including civilian losses and Vietnamese casualties at 1,000 military and 2,000 civilian fatalities or injuries during the year. Another neutral source calculated total Vietnamese deaths at the hands of the Cambodians at 5,000 since April 1975.”
P. 693: “Vietnam claimed that 30,000 of its civilians died in the border war 1975-8 that led to the all-out invasion of Cambodia.”

Interpretation:
COW codes 8,000 dead in the Cambodian-Vietnam border skirmishes, but with dates extending beyond the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia in 1978.
Low estimate: 999 total deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules imply 25-999 deaths per year and a total of less than 1,000 deaths for the entire conflict).
High estimate: 7,500 (Clodfelter suggests a high estimate of 5,000 Vietnamese killed and 2,500 killed and wounded on the Cambodian side, not including Cambodian citizens)
No best estimate and no trend coded.

Fatalities information for conflict #103, the Cambodian civil war 1978-98:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #702, “Cambodia vs. Khmer Rouge of 1978” 1978-91: 15,000 Cambodian state deaths, 25,300 Vietnamese state deaths, and 200,000 total deaths.
Conflict #747, “Cambodia vs. Khmer Rouge of 1993” 1993-97: 15,000 Cambodian state deaths, total deaths unknown.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 4.1A, line 381):
Estimates of total battle dead in Cambodia 1979-87: 45,000 (low); 60,000 (middle); 100,000 (high).

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 188: “This was a particularly brutal war - half a million people are thought to have died, many of them civilian. The Vietnamese army is estimated to have lost more than fifty thousand personnel.”

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1978-79, “Vietnam vs Cambodia:” 14,000 civilian war-related deaths, 51,000 military war-related deaths, 65,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 155: “Up to 100,000 people were killed in the Vietnamese invasion that began in December 1978, and in the Khmers Rouges’ retreat. The Vietnamese admit to losing 25,000 men killed during the occupation (1978-88). Perhaps 50,000-100,000 people have died as a result of the guerilla war since 1979.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 690: “…the debilitating guerilla warfare that had killed at least 150,000 Cambodians since 1979 (in addition to the tens of thousands who had died in refugee camps in Cambodia and Thailand…”
P. 692-693: “Indicative of the trailing off of hostilities was the casualty count provided by Khieu Samphan for Khmer Rouge forces. From December 1978 through May 1979 the Khmer Rouge lost 30,000 killed or wounded. But from June 1979 through February 1980 Khmer Rouge losses diminished to 2,000. Fighting did flicker on through 1980 … The Cambodian War had cost Vietnam at least 25,300 dead and 55,000 wounded. Another estimate places Vietnamese deaths in Cambodia from all causes as high as 520,000. Vietnam claimed that 30,000 of its civilians died in the border war 1975-78 that led to the all-out invasion of Cambodia.”
P. 693: “A fair estimate would probably fix the number of Cambodian dead as a result of the Vietnamese invasion and the Khmer Rouge retreat, 1978-79, at around 100,000, with another 100,000 attributed to the guerillas war from 1979 to 1989.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987):
Govt. vs. Khmer Rouge, KPNLF and ANS since 1970.
1970-78: 2,000,000-3,000,000 casualties. 1979-86: 24,000.

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988):
(Lindgren, Wilson and Wallensteen, 1989):

(Lindgren et al., 1990):

(Lindgren et al., 1991):


(UCDP, 2009): Estimates:
1989: >1000 deaths. Coder’s note: “In September, government sources announced that over 10 000 government troops had been killed in combat since 1979, while another 20 000 had died of diseases.”
1990: >100. Coder’s note: “Unclear to find reliable information. Government sources claim to have killed thousands of rebels, and the Khmer Rouge radio reported attacks killing over 1000 government troops. These claims could not be confirmed by independent reporting. The number of deaths is probably closer to 1000, than the lower threshold of 25. Possibly war.”

1991: >75. Coder’s note: “The government claimed to have killed over 400 guerrillas in January alone, but it was clear that the conflict activity became less intense compared to the previous year.”

1992: >25
1993: >200
1994: >25
1995: >25
1996: >25
1997: >50
1998: >25

**Interpretation:**

1978 – 1979 (Invasion of Vietnam period):
Best estimate: 65,000 (Eckhardt. Clodfelter’s estimate of Khmer Rouge losses from 1978-1979 as 30,000 and Vietnam’s at 25,300)
Low estimate: 16,800 (Based on SIPRI 1987 estimate of 24,000 deaths from 1978-1987, trended per UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 100,000 (Clodfelter, COW)

1980-1986:
Best estimate: 48,800 (Based on Brogan’s low estimate of 50,000 deaths in guerilla war after 1979. Coded without a trend.)
High estimate: 70,000 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 100,000 deaths in guerilla war up to 1989. Coded without a trend.)
Low estimate: 6,300 (Based on SIPRI 1987 estimate of 24,000 deaths from 1978-1987, trended per UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1987:
Best estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 10,000 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 100,000 deaths in guerilla war up to 1989. Coded without a trend.)
Low estimate: 900 (Based on SIPRI 1987 estimate of 24,000 deaths from 1978-1987 and UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1988:
Best estimate: 200 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 10,000 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 100,000 deaths in guerilla war up to 1989. Coded without a trend.)

1989:
Best and low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 10,000 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 100,000 deaths in guerilla war up to 1989. Coded without a trend.)

1990:
Best and high estimate: 1,000 (UCDP coder’s note)
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP)

1991:
Best and low estimate: 75 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (UCDP coder’s note)

1992:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 200 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1993:
For 1993 and on, preference was given to the UCDP figures, which are the most recent estimates available. The high estimate is based on COW.
Best and low estimate: 200 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,500 (Based on COW estimate of 15,000 deaths 1993-97. High estimate for 1993-98 totals 15,000. Coded without trend.)

1994:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,500 (Based on COW estimate of 15,000 deaths 1993-97. High estimate for 1993-98 totals 15,000. Coded without trend.)

1995:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,500 (Based on COW estimate of 15,000 deaths 1993-97. High estimate for 1993-98 totals 15,000. Coded without trend.)
1996:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,500 (Based on COW estimate of 15,000 deaths 1993-97. High estimate for 1993-98 totals 15,000. Coded without trend.)

1997:
Best and low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,500 (Based on COW estimate of 15,000 deaths 1993-97. High estimate for 1993-98 totals 15,000. Coded without trend.)

1998:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,500 (Based on COW estimate of 15,000 deaths 1993-97. High estimate for 1993-98 totals 15,000. Coded without trend.)

Other information:

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII. Country: Kampuchea, 1975-79. Victimized groups: Old regime loyalists, urban people, disloyal cadre, Muslim Cham. Number of victims: 800,000-3 million.

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Cameroon:

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<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
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<th>Territory</th>
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<td>1570</td>
<td>France</td>
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<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>1957-59</td>
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<td>158</td>
<td>2590</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>UPC</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>1960-61</td>
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<td>210</td>
<td>3130</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>3130</td>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Bakassi</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #57, Cameroon war of independence against the French 1957-59:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #433, “Cameroon” 1955-60: 32,000 UK deaths, 0 French deaths, total deaths unknown.

(Brogan, 1998): P. 645: 1955-60, 32,000 total dead.

(Wood, 1968: 13): 80,000 civilian casualties.


(Clayton, 1988):
P. 195-196: “Wide variety in the estimates of the numbers killed in the repression exists … a figure between 50 and 100 seems most likely as the upéciistes were more concerned with organization than with terror.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 619: “Rebel forces lost about 600 killed, 300 wounded, and 300 captured. Government security forces suffered approximately 1,000 total casualties, including 300 French soldiers and policemen. Included among the some 10,000 non-combatant casualties of the insurgency (one estimate goes as high as 32,000 total dead) were at least 250 government officials killed or injured.”

Interpretation:
The figure given by COW of 32,000 military fatalities for Great Britain is interpreted by other sources as an estimate for all fatalities. In general however, authors vary widely, and Clayton’s figure is quite puzzlingly as an extreme low outlier.

Best estimate: 11,700 (from Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 100 (from Clayton)
High estimate: 32,000 dead (from COW)

Fatalities information for conflict #158, civil war during 1960–61:

(Beti, 2001): “Estimates range from a minimum of 60,000 dead, according to the government, to 400,000, the number claimed by the leaders of the radical nationalist movement. It is well known that, as far such numbers are concerned, executioners minimize while victims maximize.”

Interpretation:
Sources for this civil war are quite scarce, and it is extremely difficult to distinguish battle deaths from one-sided violence.

Low estimate: 60,000 (Government figure)
High estimate: 400,000 (Opposition figure)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #158, attempted coup in 1984:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004)
“September 1984 - CAMEROON …
Fighting took place in Yaounde, the capital, from April 6-9, 1984, as troops loyal to President Paul Biya put down an attempted coup on the part of rebel elements in the Republican Guard. About 70 people were killed, according to official estimates (unofficial estimates giving a much higher death toll of between 500 and 2,000), and there was extensive material damage.”

(Africa South of the Sahara, 1985):
P. 303: In the early hourse of 6 April 1984 a large faction of the elite republican guard … attempted to overthrow Biya. … The official death toll was put at 70, including four civilians, but it is more likely that the true figure was several hundred and possibly as many as 1,000 killed.”

Interpretation:
Best Estimate: 500 (Keesing’s minimum independent estimate, along with judgement of Africa South of the Sahara of at least “several” hundred killed)
Low estimate: 70 (Official death toll, likely incorrect)
High Estimate: 1,000 (from Africa South of the Sahara)

Fatalities information for conflict #210, conflict between Cameroon and Nigeria in 1996:

Militarized International Disputes Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003): MID #4166 estimates 26-100 fatalities on each side of the conflict.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“February 1996 - CAMEROON
…Clashes between Cameroon and Nigerian troops in the Bakassi peninsula on Feb. 3-4 left two soldiers dead. …
May 1996 - CAMEROON
… Nigerian and Cameroonian forces clashed in the disputed Bakassi peninsula on May 3-6. …diplomatic sources said that more than 50 Nigerian soldiers had been killed and a number taken prisoner. No details of Cameroonian casualties were available.”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 76 (50 Nigerian deaths based on Keesing’s plus 26 Cameroon soldiers dead based on minimum set by MID)
High estimate: 200 (MID maximum)
No best estimate.
Central African Republic

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in the Central African Republic:

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<th>Side A</th>
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<td>222</td>
<td>3250</td>
<td>Central African Republic</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #222, civil war 1996-1997:

Keesing’s (2004) contains reports on this conflict in April, May, and June 1996; January, February, April, May, June, July, August, September and October 1997; and April 1998. The following is a summary of fatalities information contained in those reports:

1996:
- Up to 12 were killed in an army mutiny in Bangui on 18–20 April
- 43 people killed (11 soldiers and 32 civilians) between 18–28 May. (Fighting restarted on 18 May and French troops were deployed on 19 May)
- On 6 June a government of national unity was formed
- On 15 November an army mutiny took place at the Kasai camp and French forces were deployed; the reports do not specify whether fatalities occurred

1997:
- On 4 January three Africans and two French were killed in street disturbances
- On 5 January French troops killed 10 army mutineers at Kasai
- On 17 January further fighting between rebels and French troops killed one mutineer
- In February African peacekeepers arrived and a new government of national unity was announced on 18 February
- On 21–22 March fighting between mutineers and peacekeepers killed twenty
- Reports of possible clashes on 6–7 April
- On 10–11 April there was a renewed outbreak of fighting; the reports do not specify whether fatalities occurred
- ‘The apparent murder of a sergeant in the presidential guard and the mysterious deaths of three former army mutineers led to a tense situation in Bangui, the country’s capital, in the early days of May.’
- On 20 June a Senegalese peacekeeper was shoot by ex-mutineers
• On 20–24 June renewed fighting in Bangui killed up to 100, ‘including civilians apparently executed summarily by the ex-mutineers.’ A ceasefire was signed on 2 July. Leaders of the ex-mutineers return to Cabinet on 1 September.
• On 4 October French troops began to withdraw from the country

(UCDP, 2009):
1996: 25-999
1997: 25-999

(Fearon and Laitin, 2003): Included in list of armed conflicts causing at least 1,000 combat deaths

Interpretation:

2006:
Best estimate: 55 (Deaths reported in Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

2007:
Best estimate: 141 (Deaths reported in Keesing's)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #222, attempted coup in 2001:

For information on human rights situation in Central African Republic following the coup see Amnesty International (2001).

(Marshall and Jaggers, 2001):
“Ethnopolitical violence broke out in the wake of the failed coup as forces loyal to President Patasse sought to capture Koringba and dismantle his political apparatus. At least 59 people were killed and over 88,000 people displaced in the weeks following the coup attempt.”

(Reporters without Borders, 2002):
“The Central African Republic was the victim of a new coup attempt on 28 May 2001. For ten days the Central African Armed Forces (FACA) fought against soldiers of former president André Kolingba. The official death toll was about 60 but local human rights organisations say that over 200 people were killed.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“May 2001 - CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
… On May 28 rebel soldiers attacked the presidential palace in the capital, Bangui, in what was subsequently described as a failed coup attempt. At least 20 people died during the attack on President Ange-Félix Patassé’s residence and in subsequent fighting in south Bangui.
… June 2001 - CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Aftermath of failed coup
… Fighting again resumed in rebel strongholds in southern Bangui on June 5. … A report in The Times of June 8 … estimated that 300 people had died in the fighting and that some 50,000 people had been forced to flee their homes. The Economist of June 9 reported that government troops had executed both suspected rebels and civilians who had defied a curfew. There were also reports in the aftermath of the coup that members of Kolingba’s ethnic group, the Yakoma from the south of the country, were being targeted for reprisal attacks by militias…”

Interpretation:

Low estimate: 60 deaths (official figure)
High estimate: 300 deaths (May be a better estimate for total deaths including summary executions rather than battle deaths only)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #222, against forces of François Bozize in 2002:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“October 2002 - CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Rebel assault on Bangui
Rebel forces reportedly loyal to former armed forces chief of general staff Gen. François Bozize occupied a large part of northern Bangui, the capital of the Central African Republic (CAR), on Oct. 25. Some reports claimed that the rebels had been reinforced by troops from neighbouring Chad, to where Bozize had fled following his dismissal by President Ange-Félix Patassé in November 2001. However, the Chadian authorities denied any involvement in the unrest. According to The Economist of Nov. 2, the rebels held control of the north of the capital for five days before apparently being forced to retreat by troops loyal to Patassé.”
(Mack, 2004): Estimate 159 battle deaths in 2002. Note that “This is the official fatality total; there is no basis on which to create any other estimates.”

Interpretation:

Low estimate: 159 deaths (Mack)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #222, against forces of François Bozize in 2006:

(UCDP, 2009)
2006: Best and low estimate: 45; High: 173

Interpretation:
Other sources do not report battle deaths occurring in 2006 in the CAR.

Best and low estimate: 45 (UCDP)
High estimate: 173 (UCDP)
Chad

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Chad:

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<tr>
<th>ID</th>
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<th>Years</th>
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<td>RDL RAFD, FUCD, UFDD</td>
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<td>1989-94</td>
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<td>2550</td>
<td>Chad</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2005-08</td>
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<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>2670</td>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aozou strip</td>
<td>1987</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fatalities information for conflict #91, civil war from 1966-72, 1976-84, 1986-87:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #669, “Chad vs. Fronlinat of 1966” 1966-71: 246 Chadian state deaths and 35 French deaths out of 3,037 total dead.
Conflict #705, “Chad vs. Fronlinat of 1980” 1980-88: 3,500 Chadian state deaths, 200 French deaths, and 1,000 Libyan deaths out of 11,200 total deaths.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1A, lines 495-508): Total war dead 1965-87 estimated as: 25,000 (low), 30,000 (middle), 50,000 (high).


(Eckhardt, 1996):
1980-87, “Rebels vs Govt; Fr, Libya interv:” 2,000 civilian war-related deaths, 5,000 military war-related deaths, and a total of 7,000 war-related deaths.
1990-94, “Govt vs southern rebellion:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, a total of 2,000 war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 36: “About 50,000 Chadians and Libyans have been killed in the civil wars and foreign interventions since 1965.”
P. 38: Fighting as well as massacres on both sides after the collapse of the Government of National Unity in February 1979 killed between
10,000 and 20,000 people.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 129: Estimate from 1965-72 there were 3500 killed, including 50 French soldiers.
P. 181: Estimate from 1978 to June 1982 there were as many as 9,000 killed, including 300 Libyan and 9 French soldiers.
P. 205-206: Description of third Chad civil war and Chad-Libya conflict from mid-1982 to time of writing (1997)
P. 206: From mid-1982 to time of writing, estimate 25,000 people have died, including 2,000 Libyan and 9 French deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 613: “By 1969 Tombalbaye felt threatened enough to ask for French assistance. … By March 1971 French forces had lost 35 KIA. …
(French) evacuation was completed by June 16, 1971. … In April 1978 an upsurge of Frolinat violence prompted the Chad government into a
request for renewed French intervention. France sent 1,150 men in three days, and helped Chadian forces repel a major Frolinat attack on the
desert fortress of Salai. Casualties included 100 rebels killed; 5 government soldiers slain and 8 wounded; 2 French Foreign Legionnaires
killed.”
P. 613: “…accord broke down on February 12, 1979 … At least 500 people died in the hostilities, including 1 American and 4 French civilians.
… In early March, communal riots broke out in Moundou. …in two weeks as many as 10,000 people, most of them Muslims, were slain. The
anti-Muslim bloodbath continued in the south to the end of the year. Some reports indicate as many as 40,000 lives were lost in the pogroms.”
P. 613-614: “On March 21, 1980, the rival Muslim factions ruling N'Djamena clashed and a new civil war, involving northerners against
northerners wrecked Chad … The FAP and FAN battled sporadically for more than seven months in N’Djamena and elsewhere, during which
3,500 people were killed and 10,000 wounded. Then in November 1980 Muammar Qaddafi of Libya intervened on the side of the president. …
by mid-1981 as many as 1,000 of Qaddafi’s soldiers had died in Chad’s civil war. … The death toll in all of Chad’s civil wars and foreign
interventions since 1966 has certainly exceeded 50,000.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“More than 50,000 people have been killed since the conflict began in 1965. Approximately 6,000 of these deaths occurred after 1990. …”

SIPRI Yearbooks

(Goose, 1987):
Habre gov and Oueddadi forces vs. Libya and rebels since 1965. >21,000 fatalities.
(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988):
“In 1987 the war turned into a struggle between the combined forces of the Habré Govt. and Ouejdai against Libya, with France giving active support to the Chad Govt. After Libyan forces were defeated a ceasefire was agreed between Chad and Libya on 11 Sep. 1987. Libyan forces remain in the Aouzou area, and forces from Chad crossed the border into Libya, destroying considerable quantities of Libyan armor.”

1988 <100.


Interpretation:
Over the entire period, the SIPRI, Bercovitch and Jackson, and Leitenberg estimates are reasonably close to each other, and agree roughly with the Brogan and Clodfelter estimates if the latter are adjusted downward to exclude the estimated deaths in the massacres of 1979. Uppsala conflict coding rules imply at least 1,000 fatalities per year, which is above the consensus figures here.

1966-72, 1976-84, 1986-87:
Low estimate: 14,237 (COW; no trend)
High estimate: 44,000 (Project Ploughshares’ total of 50,000 less 6,000 since 1990; no trend)
Best estimate: 27,200 (SIPRI 1990 gives total of 28,000 less 800 in 1989; no trend)

Fatalities information for conflict #154, conflict between Chad and Nigeria in 1983:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003): MID #3066 notes between 26-100 Nigerian casualties and 251-500 Chadian casualties.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 213: “…serious military clashes from April to July 1983. More than 370 soldiers are thought to have been killed…”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
December 1983 - CHAD
“Over 70 soldiers were killed in fighting in the islands in late April, and on May 16 the New Nigeria newspaper claimed that over 300 Chadian troops had been killed in a Nigerian counter-attack.”

**Interpretation:**
Best estimate: 370 fatalities from Keesing’s, Bercovitch and Jackson  
Low estimate: 277 (MID minimum)  
High estimate: 600 (MID maximum)

**Fatalities information for conflict #166, conflict between Chad and Libya in 1987:**

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosh and Palmer, 2003): MID #3635 notes zero French deaths, fatalities for Chad and Libya coded as unknown.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate approximately 250 killed

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 617: Description of Chadian-Libyan Border War, 1987, including casualty figures for many of the major battles of the war.  
P. 617: “By the time a cease-fire ended the border war on September 11, Libya had lost 7,500 killed and 200 captured in the first nine months of 1987. Chad’s casualties barely surpassed 1,000.”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 41: “By the end of March [1987], Chad claimed to have killed 3,603 Libyans and captured 1,165, with losses of 35 Chadians killed.”  
P. 42: “The OAU organized a ceasefire, which took effect on 11 September 1987. By American calculations, Khadafy had lost one-tenth of his army, 7,500 men killed.”

**Interpretation:**
High estimate: 8,500 (from Clodfelter, Brogan)  
Low estimate: 250 (from Bercovitch and Jackson)  
Best estimate: 8,500 (from Clodfelter, Brogan; supported by the detailed information each presents for losses in various battles)

**Fatalities information for conflict #91, civil war from 1989-94:**
SIPRI Yearbooks


(UCDP, 2009):

*Interpretation:*

1989:
Best estimate: 800 deaths (SIPRI)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1990:
Best and high estimate: 5800 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 1000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1991:
Best estimate: 200 fatalities (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1992:
Low estimate: 300 (UCDP)
High estimate: 600 (UCDP)
No best estimate.
1993 and 1994:
Fatalities information was not available. Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. The best estimate is coded as unknown.

Fatalities information for conflict #91, civil war from 1997-2002:

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“Total: More than 50,000 people have been killed since the conflict began in 1965. Approximately 6,000 of these deaths occurred after 1990. … The number of conflict deaths [in 2002] likely exceeded 50 as civilians continued to be targets for both rebel and government forces. … The death toll for 2001 was much lower than 2000 due to the reduction in fighting between government and rebel troops. … The death toll for 2000 was in the hundreds with claims that at least 413 government soldiers and more than 120 rebels lost their lives. … At least 65 people were killed, and possibly hundreds more, in 1999. … At least 110 people died in the conflict in 1998, mostly civilians caught in pre-May attacks.”


(UCDP, 2006):
2001: Best estimate of fatalities is 100.
2002: 418 (best); 392 (low); 435 (high).

Interpretation:

1997:
Best estimate: 100 (IISS annual data)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1998:
Best estimate: 110 (Project Ploughshares)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1999:
Best estimate: 65 (Project Ploughshares)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

2000:
Best estimate: 553 (Project Ploughshares)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

2001:
Best estimate: 100 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

2002:
Best estimate: 418 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 392 (UCDP)
High estimate: 435 (UCDP)

Fatalities information for conflict #91, civil war from 2005–08:

(IISS, 2006, 2009):
2005: 110, almost all from clash between Chad soldiers and RDL in December.
2006: 1400
2007: 1044
2008: 447

(Ploughshares, 2006, 2009):
2005: > 100
2006: > 300 civilians
2007: > 1000

(UCDP 2009):
2005: Estimates 100 deaths as best estimate. No high and low estimates.
2006: Low estimate: 1250; Best estimate: 1250; High estimate: 2623
2007: Low estimate: 69; Best estimate: 69; High estimate: 311. Coder’s note: “The difference between the best and high estimate is due to varying figures given to most of the battles taking place during the year. This is a low estimate and unconfirmed reports stated that ‘hundreds’ had died and some even ‘thousands.’ However, scarcity of reliable sources means that these figures are not part of the UCDP coding.”

2008: High estimate: 920; Best estimate: 713; Low estimate: 713

*Interpretation*

2005:
Best and low estimate: 100 (UCDP)
High estimate: 110 (IISS)

2006:
Best estimate: 1400 (IISS)
Low estimate: 1250 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2623 (UCDP)

2007:
Best estimate: 1044 (IISS. Based on UCDP coding notes, their figures are very conservative.)
Low estimate: 69 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1044 (IISS)

2008:
Best and low estimate: 713 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1000 (IISS)
Chile

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Chile:

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<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
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**Fatalities information for conflict #125, military coup in 1973:**

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #688, “Chile vs. Pinochet Led Rebels 1973:” 100 state deaths and a total of 8,000 deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1973-73, “Military coup; US intervenes:” military and civilian war-related not available, 5,000 total war-related

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 646: Chile’s “Dirty War” 1973-90: 20,000

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.
Country: Chile, 1973-76. Victimized groups: leftists. Number of victims: 5,000-30,000.

(Lopez, 1988):
P. 515: “Within the first 6 months of assuming power, the government interrogated and detained over 60,000 persons, with estimates of extrajudicial murders varying from 1 to 7,000.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 719: “By the military’s own admission at least 1,500 leftists had been killed or executed during the coup. Another 700 disappeared after the junta took power. …According to opposition sources, on the first day of the coup 3,000 people died violently in Chile, 800 of them in the capital. … Altogether, according to this probably inflated count, 14,800 Chileans were killed, 5,900 of them in Santiago, along with 100 soldiers who remained loyal to the constitutional government and 400 men of the military junta set up by General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. … Official figures released in 1998 for the Pinochet coup was 2095 Chileans killed in the overthrow of the Allende government and 1102 disappeared.”
Interpretation: Summary executions and persons disappeared in the period following the coup are not considered battle-related deaths.
Best estimate: 2,095 (Official 1998 Chilean government figure for deaths during the coup)
High estimate: 3,000 (Opposition estimate reported in Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIIO coding rules)
China and the Taiwan Strait

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in China and the Taiwan Strait:

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<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
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<td>1180</td>
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<td>China</td>
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<td>1770</td>
<td>China</td>
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N.B.: Uppsala/PRIO codes a level 3 conflict between China and Taiwan in 1954. However, no conflict is coded in 1955, during which fighting continued and an invasion of Taiwan took place.

N.B.: Uppsala/PRIO code a conflict between China and India in 1967. No record of these events was found. However, there may have been more than 25 battle deaths in this conflict in 1965, which is not coded as a year of active conflict.

Fatalities information for conflict #3, Chinese civil war, 1946-49:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #632, “China vs. Communists of 1946” 1946-50: 1 million state deaths and an unknown total of deaths.

(Rummel, 1991, Table 7.4, line 37): Estimates of: 500,000 (low), 1.2 million (middle), 4 million (high).

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1946-50, “Comms vs Kuomintang: US interv:” 500,000 civilian war-related deaths, 500,000 military war-related deaths, 1 million total war-related deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1946-50, “Civil war:” 5 million civilian war-related deaths, 1.2 million war-related military deaths, and a total of 6.2 million war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 47: Estimate 100,000 people killed

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 695: “The PLA put its losses in dead and wounded for the twelve months from June 1946 to June 1947 at 357,000.”
P. 696: “The PLA casualties between June 1947 and June 1948 totaled 542600 killed or wounded. Kuomintang losses in the 24 months from June 1946 to June 1948 were 1,450,000 killed or wounded and 1,640,000 missing or taken prisoner.”
P. 696: “Operations in Manchuria, 1945-48, cost the Chiang Kai-Shek government 3 million killed, wounded, missing, and captured.”
P. 696: “The climactic battle of the Chinese Civil War…was the Battle of the Hwai Hai (also called the Battle of Suchow), fought November 6, 1948-January 12, 1949. … Nationalist losses numbered 250,000 killed or wounded…The PLA losses were never reported but surely must have approached 100,000. Total battle deaths on both sides exceeded 100,000.”
P. 697: “Communist casualties in dead and wounded for the twelve months from June 1948 to June 1949 were 533,300, slightly less than the previous twelve months. … The PLA in June 1950 numbered 5 million strong. Since June 1949 it had suffered an additional 89,600 casualties, making a total since June 1946 of 1,522,500 killed or wounded. The Nationalists since June 1948 and to the end of 1949 had lost 571,610 killed or wounded…Total battle deaths for both sides was at least 1,200,000.”

(Wortzel, 2003):
P. 59: “Liang Xingchu’s three divisions fought a pitched defensive battle from October 23 to 25 (1948) against five nationalist divisions that had air and artillery support. The action at Heishan cost the 10th Column 10,000 casualties, about the strength of a division, of which 6,000 casualties were taken in the first day of the battle. …The strength of the Nationalist forces was reduced by a total of about 1 million men between early July 1948 and November of the same year…[including defections, wounded and POWs]”
In the Beiping-Tianjin Campaign from November 21, 1948, through January 31, 1949: “The forces of the People’s Liberation Army suffered heavy casualties in the effort to secure the cities … There were, for example, almost 40,000 casualties at Zhangjiakou (also called Kalgan) alone. PLA forces in turn, however, killed, wounded, or captured some 520,000 Nationalists during the campaign.”

Interpretation:
Bercovitch and Jackson’s figure is far lower than other sources. Wortzel’s detailed military history does not venture a total figure for battle deaths but it does lend support to larger estimates. Clodfelter’s figure of 1.2 million fatalities is within the range of figures presented by all authors and based on his relatively detailed account of battle losses on both sides. 1.2 million was taken as a best estimate; Clodfelter’s information on KIA and WIA by year was also used to trend the data. A very conservative low estimate of 100,000 deaths was made based on Bercovitch and Jackson, and a high estimate of 2 million deaths was made based on Brogan and COW’s estimate of 1 million deaths among only state forces. These estimates were also trended according to Clodfelter’s information.

Fatalities information for conflict #18, Chinese conflict with Taiwanese Insurgents in 1947:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #634, “China vs. Taiwanese” 1947: 1,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1947, “Taiwan vs China:” civilian deaths not available, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 1,000 total war-related deaths.

(Harff and Gurr, 1988): Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII. China, Feb.-Dec. 1947, vs. Taiwanese nationalists: 10,000-40,000 killed.

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 697: “The revolt began on February 27, 1949, with riots in Taipei that killed 25 people and injured 1,000. … Although probably no more than 100 government officials were slain and 440 Nationalist soldiers and policemen killed or wounded, the count of the dead among the Taiwanese in the month-long rebellion may have reached as high as 18,000. The despotic Kuomintang, governor, Chen Yi, had 70 young Formosan dissidents executed for their role in the rebellion.”

Interpretation:
Clodfelter lists 540 state deaths, considerably less than the COW figure of 1,000. Figures of 18,000-40,000 people killed in the rebellion may include one-sided violence.

Best estimate: 1,000 (COW coding interpreted as a reasonable estimate for battle deaths on all sides)
Low estimate: 540 (minimum based on state casualties)
High estimate: 18,000 (Clodfelter)

Fatalities information for conflict #35, conflict between China and Taiwan in 1949-50:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 65-6: The CCP shelled islands in Amoy (Xiamen) harbor in October 1949, and then launched an amphibious assault on Quemoy (Kinmen) in late October, which was unsuccessful, and undertook the conquest of Hainan Island in May 1950. Raids and bombings continued until late 1952.

(Li, 2003):
P. 148: “Ye was the 10th Corps commander during the disastrous failed invasion attempt against Jinmen in 1949 and had lost three regiments totaling 9,000 men on the beaches of Jinmen.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 698: “Quemoy had already resisted one mainland attempt at conquest during the civil war of 1945-49. On October 27, 1949, Chen Yi’s Third Field Army had landed 27,000 men onto the island from rubber rafts and sampans. But this force was nearly annihilated; 13,000 were killed or drowned and 7,000 taken prisoner.”

(Di, 2003):
P. 78: The PLA “occupied Fuzhou, Fujian’s capital city, on August 15, 1949, won control of southern Fujian by late September, and seized the island city Xiamen (Amoy) on October 17. More than 100,000 GMD troops were annihilated in the campaign. Among the remaining GMD troops, about 20,000 retreated to the Jinmen (Quemoy) Islands … the 28th Division under the 10th Army Corps landed at Jinmen on October 25. … After three days of fierce fighting, three PLA regiments with more than 9,000 soldiers were lost.”
P. 82-83: “On May 1 (1950), the Fourth Field Army occupied Hainan Island after annihilating more than 30,000 GMD troops. … On May 11, the PLA’s 10th Army Corps attacked Dongshan Island, the second largest island off Fujian. Of some 5,000 GMD troops on the island, about 2,000 were annihilated and 3,000 retreated to Taiwan.”

Interpretation:

1949:
Uppsala/PRIO coding begins in September 1949, presumably with the actions at Jinmen. Clodfelter puts the Chinese losses at Jinmen at 13,000, Li and Di each estimate them at 9,000. GMD losses are not reported, although they were probably lighter.
Low estimate: 9,000 (Li, Di)
High estimate: 26,000 (Clodfelter’s estimate of PLA losses, doubled to include a very high estimate of GMD losses)
No best estimate.

1950:
Di’s estimate is 30,000 GMD killed at Hainan and 2,000 GMD killed at Dongshan. Uppsala/PRIO coding rules imply a much smaller conflict.
Low estimate: 25 (Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
High: 64,000 (Di’s estimate of 32,000 GMD killed, doubled to include a very high estimate of PLA losses)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #35, conflict between China and Taiwan 1954:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #50, 1953-56: 26-100 Chinese deaths, 26-100 Taiwanese deaths, and no US or Korean deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 76-77: On 3 September 1954 mainland China began a massive bombardment of Quemoy Island. In January 1955 Chinese forces took the Tachen islands. The United States did not intervene, and few fatalities resulted.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 698: “Communist China attempted in the fall of 1954 the conquest of the offshore islands in the Taiwan Strait … In September Mao’s guns opened on the Nationalist garrisons on the offshore islands. … Two US military advisers were killed … On January 18, 1955 … 5,500
Communist troops, backed by 20 small warships and 210 aircraft, waded ashore onto tiny Yikiangshan Island off the coast of Chekiang Province. The 720 Nationalist defenders put up a valiant fight, resisting for three days and to the last man, and taking 1,200 Communist soldiers, killed or wounded.”

(Li, 2003):
P. 147-148: “…May 15 (1954) … The troops landed at Toumen first, and then at Tianshan (Tian”ao) and Jiangershan (Jiang”er”ao), without meeting much resistance. They eliminated the GMD garrison, capturing sixty prisoners … At 0652 on May 18, four GMD bombers sank the PLA Navy escort ship *Ruinjin*, and its crew of ninety-six was lost. But the PLA successfully defended the occupied islands.”
P. 150: “Two American officers were killed by the heavy shelling on this first day [in September 1954] … All told, according to PLA records, between September 22 and November 20 PLA artillery shelled Jinmen more than seventy times and the GMD garrison suffered some 800 casualties.”
P. 154-155: “On January 18, 1955, the ZFC launched the Yijiangshan landing campaign. The GMD lost its entire garrison of 1,086 men, including 567 dead and 519 prisoners. The PLA suffered 1,592 total casualties: landing troops had 393 dead and 1,037 wounded; naval forces had 23 dead and 139 wounded.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“sept. 18-25, 1954… A heavy bombardment of the Nationalist-held island of Quemoy, lying in the Formosa Straits about four miles off the port of Amoy, was opened on Sept. 3 by Communist batteries on the mainland … It was stated that the Quemoy garrison had suffered some casualties, and that two US officers who were on the island at the time had been killed …”
“January 8-15, 1955… The Nationalist-held Tachen Islands (off the Chekiang coast, about 200 miles north of Formosa) were heavily raided by Communist aircraft from Nov. 1-4, 1954 and on Jan. 10, 1955. … On Nov. 14 the Chinese Nationalist destroyer-escort *Tai Ping* (1,400 tons) was sunk by four Communist torpedo-boats near the Tachen Islands, about 40 of her crew of 200 being lost.”
“March 26-April 2, 1955… Following the repeated and heavy Chinese Communist air attacks on the Tachen Islands the Chinese Nationalist Government announced on Feb. 6 that the islands were being evacuated. … An attempted assault by 40 Communist motorized junks on Kaoteng Island (in the Matsu group) was driven off on March 4, whilst on March 14 the Nationalists announced that their aircraft had destroyed three Communist gunboats and seven armed junks west of Wu Yu Island, southeast of Amoy; apart from these engagements there was little activity during February and March except exchanges of gunfire between Quemoy and the mainland opposite and Nationalist air attacks on Communist shipping.”

*Interpretation:*

1954:
Best and high estimate: 1,000 deaths coded (Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
Low estimate: 800 (PLA estimate of GMD casualties from September to November)

The Uppsala/PRIO coding has omitted the January 1955 invasion of the Tachen Islands, which accounted for additional losses on both sides.

Fatalities information for conflict #35, conflict between China and Taiwan in 1958:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #173 is coded between China, Taiwan, USA and USSR from 1958-58, with an unknown number of battle deaths for all participants.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 92: On 23 August 1958, the Chinese resumed bombardment of Quemoy. On 7 September US warships were deployed as escorts for Taiwanese supply convoys. Estimate 1,500 people killed.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 698: “In August 1958 …Communist Chinese unleashed a massive artillery siege against these offshore remnants … The heavily dug-in garrison reported only 239 casualties for that first day. …The Kuomintang garrisons had suffered about 2,000 casualties. Civilian losses were 101 killed …”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 1,500 (Bercovitch and Jackson)
High estimate: 2,101 (Clodfelter)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #39, conflict between China and Tibet in 1950:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #426, “sino-Tibetan war of 1950” 1950-1: 1,000 state deaths and an unknown total number of deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1950-51, “China vs. Tibet”: 2,000 civilian war-related deaths, military deaths not available, 2,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 69: “About two thousand people were killed in the invasion and subsequent crackdown.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 697-8: “Communist losses in the conquest were about 2,000 killed, 3,000 missing, 2,000 frozen to death and 3,000 dead of disease. Almost all of the battle casualties suffered by the Chinese were inflicted by the irregulars from the mountain tribes, not by the totally ineffective Tibetan army. The army of Tibet lost only 180 killed or wounded… Several thousand mountain irregular and noncombatants were slain.”

*Interpretation:*

Best and high estimate: 4,000 (Based on Clodfelter, includes 2,000 PLA killed and “several” thousand Tibetans, including irregulars and noncombatants, which was estimated as at least 2,000. 2,000 is also the number Bercovitch and Jackson estimate killed in the invasion and crackdown).
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

*Fatalities information for conflict #39, conflict between China and Tibet in 1956 and 1959:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #648, “China vs. Tibetans, 1956-9: 40,000 state deaths and 100,000 total deaths.

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1956-59, “Tibetan revolt,” 60,000 civilian war-related deaths, 40,000 military war-related deaths, 100,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 82-3: Estimate 100,000 dead including as many as 40,000 Chinese soldiers.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 177: “The Tibetan peasantry began to resist, and in 1955, a guerilla movement started… In one battle in 1958, Kampas wiped out a Chinese garrison of 3,000 men. …The Dalai Lama claims about 65,000 Tibetans were killed.”
(Stewart-Smith, 1964):
P. 209-10: “March 17th, 1959 Chinese mortars opened fire on the Norbulingka summer palace, where the Dalai Lama was staying. This triggered off a full-scale revolt. ... Out of Lhasa’s total population of between sixty to seventy thousand some five to ten thousand Tibetans were estimated to have been killed.”
Pg 223: Estimates 200,000 total casualties from 1956-9.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 699: “In May 1956, in what was called the Kanding Rebellion, it was reported that as many as 2,000 Chinese troops were ambushed and massacred by rebel tribesmen. The Chinese exacted revenge by bombing the monastery in Batang, where up to 2,000 monks and pilgrims were killed.”
P. 699: “Widespread rebellion in the spring and summer of 1954 by some 40,000 tribesmen was put down only with the killing of most of the rebels either in battle or in executions and massacres. … Khampa guerilla groups continued operations until 1973, by which time Chinese security forces had suffered from 65,000 to 75,000 casualties.”
P. 699: “The gravest threat to Chinese rule came in March 1959 when revolt broke out in Lhasa … killed at least 2,000 and as many as 10,000 people in Lhasa. After a week of heavy fighting, the rebellion was crushed. As many as 65,000 Tibetans were killed in the uprising and the death toll, with the purges and executions that followed included, may have reached 87,000. At least 2,000 Chinese soldiers lost their lives in the revolt and in the guerilla resistance that continued to the end of the year.”

Interpretation:

1956:
Best and high estimate: 4,000 deaths (2,000 Tibetan and 2,000 PLA dead per Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1959:
The Dalai Lama’s estimate of 65,000 Tibetans killed in the uprising is also used by many sources, and probably includes both one-sided (purges and executions) and battle violence. No estimate of only battle fatalities is available. There is also wide disagreement over the number of Chinese troops killed. COW and Bercovitch and Jackson both estimate 40,000 KIA, while Clodfelter suggests up to 70,000 KIA and WIA over all of 1950-73, but with just 2,000 dead in 1959. The higher figures seem somewhat unlikely given the disparity in Tibetan and Chinese military power.
Best estimate: 12,000 (10,000 Tibetans (Stewart-Smith) + 2,000 Chinese soldiers)
Low estimate: 4,000 (2,000 Tibetans (Clodfelter) + 2,000 Chinese soldiers)
High estimate: 105,000 (65,000 Tibetans + 40,000 Chinese soldiers)

Fatalities information for conflict #77, conflict between China and India in 1962:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #160, “Assam” 1962: 500 Chinese deaths, 1,353 Indian deaths, yields a total of 1,853 deaths.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, lines 1652-1656): Estimates of 2,000 to 4,500 dead.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 113: “China lost more than a thousand troops during the fighting, while India lost two thousand.”

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1962, “China vs India at border”: 1,000 civilian war-related deaths, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 2,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 189: “At that point, on 21 November 1962, China announced a unilateral ceasefire … India had 1,383 dead, 1,696 missing and 3,105 taken prisoner, 26 of whom died in captivity. Chinese casualties were probably about half that.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 662-663: Indian losses were “1,423 KIA, 1,655 MIA and presumed dead, 3,078 WIA, and 3,968 POWs. About 290 of the killed or missing were lost in Ladakh. Twenty-six of the Indian POWs died in captivity. Chinese battle deaths were estimated at over 1,000.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“December 1962… Definitive Indian casualty figures were not known for some time after the cease-fire, but on Dec. 12 Mr. Nehru announced that the Indian Army had suffered 6,765 casualties since Oct. 20, comprising 197 killed, 291 wounded, and 6,277 listed as missing … No casualty figures were given by the Chinese, although Peking statements described Chinese losses as “very heavy”…”

(Feng and Wortzel, 2003):
P. 188: “According to PLA records from the archives, Indian casualties during the war were 4,897 killed or wounded and 3,968 captured. (Indian records differ on this: the Indian Defense Ministry in 1965 showed 1,383 Indian soldiers killed, 1,696 missing in action, 3,968 captured, and
1,047 wounded.) In comparison, the number of PLA casualties in the war was quite low: 722 Chinese soldiers killed and 1,697 wounded. In addition, no soldier of the PLA was captured…”

Interpretation:
The official Indian figure is 1,383 dead, provided by Feng and Wortzel, and is quite close to Clodfelter’s estimate, as are the two sources’ estimates for MIA. Estimated 1,383 Indian KIA. The PLA archival figure, provided by Feng and Wortzel, is 722 Chinese KIA.

Best and low estimate: 2,105 (1,383 Indian KIA + 722 Chinese KIA)
High estimate: 4,078 (1,423 Indian KIA (Clodfelter) + 1,655 Indian MIA and presumed dead (Clodfelter) + 1,000 Chinese battle deaths (Clodfelter))

Fatalities information for conflict #77, conflict between China and India in 1967:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #623, July 1965 to 28 November 1966. 26-100 Chinese deaths and 26-100 Indian deaths.
MID #2096, 25 April 1965, no fatalities.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 189: “In September 1967, after a period of increasing tension between the two governments … China shelled Indian positions on the Sikkim border at the Natu La Pass. Ten Indian soldiers were killed. China accused the Indians of repeated violations of the frontier, and of killing 25 Chinese soldiers. The incident was not taken any further.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 128: “India asserted that on September 19, 1965, Chinese border guards had abducted and killed three Indian policemen, also accusing China of having kidnapped three-man border patrols in Ladakh and Sikkim on September 26.”
P. 128: China began to shell Indian positions in Sikkim, and India responded. About 10 people were killed in total.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“December 1965… On Sept. 16 the Chinese Government sent India an ultimatum … asserting that since September 1962 Indian troops had built 56 military works on the Chinese side of the Sikkim border or on the border itself, intruded into Chinese territory, kidnapped the inhabitants, and
seized their livestock. … The Indian Government, in a Note of Sept. 24, accused the Chinese of abducting and killing three Indian policemen in Ladakh on Sept. 19, and on Sept. 27 alleged that a three-man Indian Army patrol had been abducted by Chinese troops from the Indian side of the Sikkim border on the previous day. The Chinese Government replied to the first Note on Oct. 2, repeating its allegation that Indian troops had intruded into Chinese territory on Sept. 19, and to the second on Oct. 18, claiming that the three soldiers had been arrested on the Chinese side of the border. Two more Indian Notes, both delivered on Oct. 3, alleged that Chinese troops had crossed the Sikkim border on the previous day and opened fire, and called upon the Chinese authorities to desist from provocations on the frontier.”

Keesing’s does not include any reports of India-China border conflict in 1967.

Interpretation:
The MID data records some conflict in both 1965 and 1967, although they find only 1 fatality in 1967 but more significant losses in 1965. Oddly, events reported in Keesing’s and Bercovitch and Jackson taking place in 1965 seem to be dated to 1967 in Brogan. These may have been very similar incidents, or there may be an error in Brogan’s account.
Sources estimate between 10 and 35 deaths in the 1967 incident. The precise incidents referred to by Uppsala/PRIO could not be identified, however.
Low estimate: 10 deaths
High estimate: 35 deaths
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #108, conflict between China and Burma in 1969:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #352 estimates 101-250 Burmese deaths and codes Chinese deaths as unknown.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 138: “Between May and October 1969, Burmese units occasionally clashed with Chinese troops … as many as 300 fatalities resulted from these skirmishes.”

Interpretation:
The Bercovitch and Jackson total estimate of 300 battle deaths is not reasonable given the magnitude of Burmese deaths estimated by the MID coders.
Best and high estimate: 300 battle deaths.
Low estimate: 101 (MID minimum)
Fatalities information for conflict #109, conflict between China and the USSR in 1969:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #349 estimates 101-250 Chinese deaths and 26-100 Soviet deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 646: China vs. USSR in 1969, 1,000 deaths

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1969-69, “China attacks USSR border:” civilian deaths not available, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 1,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 114: Estimate 3,000 Soviet and Chinese troops killed

(Robinson, 2003):
P. 213: “The Chinese asserted that the battles of March 2, 15, and 17 overall claimed 17 Soviet tanks and PACs and about 260 Soviet dead and wounded (according to post-Soviet Russian estimates, 58 were killed and 94 wounded). Available Chinese sources do not provide estimates of Chinese casualties. Their silence indicates that the casualties were considerable, although the initial Soviet estimate of 800 has not been repeated in latter-day Russian analyses.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 700-701: “…March 2, 1969 when a Soviet patrol was ambushed … Thirty-one Russians were slain … Two weeks later, March 14-15, the Russians retaliated… According to Soviet claims, at least 800 Chinese soldiers…were killed or wounded. The Soviets lost only 58 killed and 94 wounded, March 2-21. In May and June the fighting shifted 2,000 miles west from the Ussuri River to Central Asia and the border between Kazakhstan and Sinkiang. The biggest clash of all came near Lake Zhalanashkol along this border on August 13 … The Soviets admitted to only 2 border guards killed and 5 wounded.”

Interpretation:

MID suggests a maximum of 350 deaths. Robinson reports that post-Soviet records estimate 58 Russian KIA. The Soviet estimate of 800 Chinese KIA and WIA (reported in Clodfelter) has been called into question in Robinson.
Best estimate: 308 (58 Soviet deaths (Clodfelter) + 250 Chinese deaths (MID))
Low estimate: 127 (MID minimum)
High estimate: 3,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)

Fatalities information for conflict #138, conflict between China and Vietnam in 1978:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004)
Keesing’s Record of World Events contains a report filed in February 1979 consisting of government reports, generally obviously unreliable and contradictory, and some independent sources. The reports suggest an approximate total of 55 people killed in 1978, with at least 30 of these deaths independently verified.

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 55 deaths (Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 30 deaths (Keesing’s low estimate)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #138, conflict between China and Vietnam in 1979:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #193, “sino-Vietnamese” 1979: 13,000 Chinese deaths, 8,000 Vietnamese deaths, yields a total of 21,000 dead.

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #3007 estimates a minimum of 2,000 deaths and sets no maximum.

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1979, “China vs. Vietnam:” 9,000 civilian, 21,000 military and 30,000 total war-related deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1979, “China vs. Vietnam:” 9,000 civilian war-related deaths, 26,000 military war-related deaths, 35,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 264: In 1979: “About 20,000 people were killed, by Chinese count, an equal number on each side.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 188-189: China invaded in February 1979 with 75,000 troops, and withdrew in March 1979, totally defeated. Total deaths estimated at 50,000. Fighting continued along the border until 1982.

(Ryan, Finkelstein and McDevitt, 2003):
P. 11: “… [The PLA] may have suffered one-forth killed among the 100,000 troops sent into combat, but they still pressed the attack and inflicted almost as many casualties on the Vietnamese.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 694: “The Vietnamese had lost, according to Chinese claims, 30,000 killed… China lost, according to Vietnamese claims, 26,000 killed…Neutral observers estimated a more realistic total of about 10,000 battle deaths for each side and 75,000 total casualties for both sides (although a former Chinese intelligence officer claimed that China took 58,000 casualties alone).”

(Kenny, 2003):
P. 231: “Besides the tactical problems cited, the slowness of the attack, and reported heavy losses of as many as 25,000 [PLA] dead … While limited by logistics problems, the artillery appears to have caused the lion’s share of Vietnamese casualties, estimated at over 20,000 dead. … Casualty figures from both sides are suspect, but Western observers generally agree that the PLA lost some 20,000 to 30,000 dead. In a well-documented doctoral dissertation, Paul Marks estimates PLA killed-in-action at 26,000.”

SIPRI Yearbooks

1979: 21,000 military, 9,000 civilian.
1980-87: 1,000 total.

1979: 21,000 military, 9,000 civilian.
1980-87: 1,000 total.
1988 <100.
Interpretation:

Bercovitch and Jackson give a figure of >50,000 killed, which is roughly the same as the governments’ summed claims of 56,000 as well as the estimate contained in Kenny. COW and Clodfelter agree on about 20,000 total forces lost by China and Vietnam although they differ on the ratio of losses, and SIPRI records 21,000 military deaths and 9,000 civilian deaths in 1979.

Best estimate: 45,000 (26,000 based on Kenny’s study of Chinese casualties + 10,000 Vietnamese military deaths from COW and Clodfelter + 9,000 Vietnamese civilians based on SIPRI)
High estimate: 55,000 deaths (46,000 military deaths from Kenny + 9,000 civilian deaths)
Low estimate: 30,000 (from SIPRI)

Fatalities information for conflict #138, conflict between China and Vietnam from 1980-1:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #3102 estimates 101-250 Chinese deaths and 101-250 Vietnamese deaths.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events includes a report filed in October 1981 that reviews Chinese and Vietnamese relations. The report is primarily based on government diplomatic reports, which are flatly contradictory and clearly unreliable. Overall, they do suggest, however, that 1981 was a year of more intense conflict than 1980. Vietnam claimed “hundreds” were killed in 1980. In 1981, China claimed 216 Chinese deaths. In addition, the governments reported many incidents for which no casualty figures were given.

SIPRI Yearbooks


Interpretation:

1980:
Best estimate: 200 (Based on the Vietnamese estimate of up to “hundreds’ killed, reported in Keesing’s)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
1981:
Low estimate: 216 (Chinese claim reported in Keesing’s)
High estimate: 500 (MID maximum)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #138, conflict between China and Vietnam from 1983-84:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #3614, April 1983, is estimated with 26-100 Chinese deaths and 26-100 Vietnamese deaths.

SIPRI Yearbooks


(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 216: Estimate as many as 3,000 people killed 1984-87.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events includes a report filed in September 1984 that reviews Chinese and Vietnamese relations. The report is primarily based on government diplomatic reports, which are often contradictory. For 1983, the Chinese government claimed losses of 270 KIA and WIA. Overall, in 1984 the governments’ combined reports of battle deaths totaled over 500.

Interpretation:

1983:
Low estimate: 52 (MID minimum)
High estimate: 200 (MID maximum)
No best estimate.

1984:
Best estimate: 500 (Government’s combined reports of battle deaths from Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Fatalities information for conflict #138, conflict between China and Vietnam in 1986-88:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #208, “sino-Vietnamese” 1987: 1,800 Chinese deaths, 2,200 Vietnamese deaths, yields a total of 4,000.


(Eckhardt, 1996): 1987-87, “China vs. Vietnam-border:” civilian war-related deaths not available, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 1,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 216-7): “Clashes continued along the border until March 1987, with particularly heavy fighting in October 1986 and January 1987 … hostilities tapered off after 1987.” Estimate 3,000 fatalities 1984-87, most of them Chinese.

(Brogan, 1998): P. 265: “In January 1988, the Chinese sent a military force ashore in the Spratlys, and on 14 March, Chinese navel vessels sank a Vietnamese gunboat there. Vietnam reported three men killed and 74 missing.”

SIPRI Yearbooks


1986:
Low estimate: 25 (Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1987:
Low estimate: 898 (SIPRI suggests <1,000 killed 1980-1987. Low estimate totals 1,000 killed in that period)
High estimate: 4,000 (COW)
No best estimate.

1988:
Best estimate: 100 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 25 (Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
Colombia

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Colombia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>FARC, ELN, EPL, Faction of FARC, Faction of ELN, MAO, Quintin Lame</td>
<td>1964-2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #92, Colombian civil war, 1964-2005:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #719, “Colombia vs. M-19 and Drug Lords’ 1949-ongoing: 31,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1986-95, “Govt. vs. rebels, civilians:” 36,000 civilian war-related deaths, 9,000 military war-related deaths, 45,000 total war-related deaths

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1980-89, “government vs. Left opposition:” 8,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 30,000 people killed since 1965

(IISS, 2009): Estimate a total of 33,100 deaths between 1997 and 2008.
1997: 3000
1999: 1000
2000: 3000
2001: 3000
2002: 3500
2003: 3000
2004: 3500
2005: 3500
2006: 2100
2007: 3500
By early 1989 it was estimated that 76,000 Colombians had been killed since 1965 in Colombia’s guerilla war. An estimated 35,000 people had died in the insurgency and counter-insurgent violence in the decade from 1988-98.

Gives annual battle-related casualties in the Colombian conflict, 1946-85.

Record victimization according to the perpetrating forces, and combatant versus civilian casualties. Also includes a discussion of measures of levels of narcotrafficking, kidnapping revenues, and intensity of violence.

1988-2002: 47,420 casualties attributed directly to the conflict
2003: ELN = 272, FARC = 1,133, EPL = 10, Total = 1,883
2004: ELN = 252, FARC = 941, EPL = 26, Total = 1,621
2005: ELN = 101, FARC = 544, EPL = 3, Total = 1,020

The authors modify the detailed CERAC dataset so that the annual numbers correspond to those that would fall under UCDP’s definition of battle deaths. The figures are as follows:

1988: 1,098
1989: 692
1990: 1,069
1991: 1,120
1992: 1,471
1993: 1,112
1994: 1,044
1995: 937
1996: 1,092
1997: 1,150
1998: 1,412
1999: 1,326
2000: 1,469
2001: 1,463
2002: 2,504

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“Total: At least 50,000 people have died in the conflict since 1964. … An estimated 3,500 were killed this year [2002], many of them civilians.”

2001: “A total of over 2,500 conflict-related deaths.”

2000: “1,200 people were killed according to the Colombian Commission of J urists, the vast majority at the hands of paramilitaries.”

1999: “Between 2,000 and 3,000 political and extrajudicial killings.”

1998: “Between 2,000 and 4,000.”

(Grupo de Información y Estadística, Ministerio de Defensa (Colombia), 2009):
2004: 1,966 insurgents; 590 government forces; 558 paramilitaries. Total 3,114.
2005: 1,870 insurgents; 717 government forces; 332 paramilitaries. Total 2,919.
2006: 2,165 insurgents; 594 government forces; 198 paramilitaries. Total 2,957
2007: 2,058 insurgents; 437 government forces; 636 paramilitaries. Total 3,131
2008: 1,184 insurgents; 373 government forces; 380 paramilitaries. Total 1,937.

(Observatorio de Programa Presidencial de Derechos Humanos, 2009): Figures for civilians correspond to individuals killed in groups of four (4) or more. The overlap of politically-motivated killings with homicides from ordinary criminal activities makes it difficult to arrive at a more complete figure.

2003: 680 civilians
2004: 263 civilians
2005: 252 civilians
2006: 193 civilians
2007: 128 civilians
2008: 169 civilians

SIPRI Yearbooks

(Goose, 1987): Government vs. M-19, FARC, other rebels since 1978, 1,000 deaths per year


(Lindgren et al., 1990): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978, vs. EPL since 1977, vs. Quintin Lame since unknown. Total fatalities 1980-89: >7,500, 1989: <2,000. Note reads: “Politically related deaths (i.e., excluding deaths resulting from fighting between Govt and cocaine cartels).”

(Lindgren et al., 1991): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978, vs. EPL since 1977, vs. Quintin Lame since unknown. Total fatalities 1980-90: >8,500, 1990: 1,000. Note reads: “Politically related deaths (i.e., excluding deaths resulting from fighting between Govt and cocaine cartels). This figure does not include Oct.-Dec. 1990.”


(Amer et al., 1993): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978. 1980-92: >11,000 deaths. 1992: 1,600 military deaths. Note reads: “The figure is 3,600 (mil. and civ.) if activities of death squads and paramilitary groups are included. This figure was 3,700 in 1991.”

(Wallensteen and Axell, 1994): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978. Total deaths unknown. Deaths in 1993: 1,500 military. Note reads “In the last three decades the civil war of Colombia has claimed a total of some 30,000 lives.”

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1995): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978. Total deaths unknown. Deaths in 1994: <1,000. Note reads “In the last three decades the civil war of Colombia has claimed a total of some 30,000 lives.”

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978. Total deaths unknown. Deaths in 1995: <1,000. Note reads “In the last three decades the civil war of Colombia has claimed a total of some 30,000 lives.”

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1997): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978. Total deaths unknown. Deaths in 1996: 400-1,000. Note reads “In the last three decades the civil war of Colombia has claimed a total of some 30,000 lives.”

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1998): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978. Total deaths unknown. Deaths in 1997: 500-1,000. Note reads “In the last three decades the civil war of Colombia has claimed a total of some 30,000 lives.”
(Sollenberg, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978. Total deaths unknown. Deaths in 1998: 1,000-1,500. Note reads “In the last three decades the civil war of Colombia has claimed a total of some 30,000 lives.”

(Seybolt and Uppsala Conflict Data Project, 2000): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978. Total deaths unknown. Deaths in 1999: >1,000. Note reads “In the last three decades the civil war of Colombia has claimed a total of some >30,000 battle deaths.”


(Seybolt, 2002): Government vs. FARC since 1978, vs. ELN since 1978. Total deaths including 2000: >40,000. “This figure includes deaths in the fighting since 1964 in which parties other than those listed above also participated.” Deaths in 2001: >1,000. “The total number of deaths from political violence in 2001, also involving right-wing paramilitary groups, is at least 2,000-3,000.”

(Wiharta and Anthony, 2003): Government vs. FARC since 1978/1991, vs. ELN since 1978/1991. Total deaths including 2002: >41,000. “This figure includes deaths in the fighting since 1964 in which parties other than those listed above also participated.” Deaths in 2002: >1,000. “The total number of deaths from political violence in 2002, also involving right-wing paramilitary groups, is at least 1,500.”

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: 152-732. Coder's note: “The Counting of events results in 152 deaths - Even considering inflation of the number of deaths on the report the conflict does not reach 1000 battle-related deaths - An accurate approximation might range from 400 to 600 battle-related deaths.”
1990: 395 - 1229. Coder's note: “The Counting of events results in 395 deaths - The OAS report, presumably unbiased, counts 1229 battle-related deaths only between the guerrillas and the governmental forces - Is not unlikely to guess that the conflict in fact reached 1000 battle-related deaths.”
1991: 578-1,364. Coder's note: “The counting of events results in 578 battle-related deaths - The OAS estimates 1364 deaths related exclusively to the clashes between the army and the guerrilla organisations - It is likely that the conflict exceeded 1000 battle-related deaths.”
1992: Best estimate 762; Low estimate 541, High estimate 1,478. Coder's note: “A review of the events shows a total of 762 battle-related deaths. Although it is possible that the real figure is much higher (considering that a partial report on July states that the government had killed over 600 guerrillas). It is likely that the real numbers did not reach 1000 battle-related deaths.”
1993: 627. Coder's note: “The counting of events shows a total of 627 battle-related deaths. The figure is likely to be an underestimation of the real magnitude of the conflict. A governmental report states that 993 guerrillas were killed by the army during that year. Even considering that the figure might be inflated it possibly reaches a 1000 deaths including army loses.”
1994: 470. Coder's note: “The counting shows 470 battle-related deaths this year. This is a low figure considering that governmental reports in May calculate 339 guerrillas killed by the government from January to May. A report gives the figure 1243. Another likely estimate could be around 600 or 700 battle-related deaths.”

1995: 258-1,105. Coder's note: “The counting of battle-related deaths shows 258 deaths. Although a governmental report states that in that year the guerrillas alone killed due to the armed conflict were 657, is possible that governmental and opposition deaths together do not sum 600.”

1996: 817. Coder's note: “The counting shows 817 battle-related deaths this year. Governmental reports state that, without taking into consideration battle-related soldiers, 1300 people died in clashes between the government and the guerrillas. The real figure is possibly just above 1000 battle-related deaths.”

1997: 467. Coder's note: “The events show a total of 467 battle-related deaths over the year. However a governmental report stating that there were over 1703 deaths directly related to the conflict might allow to say that the conflict reached the 1000 battle-related deaths, even if the figures are inflated.”

1998: 939-1,138. Coder's note: “The counting of events shows 939 battle-related deaths. A governmental report states that the figure was of 1158. It is very likely that the conflict reached 1000 battle-related deaths.”

1999: 827-1,837. Coder's note: “The counting of events shows a total of 827 battle-related deaths. The governmental report states that there were 949 battle-related deaths. An accurate estimate should be around 900. Except from the clashes between FARC and the government, FARC has also been involved in several joint clashes with ELN vs. the government. At least 25 deaths belong to the ELN dyad.”

2000: 938-1,153. Coder's note: “The counting of events shows 938 battle-related deaths. It is possible that the figure is slightly higher reaching just over 1000.”

2002: Low estimate: 1,156. High estimate: 1,374. Best estimate: 1,156.

Interpretation:

Giraldo’s (2005) estimate was compiled based on Uppsala’s definitions of battle deaths, as opposed to intracommunal violence, one-sided violence, or deaths related to criminal violence, and is therefore used for up to 1985 as the best and high estimate. Restrepo et al.’s (2006) data
was used as a best and low estimate from 1988 to 2002; IISS figures were used as a high estimate for the same period. Codings after 2002 are as follows:

1964-1985:
Best and high estimates from annual data in Giraldo (2005).
Low estimate of 25 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1986:
Best estimate: 300 (Implied by totals in SIPRI 1988, 1989)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1987:
Best estimate: 200 (SIPRI)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1988:
Best and high estimate: 1,098 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 200 (SIPRI)

1989:
Best estimate: 692 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 152 (UCDP)
High estimate: 732 (UCDP)

1990:
Best estimate: 1,069 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 395 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,229 (UCDP)

1991:
Best estimate: 1,120 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 578 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,364 (UCDP)

1992:
Best estimate: 1,471 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 541 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,478 (UCDP)

1993:
Best and high estimate: 1,112 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 627 (UCDP)

1994:
Best estimate: 1,044 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 470 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,243 (UCDP)

1995:
Best estimate: 937 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 258 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,105 (UCDP)

1996:
Best estimate: 1,092 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 817 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,300 (UCDP)

1997:
Best estimate: 1,150 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 467 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,703 (UCDP)

1998:
Best and high estimate: 1,412 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 939 (UCDP)

1999:
Best estimate: 1,326 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 827 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,837 (UCDP)

2000:
Best and high estimate: 1,469 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 938 (UCDP)

2001:
Best and high estimate: 1,463 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 1,032 (UCDP)

2002:
Best and high estimate: 2,504 (Restrepo et al.)
Low estimate: 1,374 (UCDP)

2003:
Best estimate: 2,576 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths)
High estimate: 3,256 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths plus Observatorio de Programa Presidencial de Derechos Humanos estimate of civilian deaths, some of which may be one-sided violence)
Low estimate: 475 (UCDP)

2004:
Best estimate: 3,114 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths)
High estimate: 3,377 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths plus Observatorio de Programa Presidencial de Derechos Humanos estimate of civilian deaths, some of which may be one-sided violence)
Low estimate: 1,210 (UCDP)
2005:
Best estimate: 2,919 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths)
High estimate: 3,171 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths plus Observatorio de Programa Presidencial de Derechos Humanos estimate of civilian deaths, some of which may be one-sided violence)
Low estimate: 1,389 (UCDP)

2006:
Best estimate: 2,957 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths)
High estimate: 3,150 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths plus Observatorio de Programa Presidencial de Derechos Humanos estimate of civilian deaths, some of which may be one-sided violence)
Low estimate: 205 (UCDP)

2007:
Best estimate: 3,131 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths)
High estimate: 3,259 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths plus Observatorio de Programa Presidencial de Derechos Humanos estimate of civilian deaths, some of which may be one-sided violence)
Low estimate: 1,389 (UCDP)

2008:
Best estimate: 1,937 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths)
High estimate: 2,106 (Colombia Ministry of Defence estimate of combatant deaths plus Observatorio de Programa Presidencial de Derechos Humanos estimate of civilian deaths, some of which may be one-sided violence)
Low estimate: 254 (UCDP)
Comoros

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Comoros:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>2680</td>
<td>Comoros</td>
<td>Presidential guard</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>3160</td>
<td>Comoros</td>
<td>MPA</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #167, coup in 1989:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“November 1989 - COMOROS … President Ahmed, 70, was killed at the presidential palace in Moroni (the capital) in the early hours of Nov. 27. … In the ensuing battle the guard defeated the regular Army and seized control of the islands.”

“President Abdallah was shot to death on the night of November 26-27, reportedly while asleep in his residence, the Beit el Salama (House of Peace). … on November 29, the real reasons for the assassination emerged when Denard and the GP seized control of the government in a coup. Twentyseven police officers were killed, hundreds of people were arrested, and all journalists were confined to their hotels. … Denard surrendered to French forces without a fight on December 15.”

*Interpretation:*
Best and high estimate: 27 battle deaths (Library of Congress)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #213, civil conflict in 1997:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“September 1997 - COMOROS … However, on Sept. 5 it emerged that at least 30 Comoran troops had been killed in the operation, mainly in fighting in Mutsamudu, the island’s capital, as well as a number of civilians. On Sept. 7 France Info radio put the number of soldiers killed at 40. Some 16 Anjouan civilians were said to have died in what appeared to have involved a significant defeat of the government’s forces. …”

*Interpretation:*
Best and high estimate: 56 (Keesing’s suggests 40 state military deaths and 16 civilian/rebel deaths). Low estimate: 40 (Keesing's estimate of state losses)
Congo (Brazzaville)

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Congo (Brazzaville):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>3170</td>
<td>Congo (Brazzaville)</td>
<td>FDU</td>
<td>1993-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>3170</td>
<td>Congo (Brazzaville)</td>
<td>Ninjas, Cobras, Cocoyes, Ntsiloulous</td>
<td>1998-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #214, civil war in 1993-94:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004): Review of reports filed in Keesing’s Record of World Events led to an estimate of 121 deaths in 1993 and 54 deaths in 1994.

(UCDP, 2009):
Estimate of battle-related deaths are as follows
1993: 98. “A comment is warranted on the great difference between the number 98 and the number more commonly related in texts on the conflict, which is around 2000. The discrepancy is caused by two factors. The first is that other sources count all deaths during the year, whereas only deaths occurring after the parties were properly organised, i.e. after October, are included here. The second factor explaining the discrepancy is that the number related here only concern “battle-related deaths.” It is very possible that the number is too low, but only reports stating clearly that a certain militia fought the government forces, are included. Thus, all surrounding violence, which was of great magnitude during the year, is excluded.”
1994: 61. Database includes a similar comment on the low nature of the estimate.

Interpretation:

1993:
Best estimate: 98 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (Based on notes in UCDP database)
No best estimate, as UCDP figure is noted by coder to likely to be too low.
1994:
High estimate: 1,000 (Based on notes in UCDP database)
Low estimate: 220 (UCDP)
No best estimate, as UCDP figure is noted by coder to likely to be too low.

Fatalities information for conflict #214, civil war in 1997:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #760, “Congo vs. Denis Sassou Naguemo” 1997-97: 4,000 state deaths, 10,000 total deaths.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 10,000 total deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002, 630): Estimates 10,000 dead.

(IISS, 2003): Estimate 6,000 deaths from 1 August 1996 to 31 July 1997 and 10,000 deaths from 1 August 1997 to 31 July 1998.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“June 1997 - CONGO … A French soldier was killed and five others were hurt as they attempted to evacuate foreign residents from a building during fighting on June 7… Reports suggested up to 10,000 casualties, although French military sources estimated the number of deaths by the end of the month at 2,000. … July 1997 - CONGO … Local radio reported on July 23 that more than 4,000 people had been killed in the violence which had erupted on June 5 when the army had surrounded Sassou-Nguesso’s house in an attempt to disarm his supporters. … August 1997 - CONGO … Fighting between government forces loyal to President Pascal Lissouba and supporters of former President Denis Sassou-Nguesso escalated during August.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1998): Govt of Congo, FDU, Angola (note reading “Armed action was primarily carried out by the Cobras, the private militia of FDU leader Sassou-Nguesso”) since 1997. Total deaths including 1997: 4,000-7,000. Dead in 1997: 4,000-7,000.

(UCDP, 2009): Estimate 4,000-9,999 deaths.
Interpretation:

Low estimate: 4,000 (UCDP low estimate)
High estimate: 10,000 (from COW, IISS)
Best estimate: 7,000 (SIPRI, supported by Keesing’s estimate of 4,000 dead by the end of July only)

Fatalities information for conflict #214, civil war in 1998-99:

(IISS, 2003):
1 August 1998 to 31 July 1999: 2,000 combat deaths
1 August 1999 to 31 July 2000: 500 combat deaths

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“November 1998 - CONGO … Some 40 people, including six priests, all members of a mediating committee on a peace mission to the Pool region, were massacred on Nov. 14. … At least 20 of Kolelas’s supporters were killed by government security forces following the massacre … December 1998 - CONGO … Throughout December Congolese forces loyal to President Denis Sassou-Nguesso, supported by Angolan troops, fought with Ninja militiamen loyal to Bernard Kolelas, who had briefly served as Prime Minister in September-October 1997.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Reports filed in Keesing’s throughout 1999 note continued fighting, and record at least 168 fatalities, although most events simply have no fatalities information recorded.

(UCDP, 2009):
For 1998 estimate 1,700-2,200 deaths.
1999: 600 deaths.

Interpretation:

1998:
Low estimate: 1,700 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,200 (UCDP; IISS)
No best estimate.
1999:
Best estimate: 600 deaths (IISS and UCDP estimates are similar).
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

*Fatalities information for conflict #314, civil war in 2002:*

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004): Reports in Keesing’s Record of World Events in April and June 2002 and March 2003 note at least 164 deaths in 2002.

(IISS, 2003):
1 August 2001 to 31 July 2002: 300 combat deaths
1 August 2002 to 31 July 2003: 80 combat deaths

(UCDP, 2009):
Estimates for fatalities in 2002: 116 (best); 115 (low); 130 (high).

*Interpretation:*
Best estimate: 116 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 115 (UCDP)
High estimate: 164 (Keesing’s)
Costa Rica

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Costa Rica:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>1270</td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>National Liberation Army</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #27, civil war in Costa Rica, 1948:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #637, “Costa Rica vs. National Union Party” 1948: 2,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1948, “Natnl Un. vs. Govt; US intervenes:” 1,000 civilian war-related, 1,000 military war-related and 2,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 1,000 deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 701: “Government forces lost 1,500 killed. The victorious rebels claimed that they lost only 67 killed in battle, but this is suspiciously low.”

Interpretation:
Best and high estimate: 2,000 deaths. (Battle-related information in Clodfelter about government losses corroborates the Lever Sigard and COW estimates of 2,000 total battle deaths.)
Low estimate: 1,000 deaths (Bercovitch and Jackson; UCDP/PRIO coding rules).
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in the Ivory Coast:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>3280</td>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>MPCI, MJP, MPIGO</td>
<td>2002-04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #225, civil war in Cote D’Ivoire, 2002:

(IISS, 2003): Estimates 1,500 combat-deaths from mid-2001 to mid-2003

(UCDP, 2009):
Estimates for fatalities in 2002: 611 (best); 533 (low); 638 (high).

(Ploughshares, 2008): Reports of isolated events totaling 390 killed.

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 611 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 390 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 1,500 (IISS)

Fatalities information for conflict #225, civil war in Cote D’Ivoire, 2003-04:

2003:

(IISS, 2006): 500 military and civilian killed in fighting with MJP and MPCI

(Ploughshares, 2006): Between 1,000 and 1,500 killed

(SIPRI, 2004): Some 100 people killed in fighting between rebels and government in March
(UCDP, 2009): 600 deaths (best estimate); 346 (low); 966 (high).

(Human Rights Watch, 2003b): Government supported Liberian militia killed at least 60 civilians in Bangolo, March 7; rebel forces (MJP) launched counter attack in Dah killing more than 40

2004:

(IISS, 2006): 300 deaths estimated

(Ploughshares, 2006): 275 low, 600 high

(SIPRI, 2005): Report some 100 people killed in fighting between rebels and government forces on March 7

(UCDP, 2009): 54 deaths (best estimate); 54 (low); 85 (high).

(IRIN, 2004a): 350-500 reportedly killed in two days of protest by opposition parties that led to street violence but government insists death toll was 37 (March 29).

(Amnesty International, 2006a): According to a local human rights organization, 200 people were killed in these protests organized by PDCI when police fired on demonstrators on March 25.

Interpretation:

2003:
Best estimate: 600 (UCDP; similar to IISS figure)
Low estimate: 346 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,500 (Ploughshares)

2004:
Best estimate: 54 (Most other estimates probably include protestor deaths in March, which are not considered battle deaths)
Low estimate: 54 (UCDP Best and low estimate)
High estimate: 600 (Ploughshares)
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Cuba:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>Movimiento 26 De Julio: 26th of July Movement</td>
<td>1956-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>1450</td>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>National Revolutionary Council</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #45, civil war in 1953:

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 704: “…attack by Castro and 134 supporters on the Moncada Barracks in Santiago in the former Oriente Province (now Santiago de Cuba Province) on July 26, 1953. … [Government soldiers] easily repelled the rebel attacks at a cost of 19 killed. At least 68 rebel prisoners were brutally murdered after the battle (only 3 rebels were killed in the actual attack on the Moncada Barracks and 6 more were slain in a simultaneous attack delivered by 28 more of Castro’s men against the barracks in Bayamo).”

Interpretation:

Best and high estimate: 28 killed (From Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #45, civil war in 1956-58:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #652, ‘Cuba vs. Castorites’ 1958-9: 5,000 state deaths and an unknown total number of deaths.

(Brogan, 1998): 5,000 total deaths.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, line 726): Estimates of deaths from 1956-59: 898 (low), 2,000 (middle), 5,000 (high).

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate at least 5,000 dead from late 1955 to 1959

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 705: “Many estimates settle on 20,000 dead, but this figure is probably too high. However, the figure of 2,000 killed, arrived at by Hugh Thomas in his authoritative history of Cuba...is probably too low; he estimates government army battle deaths at only 300, for example.”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 898 (Rummel)
High estimate: 5,000 (COW, Brogan, Eckhardt)
No best estimate; no trend coded.

Fatalities information for conflict #45, civil war in 1957-8 (The Bay of Pigs Incident):

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 103-4: “…the Bay of Pigs (April-May 1961)...In all, approximately 300 people were killed in the failed invasion.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 706: “A total of 114 of the invaders were killed, along with the 4 American airmen. Castro admitted to 161 dead including civilians among his forces, but it is probably that his losses were considerably heavier. … But the exiles’ claims of 1,250 Castro troops killed, 400 later dying of wounds and 2,000 wounded are clearly too high.”

Interpretation:
Totaling Clodfelter’s figures, including the official Cuban estimate of casualties, gives a total of 279 deaths. This is just slightly less than the Bercovitch and Jackson estimate. Clodfelter cautions this is probably too low an estimate.

High estimate: 1,368 deaths (Based on Cuban exile information in Clodfelter).
Low estimate: 279 deaths (Based on official Cuban loses in Clodfelter).
No best estimate.
Cyprus

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Cyprus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>EOKA</td>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>1955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>2270</td>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Northern Cyprus</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #51, conflict between the United Kingdom and EOKA in 1953:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 80-81: “There were frequent Turkish retaliatory attacks, and in the most serious fighting between the two ethnic communities in 1958, 115 people were killed. … Approximately one hundred British soldiers and more than five hundred civilians died”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 409: British losses were 105 soldiers and 51 police killed, “the vast majority by accident - 21 soldiers were killed in a forest fire. … A total of 238 civilians were also killed, of whom 203 were Greek Cypriots, most of them EOKA fighters. In the first serious fighting between Greeks and Turks, in 1958, 115 people were killed.”
Total deaths, excluding those killed in forest fire: 373

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 598-599: “The British lost 142 killed - 104 soldiers, 12 policemen, and 26 noncombatants - and 684 wounded. … The Greek Cypriot population lost 366 killed, but only 106 of them died at the hands of the British and 60 were slain by Turkish Cypriots. The other 200 were killed by EOKA for opposing Cypriot independence or for simply being apathetic to the cause. … The Turkish Cypriots lost 84 killed, 22 of whom were policemen, and 150 wounded.”
Total deaths: 592

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 373 (Brogan)
High estimate: 592 (Clodfelter)
No best estimate.
Fatalities information for conflict #127, war between Cyprus and Turkey in 1974:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #184, “Turco-Cypriot” 1974: 500 Cypriot state deaths, 1,000 Turkish state deaths, and 1,500 total deaths.
NB: COW coding rules imply that these figures do not include civilians

(Brogan, 1998): 5,000 deaths estimated.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): “More than 5,000 people lost their lives in the conflict, including a thousand Turkish troops…”

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1974-74, “Natl Guard; Turkey invades:” 3,000 civilian war-related deaths, 2,000 military war-related deaths, 5,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 603: “At least 4,500 Greek Cypriots, soldiers and civilians, were killed and 1,614 more were missing and believed dead. About 1,000 Turkish Cypriots were slain. Turkey’s military forces lost 300 killed…”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 5,000 (Multiple sources)
High estimate: 7,414 (Clodfelter)
No best estimate.
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Zaire):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>1680</td>
<td>Congo/Zaire</td>
<td>Katanga</td>
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<td>1960-62</td>
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<td>1690</td>
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<td>Independent Mining State of South Kasai</td>
<td>South Kasai</td>
<td>1960-62</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>Congo/Zaire</td>
<td>CNL</td>
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<td>1964-65</td>
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<td>1860</td>
<td>Congo/Zaire</td>
<td>Opposition militias</td>
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<td>Congo/Zaire</td>
<td>AFDL, Rwanda, Angola</td>
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<td>RCD, RCD faction, MLC, Rwanda, Angola</td>
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<td>2007-</td>
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<td>254</td>
<td></td>
<td>Congo/Zaire</td>
<td>BDK</td>
<td></td>
<td>2008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflicts #68, 69 and 86, civil war 1960-65:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #655, “Zaire vs. Katanga and Leftists’ 1960-5: 100,000 Congolese state deaths, 50 Belgian deaths, total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1950-65, “UK, Belgium intervene, Katanga:” military and civilian war-related deaths not available, 100,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 97-98: Estimate more than 110,000 killed, including 50 Belgians and 126 UN peacekeepers.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 645: Estimates 100,000 killed
(Harff and Gurr, 1988): Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 620: “On July 11, 1960, Moise Tshombe had declared … Katanga … to be independent…September 13-20, 1961…the UN troops in the province lost 20 KIA…the gendarmes lost 79 killed; 152 Africans and 14 European civilians were slain. … December 5-18, 1961,… gendarmes lost 160 KIA, 298 WIA. Civilian dead numbered 45. The UN lost 33 KIA…
(Totals 503 KIA in 1961)
… a final round, December 19, 1962-January 15, 1963 …The UN losses were 10 KIA, 77 WIA. About 70 Katangans were killed. Total UN losses in all Congolese operations 1960-64 included 126 KIA, 34 dead of disease, and 75 accidental deaths.”
(Totals 80 KIA in Katanga, civilian and military, December 1962-January 1963)
P. 621: “In last 1963 a revolt flared in Kwilu Province … some 3,000 insurgents, who called themselves Jeunesse (young warriors), carried out attacks … that took the lives of 9,000 Congolese between October 1963 and the beginning of 1965”
P. 621: “A much more serious insurrection broke out in 1964 … in the northeastern province of Kwilu. … The Belgian paratroopers lost 4 killed and 12 wounded…Another 104 hostages were slain in the region in the weeks following the Dragon missions. About 500 Simba prisoners were put to death in Stanleyville by the Congolese. As may as 4,000 black noncombatants were slaughtered by either the rebels or the government troops during the battle for Gbenye’s capital … violent deaths to April 1965 included 253 white civilians (with 200 more missing and presumed dead). About 200 Congolese soldiers and 35 mercenaries were killed in battle. Simba KIA numbered 2,000 or more, with another 2,000 executed. At least 18,000 black civilians were murdered by the two sides.”
[Total for 1964: 6,492 battle deaths (4 + 4,000 + 253 + 200 + 35 + 2,000), 23,096 violent deaths (4 + 104 + 500 + 4,000 + 253 + 200 + 200 + 35 + 2,000 + 2,000 + 18,000 (total for civilian deaths, taken to include 4,000 killed in Gbenye)]

Interpretation:
The widely used figure of 100,000 deaths seems more likely to be war-related than battle-related deaths given the number of massacres associated with this conflict, and the battle information provided by Clodfelter.

Conflict #68 in Katanga:

1960: Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1961:
Best estimate: 503 (Clodfelter)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.

1962:
Best estimate: 80 (Clodfelter)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.

Conflict #69 in South Kasai:

1960-62: Low estimate of 25 battle deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Conflict #86 versus CNL:

1964 - 65:
Best and low estimate: 6,492 (Clodfelter’s estimate for battle deaths. No trend.)
High estimate: 49,006 (Based on COW estimate of 100,000 total deaths in all conflicts in 1960-1965. High estimates for conflicts #68, #69, and #86 total 100,000 deaths. Not trended)

Fatalities information for conflicts #86, coup in 1967:

Clodfelter, 2002:
P. 621: “In November 1965 General Joseph Mobutu overthrew the government of Congolese Premier Moise Tshombe. … According to the claims of the mutineers, the Congolese lost 700 killed in retaking Bukavu. They reported their own casualties since July 5 as 21 mercenaries and 57 Katangese killed.”

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 778 deaths (Clodfelter)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflicts #86, civil war in Shaba in 1977:
(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate a thousand people were killed during the first invasion of Shaba

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 626: “On March 8, 1977, a force of about 2,000 Katangan exiles and Luga tribesmen invaded Shaba in the name of the National Front for the Liberation of the Congo. … Only in the final days of the Zairean advance did the rebels offer stiff resistance, some 100 of them dying in the defense of Kapanga and Sandoa… Mobutu’s army lost 219 KIA and MIA. The Moroccans suffered 7 battle deaths.”
(Totals 326 including government MIA but without a full count of rebel losses)

Interpretation:
Best and low estimate: 326 (Clodfelter, Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)

Fatalities information for conflicts #86, civil war in Shaba in 1978:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate a thousand people were killed during the second invasion of Shaba

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 627: Invasion in May 1978. “The Foreign Legionnaires lost 2 killed and 14 wounded in securing the city and 2 more killed in pursuit of the rebels, while killing up to 300 of the invaders. They were in time to save most of the hostages, but at least 131 Europeans were murdered…The Red Cross announced the toll of Africans killed in the Kolwezi fighting as 589.”
(Total of 593 deaths. The slain European hostages were not considered battle deaths.)

Interpretation:
Best and low estimate: 593 (Clodfelter, Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)

Fatalities information for conflict #86, civil war in 1996-97 (the invasion of Zaire by the AFDL, Rwanda, and Angola, overthrow of Mobutu and installation of Kabila from Sept/Oct 1996-May 1997):

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #757, “Zaire vs. Kabila-ADEL” 1996-97: Unknown numbers of Angolan, Rwandan and Ugandan deaths. 1,000 Congolese state deaths and total deaths unknown.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 44: “About 100,000 people were killed in the 1996-97 revolt that overthrew the Mobutu dictatorship. … The new government was installed with little of the violence that many people had feared.”
P. 49: “The rebels took Bukavu on 5 March 1997, Kisangani (formerly Stanleyville) on 15 March, and Lubumbashi on 10 April. On each occasion, government troops fled at the rebels’ approach. So did Hutu refugees, and later investigations showed that the rebels slaughtered thousands of them. … Kinshasa fell without a fight. … It was clear the Tutsis in the rebel army had taken their revenge on the Hutus and that there had been a revenge genocide in the jungles as the refugees (including tens of thousands who had participated in the massacres of Rwandan Tutsis in 1994) fled the avenging Tutsis.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events suggests a relatively low number of battle-related deaths during the invasion, the primary cause of fatalities being civilian massacres. Information on battle-related deaths:
“May 1997 - ZAÏRE (Democratic Republic of Congo) … The insurgency had begun in late September 1996 in the east of the country as a rebellion of Banyamulenge, ethnic Tutsis. The rebels had made rapid advances … They had driven the ill-disciplined and demoralised government armed forces (FAZ) before them, often meeting little resistance ... Aid agencies reported on May 8 that hundreds of people, including an estimated 200 civilians, had been killed in Kenge. ... According to local Red Cross workers 177 people were killed in relatively isolated revenge attacks and looting incidents [in the capital]. On May 17, as ADFL troops entered Kinshasa, Kabila announced the establishment of the Democratic Republic of Congo in which he would be president. ... The rebels had taken Camp Tshashi, the final stronghold of the FAZ, by the morning of May 18, and made rapid progress in mopping up the last isolated pockets of resistance. Diplomatic sources estimated that the rebel force numbered some 10,000 and that it was well-armed with mortars, light machine guns and anti-tank weapons.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(UCDP, 2009):
1996: 330 deaths. Coder’s note: “An estimate of the battle-related deaths many more were killed in massacres of civilians.”
1997: 2200 deaths.
Interpretation:

1996:
Best estimate: 1,800 (Based on low estimate of 4,000 deaths 1996-1997, per SIPRI 1997)
Low estimate: 330 (UCDP)
High estimate: 50,000 (Based on 100,000 total deaths in invasion, per Brogan. Probably includes one-sided violence)

1997:
Best and low estimate: 2,200 (UCDP; SIPRI 1997)
High estimate: 50,000 (Based on 100,000 total deaths in invasion, per Brogan. Probably includes one-sided violence)

Fatalities information for conflict #86, civil war in the DRC from 1998-2001, 2006-2008:

(IISS, 2003): Estimate 145,000 total combat deaths. Annual data available to subscribers.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 630: “by June 2000 about 200,000 people had been killed in battle or massacre, with as many as 1.5 million more dying from disease and malnutrition.”

(Roberts, 2000):
First of three household surveys conducted by the International Rescue Committee
P. 1: Estimates 1.7 million excess deaths over the past 22 months as a result of the fighting in eastern DRC and reports indiscriminate violence against civilians by all sides.
P. 16: Estimate 200,000 violent deaths

(Roberts et al., 2001):
Second of three household surveys conducted by the International Rescue Committee
P. 3: 2.5 million excess deaths have occurred during the 32-month period August 1998-March 2001. Estimate 350,000 violent deaths.
P. 13: “it is believed that the majority of the reported violent deaths were intentional murders. Approximately two-thirds of the victims were shot, with burnings, stabbings and hackings accounting for most of the others…. Evidence indicates that all sides in this conflict have been complicit in widespread and intentional murder.”
The third of three household surveys conducted by the International Rescue Committee

P. 1: Estimates that 2.5 million people died as a result of the war. “Most of these deaths were related to infectious diseases induced by displacement, severe poverty and social dysfunction.”

P. 13: “The number of excess deaths between August 1998 and April 2001 was approximately 2.5 million…. It is estimated that approximately 3.3 million excess deaths occurred between August 1998 and December 2002 in the five eastern provinces of the DRC. As a worst “reasonable” case scenario … the excess death toll would be 4.7 million (in the same time period).”

**SIPRI Yearbooks**


(Seybolt and Uppsala Conflict Data Project, 2000): Govt. of DRC, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Chad vs. RCD, Rwanda, Uganda vs. MLC, Uganda since 1998. Total deaths including 1999 >4,000. Deaths in 1999 >2000. Note saying that these figures serve only as an indication of the absolute minimum and that real figures may be much higher.

(Seybolt, 2001): Govt. of DRC, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe vs. RCD, Rwanda, Uganda vs. MLC, Uganda since 1998. Total deaths including 1999 unknown. Deaths in 2000 >2000. Same note that this is only a minimum.

(Seybolt, 2002): Gov of DRC, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe vs. RCD, Rwanda vs. RCD-ML, MLC, Uganda since 1998. All casualty figures unknown.


(UCDP, 2009):
1998: >1,000. Coder’s note: “The figure indicates a minimum. The real death toll may be significantly higher.”
1999: 1,650. Coder’s note: “The figure indicates a minimum. The real death toll may be significantly higher.”
2000: > 2500. Coder’s note: “The figure indicates the absolute minimum. The real death toll may be significantly higher. In a Mortality Study conducted by the International Rescue Committee between 18 April and 27 May 2000 the findings showed that 1.7 million excess deaths had
occurred in the eastern parts of the country since August 1998 most deaths due to the health situation. 200000 of the excess deaths were attributable to acts of violence. Note that this survey did not only include battle-related deaths, but all violent deaths in the region.”

2001: 200. Coder’s note: “Information of battle-related deaths in DRC was sporadic in 2001 and therefore the reliability of this number is low.”

2006: Best and low estimate: 40. High estimate: 160. Coder’s note: “Unclear, the number is a minimum.”


2008: 485.

Interpretation:

The IISS estimate of 145,000 battle deaths seems reasonable based on the total of 300,000 deaths by violence reported by the IRC combined with their contention that most of those violent deaths were one-sided violence rather than battle-related deaths.

1998:
Best and high estimate: 36,250 (Based on IISS total of 145,000 battle deaths in the conflict. Not trended.)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)

1999:
Best and high estimate: 36,250 (Based on IISS total of 145,000 battle deaths in the conflict. Not trended.)
Low estimate: 1,650 (UCDP)

2000:
Best and high estimate: 36,250 (Based on IISS total of 145,000 battle deaths in the conflict. Not trended.)
Low estimate: 2,500 (UCDP)

2001:
Best and high estimate: 36,250 (Based on IISS total of 145,000 battle deaths in the conflict. Not trended.)
Low estimate: 200 (UCDP)

2006:
Best estimate: 591 (IISS; also based on UCDP coder's note)
Low estimate: 40 (UCDP)
High estimate: 900 (Project Ploughshares)
2007:
Best estimate: 1,301 (IISS)
Low estimate: 516 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,400 (Project Ploughshares)

2008:
Best estimate: 485 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 439 (IISS)
High estimate: 1,800 (Project Ploughshares)

*Fatalities information for conflict #254, civil war over the Kongo Kingdom, 2007-08:*

(UCDP, 2009):
2007: Low estimate: 87; Best estimate: 116; High estimate: 134
2008: Best estimate of 125 battle deaths. High estimate of 143.

*Interpretation:*

2007:
Best estimate: 116 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 87 (UCDP)
High estimate: 134 (UCDP)

2008:
Best and low estimate: 125 (UCDP)
High estimate: 143 (UCDP)
Djibouti

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Djibouti:

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<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>2860</td>
<td>Djibouti Military faction</td>
<td>1991-94</td>
<td>1999</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Fatalities information for conflict #184, civil war in Djibouti 1991-94 and 1999:*

(Latimer Clarke, 2003): “In Dec. 1991 army forces searching for Afar guerrillas shot into a crowd killing some eight or more people further inciting Afar-Issa violence. …In Dec. 1992 fighting broke out in the northeastern town of Tadjoura between the government and FRUD forces which continued in Jan. 1993 and resulted in dozens of deaths.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004): Keesing’s Record of World Events has contains reports filed in November and December 1991; January, February, and August 1992; February and July 1993; and June 1994 on the conflict. The descriptions are not sufficiently detailed to provide fatalities estimates. However, they do support the impression that this was a low intensity conflict with at most a few hundred deaths per year.


*Interpretation:*

1991:
Best estimate: 200 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1992:
Best estimate: 490 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
1993:
Best estimate: 25 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1994:
Best estimate: 25 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1999:
Best estimate: 25 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
Dominican Republic

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in the Dominican Republic:

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<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1965</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #93, civil war in the Dominican Republic in 1965:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #665, “Dominican Republic v. Leftists’ 1965: 2,500 Dominican state deaths, 26 US deaths, total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1965-65, “US intervenes in civil war:” 1,000 civilian war-related, 2000 military war-related and 3,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 126: “As many as 3,500 people were killed in the fighting, including 30 American soldiers.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 707: “The US intervention cost 27 American lives lost in battle, 20 dead from other causes… At least 4,000 Dominicans, most of whom were noncombatants, were killed in the civil war. Junta forces lost 500 soldiers and 350 policemen killed; rebels counted 600 dead.”

Interpretation:

Best and high estimate: 4,027 (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 877 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules imply less than 1,000 total deaths. Based on American and Dominican security force losses, per Clodfelter)
No best estimate.
Ecuador

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Ecuador:

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<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
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<td>208</td>
<td>3110</td>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Cordillera del Condor</td>
<td>1995</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #208, conflict between Ecuador and Peru in 1995:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #4013 estimates 101-250 fatalities on each side of the conflict.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 269: “In all, an estimated one hundred troops were killed in the fighting”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 532: “The 1995 conflict was the most serious since the treaty (in 1942) although only a handful of people were killed, 12 in Ecuador and 38 in Peru.”

(Domínguez et al., 2003):
P. 5: “In 1995, Ecuador and Peru went to war, resulting in more than a thousand deaths and injuries and significant economic loss.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):

(OnWar.com, 1999):
“Finally a cease-fire and truce took effect on March 1, 1995, after tense peace talks, calling for demilitarization of the disputed jungle border. Peru reported losing several warplanes and almost 50 soldiers; Ecuador’s official toll was about 30 dead and 300 wounded, but the casualties on both sides most likely were greater. On October 26, 1998, the two countries signed a peace treaty defining the 48-mile stretch of border, creating a committee to resolve boundary issues peacefully, and setting down terms for bilateral trade and navigation rights.”
Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004)
“January 1995 - PERU … A significant escalation of military activity occurred on Jan. 27-28, when there were contradictory reports of offensives by both sides. An Ecuadorean military official, cited in the Guardian of Jan. 29, put the number of deaths in the fighting at 24. ... An Ecuadorean Army communiqué claimed that a Peruvian helicopter had been shot down on Jan. 29, killing seven Peruvian troops. … March 1995 - PERU … Skirmishes had been reported in mid-March (when three Peruvian soldiers were reportedly killed), again on March 22 (when the Peruvian Defence Ministry said that six Peruvian soldiers were wounded) and on March 28 (when one Peruvian soldier was reported killed).”
(Totals 41 deaths reported explicitly)

(UCDP, 2009): Notes the official estimate of 80 fatalities.

*Interpretation:*
Several sources give the official government figures, which total 80 soldier fatalities. This roughly agrees with Bercovitch and Jackson as well as the descriptions of individual battles in Brogan and Clodfelter. Although some sources suggest a much higher number of deaths, there is no explanation provided for those figures.

Estimate:
Low estimate: 80 deaths (Official government figures)
High estimate: 500 (maximum from MID dataset)
No best estimate.
The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Egypt:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
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<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>2980</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>al-Gamaa al-Islamiyya, al-Jihad al-Islamiyy, Tala i al-Fath</td>
<td>1993-98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fatalities information for conflict #196, civil conflict in Egypt in 1992-98:*

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 660: “Muslim extremists began terrorist attacks on the government of President Hosni Mubarak in 1991, killing 11 people that year. The toll increased year by year - 93 killed in 1992, 207 in 1993, 279 in 1994, 373 in 1995. The level of violence declined in 1996, with 174 fatalities blamed on the extremists. ... By the end of 1997, 1,200 people had died as a result of the extremist violence and, though the number of incidents declined in the ensuing year, no real end to the terrorism was in sight.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“There were few reports of armed clashes between Islamic militants and government security forces in 1999, although the latter committed extrajudicial killings. At least 10 people died, extending the decline from the estimated 50 conflict deaths in 1998 and 200 deaths in 1997. … [In 1998] Security forces and rebel groups reportedly killed at least 47 people.”
1997: “The number of deaths, including civilians, police officers, and terrorists range in the hundreds. According to an APS news report, over 1,300 deaths have occurred since the Islamic insurgency began in 1992.” Project Ploughshares also gives explicit reports of at least 68 deaths in 1997.

(UCDP, 2009):
1993: Best estimate of 102 deaths. High estimate for the period 1992-93 is 230; low estimate is 119.
1994: Estimate 286 deaths. Note reading: “The figure (286) is one of the lowest estimations available. It does however include victims other than police and militants. Whether the civilians included were killed in direct relation to fighting over the incompatibility is unclear. The figure might also include militant casualties other than al-Gama’a casualties.” Also notes a Reuters estimate of 540 total deaths in the conflict by the end of 1994.
1995: Estimate 375 deaths, which is called a “high estimation” in a note.
1996: Best estimate of 80 deaths. Low estimate of 59 deaths; High estimate of 97 deaths.

*Interpretation:*

1993:
Best estimate: 102 (UCDP best estimate; Clodfelter’s figure lies within the range suggested by UCDP)
Low estimate: 95 (Calculated from UCDP low estimate for period 1992-1993 of 119 deaths. Subtracted 24 deaths, the maximum number possible in 1992 without a conflict being recorded).

1994:
Best estimate: 286 (UCDP best estimate)
Low estimate: 279 (Clodfelter)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP coder’s note that there exist much higher estimates of battle deaths).

1995:
Best estimate: 375 (UCDP best estimate; Clodfelter and UCDP estimates virtually identical)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 375 (UCDP coder’s note saying this estimate is more likely to be an over than an under estimation)

1996:
Best estimate: 80 (UCDP best estimate)
Low estimate: 59 (UCDP low estimate)
High estimate: 174 (Clodfelter)

1997:
Best estimate: 45 (UCDP best estimate)
Low estimate: 40 (UCDP low estimate)
High estimate: 200 (Ploughshares)

1998:
Best estimate: 30 (UCDP best estimate)
Low estimate: 27 (UCDP low estimate)
High estimate: 50 (Ploughshares)
El Salvador

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflicts in El Salvador:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
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<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>2100</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>Common Border</td>
<td>1969</td>
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<td>120</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
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<td>1972</td>
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<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>2200</td>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>ERP, FAL, FARN, FPL, PRTC</td>
<td></td>
<td>1979-91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #110, conflict between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #175, “Football” 1969: 1,200 Honduran state deaths and 700 Salvadoran state deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 5,000 killed

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 475: Estimates about 2000 people killed, mostly Honduran civilians

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1969-69, “El Salv vs Honduras (Soccer War): 3,000 civilian war-related deaths, 2000 military war-related deaths, 5,000 total war-related deaths

(Domínguez et al., 2003): “The 1969 war between El Salvador and Honduras was brief but produced several thousand deaths.” See this publication for regional perspectives on border conflict in Latin America.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 708: “El Salvador reported about 700 casualties, including 107 KIA. As many as 2000 Honduran soldiers and civilians may have died in the brief conflict (although the Honduran government admitted to military casualties of only 99 KIA and 66 WIA).”

Interpretation:
A figure of around 2,000 deaths is used by several authors, ranging from COW’s estimate of 1900, to Clodfelter’s figure of 2,107. Clodfelter and COW use the same figure of 700 Salvadoran casualties but these are interpreted as WIA and KIA in Clodfelter. Eckhardt’s higher figure (5,000) was not explained or documented.

Low estimate: 206 (Official government figures on losses, reported in Clodfelter)
High estimate: 5,000 (Eckhardt)
Best estimate: 2,107 (2,000 Honduran deaths and 107 Salvadoran deaths from Clodfelter; preferred because sources were fully explained)

Fatalities information for conflict #120, coup attempt in 1972:

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 710: “Over 300 Salvadoreans died in the coup attempt.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“May 1972 - EL SALVADOR
… Broadcasting on March 25, President Sanchez Hernandez said that more than 100 soldiers and civilians had been [sic] killed and at least 200 injured in fighting between loyalist forces and rebels…”

Interpretation:
Official government pronouncements of the time, given in Keesing’s, are in the same range of small scale conflict reported by Clodfelter, although sources are not specified in Clodfelter.
Best estimate: 300 deaths.
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 coded based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #120, civil war 1979-91:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #703, “El Salvador vs. Salvadorean Democratic Front” 1979-92: 25,000 state deaths and a total of 69,000 deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate more than 75,000 killed, most of them civilians.

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1979-89, “FMLN vs. government:” 50,000 civilian, 23,000 military, 73,000 total war-related deaths
(Eckhardt, 1996):
1979-91, “Dem. Salv. Front vs Government:” 50,000 civilian war-related deaths, 25,000 military war-related deaths, 75,000 total war-related deaths.

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1 line 1025 and 1026):
Estimates for war dead:
1979-87: 23,000 (low), 29,000 (middle), 40,000 (high).
1979-84: 11,000 (low), 15,000 (middle), 20,000 (high).

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 473: Estimate over 75,000 killed from 1979-92.
P. 476: In 1980-82, deaths squads responsible for up to 800 deaths a month, perhaps 20,000 people in all, including about 8,000 trade unionists.
P. 478: “In 1988, the army reported that it was losing about 3,000 soldiers dead or wounded a year, and claimed the rebels were losing 1,000 annually.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 710-711: “The army’s unofficial allies, the butchers of the rightist goon squads, accelerated the slaughter in the last months of 1980. … Of the 13,194 people killed in El Salvador’s civil conflict in 1980, at least two-thirds of them were civilians murdered by either the armed forces or terrorists of the oligarchy. Based on guerilla bulletins, the US State Department estimated 4,017 soldiers and civilians slain by the revolutionary left.”
P. 711: “The Salvadoran Human Rights Commission employed guerilla sources, local press reports, and personal testimony to arrive at a figure of 16,726 violent deaths in 1981. According to a UN fact-finding team, at least 70% of the civilian noncombatant deaths as a result of the civil war in 1981 were the handiwork of government forces or right-wing vigilante squads.”
P. 711: “According to Catholic University, a total of 4,149 civilians were the victims of political violence in 1982 and 1,045 were reported missing.
P. 711: “According to the Catholic Church in El Salvador, 6,096 civilians were killed in the country in 1983, 4,736 by government forces and the death squads. … June 30, 1984-June 30, 1985 … 1,338 civilians were slain and 97 disappeared.”
"A total of 3,600 US military personnel served in El Salvador, 1981-90, incurring losses of 9 KIA, 26 WIA, and 11 nonhostile deaths. …civil war that had claimed the lives of at least 75,000 Salvadorans and 33 American soldiers and civilians.”

**SIPRI Yearbooks**

(Goose, 1987): Govt. vs. FMLN since 1977, >60,000 total deaths

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988): Govt. vs. FMLN since 1977/79, 1979-85: 15,000 military and 40,000 civilian deaths, 1986: 1,500 military deaths, 1987: >1,000 military deaths

(Lindgren, Wilson and Wallensteen, 1989): Govt. vs. FMLN since 1977/79, 1979-87: >17500 military deaths and 40,000 civilian deaths, 1988: 1,000 total deaths

(Lindgren et al., 1990): Govt. vs. FMLN since 1979, 1979-89: >23250 military deaths and 40,000-47,000 civilian deaths, 1989: 4750 military deaths

(Lindgren et al., 1991): Govt. vs. FMLN since 1979, 1979-90: 76,000 deaths, 1990: 1,500-2,000 deaths

(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): Govt. vs. FMLN since 1979, 1979-91: 77,000-82,000 deaths, 1991: unknown

**Interpretation:**

The figure of 75,000 total deaths in this conflict is cited by many authors, and most estimates fall closely within that range (COW gives 69,000, SIPRI’s maximum is 82,000). However, the activities of the death squads are considered one-sided rather than battle-related violence. Brogan estimates the toll of the death squads from 1980-82 at 20,000, and yearly estimates from Clodfelter roughly corroborate that estimate. Clodfelter provides a year-by-year account of government losses, which allows the data to be trended.

Best estimate: 55,000 battle deaths. (75,000 total deaths less 20,000 in one-sided violence).
Low estimate: 34,000 deaths. (Rummell. A plausible figure for battle deaths if the scope of one-sided violence is being understated in other sources).
High estimate: 75,000 deaths.
The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Equitorial Guinea:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>2430</td>
<td>Equatorial Guinea</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fatalities information for conflict #142, coup in 1979:**

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“October 1979 - EQUATORIAL GUINEA … In fighting which took place in the days preceding his capture President Macias Nguema and his bodyguards tried to resist the rebels, first in Bata and later around Mongomo, casualty figures being variously reported as ranging from 70 to several hundred.”

**Interpretation:**
Low estimate: 70 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 (Based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules; probably too high given reports of “several” hundred killed)
No best estimate.
Eritrea

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Eritrea:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>2300</td>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>EIJM</td>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1999</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fatalities information for conflict #130, conflict between Eritrea and EIJM in 1997, 1999 and 2003:**

(UCDP, 2006):
1997: Estimate 48-95 killed; 48 is best estimate. Coder’s note: “From March and onwards the conflict between EIJM and the government escalated, the EIJM reported that they had lost 22 of their men and killed 73 Eritrean troops in the battles. On the 4 March an Eritrean foreign affairs official said they had killed one EIJM member in a shootout.”
1999: 239 killed. No low and high estimates.
2003: 57 killed. No low and high estimates.

(IISS, 2006): Estimates 8 killed in 2003

(IRIN, 2003c): Two humanitarian workers have been killed by unidentified gunmen in northern Eritrea in 2003

**Interpretation:**

1997:
Best and low estimate: 48 (UCDP)
High estimate: 95 (UCDP)

1999:
Best estimate: 239 (UCDP).
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
2003:
Best estimate: 57 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

_Fatalities information for conflict #215, conflict between Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1998-2000:


(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 618: “…the conflict resumed in February 1999 … until September. By then as many as 10,000 Eritreans and 30,000 Ethiopians had been slain. After a long lull, Ethiopia commenced a major offensive, May 12, 2000, on the western front … a cease-fire went into effect on June 18.”

(IISS, 2003): Estimate 50,000 total deaths.

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(Sollenberg, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999): Total deaths including 1998 >1,000. Deaths 1998 >1,000.

(Seybolt and Uppsala Conflict Data Project, 2000): Total deaths including 1999: 50,000 to 100,000. Deaths in 1999: 30,000.

(Seybolt, 2001): Total deaths including 2000: 50,000 to 100,000. Deaths in 2000: note that it could only be determined that there were more than 1,000 but that the figure was probably substantially smaller than the 30,000 reported in 1999.

(UCDP, 2006):
1998: >1,000 deaths
1999: >30,000 deaths
2000: >1,000 deaths. Coder’s note: “This figure only indicates the absolute minimum of deaths; the real number is probably much higher.”

_Interpretation:_
1998:
Best estimate: 10,000 deaths (Based on Clodfelter’s report of 40,000 deaths by September 1999, followed by a major lull until May 2000 (also seen in IISS annual data), in combination with the estimate of 30,000 deaths in 1999)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on 100,000 total deaths with 1999 as the peak year)

1999:
Best and low estimate: 30,000 (SIPRI and UCDP)
High estimate: 60,000 (Based on 100,000 total deaths with 1999 as the peak year)

2000:
Best estimate: 10,000 (Based on total of 50,000 deaths in SIPRI 2001. Downward trend is also seen in the IISS data.)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 20,000 (Based on 100,000 total deaths with 1999 as the peak year)
Ethiopia

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflicts in Ethiopia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td></td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>EPRP, TPLF, EPDM, OLF</td>
<td></td>
<td>1976-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>Ogaden</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>1987</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>2330</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>WSLF</td>
<td>Ogaden</td>
<td>1976-83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2330</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>ONLF</td>
<td>Ogaden</td>
<td>1994</td>
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<td>1999-2002</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2004-2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>1780</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>ELF, ELF factions, EPLF</td>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>1964-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>2690</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>ALF</td>
<td>Afar</td>
<td>1975-76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>2690</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>ALF</td>
<td>Afar</td>
<td>1989-91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>2690</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>ARDFU</td>
<td>Afar</td>
<td>1996</td>
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<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>3140</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>al-Itahad al-Islami</td>
<td>Somali</td>
<td>1995-96</td>
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<td>1999</td>
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<td>219</td>
<td>3220</td>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>OLF</td>
<td>Oromiya</td>
<td>1977-78</td>
</tr>
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<td>1980-81</td>
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<td>1994-95</td>
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<td>1998-2008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: The OLF and the ONLF sometimes worked in concert against the Ethiopian government. They are distinct organizationally and in terms of political goals, however.
Fatalities information for conflict #70, coup in 1960:

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 611: “…after three days of fighting and over 1,000 casualties, the Imperial Guard surrendered.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“January 1961 - ETHIOPIA
While he was in the palace, rebel troops machine-gunned 20 members of the Government who were being held as hostages, killing 15 and seriously wounding three ... Casualties during the fighting were announced on Dec. 20 as follows: armed forces - 29 killed, 43 wounded; Imperial Guard - 174 killed, 300 wounded; civilians - 121 killed, 442 wounded. Seven foreigners were known to have been killed, including a British subject from Aden.”

Interpretation:
If “casualties” in Clodfelter is meant to imply wounded and dead, the total of those two categories found in Keesing’s (1109) is quite similar to Clodfelter’s reckoning.
Best and low estimate: 324 (From Keesing’s)
High estimate: 1,000 (From Clodfelter if casualties interpreted as deaths only)

Fatalities information for conflict #70, civil war 1976-91:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #697, “Ethiopia vs. Tigrean Liberation Front,” 1978-91: 15,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 612: “since 1972 the various insurgencies, the revolution, and the famines that made Ethiopia a synonym for starvation in the 1980s had cost up to 2 millions lives, including as many as 1 million in the great famine of 1984-5.”

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(N.B.: The SIPRI data combines Uppsala/PRIO conflicts #1700 and # 1780, and may also include pre-1991 observations of conflicts #2690 and #3220.)
(Goose, 1987): Gov vs. EPLF, TPLF; and other separatists since 1962. >45,000 killed.

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988): Gov vs. EPLF, TPLF; and other separatists since 1962. 1962-87: 45,000 military, 50,000 civilian.


(Lindgren et al., 1990): Ethiopian gov vs. various groups. 1962-89: >100,000. During 1989: 10,000.

(Lindgren et al., 1991): Ethiopian gov vs. various groups. 1962-90: 500,000, including Eritrean conflict and civilian and military deaths. During 1990: >10,000.

(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): Ethiopian gov vs. various groups. 1962-91: 150,000-200,000 military. During 1991: 20,000-30,000 military.

*Interpretation:*

The preponderance of the up to 500,000 deaths SIPRI records in Ethiopia occurred in the Eritrean conflict. Coding 1,000 battle deaths per year in the civil conflict for control of Ethiopia results in a total of 16,000 deaths, which is fairly close to the COW estimate of 15,000 deaths.

Best and low estimate: 16,000 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 150,000 (From SIPRI 1992; probably double counts with other conflicts)

*Fatalities information for conflict #71, conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1960:*

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003): Two non-fatal MIDs are coded between Ethiopia and Somalia, #1423 in 1960 and #1421 in 1961.

(OnWar.com, 1999): “Ethiopian-Somalian Border Clashes 1960: Somalia became an independent nation (July 1). Border clashes with neighboring Ethiopia quickly followed (August).”

Record of this conflict was not found in Keesing’s Record of World Events.
Interpretation:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict # 71, conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1964:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID # 1425 estimates between 26-100 Ethiopian fatalities and 101-150 Somalian fatalities.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 117: “the first Ogaden war (January-March 1964)... As many as seven hundred people were killed in the fighting...”

Interpretation:
The total coded here should include loses due to the guerilla campaign as well as the interstate fighting.
Low estimate: 127 (MID minimum estimate)
High estimate: 700 (from Bercovitch and Jackson)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict # 71, conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1973:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #2068 is coded from 1973-73: Ethiopia and Somalia both have no fatalities.
MID #1427 is coded from 1974-74: Estimated 1-25 fatalities for each side.
MID #1428 is coded from 1975-75: Estimated 1-25 fatalities for each side.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): The second Ogaden war began in mid-1972, as a low intensity conflict by both Somali rebels and Somali regulars. The war escalated in June 1972, prior to invasion by Somalia.

The incidence of casualties was not covered in Keesing’s Record of World Events.

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 25 (Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 50 (MID maximum)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict # 133, civil war in Ogaden in 1976-78:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #694, “Ethiopia vs. Somali Rebels’ 1976-84: 1,500 Cuban deaths, 1,900 Somali deaths, and 9,000 Ethiopian state deaths out of a total of 39,000 total deaths.
Conflict #189, “Ethiopian-Somalian” 1977-78: 700 Cuban deaths, 1,800 Ethiopian deaths and 3,500 Somali deaths. This sums to a total of 6,000 deaths.
Yields a total for the entire period of 45,000 deaths.

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #1427, 1974-74: 1-25 fatalities each for Ethiopia and Somalia
MID #1428, 1975-75: 1-25 fatalities each for Ethiopia and Somalia
MID #2069, 1977-77: At least 1,000 deaths each for Cuba, Ethiopia and Somalia. No maximum.
MID #2070, 1978-78: An unknown number of Ethiopian and Somali deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 148-9: Estimate upwards of 30,000 dead.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 616-7: Ogaden War: 1977-78
P. 616-7: “Deaths on both sides were estimated at 10,000 by late September. … The Soviet Union and Cuba intervened on the side of Ethiopia. … According to Ethiopian claims, the Somalis lost about 2000 killed from the opening of the counteroffensive on January 22 [1978] up to the beginning of the Second Battle of Jijiga in late February. Ethiopia gave its own losses as 700 killed and 1,500 wounded…. The Somali army was destroyed as a fighting force. It had lost probably 8,000 killed … since July 23, 1977.”

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1976-83, “Cuba and Somalia intervene:” 15,000 civilian war-related deaths, 24,000 military war-related deaths, 39,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 9,000 fatalities.

**Interpretation:**
Best estimate: 20,900 (18,700 Somali and Ethiopian losses, from Clodfelter, plus 2,200 Cuban deaths, from COW)
Low estimate: 9,000 (Brogan)
High estimate: 45,000 (COW)

**Fatalities information for conflict #133, civil war in Ogaden from 1979-83:**

Militarized International Dispute Datatset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #2071, 1980-81: 26-100 Ethiopia deaths and 101-150 Somali deaths

(Brogan, 1998): By 1980 “the wars in the Ogaden, Tigray and Oromo provinces had degenerated into minor guerilla actions.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 617: “Though the war of the conventional armies was over, the other Ogaden War, the guerilla conflict, continued. ... From the end of the Ethiopian-Somali war in March 1978 to November 1979 guerilla hostilities claimed, according to the WSLF, 60,000 lives, including 25,000 civilians. These figures are probably exaggerated.”

Keesing's (Keesing’s, 2004):
“August 1984 - ETHIOPIA
... The Somali Defence Ministry alleged in August 1982 that its forces had repulsed a number of cross-border raids by Ethiopian and “allied troops,” claiming that 500 Ethiopian soldiers had been killed or wounded on Aug. 10 at Balaballe, 215 miles north of Mogadishu, and (ii) that nearly 600 Ethiopian troops had been killed in a two-day battle on Aug. 12-13. Somali losses in the two battles were reported to be 94 killed and over 200 wounded. .... A communique issued by the WSLF on Sept. 13 claimed that the guerrillas had killed 163 Ethiopian troops and wounded 300 since the current phase of fighting began in July. In three days of fighting in mid-September the Somali government claimed that the Ethiopian forces had sustained over 500 casualties.”

**Interpretation:**
Because of extremely limited information, all from sources with clear biases, the estimates for the conflict were based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules: a low annual estimate of 25 battle deaths, a high annual estimate of 999 battle deaths, and the best estimate coded as unknown.

**Fatalities information for conflict #71, conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1983 and 1987:**

Militarized International Dispute Datatset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
A series of MIDs are coded between Ethiopia and Somalia during roughly this time-frame:
#2071: 24 February 1980 to 13 June 1981. 26-100 Ethiopian deaths and 101-250 Somali deaths
#2072: 30 June 1982 to 13 August 1983. 251-500 Ethiopian deaths and 251-500 Somali deaths
#2073: 30 January 1984 to 26 April 1984. No deaths
#2074: 20 December 1984 to 2 January 1985. 26-100 Ethiopian deaths and 26-100 Somali deaths
#2075: 17 September 1985 to 22 October 1985. 26-100 Ethiopian deaths and 26-100 Somali deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 230: The third Ogaden war from February 1987 to April 1988 is estimated to have killed more than 300

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“August 1984 - ETHIOPIA …After reports of limited air raids on Somali border targets in April 1983, the conflict apparently intensified again in June and July, when Ethiopian forces were alleged to have suffered “heavy losses” after attacking Somali positions near Gholdogob.
Mr Abdi-Nasir Abdullahi, the WSLF secretary-general, on Oct. 3, 1982, had accused the Ethiopians of massacring 500 civilians … the Somali government stated that it had no knowledge of such a massacre. The WSLF on Sept. 14, 1983, accused Ethiopian forces of a further massacre in the Ogaden, where 311 civilians were allegedly killed in apparent retaliation for guerrilla actions the previous month.”

**Interpretation:**

1983: The range of fatalities estimated for MID #2072, in 1982-83, is 502-1,000. Reports in Keesing’s suggest a high figure, although the sources of information are suspect.
Low Estimate: 502 (MID minimum)
High estimate: 1,000 (MID maximum)
No best estimate.
1987: There is no coverage in Keesing’s or in the MID dataset of conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia conflict in 1987.
Best estimate: 300 (from Bercovitch and Jackson)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #78, civil war in Eritrea in 1964-91:

Correlates of Conflict War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #689, “Ethiopia vs. Eritrean Rebels’ 1974-91: 64,000 Ethiopian state deaths and 6,000 Cuban deaths out of a total of 150,000 deaths.


(Eckhardt, 1996): 1974-92, “Eritrean revolt and famine:” 500,000 civilian war-related deaths, 75,000 military war-related deaths, 575,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 122-123: Estimate 200,000 people killed, many of these were civilians killed in reprisal attacks. This figure does not include the many more dead from famine.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 56: “In 1983, Colin Legum estimated that up to 250,000 people had been killed in the fighting since 1974, and another 50,000-100,000 have been killed since then.”
P. 56: ELF and EPLF also fought each other: “Between 1970 and 1975, about 3,000 Eritreans were killed in this war within a war, in which the EPLF prevailed.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 612: “in the early 1970s the independence movement split; with the more radical and Marxist guerillas leaving the ELF to form the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF),…The two fronts came to blows 1970-75 in a civil war within the secessionist movement that cost 3,000 lives’
P. 612: “The Eritrean war had already cost up to 350,000 lives by the end of 1988. Since 1972 the various insurgencies, the revolution, and the famines that made Ethiopia a synonym for starvation in the 1980s had cost up to 2 millions lives, including as many as 1 million in the great famine of 1984-85. The Eritreans finally captured Assmara in mid-May [1991] and on May 28 … the victorious Eritreans, who had sacrified at least 65,000 lives in combat, one-third of whom were women (besides many more civilian deaths)...”
SIPRI Yearbooks

(Lindgren et al., 1991): Ethiopian gov vs. various groups. 1962-90: 500,000, including Eritrean conflict and civilian and military deaths. During 1990: >10,000.

(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): Ethiopian gov vs. various groups. 1962-91: 150,000-200,000 military. During 1991: 20,000-30,000 military.

*Interpretation:*

Among estimates that are not “war-related” totals that include starvation, figures range from 150,000 (COW) to 350,000 by 1988 (Clodfelter).

Low estimate: 150,000 (COW, trended in accordance with UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 350,000 (Clodfelter)
No best estimate.

Trended in accordance with Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.


No sources were found with fatalities data on violence in Afar rather than in the general civil war in Ethiopia from 1989-91 or from other small insurgencies in the 1970s and 1996. The UCDP database estimates 25-999 fatalities per year for each of these years.

*Interpretation:*

Low estimate: 25 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.


Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“August 1999 - ETHIOPIA … There were repeated clashes throughout August between government forces and guerrillas of the rebel Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in eastern and southern areas, with both sides claiming to have inflicted thousands of casualties upon the other.”

2003: Conflict with ONLF resulted in 63 soldiers killed (rebel casualties unknown); Joint OLF-ONLF attack resulted in death or injury of 60 government troops
2004: < 600, conflict-related casualties extremely difficult to establish and figures not verifiable
2005: ONLF and OLF reportedly killed over 480 government soldiers; Rebel fatalities unreported

(IISS, 2009):
2006: 1,444. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).
2007: 2,418. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).
2008: 1,461. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).

(Ploughshares, 2006, 2009): These reports are ambiguous in distinguishing among areas
2003: 424 (over 400 killed in December massacre) [this probably refers to massacres in the Gambella region of Ethiopia – see below]
2004: Ethnic fighting in west claimed more than 250 lives in ethnic conflict
2006: 207. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).
2007: 1,600. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).

(BBC Monitoring Service, 2004):
Fighters reportedly kill 14 government soldiers in southeastern Ethiopia (BBC Monitoring Service, 2004d)
Ethiopian police kill 37 civilians in eastern city, opposition radio says (BBC Monitoring Service, 2004e)
Ethiopian rebels reportedly kill 17 government soldiers in October 1 clashes. (BBC Monitoring Service, 2004f)
Ethiopian army reportedly kills 11 Oromo civilians in East (BBC Monitoring Service, 2004c)

(UCDP, 2009):
1977-88: Estimate 25-999 deaths per year.
1989: Estimate 25-999 deaths. Coder notes that the OLF claimed to kill >1,000 government soldiers in 1989 but this claim could not be verified.
1990: Estimate 25-999 deaths. Coder notes that the OLF claimed to kill >1,000 government soldiers in 1990 but this claim could not be verified.
2002: Estimate 25-1600 deaths. Based on incident reports obtain a low estimate of 1,096 deaths and high estimate of 1,600 deaths. Not able to verify these deaths independently, however.

2003: OLF reported 54 deaths, nature unspecified.

2004: Best and low estimate: 25. High estimate: 167. Coder’s note: “Independent information on the fighting is scarce, and the only concrete figures available are those given by OLF. However, as independent reports focusing on other issues oftentimes unconsciously corroborate information given in OLF statements (e.g. on attacks on civilians and cross-border activities), the figures are deemed as sufficiently reliable and the conflict is thus coded as active in 2004.”


2008: 25-999. Coder’s note similar to that for 2004.

**Interpretation:**

For the period up to 1998 no sources other than UCDP were found with fatalities data on these sources distinguished from the overall violence in Ethiopia. Coded 25 deaths per year as a low estimate and 999 deaths per year as a high estimate based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1999:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 350 (Based on IISS estimate of ~3,000 deaths in conflict with OLF and ONLF from 1997-2003)
No best estimate.

2000:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 350 (Based on IISS estimate of ~3,000 deaths in conflict with OLF and ONLF from 1997-2003)
No best estimate.

2001:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 350 (Based on IISS estimate of ~3,000 deaths in conflict with OLF and ONLF from 1997-2003)
No best estimate.
2002:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,600 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

2003:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 350 (Based on IISS estimate of 3,010 deaths in conflict with OLF and ONLF from 1997-2003. High estimates for that period total 3,000)
No best estimate.

2004:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 600 (IISS)
No best estimate.

2005:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 480 (IISS)
No best estimate.

2006:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,444 (IISS)
No best estimate.

2007:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,600 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.
Fatalities information for conflict #211, civil conflict in Somali Ethiopia from 1995-96, 1999:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Reports on activity of al-Itahad al-Islami in 1996-97
“February 1997 - ETHIOPIA … Two people were killed and nine injured when a grenade was thrown into a hotel at Harar, eastern Ethiopia, on Feb. 10. … April 1997 - ETHIOPIA … The most serious incident was on April 11 when two grenades were thrown at diners at the Bleu Tops restaurant, killing a waitress and injuring 41 people. In the third attack in three days, a grenade was thrown into a crowded supermarket on April 13, injuring 33 people. No group took responsibility for the attacks. Responsibility for similar attacks in 1996 had been claimed by Al-Itihad Al-Islam, a group of ethnic Somalis fighting for the independence of Ogaden.” (Total of 3 deaths noted in 1997)

(UCDP, 2009): Estimate 25-999 deaths per year. Coder notes that “most reports from the conflict are biased”

Interpretation:
Coded 25 deaths per year as a low estimate and 999 deaths per year as a high estimate based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.


(IISS, 2003):
Estimates a total of 3,010 deaths in conflicts with ONLF and OLF from 1997-2003.
2003: Conflict with ONLF resulted in 63 soldiers killed (rebel casualties unknown); Joint OLF-ONLF attack resulted in death or injury of 60 government troops
2004: < 600, conflict-related casualties extremely difficult to establish and figures not verifiable
2005: ONLF and OLF reportedly killed over 480 government soldiers; Rebel fatalities unreported

(IISS, 2009):
2006: 1,444. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).
2007: 2,418. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).
2008: 1,461. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).

(Ploughshares, 2006, 2009): These reports are ambiguous in distinguishing among areas
2003: 424 (over 400 killed in December massacre) [this probably refers to massacres in the Gambella region of Ethiopia – see below]
2004: Ethnic fighting in west claimed more than 250 lives in ethnic conflict
2006: 207. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).
2007: 1,600. (Refers to the conflict both in Oromiya and Ogaden).

(BBC Monitoring Service, 2004):
Fighters reportedly kill 14 government soldiers in southeastern Ethiopia (BBC Monitoring Service, 2004d)
Ethiopian police kill 37 civilians in eastern city, opposition radio says (BBC Monitoring Service, 2004e)
Ethiopian rebels reportedly kill 17 government soldiers in October 1 clashes. (BBC Monitoring Service, 2004f)
Ethiopian army reportedly kills 11 Oromo civilians in East (BBC Monitoring Service, 2004c)

(UCDP, 2006):
1999: Estimate 25-999 deaths.
2000: Estimate 25-999 deaths. Coder’s note: “High number of deaths have been reported in the newswires but the figures could not be independently verified.” Coder states that there could have been >1,000 killed to date.
2004: Low estimate: 25; High estimate: 525; Best estimate: 25. Coder’s note: “Independent information on the fighting is scarce, and the majority of the concrete figures available are those given by ONLF. However, as independent reports focusing on other issues oftentimes unconsciously corroborates information given in ONLF statements (e.g. on attacks on civilians and cross-border activities), the figures are deemed as sufficiently reliable and the conflict is thus coded as active in 2004.”
2007: Best estimate: 146; Low estimate: 146; High estimate: 734. Coder’s note: “With the attack on the Chinese oil workers, coverage of the conflict in Ogaden increased in 2007. Thus, unlike in earlier years there were some independent information on the 2007 fighting. However, as most figures were still given in ONLF statements, the gap between the best and the high estimate continues to be great.”


Interpretation:

1994:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1996:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 600 (Based on IISS estimate of ~3,000 deaths in conflict with OLF and ONLF from 1997-2003)
No best estimate.

1999:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 600 (Based on IISS estimate of ~3,000 deaths in conflict with OLF and ONLF from 1997-2003)
No best estimate.

2000:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 600 (Based on IISS estimate of ~3,000 deaths in conflict with OLF and ONLF from 1997-2003)
No best estimate.

2001:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 600 (Based on IISS estimate of ~3,000 deaths in conflict with OLF and ONLF from 1997-2003)
No best estimate.

2002:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 600 (Based on IISS estimate of 3,010 deaths in conflict with OLF and ONLF from 1997-2003. High estimates for that period total 3,000)
No best estimate.

2004:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 600 (IISS; similar to UCDP high estimate)
No best estimate.

2005:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 641 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

2006:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,444 (IISS)
No best estimate.

2007:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,600 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2008:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,461 (IISS)
No best estimate.

Further information:

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.

(Kissi, 2003): Analysis of one-sided violence in the context of Ethiopia’s civil wars

(Project Ploughshares, 2009): Quote a Genocide Watch and Survivors' Rights International report on December 2003 inter-communal massacre in the Gambella region of Ethiopia. Genocide Watch determined there were at least 424 killed and more than 200 wounded and 85 unaccounted
Gabon

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Gabon:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1964</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #87, coup in 1964:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 119: On 17 February 1964 a bloodless coup installed Aubame as president in place of M’Ba, and French troops then entered Gabon to reinstate M’Ba as president on February 20. An estimated 30 people died, including 2 French soldiers.

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 30 (No other information acquired)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Gambia

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in the Gambia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>2500</td>
<td>Gambia</td>
<td>SRLP</td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #149, coup attempt in 1981:

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 628: “President Abdou Diouf of the neighboring nation of Senegal dispatched 1,500 troops to Gambia to help put down the rebellion. … About 800 Gambians - rebels, loyalists, and noncombatants - were slain. ... The Senegalese crushed the revolt at a cost of 9 KIA and 32 WIA.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“November 1981 - THE GAMBIA … The number of deaths was estimated at between 500 and 800.”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 500 (From Keesing’s Record of World Events)
High estimate: 809 (Clodfelter)
No best estimate.
Georgia

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflicts in Georgia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>2870</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Anti-government alliance</td>
<td></td>
<td>1991-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>2870</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Zviadists</td>
<td></td>
<td>1992-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>2990</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Republic of Abkhazia</td>
<td>Abkhazia</td>
<td>1992-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Republic of South Ossetia</td>
<td>South Ossetia</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>Ossetia, Russian Federation</td>
<td>South Ossetia</td>
<td></td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: Zvad Gamaskurdia was overthrown in the first weeks of January 1992 and then fought an insurgency against the government that had replaced him. From that point, the Zvadists became “side B” of the conflict recorded in the Uppsala/PRIO conflict data. Here, in the battle deaths dataset, deaths were coded in the year in which they occurred.

Fatalities information for conflict #185, civil war between pro- and anti-Zvadist factions, 1991-93:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Included in Conflict #736, “Georgia vs. Gamaskurdia and Abkaz” 1991-4: 3,000 state deaths and total deaths unknown.

(Clodfelter, 2002, 606): “After two weeks of fighting that left at least 100 people dead and the city center in ruins, Gamaskhurdia fled into neighboring Armenia.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“January 1992 - GEORGIA … full-scale armed conflict between Dec. 22 and Jan. 6, which left 113 dead and 420 wounded and culminated in the flight of President Zviad Gamsakhurdia with 80 of his supporters. … There was increasing unrest among Gamsakhurdia loyalists in major cities in western Georgia after his flight on Jan. 6. … The new government, however, responded by dispatching troops to the area, and appeared by the end of January to have re-established control throughout Georgia.”
Reports filed in Keesing’s Record of World Events in February, March, April, July, and August 1992, and August, September, October, November, and December 1993 report 22 additional confirmed battle deaths in 1992 and a number of other reports of fighting with no casualty figures available. In 1993, Keesing’s reports 49 deaths and a number of incidents for which no figures are given, including the final defeat of the Gamsakhurdian forces.
(UCDP, 2009):
1991: Estimate 50 deaths. Coder’s note: “sources agree that at least 50 persons were killed in the fighting during 1991, although some sources argue that there were many more casualties.”
1992: 50-200
1993: 25-999

**Interpretation:**

1991:
Best estimate: 113 (Keesing’s; corresponds to Clodfelter’s estimate)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP coder’s note)
High estimate: 1,000 (Based on COW total of 3,000 deaths)

1992:
Best estimate: 200 (UCDP’s high estimate. Up to 135 deaths are reported for 1992 in Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (Based on COW total of 3,000 deaths)

1993:
Low estimate: 49 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 1,000 (Based on COW total of 3,000 deaths)
No best estimate.

**Fatalities information for conflict #197, civil war in Abkhazia 1992-3:**

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Included in Conflict #736, “Georgia vs. Gamaskurdia and Abkaz” 1991-94: 3,000 state deaths and total deaths unknown.


(IISS, 2003): Estimate more than 6,000 deaths.
(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 239-240): Estimate 5,000 deaths in Georgia before 1995. It is unclear whether this estimate includes deaths in South Ossetia and the conflict with Gamaskurdian forces.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimate 15,000 dead in “Georgia, civil wars and wars of secession in South Ossetia and Abkhazia (to ceasefires in 1993)”

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1992-95, “Georgia-Abkhazians vs Govt,” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 3,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002, 606): “From August 1992 to August 1993 over 3,000 people were killed in Abkhazia before Russian intervention enforced a tenuous truce.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(UCDP, 2009):
1992: 400-500
1993: 2,000

Interpretation:
Figures from “more than” 2,500 to 3,000 predominate as totals, with Berocvitch and Jackson and IISS giving higher estimates of 5,000-6,000. It is not clear to what degree some sources are distinguishing between simultaneous conflicts in Georgia.

1992:
Best estimate: 500 (UCDP high estimate. Based on UCDP, SIPRI total of 2,500)
Low estimate: 400 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (Based on IISS total of 6,000 deaths in the conflict)

1993:
Best and low estimate: 2,000 (UCDP; SIPRI. Low estimate sums to 2,400. Best estimate sums to 2,500.)
High estimate: 5,000 (Based on IISS total of 6,000 deaths in the conflict. The figure of 3,000 deaths that is widely-cited lies within the range defined here)

Fatalities information for conflict #198, civil war in South Ossetia in 1992:

(Brogan, 1998): Estimate 15,000 dead in “Georgia, civil wars and wars of secession in South Ossetia and Abkhazia (to ceasefires in 1993)”

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1992-95, “Georgia-Ossetians vs Govt:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 3,000 total war-related deaths.

(IISS, 2003): Estimate <1,000 combat deaths

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004): Keesing’s Record of World Events contains reports filed on the South Ossetia conflict in January, March, April, May, July and November 1992. They do not contain sufficient detail from which to construct an estimate of deaths. They report relatively constant military action and shelling.


Interpretation:

Low estimate: 500 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (IISS)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #198, civil war in South Ossetia in 2004:

(IISS, 2006): Ossetia claims several hundred died but figure refuted by government

(Kelekhsayeva, 2006): Dozens of people killed

(UCDP, 2006): Estimate 27 deaths
**Interpretation:**
Best and low estimate: 27 (UCDP)
High estimate: 200 (IISS)

**Fatalities information for conflict #198, civil war in South Ossetia in 2008:**


(IISS, 2009): 465

(UCDP, 2009): Best estimate: 621, high estimate: 859. Coder's note: “For the five days of intense fighting in August, the estimate is based on the most conservative claims of the warring parties about their losses and - if available - the judgement of renowned non-governmental organisations as to whether these claims are adequate. The difference between the high and the best estimate is due to the different statements that have been reported by South Ossetian authorities and Russian authorities about South Ossetian servicemen killed in fighting. Note that killings that have been recorded by UCDP as one-sided violence are not included in the count given here. South Ossetian militias were responsible for the majority of these targeted killings of civilians.”

**Interpretation:**
Best estimate: 621 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 465 (IISS)
High estimate: 859 (UCDP)
Ghana

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflicts in Ghana:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #98, coup in 1966:


Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“March 1966 - GHANA … One of the coup leaders, Brigadier A. K. Ocran, said on March 7 that … no more than 27 persons had lost their lives, including seven members of the Army and between 10 and 20 presidential guards at Flagstaff House.”

Interpretation:

Best and high estimate: 27 (Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 20 (Wood’s estimate of military deaths)

Fatalities information for conflict #98, coup in 1981:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“May 1982 - GHANA…Initial unofficial estimates of casualties during the coup were up to 70 dead and up to 400 wounded, although subsequent official statements implied that the death toll had been between 30 and 40.”

Interpretation:

High estimate: 70 deaths (Unofficial estimate in Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 30 deaths (Official total given in Keesing’s)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #98, attempted coup in 1983:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“December 1983 - GHANA …The situation was complicated by a further coup attempt on June 19, 1983 …The radio station was recaptured by loyal troops after three hours of fighting during which 26 people, including some of the released detainees, were killed.”

Interpretation:

Best and high estimate: 26 battle deaths (Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Greece

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Greece:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1040</td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>DSE</td>
<td>1946-49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #4, civil war in 1946-9:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #630, “Greece vs. Communists’ 1944-45 and 1946-49: 160,000 Greek state deaths, 135 UK deaths, and total deaths unknown.

(Brogan, 1998): 160,000 deaths

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, line 1408): Estimated total war dead from 1944-49: 24,000 (low), 79,000 (middle), 133,000 (high)

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1966-95, “UK intervenes in civil war:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 160,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 48: “More than 158,000 people lost their lives in this conflict, many of them civilian; foreign forces suffered no more than 200 fatalities.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 596: “Total Greek National Army casualties were 15,969 KIA...The men of the Greek Democratic Army lost at least 50,000 dead from all causes. The Greek government claimed that the rebels executed 165 priests and 4124 other civilians, and that 931 more non-combatants were killed by land mines ... Including all civilian fatalities, the death toll of the Greek Civil War has been estimated as high as 158,000.”

Interpretation:
158,000-160,000 is the widely cited figure presented for this conflict. Per Clodfelter, an estimated 4,289 people were summarily executed. A best estimate of 154,000 battle-related deaths was estimated, therefore. A high estimate of 160,000 deaths was also noted. The low estimate is
24,000, taken from Rummel; Clodfelter’s information implies that this estimate would account for acknowledged Greek National Army casualties and the official count of civilian deaths.
Grenada

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Grenada:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>2560</td>
<td>Grenada</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fatalities information for conflict #155, coup and invasion in 1983:**

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #3058 estimates zero 1-25 US deaths, 26-100 Cuban deaths, and 101-150 Grenadan deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 714: “The Cubans lost 24 killed (only 2 of whom were professional soldiers)…No more than 21 Grenadans were killed in action, while at least 24 civilians died, 18 of them when a mental hospital was accidentally bombed by US aircraft. Grenadan wounded totaled 358. US casualties totaled 19 killed…”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 215: “More than 250 people are estimated to have been killed in the invasion, including 45 US soldiers and up to 70 Cubans.”

(Musicant, 1990):
P. 389: “Total casualties in Operation URGENT FURY are difficult to calculate, especially as much of the operation is still classified. A low estimate counts eighteen Americans killed and 116 wounded. Grenadan dead are estimated at 110, of whom twenty-four were civilians. The Cuban labor battalion suffered twenty-five killed and fifty-nine wounded; the remainder were repatriated.”

**Interpretation:**
Clodfelter and Musicant have done the most careful reckoning of casualties. They approximately agree on the number of Grenadan civilians, US forces and Cubans killed. However, Clodfelter estimates 21 Grenadan combatants KIA and Musicant estimates 86. The MID coders find a minimum of 101 total Grenadian combatant deaths and a maximum of 150.

Best estimate: 176 (From Musicant: 18 US + 24 Cubans + 24 civilians + 110 Grenadan soldiers)
Low estimate: 88 (From Clodfelter: 18 US + 24 Cubans + 24 civilians + 21 Grenadan soldiers)
High estimate: 289 (45 US (Bercovitch and Jackson) + 70 Cubans (Bercovitch and Jackson) + 24 Grenadian civilians (Clodfelter and Musicant) + 150 Grenadian combatants (MID maximum).
Guatemala

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflicts in Guatemala:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1949</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>Forces of Carlos Castillo Armas</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>1360</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>MR-13, FAR, EGP, PGT, ORPA, URNG</td>
<td>1965-95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: On 18 June 1954, Carlos Castillo Armas invaded Guatemala with the support of the CIA and overthrew the government on 28 June. In August 1954 there was an unsuccessful countercoup against Armas’ government. Only the deaths in the former conflict—in which Armas was “side B”—are coded in the Battle Deaths Dataset.

 Fatalities information for conflict #36, attempted coup in 1949:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004: 10130): “Heavy fighting occurred in Guatemala City on July 18-19 [1949] ... Some 40 people were killed and many wounded in the uprising.”

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 40 battle deaths.
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #36, coup in 1954:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #645, “Guatemala vs. Conservatives,” 1954: 1,000 state deaths and total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1954, “Conservatives vs. Govt; US interv:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 1,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
With CIA connivance and collaboration, a rightist force of some 500 men, led by Carlos Castillo Armas, invaded Guatemala … at a total cost of about 100 casualties on both sides, overthrew the reformist-minded, left-wing government of President Jacobo Arbenz.”

(Doyle and Kornbluh, 2003):
Reviewing recently declassified documents from the CIA archives: “The CIA scrambled to convince the White House that it was an unqualified and all but bloodless victory, however. … Cullather’s account now reveals that the agency lied to the president, telling him that only one of the rebels it had backed was killed. “Incredible,” said the president. And it was. At least four dozen were dead, according to the CIA’s own records.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events includes data regarding the subsequent coup attempt in August:
“August 1954…Fighting broke out in Guatemala city when cadets of the G. military academy supported by some regular army units staged a revolt against the Liberation army which had brought colonel Castillo Armas into power … 25 people killed”

Interpretation:
Clodfelter estimates total casualties (unclear whether this includes WIA and KIA or only KIA) at about 200. If this figure includes WIA, it agrees closely with the CIA files estimate of at least 48 dead. The Correlates of War and Eckhardt estimate of 1,000 dead is much higher and seems implausible in light of recently declassified data.

Best and low estimate: 48
High estimate: 200

Fatalities information for conflict #36, civil war in 1965-95:
Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #668, “Guatemala vs. Indians’ 1966-72: 58,000 state deaths and a total of 138,000 deaths.
Conflict #678, “Guatemala vs. Leftists of 1970” 1970-71: 1,000 state deaths and an unknown total number of deaths.
Conflict #695, “Guatemala vs. Leftists of 1978” 1978-84: 73,000 state deaths and an unknown total number of deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 485: “About 100,000 people were killed between 1961 and 1997, the great majority of them civilians. A further 40,000 were reported “disappeared,” meaning murdered by army, police or guerrillas. Neither figure is precise.”
(Rummel, 1997, Table 14.1, line 870): Estimated war deaths in the period from 1954-87: 30,000 (low), 45,000 (middle), 60,000 (best).

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1966-89, “government vs. URNG vs. Military opposition” 200,000 civilian, 38,000 military, 238,000 total war-related deaths 1990-95 “slaughter of indigenous peoples,” 10,000 civilian and total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 120,000 killed from June 1954 to 1995

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1966-95, “Govt. mass Indians; US intervenes:” 100,000 civilian war-related deaths, 40,000 military war-related deaths, 140,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 702: “One estimate claimed political deaths in since 1954 totalled 70,000, with 40,000 of them slain since 1966, and 13,000 since 1977. The toll accelerated in 1981, reaching a figure of 4,000 by December. The monthly toll grew from 85 killed each month in 1980 to 275 per month in 1981 to over 500 slain each month in the first quarter of 1982.”
P. 703: “By 1990 an estimate 100,000 people had died in Guatemala’s political violence since the Armas coup in 1954.”

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.

(Ball, Kobrak and Spirer, 1999): This is the most complete post-conflict documentation of the murder of civilians in Guatemala, and it contains information on political murders across time periods and groups from throughout the war.
P. 119: A total of 37,255 people were killed or disappeared from 1959-95

(Grandin, 2003): A discussion of the Guatemalan truth commission and the investigation of the charges of genocide related to the Guatemalan civil war

SIPRI Yearbooks


(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): Govt. vs. URNG since 1967/1968. Total including 1991: <2,500 military fatalities, 43,000 civilian fatalities. 1991: <1,000 fatalities

(Amer et al., 1993): Govt. vs. URNG since 1967/1968. Total including 1992: <2,800 military fatalities, <43,500 civilian fatalities. 1992, first 6 months only: 680 fatalities


(UCDP, 2009): 1989: >100 deaths. Coder’s note: “Between 1967 and 1989 at least 45,500 persons have died in the conflict; 2500 military deaths and at least 43,000 civilian deaths.”
1990: <500 deaths. Estimate 20,000-60,000 deaths between 1962 and 1990
1991: <1,000 deaths. Estimate 45,500 total deaths
1993: <200 deaths
1994: <200 deaths
1995: <200 deaths

Interpretation:

The activities of death squads in Guatemala are considered one-sided violence rather than battle related deaths. SIPRI gives the only available estimate for battle deaths: 46,300 deaths. Added to the 37,255 documented persons murdered or disappeared (Ball, Korbak and Spirer, 1999) this implies 83,555 deaths, short of the frequently cited range of 100,000-140,000 total deaths in Guatemala from the 1950s to the 1990s. Clodfelter’s estimate of 70,000 people killed in political violence from 1954-1980 plus SIPRI’s estimate of battle deaths totals 116,300; this does not include the one-sided violence of the 1980s and early 1990s. Thus, 46,300 seems sufficient to account for battle violence in Guatemala, although not the total toll of the war.

Best estimate: 46,300 (Trended based on SIPRI, Uppsala/PRIO coding rules, and COW data.)
Low estimate: 21,505 (Minimum deaths per year from 1965-1987 trended based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules; SIPRI’s estimate for 1988; and UCDP estimates from 1988-95. Similar to the low estimate of 20,000 deaths given by SIPRI in 1990.)
High estimate: 60,000 (SIPRI 1990. The trend in this estimate is the same as that used for the best estimate.)
Guinea

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Guinea:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>2110</td>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>2000-01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fatalities information for conflict #111, civil war in 2000-01:**

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
Estimate more than 1,500 total deaths.
2001: “Hundreds of rebels were reported killed, with thousands of civilians and refugees placed at risk due to government operations’
2000: “An estimated 1,000 people, including many Guinean civilians and refugees from Sierra Leone and Liberia, were killed in cross-border raids in 2000.” Quotes a US State Department estimate of more than 900 killed in 2000.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004): Keesing’s Record of World Events contains reports on violence in Guinea in October 2000 and January, February, and March 2001. Keesing’s reports 218 deaths in 2000 explicitly, with a number of additional clashes for which fatalities information was not available. In 2001, Keesing’s reports 181 deaths explicitly and an additional claim by the government of “hundreds” more killed.

(UCDP, 2009):
2000: Estimate 150 - 450 battle-deaths. Coder’s note: “More than 1000 people, including civilians, died in 2000 in relation to the conflict. The Government reported the death of 150 rebels in December. About 450 people were reported to have died in different rebel attacks.”
2001: 480 – 720. Coder’s note: “Between January and March 2001, at least 100 civilians have died in rebel attacks. It was reported by the Government that hundreds of rebels had been killed in January and February. A rebel source confirmed the death of 345 rebels. In February 5 soldiers were reported to be killed. Another source reported the death of 135 rebels in January and February. It is not clear if they are included in the reported 345. In March at least 124 rebels and 6 soldiers were killed. Further casualties are not reported. The number of soldiers killed in 2001 reaches 16 in JPR 2001, instead of the 11 accounted for above.”

**Interpretation:**

2001:
Low estimate: 218 (Keesing’s. The UCDP low figure appears, based on the coder’s note, to be based on only rebel deaths claimed by the government).
High estimate: 1,000 (UCDP coder’s note; Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2002:
Low estimate: 480 (UCDP low estimate)
High estimate: 720 (UCDP high estimate. High estimate totals 1,720, which corresponds to Ploughshares’ estimate of >1,500 killed in the conflict as a whole)
No best estimate.
Guinea-Bissau

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflicts in Guinea-Bissau:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>PAIGC</td>
<td>1963-73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Guinea-Bissau</td>
<td>Military</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>3190</td>
<td>Bissau</td>
<td>faction</td>
<td>1998-99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #82, Guinea-Bissau’s war of independence with Portugal in 1963-73:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #436, “Guinean-Portuguese” 1962-74: 1,500 Portuguese deaths and a total of 15,000 deaths.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 15,000 war deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1962-74, “Independence vs. Portugal:” 5,000 civilian war-related deaths, 10,000 military war-related deaths, 15,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 620: “A typical year’s casualties in the three colonies were those of 1971: …In Guinea, Portugal reported 145 soldiers and 105 civilians killed; the independence fighters lost 333 killed. … Estimates of total violent deaths in the colonial wars, 1961-74, were as follows: Portuguese military and civilian dead…1,000 in Guinea; guerilla dead…5,000 in Guinea.”

Interpretation:

Uppsala/PRIO code the conflict as having reached a total of 1,000 battle-deaths only in 1965, and having no years of more than 1,000 battle-deaths thereafter. The implied range is 1,224-9,990 deaths.

Best and high estimate: 15,000 deaths (Eckhardt, Brogan, COW; Clodfelter implies 6,000 deaths not including African civilians)
Low estimate: 1,224 deaths (Based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules; this figure may approximate Portuguese losses)
Fatalities information for conflict #216, civil war in 1998-99:

(Clodfelter, 2002, 623): “In November 1998 [Guinea]…and Senegal dispatched troops to help stamp out an uprising that had broken out in June 1998 and had cost several thousand lives. The intervention brought a brief halt to the conflict, but fighting resumed in Guinea-Bissau in January and February 1999.”

SIPRI Yearbooks


(UCDP, 2004): Estimates are the same as those in SIPRI.

Interpretation:

1998:
Low estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI; UCDP)
High estimate: 2,000 (Clodfelter implies at least 2,000 deaths between June 1998 and November 1998)
No best estimate.

1998:
Low estimate: 700 (SIPRI; UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI; UCDP)
No best estimate.
The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Haiti:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>2880</td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>Leopard Corps</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>2880</td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>Tonton Macoute/Military faction</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>2880</td>
<td>Haiti</td>
<td>FRA, FLRN, Organisation Politique Lavalas</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: The armed bands fighting President Jean-Bertrand Aristide are a mixed collection of local groups (former supporters of Aristide and his Lavalas party) with no central leadership (AFP, February 10)

Fatalities information for conflict #186, Leopard Corps in 1989:

(UCDP, 2009): Estimate 30-40 deaths. Coder’s note: “An estimate would be between 30 and 40 soldiers. Although Radio Soleil reported a total of at least 40 people being killed in the week of violence.”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 30 deaths
High estimate: 40 deaths
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #186, coup in 1991:

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1991-94, “Military coup, political violence:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 3,000 total war-related deaths

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“September 1991 - HAITI … Fr Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haiti’s first democratically elected President, was deposed in a violent military coup on Sept. 30. … This spread to a penitentiary where several opponents of Aristide were held, including Roger Lafontant, imprisoned for life in July for leading an abortive coup in January 1991. … In all 26 people were reported to have been killed and 200 others wounded.”
(UCDP, 2009): >250

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 250 deaths (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (Based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules; Eckhardt’s figure seems like an outlier given news coverage and is not explained further in the text)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict 186, conflict between Haiti and FRA, FLRN, Chimères in 2004:

(IISS, 2006): 50 deaths associated with Front de Résistance de l’Artibonite (FRA) and Front pour la Libération et la Reconstruction Nationales (FLRN) but resistance was limited and civilians rarely killed. At least 60 killed in anti-government demonstrations and 79 killed in clashes between pro-Aristide and police and UN forces

(Arie, 2004): Reporting December 23: 200 killed since September

(The Globe and Mail (Canada), 2004): Reporting on October 29: Over 170 people have been killed most from slum strongholds of pro-Aristide supporters

(Agence France-Presse (AFP), 2004): Reporting on Feb 9: 60 people have died since Front de Resistance (RARF) insurgents stepped up attacks on Haitian cities on 5 February

(UCDP, 2009): >300. Coder’s note: “There has not been exact figures but according to most sources over 300 people have died in the conflict this year.”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 129 (IISS figure, which excludes the deaths of protesters)
High estimate: 300 (UCDP; seems to accord with most newspaper coverage)
No best estimate.
Honduras

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Honduras:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>1580</td>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>Common Border</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #58, conflict between Honduras and Nicaragua in 1957:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #1173 in 1957 estimates zero fatalities for both Honduras and Nicaragua.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 1,000 deaths

(De Mar, 2002): Estimate fatalities level as “minimal”


Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004: 15574): “…on April 18 some 50 Nicaraguan troops crossed the Coco River and occupied the small township of Morocon, on the north (Honduran) bank of the river. On May 1 Morocon was attacked and recaptured by a Honduran battalion with air support, 35 Nicaraguan troops being killed in bombing and strafing attacks by Honduran aircraft. Subsequent claims by President Somoza of Nicaragua that Morocon had been recaptured by Nicaraguan forces were officially denied in Tegucigalpa, the Honduran capital.”

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 40 (Wood, similar to Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules. MID and De Mar estimations even lower)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules. Corresponds to Bercovitch and Jackson)
The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflict in Hungary:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>1530</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #53, conflict between Hungary and the Soviet Union in 1956:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #154, “Russo-Hungarian” 1956: 2,502 Hungarian deaths and 1,500 Soviet deaths.

(Small and Singer, 1982): Estimate 10,000 battle deaths, 7,500 Soviet and 2,500 Hungarian

(Brogan, 1998): Estimate 10,000 deaths

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1 line, 1537): Estimates of deaths: 10,000 (low), 25,000 (middle), 100,000 (high)

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): “…approximately three thousand civilians died”

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1956, “USSR intervenes in civil war:” 10,000 civilian war-related deaths, 10,000 military war-related deaths, 20,000 total war-related deaths.

(Stewart-Smith, 1964):
P. 197: “Casualties are estimated at twenty-five to thirty thousand Hungarians and seven thousand soviet troops dead, an unknown number wounded, and three hundred and twenty Soviet tanks destroyed.”

(Schmid, 1985):
P. 27: “The Hungarians must have mourned about 20,000 dead. … Soviet fatalities were, according to one source, 7,000.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 599: “Although Indian Prime Minister Nehru claimed that the toll of the revolution included 25,000 Hungarian and 7,000 Russian dead, Hungary’s Central Statistical Office counted considerably smaller casualties. In Budapest 1,945 Hungarians were killed, and elsewhere in the country the death toll stood at 557. ... Official Soviet losses were 669 KIA, 1,540 WIA, 51 MIA. ... The rebels also executed 37 members of the AVH (the Hungarian secret police)… Nagy, the prime minister, and Paul Maleter, the military commander … and 226 others were executed by the Soviets…”

Interpretation:

Most post-Cold War sources converge on a figure of about 3,000 deaths in this conflict. Clodfelter’s figures, taken from the Hungarian statistical service, were used for a best estimate of 3,171 battle deaths. (Executions are not considered battle-related deaths).

Low estimate: 3,002 (COW)
High estimate: 3,487 (Clodfelter’s data including MIA and executions)
## India and Pakistan

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflicts between India and Pakistan and in Kashmir:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1964-65</td>
</tr>
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<td>1971</td>
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<td>1989-92</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1996-2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>2700</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Kashmir Insurgents</td>
<td>Kashmir</td>
<td>1989-2008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fatalities information for conflict #20, conflict between India and Pakistan in 1947-48:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #147, “First Kashmir” 1948-49: 1,000 Indian and 1,000 Pakistani deaths.

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID # 1238 from 1947-49 estimates a minimum of 1,000 deaths on each side of the conflict and no maximum.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1947-49, “Muslims, Pakistan vs. Kashmir:” 1,000 civilian war-related deaths, 2000 military war-related deaths, 3,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 661: “…the First Kashmir War of 1947-49 cost the Indian army about 1,500 killed, 3,500 wounded, and 1,000 missing; the Azad Kashmir and the Pakistani Army about 1,000 battle-dead; and the Pathan tribesmen and Kashmiri civilians about 5,000 slain.”

*Interpretation:*

Clodfelter and COW agree closely if COW is coding (correctly per its coding rules) only military losses on each side of the conflict.
Low estimate: 2,000 (COW. Military losses only)
Best and high estimate: 7,500 (Clodfelter)

Fatalities information for conflict #20, conflict between India and Pakistan in 1964:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID # 1316 from 1964-5 estimates 26-100 deaths on each side of the conflict
MID #1467 in 1964 estimates 26-100 deaths on each side of the conflict

Interpretation:

Both MIDs were used to generate an estimate of battle deaths.

Low estimate: 104 (MID minimum)
High estimate: 400 (MID maximum)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #20, conflict between India and Pakistan in 1965:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #1312 in 1965 estimates at least 1,000 deaths each for India and Pakistan and no maximum number
MID #1315 in 1965-6 estimates 26-100 fatalities each for India and Pakistan
MID #2631 in 1965 estimates 101-150 fatalities each for India and Pakistan

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 20,000 deaths, mostly civilian
(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate more than 7,000 Indian and Pakistani troops were killed in 1965
(Clodfelter, 2002, 661): Estimates over 5,000 fatalities in 1965
(Eckhardt, 1996): 1965, “Pakistan vs. Kashmir; India interv:” 13,000 civilian war-related deaths, 7,000 military war-related deaths, 20,000 total war-related deaths.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“December 1965… Both sides claimed to have inflicted far heavier losses in men and material than they had themselves suffered. An Indian Defence Ministry spokesman stated on Sept. 25 that 1,333 Indians had been killed, 128 Indian tanks lost, and 35 Indian aircraft destroyed. Against this he estimated Pakistani losses at 4,802 men killed, 475 tanks destroyed or captured, and 73 aircraft destroyed; subsequently it was stated in New Delhi on Nov. 5 that 197 Pakistani tanks had been captured, 115 tanks destroyed, and more than 100 badly damaged. A military spokesman in Rawalpindi, on the other hand, on Sept. 24 gave Pakistani losses in men as 830 killed, compared with 7,000 Indians…”
Implies a total of 2,163 acknowledged losses. High estimates total 11,802.

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 5,000 (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 2,163 (Acknowledged losses from Keesing’s)
High estimate: 7,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)

Fatalities information for conflict #20, conflict between India and Pakistan in 1971: See below

Fatalities information for conflict #20, conflict between India and Pakistan in 1984:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #3959 in 1984 estimates 1-25 deaths each for India and Pakistan.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 100 killed in the Siachen Glacier dispute from April 1984 to September 1985

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 100 (Bercovitch and Jackson)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #20, conflict between India and Pakistan in 1987:
(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988): Estimate 100 fatalities in 1987

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 100 battle deaths
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths.

Fatalities information for conflict #20, conflict between India and Pakistan in 1989-2003, and conflict #169, internal conflict in Kashmir, 1989-2008:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #722, “India vs. Sikhs and Kashmiros’ 1985-ongoing: 30,000 state deaths and total deaths unknown.

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #3659 in 1990 estimates no Indian fatalities and 1-25 Pakistani fatalities
MID #4007 in 1993-99 estimates 501-999 fatalities each for India and Pakistan
MID #4223 in 1999-2000 estimates 26-100 fatalities each for India and Pakistan
MID #4277 in 2001-02 records an unknown number of fatalities for both India and Pakistan


(IISS, 2006): Estimate less than 2500 conflict related fatalities during 2003 in Kashmir, among them an estimated 325 soldiers, and > 2,000 suspected militants, civilians, and security personnel were killed between August 2002 and July 2003. “On the other hand, according to the South Asia Intelligence Review, 626 people were killed in Kashmir between November 2003 and February 2004, of which 297 were killed in the first two months of 2004…”

2004: Estimate over 1,800 battle deaths during 2004 in Kashmir (500 civilians killed until August 2004).


(Leitenberg, 2003): 1990-2000 “Kashmir”: 9,000 civilian, 20,000 military, 29,000 total war-related deaths.
(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 335: “The fighting in Kashmir claimed as many as twenty thousand lives between 1989 and 1995…”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 674-675: “By September 1, 2000 the official toll of the Kashmir Insurgency stood at 22,584 dead, including 19,781 non-combatants, 11,575 militants, and 2,316 members of the Indian security force.”
P. 675: “Kashmir Border War: 1999 … By the end of 1998 India had counted 616 military fatalities in the low level war on the glacier. Much more serious was the conflict that commenced on May 14, 1999… on July 11, India announced that battle-deaths in the Kargil conflict totalled 398 for its forces and 691 for Pakistan and the Kashmiri guerillas.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
Estimate 25,000-60,000 deaths in Kashmir since 1989.
Annual information:
2001: “According to media reports at least 1,500 people died in 2001 as a result of the conflict, the majority of them separatists and government soldiers.
2000: “…more than 2,600 deaths of Indian and Pakistani troops, Muslim insurgents and civilians - the highest figure in four years according to one source.”
1999: “…least 1,200 Indian and Pakistani troops and Muslim insurgents died
1998: “several hundred people were killed, including at least 100 in summer artillery exchanges between Indian and Pakistani troops
1997: “Over 2,100 civilian, security forces, and militant deaths’
1996: “The hundreds of deaths from conflict violence during 1996 may be a decline from fatality levels of earlier years. However, one report claimed 2,500 deaths up to the end of November.”
Estimate more than 1,000 deaths in 1995 and at least 1,300 deaths in 1994.

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: 2,000 to 2,500 killed (700 civilians, 500 security forces, 1,000 militants)
2004: >1,800
2005: >1,700

(US State Department Human Rights Report 2003): “The Home Ministry reported 2,841 cases of artillery shelling and mortar and small arms fire across the LOC killed an unknown number of civilians during the year [2003].” Estimate more than 2,714 killed (1,494-1,526 militants, more than 836 civilians, 381-384 security personnel).
(US State Department Human Rights Report 2004): For 2004 estimate 733 civilians (including 92 women, 32 children, and 62 political workers), 330 security forces, 976 militants (Total: 2,039)

(South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2008):  
Annual Fatalities in internal conflict:
1988: 31
1989: 92
1990: 1,177
1991: 1,393
1992: 1,909
1993: 2,567
1994: 2,899
1995: 2,796
1996: 2,903
1997: 2,372
1998: 2,261
1999: 2,538
2000: 3,288
2001: 4,507
2002: 3,022
2003: 2,542
2004: 1,810
2005: 1,739 (Total through 2005: 39,815)
2006: 1,116
2007: 777
2008: 541

SIPRI Yearbooks:

SIPRI Yearbook on conflict between India and Pakistan:
(Lindgren, Wilson and Wallensteen, 1989): Total 1971: 11,000; 1988: <100

(Lindgren et al., 1990): Total 1971: 11,000; 1981-89: >500; During 1989: <50

(Lindgren et al., 1991): Total 1971: 11,000; 1982-90: <600; During 1990: <100

(Amer et al., 1993): During 1992: unknown

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1997): Included with unknown marked for total deaths and for deaths in 1996

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1998): Included with unknown marked for total deaths and for deaths in 1997

(Sollenberg, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999): Included with unknown marked for total deaths and >300 for deaths in 1998

(Seybolt and Uppsala Conflict Data Project, 2000): Included with unknown marked for total deaths and 1,000-1,500 for deaths in 1999

(Seybolt, 2001): Included with unknown marked for total deaths and >200 for deaths in 2000

(Seybolt, 2002): Included with unknown marked for total deaths and >100 for deaths in 2001

(Wiharta and Anthony, 2003): Included with unknown marked for total deaths and >300 for deaths in 2002

(SIPRI Yearbook 2003): Estimate less than 1000 deaths in 2003

SIPRI Yearbook on conflict between India and Kashmir insurgents:

(Lindgren et al., 1990): India vs. KCF; All Bodo Students Union, Muslim Liberation Front, and Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front. Total all conflicts 1983-89: >16,000. In 1989: >2,000 in all conflicts.

(Lindgren et al., 1991): India vs. KCF, JKLF, Hizbul Mujahideen, all Student’s Liberation Front, All-Umar, ABSU/BVF, SPAC, ULFA, Naxalites, People’s War Group, NSCN. Total all conflicts: 1983-90: >19,800. 1990 in Punjab only: >3,800
(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): India vs. Sikh militants, Kashmir militants, ULFA, Naxalites, People’s War Group, People’s Liberation Army. Total: unknown. During 1991: >7,000 in all conflicts


(Wallensteen and Axell, 1994): India vs. Sikh militants, Kashmir militants, ATTF, BSF, NSCN, PLA, ULFA. Total including 1993 for Kashmir and Punjab since “unknown” and 1981, respectively: 33,600, with 25,200 from the Sikh conflict and 8,200 from the Kashmir conflict. In 1993 a total of >3,000 for all active conflicts with at least 2,600 in Kashmir.


(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996): vs. Kashmir insurgents, Sikh insurgents, BDSF, ULFA. Total deaths Sikh and Kashmir conflicts since “unknown” for Kashmir and 1981 for Sikhs: >37,000 with 25,000 in Sikh and at least 12,000 in Kashmir. In 1995 >500 deaths in these two conflicts combined.


(SIPRI, 2004): Estimate more than 1,000 deaths in 2003

(SIPRI, 2005): less than 1,100 deaths in 2004

(SIPRI, 2006): less than 1,100 deaths in 2005

(UCDP, 2009):
UCDP notes for conflict between India and Pakistan:
1989: >50 battle-related deaths
1990: >100
1991: 100
1992: >25
1993: 0-24
1994: 0-24
1995: 0-24
1996: >25
1997: >25
1998: >300
1999: 1,000-1,500
2000: >200
2001: >100
2003: Best and low estimate 211; high estimate 255
2004:
Best and low estimate: 1,246
High estimate: 1,447

2005:
Best estimate: 1,134
Low estimate: 1,126
High estimate: 1,738

2006:
Best estimate 1,046.
Low estimate: 902
High estimate: 1128.

2007:
Best and low estimate: 702
High estimate: 735

2008:
Best and high estimate: 749
Low estimate: 567

UCDP notes for civil conflict in Kashmir:
1989: >25. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to find reports on the separate incidents of violence. The estimate of battle related deaths must thus be based on the general accounts available, which clearly convey an impression of a mounting insurgency. By 11 December 1989 over 80 persons are said to have been killed in clashes with police, bombing and assassinations during JKLF’s campaign. The circumstances are not further specified, but other news reports confirm that several of these are killed by the police during general strikes or demonstrations or in indiscriminate attacks by the insurgents. A conservative estimate of battle-related deaths in 1989 can thus not be put higher than 25.”

1990: >2,000
1991: >1,290. Coder’s note: “In October it was reported that 1000 militants and 290 security personnel were killed during the year. Journalists claimed that several of the alleged militants were in reality civilian bystanders.”

1992: 2,000
1993: 2,600
1994: >800
1995: >500
1996: >500
1997: >500
1998: >800
1999: >1,200
2000: >2,000
2001: >3,000
2002: 1,500-3,000
2003: 1,246 – 1,894
2004: 1,075
2005: The best estimate is 1,058. The low estimate is 914, and the high estimate is 1,434.
2006: Low estimate: 702; Best estimate: 702; High estimate: 735.
2007: Best estimate: 749; Low estimate: 533; High estimate: 567. Coder’s note: “Hizbul Mujahideen, a leading insurgent group, alleged that the government systematically underreports fatalities to its forces, claiming that only one in ten killings is reported to the media. The group did not provide any evidence to substantiate this claim.”
2008: Best estimate of 458, low estimate of 450, high estimate of 513.

*Interpretation:*

For conflict #20 between India and Pakistan:

1989:
Best estimate: 50 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1990:
Best estimate: 100 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules; maximum per MID estimate)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
1991:
Best estimate: 100 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1992:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1996:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1997:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1998:
Low estimate: 300 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (Estimate of Indian fatalities in Clodfelter is 616)
No best estimate.

1999:
Best estimate: 1,089 (Official Indian estimate given in Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,500 (UCDP)

2000:
Best estimate: 200 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

2001:
Best estimate: 100 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

2002:
Low estimate: 300 (UCDP)
High estimate: 380 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

2003:
Best and low estimate: 211 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI)

For conflict #169, Kashmiri insurgency:

Estimated totals range from 20,000-30,000. The SATP figures were used as best estimates here because they are based on more detailed local news coverage than the other sources noted here. However, SATP figures may include some violence that would be considered one-sided according to the coding rules above.

1989:
Best and high estimate: 92 (SATP)
Low estimate: 80 (UCDP coder’s note)

1990:
Best estimate: 1,177 (SATP)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 2,000 (UCDP)

1991:
Best and high estimate: 1,393 (SATP)
Low estimate: 1,290 (UCDP)

1992:
Best estimate: 1,909 (SATP)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 2,000 (SIPRI; UCDP)

1993:
Best estimate: 2,567 (SATP)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 2,600 (SIPRI; UCDP)

1994:
Best and high estimate: 2,899 (SATP)
Low estimate: 800 (SIPRI; UCDP)

1995:
Best and high estimate: 2,796 (SATP)
Low estimate: 500 (UCDP)

1996:
Best and high estimate: 2,903 (SATP; Project Ploughshares notes an estimate of 2,500 deaths by end of November)
Low estimate: 500 (SIPRI; Project Ploughshares estimates ‘hundreds’ of deaths; UCDP)

1997:
Best and high estimate: 2,372 (SATP; Project Ploughshares estimates >2,100)
Low estimate: 500 (SIPRI; UCDP)

1998:
Best and high estimate: 2,261 (SATP)
Low estimate: 800 (SIPRI; Project Ploughshares estimates “several” hundred; UCDP)

1999:
Best and high estimate: 2,538 (SATP)
Low estimate: 1,200 (SIPRI; Project Ploughshares; UCDP)
2000:
Best and high estimate: 3,288 (SATP)
Low estimate: 2,000 (SIPRI; Project Ploughshares estimates 2,600; UCDP. High estimate 1989-2000 totals 27,142. Low estimate totals 10,670. Clodfelter notes an official estimate of >20,000 deaths by September 2000, which falls within the range estimated here)

2001:
Best and high estimate: 4,507 (SATP; SIPRI and UCDP estimate >3,000)
Low estimate: 1,500 (Project Ploughshares)

2002:
Best and high estimate: 3,022 (SATP; SIPRI and UCDP high estimate is 3,000)
Low estimate: 1,500 (SIPRI and UCDP low estimate)

2003:
Best estimate: 2,542 (SATP; IISS estimates <2,500; Ploughshares high estimate of 2,500)
Low estimate: 1,246 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,714 (US State Department)

2004:
Best estimate: 1,810 (SATP; IISS and Project Ploughshares estimate >1,800)
Low estimate: 1,075 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,039 (US State Department; BBC Monitoring)

2005:
Best and high estimate: 1,739 (SATP; Project Ploughshares estimates >1,700; BBC Monitoring estimates 1,708)
Low estimate: 914 (UCDP; SIPRI)

2006:
Best estimate: 1,116 (SATP)
High estimate: 1,128 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 902 (UCDP)
2007:
Best and high estimate: 777 (SATP)
Low estimate: 735 (SATP)

2008:
Best and low estimate: 541 (SATP)
High estimate: 749 (SATP)
The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflicts in India, outside of Kashmir:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
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<th>Years</th>
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<td>1190</td>
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<td>CPI</td>
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<td>1280</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1290</td>
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<td>CPI</td>
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<td>1948-51</td>
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<tr>
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<td>India</td>
<td>Naxalites, CPI-M, MCC, PWG</td>
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<td>1990-94</td>
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<td>2710</td>
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<td>ULFA, Assamese separatists</td>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>1989-2008</td>
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<td>2006</td>
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<td>2390</td>
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<td>TNV, ATTF, NLFT</td>
<td>Tripura</td>
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<td>Dimaraji</td>
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249
Fatalities information for conflict #19, conflict in Hyderabad with the CPI in 1947-48:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 61): “Hyderabad, whose internal security forces possessed insufficient resources to retain control, was racked by communal violence resulting in thousands of deaths.”

Interpretation:

Low estimate of 1,000 deaths per year and a high estimate of 9,999 deaths per year based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #28, conflict between India and Hyderabad in 1948:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #425, “Indo-Hyderabad” 1948: 1,000 Indian deaths out of a total of 2,000 deaths.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, Line 1589): Estimates of deaths in the Hyderabad rebellion 1948: 1,000 (low), 1,500 (middle), 2,000 (high).

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 661-2: “Total violent deaths, all but 10 of which were suffered by Hyderabad forces and its civilians, were about 1,200.”

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1948, “India vs. Hyderabad:” 1,000 civilian war-related deaths, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 2,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 61-62): “Approximately eight hundred Indian soldiers were killed during the two weeks of fighting, as were more than a thousand non-military personnel.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):

250
A Secunderabad communiqué said that during the 4 ½ days’ military operations casualties of the Hyderabad State forces were about 600 killed and an unknown number injured, whilst about 1,500 Razakars were believed killed and 1,000 captured; only 10 Indian Union troops were said to have been killed during the operation. … Oct. 30-Nov. 6, 1948 … A New Delhi announcement of Oct. 25 stated that casualties during the recent “police action” (i.e., the military operations) in Hyderabad State were as follows: Razakars - 1,373 killed, 42 wounded, 1,911 captured; State forces - 807 killed, 64 wounded, 1,647 captured; State police - 127 captured; “Communists, Pathans, Arabs, and Rohillas’ - 43 killed, 4 wounded, 267 captured.”

[Note: It seems that “state” refers to Hyderabad losses, not Indian Army losses, as Bercovitch and Jackson’s estimate implies.]

Interpretation:
The range of estimates is quite narrow, ranging from 1,200-2,360 (the latter is the sum of figures in Keesing’s)
Best and high estimate: 2,360 deaths (Keesing’s; this figure was most precisely accounted for)
Low estimate: 1,200

Fatalities information for conflict #29, civil conflict between India and the CPI in 1948-51:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events contains information filed on this conflict on 26-30 June 1948; 2-9 April 1949; 20-27 August 1949; 1-8 April 1950; and 26 April to 3 May 1952. These news reports do not suggest 1,000 battle deaths each year in violence between the Communists and the Indian government. Most of the incidents reported have few if any casualties and overall figures for political murders are in the hundreds rather than the 1,000s. Many of the incidents described should also be considered intracommunal/unorganized violence (such as riots and mob uprisings) under Uppsala/PRIO coding rules for definition of an armed conflict.

Interpretation: Because little information on battle-related fatalities could be identified, this conflict has a low estimate of 1,000 deaths per year and a high estimate of 9,999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #29, civil conflict between India and the Naxalites and the CPI in 1969-71:

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII. Country: India, 1968-82. Victimized groups: Naxalites. Number of victims: 1,000-3,000.

(Brogan, 1998):
They murdered officials and attacked police posts. ... Several hundred people had been killed in the disorders. The Naxalites appeared to be thoroughly defeated by the early 1970s.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 665: “The violence reached its peak in 1970. Between November 1969-July 1970 there were 80 political murders in West Bengal alone. A daily average of two bombs were detonated in March 1970. In the first ten months of 1970 there were 41 policemen assassinated….March 10, 1971 … Ten people were killed on that election day, 7 of them shot to death by the armed forces. ... The strength of the Naxalite movement was sapped in the early 1970s as the army, the police and right-wing paramilitary groups killed some 2,000 Marxist-Leninists and incarcerated up to 20,000 in West Bengal alone in a major counterinsurgency campaign.”

(South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2008): Gives estimates of deaths in Andhra Pradesh only:
1968: 3
1969: 111
1970: 55
1971: 25
1972: 53

Interpretation:

Brogan estimates the total toll of the conflict at several hundred. SATP data for Andhra Pradesh for the years 1968-72 total 247.

Best estimate: 247 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year.
High estimate: 300 (Brogan)
No trend coded.

Fatalities information for conflict #29, civil conflict between India and the Naxalites/PWG and MCC in 1990-94 and 1996-2005:

(IISS, 2003): Estimate more than 6,400 fatalities since 1980

(IISS, 2009):
2003: >400
2004: 101 civilians, 89 security forces, 69 left-wing militants (Total: 259)
2005: 281 civilians, 150 security forces, 283 militants (Total: 714)
2006: 752
2007: 650
2008: 800

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 195: “In Andhra Pradesh, Naxalites have killed over 2,000 people since 1984, including 35 policemen ... People’s Wars’ founder and leader, a teacher, was arrested in 1993, but minor acts of terrorism continued. The group tried to disrupt elections in 1994 by mining a road and killing ten people, including eight policemen.”

(Clodfelter, 2002, 665): “In the state of Andhra Pradesh alone, some 200 people died at the hands of the terrorists between 1984 and 1988. In 1990 the Naxalites killed 80 people in Andhra Pradesh in the year’s first nine months and in October they set fire to a railroad coach and burned 47 travellers to death.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
Estimate 1,100 to over 2,900 killed in the last ten years and up to 6,000 during the past two decades.
Annual estimates:
2002: “By November, an estimated 100 people had been killed in fighting between the PWG and government forces.”
2001: “According to media reports, an estimated 100 people were killed.”
2000: “Although at least 50 people were killed in 2000, this was a considerable decrease from 1999.”
1999: “Over 350 combatants and civilians were reported killed in 1999, a likely increase from the 1998 deaths due to the conflict.”
1998: “At least 300 according to a combination of police and press figures.”
1997: “At least 350 according to one report.”
1996: Police reported 156 deaths from 800 “violent incidents.”

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: Up to 500 fatalities
2004: >500. “More than 500 people were killed in sporadic, low-intensity fighting, a reduction from recent years. Most victims were members of the police forces or the TDP party.”
2005: >700. 281 civilians, 150 security forces, 286 Naxals = 717. Also report that, according to the Indian Ministry of Home Affairs fatalities were 516 civilians, 153 security forces, 223 Naxals = 892
(South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2009):
1990: 220 (Andhra Pradesh only)
1991: 370 (Andhra Pradesh only)
1992: 483 (Andhra Pradesh only)
1993: 310 (Andhra Pradesh only)
1994: 233 (Andhra Pradesh only)
1996: 359 (Andhra Pradesh only)
1997: 425 (Andhra Pradesh only)
1998: 667 (Andhra Pradesh and Bihar only)
1999: 594 (Andhra Pradesh and Bihar only)
2000: 548 (Andhra Pradesh and Bihar only)
2001: 432 (Andhra Pradesh and Bihar only)
2002: 482 (All-India; from Ministry of Home Affairs)
2003: 515 (All-India; from Ministry of Home Affairs)
2004: 566 (All-India; from Ministry of Home Affairs)
2005: 892 (All-India; from Ministry of Home Affairs); SATP estimate for same period: 717
2006: 742
2007: 650
2008: 638

(UCDP, 2009):
1990: 25. Coder’s note: “UNCLEAR. The total estimate of insurgency-related casualties in Andhra Pradesh, the Naxalite stronghold, during the year ranges between 180 - 195. It should be noted that this number includes civilian victims; many of them landowners and traders killed by the Maoist guerrilla following so called public trials. There is no reporting on the separate incidents of violence and it is hence not possible to separately confirm 25 battle-related deaths.”
1991: >35. Coder’s note: “There are few reports on the separate incidents of violence, and the number of battle-related deaths should be assumed to be higher than the 35 that can be separately confirmed.”
1992: 78-503. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to verify casualty estimates as the geographical area of the conflict is dispersed and the reporting on separate incidents is sparse. The low estimate of 78 is the confirmed battle related deaths in news material. High estimate of 503 is the official number of casualties both rebels, police, civilians and political targets.”
1993: 121-312. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to verify casualty estimates as the geographical area of the conflict is dispersed and the reporting on separate incidents is sparse. The low estimate includes confirmed battle related deaths in news material (where rebel casualties are seldom included) High estimate: government official numbers + additional reports after this date. Roughly, the number is equally split between casualties on the side of the militant’s and the side of the government - in which the authorities include both civilians and security personnel killed by the rebels.”

1994: 43 Coder’s note: “It is difficult to verify casualty estimates as the geographical area of the conflict is dispersed and the reporting on separate incidents is sparse. 43 battle-related deaths can be confirmed in the news material, and the above number should thus merely be considered a low estimate for this year.”

1995: 0-24

1996: 138-442. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to verify casualty estimates as the geographical area of the conflict is dispersed and the reporting on separate incidents is sparse. The low estimate of 138 includes the lowest numbers given for rebels and security personnel killed during 1996. The high estimate of 442 includes the high estimates of rebels and security personnel killed, as well as civilians killed in "clashes and ambushes’ during 1996.”

1997: 43-166. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to verify casualty estimates as the geographical area of the conflict is dispersed and the reporting on separate incidents is sparse. 1997 was furthermore marked by fierce inter-factional fighting and civilian massacres by private armies on the basis of "caste rivalry.” It is thus difficult to separate the number of battle-related deaths among the casualties. The low estimate includes the 43 police reported killed during the year, the high estimate include not only police, but also rebel casualties (civilians excluded).”

1998: >25. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to verify casualty estimates as the geographical area of the conflict is dispersed and the reporting on separate incidents is sparse. 1997 was furthermore marked by fierce inter-factional fighting and civilian massacres by private armies on the basis of "caste rivalry.” The above is merely a low estimate of battle related deaths.”

1999: >125. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to verify casualty estimates as the geographical area of the conflict is dispersed and the reporting on separate incidents is sparse. The year was furthermore marked by fierce inter-factional fighting and civilian massacres by private armies on the basis of "caste rivalry.” The above is merely a low estimate of total battle related deaths.

2000: 185. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to verify casualty estimates as the geographical area of the conflict is dispersed and the reporting on separate incidents is sparse. The above is merely a low estimate of total battle related deaths.”

2001: 177 – 273 Coder’s note: “Low estimate is confirmed battle related deaths within the two active dyads during the year. To the high estimate civilians and violence generally attributed to "Naxalites’ are also included.”

2002: 188

2003: 99-279. Coder’s note: “Low estimate is the confirmed battle-related deaths in the news material. High estimate includes additional incidents reported by secondary sources”

2004: 71

2005: The Best and low estimate is 199. The high estimate is 239.
2006: Battle-related deaths were estimated to range from 426-479 for 2006; the best estimate is 426.
2007: Low estimate: 339; Best estimate: 345; High estimate: 396.
2008: Best estimate of 378, low estimate of 365, high estimate of 431.

*Interpretation:*

As for the Kashmir conflict, SATP figures were generally used as best estimates because they are based on the largest number of local news sources.

1990:
Best and high estimate: 220 (SATP figure for Andhra Pradesh only)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1991:
Best and high estimate: 370 (SATP figure for Andhra Pradesh only)
Low estimate: 35 (UCDP)

1992:
Best and high estimate: 503 (Official figure; provided in UCDP coder’s note)
Low estimate: 78 (UCDP)

1993:
Best and high estimate: 312 (Based on UCDP coder’s note; SATP estimate for Andhra Pradesh is 310)
Low estimate: 121 (UCDP)

1994:
Best and high estimate: 233 (SATP figure for Andhra Pradesh only)
Low estimate: 43 (UCDP)

1996:
Best estimate: 442 (UCDP; SATP figure for Andhra Pradesh only is 359)
Low estimate: 138 (UCDP)
1997:
Best and high estimate: 425 (SATP figure for Andhra Pradesh only)
Low estimate: 43 (UCDP)

1998:
Best and high estimate: 667 (SATP figure for Andhra Pradesh and Bihar only)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1999:
Best and high estimate: 594 (SATP figure for Andhra Pradesh and Bihar only)
Low estimate: 125 (UCDP)

2000:
Best and high estimate: 548 (SATP figure for Andhra Pradesh and Bihar only)
Low estimate: 50 (Project Ploughshares)

2001:
Best and high estimate: 432 (SATP figure for Andhra Pradesh and Bihar only)
Low estimate: 100 (Project Ploughshares)

2002:
Best and high estimate: 482 (India Home Ministry, provided by SATP)
Low estimate: 100 (Project Ploughshares)

2003:
Best and high estimate: 515 (India Home Ministry, provided by SATP. Ploughshares estimates up to 500 deaths. IISS estimates >400)
Low estimate: 99 (UCDP)

2004:
Best and high estimate: 566 (India Home Ministry, provided by SATP. Ploughshares estimates >500)
Low estimate: 71 (UCDP)
2005:
Best and high estimate: 892 (India Home Ministry, provided by SATP. Ploughshares estimates >700. IISS estimates 714)
Low estimate: 199 (UCDP)

2006:
Best estimate: 742 (SATP)
Low estimate: 426 (UCDP)
High estimate: 752 (IISS)

2007:
Best and high estimate: 650 (IISS and SATP)
Low estimate: 339 (UCDP)

2008:
Best estimate: 638 (SATP)
Low estimate: 365 (UCDP)
High estimate: 800 (IISS)

Fatalities information for conflict #54, civil conflict in Nagaland in 1956-59 and 1961-68:

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, lines 1678-1681): Estimates “democide” in Naga revolt from 1954-64: 3,200 (low); 12,000 (medium); 20,000 (high)

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 191: “according to the government, 1,400 Naga and 162 Indian soldiers were killed. There were frequent and credible reports of massacres and tortures by the troops.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 662: “According to government figures, 1,400 Naga rebels and 162 Indian security personnel were killed in 1956-57. Low-level guerrilla warfare continued until India agreed to recognize Nagaland as its sixteenth state, separating the region from Assam on December 1, 1963. … at least 2,000 people must have died in the nine years of violence.”
Keesing’s Record of World Events was reviewed for information on the Naga conflict. In addition to mentioning a number of incidents without giving fatalities, but the following fatalities are reported specifically:

1956: 300 people killed through March; 439 combatant deaths through July
1958: Official govt. figure: of a total of 1,397 dead through end of August 1958
1961: 27 in the first half of the year, 95 from Sep to Feb 62
1962: 95 from Sep. 61 to Feb. 62
1963: 25
1964: 23, ceasefire in August
1965: Ceasefire holds until November
1966: 4 from Dec. 1965 to Feb. 1966; 133 during the rest of the year
1967: 21
1968: >200

Interpretation:

1956:
Best estimate: 781 (Based on Indian government estimate, in Clodfelter, of 1,562 rebel and Naga rebel deaths 1956-57)
Low estimate: 439 (Based on Keesing’s report of deaths through July)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules; Indian government estimate does not include civilian deaths)

1957:
Best estimate: 781 (Based on Indian government estimate, in Clodfelter, of 1,562 rebel and Naga rebel deaths 1956-57)
Low estimate: 479 (Based on total of 1,397 deaths through August 1958 reported in Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules; Indian government estimate does not include civilian deaths)

1958:
Low estimate: 479 (Based on total of 1,397 deaths through August 1958 reported in Keesing’s. Low estimate 1956-58 totals 1397)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.
1959:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1961:
Low estimate: 90 (27 deaths in 1961 reported in Keesing’s plus two-thirds of 95 deaths from Sept. 1961 to Feb. 1962 reported in Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1962:
Low estimate: 32 (One-thirds of 95 deaths from Sept. 1961 to Feb. 1962 reported in Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1963:
Low estimate: 25 (Keesing’s; Low estimate through 1963 totals 1,569. Clodfelter estimates >2,000 killed by 1963)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1964:
Low estimate: 23 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1965:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1966:
Low estimate: 133 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1967:
Low estimate: 21 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1968:
Low estimate: 200 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #54, civil conflict in Nagaland in 1992-97, 2000, and 2005-07:

(IISS, 2003): Estimates more than 5,000 fatalities 1980-2003

(IISS, 2008): Estimated conflict deaths:
1997: 100
1998: 50
1999: Not active
2000: Not active
2001: 100
2002: 50
2003: 30
2004: 60
2005: 40
2006: 101
2007: 110
2008: 201

(South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2008):
1992: 96
1993: 173
1994: 192
1995: 213
1996: 304
1997: 360
1998: 112
1999: 148
2000: 101
2001: 103
2002: 36
2003: 37
2004: 58
2005: 40
2006: 147
2007: 154
2008: 201

(UCDP, 2009):
1992: >40. Coder’s note: “Low estimate. This includes violence by both factions of the NSCN directed against the government. The news reporting does not make it possible to separate casualties caused by the NSCN (K) and the NSCN (I-M). Fierce inter-factional fighting resulting in heavy casualties does, however, take place between the two factions throughout 1992.”
1993: >32. Coder’s note: “Low estimate. This includes violence by both factions of the NSCN directed against the government. The news reporting does not make it possible to separate casualties caused by the NSCN (K) and the NSCN (I-M).”
1996: >25. Coder’s note: “22 battle-related deaths are confirmed in the news reporting, but detailed datasheets from the South Asian Terrorist Portal indicate that this estimate is too low. 1996 is characterized by a peak in violence in their statistics, and reporting in the newspaper do also suggest that the number of battle-related deaths is higher. They report 48 killed security personnel by NSCN (I/M) and 112 NSCN (I/M) killed by security personnel.”
1997: >45. Coder’s note: “Low estimate. Heavy casualties this year is also caused by fighting between rivalry factions of the insurgency.”
1998: 14. Coder’s note: “The NSCN (I-M) maintained its ceasefire agreement with the government and this lead to a substantive decrease in violence during the year. The NSCN Khaplang faction remained however opposed to a negotiated settlement, and battle-related deaths during 1998 is primarily blamed on them.”

1999: 0-24

2000: 34. Coder’s note: “19 of these are confirmed battle-related deaths by the NSCN (IM). 15 are ascribed to NSCN, but not specifically to any of the two factions. The geographical and political context of the violence supported the assumption that approximately half of these can be attributed to the Isaac Muivah faction.”

2001: 10

2002: 12

2003: 1

2004: 19

2005: 38

2006: Best and low estimate: 42. High estimate: 82.

2007: Low estimate: 105; Best estimate: 105; High estimate: 117.

2008: Estimate 1 battle death.

Interpretation:

Again, SATP figures were used as best estimates because they are based on the greatest number of local news reports.

1992:
Best and high estimate: 96 (SATP)
Low estimate: 40 (UCDP)

1993:
Best and high estimate: 173 (SATP)
Low estimate: 32 (UCDP)

1994:
Best and high estimate: 192 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
1995:
Best and high estimate: 213 (SATP)
Low estimate: 55 (UCDP)

1996:
Best and high estimate: 304 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1997:
Best and high estimate: 360 (SATP)
Low estimate: 45 (UCDP; IISS estimate is 100)

2000:
Best and high estimate: 101 (SATP)
Low estimate: 34 (UCDP)

2005:
Best and high estimate: 99 (SATP; IISS)
Low estimate: 38 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and high estimate: 147 (SATP)
Low estimate: 42

2007:
Best and high estimate: 265 (SATP)
Low estimate: 105 (UCDP; IISS similar)

Fatalities information for conflict #99, civil conflict in Mizoram in 1966-68:

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 192: “In the course of the insurgency, according to Indian estimates, about 1,500 people had been killed.”
(Clodfelter, 2002):

P. 664: “In the first year of the insurgency about 500 people were slain. ... About 1,500 people died in the insurgency.”

_Interpretation:_

Best estimate: 1,500 deaths; coded with 500 deaths in the first year based on Clodfelter.
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

_Fatalities information for conflict #169, civil conflict in Kashmir: See above_

_Fatalities information for conflict #156, civil conflict in Punjab/Khalistan in 1983-93:_

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):


(Clodfelter, 2002):

P. 673: “The most serious incident was the October 1983 derailing of a train in Punjab that killed 219 people. By June 1984 a total of 410 people had been killed in the violence, not counting those who died in the train derailment.”
P. 673: “On June 3, 1984, ... an assault, named Operation Blue Star, on the Golden Temple. ...The official toll was 492 Sikh militants and civilians killed ...the Indian Army lost 84 killed, 262 wounded. A higher count put Sikh deaths at 780 and Indian losses at 220 killed and 500 wounded. ... At least another 1,000 people died in the state in the week following the attack. On October 31, 1984, Indira Gandhi herself became a casualty of the Golden Temple when 2 of her Sikh guards assassinated her in New Delhi. Riots broke out in the wake of the assassination and in four days 2,717 people, most of them Sikhs, were killed ... On June 23, 1985, a bomb, most likely planted by Sikh terrorists, blew up an Air India plane over the Atlantic, killing 329 people.”
P. 673: “In 1985, 65 people were killed; in 1986, 609. The toll for 1987 was 1,566; for 1988, 2,000. ... In 1989, 1,821 were killed in separatist violence ... By the end of November 1990, 2,995 people had died in the Punjab in 1990. ... In 1991 the yearly death toll climbed to 4,766. ... By late 1993 ... deaths in political violence in the Punjab numbered less than 500 for the year.”

265
(Brogan, 1998):
P. 198-99: “In 1985, 65 people were killed in Punjab; in 1986, 609; in 1987, 1,566; and in 1988, 2,000. … By the end of 1988, 2,000 people had been killed, and murders continued in 1989 at a rate of 200 a month. Even more were killed in 1990 and 1991.”

(South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2008):
1981: 29
1982: 22
1983: 108
1984: 456
1985: 73
1986: 636
1987: 1333
1988: 2432
1989: 2072
1990: 4263
1991: 5265
1992: 3883
1993: 871
1994: 78
1995: 11
Total: 21,532

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(Goose, 1987): India vs. separatist, ethnic and religious rebels since 1947. 1983-86: 10,000 total deaths.


(Lindgren et al., 1990): India vs. KCF; All Bodo Students Union, Muslim Liberation Front, and Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front. Total all conflicts 1983-89: >16,000. 1989>2,000.

(Lindgren et al., 1991): India vs. KCF, JKLF, Hizbul Mujahideen, all Student’s Liberation Front, All-Umar, ABSU/BVF, SPAC, ULFA, Naxalites, People’s War Group, NSCN
Total all conflicts: 1983-90: >19,800. 1990 in Punjab only: >3,800

(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): India vs. Sikh militants, Kashmir militants, ULFA, Naxalites, People’s War Group, People’s Liberation Army. Total: unknown. During 1991: >7,000 in all conflicts

(Amer et al., 1993): India vs. Sikh militants, Kashmir militants, ATTF, BSF, NSCN, PLA, ULFA faction, JMM, MCC, People’s War Group.
Total in Kashmir (start date unknown) and Punjab (since 1981), including 1992: >30,000. Approximately 25,000 of these killed in the Sikh conflict. In 1992: 2,000 killed in Kashmir. 3,600 killed in Punjab.


(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996): vs. Kashmir insurgents, Sikh insurgents, BDSF, ULFA. Total deaths Sikh and Kashmir conflicts since “unknown” for Kashmir and 1981 for Sikhs: >37,000, with 25,000 in Sikh and at least 12,000 in Kashmir. In 1995: >500 deaths in these two conflicts combined.

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: Best estimate: 2000 deaths. High estimate: 3000. Estimate 5,000-10,000 total deaths in the conflict. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to give estimates of total battle related deaths in the conflict, as random killings of civilian Hindus has been a salient characteristic of the rebels’ campaign since the initiation of the conflict. Incidents of intercommunal violence has thus at times been more usual than conventional attacks on military forces or on representatives of the Indian government.”
1990: >3800
1991: 5700
1992: 3600
1993: 100 – 700 Coder’s note: “According to police sources 700 militants had been killed in encounters with the police and 20 civilians had been killed during 1993. The reporting on separate incidents is close to missing, and it is hence not possible to confirm any exact estimate of battle related deaths. The police was widely criticized both by the Sikh community and external observers for excessive use of force and randomly killing of alleged militants. The number of total battle related deaths is thus put between 100 and 700.”
1994: 20. Coder’s note: “Unclear case. 20 battle-related deaths can be confirmed in the material. The police force is accused, both by civilians and external observers, of excessive use of force, widespread detention and extrajudicial killings in the attempt to suppress the rebellion. The number of casualties can thus be assumed to be much higher. Whether these should be counted as battle related is, however, not clear.”

Interpretation:

In general, SATP is used as the most reliable source for India fatalities. However, the founder of the organization was the head of the police in Punjab for a period and is a controversial figure. For this conflict, therefore, SATP estimates were used as best estimates only where other sources agreed closely.

1983:
Low estimate: 108 (SATP)
High estimate: 219 (Clodfelter report of deaths in train derailing)
No best estimate.

1984:
Low estimate: 456 (SATP)
High estimate: 2,631 (From Clodfelter’s estimate of 410 deaths by June 1984, not including 219 deaths in train derailment, plus high estimate of 2,329 people killed after June 3, not including those killed in rioting)
No best estimate.

1985:
Best and high estimate: 73 (SATP)
Low estimate: 65 (Clodfelter; Brogan)

1986:
Best and high estimate: 636 (SATP; Clodfelter and Brogan estimate 609)
Low estimate: 370 (Based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules of <1,000 deaths 1983-86. Low estimate totals 999)

1987:
Best estimate: 1,333 (SATP)
Low estimate: 600 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 1,566 (Clodfelter; Brogan)

1988:
Best and high estimate: 2,432 (SATP)
Low estimate: 2,000 (Clodfelter; Brogan; SIPRI)

1989:
Best estimate: 2,072 (SATP; UCDP estimates 2,000; SIPRI estimates >2,000)
Low estimate: 1,821 (Clodfelter)
High estimate: 3,000 (UCDP Coder’s note)

1990:
Best and high estimate: 4,263 (SATP. SIPRI and UCDP estimate >3,800)
Low estimate: 2,995 (Clodfelter)

1991:
Best estimate: 5,265 (SATP)
Low estimate: 4,766 (Clodfelter)
High estimate: 5,700 (UCDP)

1992:
Best and high estimate: 3,883 (SATP)
Low estimate: 3,600 (SIPRI; UCDP)

1993:
Best and high estimate: 871 (SATP; UCDP coder’s note suggests >720 deaths)
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP; Clodfelter estimates 500)
Fatalities information for conflict #170, conflict with ethnic Assamese insurgents, 1990-91, 1994-2008:

(IISS, 2003): Estimate more than 4,500 deaths since 1979 in all of Assam

(IISS, 2009): Estimate less than 500 fatalities in ULFA and Bodoland violence between August 2002 and July 2003
2004: Estimate 350 conflict deaths in fighting with ULFA and UPDS.
2005: 240 deaths in Assam, majority related to ULFA-government violence, but also including tribal clashes resulting in at least 103 deaths.
2006: 140
2007: 450
2008: 387

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 194: “several thousand people have been killed in the dispute since 1986. … A truce was signed in August 1989 … Another 70 people were killed in the two weeks after the truce was approved.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 665: “In 1990 a separatist movement in Assam itself arose. An organization called the United Liberation Front of Assam carried on armed rebellion throughout the decade. By 2000 some 10,000 lives had been lost in the insurgency.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003): The Project Ploughshares report combines the conflicts in Assam, Bodo, Tripura and Manipur. Estimate more than 11,000 have been killed in all ongoing conflicts in Northeast India.
Yearly estimates:
2002: “Assam continued to be the state most affected by violence in north-eastern India, though casualties declined from 606 in 2001 to 407 in the first ten months of 2002.”
2001: “There were more than 600 fatalities in Assam in 2001.”
1999: “According to government figures, over 800 civilians, rebels and government forces were killed in 1999.”
1998: “The government reported more than 1,000 deaths in 1998, including over 600 civilian casualties.”
1996: “At least 250 deaths from ethnic clashes, bombings, assassinations and isolated attacks.”
1994: “At least 150.”

(SATP, 2008):
1992: 61; 133 deaths in all Assam conflicts
1993: 84; 131 deaths in all Assam conflicts
1994: 109; 271 deaths in all Assam conflicts
1995: 48; 270 deaths in all Assam conflicts
1996: 142; 451 deaths in all Assam conflicts
1997: 229; 537 deaths in all Assam conflicts
1998: 255; 783 deaths in all Assam conflicts
1999: 206; 503 deaths in all Assam conflicts
2000: 407; 758 deaths in all Assam conflicts
2001: 231; 606 deaths in all Assam conflicts
2002: 445 deaths in all conflicts in Assam
2003: 191; 505 deaths in all conflicts in Assam
2004: 354 deaths in all conflicts in Assam
2005: 242 deaths in all conflicts in Assam
2006: 137 in incidents involving ULFA, 242 in Assam
2007: 250 in incidents involving ULFA, 439 in Assam
2008: 204 in incidents involving ULFA, 387 in Assam

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(UCDP, 2009):
1990: 80. Coder’s note: “Best estimate. Several reports addressed the tense situation in Assam throughout the year, but very little specified information is given about casualties. Because of this lack of information about the circumstances and exact targets both regarding the rebel-campaign and the government’s counter offensive no more than 25 battle related deaths can be given as a low estimate. The strategy of ULFA does not primarily target civilian victims, but rather military, politicians and economical targets. A high estimate of number of battle related deaths could be several hundred.”

Coder’s note regarding total battle deaths: “The ULFA launched its military campaign in the early 1980s, but the records relating to the early phase of the insurgency is not clear. The number of total battle related deaths given is thus nothing else than the best estimate for the year of recorded conflict, and does not reflect the casualties in the conflict up until 1990.”

1991: 100. Coder’s note: “There is no exact reporting on the number of battle related deaths from independent sources. Best estimate is based on press releases from each side and more general assessments.”

1992: 0-24
1993: NA

1994: 25. Coder’s note: “There is no exact reporting on the number of battle related deaths from independent sources. Best estimate is based on press releases from each side and more general estimates for a longer period of time. In addition to strict battle-related deaths allegedly over 100 persons lost their lives in fighting between ULFA -surrenders and - militants only in the first half of 1994.”

1995: >25. Coder’s note: “There is no exact reporting on the number of battle related deaths from independent sources. Best estimate is based on press releases from each side and more general estimates for a longer period of time. The casualty-estimate is complicated by the fact that the ULFA and BDSF (Bodo security force) were launching joint operations. Since the general impression is that battle related deaths are under-reported in the conflict, all such incidents have also been included. The number of casualties has in these cases systematically been divided on the two outfits”

1996: >35. Coder’s note: “There is no exact reporting on the number of battle related deaths from independent sources. Best estimate is based on press releases from each side and more general estimates for a longer period of time. The casualty-estimate is complicated by the fact that the ULFA and BDSF (Bodo security force) were launching joint operations. Since the general impression is that battle related deaths are under-reported in the conflict, all such incidents have also been included. The number of casualties has in these cases systematically been divided on the two outfits”

1997: 50. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 35 (verified battle-related deaths, both incident and perpetrator) Best estimate: 50 (all explicitly reported deaths where ULFA is the likely perpetrators in the collected news material) High estimate: >167. According to official sources cited in Baruah, 1999, ULFA was responsible for 124 deaths during 1997, whereof 67 was security personnel. Intercommunal violence, taking the lives of approximately 200 persons, is not included. ULFA cadres killed by the security forces is put at 100. There is no exact reporting on the number of battle related deaths from independent sources. Low estimate is based on press releases from each side and more general estimates for a longer period of time. The casualty-estimate is complicated by the fact that the ULFA and BDSF (Bodo
security force) and also National Socialist Council of Nagaland are launching joint operations. Since the general impression is that battle related deaths are under-reported in the conflicts, all such incidents have also been included. The number of casualties has then systematically been divided on the participating outfits.”

1998: >25. Coder’s note: “Low estimate. (Confirmed battle-related deaths, both incident and perpetrators)”

1999: Low estimate: 25, best estimate: 68

2000: 100
2001: >138
2002: >58
2003: 42-142
2004: 73
2005: 56-204. Coder’s note: “The Best and low estimate is 56. The high estimate is 204, but this includes estimates from a large Indian assault that began at the end of 2004 against several northeastern groups. As such, it is not clear to what extent these fatalities occurred in 2005, nor whether they are all related to the Assam conflict.”

2006: Low estimate: 49; Best estimate: 49; High estimate: 52
2007: Best and low estimate is 116. High estimate is 117.
2008: Best and low estimate of 77, high estimate of 79.

**Interpretation:**

1990:
Best estimate: 80 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1991:
Best estimate: 100 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1994:
Best estimate: 109 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 150 (Project Ploughshares, includes multiple conflicts)
1995:
Best and high estimate: 48 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1996:
Best estimate: 142 (SATP)
Low estimate: 35 (UCDP)
High estimate: 250 (Project Ploughshares, includes multiple conflicts)

1997:
Best estimate: 229 (SATP)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 350 (Project Ploughshares, includes multiple conflicts)

1998:
Best estimate: 255 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (Project Ploughshares, includes multiple conflicts)

1999:
Best estimate: 206 (SATP)
Low estimate: 68 (UCDP)
High estimate: 800 (Project Ploughshares, includes multiple conflicts)

2000:
Best and high estimate: 407 (SATP)
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP)

2001:
Best estimate: 231 (SATP)
Low estimate: 138 (UCDP)
High estimate: 606 (Project Ploughshares, includes multiple conflicts)
2002:
Best and low estimate: 58 (UCDP)
High estimate: 445 (SATP estimate deaths in all conflicts in Assam; Project Ploughshares estimate for all conflicts is similar)

2003:
Best and high estimate: 191 (SATP)
Low estimate: 42 (UCDP)

2004:
Best and low estimate: 73 (UCDP)
High estimate: 354 (SATP estimate deaths in all conflicts in Assam)

2005:
Best estimate: 137 (IISS estimates 240 deaths in Assam, at least 103 not in ULFA-Government violence)
Low estimate: 56 (UCDP)
High estimate: 254 (SATP estimate of deaths in all conflicts in Assam)

2006:
Best estimate: 137 (Numbers from SATP datasheet documenting incidents involving the ULFA)
Low estimate: 49 (UCDP)
High estimate: 140 (All conflict incidents in Assam documented by SATP; IISS)

2007:
Best and high estimate: 250 (Numbers from SATP datasheet documenting incidents involving the ULFA)
Low estimate: 116 (UCDP)
High estimate: 450 (All conflict incidents in Assam documented by SATP; IISS)

2008:
Best estimate: 204 (Numbers from SATP datasheet documenting incidents involving the ULFA)
Low estimate: 77 (UCDP)
High estimate: 387 (All conflict incidents in Assam documented by SATP; IISS)
Fatalities information for conflict #227, conflict against Bodo insurgents, 1989-90 and 1993-2004:

(IISS, 2003): Estimate more than 4,500 deaths since 1979 in all of Assam

(IISS, 2006): Estimate less than 500 fatalities in ULFA and Bodoland violence between August 2002 and July 2003

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 194: “… Thousands of people were killed in riots, massacres and military actions in February 1993, and Bodo raids on Muslim refugees from Bangladesh have killed hundreds. In December 1996, the BSF bombed a train in Eastern Assam, killing nearly a hundred people.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 673: “Assam was also the scene of a Bodo tribal uprising from 1987-97. Two factions - the Bodoland Tiger Liberation Front and the Bodo Security Force - carried out attacks on civilians and security personnel, including the destruction of a train on December 30, 1996, that killed 100 people. Before the Bodos were placated with greater autonomy in 1997, at least 1,000 people were killed in this insurgency.”


(SATP, 2008):
1992: 0 deaths related to BLTF; 48 related to NDFB
1993: 0 deaths related to BLTF; 37 related to NDFB
1994: 0 deaths related to BLTF; 136 related to NDFB
1995: 9 deaths related to BLTF; 155 related to NDFB
1996: 66 deaths related to BLTF; 216 related to NDFB
1997: 62 deaths related to BLTF; 193 related to NDFB
1998: 148 deaths related to BLTF; 364 related to NDFB
1999: 65 deaths related to BLTF; 177 related to NDFB
2000: 23 deaths related to BLTF; 224 related to NDFB
2001: 7 deaths related to BLTF; 254 related to NDFB
For 2002, estimate 445 deaths in all conflicts in Assam

(UCDP, 2006)
1989: estimate 60 battle deaths. Coder’s note: “It is not possible to give an accurate and verifiable estimate of battle-related deaths this year. Casualties are given in crude numbers. Neither the circumstances nor the perpetrators can be identified in separate incidents. There are also allegations that the degree of turmoil is exaggerated by political forces trying to destabilized the state government. Furthermore, the overall picture suggests that most of the violence is indiscriminately targeting civilians, and is hence not included among the battle-related deaths. 60 is the low estimate of battle-related deaths, and includes the security personnel killed in the early months of 1989.”
Coder’s note regarding total deaths: “The records, especially relating to the early phase of the Bodo-insurgency, is insufficient to be able to give an exact estimate of the total number of battle-related deaths. The above number is merely the sum of the low estimates given for each year of recorded conflict.”
1991: 0-24
1992: NA
1993: 25
1994: >28
1995: 25
1996: >52. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: confirmed battle related deaths in the NDFB/government-dyad The vast majority of casualties this year is civilians killed either in non-state violence between the Bodos and Santhal tribesmen - approximately 200 casualties in 1996 - or in one-sided violence by the Bodo militants against non-tribesmen. + 25 BLTF”
1998: >50
1999>25. Coder’s note: “Not re-counted, taken from the UCDP list”
2000: 35. Coder’s note: “Low estimate, based on the ucdp list and an additional estimate based on the same sources.”
2001: >61. Coder’s note: “UCDP list”
2002: 44.
2003: 100-122
2004: 30

Interpretation:

1989:
Best estimate: 63 (Based on Clodfelter estimate of 1,000 deaths by 1997)
Low estimate: 60 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
1990:
Best estimate: 63 (Based on Clodfelter estimate of 1,000 deaths by 1997)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1993:
Best and high estimate: 37 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1994:
Best and high estimate: 136 (SATP)
Low estimate: 28 (UCDP)

1995:
Best and high estimate: 164 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1996:
Best and high estimate: 282 (SATP; at least 100 killed per Brogan and Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 52 (UCDP)

1997:
Best and high estimate: 255 (SATP; Clodfelter estimates at least 1,000 deaths through 1997. Best estimate 1989-97 totals 1,000)
Low estimate: 40 (UCDP coder’s note)

1998:
Best and high estimate: 512 (SATP)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)

1999:
Best and high estimate: 242 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

2000:  
Best and high estimate: 247 (SATP)  
Low estimate: 35 (UCDP)

2001:  
Best and high estimate: 261 (SATP)  
Low estimate: 61 (UCDP)

2002:  
Best and low estimate: 44 (UCDP)  
High estimate: 445 (SATP estimate of deaths in all Assam conflicts)

2003:  
Best and low estimate: 100 (UCDP)  
High estimate: 503 (US State Dept. estimates 503 deaths in all conflicts in Assam)

2004:  
Best and low estimate: 30 (UCDP)  
High estimate: 350 (IISS estimate for all conflict deaths in Assam)


(IISS, 2009):  
2003: 300  
2004: 150  
2006: 58

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 192: “The TVF started the war by massacring over 1,000 Bengali settlers. In the fighting since then, another 1,000 people were killed.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 672-73: “Ethnic rivalries exploded into bloody riots in June 1980 …at least 1,000 people, mostly Bengalis, had been butchered. The toll of the riots, India’s worst since partition, may even have reached 2000 dead. Bijoy Kumar Hrangkhawl organized a 400-man Tripura Volunteer Force following the riots to continue attacks on the Bengalis. These attacks resulted in at least 1,000 additional deaths before a cease-fire on August 12, 1988”

(SATP, 2008):
1992: 98
1993: 183
1994: 238
1995: 257
1996: 189
1997: 274
1998: 265
1999: 303
2000: 514
2001: 312
2002: 175
2003: 295
2004: 167
2005: 73
2006: 50

(Ploughshares, 2006): Report 56 people killed in Tripura between 1 January and 11 March 2003, including 44 civilians, six insurgents and six security force members


(UCDP, 2006):
1992: 29. Coder’s note: “A conservative estimate is that ATTF-ambushes during the last half of 1992 cause 24 battle related deaths. If the number of civilian casualties and casualties suffered by governmental paramilitary groups should be counted in, the estimate is about twice as high.”

1993: 25. Coder’s note: “Low estimate 22: two dozen TUJS-associates are reported to have been killed in post poll violence by mid may 1993. In mid June and early July this estimate is reiterated by news sources, which simultaneously report of continuing violence. Most of the 22 confirmed dead are TUJS member of parliament. Both in February and in September there are, in addition to these, together 25 killings reported. Official sources report that 15 security personnel have been killed by tribal guerrillas this year, and these appear not to be included in the above estimate. Given sporadic and unsystematic reporting my impression is that the number of casualties caused by the ATTF are somewhat underreported. My best estimate is thus 25.”

1994: 0-24

1995: >25. Coder’s note: “It is only NLFT which is active in the conflict this year. Best estimate: 30”

1996: 0. Coder’s note: “There were recorded incidents for both ATTF and NLFT during 1996. However, none of the dyads reached the threshold of 25 battle related deaths. Therefore the conflict in Tripura is not active in 1996.”

1997: >60. Coder’s note: “Low estimate, including battle related deaths in fighting between the paramilitaries under army military and administrative control: Assam rifles and the Central Reserve Police Force.”

1998: >50
1999: >50

2000: >50. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 50. Also this year the conflict is dominated by civilian massacres, more than regular fighting between the antagonists. Fighting between the two dominant rebel groups also took a heavy death toll that is also not included in the above estimate.”

2001: 58 Coder’s note: “Low estimate.”

2002: 43
2003: 114
2004: 46
2005: 0-24


Interpretation:

For the period prior to and including 1980, no information was found on battle fatalities as opposed to deaths in rioting.

1978-79: Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and high estimate of 999 deaths per year from UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.
1980:
Low estimate: 25 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 3,000 (Clodfelter’s maximum estimate for deaths in riots in 1980)
No best estimate.

1981-88:
Best estimate: 1,000 (Clodfelter’s and Brogan’s estimate of deaths after riots in 1980. No trend.)
Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and high estimate of 999 deaths per year from UCDP/PRIO coding rules

1992:
Best estimate: 98 (SATP)
Low estimate: 29 (UCDP)
High estimate: 310 (Based on IISS estimate of 3,000 deaths 1989-2002)

1993:
Best estimate: 183 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 310 (Based on IISS estimate of 3,000 deaths 1989-2002)

1995:
Best estimate: 257 (SATP)
Low estimate: 30 (UCDP Coder’s note)
High estimate: 310 (Based on IISS estimate of 3,000 deaths 1989-2002)

1997:
Best estimate: 274 (SATP)
Low estimate: 60 (UCDP)
High estimate: 311 (Based on IISS estimate of 3,000 deaths 1989-2002)

1998:
Best estimate: 265 (SATP)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 311 (Based on IISS estimate of 3,000 deaths 1989-2002)

1999:
Best estimate: 303 (SATP)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)
High estimate: 311 (Based on IISS estimate of 3,000 deaths 1989-2002)

2000:
Best and high estimate: 514 (SATP)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)

2001:
Best and high estimate: 303 (SATP)
Low estimate: 58 (UCDP)

2002:
Best estimate: 218 (SATP)
Low estimate: 43 (UCDP)

2003:
Best and high estimate: 296 (SATP; IISS estimates 286. Best estimate from 1999-2003 totals 1,599. US State Department estimates 1,150 deaths in that period)
Low estimate: 114 (UCDP; US State Department estimate is 193. Low estimate from 1999-2003 totals 315)

2004:
Best and high estimate: 164 (SATP; IISS estimates >150)
Low estimate: 46 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and high estimate: 50 (SATP)
Low estimate: 27 (UCDP)
Fatalities information for conflict #152, civil conflict in Manipur in 1982-88, 1992–93, 1995; 1996-2008:


(IISS, 2009):
Estimate <150 fatalities for the year 2003 related to fighting between left-wing rebels (mainly UNLF and KYKL) and the government in Manipur
2004: 201 deaths
2005: 327 deaths
2006: 245 deaths
2007: 400 deaths
2008: 388 deaths


(US State Department Human Rights Report 2005): In 2005, 314 deaths in Manipur involving up to 19 militant groups

(SATP, 2009):
1992: 165
1993: 423
1994: 350
1995: 321
1996: 275
1997: 495
1998: 244
1999: 231
2000: 246
2001: 256
2002: 190
(UCDP, 2006):
1992: 25. Coder’s note: “The records relating to the early phase of the insurgency is unclear. The news reporting on separate incidents is extremely sparse and PLA’s territorial insurgency is largely overshadowed by the intense communal violence between the Naga and the Kuki tribe in the early 90s. The assessment that that the conflict does reach the threshold of 25 battle related deaths in 1992 is based, firstly, on earlier coding by the Uppsala Conflict Data Project. Secondly, the news reporting conveys an impression of escalating violence in 1992, wherein PLA plays a central part. Manipur was on the top of the agenda in a conference of home security in June 1992 where the northeast insurgency was discussed. Thirdly, the South Asian Terrorism Portal put the number of security personnel killed by Meitei rebels at 30 and the number of rebels killed by security personnel at 51. Even when taking in to consideration that the source might be biased in either way, it seems likely that the total number of battle related deaths might reach the 25 battle-related deaths threshold.”
Coder’s note on total deaths to date: “The records relating to the early phase of the insurgency is unclear. In spite of a recorded minor conflict in the 1980s it is hence difficult to give an estimate of the total number of battle-related deaths in the conflict up until the 90s. The total number of battle related deaths given is hence the low estimates added for each year from when the conflict reached the threshold of 25 battle related deaths in 1992.”
1993: 25. Coder’s note: “The records relating to the early phase of the insurgency is unclear. The news reporting on separate incidents is extremely sparse and PLA’s territorial insurgency is largely overshadowed by the intense communal violence between the Naga and the Kuki tribe in the early 90s. The assessment that that the conflict does reach the threshold of 25 battle related deaths in 1993 is based, firstly, on earlier coding by the Uppsala Conflict Data Project. Secondly, the news reporting conveys an impression of escalating violence in 1993, wherein PLA plays a central part. Thirdly, the South Asian Terrorism Portal put the number of security personnel killed by Meitei rebels at 91 and the number of rebels killed by security personnel at 66. Even when taking in to consideration that the source might be biased in either way, it seems likely that the total number of battle related deaths reached the 25 threshold. According to government figures 410 militants and 87 security personnel was killed in the insurgency (excluding the 316 casualties caused by Naga-Kuki clashes during the year). This estimate does, however, also include casualties related to the Naga-insurgency. The NSCN’s separatist demand was more far-reaching than the territorial state of Nagaland. It included four districts in Manipur which thus became heavily inflicted by the violent insurgency.”
1994: 25. Coder’s note: “News reporting from the Manipur insurgency is sparse and unclear - especially regarding the identification of the exact perpetrators of violence. Several large scale attacks in August 1994 brought the confirmed number of battle related deaths in central Manipur up
to 46. It is known that NSCN and UNLF did launch joint operations at the time, and building on sources that attempt to separate casualties between Meitei groups and the NSCN, it seems likely that the conflict-dyad reached the 25 battle related threshold by August 1994. This should, however, be regarded as an unclear case.”

1995: 50. Coder’s note: “News reporting from the Manipur insurgency is very sparse, and it is difficult to identify the exact perpetrators of violence. 16 battle-related deaths is ascribed to PLA during 1994, while a further ten is reportedly killed by separatist rebels in Manipur. In January 1996 the casualty-number among the security-forces in "the last months’ is put at least 50. Taking into consideration the difficulty to access the area and the sparse reporting, it seems likely that the conflict (PLA-government dyad) should be recorded as active in 1995.”

1996: 25. Coder’s note: “Low estimate 25: battle-related deaths that are ascribed to PLA. Best estimate: 50. High estimate: 100. The high estimate builds on the information that 65 police and army troops are reported to have been killed by “separatist guerrillas” up until July 1996 + assumed rebel casualties included.”

1997: 92. Coder’s note: “34 battle-related deaths are confirmed in the UNLF-government dyad. 58 battle-related deaths are recorded in the KNF-government dyad. The far highest number of casualties is, however, caused by the communal conflict between Kuki and Nagas and the extremely violent Paite- Kuki clashes that broke out in the last week of June 1997. Kuki-Naga clashes alone are estimated to have claimed 1000 lives since 1995.”

1998: >35. Coder’s note: “It was only PLA’s violent campaign that can be confirmed to have reached the threshold of 25 battle-related deaths during 1998.”

1999: > 33. Coder’s note: “Only the fighting between the UNLF and the government reached the threshold of active conflict. PLA did also continue its violent campaign and should be regarded as an unclear case this year. The difficulty of assessing casualties per dyad this year was complicated by the establishment of a joint front between the Meitei rebel groups, which further blurred the reporting.”

2000: > 45. Coder’s note: “Only PLA met the threshold of 25 battle related deaths and is recorded as an active dyad during the year. UNLF launched several major operations together with the NSCN, claiming together 30 battle related deaths in Manipur. Fighting between the government and the UNLF do not separately claim 25 battle related casualties, and should thus be recorded as a unclear case.”

2001: 20. Coder’s note: “Both the PLA, UNLF, KCP and PREPAk are continuing their violent campaign throughout the year. None of the dyads do, however, reach the threshold of 25 battle related deaths.”

2002: 0-24
2003: 25-28
2004: 60
2005: 30-40. Coder’s note: “There were 30-40 battle deaths in the only active dyad (government-UNLF). If one were to include fatalities from the two inactive dyads (PLA and KNF)”

2006: Low estimate: 70; Best estimate: 70; High estimate: 73.
2008: Best and low estimate of 101, high estimate of 102.
Interpretation:

1982-1988: Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1992:
Best and high estimate: 165 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1993:
Best and high estimate: 423 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1994:
Best and high estimate: 350 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1995:
Best and high estimate: 321 (SATP)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)

1996:
Best and high estimate: 275 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1997:
Best and high estimate: 495 (SATP)
Low estimate: 92 (UCDP)

1998:
Best and high estimate: 244 (SATP)
Low estimate: 35 (UCDP)
1999:
Best and high estimate: 231 (SATP)
Low estimate: 33 (UCDP)

2000:
Best and high estimate: 246 (SATP; Best estimate 1992-2000 totals 2750. IISS estimates >3,000 deaths 1990-2002)
Low estimate: 45 (UCDP)

2003:
Best and high estimate: 198 (SATP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP; US State Dept. estimates 64)

2004:
Best and high estimate: 218 (SATP; IISS estimate 201 deaths)
Low estimate: 60 (UCDP; US State Dept. estimates 142)

2005:
Best and high estimate: 331 (SATP; IISS estimates 327 deaths; US State Dept. estimates 314)
Low estimate: 30 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and high estimate: 285 (SATP)
Low estimate: 245 (IISS)

2007:
Best and high estimate: 408 (SATP)
Low estimate: 400 (IISS)

2008:
Best and high estimate: 485 (SATP)
Low estimate: 388 (IISS).
Fatalities information for conflict #258, conflict in Assam with the DHD-BW in 2008:

(UCDP, 2009): Best 35, high 38, low 23
(SATP, 2009): timeline of actions involving the DHD-BW: 61

Interpretation

Interpretation:
Best and high estimate: 61 (SATP)
Low estimate: 35 (UCDP)

Fatalities information for conflict #259, conflict in Manipur with the PULF in 2008:

(UCDP, 2009): Best 33, high 35, low 33

Interpretation:
Media information and data from SATP do not allow an estimate above 24 for battle deaths specifically involving the PULF (as distinct from more established groups in Manipur).

Best estimate: 33 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 24 (taken from SATP timeline of events involving the PULF).
High estimate: 35 (UCDP)

The Uppsala/PRIO dataset codes the following conflicts in Pakistan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>2160</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Mukti Bahini: Liberation Force</td>
<td>East Pakistan</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1975-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>2290</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Baluchi separatists</td>
<td>Baluchistan</td>
<td>2004-2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>3120</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>MQM</td>
<td></td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1995-96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fatalities information for conflicts #116 and 20, civil war between East and West Pakistan and war between India and Pakistan in 1971:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #679, “Pakistan v. Bengalis” 1971: 500,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown
Conflict #178, “Bangladesh” 1971: 8,000 Indian and 3,000 Pakistani deaths for a total of 11,000 deaths

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID#1447 in 1971 estimates at least 1,000 Indian and 1,000 Pakistani deaths and no maximum number

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1971, “civil war/Indian intervention:” 1 million civilian, 500,000 military and 1.5 million total war-related deaths.

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988): India vs. Pakistan. Total dead in 1971: 11,000

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 145: “Nearly eight thousand West Pakistan troops are thought to have been killed in the conflict, along with two thousand to three thousand Indian troops.”

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 230: “Yahya’s army in the East … set about ferociously repressing the 75 million Bengalis, and before the end of the year, it had killed at least 300,000 people.”

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1971, “India intervenes; fam and massacre”: 500,000 civilian war-related deaths, 500,000 military war-related deaths, 1 million total war-related deaths
1971, “Pakistan vs. India; border war”: civilian deaths not available, 11000 military and total war-related deaths
(Rummel, 1997, Table 8.2, lines 10-15):
Rummel’s estimate for total war deaths is: 50,000 (low); 70,000 (medium); 100,000 (high). The low figure is based on claims by General Yahya and by Mukti Bahini leaders each claiming 20,000-25,000 of their opponents killed.
He estimates that the Small and Singer (1982) figure of 500,000 deaths is primarily related to massacre or “democide”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 666: “Propagandists claimed that the new nation of Bangladesh lost 3 million dead in its fight for freedom. The army of Pakistan and its Razakar auxiliaries had committed many murders during the conflict, but the Herculean task of butchering 3 million people from a population in active rebellion seems beyond the capabilities of 90,000 men fighting a war at the same time. A more reliable estimate of Bengali war deaths would be about 250,000…”
P. 666-669: “India-Pakistan War (Bangladesh War): 1971 … There are varying counts of Pakistani casualties. Shaheed Muqueem Khan, a Pakistani military authority who wrote an analysis of the debacle and defeat, gives the following figures: Western Front, December 3-17, 1971 -1,539 KIA, 3,078 WIA, 126 MIA, 215 POWs, 4,958 total casualties; Eastern Front, March 25-December 3, 1971 - 1,633 KIA, 2,539 WIA, 35 MIA, 18 POWs, 4,225 casualties; Eastern Front, December 3-17, 1971 - 4,000-5,000 total casualties. …Muqueem Khan’s seem too conservative … The British-based Institute of Strategic Studies … puts Pakistan’s losses, December 3-17, 1971, at 7,982 KIA, 9,547 WIA, 75,295 POWs (up to 18,287 of whom were paramilitary)…Of the Pakistani combat dead, as many as 5,000 were lost in the west, according to this count, with 2,980 killed and 4,313 wounded in the east. … Still another source lists Pakistani losses at 5,000-6,000 killed or wounded … more careful tabulations of the fallen revises the Indian toll, both east and west, to 3,241 KIA, 8,561 WIA, 302 MIA, 504 POWs, for a total of 12,608.”

Interpretation:

For conflict #20, there is great similarity in the estimates of losses between India and Pakistan in 1971. The COW figure of 11,000 deaths is widely cited and is similar to the Institute of Strategic Studies numbers reported in Clodfelter.

Best and high estimate: 11,223 (ISS data in Clodfelter; similar to COW)
Low estimate: 8,241 (Lowest estimate in Clodfelter)

By contrast for conflict #116, there are virtually no available figures for the battle violence in East Pakistan before the Indian intervention. Rummel’s low total for battle-deaths is 50,000, which is based on the suspect source of each side’s claims for military kills. However, lacking any other information about battle deaths, 50,000 dead was used as a low estimate. Clodfelter’s estimate of 250,000 deaths was used as a high estimate, which is lower than some estimates for all deaths in the war, including genocide. No best estimate.
Fatalities information for conflict #129, civil war in Baluchistan in 1975-77:


(Eckhardt, 1996): 1973-77, Baluchis vs. Govt; Afghan interv:” 6,000 civilian war-related deaths, 3,000 military war-related deaths, 9,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 670: “The armed forces of Pakistan lost about 3,300 killed in battle to suppress the rebellion. Approximately 5,300 Baluchi guerrillas were slain.”

(Brogan, 1998): P. 646: Estimates between 1973-77 a total of 9,000 deaths P. 234: “In 1976, two army divisions were sent against them, and there have been frequent punitive expeditions in the mountains since then. One estimate of casualties puts both Baluchi and Pakistani dead at 3,000.”

SIPRI Yearbooks

(Goose, 1987): Gov vs. separatists and anti-government rebels since 1972. Total killed >9,000 with a question mark.


Interpretation:
Best estimate: 8,600 (Clodfelter; COW. No trend coded)
High estimate: 9,000 (Multiple sources. No trend coded)
Low estimate: 3,000 (Brogan; trended to correspond to UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #129, civil war in Baluchistan in 2004-2008:

(International Institute of Strategic Studies, 2009):
2004: No IISS estimate
2005: No IISS estimate
2006: 422
2007: 202
2008: 398

(South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2009):
2004: 99 (computed from SATP timeline of conflict events in Baluchistan)
2005: 175 (computed from SATP timeline of conflict events in Baluchistan)
2006: 454 (computed from SATP timeline of conflict events in Baluchistan)
2007: 209 (computed from SATP timeline of conflict events in Baluchistan)
2008: 348 (SATP)

(UCDP, 2009)
2004: 43. Coder’s note: “The estimate of battle related deaths focus on the casualties during the episode of fighting that begun in 2004. In earlier episodes of fighting, there was reportedly thousands of battle related deaths. When violence escalated in Baluchistan, in 2004, the government restricted access for media to the province and reporting became sparse. The estimates provided should be considered conservative.”
2007: Low estimate: 49; high estimate: 337; best estimate: 83. Coder’s note: “Due to the security situation and government restrictions for visiting the region, reporting from the conflict was sparse throughout the year. Most reports came from pro-Baluchistan sources and could not be independently confirmed, thus the discrepancy between the best and high estimates provided here.”
2008: 197.

Interpretation:

2004:
Best and high high estimate: 99 (SATP)
Low estimate: 43 (UCDP)

2005:
Best and high estimate: 175 (SATP)
Low estimate: 55 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and high estimate: 454 (SATP)
Low estimate: 198 (UCDP)

2007:
Best and high estimate: 209 (SATP)
Low estimate: 49 (UCDP)

2008:
Best estimate: 348 (SATP)
Low estimate: 197 (UCDP)
High estimate: 398 (IISS)

Fatalities information for conflict #209, civil war in Pakistan with the MQM in 1990, 1995-96:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #752, “Pakistan vs. Mohajir” 1994-95: 2,000 state deaths. Total deaths: unknown.

(Project Ploughshares, 2003): Estimate a total of upwards of 5,000 deaths.
2002: “A number of media reports estimate that dozens of people were killed in sectarian violence and attacks on government officials.”
2001: “According to at least one Pakistani media source, more than 50 people were killed in sectarian violence in Karachi.”
2000: “At least 25 people were killed in Karachi, mostly due to sectarian violence.”
1999: “At least 75 people were killed in Karachi due to political violence.”
1998: “More than 1,000 people died in violence.”
1997: Estimate more than 380 killed
1996: Estimate 500 killed
1995: Estimate at least 1,700 killed, with several estimates exceeding 2,000.
1994: Estimate 925 deaths.
1993: Estimate 75 deaths
1990: >46 battle deaths. Coder’s note: “Ethnic clashes, fractious politics, the presence of arms and institutional breakdown all contributed to a deteriorating security situation that by June had claimed approximately 300 lives in the province of Sindh. Several were killed in one-sided violence against civilians and in inter-ethnic clashes between armed Sindh- and Mohajir- extremists. The exact circumstances and perpetrators of violence is difficult to identify in a situation of general lawlessness, but an estimate 46 of these are in news reporting explicitly said to be killed in clashes between the Government forces and MQM.”

1995: 25-300 deaths. Coder’s note: “Violence in Karachi during 1995 is reported to have claimed 2,000 lives. The conflict has been judged as largely non-state in character, involving gunbattles between rival factions of MQM, between MQM and armed groups of native Sindhs; or one-sided violence against civilians. In 1995 the violence can more clearly be identified as battles between MQM and the security forces. It is not possible to give a confirmed estimate of how many of the 2,000 casualties that are battle-related. Low estimate of battle related death is thus put at >25. Best estimate is put at >222 as it is reported that 222 security personnel have been killed by rockets launched at police stations and patrols during 1995.”

1996: >25. Coder’s note: “It is difficult to give an accurate estimate of battle related deaths within a setting of urban guerrilla warfare. Furthermore, the conflict has been judged as largely non-state in character, involving gunbattles between rival factions of MQM, between MQM and armed groups of native Sindhs and one-sided violence against civilians. A low estimate of battle related deaths following fighting between armed activists of MQM and security forces is 25.”

**Interpretation:**

1990:
- Low estimate: 46 (UCDP)
- High estimate: 300 (UCDP coder’s note)
- No best estimate.

1995:
- The UCDP coder’s notes for 1995 and 1996 imply a great deal of inter-rebel group violence in this year which is not considered battle related in the Uppsala Conflict Database but is considered in the Battle Deaths Dataset. Therefore, high estimates were used as best estimates for these years.
- Best estimate: 1,700 (Project Ploughshares)
- Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
- High estimate: 2,000 (UCDP coder’s note)
1996:
Best and high estimate: 500 (Project Ploughshares)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

Fatalities information for conflict #209, civil war in Pakistan with the TNSM and TTP, 2007-2008
The UCDP/PRIO Armed Conflict data uses a single code for the insurgencies in the Swat Valley, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, and the North-West Frontier Province. For a chronology limited to events within the Swat Valley from 2006 to March 2009 see Kumar (2009).

(SATP, 2009):
2007: 3,503
2008: 6,011

(IISS, 2009):
2007: 2,900
2008: 6,011

(UCDP, 2009):
2007: Low estimate: 578; High estimate: 714; best estimate: 578
2008: 2,996

Interpretation:

2007:
Best and high estimate: 3,505 (SATP)
Low estimate: 578 (UCDP)

2008:
Best and high estimate: 6,317 (SATP)
Low estimate: 2,996 (UCDP)
Indochina

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in French Indochina:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1020</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Khmer Issarak</td>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>1946-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1090</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Lao Issara</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>1946-53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Viet Nam Doc Dong Min Hoi</td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1946-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>1150</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Northern Cambodia</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #17, the French-Indochina war in Vietnam in 1946-54:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000): Conflict #421, “Franco-Indochinese” 1945-54: 300,000 French deaths out of a total of 600,000 deaths.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 600,000 dead

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1945-54, Vietnam, “Indep vs France; China, US intervene:” 300,000 civilian war-related deaths, 300,000 military war-related deaths, 600,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): “The war cost at least half a million lives, including approximately ninety thousand French fatalities and forty or so British troops.”

(Clayton, 1994): P. 74: Estimates of casualties in first Indochina war: 11,000 Frenchmen killed with a further 4,500 missing, 20,899 wounded and 5,000 prisoners. 7,500 Légion killed with 3,000 missing and 5,349 prisoners 4,500 North and Black Africans killed, 2,500 missing, and 6,000 prisoners (24,347 Légion, North and Black Africans wounded)
Viet Minh casualties “may have totaled at least 200,000 killed; some experts estimate a much higher figure”
P. 74: “Of the indigenous Vietnamese directly serving with the French forces 14,093 were killed, 12,830 were missing believed killed (though some may have deserted), 26,924 were injured and 14,060 taken prisoner; of these latter 13,200 were never repatriated. In the Associated States forces 17,600 were killed or missing … Figures of village guard and other irregular local units do not exist, but their numbers killed, if known, would increase the overall total of approximately 77,000 known killed given here. Viet Minh casualties are unknown but may have totaled at least 200,000 killed; some experts estimate a much higher figure.”

NB: The figure 77,000 appears to be derived from: 11,000 French KIA + 4,500 French missing + 7,500 Legion KIA + 3,000 Legion MIA + 4,500 French Africans KIA + 2,500 French Africans MIA + 14,093 Vietnamese KIA + 12,830 Vietnamese MIA + 17,600 Associated States KIA or MIA = 77,523

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 676: “skirmishes between the Vietnamese on one side and the British, French and Japanese on the other resulted in the deaths of 2,756 Vietnamese by mid-January 1946. Anglo-Indian losses were 40 KIA, 110 WIA, 5 MIA. After the British withdrew in April 1946…”
P. 680-81: “The French Expeditionary Force … lost, according to one official count, 44,967 KIA or MIA and presumed dead (including 10,483 Foreign Legion), and 79,560 WIA. The Indochinese armies fighting on the side of the French Union lost 18,714 KIA and MIA and 13,002 WIA. The Viet Ming lost an estimated 175,000 killed and 300,000 wounded. Civilian losses included perhaps 125,000 dead.”

Interpretation:
Clayton and Clodfelter provided the most detailed information and were used to construct low and high estimates. COW’s figure of 300,000 is not correct as a figure for French losses, according to other sources.

Best estimate: 377,523. From: 77,523 French and French allied deaths (Clayton); 175,000 Viet Minh (Clodfleter; Clayton estimates 200,000); 125,000 civilians (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 212,093. From: 37,093 French and French allied KIA, excluding MIA (Clayton); 175,000 Viet Minh (Clodfleter; Clayton estimates 200,000). Very uncertain figure for civilian losses excluded for a minimum estimate.
High estimate: 600,000 (COW; Brogan; Eckhardt)
No trend.

Fatalities information for conflicts #2 and 9, the French-Indochina war in Laos and Cambodia in 1946-53:

For background see Bercovitch and Jackson (1997, 53) and Clayton (1988).
Interpretation:

With no specific information was available on casualties in Laos and Cambodia. Coded 25 deaths per year as a low estimate and 999 deaths per year as a high estimate, per UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflicts #15, conflict between Thailand and France in northern Cambodia in 1946:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #1792 in 1946 estimates between 101-250 Thai deaths and 1-25 French deaths.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004: 8000): “A statement by the Siamese Legation in London on the same day alleged that on May 7 the Siamese frontier town of Nakhon Phanom, on the Mekong river, was bombarded by French troops from Indo-Chinese territory … that on May 24 French troops had crossed the Mekong at several places and moved into Siamese territory … Earlier reports from Bangkok had alleged that the Mekong had been crossed on May 24 by 800 French troops … that the French had captured the Siamese town of Nong Kai, and that, after first refraining from offering resistance, sharp fighting had occurred after a further alleged crossing of the Mekong by another 800 troops on May 26.”

Interpretation:

Low estimate: 102 (minimum implied by MID data)
High estimate: 275 (maximum implied by MID data)
No best estimate.
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Indonesia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>5</td>
<td>1050</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Indonesian Peoples Army</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1946-49</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Republic of South Moluccas</td>
<td>South Moluccas</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>1460</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Darul Islam Movement</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>1460</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>PRRI, Permesta movement, Darul Islam Movement</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>1958-61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>West New Guinea</td>
<td>1962</td>
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<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>2340</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>Fretilin</td>
<td>East Timor</td>
<td>1975-98</td>
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<td>94</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>OPM</td>
<td>West Papua</td>
<td>1965</td>
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<td>1976-78</td>
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<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>2720</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>GAM</td>
<td>Aceh</td>
<td>1990-91</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1999-2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #5, the Indonesian war of independence against the Netherlands in 1946-49:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #420, “Indonesia” 1945-46: 400 British deaths and 1,000 Dutch deaths out of a total of 5,000 deaths from 1945-46.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 5,000 deaths

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1945-46, “Independence from Neth, UK:” 4,000 civilian war-related deaths, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 5,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 52: “tens of thousands of Indonesians died; Dutch and British losses were put at four hundred and six hundred, respectively.”

(de Jong, 1988): Calls the estimate of the 100,000 casualties in the Indonesian army credible. Unclear whether this includes WIA.

(Frederick, 2002): On the intra-communal nature of much of the violence in Indonesia during the Revolution
(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 675: “All Anglo-Indian forces were evacuated from the East Indies in December 1946, having lost a total of 655 KIA, 1,663 WIA, 345 MIA.”
P. 675: “When the Dutch returned in force in 1946, they had to undertake a major pacification campaign ... About 10,000 Javanese were killed. Then negotiations took the forefront, interrupted by two major Dutch ‘police-actions’ … in July 1947 and December 19, 1948-February 14, 1949. … cost to the attackers of 74 KIA, 178 WIA, 16 MIA in the first campaign and 300 killed and several hundred wounded in the second. ... Indonesian battle deaths in the two campaigns totaled 4,000. ... Total Indonesian casualties in their fight for independence were 80,000. Total Dutch/colonial casualties were 25,000, including the battle deaths of 2,526 Dutch servicemen.”

(Not clear here whether ‘casualties’ includes WIA)

Interpretation:
All sources put this conflict well over 1,000 battle-deaths, even in the post 1945 period. Estimates of tens of thousands of Indonesian casualties suggest the inclusion of deaths in intra-communal violence, and lower figures were used to estimate battle-related deaths.

1946:
Low estimate: 655 (Anglo-Indian KIA through the end of December 1946; Clodfelter. Brogan’s figure for British losses is similar.)
High estimate: 5,000 (COW estimate for 1945-46)
No best estimate

1947:
Low estimate: 74 (Dutch KIA in July 1947 campaign; Clodfelter)
High estimate: 5,000 (From Clodfelter estimate of 10,000 Javanese killed 1946-July 1947)
No best estimate

1948:
Low estimate: 150 (Based on total of 300 Dutch KIA in 1948-49 campaign; Clodfelter. Brogan’s figure for Dutch losses is similar.)
High estimate: 2,150 (Dutch casualties as above, plus 4,000 Indonesian KIA in 1458-49 campaign from Clodfelter.)
No best estimate

1949:
Low estimate: 150 (Based on total of 300 Dutch KIA in 1958-49 campaign; Clodfelter. Brogan’s figure for Dutch losses is similar.)
High estimate: 2,150 (Dutch casualties as above, plus 4,000 Indonesian KIA in 1458-49 campaign from Clodfelter.)
No best estimate.

*Fatalities information for conflict #40, conflict in the South Moluccas in 1950:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #641, “Indonesia vs. Moluccans’ 1950: 5,000 state deaths and total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1950 “Moluccans vs. Government:” civilian and military deaths not available, 5,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 5,000 deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 683: “…Indonesian military casualties totaled about 4,000; rebel losses were about 500, and some 5,000 civilians were killed or wounded. Guerilla resistance continued on the island of Ceram into 1951, by which time up to 5,000 lives had been lost in the rebellion.”

*Interpretation:*

All sources converge on estimate of 5,000 battle deaths, although the figure does not seem to be based on good information about the breakdown of military, rebel, and civilian losses.

Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 5,000
No best estimate.

*Fatalities information for conflict #46, civil conflict with the Darul Islam Movement in 1953:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #644, “Indonesia vs. Darul Islam” 1953: 1,000 state deaths, total deaths: unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1953 “Darul Islam vs. Government:” civilian and military deaths not available, 1,000 total war-related deaths.
(Cribb and Brown, 1995, 41): “…in September 1953 Daud Beureu”eh proclaimed Aceh’s secession from the Republic of Indonesia, and its adherence to the Indonesian Islamic State of Darul Islam. The proclamation was marked by a series of attacks on army and government posts by Islamic guerilla groups.”

(Keesing’s, 2004: 13364): “Armed revolts organized by the Moslem Dar-ur-Islam movement, and aimed at the establishment of an Islamic State, broke out simultaneously on Sept. 20, 1953, in several towns in the Atjeh sub-district of North Sumatra. … The rebels’ total casualties were given by an army spokesman on Oct. 8 as 512 killed, 619 captured, and 64 wounded, and Government losses as nine killed and 17 wounded.”

*Interpretation:*

The official Indonesian government figures given in Keesing’s may be underestimates, especially the official figures for government losses. On the other hand, no explanation of the 1,000 deaths figure was found.

Low estimate: 521 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 1,000 (COW, UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

*Fatalities information for conflict #46, civil war in 1958-61:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #649, “Indonesia vs. Leftists’ 1956-60: 30,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.


(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 30,000 deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 684: “Total losses, by government count, to August 1961 were: government forces - 3,736 KIA, 5,164 WIA; rebels - 23,495 KIA; and civilians - 6,213 killed, 4,375 wounded.”
(Totals to 33,444 killed)
Interpretation:

Best and high estimate: 33,444 battle deaths were coded, trended based on information in Clodfelter
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year, per UCDP/PRIO coding rules, which indicate less than 1,000 deaths in the 1958-61 period

Fatalities information for conflict #79, conflict between Indonesia and the Netherlands in West New Guinea in 1962:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #1022 in 1961-2: records both Indonesian and Dutch fatalities as unknown

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 108: To remove the Dutch, Indonesia began mobilization of its armed forces and small raids into West Irian. Estimate 30,000 people killed, including one hundred Indonesian military personnel.

Interpretation:

Uppsala/PRIO estimate a much smaller intensity conflict than do Bercovitch and Jackson. Their information is not elaborated, however, and so it was not used as a best estimate.

Low estimate: 100 (Indonesian fatalities according to Bercovitch and Jackson)
High estimate: 30,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #134, conflict in East Timor in 1975-98:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #439, “East Timorese” 1975-77: 6,000 state deaths out of a total of 16,000 deaths

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1975-82, “Annex E. Timor; fam and massacre:” 100,000 civilian war-related deaths, 50,000 military war-related deaths, 150,000 total war-related deaths.
(Leitenberg, 2003): 1975-89, “annexation of East Timor:” 90,000 civilian, 11,000 military and 101,000 total war-related deaths. In 2000: 100,000 civilian and total war-related deaths.

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.

For discussion of the scale of the destruction of the population and description of war crimes/genocide in East Timor see Kiernan (2003) and Taylor (2003).

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 212: “Estimates of the number of people killed or dead of starvation or illness caused by the war range between 10 and 30 percent of the population. A conservative estimate would be 100,000 dead. ... In 1988, the Indonesian commanding general said that fewer than 100 Indonesian soldiers are killed every year by guerillas. (He did not say how many Timorese were killed annually.)”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 163: Estimate as many as 100,000 killed during the initial period of the war.
P. 163: “...it is thought that as many as 200,000 people have been killed in the conflict. Many of these have been civilians who died in reprisals, disease and starvation.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 691: “By the end of 1976 Indonesia had lost an estimated 2,000 killed in battle with the guerillas ... the population suffered terribly from hunger and disease. By 1979 at least 100,000 Timorese had died. The toll had increased by 1984 to 140,000 Timorese dead, including 60,000 battle deaths. ... By 1999 the death toll in Timor’s war probably surpassed 200,000, although the Indonesian government claimed it was no more than 60,000. Following the fall of the Suharto regime [1998] and the liberalization of the Indonesian political structure, more pro-independence marches and riots took place in Dili. This brought about a bloody reaction by pro-Indonesian militia units in which at least 1,000 people were killed...”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987): Govt. vs. Fretilin, other separatists since 1975: >100 killed. Note reads: “Government is plagued by several low-level separatist insurgencies. Invasion of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony seeking independence, in 1975 resulted in over 100,000 deaths by 1979.
Indonesian troops still occupying East Timor (since “annexed” by Indonesia), conduct “final offensives’ against remaining rebels every year or two. Other armed separatist movements include those in West Irian (Free Papua Movement) and northern Sumatra (Free Aceh Movement).”

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988): Indonesia vs. Fretilin, separatist groups. 1975-80: 10,000 military and 90,000 civilian deaths. 1980-87: 1,000 deaths. Comments repeat the information above.

(Lindgren, Wilson and Wallensteen, 1989): Indonesian Govt. vs. Fretilin, FPM. 1975-80: 10,000 military deaths and 90,000 civilian deaths. 1980-87 about 1,000 deaths per year. In 1988: <100 deaths.


(Lindgren et al., 1991): Indonesian Govt. vs. Fretilin since 1976, vs. Aceh Merdeka since 1989, vs. National Liberation Front of Aceh since 1989, and vs. Free Papua Movement from unknown data. 1975-90: 15,000-16,000 military deaths in the East Timor conflict. Unknown number of deaths in 1990. Note reads: “The Govt also faces opposition form the Free Papua Movement (c. 100 armed men of estimated total strength of 500-600) in Iran Jaya and from Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh) and the National Liberation Front of Aceh (who have reportedly killed more than 70 members of the 8,000 deployed security forces during the year) in Sumatra... Fighting in the Aceh Province escalated during the year, and some reports estimate the total number of deaths (soldiers, guerillas and civilians) at around 1,000.”


(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1997): Govt. vs. Fretilin since 1975, total deaths 15,000-16,000 military. Less than 50 deaths in 1993-96.

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1998): Govt. vs. Fretilin since 1975, total deaths 15,000-16,000 military. 50-100 deaths in 1997.

(Sollenberg, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999): Govt. vs. Fretilin since 1975, total deaths 15,000-16,000 military. 50-200 deaths in 1998.

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: > 37 battledeaths. Coder notes that this is a “very conservative” estimate and that “it was very difficult finding independent reporting”
1990: <25. Coder notes that FRETILIN claimed there was an offensive by 40,000 Indonesian troops in February to March and that 63 Indonesian soldiers had been killed. Regarding total deaths notes that there are reports of up to 200,000 deaths in the conflict as a whole (including one-sided violence) and > 15,000 Indonesian soldiers being killed.
1991: 2 – 130. Coder notes that FRETILIN claimed to have killed ~130 Indonesian soldiers from January to August and admitted losing 2 guerillas.
1992: Low estimate: 9. High estimate: 63. Best estimate: 27. Coder notes that FRETILIN claimed to have killed 78 Indonesian soldiers from between 27 November and 23 December; this was denied by the government and Jakarta-based observers.
1993: 6 – 16. Coder notes this estimate is “very conservative.”
1994: 0 – 7. Coder notes this estimate is “very conservative.”
1995: 4 – 23. Coder notes this estimate is “very conservative.”
1996: 6. Coder notes that the military claimed that from 30 April 1995 to 1 February 1996 it had killed 26 rebels.
1997: 52 – 65. Coder notes this estimate is “very conservative.”
1998: 34 – 51. Coder notes this estimate is “very conservative.”
1999: <25 deaths.

Interpretation:

Many sources estimate 100,000 war-related East Timorese deaths before 1979. The only available estimate of battle deaths is Clodfelter’s figure of 60,000 by 1984, which is a rather high number when compared to a total of 140,000 war related deaths. The Indonesian government, per Clodfelter, admits to a total death toll in the war up to 1999 of at least 60,000, while other sources put this number at 200,000. It is not clear what is included in either of those figures. SIPRI estimates at least 15,000 military deaths by 1990, most of which were probably battle related.

1975-88:

Best estimate: 75,000 (Based on the only available estimate of Timorese battle deaths, 60,000 from 1976-1984. To this was added 15,000 Indonesian military deaths for the period 1975-1989, estimated by SIPRI. The total estimate for the period was 75,000, therefore. This estimate was not trended.)
Low estimate: 15,000 (Based on military losses as estimated by SIPRI. This was trended according to UCDP/PRIO coding rules. For the initial years of the conflict, coded by Uppsala/PRIO as having >1,000 deaths, 2,000 deaths per year were based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 2,000 military deaths in the first year of the conflict.)

High estimate: 100,000 (This is a widely-repeated figure and probably includes some non-violent deaths and a great deal of one-sided violence. However, there are even higher estimates of all war-related deaths. This estimate was not trended.)

1989:
Low estimate: 37 (UCDP)
High estimate: 50 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1992:
Low estimate: 27 (UCDP)
High estimate: 100 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1997:
Low estimate: 52 (UCDP)
High estimate: 100 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1998:
Low estimate: 34 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (Clodfelter)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #94, civil conflict in West Papua in 1965, 67-69, and 1976-78:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate as many as 10,000 people killed in 1965.

The Free Papua Movement (OPM) was founded in 1963 … The OPM claims that several thousand Indonesian troops have been killed and larger numbers of civilians, but there are no means of verifying its claims.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“July 1977… it was stated on June 5 that over 250 people, including nine soldiers and policemen, had been killed in six weeks of fighting. … July 1978… Melbourne radio reported on April 24, 1978, that the Australian Foreign Affairs Department was investigating reports from Post Moresby (Papua New Guinea) that over 5,000 guerillas and civilians and 3500 Indonesians had been killed in fighting since the beginning of 1976.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“Estimates of the number of people who have died in the conflict since 1963 vary widely from a low of 3,000 to hundreds of thousands.”

Interpretation:
1965, 67-69: No specific data found.
Low estimate: 25 per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 10,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)
No best estimate or trend.

1976-78:
Best and high estimate: 8,500 (Keesing’s; only specific information available. Broadly compatible with IISS estimates)
Low estimate: 3,000 (minimum based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)
No trend coded.

 Fatalities information for conflict #171, civil conflict in Aceh in 1989-2002:

(IISS, 2003): Estimate more than 9,000 fatalities 1999-2003
2003: <2,000 deaths, including 1,200 civilian fatalities
2004: > 250, March-June: 9 civilians, 55 rebels, and 9 soldiers killed. OCHA estimates 70 civilian, 350 rebel, and 15 army deaths over same period, which totals 435 deaths
2005: 160


(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 694: “By 1998 the Free Aceh Movement claimed 2,768 civilians killed in the province and 3,862 missing as a result of operations by Indonesian security forces. The figures are questionable, but outside observers estimated at least 5,000 violent deaths in Aceh by the time the guerillas agreed to a cease-fire on June 2, 2000…”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“More that 4,800 people have died since 1998 in the second phase of the conflict. Over 10,000 people, mostly civilians, have died since the beginning of the counterinsurgency operation by Indonesian security forces in 1989.”
2002: “Media reports estimate at least 1,000 people, mostly civilians, were killed this year.”
2001: “According to media reports more than 1,500 people were killed by August, the majority of them civilians. In July and August a number of mass graves were found in various locations throughout Aceh. The government and rebels blame each other for the atrocities.”
2000: “Approximately 1,000 people, mostly civilians and separatist guerrillas, were killed in 2000.”
1999: “At least three hundred people, mostly civilians, were killed in 1999.”

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: According to authorities over 1,500 killed, GAM fighters accounted for two-thirds of total, and civilian deaths exceeded 400.
2004: <300
2005: 180

(Human Rights Watch, 2003a): Estimate 1,230 people killed in 2003

SIPRI Yearbooks

See above under conflict in East Timor for years prior to 1999.


(SIPRI, 2004): 1,000 killed in 2003.

(UCDP, 2009):
1990: Estimate >25 deaths. Coder notes that ANLF estimated 5,000 deaths for the year, and that Asia Watch reported about 1,000 deaths through January 1991. Other estimates ranged from 400-4,000. Coder further explains that these figures included attacks on civilians that were not considered battle deaths per the UCDP.
1991: >25. Coder notes that “local source” estimates 2,300 total dead in the conflict, including attacks on civilians.
1992: <25. Coder notes that “independent estimates” of total violent deaths to date range from 2,000 to 10,000
1993: <25. Coder notes that Amnesty International has claimed 2,000 civilians were killed by the government from 1989-1993. GAM claims that there have been 20,000 deaths to date. Other “independent observers” claim there have been 10,000 deaths to date.
1994 - 97: estimate <25 deaths per year
1998: <25 deaths. Coder notes that found 9 battle-related deaths and <18 total deaths due to violence, including rioting. Also notes that it has been reported that since 1990 1,000-3,000 people have been killed and 900-1,400 are missing and presumed dead.
1999: Low estimate: 29. High estimate: 121. Best estimate: 77. Coder notes that all violent deaths for the year believed to be about 400. In all violence during the period August 1998-December 1999 it has been estimated that 531 people have been killed.
2000: Low estimate: 127. High estimate: 258. Best estimate: 194. Coder notes that in all violence 300 deaths have been reported January-May 2000. News reports also claimed 83 people were killed between 2 June and September. In December, there were reports of 800 total deaths. Also, “The GAM organisational structure consisting of many small units acting independently made it difficult to assess whether it was them or other groups involved in many clashes. GAM officials usually did not comment on incidents.”
2001: Low estimate: 205. High estimate: 326. Best estimate: 205. Coder notes that human rights group Kontras reported 618 deaths from January to August. Other sources claimed that up to 1,000 killed in military offensive April-August.
2004: Low estimate: 738. High estimate: 888. Best estimate: 738. Coder notes that this is mainly based on army information and that access of journalists to the region is limited.

*Interpretation:*

The information available about this conflict is of poor quality and, in particular, the nature of much of the violence is obscure. Estimates below reflect a high degree of uncertainty.

1990:
Best estimate: 1,150 (Based on local estimate, reported by UCDP, of 2,300 deaths from 1990-91)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 4,000 (Highest independent estimate indicated in UCDP coder note)

1991:
Best estimate: 1,150 (Based on local estimate, reported by UCDP, of 2,300 deaths from 1990-91)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 6,000 (Based on estimate of up to 10,000 deaths 1991-93, found in UCDP coder note for 1993)

1999:
Best estimate: 300 (Ploughshares)
Low estimate: 29 (UCDP; SIPRI estimates <50)
High estimate: 1,400 (Based on IISS estimate of 9,000 deaths 1999-2003)

2000:
Best estimate: 194 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 127 (UCDP; SIPRI estimate 100-300)
High estimate: 1,400 (Based on IISS estimate of 9,000 deaths 1999-2003; Project Ploughshares reports 1,000)

2001:
Best and low estimate: 205 (UCDP; SIPRI estimate similar)
High estimate: 1,400 (Based on IISS estimate of 9,000 deaths 1999-2003; Project Ploughshares reports <1,500)
No best estimate.
2002:
Best and low estimate: 112 (UCDP; SIPRI estimate similar)
High estimate: 1,400 (Based on IISS estimate of 9,000 deaths 1999-2003; Project Ploughshares reports at least 1,000 dead)

2003:
Best estimate: 478 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 445 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,000 (IISS)

2004:
Best estimate: 738 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 300 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 888 (UCDP)

2005:
Best estimate: 213 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 108 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 215 (UCDP)
Iran

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Iran:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
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<td>Iraq</td>
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<td>1974-1980-88</td>
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<td>Mujahideen e Khalq</td>
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<td>1979-82-97-99-</td>
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<td>PJAK</td>
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<td>2005-2008</td>
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<td>2450</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>APCO</td>
<td>Arabistan</td>
<td>1979-80</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #128, conflict between Iran and Iraq in 1974:

Militarized International Disputes Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #2112 in 1974 is estimated with 26-100 deaths each on the Iranian and Iraqi sides.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 147): “About one thousand Iraqi and Iranian military personnel died in the sometimes intense fighting.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Articles in Keesing’s Record of World Events in April 1974 and April 1975 contain conflicting government reports of 472-434 battle deaths in 1974.

*Interpretation:*

Neither government’s reports are a reliable source for casualty figures. However, this is the most detailed fatality information available.

Best estimate: 434 battle deaths (Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 52 battle deaths (MID minimum)
High estimate: 1,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)

*Fatalities information for conflict #128, conflict between Iran and Iraq in 1980-88:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #199, “Iran-Iraq” 1980-88: 175,000 Iranian deaths and 500,000 Iraqi deaths, yields a total of 1,250,000 deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003): Estimates 800,000 to 1 million total war-related deaths

(Brogan, 1998): “Best estimates are that Iran lost between 400,000 and 600,000 killed, and Iraq between 100,000 and 150,000.”

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1980-88, “Iraq vs Iran:” 50,000 civilian war-related deaths, 450,000 military war-related deaths, and 500,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 195): “Iran lost approximately 400,000 troops in the war, while Iraq lost nearly 200,000.” Estimate 1 million total dead.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 652: “Iraq launched the “War of the Cities’ in March 1985 with missile attacks on Tehran and Iran retaliated by striking Baghdad. At least 1,450 civilians were killed…”
P. 653: “No reliable figures exist for the toll of the Iran-Iraq War… The best estimates place Iran’s casualties at 262,000 killed…Iran officially admitted to 123,220 battle deaths…and 11,000 civilians killed. Iraq lost at least 105,000 killed …”
SIPRI Yearbooks

(Goose, 1987): Iran vs. Iraq since 1980: 350,000-800,000 total deaths including 1986


Interpretation:

Comparing estimates suggests that the COW figures are based on unusually high estimates of military fatalities. Brogan’s range of 500,000-750,000 deaths is most widely used.

Low estimate: 400,000 (Brogan; Bercovitch and Jackson; Clodfelter)
High estimate: 1,250,000 (COW; Leitenberg)
Best estimate: 644,500 (The sum of SIPRI’s estimate of military battle deaths + an additional 11,000 Iranian civilians and 1,500 Iraqi civilians based on Clodfelter)

The data has been trended somewhat based on battle information in Clodfelter.

Fatalities information for conflicts #6 and 7, civil conflict in Iranian Kurdistan and Azerbaijan in 1946:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #20 and #603 both in 1946 estimate zero Iranian and zero Russian fatalities

(Schmid, 1985, 56-57): Qualitative description of a low intensity conflict

(McDowall, 1992):
P. 69: “In December 1946 the Iranian army advanced on Azerbaijan where the republic collapsed almost without resistance, some of its leadership fleeing to the USSR. … Soon afterwards Iranian troops entered Mahabad [in Kurdistan] unopposed … In March 1947 Qazi Muhammad and two of his colleagues were publicly hanged in Mahabad’s main square. Eleven chiefs were also hanged to encourage loyalty amongst the others.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 596: “After months of international haggling and diplomatic pressure, the Soviet Union withdrew its military forces ... On December 10, 1946, 15,000 Iranian troops moved against the secessionist province. ... Total casualties were only 20 killed and 100 wounded.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):

P. 51: “About two thousand people lost their lives in the disturbances.”

*Interpretation:*

Bercovitch and Jackson make a much higher estimate than implied in other sources; Clodfelter’s data suggests that the conflict in Azerbaijan may not have even caused 25 battle fatalities

Conflict in #7 Azerbaijan:
Best and low estimate: 20 deaths (Clodfelter)
High estimate: 1,000 (From Bercovitch and Jackson’s estimate of 2,000 total deaths)

Conflict in #6 in Kurdistan:
Best estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Low estimate: 0 deaths (McDowall writes that Iranian troops entered the area unopposed and the only deaths were executions)
High estimate: 1,000 (From Bercovitch and Jackson’s estimate of 2,000 total deaths)

*Fatalities information for conflicts #6, civil conflict in Iranian Kurdistan in 1966-68:*

(McDowall, 2000):
P. 252-3: “A new Revolutionary Committee, formed to continue the struggle against Tehran ... It launched its campaign in March 1967. ... In the summer of 1968, 5 of the 11 who formed the Revolutionary Committee leadership had been killed, including Abd Allan Muini. ... Within 18 months it was all over.”

*Interpretation:*

Low estimate of 25 battle deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

*Fatalities information for conflicts #144, civil conflict in Arabistan, 1979-80:*
No information specific to the Arabistan rebellion was identified among sources dealing with Iran’s civil war. Low estimate of 25 battle deaths per year and high estimate of 999 battle deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflicts #6 and #143 civil conflict in Iran and Iranian Kurdistan in 1979-2008:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #699, “Iran vs. Anti-Shah Coalition” 1978-79: 7,500 state deaths, total deaths: unknown
Conflict #709, “Iran vs. Mujahedden” 1981-82: 14,000 state deaths, total deaths: unknown


(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.
Country: Iran, 1981-present. Victimized groups: Mujahedeen, Kurds, Baha”is. Number of victims: 10,000-20,000.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1978-89, “Islam vs. Shah, dissidents, Kurds:” 70,000 civilian war-related deaths, 18,000 military war-related deaths, 88,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 165-167: “the revolution…together with the civil war caused the deaths of nearly four thousand people…”

(McDowall, 1992):
P. 77: The UN estimated that from 1982 to early 1984 about 27,500 Kurds were killed, of whom only 2,500 were fighters.

(McDowall, 2000):
P. 262-263: “In early August [1979] another ceasefire [with the Kurds] was attempted …after hundreds had died and thousands had been displaced in a summer of fighting”
P. 272: “The disorders of March-April 1980 provoked the government in Tehran into a major assault on Kurdistan … By the end of April the government was in control of most of Kurdistan, but at the cost of almost 1,000 killed in battle.”
(Brogan, 1998):
P. 274-275: “…at least 582 people were executed between February 1979 and January 1980, and in the following 18 months, a further 906 executions took place. … Shaul Bakhash calculates that, in all, 10,000 were executed between 1979 and 1983. The killings continued throughout the war with Iraq, and in 1988, after the ceasefire, at least 3,000 prisoners were taken out of the jails and shot.”
P. 333-334: “By early in 1984, the Iranian army had reasserted its control over virtually all Iranian Kurdistan - killing an estimated 27,500 Kurds in the process.”

(Cloftfelter, 2002):
P. 649: “By the end of 1978 a minimum of 1,600 Iranians had died in the riots, according to the shah’s government. The Islamic movement put the number of dead at over 10,000, by their most conservative count, including at least 100 Iranian soldiers.”
P. 649: “The national toll for the final weekend of the 25,000-year-old Persian monarchy was over 800 dead. … Within a year of the triumph of the revolution 582 political and military opponents of the new regime had been executed; by June 1981 the number had increased to 906; by September 1983 the figure had reached 7,746.”
P. 649: “Confused fighting in Tabriz, February 12-15, 1979, involving pro- and anti-shah forces and Azerbaijani secessionists cost as many as 900 lives. A Kurdish uprising in mid-March at the city of Sarandaj took 200 lives. A Turkoman rebellion at Gobanbad-e-Qabas in late March and early April resulted in 130 deaths. … Moderate President Abol-Hasan Bani Sadr was forced from power on June 22 … a street battle in Tehran between Islamic extremists and the leftists of the Fedayeen Khalq left 30 dead. … By 1983 at least 10,000 opponents of the regime had been killed in street battles or executed. The Kurdish rebellion in the north, largely suppressed by early 1984, had resulted in some 27,500 Kurd deaths.”

SIPRI Yearbooks


(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1995; Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996; Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1997): Record conflict vs. Khalq since 1991 and vs. KDPI since 1979. Unknown casualties.

(Seybolt, 2001; Seybolt, 2002; Seybolt and Uppsala Conflict Data Project, 2000; Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1998; Sollenberg, Wallensteen and Jato, 1999): Record only the conflict vs. Khalq since 1991 and give unknown casualty figures.

(Wiharta and Anthony, 2003): Conflict not included

(The Jamestown Foundation, 2009):
Estimate that PJAK has killed “approximately 100 Iranian troops and security forces a year since 2005.”
2005: 120 Iranian soldiers killed according to government
2006: >150 Iranian soldiers
2007: 77, PJAK source claims 113 Iranian troops killed

UCDP, 2006):
UCDP estimates for conflict in Kurdistan:
1989: >15 battle deaths. Coder’s note: “There were a number of incidents during 1989 where the reports on casualties were unclear because the reported figures mixed accounts of people killed with people wounded. No more than 15 deaths could thereby be identified with certainty.”
1990: <50
1993: 50-200. Coder’s note: “The figure includes casualties from the conflict between Iran and KDPI and between Iran and MEK.”
1994: 0-24
1996: 27. Coder’s note: “The conflict is active this year mainly because of one incident in July when 20 KDPI members were killed by government forces in an operation against Kurdish dissidents in northern Iraq.”
UCDP estimates for conflict #143:
1991: 60-300. Coder’s note: “The range is the result of a counting of deaths that only include those incidents where it is likely that the information is correct, based on the correlation between different sources or both sides’ admittance to the number of casualties. The first clashes between the government and MEK since the end of the Iran-Iraq war (1988) occurred simultaneously as a failed public uprising against the regime. The number killed is unclear but the MEK claims to have killed between 2500 and 5000 Iranian soldiers. This high figure is not confirmed by any independent source but the fact that they admit 43 casualties on their own side indicates that it is likely that a total of > 25 people died in the shift between March and April 1991, and hence that this is the time when the armed conflict was resumed.”
Total deaths: >5000. Coder’s note: “There are no reliable estimates on the number of total battle-related deaths during the periods of clashes before 1991. One estimate of 17 000 deaths includes deaths between Kurdish groups and the government, besides those killed between MEK and the government. The figure above (> 5000) is a low estimate which is based on the number of deaths inflicted on both sides during the July 1988 operation, which culminated in the battle at Kermanshah (Bakhtaran) in Iran. At least 4000 Mujahideen and hundreds of government soldiers were killed. Since the war had raged for a number of years preceding this incident it is safe to say that the total battle-related deaths must be at least 5000.”
1992: <100
1993: 50-200. Coder’s note: “The figure is the total battle related deaths between Iran and MEK as well as between Iran and KDPI. The best estimate is thus closer to 50 than 200.”
1997: >35
1999: 25
2000: 40-50. Coder’s note: “The lower figure is the result of counting casualties that were well documented regarding information on the exact number of deaths and the circumstances surrounding the incident and regarding the correspondence between different sources. The higher figure is an estimation closer to the actual number of deaths since there were a number of deaths during 2000 that could not be counted because they were expressed in too wide a terms, such as “several,” ”a squad” and ”handful””
2001: >115. Coder’s note: “The figure is a low estimate and the result of counting casualties that were well documented regarding information on the exact number of deaths and the circumstances surrounding the incident and regarding the correspondence between different sources. There were a number of deaths during 2000 [sic] that could not be counted because they could not be verified or because they were expressed in too wide a terms, such as “several,” ”a number” and ”dozens.””
2005: 28. Coder’s note: “The best estimate for the number of battle related deaths for 2005 is 28, all of these occurring between the end of July and beginning of August. The high estimate for the year is 37, included in this figure are events with contradictory reports of how many people that died in some events.”

Interpretation:

For conflict #6, civil war in Iranian Kurdistan:

Clodfelter and McDowall both cite a UN figure of 27,500 Kurds killed in the era of peak fighting after the Iranian Revolution. However, it is not clear whether this was an estimate of total population loss or of violent deaths. The best estimate, therefore, was based on MacDowall’s estimate of the number of Kurdish combatants killed.

1979:
Low estimate: 200 (McDowall estimates ‘hundreds’ killed before ceasefire in August; Clodfelter estimates 200 deaths at Sarandaj)
High estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1980:
Best and low estimate: 1,000 (McDowall)
High estimate: 4,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson estimate for all battle deaths in Iran in roughly this period)

1981:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1982:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 9,166 (Based on estimate of 27,500 deaths 1982-84)
No best estimate.

1983:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 9,167 (Based on estimate of 27,500 deaths 1982-84)
No best estimate.
1984:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 9,167 (Based on estimate of 27,500 deaths 1982-84)
No best estimate.

1985-1987:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1988:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 2,000 (SIPRI estimates >2,000 deaths in Iran in 1988)
No best estimate.

1990:
Best estimate: 50 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1993:
Best and low estimate: 50 (UCDP; best estimate based on coder's note)
High estimate: 200 (UCDP)

1996:
Best estimate: 27 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

For conflict #143, Iranian civil war outside of Kurdistan:

In the Uppsala/PRIO coding, this conflict begins after the fall of the Shah. SIPRI 1989 estimates 15,000 deaths from 1979-87 in all Iranian internal conflicts; COW gives a similar figure of 14,000 and most authors fall within the range of 10,000-20,000 total deaths.
1979:
Best estimate: 1,860 (Deaths mentioned by Clodfelter in specific incidents outside of Kurdistan)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 7,500 (COW)

1980:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1,500 (Based on SIPRI estimate of 15,000 combat deaths in all of Iran through 1987. The high estimate 1979-1987 totals 15,000)
No best estimate.

1981:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1,500 (Based on SIPRI estimate of 15,000 combat deaths in all of Iran through 1987. The high estimate 1979-1987 totals 15,000)
No best estimate.

1982:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1,500 (Based on SIPRI estimate of 15,000 combat deaths in all of Iran through 1987. The high estimate 1979-1987 totals 15,000)
No best estimate.

1986-87:
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1,500 deaths per year (Based on SIPRI estimate of 15,000 combat deaths in all of Iran through 1987. The high estimate 1979-1987 totals 15,000)
No best estimate.

1988:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 4,000 (UCDP coder’s note for 1991 regarding 1988 operations)
No best estimate.
1991:
Low estimate: 60 (UCDP)
High estimate: 300 (UCDP)
No best estimate

1992:
Best and high estimate: 100 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1993:
Best and low estimate: 50 (UCDP coder’s note)
High estimate: 200 (UCDP)

1997:
Best and low estimate: 35 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1999:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

2000:
Best and high estimate: 50 (UCDP coder’s note)
Low estimate: 40 (UCDP)

2001:
Best and low estimate: 115 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

2005:
Best and low estimate: 28 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (Jamestown estimates 120 Iranian security force deaths)
No best estimate.

2006:
Best estimate: 57 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 52 (UCDP)
High estimate: 999 (Jamestown estimate of Iranian security force deaths is 150)
No best estimate.

2007:
Best estimate: 72 (UCDP; Jamestown estimate of 77 is similar)
Low estimate: 68 (UCDP)
High estimate: 143 (UCDP)

2008:
Best and low estimate: 121 (UCDP)
High estimate: 265 (UCDP)
Iraq

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Iraq:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>Military faction</td>
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<td>Various Insurgent Groups</td>
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Fatalities information for conflict #62, coup in 1958:

(Keesing’s, 2004, 16305-6):
“19 members of the Royal household were massacred … According to some accounts, the entire Royal household were mown down by machine-guns and their bodies burned in the gardens of the palace; other accounts said that the members of the Royal household had been taken to the cells below the palace and shot one by one. … no opposition was encountered from any section of the population nor from Army units stationed in the provinces. … In the first hours of the coup, however, the British Embassy was ransacked and burned down by rioting mobs … One member of the embassy staff…was killed by a stray bullet … Apart from the attack on the British Embassy, several foreign nationals were brutally murdered in Baghdad by the mob…”

Interpretation:
Keesing’s Record of World Events records deaths by one-sided violence (executions) and intracommunal violence (riots) rather than battle deaths. Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

*Fatalities information for conflict #62, attempted coup in 1959:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #653, “Iraq v. Shammar Tribe and Pro-Western Officers’ 1959: 2,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 2,000 killed

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1959, “shammar Tribe vs. Govt:” 1,000 civilian war-related deaths, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 2000 total war-related deaths.

(Keesing’s, 2004, 16753-4): “Estimates of the total number of casualties caused by the revolt varied from 500 to as high as 5,000.”

*Interpretation:*

Best estimate: 2,000 deaths (COW)
Low estimate: 500 deaths (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 5,000 deaths (Keesing’s)

*Fatalities information for conflict #62, coup in 1963:*

(Rummel, 1997, Table 14.1 line 1281): Estimates of deaths in coup violence: 1,500 (low); 3,000 (middle); 5,000 (high)

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 286-287: “Kassem’s Communist supporters took to the streets in his support, but they were mown down by the troops: hundreds were killed.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“February 1964 …No official details of the casualties were published; foreign correspondents estimated them at 200 to 500 killed.”

*Interpretation:*

328
Low estimate: 200 (from Keesing’s; supported by Brogan’s description)
High estimate: 500 (from Keesing’s)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #74, conflict in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1961-93:

Correlates of War Conflict Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #658, “Iraq vs. Kurds of 1961” 1961-63: 500 state deaths out of a total of 3,000 deaths
Conflict #690, “Iraq vs. Kurds of 1974” 1974-75: 500 Iranian deaths, 4,500 Iraqi state deaths, total deaths unknown
Conflict #672, “Iraq vs. Kurds and Shiites’ 1985-93: 10,000 Iraqi state deaths and an unknown number of Iranian deaths out of an unknown total number of deaths

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1 line 1910): Estimates deaths from 1961-2 as: 9,000 (low), 12,000 (middle), 30,000 (high)

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1961-74, “Kurds vs. government:” 200,000 total war-related deaths
1988 “Anfall killings of Kurds:” 100,000 civilian and total war-related deaths
1980-89, “Government vs. Kurd (KDP, PUK):” 67,000 total war-related deaths

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1961-70, “Kurds vs. Govt; Iran intervenes:” 100,000 civilian war-related deaths, 5,000 military war-related deaths, 105,000 total war-related deaths.
1988-88, “Kurd civilians killed by army:” 9,000 civilian war-related deaths, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 10,000 total war-related deaths.
1991-92, “Kurds, Shiites, rebel:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 30,000 total war-related deaths

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 332: “One estimate puts the civilian death toll between 1961 and 1970 at 100,000 and military deaths at 9,000. A total of half that seems more probable.”
P. 646: Estimates 20,000 deaths in 1974
P. 648: Estimates 50,000 killed in Shiite and Kudish revolts in March to June 1991
(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 646: “The 1961-70 war … cost about 50,000 lives, including 9,000 under arms.”
P. 646: “A final Iraqi offensive in March and April 1975 defeated the rebellion. Although the Kurds claimed to have killed 5,260 Iraqi soldiers and wounded 10,000, the Baghdad government admitted casualties of only 1,640 KIA…Total Kurdish losses were estimated at more than 15,000, including 2,000 Pesh Merga…”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 103: Estimate 10,000 killed from 1946 to 1970.
P. 137: “More than two thousand people were killed between 1968 and 1970, most of the Kurdish villagers slaughtered by Iraqi troops.”
P. 152: Renewed fighting from 12 March 1974, with the Kurds receiving backing from Iran. Iranian support ended after March 1975. Estimate 3,000 people killed in this period.
P. 171: Estimate as many as 60,000 Kurds killed after the Iran-Iraq war

(McDowall, 2000):
P. 326: In the fall of 1969: “since 1961 there had been an estimated 60,000 casualties’
P. 339: Regarding conflict in 1974: “Both sides gave wild figures for casualties, but one may accept the estimate of a Red Cross representative that Iraq lost 7,000 men with another 10,000 injured. The Kurdish figure was probably somewhat less. In addition to the casualties of war, the cost to the civil population was particularly heavy. Thousands fled their homes before the Iraqi onslaught, and by the winter many were suffering from hunger and exposure.”
P. 349: summary execution of up to 8,000 Kurds in April 1980 (all males over 13 rounded up, including Baath supporters, from Barzan valley area)
P. 359: estimates 150,000-200,000 killed in the Anfal Operations, which used poisoned gas against Kurdish civilians
P. 373: “Perhaps as many as 20,000 Kurds and Turkomans perished in the Iraqi onslaught” in the spring of 1991, 28th April 1991 the no-fly zone is established
P. 378: “In September and October [1991] further serious fighting broke out first around Kirkuk, and in early October around Kifri, Kalar and Sulaymaniya …On each occasion, in July and in October, is was estimated that [Baghdad] lost 5,000 men”
See also McDowall (1992)

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(Lindgren et al., 1991): Iraq vs. KDP and PUK. Fatalities 1980-89: 5,000 to 6,000 with a note that says these deaths are related to the reported use of chemical weapons and that no figures for 1990 were available.

(Amer et al., 1993): Estimates that there were between 300 and 500 casualties in 1992 in the struggle with both SAIRI and the Kurdish groups and gives no estimate for total fatalities.

Later SIPRI yearbooks note an unknown number of fatalities in Iraq.

(UCDP, 2006):
1989: <50. Coder’s note: “The figure includes military deaths only.” Total deaths: >6,000. Coder’s note regarding total deaths: “5000-6000 battle-related deaths have been recorded 1980-1989. The number killed 1946-1980 must also have been a number of thousands. The exact number is unknown.”
1990: 25-999
1991: >1,000
1992: 300-500
1993: 25-999
1995: 25-999. Coder’s note: “This case is currently under investigation. During 1995, the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan was very complicated. Apart from the fighting between the government and PUK, there were also intense non-state conflict clashes between PUK and KDP, as well as fighting in the conflict Turkey (Kurdistan) which spilled over the border.”

Interpretation:

1961-63:
High estimate: 30,000 (Rummel)
Low estimate: 3,500 (COW)
No best estimate.

1964-70:
High estimate: 39,000 (Based on 69,000 deaths 1961-70, cited in Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 25 battle deaths or 1,000 battle deaths each year, according to UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
No best estimate.
1973:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.
No best estimate.

1974-5:
High estimate: 22,000 (Red Cross estimate of 7,000 Iraqi deaths (McDowall) + Clodfelter’s estimate of 15,000 Kurds killed)
Low estimate: 12,250 (Kurdish claim of 5,250 Iraqi soldiers killed (McDowall) + McDowall’s estimate of 7,000 Kurdish deaths)
No best estimate.

1976-79:
Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.
No best estimate.

1980-7:
Low estimate: 3,975 (UCDP coder’s note estimates 5,000-6,000 deaths 1980-89. Low estimate totals 5,000 1980-1989)
High estimate: 67,000 (Leitenberg’s estimate of deaths 1980-89, excluding Anfal)
No best estimate.

1988:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 200,000 (McDowall high estimate for deaths at Anfal)
No best estimate.

1989:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 50 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1990:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.
No best estimate.
1991:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 30,000 (McDowall)
No best estimate.

1992:
Low estimate: 300 (UCDP)
High estimate: 500 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1993:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #74, conflict in Iraqi Kurdistan in 1995-1996:

Conflict #756, “Iraq vs. KDP Kurds’ 1996: 1,500 state deaths and an unknown total number of deaths
(N.B.: The title COW gives to this conflict is misleading. In 1996, the Iraqi government and the KDP cooperated in operations against the PUK)

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004): Keesing’s Record of World Events reports on Intra-Kurdish fighting in August, September, October, and November 1996. The reports are not sufficiently specific to provide an estimate of all deaths, but detail incidents in which several hundred were killed. The data supports the relatively low intensity conflict estimated by COW.

(UCDP, 2006):
Estimate 25-999 battle deaths in both 1995 and 1996.

Interpretation:
High estimate: 1,500 (COW)
Low estimate: 300 (Keesing’s)
No best estimate. No trend.
Fatalities information for conflict #62, civil conflict with SAIRI in 1982-96:

Correlates of War Conflict Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #672, “Iraq vs. Kurds and Shiites’ 1985-93: 10,000 Iraqi state deaths and an unknown number of Iranian deaths out of an unknown total number of deaths
(Eckhardt, 1996): 1991-92, “Kurds, Shiites, rebel:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 30,000 total war-related deaths
(Brogan, 1998): “Many thousands of civilians were killed in the civil wars that followed the 1991 conflict, perhaps 50,000 in all.”

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1991-95, “shia/South:” 50,000 civilian and total war-related deaths
1982-2002, “additional political killings:” 50,000 civilian and total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 660: Greenpeace estimated 20,000 Kurds and Shi’ites killed in 1991
P. 660: “Rebellion, by Shi’ites in the south and Kurds in the north, broke out in early March [1991]…By the end of the month both rebellions had been effectively crushed…Anywhere from 20,000 to 30,000 Kurds and Shi’ites were killed (with the Shi’ite rebellion probably claiming the most lives because of the heavy fighting in the southern cities).”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events contains reports on this conflict filed in December 1982, February 1984, March 1985, and April 1988. Fatal incidents specifically recorded account for the following figures:
1982: 30 killed
1983: >90 killed
1984: 13 killed
1985: 10 killed
1987: 36 killed. 50-120 died in an attack on 7 September 1987 in Baquba for which no group claimed responsibility

See above for SIPRI Yearbooks

(UCDP, 2009):
1991: 1,000-9,999. Coder’s note: “sCIRI reported that 30,000 people were killed in the first days of March. There was no independent confirmation of the report.”

1992: 25-999
1993: 25-999
1994: 25-999
1995: 25-999
1996: 25-999

Interpretation:

1982:
Best estimate: 30 (Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1983:
Best estimate: 90 (Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1984:
Best estimate: 25 (Keesing’s mentions only 13 deaths explicitly)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1987:
Best estimate: 36 (Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1991:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 30,000 (UCDP coder’s note)
No best estimate.

1992:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 500 (SIPRI high estimate for deaths in Kurdistan and in SAIRI conflict)
No best estimate.

1993-96:
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths per year. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #176, the Persian Gulf War in 1990-91:

Correlates of War Conflict Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #211, “Gulf War” 1990-91: 0 Canadian deaths, 10 Egyptian deaths, 2 French deaths, 0 Italian deaths, 25,000 Iraqi deaths, 1,000 Kuwaiti deaths, 0 Moroccan deaths, 0 Omani deaths, 0 Qatari deaths, 33 Saudi deaths, 0 Syrian deaths, 6 UAE deaths, 24 UK deaths, 268 US deaths. Yields a total of 26,343 deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1991, “Gulf War;” 75,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 250): “The number of fatalities was estimated at between 50,000 and 100,000; 200 Coalition soldiers were killed.”

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1990-91, “Iraq inv Kuwair; US, UN interv;” 100,000 civilian and 100,000 military war-related deaths, 200,000 total war-related deaths

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 284: Estimates that Iraq lost 100,000 in the second Gulf War. “Allied losses in the second Gulf War were as follows: Killed in action: Egypt 10, France 2, Kuwait 1, Saudi Arabia 33, United Arab Emirates 6, UK 24 (and 23 wounded), USA 148 (and 458 wounded). Non-combat deaths: UK 23, USA 120 before the war. The United States lost a further 13 servicemen to accidents in the six months following the war. The US also lost 35 dead and 12 wounded to “friendly fire” during the war, and the British 9, with two other possible deaths to friendly fire.”
(Mueller, 1995):
P. 104-106: “After the liberation, various Kuwaitis and Kuwaiti groups went on murderous rampages of vengeance directly particularly at resident Palestinians. During the first two weeks, according to a US official, between 200 and 600 Palestinians, almost all of them young men, disappeared. … The war helped to trigger uprisings against Saddam Hussein ... Tens of thousands - two sources arrive independently at an estimate of 35,000 - apparently died”
P. 105:
Estimates of deaths related to the Gulf War
Kuwaiti citizens and residents killed by the Iraqis in the invasion: 500-700
Americans who died in Desert Shield and Desert Storm from accidents: 108
US battle deaths: 1
Other coalition battle deaths: 63
Iraqi battle deaths in Gulf War: “probably a few thousand”
Iraqi civilian deaths: “some 3,000”
Kuwaiti citizens and residents killed in revenge attacks after the war: a few hundred
Iraqis killed in Kurdish and Shiite uprisings: tens of thousands, perhaps over 100,000.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 655: “Kuwait later reported a total of 2,793 of its citizens killed and 605 missing in the Iraqi invasion and occupation. Probably no more than 200 Iraqi soldiers died in the conquest, although hundreds more were killed in the succeeding months by an active Kuwaiti underground, including a likely 126 who died when their transport plane was shot down on October 2…”
P. 659: “The United States lost only 146 killed in combat... The Saudis counted 29 killed and 53 wounded … Britain lost 24 killed... The UAE lost 6 killed; Syria lost 5 killed. The French Dauguet Division lost only 2 KIA… Total non-US Allied combat deaths were 99…”
P. 659-660: “[Iraqi] personnel casualties are still being debated. Initial reports claimed up to 100,000 Iraqi dead, even though only 577 enemy bodies were buried by US forces on the battlefield. Britain estimated Iraqi military casualties at 40,000 killed ... The organization Greenpeace released a report in early May that put the figures at 100,000-120,000 Iraqi military dead, 5,000-15,000 Iraqi civilians killed by the bombing, 4,000-16,000 Iraqis dead from starvation and disease since the end of the war, 20,000 civilians killed in the Kurdish and Shi’ite rebellions that broke out in March, 15,000-30,000 Kurds and others dead in refugee camps and along the road, and 2,000-5,000 Kuwaitis killed during the Iraqi occupation and the war. The estimates of 100,000 or more Iraqi military dead seem too high. Given the usual ratio of 3 wounded to 1 dead, a toll of 100,000 battle deaths would yield a figure of 300,000 or more wounded, which, added to the 85,271 prisoners taken (1,500 of whom were wounded) and giving no allowance whatsoever to the known massive rates of desertion … would amount to considerably more than Iraq’s total armed force in Kuwait and southern Iraq. On the other end of the scale, the lowest estimate of only 1,500 Iraqi battle deaths seems just as unlikely. The British estimate of 40,000 battle deaths seems much more likely.”
(UCDP, 2009):
1990: 800 deaths. Coder’s note: “It has been estimated that 500-700 Kuwaitis were killed during the 1990 occupation. Iraqi losses during the invasion and occupation was estimated to 200 and 126 respectively. Regarding the figures for Kuwaiti losses it is however unclear whether or not they include non-battle related deaths. This uncertainty gives a best estimate of 800, which is lower than the estimations might suggest.”
1991: >5,000. Coder’s note: “The coalition forces lost 245 soldiers in action during 1991. Regarding the number of Iraqi battle-related deaths a number of conflicting claims have been made ranging from a few hundred to 100 000. A more reasonable account estimates Iraqi deaths to be 40 000. Another source puts the number of Iraqi soldiers killed at 25 000. The coalition bombing campaign was mainly aimed at destroying Iraqi military targets and the low number of estimated Iraqi soldiers that were wounded in the bombings, as well as in the ground war, points to lower Iraqi casualties than initially reported. Based on the fact that only 2000 out of the 71 000 Iraqi POWs were wounded, one source argues that actual Iraqi deaths from the bombing campaign amounted to between 700 and 3000. The same source’s estimates for the ground war was 600-6500. (US ground forces buried only 577 Iraqi corpses.)”

Interpretation:
1990:
Mueller estimates 500-700 Kuwaitis killed in the occupation of Kuwait. Clodfelter estimates Iraqi losses of 200, and at least a likely 126 more dead due to post-invasion resistance. This suggests between 826-1,026 total battle-deaths.
Best estimate: 800 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 700 battle deaths (500 Kuwaitis and 200 Iraqis, no losses due to resistance)
High estimate: 1,026 battle deaths

1991:
For Iraqi military deaths, the best estimate was 25,000, taken from COW; preferred based on analysis in Mueller, Clodfelter. The high estimate was 40,000 from British estimates reported in Clodfelter.
For Iraqi civilian deaths, Mueller’s figure of 3,000 was used as a best estimate.
Coalition KIA: 24 (Clodfelter, Mueller, UCDP)
Yields:
Best estimate: 28,245
Low estimate: 1,545 (Minimum based on UCDP coder’s note)
High estimate: 43,245
Fatalities information for conflicts #226 and 62, invasion of Iraq by USA, UK, Australia and civil war, 2003-08:

(Connetta, 2003): 9,200 Iraqi combatants during the invasion. For details of the estimation, see also the appendix in (Conetta, 2003b).

(Iraq Body Count, 2009): Civilian deaths only
2003: 12,049
2004: 10,751
2005: 14,832
2006: 27,676
2007: 24,534
2008: 9,214

(iCasualties.org, 2009b):
2003: Iraq Security Forces: 283. Total of 611 coalition deaths (US:486; UK: 90; Thailand: 2; Spain: 9; Poland: 1; Italy: 17; Denmark: 1; Bulgaria: 5).
2004: Iraq Security Forces: 1,576. Foreign contractors: 196. Coalition militaries: 898 (US forces: 848; UK forces: 22; Ukraine: 4; Spain: 1; Slovakia: 3; Poland: 10; Netherlands: 2; Latvia: 1; Italy: 1; Hungary: 1; Estonia: 2; El Salvador: 1; Bulgaria: 2).

(Michaels, 2007)
Estimates of insurgent deaths:
2003: 597
2004: 6,801
2005: 3,247
2006: 3,902
2007: 4,882 through September 22

(Institute for the Study of War, 2009): 900 insurgent deaths reported in operations against Sunni insurgents in 2008
(Roggio, 2008): 1,815 insurgents killed in operations against the Mahdi Army in 2008

(IISS, 2009):
2003: 10,000
2004: 15,000
2005: 12,900
2006: 23,000
2007: 31,560
2008: 11,892

(UCDP, 2009):
2003: Best and low estimate: 8,313. High estimate: 15,213.
2008: Best and only estimate: 2,090. Coder’s note: “The total estimate for battle-related deaths in the conflict Iraq 2008 is the combined estimates for the active dyads. In addition, there were almost 2000 more casualties in incidents that were battle-related and involved government forces. This does not include attacks on civilians or fighting between non-governmental actors.”

(National Counterterrorism Center, 2009):
Number of suicide bombings:
2004: 62
2005: 352
2006: 231
2007: 353
2008: 211

(Ploughshares, 2009):
2003: 15,000
2004: 3,500-9,000
2005: 9,000-12,000 (“of which nearly a half were civilians”)
2006: 35,000 Iraqi civilians. 822 US military deaths.
2007: (Follows Iraq Body Count Project)
2008: (Follows Iraq Body Count Project)

(Schooner, 2009): Based on claims to the Department of Labor for insurance payments under the Defense Base Act, estimates the number of contractors killed in Iraq. These numbers are probably an underestimate as some security firms did not take part in the insurance program.
2006: 301
2007: 353

Interpretation:
Where possible, the estimates rely on sources that accumulate single-incident reports

Conflict # 226:

2003:
Best estimate: 13,540 (Sum of Iraqi military (iCasualties), Iraqi civilians (Iraq Body Count), Coalition forces (iCasualties), and insurgents (Michaels))
Low estimate: 8,313 (UCDP)
High estimate: 22,457 (Sum of Iraqi military (Connetta), Iraqi civilians (Iraq Body Count), Coalition forces (iCasualties), and insurgents (Michaels))

Conflict #62:

2004:
Best and high estimate: 20,222 (Iraqi civilians (Iraq Body Count), Iraqi security forces, Coalition forces and contractors (iCasualties), insurgents (Michaels))
Low estimate: 3,499 (UCDP)

2005:
Best and high estimate: 21,615 (Iraqi civilians (Iraq Body Count), Iraqi security forces, Coalition forces and contractors (iCasualties), and insurgents (Michaels))
Low estimate: 2,364 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and high estimate: 35,071 (Iraqi civilians (Iraq Body Count), Iraqi security forces and Coalition forces (iCasualties), contractors (Schooner), and insurgents (Michaels))
Low estimate: 3,656 (UCDP)

2007:
Best and high estimate: 33,266 (Iraqi civilians (Iraq Body Count), Iraqi security forces and Coalition forces (iCasualties), contractors (Schooner), and insurgents (Michaels))
Low estimate: 1,939 (UCDP)

2008:
Best and high estimate: 13,766 (Iraqi civilians (Iraq Body Count), Iraqi security forces and Coalition forces (iCasualties), insurgents (Institute for the Study of War and Roggio))
Low estimate: 2,090 (UCDP)
Israel and Palestine

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Israel and Palestine:

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Fatalities information for conflicts #8, Jewish insurgency against the UK in 1946:

(Brogan, 1998): “The most dramatic incident of the conflict occurred on 22 July 1946, when British military headquarters in Jerusalem …was blown up. The explosion killed 25 British, 40 Arabs and 17 Jews.”

Clodfelter (2002, 631): “The Irgun and Stern Gang killed about 300 Arab civilians and 73 British and Arab soldiers and policemen during this period. Their most spectacular exploit was the bombing of Jerusalem’s King David Hotel on July 22, 1946. Ninety-two people died in the explosion, including 28 Britons, 41 Arabs, and 17 Jews … Total British casualties from October 31, 1945-May 15, 1948 in Palestine were 223 killed …”

Interpretation:
The UCDP/PRIO coding includes only 1946.
Best and low estimate: 92 deaths in the bombing of the King David Hotel.
High estimate: 373 (Clodfelter estimate of deaths due to Irgun and Stern Gang activities)
Fatalities information for conflict #30, conflict between Israel and Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Transjordan in 1948-49:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #148, “Palestine” 15 May 1948 to 18 July 1948 and 22 November 1948 to 7 January 1949: 2,000 Egyptian, 500 Iraqi, 3,000 Israeli, 1,000 Jordanian, 500 Lebanese, and 1,000 Syrian deaths. Yields a total of 8,000 battle deaths.

(Dupuy, 1984): Estimated losses from 1947 to 1949: Israel: 6,000 killed, 15,000 wounded. Arabs: 15,000 killed, 25,000 wounded.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1948-48, “Arab League vs Israel:” civilian war-related deaths not available, 8,000 military war-related deaths, 8,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 57): “Jewish fatalities estimated at six thousand, including two thousand civilians, while nearly 8,000 Arab troops lost their lives.”

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 632-633: “Total losses for the new Zionist nation for the entire conflict were 4,074 military personnel…and over 2,000 noncombatants killed…About 15,000 Americans had volunteered to fight for Israel and 45 had died, 37 of them in battle. … Losses claimed for the Arab invaders are only estimates. Egypt suffered the highest toll, at least 1,500 and possibly as many as 2,000 killed … Syria lost 1,000 or more killed, and about 1,000 Arab Legionnaires [from Transjordan] were slain. Iraq and Lebanon each lost about 500 combat dead, and Saudi Arabia, Yemen and the Sudan together a few hundred. But the great bulk of the estimated 15,000 Arab dead…were suffered by the irregulars of the ALA and the other Palestinian volunteer formations and by the Arab civilians of Palestine.”

Interpretation:
Dupuy and Clodfelter agree on total Arab losses of 15,000, and Clodfelter’s reckoning suggests that COW is recording only deaths of regular Arab armed forces (as is correct per their coding rules)
Best and high estimate: 21,111 deaths (15,000 Arab losses + 4,074 Israeli military personnel + 2,000 Israeli civilians + 37 Americans)
Low estimate: 7,700 (1,500 Egypt + 1,000 Syria + 1,000 Transjordan + 500 Iraq + 500 Lebanon + 200 (“few” hundred from Saudia Arabia, Yemen and Sudan, per Clodfelter) + 3,000 Israeli (COW))

Both estimates were trended according to days of active conflict, because the war ended very early in 1949, by 7 January.
Fatalities information for conflict #37, Palestinian insurgency against Israel from 1949-1996 and 2000-2002:


(B’Tselem, 2003): B’Tselem tracks casualties by year since the beginning of the Intifada in 1987, distinguishing between nationalities, location of deaths, and perpetrators. Also estimates a total of 73 foreign citizens killed and 3 Israelis killed by foreign citizens, but does not provide dates.

(Brogan, 1998): P. 305: “By October 1991, five years after the beginning of the Intifada, 663 Arab civilians had been killed by security forces in the occupied territories, 501 Palestinians by other Arabs, and 40 Israelis by Arabs. In 1991, 101 Palestinians were killed by Israelis and 140 by other Palestinians. Seven Israelis were killed.”
P. 324-326: list of terrorist incidents.

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 638: “Israel lost from 1949-55 … a total of 360 soldiers and civilians killed and 733 wounded…”
P. 638: “Altogether, this war of raid and reprisal between Jew and Palestinian, July 1967-August 1970, cost a total of 195 Israeli lives, 12 of whom were civilians. The fedayeen lost 1,828 killed and 734 wounded; 88 Arab civilians were slain in the occupied zones.”
P. 639: “From the end of the Six Day War to the end of 1974 Israel counted over 800 dead and 2,350 wounded … In the same period at least 3,300 Palestinians or citizens of the neighboring Arab nations were killed … From the end of the October War in 1973 to the beginning of 1978, there were 182 Israelis killed … Israeli reprisal raids into Lebanon … having slain at least 2,000 Palestinians and Lebanese.”
P. 640: “In the 18 months prior to July 1, 1981, 21 Israeli citizens were slain in PLO border raids or bombardments staged from southern Lebanon and 400 Palestinians or Lebanese were killed by retaliatory attacks. The worst round of violence since 1978 occurred July 10-24, 1981, when 6 Israelis were killed and 66 wounded by Palestinian shellings and the Begin government retaliated with a series of air, artillery, and amphibious assaults that left 450 Arabs dead…”
P. 655: “The Intifada: 1987-93… Israel counted 97 civilians and 54 soldiers killed. Palestinian dead total 1,889…”

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(Goose, 1987): Israeli gov vs. PLO and Syrian troops since 1948. Total deaths >10,000

Interpretation:

1949-87:
Best and high estimate: 10,000 (SIPRI) No trend.
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year (UCDP/PRI coding rules)

1988-2002: B’Tselem’s exact year counts were used. These are higher the UCDP estimates in most cases because UCDP excludes all attacks aimed at civilians. The battle deaths dataset, however, has broader coding rules. 51 deaths reported by B’Tselem (foreigners killed and Israelis killed by foreigners) are not reported by year and are not included.

Fatalities information for conflicts #104, 105, and 106, the Six Day War in 1967:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #169, “six Day” 1967: 10,000 Egyptian deaths, 1,000 Israeli deaths, 6,100 Jordanian deaths, 2,500 Syrian deaths. Yields a total of 19,600 deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 700 Israeli military deaths and up to 25,000 Arab deaths

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 315: “Israel lost 705 men in the Six Day War, the Arabs 20,000-25,000.”

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1967-70, “six Day War; border conflicts:” 50,000 civilian war-related deaths, 25,000 military war-related deaths, 75,000 total war-related deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 636-7: “Operations in the Sinai … [Egyptian] personnel losses were 3,000 killed … Israel’s losses were … 303 KIA.”
P. 637: “Operations in Jerusalem and the West Bank … Jordan’s losses were 696 KIA … Israeli losses against Jordan were 553 KIA …”
P. 637: “Operations on the Golan Heights … Syria counted 600 dead … Personnel losses for the victors were 127 KIA …”
P. 637: “… at sea the war was largely uneventful. The only significant incident involved an American ship … The Liberty was heavily damaged and its crew lost 34 killed …”
P. 637: “Israel’s total losses were 983 KIA … Total Arab losses (not including the 100 killed, 300 wounded and 20 tanks lost from an Iraqi brigade as it was on its way to the Jordanian front) were 4,296 KIA …”

(Dupuy, 1984):
P. 333: provides a table of estimated losses:
Israel: 939 KIA (303 vs. Egypt; 553 vs. Jordan; 127 vs. Syria)
Egypt: 3,000
Jordan: 696 (Official figure was 580, not including deaths among the missing)
Syria: 600
Iraq: Unknown

*Interpretation:*

Clodfelter and Dupuy estimate far fewer Arab-nation losses than the figure of 25,000 cited elsewhere, particularly of Egyptian casualties. Because Clodfelter and Dupuy present the most detailed military account of the conflict, their data was preferred.

Estimated:

Conflict #104, Israel vs. Egypt:
Best and low estimate: 3,337 (3,000 Egyptian KIA, 303 Israeli KIA, 34 Americans dead aboard the Liberty; Clodfelter and Dupuy)
High estimate: 10,337 (10,000 Egyptian KIA (COW), 303 Israeli KIA, 34 Americans dead aboard the Liberty)

Conflict #105, Israel vs. Jordan:
Best and high estimate: 1,349 (553 Israeli KIA; 696 Jordanian KIA; 100 Iraqi KIA; Clodfelter and Dupuy)
Low estimate: 1,133 (553 Israeli KIA; 580 Jordanian KIA (official figure); Dupuy)

Conflict #106, Israel vs. Syria:
Best and low estimate: 727 (127 Israeli KIA; 600 Syrian KIA; Dupuy and Clodfelter)
High estimate: 2,627 (127 Israeli KIA (Dupuy); 2,500 Syrian KIA (COW))

*Fatalities information for conflict #104, conflict between Israel and Egypt in 1969-70:*
Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #172, “Israeli-Egyptian” 1969-70: 5,000 Egyptian deaths and 368 Israeli deaths

(Brogan, 1998): “Israel: war of attrition with Egypt” 1968-70: 3,000 total battle deaths

(Dupuy, 1984):
P. 369: “Between June 1967 and August 1970 Israel admitted the loss of more than 500 soldiers killed and 2,000 wounded on all fronts. The Egyptian front alone accounted for about 400 troops killed and 1,100 wounded. Precise figures for Egyptian losses are not available, but the Israelis’ estimates of 15,000 killed are at least three times too high.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 638: “…casualties of the Egyptians, conservatively estimated at 5,000 soldiers and civilians killed… Total Israeli casualties, July 1, 1967-August 7, 1980, when a cease-fire ended the War of Attrition, were 641 military personnel and 248 noncombatants killed … These losses were for all fronts, but the Suez front produced the most casualties - 138 KIA …in 1969; 122 KIA… to the cease-fire on August 7. Thus Israel’s toll in Nasser’s War of Attrition was 260 KIA…”

Interpretation:

Estimated:
Best estimate: 5,520 (Based on 5,260 Egyptian military and civilian deaths (COW, Dupuy, Clodfelter); 260 Israeli KIA (from Clodfelter, who provides data specific to the 1969-70 time period))
Low estimate: 260 (Israeli KIA; UCDP/PRIO coding rules code <1,000 deaths per year)
High estimate: 5,800 (Based on 5,400 Egyptian military and civilian deaths (COW, Dupuy, Clodfelter); 400 Israeli military deaths (Dupuy, covers the period June 1967-August 1970))
Trend based on Israeli KIA.

Fatalities information for conflicts #104 and 106, the Yom Kippur War in 1973:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #181, “Yom Kippur” 1973: 5,000 Egyptian, 278 Iraqi, 3,000 Israeli, 23 Jordanian, 100 Saudi, and 8,000 Syrian deaths. Yields a total of 16,401 deaths.
(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 25,000 deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 150): “More than ten thousand soldiers lost their lives in this conflict, including five thousand Egyptians, three thousand Israelis, three thousand Syrians, and two hundred Iraqis.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 643-4: “Operations on the Golan Heights … (Syrian) personnel casualties were 3,100 killed, 6,000 wounded, and 500 taken prisoner… Among the allies of Syria … Iraq lost at least 278 killed … The … Jordanians … lost, according to Amman’s figures, 28 KIA and 49 WIA, but the true toll for Jordan was undoubtedly much higher. Morocco’s brigade lost as many as 200 dead on the Golan front. Israel’s losses against Syria included…772 KIA.”
P. 644-5: “Operations on the Suez Canal and in the Sinai…the Israeli Armored Corps lost during 19 days of war 1,450 KIA…”
P. 646: “… Egypt lost probably 7,700 killed… the PLA reported 256 of its men killed or wounded during the conflict. A Cuban armored regiment on the Syrian front supposedly lost 180 KIA, 250 WIA, but this claim is doubtful. A later, more precise count of Arab casualties lists total dead at 8,528…”

(Dupuy, 1984):
P. 609: Table of estimated losses totals 16,974 killed
Israel: 2,838 (Note reads: About 10% has been added to officially reported Israeli casualties to represent approximately the wounded who died of their injuries, and the fact that official Israeli figures apparently do not include those wounded not evacuated from aid stations and field hospitals.)
Egypt: 5,000
Syria: 3,100
Jordan: 28
Iraq: 218
Other Arab fighters: 100

Interpretation:

Conflict #104, Egypt vs. Israel:
Best and low estimate: 6,450 (5,000 Egyptian deaths (Dupuy/COW); 1,450 Israeli deaths (Clodfelter))
High estimate: 8,450 (7,700 Egyptian deaths (Clodfelter); 1,450 Israeli deaths (Clodfelter))
Conflict #105, Israel vs. Syria:
Best estimate: 4,634 (3,100 Syrian deaths; 772 Israeli deaths; 278 Iraqi deaths; 256 PLA deaths; 200 Moroccan deaths; 28 Jordanian deaths, all from Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 4,218 (3,100 Syrian deaths; 772 Israeli deaths; 218 Iraqi deaths; 28 Jordanian deaths; 100 Arab fighter deaths; from Clodfelter/Dupuy)
High estimate: 11,802 (8,000 Syrian deaths (COW); 3,000 Israeli deaths (COW); 218 Iraqi deaths; 28 Jordanian deaths; 100 Saudi deaths (COW); 256 PLA deaths; 200 Moroccan deaths)

Fatalities information for conflicts #37, conflict with Palestinian insurgents in 2003-09:

(IISS, 2006):
2003: >1,200
2004: > 870
2005: 259
2006: 651
2007: 625
2008: 787

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: 800
2004: >900
2005: 275
2006: 986
2007: 793 (including >400 in intra-Palestinian fighting between Hamas and Fatah)

(B’Tselem, 2006):
2003: Israeli civilian casualties: 129; IDF: 56; Palestinians: 582
2004: Israeli civilian casualties: 68; IDF: 40; Palestinians: 819
2005: Israeli civilian casualties: 41; IDF: 9; Palestinians: 190
2006: 682 Palestinians killed by Israelis; 23 Israelis
2007: 373 Palestinians killed by Israelis; 7 Israelis; Intra-Palestinian: >346, including some deaths in December 2006
2008: 455 Palestinians; 31 Israelis.
(UCDP, 2009):
2004: Low estimate: 358. High estimate: 421. (See coder’s note)
2006: Best: 328, low: 321, high: 665
2007: Best: 312, low: 311, high: 342

Interpretation:

2003:
Best estimate: 767 (B’Tselem)
Low estimate: 307 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,200 (IISS)

2004:
Best and high estimate: 927 (B’Tselem)
Low estimate: 358 (UCDP)

2005:
Best estimate: 240 (B’Tselem)
High estimate: 275 (Ploughshares)
Low estimate: 119 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and high estimate: 705 (B’Tselem)
Low estimate: 321 (UCDP)

2007:
Best and high estimate: 726 (B’Tselem)
Low estimate: 311 (UCDP)
2008:
Best and low estimate: 486 (B’Tselem)
High estimate: 787 (IISS)

_Fatalities information for conflict #251, conflict with Hezbollah in Lebanon, 1990–1999:_

(IISS, 2009):
1997: 100
1998: 20
1999: 0

(UCDP, 2009)
1990: > 30
1991: > 40
1992: 25
1993: > 70

Coder’s note: “During July 1993 Israel conducted an extensive offensive operation against Hezbollah which led to the majority of the people killed that year. Estimations of the number of total military and civilian battle related deaths during the Israeli Operation Accountability ranged between 100 and 148. Around 50 of these, plus an additional 15 from other operations, could with certainty be attributed to the Israel-Hezbollah dyad/conflict. Although Israel targeted guerrilla groups other than Hezbollah, the group was the main target of Operation Accountability, and the real number of people killed in the dyad was probably well over 70.”

1994: > 60
1995: > 25
1996: > 30
1997: > 25

Coder’s note: There were probably more than twice as many battle-related deaths 1997 as the minimum 25 above; some deaths however are unclear.
1998: > 50
1999: 25

_Interpretation:_

353
1990:
Best estimate: 30 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths a high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1991:
Best estimate: 40 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths a high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1992:
Best estimate: 25 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths a high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1993:
Best estimate: 70 (UCDP)
High estimate: 148 (UCDP coder's note)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1994:
Best estimate: 60 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths a high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1995:
Best estimate: 25 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths a high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1996:
Best estimate: 30 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths a high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1997:
Best and high estimate: 100 (IISS, UCDP coder's note)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)

1998:
Best estimate: 50 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 20 (IISS)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1999:
Best estimate: 25 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths a high estimate of 999 based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #251, conflict with Hezbollah in Lebanon, 2006:

(UCDP, 2009):
Low estimate: 821
High estimate: 948
Best estimate: 821
Coder's note: “Assessing the number of deaths in the 2006 conflict is complicated, mainly due to the vast amount of strikes carried out by the Israeli army and the 'noise' this creates for event based coding, the lack of reliable sources on confirmed deaths in these strikes, and also the problem of unreliable sources for the deaths of Hezbollah fighters.”


(Coughlin, 2006): Quotes “Lebanese officials” to the effect that around 600 Hezbollah fighters were killed during the offensive.

(Ghatta, 2006): “Lebanon top police officials, in coordination with the Ministry of Health” estimate a total of 1,123 Lebanese deaths, including both Hezbollah fighters and civilians.

(IISS, 2009): 1026
(Ploughshares, 2009): 1,110 Lebanese and 156 Israeli.

Interpretation
Official Israeli figures are used for losses to the IDF and Israeli civilian casualties. The estimates cited by Ploughshares are similar to those given by Lebanese officials.

Best and high estimate: 1,281 (Israeli official figures and Lebanese loses quoted in Ghatta)
Low estimate: 948 (UCDP)
Kenya

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Kenya:

<table>
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<th>ID</th>
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<th>Side A</th>
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<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
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<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Mau Mau</td>
<td>1952-56</td>
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<td>153</td>
<td>2540</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1982</td>
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Fatalities information for conflict #44, the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952-6:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #429, “British-Mau Mau” 1952-6: 11,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): “In all, more than 45,000 people were killed during the course of the revolt, including 60 British soldiers’

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 15,000 total war-deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1952-63, “Independence vs. UK:” 3,000 civilian war-related deaths, 12,000 military war-related deaths, 15,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 619: “… Security forces lost a total of 590 killed and 1,500 wounded. This toll included 167 soldiers killed in combat, 63 of whom were European and the rest African. The British army itself lost only 12 KIA, 69 WIA. The Mau Mau killed 26 Asian and 32 British civilians and 1,819 loyal African Kenyans. The rebels lost 11,503 killed, out of some 30,000 who took up arms. Some 1,015 of the rebel toll were hung as criminals…”
(Suggests a total of approximately 12,955 battle deaths: 590 security forces + (26 + 32 + 1,819) civilians + 11,503 Mau Mau fighters - 1,015 executions)

Interpretation:
Sources agree closely, with the exception of Bercovitch and Jackson.

Best estimate: 12,955 (Clodfelter. Not trended.)
Fatalities information for conflict #153, coup attempt in 1982:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“December 1982 - KENYA … It was later officially announced that 159 people had died in the attempted coup, although other reports estimated that at least twice that number had been killed.”

(BBC Monitoring Service, 2003): “Hundreds of people were killed in the fighting that ensued in the capital, Nairobi. Several alleged ringleaders of the attempted putsch were found guilty of treason … and hanged.”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 159 (Official figures)
Best and high estimate: 318 (Double the official figure based on the statement that “other reports estimated that at least twice that number had been killed” and the BBC estimate that “hundreds’ were killed)
Korean Peninsula

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts on the Korean Peninsula:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>ID</th>
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<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>38</td>
<td>1380</td>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>South Korea</td>
<td>1949-53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #38, conflict between North and South Korea in 1949:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 67: “In mid-1949 Soviet and US forces were withdrawn from the demarcation line, and North Korea and South Korea were left to supervise their own borders. From this point there were frequent border incidents’

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 723: “In June and August 1949 the North Koreans conducted forays into the Ongjin Peninsula … The ROK government claimed 4,996 Communist guerillas killed from October 1949 to April 1950.”

Interpretation:

The ROK figure of almost 5,000 North Korean forces killed may be unreliable. A low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths were estimated based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #1380, the Korean War in 1950-53:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #151, “Korean” 1950-3: 281 Australian, 97 Belgian, 309 Canadian, 422,612 Chinese, 140 Colombian, 120 Ethiopian, 288 French, 169 Greek, 111 Dutch, 92 Filipino, 316,579 North Korean, 113,248 South Korean, 114 Thai, 717 Turkish, 710 British, and 54,246 US deaths. This yields a total of 909,833 dead.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 10.1, line 96): Estimates of total war dead 1950-53: 432,000 (low), 2.552 million (middle), 4.753 million (high)

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1950-53, “Korean War; China, US intervene:” 1.5 million civilian war-related deaths, 1.5 million military war-related deaths, 3 million total war-related deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1950-53, “Korean War (includes Chinese PLA, US and UN mortality):” 2,828,000 civilian war-related deaths, 1,672,000 military war-related deaths, and 4.5 million total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 67-8: Estimate 3 million total dead, 1 million from China and 500,000 each from North and South Korea. In addition “The United States lost fifty thousand troops and the other members of the UN force suffered seven thousand fatalities.”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 217-218: “According to figures issued by the UN command, the Korean war resulted in the following casualties: United States: 37,904 dead, including 12,939 missing in action, presumed dead, 101,368 wounded. Other United Nations contingents: 4,521 dead, among them 537 British and 312 Canadians. South Korea: 103,248 killed; 159,727 wounded. The US high command calculated that North Korea lost 316,759 killed and China 422,612. It also calculated that 2 million civilians, north and south, were killed or injured. …the total deaths caused by the Korean war in three years were probably between 1 and 1.5 million.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 722-738: See this source for a detailed discussion of losses in individual battles
P. 734-735: “According to US Department of Defense figures (highly suspect because of their preciseness), China lost 401,401 killed, 486,995 wounded, 21,211 missing in the course of its intervention into the Korean War. China’s Military Museum in October 2000 claimed an equally suspect total of 171,669 Chinese deaths in the Korean War. … North Korea’s dead, also according to the Department of Defense, numbered 214,899 and wounded total 303,685, with 101,680 missing. The ROK claimed 294,931 North Korean and 184,124 Chinese military dead. … 299 Soviet military personnel, including 120 pilots, died of all causes attributable to the Korean War. … The ROK government later stated an official tally of 184,573 killed or missing, with about 257,000 military deaths in total from all causes. Total South Korean civilian deaths, including 129,000 killed or executed by the Communists, were reckoned at 244,000. Up to 1 million North Korean civilians may have died as a result of the conflict, many of them from famine and disease. … The actual total of US nonbattle deaths within the Korean War zone was 2,830, according to figures released by the Pentagon in June 2000. In the same accounting, the number of battle deaths was revised slightly to 33,686 … Included in the figure for US battle deaths were 8,176 listed as MIA and presumed dead. Of that total 2,045 were POWs who died in captivity and 1,794 were KIA whose bodies never identified.”
P. 735: “The UN losses, other than those of the United States or the Republic of Korea, totaled 3,960 dead and 11,528 WIA.”
P. 735: UN KIA from nations other than the US and ROK:
UK: 1,078
Turkey: 889
Canada: 309
Australia: 272
France: 271
Colombia: 210
Greece: 194
Thailand: 136
Philippines: 128
Ethiopia: 122
Netherlands: 120
Belgium: 104
South Africa: 34
New Zealand: 22

Interpretation:

Regarding North Korean military battle deaths, the most recent US DOD estimate, found in Clodfelter, was 214,899 dead. The ROK has claimed 294,931 North Korean military deaths, a broadly similar figure. The COW project and Brogan list a higher figure, 316,579, based on an older US military estimate. The DOD estimated 401,401 Chinese military deaths (similar to the COW estimate); the ROK estimated 184,124 Chinese military deaths. COW and Brogan again had the highest estimate, 422,612 Chinese deaths, based on older US military data. According to Clodfelter, the USSR lost 299 from all causes related to the Korean War.

On the South Korean side, the ROK’s official figure for all missing and KIA was 185,573. This corresponds well to the COW estimate of 113,248 military KIA and Brogan’s estimate of 103,248 KIA. Clodfelter gives the only available estimate of South Korean civilian deaths: 244,000. He implies that up to 129,000 of these deaths may have been in one-sided violence. US battle deaths were studied in 2000 by the DOD and new research into official archives suggests 31,641 US KIA, including those missing and presumed dead but not those who died as POWs. Clodfelter gives information on other UN battle deaths, which totals 3,960 KIA.

These figures still leave North Korean civilian battle deaths uncounted. Clodfelter and Brogan’s minimum/conservative estimate of total deaths for the conflict is 1.5 million. Other totals for all deaths, including famine and disease among North Korean civilians are in the 3 to 4.5 million range.
Best estimate: 995,000
214,899 (most recent DOD estimate of North Korean military deaths) + 401,401 (most recent DOD estimate of Chinese military deaths) + 299 (USSR) + 113,248 (COW estimate of South Korean military losses) + 115,000 (South Korean civilian deaths Clodfelter suggests were battle related) + 31,641 (Most recent estimate of US military deaths) + 3,960 (UN KIA) = 880,448. If North Korean civilian battle deaths were at least as great as South Korean civilian battle deaths, this would imply about 995,448 deaths.

Low estimate: 644,696
Based on 214,899 (lowest estimate of North Korean military deaths) + 184,124 (lowest estimate of Chinese military deaths) + 103,248 (low estimate for South Korean military losses) + 115,000 (South Korean civilian deaths Clodfelter suggests were battle related) + 23,465 (Most recent estimate of US military deaths, not including POWs or MIAs) + 3,960 (UN KIA). No estimate of North Korean civilian deaths.

High estimate: 1.5 million deaths (Clodfelter, Brogan)

The estimates were trended based on monthly losses of US forces found in Clodfelter.
Laos

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Laos:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>65</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>Pathet Lao, Neutrals</td>
<td>1959-61</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1963-73</td>
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<td>161</td>
<td>2620</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>1986</td>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>1650</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>LRM</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #65, the Laotian civil war in 1959-61 and in 1963-73:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #657, “Laos vs. Pathet Lao of 1960” 1960-62: 5,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 24,000 dead between 1960-74

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1960-73, “Path Lao vs. Govt; US; NV interv:” 18,000 civilian war-related deaths, 12,000 military war-related deaths, 30,000 total war-related deaths.

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 93: “thousands’ killed from December 1958-1962
P. 120: “thousands’ killed from April 1964-May 1975

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 684: “The Royal Lao Army of 25,000 lost, up to the middle of October 1959, 99 KIA, 96 WIA, 125 MIA.”
P. 684: “The fighting in 1961 was not particularly intense; total combat deaths on both sides were only about 1,000.”

P. 684-685: “The CIA operated a charter airline, Air America … to aid the royalists. Air America would lose 243 killed in combat or accidents in the course of the war in Laos.”

P. 685: “…August and September 1969 … after a decade of war, over 15,000 Laotians had been killed… The toll does not include over 18,000 Meos killed or injured. … The bombing and shelling had created 250,000 refugees, nearly 10% of the population.”

P. 686: “The estimated dead from all causes during the Laotian Civil War were 250,000.”

Interpretation:

1959-61: There were almost certainly at least 25 battle deaths in 1962, as there were Laotian offensives and the US entered the war. However, it is not included in UCDP/PRIO coding. Most sources agree on a very low intensity conflict.

Low estimate: 1,000 battle deaths per year (Uppsala/PRIO minimum; Clodfelter data for 1961)
High estimate: 5,000 total battle deaths (COW)
No best estimate. No trend coded.

1963-73: Clodfelter estimates 15,000 Laotian KIA and 18,000 Meo KIA and WIA 1959-69. COW estimates 18,500 deaths 1963-73, which would probably be a bit too low if Clodfelter’s figure is correct.

Low estimate: 18,500 deaths (COW)
High estimate: 31,500 deaths (500 US deaths (COW) + 3,000 DRV deaths (COW) + 15,000 Laotian KIA (Clodfelter) + 18,000 Meo KIA and WIA for 1959-69 (Clodfelter) - high estimate of 5,000 deaths from 1959-62)
No best estimate. No trend coded.

Fatalities information for conflict #161, conflict between Laos and Thailand in 1986-88:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #2276 in 1987-88 estimates 101-150 Laotian deaths and 26-100 Thai deaths

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates Laos lost 200 men and Thailand 70-100 in 1988

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 700 military personnel killed since 1984
SIPRI Yearbooks:


Interpretation:

All authors suggest a low intensity conflict. Estimated:

1986:
Low estimate: 25 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 200 (Based on Bercovitch and Jackson estimate of 700 deaths since 1984; high estimate 1986-88 totals 700)
No best estimate.

1987:
Best estimate: 100 deaths (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 63 (Based on 127 deaths 1987-88, from MID minimum)
High estimate: 200 (Based on Bercovitch and Jackson estimate of 700 deaths since 1984; high estimate 1986-88 totals 700)

1988:
Best and high estimate: 300 deaths (SIPRI, Brogan)
Low estimate: 64 (Based on 127 deaths 1987-88, from MID minimum)

These estimates yield a total of 500 deaths over the three years of the conflict, slightly less than Bercovitch and Jackson’s total.

Fatalities information for conflict #65, conflict with the LRM in 1989-90:

(UCDP, 2006):
1989: 30. Coder’s note reads: “The information available from Laos, and especially from the conflict areas, was severely limited. The estimate given above should be considered low.”
1990: >25. Coder’s note: “The lack of information makes it hard to assess the exact numbers of casualties. It is clear that there were large-scale government offensives in January-March, when clashes occurred, as well as attacks on civilians.”

*Interpretation:*
Other secondary data on battle deaths and media reports of incidents were not found.

1989:
Best estimate: 30 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1990:
Best estimate: 25 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
Lebanon

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Lebanon:

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<th>Side A</th>
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<th>Years</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>Independent Nasserite Movement/Mourabitoun militia</td>
<td>1958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>1630</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>Various organizations, Syria, Israel</td>
<td>1975–76</td>
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<td>1989-90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #63, civil war in 1958:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1958, “US intervenes in civil war:” 1,000 civilian war-related deaths, 1,000 military war-related deaths, 2,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 91): “More than 1300 people were killed during the conflict…”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 634: “One US Army sergeant was killed by sniper fire. He was the only American casualty of the civil war. Approximately 1,000 Lebanese died in the sporadic fighting that lasted from May to October.”

Interpretation:
Best and high estimate: 1,400 (COW, supported by Bercovitch and Jackson)
Low estimate: 1,000 (Clodfelter)

Fatalities information for conflict #63, civil war in 1975–76, 1982-86, 1989-90:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #691, “Lebanon vs. Leftists of 1975” 1975-90: 800 Israeli, deaths 26,000 Lebanese state deaths and 17,000 Syrian deaths out of a total of 167,000 dead.
Conflict #205, “Israel-Syria (Lebanon)” 1982: 235 Israeli deaths and 1,000 Syrian deaths.
The COW estimates sum to 168,235 deaths in 1975-90.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, line 2289): Estimates of war dead 1974-87: 38,000 (low), 56,000 (middle), 60,000 (high)

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1975-89 “civil war/Syrian and Israeli interventions:” 131,000 total war-related deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1975-76, “syria intervenes in civil war:” 75,000 civilian war-related deaths, 25,000 military war-related deaths, 100,000 total war-related deaths
1982-90, “Israel invades and aftermath:” 41,000 civilian war-related deaths, 22,000 military war-related deaths, 63,000 total war-related deaths

(Dupuy and Martell, 1986):
This source gives a detailed military history of Israel’s invasion of Lebanon.
P. 170: Estimate less than 2,500 civilians killed and wounded in South Lebanon from June to mid-August 1982. “The Lebanese estimate of 1,000 dead is not inconsistent with our estimate. In contrast, nearly 100,000 civilians were killed, and over 250,000 wounded in the seven prior years of civil war in Lebanon. In 1981, Syrian shelling alone killed over 400 Lebanese civilians and wounded 800, primarily in Zhle and East Beirut.”
P. 181-195: Description of the massacres at Sabra and Shatila camps

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 158: “Approximately sixty thousand people lost their lives in the 1975-76 civil war.”
P. 177: “Israel-Lebanon: border incidents (mid-late 1977)”: approximately fifty people killed
P. 182-183: Describes the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon (March-June 1978). Estimate 1,500 killed.
P. 201-202: Describes the second Israeli military invasion (early 1982-mid-1983). Estimate “as many as 100,000 people were killed in the fighting, many of them civilians. Israel lost nearly 800 troops.”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 646: Estimates 150,000 dead in civil war 1975-91
The Lebanese government estimated in 1992 that 144,000 people had been killed since the civil war began in 1975, 17,000 remained missing, presumed killed, and that 10,000 Palestinians had been killed in the fighting and massacres in and around the camps. There were 200,000 wounded.

Estimates that first Israeli invasion in March 1978 killed over 2,000
Second Israeli invasion begins 6 June 1982. “At least 10,000 people, most of them civilians, were killed...”
Estimates 700-2,000 killed in massacres at Sabra and Shatila camps

(By Clodfelter, 2002):
By the end of 1975 a total of 6,650 people, had been killed...By May 1976 the toll was 18,500 dead.
Syrian invasion in June 1976: “Total casualties were 63,875 killed...A majority of these casualties were noncombatants. At least 10,000 of the dead were Palestinians. The Syrians...lost probably about 500 killed...”
Though the Syrian occupation in November 1976 ended the all-out civil war, violence continued ...Total Lebanese loss of life in this struggle with the Syrian army of occupation during 1978 exceeded 2,300. Syria lost from its first intervention in 1975 to the end of 1978 some 700 killed.
According to Lebanese claims, total Arab casualties to the end of August [1982] were 19,085 dead and 30,302 wounded. Israel reported 455 fatalities, including 20 noncombat deaths... By March 1, 1999 ... Israel had suffered 901 battle deaths in Lebanon since 1982.”
The American involvement in Lebanon’s civil war cost the United States 266 killed, 1 nonbattle death”
(This source includes a number of yearly estimates which have been drawn upon below but are not reproduced here in full because of copyright concerns)

SIPRI Yearbooks
(Goose, 1987): Warring parties: government troops, Christian militia, Muslim militia. Total killed since 1975: >125,000


(UCDP, 2009): Coder’s note for 1989: “From 1975 to 1989 it was estimated that 131 000 had died in the Lebanese conflict in clashes involving dyads other than those in this database. It is highly likely that a great deal of these were not battle-related casualties.”

**Interpretation:**

SIPRI’s final estimate is close to the official figure of 144,000 killed (reported in Brogan); that estimate does not include some persons MIA and presumed killed. It is ambiguous whether this figure includes Syrian, Israeli, and US losses, also. It is also well know that this conflict included very high levels of one-sided violence. The low estimate, therefore, is based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Best estimate: 144,000 deaths
Low estimate: 4,125 (minimum per UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 168,235 (COW)
Estimates were trended based on annual data in Clodfelter and SIPRI.
Lesotho

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Lesotho:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>3200</td>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #217, attempted coup in 1998:

(CNN, 1998):
“south African army officers estimated they had disarmed well over half of the 2,500-strong Lesotho Defense Force, whose resistance to a military intervention six days ago left scores dead.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“september 1998 - LESOTHO … there were reports of an attempted mutiny within the armed forces and, towards the end of the month, the South African military intervened to restore order. … An estimated nine South African soldiers and 58 members of the LDF died in the fighting, as did some 47 civilians.”

Interpretation:

Best and high estimate: 114 battle deaths based on Keesing’s.
Low estimate: 48 (CNN estimate of “scores’ dead)
Liberia

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Liberia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>2470</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>2470</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>NPFL, INPFL</td>
<td>1989-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>2470</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>LURD</td>
<td>2000-03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #146, coup in 1980:

(Brogan, 1998): P. 67: A military faction led by Samuel Doe “broke into the presidential palace and murdered Tolbert and 26 other people, most of them bodyguards.” Ten days after the coup, 13 former senior officials were executed.

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 629: “In 1980 a coup led by Master Sergeant Samuel Doe toppled the government of Liberia …Thirteen leaders of the government were tied to telephone poles and executed on the beach.”

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 27 battle deaths in the course of the takeover of the palace (Brogan)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #146, civil war 1989-95:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1990-95, “civil war:” 100,000 civilian and total war-related deaths.
(Eckhardt, 1996): 1990-95, “Rebels vs. rebels vs. Government:” Military and civilian war-related deaths not available, 150,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 244-245: “By the end of 1995 the war had cost upward of 150,000 lives... Many of the dead were civilians killed in grisly massacres, reprisals, or disease and starvation.”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 65: “Between 100,000 and 150,000 people have been killed in the civil war since December 1989.”
P. 67-68: “Doe’s troops proved incapable of finding and defeating Taylor... No one can offer any exact estimate of the numbers killed: guesses range from 10,000 to 50,000”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 629: “Doe’s repressive regime was challenged in December 1989 by an exile group of 2,000 invading from the Ivory Coast. ... cease-fire on November 28. The war had taken at least 10,000 lives’
P. 629: “… low-level warfare continued into the summer of 1991. Fighting escalated again in 1993. ... A power-sharing agreement was agreed upon, September 1, 1995, by which time 150,000 lives had been lost in the Liberian conflict. The suffering and dying went on, however, until Taylor was elected president in July 1997. The toll by then in Liberia was as high as 200,000 dead from all causes connected to the violence.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Lindgren et al., 1991):
Total deaths 1989-90: 10,000-13,000. Deaths in 1990: unknown.


(Amer et al., 1993): Govt of Liberia, ECOMOG vs. NPLF. Total deaths 1989-92: 20,000, including deaths involving other parties. Deaths in 1992: 4,000-5,000.


(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996): Govt of Liberia, ECOMOG vs. NPLF. Total deaths 1989-92: 20,000, including deaths involving other parties but excluding 1993. Deaths in 1995: unknown. Notes that total war-related deaths in 1995 numbered probably 10,000-15,000, and total war-related deaths for the entire conflict are estimated at 150,000.

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: <100. Coder’s note: “Estimates by western diplomats were reported in mid-January ‘90. The sources estimated that about 50 government troops and 50 rebels had been killed “so far.””
1990: 1,000-9,999
1991: 25-999
1992: 1,000-9,999. Coder’s note: “Between 4000 and 5000 war-related deaths.”
1994: < 500
1995: 25-999. Coder’s note: “Between 10 000 and 15 000 war related deaths in 1995.”

Interpretation:

1989:
Best estimate: 100 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1990:
Best estimate: 9,900 (Based on COW estimate of 10,000 deaths 1989-90; similar estimates in Clodfelter, SIPRI)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP minimum estimate)
High estimate: 12,001 (Based on SIPRI high estimate of 13,000 deaths 1989-90. High estimate here totals 13,000)

1991:
Low level warfare in 1991 per Clodfelter.
Low estimate: 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
No best estimate.

1992:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 5,000 (UCDP coder’s note gives this as a high estimate for “war-related” deaths)
No best estimate.

1993:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,000 (UCDP coder’s note gives this as a high estimate for “war-related” deaths)
No best estimate.

1994:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 500 (UCDP; SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1995:
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #146, civil war 2000-03:


(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
Estimate that from 2000-03 the total number of conflict deaths is 1,500-2,500
2003: “According to independent media reports, possibly as many as 2,000 people were killed as a direct result of the conflict in 2003. Civilian deaths during the siege of Monrovia accounted for the vast majority of fatalities.”
2002: “Independent media sources claimed that hundreds of people, mostly civilians and rebels, were killed this year.”
(UCDP, 2009):
2000: 61
2001: 117
2002: 500. Coder’s note: “Low estimate 255, high estimate 1520, best estimate 500. Information is lacking on precise figures and numbers. Indications of heavy fighting throughout the year. As sources could not be independently verified and as actual casualty figures were not reported, the total battle related deaths is probably much higher than the figure summarised here.”
2003: 1661. Coder’s note: “Best estimate is 1661 and high estimate is 2400. Low estimate is 1627 but the number is probably higher. Many reports indicate that more than 2000 died in Monrovia alone where only LURD operated. There are indications of heavy fighting elsewhere in Liberia but only in a few cases are there figures reported. Most of the reports that are citing numbers concern Monrovia. The best estimate for LURD is 1600.”

Interpretation:

2000:
Low estimate: 61 (UCDP)
High estimate: 240 (Based on IISS estimate of 2,000 deaths 2000-2002. High estimate for 2000-02 totals 2,000)
No best estimate.

2001:
Low estimate: 117 (UCDP)
High estimate: 240 (Based on IISS estimate of 2,000 deaths 2000-2002. High estimate for 2000-02 totals 2,000)
No best estimate.

2002:
Best estimate: 500 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 255 (UCDP; Ploughshares indicates at least “hundreds’ killed this year)
High estimate: 1,520 (UCDP)

2003:
Best estimate: 1,661 (UCDP; similar to IISS estimate of 1,500)
Low estimate: 1,627 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,400 (UCDP; IISS and Project Ploughshares high estimate is 2,000)
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Madagascar:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>1210</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>MDRM</td>
<td>1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>2140</td>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>Monina National Independence Movement</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #21, Madagascar’s war on independence with France in 1947:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #422, “Franco/Madagascan of 1947” 1947-48: 1,800 French deaths out of a total of 5,000 deaths.

(Brogan, 1998, 644): Estimates 5,000 total deaths

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1947-48, “independence struggle vs. France:” 3,000 civilian, 2,000 military, and 5,000 total war-related deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1947-48, “Independence vs. France:” 10,000 civilian war-related deaths, 5,000 military war-related deaths, 15,000 total war-related deaths.

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII: Country: Madagascar, April 1947-Dec. 1948, victimized group: Malagasy nationalists. Number of victims 10,000-80,000.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 54-55: “Approximately 350 French soldiers were killed, and official French figures put Madagascan deaths at 11,000. Many of these were civilians who died from starvation and disease after being driven from their homes.”

(Clayton, 1988):
P. 173: “The suppression of the rising was carried out with severity, both in the number of arrests and procedures for questioning prisoners and in the burning and destruction of villages leading to large numbers of deaths from starvation and disease. … French official sources admitted to some 11,000 dead, unofficial sources claim a figure of over 60,000, or even as high as 80,000.”
Clodfelter, 2002:
P. 619: “A total of 140 French civilians and 40 other non-Malagasy noncombatants were slain. French army fatalities, including North African and Senegalese troops, were about 1,000 out of a total of 18,000 deployed. The Malagasy rebels lost 5,772 killed in action and 5,390 dead from nonbattle causes. As many as 70,000 native civilians may have died from all causes traced to the conflict.”

Interpretation:
Clodfelter’s figures provide an accounting of battle deaths on all sides of the conflict except African civilians killed in battle. His figures total 6,952. The official French figure for all Malagasy deaths is 11,000 (Clayton); Bercovitch and Jackson interpret this figure to be all war-related deaths, other authors believe that total war-related deaths may be as high as seventy to eighty thousand.

Low estimate: 6,952 (Clodfelter, does not include African civilians killed in battle)
High estimate: 12,180 (11,000 Malagasy deaths + 1,180 French soldiers and non-Malagasy civilian deaths)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #114, civil conflict in 1971:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Reports filed in Keesing’s Record of World Events in April and July 1971 contain government reports of 128 battle deaths, as well as accusations of up to 1,000 persons killed in government repressions after the revolt

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 128 (Only available information)
Low estimate: 25 deaths
High estimate: 999 deaths
Malaysia

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Malaysia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>1310</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Communist Party of Malaya</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1948-57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>1640</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Communist Party of Malaya</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1958-60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>1640</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>CPM</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1974-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1981</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>CCO</td>
<td>North Borneo</td>
<td>1963-66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Malaysia, United Kingdom</td>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>North Borneo</td>
<td>1963-66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #31 and 64, the Malaysian Emergency in 1948-60:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #424, “Malayan Rebellion” 1948-57: 13,000 state deaths, total deaths: unknown

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1950-60, “UK intervenes in civil war”: civilian and military deaths not available, 13,000 total war-related deaths

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1 line 2374): Estimates 2,550 killed by Communist guerrillas by 1951

(Brogan, 1998): “In the course of the Emergency, about 13,000 suspected terrorists were killed. The British lost 525 men killed, including Malay soldiers and police.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 59-60: Estimate 10,000 total deaths, including 525 British soldiers, and 50 New Zealand and Australian soldiers

(Clutterbuck, 1985):
P. 188-9: Provides tables of casualties (KIA and WIA), as well as the missing, year by year. Totals 11,049 by 1960

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.
Country: Malaya, 1948-56, victimized group: Chinese. Number of victims: 5,000-20,000.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 682: “In 1948 the terrorists killed 315 civilians, 89 policemen, and 60 soldiers. In 1949 the rebels slew 723 persons … The worst year was 1950; 1,200 people were killed by the guerrillas. One thousand more were victims of the insurgents in 1951…By the end, in mid-1960, Chin Peng’s guerrillas had killed 2,473 civilians … Military and police losses in combating the rebellion were 2,384 killed and 2,400 wounded. … British Commonwealth military losses were 508 KIA, 921 WIA, including Gurkha casualties of 159 KIA, 308 WIA and Australian losses of 6 KIA, 22 WIA … The guerrillas lost 6,710 killed…”

*Interpretation:*
Estimates are quite similar and Clutterbuck provides detailed yearly figures. Clutterbuck’s figures were used as a best and a high estimate. The low estimate is based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. However, for some years, Clutterbuck records fewer deaths than the UCDP/PRIO coding rules imply. In that case, the UCDP estimate is the high estimate and Clutterbuck’s figure is the best and low estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #64, conflict between Malaysia and the CPM in 1974-75 and 1981:

(Clutterbuck, 1985):
P. 286: “The terrorist incident rate in 1974-75 rose to its highest peak since 1958. Two senior police officers were shot down in the streets of Kuala Lumpur and Ipoh and 50 other policemen and soldiers were killed in the worst four month period of 1975. … By 1977 … the incident rate declined to a level below that before the resurgence began in 1968.”

*SIPRI Yearbooks:*

(Goose, 1987): Govt. vs. CPM since 1945, roughly 100 killed per year.

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988): Malaysian Govt, Thailand vs. CPM since 1945, <100 deaths yearly.


(Lindgren et al., 1990): Conflict not included

*Interpretation:*
1974:
Best estimate: 100 (SIPRI 1987)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1975:
Best estimate: 156
(Clutterbuck states that the worst four month period in 1975 accounted for 52 state deaths. This was multiplied by three to obtain an overestimate of state deaths on the year. No figures available for rebel or civilian deaths).
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1981:
Best estimate: 100 (SIPRI 1987)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflicts #83 and 84, conflict between Malaysia and the CCO in North Borneo and conflict between Malaysia, the United Kingdom and Indonesia in North Borneo in 1963-6:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #1070 in 1963-5 estimates 1-25 Australian deaths, 1-25 British deaths, 26-100 Malaysian deaths, and 101-250 Indonesian deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 107: Estimate 1,000 killed, including 75 British and 600 Indonesia soldiers.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 686: “Commonwealth forces … lost 114 KIA and 181 WIA during the three years…The Gurkhas had taken the largest share of the Commonwealth casualties - 43 KIA, 87 WIA. The 3,500 Australians who served in Borneo lost 6 KIA, 9 WIA. Malaysian civilian casualties totaled 36 killed and 53 wounded. Indonesian military casualties were 590 KIA, 222 WIA and 771 POWs.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“August 1966 … Figures published by the Daily Telegraph stated that during the three-year confrontation campaign there were 295 Commonwealth military casualties (114 killed and 181 wounded) and 93 Commonwealth civilian casualties (36 killed, 53 wounded, four captured). Indonesian casualties totaled 1,583, of whom 590 were killed, 222 wounded, and 771 captured.”

Interpretation:

For conflict #84, the internationalized fighting in Borneo, data from MID, Clodfelter, and the Daily Telegraph correspond closely.

Best estimate: 740 deaths (Clodfelter. Does not include Indonesian civilian casualties.)
Low estimate: 129 (MID minimum)
High estimate: 1,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)
No trend coded.

No explicit data was found for conflict #83, the conflict between Malaysia and the CCO. A minimum of 25 deaths per year and a maximum of 999 deaths per year were coded based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules; no best estimate was coded.
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Mali:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>2790</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>MPA</td>
<td>Air and Azawad</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>2790</td>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>FIAA</td>
<td>Air and Azawad</td>
<td>1994 (2007-08)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #177, civil conflict in Mali in 1990 and 1994:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 300 killed from 1990-95.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):

(UCDP, 2006):
1990: 25-999 deaths. Coder’s note: “Information from the conflict is poor. Heavy clashes were reported but not many battle-related deaths. Both the army and the rebels seems [sic] to have killed civilians.”
1991: Low estimate of 1, high estimate of 150, best estimate of 3.
1992: Low estimate of 10 deaths, Best and high estimate of 150 battle-related deaths.
1993: Best and low estimate of 0 deaths, high estimate of 1.
1994: Low estimate of 21 battle-related deaths, high estimate of 151, best estimate of 33.

Interpretation:

1990: Best estimate: 150 (Based on 300 total deaths from Bercovitch and Jackson, also agrees with Uppsala’s high estimates)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 200 (Keesing’s)
1994:
Best estimate: 150 (Based on 300 total deaths from Bercovitch and Jackson, also agrees with Uppsala’s high estimates)
Low estimate: 21 (UCDP)
High estimate: 400 (Keesing’s)

Fatalities information for conflict #2790, civil conflict in Mali in 2007-08:

(UCDP, 2009):
2007: Low, High, and Best: 39.
2008: Low, High, and Best: 58.

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 39 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

2008:
Best estimate: 58 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Mexico

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Mexico:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>3080</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>EZLN</td>
<td>1994</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1996</td>
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</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #205, civil conflict in 1994 and 1996:

(IISS, 2003): Estimate less than 500 deaths from mid-1993 to mid-2003

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 471-472: “On 1 January 1994 bands of armed Maya Indians occupied several towns in Chiapas, in the deep south of Mexico on the border with Guatemala. … Only a handful of people were killed in the first stages of the rebellion.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 707-708: “In January 1994 a largely Indian guerilla group took up the name and the cause of Zapata and carried out a twelve-day rebellion in the southern state of Chiapas. A truce halted hostilities after a total of 145 people had been killed.”

(UCDP, 2006):
1994: 74-110
“In a communique issued by EZLN in 2004 they released a list over guerrillas killed during ten days of clashes in 1994. According to the communique 34 guerrillas were killed in combat and another five were summarily executed. 8 civilians mistaken as rebels were killed by the government forces. EZLN also reported that 27 government soldiers were killed in the clashes. According to the government 15 soldiers, 71 members of the EZLN and 24 policemen were killed after the first 10 days of clashes.”
1995: 0-24
1996: best estimate of 34 deaths, range of 28 to 40.

Interpretation:

1994:
Best estimate: 110 (Mexican government figures reported by UCDP)
Low estimate: 74 (UCDP)
High estimate: 145 (Clodfelter)

1996:
Best estimate: 34 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 28 (UCDP)
High estimate: 40 (UCDP)
Moldova

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Moldova:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>3010</td>
<td>Moldova</td>
<td>Dniestr Republic</td>
<td>Dniestr</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #199, civil conflict in Dniestr in 1992:

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1992, “Moldova-ethnic conflict:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 1,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 800 killed from October 1990 to July 1992

(Clodfelter, 2002): “A secessionist movement in the Trans-Dniester region of Moldova (formerly Moldavia) cost at least 500 lives in 1992 before it was suppressed with the aid of Russian units.”

(UCDP, 2009): Best estimate of 700 deaths; low estimate of 231 deaths; high estimate of 1,000 deaths. Coder’s note: “The Romanian government claimed 231 died in the conflict while the Dniestr estimate is as high as 1000 deaths. Our best estimate is 700 deaths.”

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 700 (UCDP best estimate; Clodfelter estimates >500)
Low estimate: 231 (Romanian government)
High estimate: 1,000 (UCDP coder’s note; Bercovitch and Jackson estimate 800)
## Morocco

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Morocco and Mauritania:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>1470</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Istiqlal</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>1953-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>Spain, France</td>
<td>National Liberation Army</td>
<td>Morocco/Spanish territories</td>
<td>1957-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>1590</td>
<td>France, Spain</td>
<td>National Liberation Army</td>
<td>Morocco/Mauritania</td>
<td>1957-58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>2150</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td></td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>2350</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>POLISARIO</td>
<td>Western Sahara</td>
<td>1975-89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>POLISARIO</td>
<td>Western Sahara</td>
<td>1975-78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fatalities information for conflicts #47, conflict between France and Istiqlal in 1953-56:**

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #430, “Moroccan Independence” 1953-56: 3,000 French deaths. Spanish deaths and total deaths: unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1953-56, “Indep from Fr; Spain intervenes.” 3,000 civilian war-related deaths, military war-related deaths not available, 3,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clayton, 1994):
P. 99: “From 1 July 1954 to 30 June 1955, 41 Europeans and 254 Moroccans were killed, with many more injured in terrorist attacks.”
P. 99-100: “A liberal-minded diplomat, Grandval, was dispatched to Rabat as Resident-General in June 1955. … led to a bloody colon reaction…. On 18 August severe rioting in Khenifra was suppressed by the Légion…On the twentieth violence erupted throughout most of Morocco. … Several score were killed…Drastic retribution at the hands of the Légion, parachute units and the Chasseurs d”Afrique followed; the official figure of 700 killed is a minimum.”

**Interpretation:**

High estimate: 3,000 deaths is only available estimate. Trended this estimate based on incident information in Clayton.
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules).
Fatalities information for conflicts #60 and 59, conflict between the National Liberation Army and Spain and France in Morocco, the Spanish territories, and Mauritania in 1957-58:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 1,000 deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 611: “...a 12,000 man Moroccan Liberation Army ... assaulted Ifni and the Spanish Sahara on November 21, 1957. The 6,000 man Spanish garrison of Ifni was hard pressed, losing 62 killed and 100 wounded by December 3. ... On January 13, 1958, the Spanish Foreign Legion captured a major base of the irregulars at Etchebera in the Saharan province of Rio de Oro, killing 241 Moroccans for a loss of 51 KIA ... In March, backed by French air strikes from Mauritania and Algeria, the Spanish Foreign Legion began a major operation that drove the irregulars out of Spanish West Africa. On April 10, 1958, Spain gave up Ifni to Morocco...”

(Azcona, Rodríguez, and Azaola, 1994): Estimate a total of 198 Spanish soldiers killed over the course of the conflict.

Interpretation:

Conflict in Morocco/Spanish territories (Conflict #60):

1957:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 250 (From Bercovitch and Jackson’s estimate of 1,000 total deaths in the conflict)
No best estimate.

1958:
Low estimate: 99 (Spanish soldiers killed from Azcona, Rodríguez, and Azaola, 1994)
High estimate: 250 (From Bercovitch and Jackson’s estimate of 1,000 total deaths in the conflict)
No best estimate.

Conflict in Mauritania (Conflict #59):

No best estimate.
1957:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 250 (From Bercovitch and Jackson’s estimate of 1,000 total deaths in the conflict)
No best estimate.

1958:
Low estimate: 25
High estimate: 250 (From Bercovitch and Jackson’s estimate of 1,000 total deaths in the conflict)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #115, attempted coup in 1971:

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 614: “… 14,000 Moroccan army officers and cadets stormed onto the palace grounds and opened fire…rebels killed 93 members of the king’s staff and guests … Twenty of the guards were also slain. The attackers were driven off after an intense firefight in which the rebel leader, General Mohammed Madbouh, and 150 soldiers in the insurgent tanks were killed.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“September 1971 - MOROCCO … Although some 90 people - including loyal generals, a Minister, high Government officials and the Belgian Ambassador - were killed in the onslaught on the palace. … The Prime Minister, Dr. Laraki, announced in Parliament on July 21 that the attack on the palace at Skhirat had caused 97 deaths, including 48 loyal members of the forces. Official sources had earlier stated that some 250 rebels had been killed in the fighting at Skhirat and in Rabat, and that all the rest had been taken prisoner.”

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 264 deaths (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 103 deaths (Guests and soldiers dead per Clodfelter; excludes estimate of rebel losses)
High estimate: 347 (Official figure from Keesing’s)

Fatalities information for conflicts #135 and #253, civil war in Western Sahara in 1972-89:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #441, “Western Sahara” 1975-83: 9,500 Moroccan state deaths, 2,000 Mauritanian deaths, and 500 Algerian deaths, out of a total of 16,000 deaths.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 10,000 dead since 1975

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1975-89, “Polisario vs. Morocco:” 4,000 civilian, 8,000 military, and 12,000 total war-related deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1975-87, “Independence from Morocco:” 3,000 civilian war-related deaths, 13,000 military war-related deaths, 16,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): “… tens of thousands of deaths have occurred throughout the conflict; by 1989 Morocco had sustained nearly ten thousand military fatalities.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 615-616: “On January 27-29, 1976, Moroccan and Algerian regular forces clashed in a major engagement at the Amgala Oasis, the results of which were a major Moroccan victory and casualties of 200 killed and 100 captured among the Algerians … Following this set-back Algeria’s aid to Polisario was less overt…”
P. 615: Estimates at least 10,000 deaths in the conflict

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987): Morocco vs. POLISARIO since 1975. 7,000-10,000 killed.


(Lindgren et al., 1991): Conflict not included.

Interpretation:

This conflict has relatively consistent total estimates in most sources, ranging from 10,000-16,000.

For war in Morocco, conflict #135:

Best estimate: 13,000 (SIPRI high estimate).
Low estimate: 10,000 deaths
High estimate: 16,000 deaths
Trended these based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules and SIPRI data for 1987-89.

Conflict #253:
Because of the difficulty of distinguishing from the available sources between the POLISARIO struggle against Mauritanian forces and that against Moroccan forces, for the conflict-years in Mauritania the UCDP/PRIO coding rules are used for low and high estimates. There are no best estimates.
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Mozambique:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
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<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>Frelimo</td>
<td>1964-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>2360</td>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Renamo</td>
<td>1976-92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #88, Mozambique’s war of independence against Portugal in 1964-74:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #437, “Mozambique-Portuguese” 1964-75: 5,000 Portuguese deaths out of a total of 30,000 deaths

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1965-75 “Independence vs. Portugal:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 30,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate more than a hundred thousand people killed in the wars for independence in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Biassau and as many as 5,000 Portuguese troops were killed in these wars.

(Clodfelter, 2002, 620): Estimates total violent deaths in Mozambique, 1961-74, as 3,500 Portuguese military and civilian killed; 10,000 guerillas killed; and 30,000 African civilians killed.

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 13,500 (Clodfelter’s low estimate for Portuguese deaths (3,500) and estimate of 10,000 guerillas killed. Excludes civilian deaths, many of which may not be battle deaths. This estimate is also most compatible with UCDP/PRIO coding rules. Trended according to those scores).
High estimate: 43,500 (Clodfelter’s maximum estimate. Widely-cited figure of 30,000 dead fits within the range defined here).
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #136, civil war in 1976-92:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #704, “Mozambique vs. Renamo” 1979-92: 200,000 Mozambique state deaths, 50 Tanzanian deaths, and 500 Zimbabwean deaths out of a total of 1,200,550 deaths.


(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 1 million dead, most from hunger and disease


(Eckhardt, 1996): 1981-94 “Famine worsened by civil war;” 1 million civilian war-related deaths, 50,000 military war-related deaths, 1,050,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 626: “At least 100,000 people were killed in Mozambique between 1984 and 1988 alone, most of them civilians, in the struggle against RENAMO, and another 30,000 died of starvation. Massive drought and mutual exhaustion caused both sides to seek negotiations and agreed to a cease-fire in October 1992, after over 500,000 deaths to battle and famine since 1976.”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 647: Estimate 400,000 deaths from 1981-94
P. 88: “Wars and famines since 1975 have killed between 500,000 and 1 million people.”
P. 93: At least 100,000 people were killed between 1984 and 1988, a further 300,000 died of starvation and another half million in the next four years.”
P. 94: “In April 1988, the State Department issued a devastating report on Mozambique, asserting that Renamo had murdered at least 100,000 people.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987): Mozambican gov vs. MNR since 1978. Deaths in 1985: 2,000-3,000

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988): Mozambican gov, Zimbabwe, Tanzania vs. MNR (South Africa) since 1981. Fatalities 1985-87: 4,000-6,000 military.
(Lindgren, Wilson and Wallensteen, 1989): Mozambican gov, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Nigeria, Malawi vs. MNR (South Africa) since 1981. Fatalities: 1985-87: 4,000-6,000 (military), 100,000 civilian. 1988: 3,000 military

(Lindgren et al., 1990): Mozambican gov, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Nigeria, Malawi vs. MNR since 1976. Fatalities: 1985-89: 7,000-9,000 (military) 100,000 civilian. 1989: 300-400

(Lindgren et al., 1991): Conflict not included

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: 2,500 deaths
1990: 1,000-1,500 deaths
No estimates for 1991 and 1992

Interpretation:

An estimate of over 1 million dead in all war-related causes is widely cited; there is almost no information on battle deaths or even on violent deaths, however.

1977-1980: Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and high estimate of 999 deaths per year coded based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1981-83: A low estimate of 1,000 deaths per year and a high estimate of 9,999 deaths per year was coded based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1984-87: Over roughly this period, many authors report at least 100,000 deaths. It is possible that the US State Department is the single source of all of these reports, which would cast doubt on the impartiality of the figure. Also, many of these deaths were, per the US State Department, one-sided violence.
Best and high estimate: 104,000 deaths from 1984-1987 (SIPRI 1989)
Low estimate: 1,000 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1988:
Best estimate: 3,000 (SIPRI figure for military casualties)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 9,999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1989:
Best estimate: 2,500 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 300 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 2,500 (UCDP)

1990:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,500 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1991-92: Low estimate of 1,000 deaths per year and high estimate of 9,999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.
Namibia

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Namibia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Side A</th>
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<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>SWAPO</td>
<td>1966-88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #101, Namibia’s war of independence against South Africa in 1966-88:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #440, “Namibian” 1975-88: 1,000 South African deaths out of a total of 20,000 dead

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 13,000 deaths

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1967-89, “sWAPO independence vs. South Africa:” 13,000 total war-related deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 622: “Up to May 1, 1978, the campaign had cost 650 lives, all but a few score of them blacks, either guerrillas or civilians.”
P. 623: “Total deaths in Namibia, including civilian casualties, from the independence struggle numbered about 25,000 since 1966, including about 800 South African security personnel.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987): South African Govt. vs. SWAPO since 1966. Total killed 10,000.


Interpretation:

Clodfelter’s estimate for total fatalities is 25,000, which is accompanied by the most detailed annual fatalities information, is similar to COW’s estimate of 20,000. Other sources use the figure of about 13,000.

Low estimate: 13,000. Trended based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
High estimate: 25,000 deaths. Not trended.
No best estimate.
Nepal

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Nepal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
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<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>Nepali Congress</td>
<td>1960-62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>CPN-M/UPF</td>
<td>1997-2006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #72, conflict with Nepali Congress in 1960-62:


Reports filed in Keesing’s Record of World Events in January and March 1961; October 1962; and February 1963 describe the conflict. The reports mention incidents in 1960 but do not make fatalities estimates. In 1961, 114 people were reported killed in the suppression of uprisings—the deaths might not be considered battle deaths, circumstances are unclear. In 1962, 111 deaths are explicitly reported in addition to other incidents with unstated death tolls.

Interpretation:

1960:
Best estimate: 25 deaths (Based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules and Wood’s estimated total deaths)
Low estimate: 25 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1961:
Best estimate: 114 (Keesing’s)
Low estimate: 25 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1962:
Best estimate: 111 (Keesing’s; best estimate total is 250, which is close to Wood’s figure of 200 total deaths)
Low estimate: 25 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #72, civil conflict in 1996-2005:

Clodfelter (2002, 672): “In …Nepal, a Maoist Communist insurgency broke out in 1996. In its first three years the rebellion killed 579 rebels, 43 security personnel, and 72 civilians. [Total: 694]. By July 1, 2001, over 1,600 deaths had been blamed on the insurrection.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
Estimates at least 5,000 and possibly over 7,000 people have died in six years of fighting.
2002: “By December, over 2,800 people had been killed in the fighting.”
2001: “According to media reports more than 50 people were killed in rebel offensives in July. The majority of the dead were police officers stationed in remote outposts.”
2000: “As cited by Amnesty International, at least 221 people were killed in fighting during 2000.”
1999: “There were at least 300 people killed during 1999, many of them reportedly civilians.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: > 1,800 of which 80% were thought to be rebel casualties
2004: > 2,700 killed

(The Washington Post, 2003): > 1,100 people killed in the two months in 2003 after collapse of ceasefire

(South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2006):
2000: 18 civilians, 113 security forces, 44 insurgents = 175
2001: 50 civilians, 198 security forces, 803 insurgents = 1,051
2002: 238 civilians, 666 security forces, 3,992 insurgents = 4,896
2003: 214 civilians, 307 security forces, 1,584 insurgents = 2,105
2004: 380 civilians, 481 security forces, 1,590 insurgents = 2,451
2005: 231 civilians, 310 security forces, 1,307 insurgents = 1,848

1996: ~100 deaths
1997: ~100 deaths
1998: ~300 deaths
...
2003: <2,000 deaths
2004: 1,431 deaths
2005: 1,838 deaths

SIPRI Yearbooks
(SIPRI, 2004): > 1,000 deaths in 2003
(SIPRI, 2005): <1,600 deaths in 2004
(SIPRI, 2006): < 1,400 deaths in 2005

(UCDP, 2006): Estimated battle-related deaths:
1996: Best estimate: 44. Low estimate: 44. High estimate: 46. Coder’s note: “Reporting on individual incidents of violence in the conflict in Nepal was uneven and not always reliable. The estimates presented by UCDP are primarily based on the information collected by the Kathmandu-based INSEC (Informal Sector Service Centre). INSEC does not present a category of violence which correspond with our battle related deaths, why [sic] information has been compared with international and Nepali media and in-depth case investigations by INSEC as well as other reliable sources. In most descriptions of the conflict activity, summary figures covering both battle related deaths and attacks on civilians, or one-sided violence, were given. During the year, there were some reports of the warring sides executing enemy fighters after the latter had been captured or had surrendered. Such incidents are included as battle related deaths in the estimates presented above. According to government sources 79 persons were killed from 13 February when the CPN-M launched its armed struggle. The number was said to include both Maoist rebels and security personnel.”
Interpretation: Sources do not diverge very far here. In general, UCDP figures were used as best estimates, except where they were clear outliers.

1996:
Best estimate: 100 (IISS)
Low estimate: 44 (UCDP)
High estimate: 196 (Based on total of 694 deaths 1996-98 from Clodfelter)

1997:
Best estimate: 100 (IISS)
Low estimate: 40 (UCDP)
High estimate: 196 (Based on total of 694 deaths 1996-98 from Clodfelter)

1998:
Best estimate: 250 (UCDP; similar to IISS estimate)
Low estimate: 118 (UCDP)
High estimate: 302 (UCDP; High estimates total 694 deaths 1996-98 which is estimate from Clodfelter)

1999:
Best estimate: 159 (IISS)
Low estimate: 150 (UCDP)
High estimate: 309 (UCDP; Project Plougshares)

2000:
Best estimate: 260 (UCDP; similar to Ploughshares. Best estimate totals 869 through 2000; Project Ploughshares reports 1,000 deaths through that year)
Low estimate: 175 (SATP)
High estimate: 287 (UCDP; High estimate totals 1,290 through 2000; Project Ploughshares reports 1,000 deaths through that year)

2001:
Best estimate: 429 (UCDP; Best estimate totals 1,298 through 2001; Uppsala reports at least 1,000 deaths including 2001)
Low estimate: 380 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,051 (SATP; High estimate totals 2,341 through 2001; Clodfelter reports >1,600 dead through mid-2001, which lies between the Best and high estimates made here)

2002:
Best estimate: 3,947 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 2,780 (UCDP low estimate; similar to Ploughshares)
High estimate: 4,896 (SATP; similar to UCDP high estimate)

2003:
Best and high estimate: 2,105 (SATP; similar to IISS)
Low estimate: 1,800 (Project Ploughshares)

2004:
Best and high estimate: 2,451 (SATP)
Low estimate: 1,431 (IISS)

2005:
Best and high estimate: 1,848 (SATP; IISS estimate is 1,838)
Low estimate: 1,104 (UCDP best estimate)

2006:
Best and low estimate: 480 (SATP; similar to UCDP figure of 457)
High estimate: 528 (IISS)
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Nicaragua:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>FSLN</td>
<td>1978-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>2400</td>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>Contras</td>
<td>1981-89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #140, civil war against the FSLN in 1978-9:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, line 2467 and 2503): Fatality estimates for 1978-79: 10,000 (low), 30,000 (middle), 40,000 (high).

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1978-79, “civil war vs. Somoza government:” 25,000 civilian, 10,000 military and 35,000 total war-related deaths

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1978-79, “sandinistas vs Somoza:” 25,000 civilian war-related deaths, 25,000 military war-related deaths, 50,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 647: Estimates 10,000 killed from 1978-79
P. 503: regarding the fall of Somoza: “military casualties were light - a few hundred guardsmen and no more than 6,000 Sandinistas were killed during the uprising - but several thousand civilians, perhaps as many as 7,000, died.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 708-709: “By September [1978] the figure of dead and wounded was over 800. … The minimum estimate of casualties for the period September 9-22 was 1,700 killed…Other estimates put the death toll at from 2,000 to 2,500, with the highest and probably exaggerated counts ranging up to 5,000.”
P. 709-710: “The death toll of the Sandinista seven-week offensive that ended 46 years of Somoza family rule was calculated as high as 20,000. Total casualties of the Nicaraguan Civil War were estimated at up to 35,000 killed and 100,000 wounded …A more temperate and probably more reliable estimate of total deaths was 10,000, including at least 7,000 civilians.”
Interpretation:

Most estimates of deaths in this conflict vary between 10,000-35,000 deaths. Because Clodfelter has the most detailed battle information and favors the 10,000 figure, this was used as the best estimate.

Best and low estimate: 10,000.
Trend of 2,500 deaths in 1978 and 7,500 deaths in 1979, based on yearly figures given in Clodfelter.
High estimate: 35,000.
Trend of 5,000 deaths in 1978 and 30,000 deaths in 1979, based on yearly figures given in Clodfelter.

Fatalities information for conflict #140, civil war in 1981-89:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, line 2467 and 2503): Fatalities estimates 1979-87: 5,000 (low), 20,000 (middle), 33,000 (high).

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates about 10,000 deaths 1981-90

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate more than 25,000 killed from January 1980 to February 1994

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1981-88, “Contras vs Sandinistas:” 15,000 civilian war-related deaths, 15,000 military war-related deaths, 30,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
This source contains annual estimates of fatalities for much of the war
P. 713: “Deaths in the Contra War to January 1, 1989 were recorded at 29,113, so the final toll was considerably above 30,000.”

SIPRI Yearbooks

(Goose, 1987): Government vs. Contras since 1981. 5,000-10,000 total fatalities.


Interpretation:

Most sources estimate substantially more than the 10,000 fatalities cited by Brogan. Clodfelter’s final toll is over 30,000, and SIPRI’s final estimate is over 30,000 military fatalities. Again, because Clodfelter has the most detailed battle information, his total was favored.

Best estimate: 30,000. Tended this estimate based on information in Clodfelter and SIPRI.
Low estimate: 10,000 (Brogan)
High estimate: 43,000 (COW)
Niger

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Niger:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>2800</td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>CRA/ORA</td>
<td>Air and Azawad</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>3150</td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>FDR</td>
<td>Eastern Niger</td>
<td>1996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>3150</td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>FARS</td>
<td>Eastern Niger</td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td></td>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>FLAA</td>
<td></td>
<td>1991-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>UFRA</td>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MNJ</td>
<td></td>
<td>2007-08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #178, civil conflict in Air and Azawad in 1994:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 247: “May 1990-October 1994 … more than four hundred people were killed, many of them civilians in reprisals.”


Interpretation:

1994:
Best estimate: 400 (Bercovitch and Jackson estimate of 400 deaths; see also conflict #255 for 1991-92)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #212, conflict in Eastern Niger (Toubou separatists) in 1996-97:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“December 1997 … On Nov. 29, following renewed violent confrontations in northern Niger, rebels claiming to represent the Tuareg and Toubou communities signed a ceasefire accord with the Niger government. Some 60 people had died since September, despite the disarmament of other former rebel groups.”
(BBC Monitoring Service, 1997):
From Radio France Internationale, Paris, 7 August 1995: “In Niger, a separatist movement, the Democratic Front for Renewal [FDR], has accused the army of killing 29 civilians on Saturday (5th August) in the southeast of the country.”
From Reuters, 7 February 1996: “At least 12 people were killed when ethnic Toubou rebels attacked a village and a military base in northeastern Niger, the defence ministry said on Wednesday.”
From Radio France Internationale, Paris, 31 December 1996: “In Niger a clash last Saturday (29th December) north of Agades between fighters of the Unified Movement of the Tuareg Resistance and a mixed security forces patrol...left at least three dead and four injured. This was the worst incident since the agreement struck at the beginning of this month on the confinement to barracks of former rebel fighters.”
From Reuters, 8 November 1997: “Clashes between troops and Tuareg and Toubou rebels who reject a 1995 peace deal killed at least 28 people, mostly rebels, in northern Niger on Saturday, the West African nation’s defence minister said. ... Between September 16 and October 19, at least 33 people were killed in the north in four attacks blamed by the authorities on a coalition grouping.”
From Reuters, 8 December 1997: “Tuareg and Toubou rebels in northern Niger will disarm on January 30 ... At least 60 people have died in clashes between the rebels and the army since September.”

In 1997 27 deaths in FARS attack on Aderbissanat (Agadez province).

(Minorities at Risk, 2006):
Death in Niger in 1996-97, unclear which insurgency:
February 7, 1996: At least 12 deaths in rebel attack
December 29, 1996: 3 deaths in clash UMTR – security forces clash
December, 1997: About 60 deaths in Niger insurgencies between September and November 1997 (Source: Africa News, 12/1/97)
November 13, 1997: between 3 and 30 deaths in government - rebel clashes (Source: Africa News, 11/24/97)
December 2, 1997: 1 rebel killed.

(UCDP, 2009):
1996: Low estimate: 14, High estimate: 51, Best estimate: 29
1998: Low estimate: 0, High estimate: 15, Best estimate: 0

Interpretation:
1996:
Best estimate: 29 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 14 (UCDP; MAR notes only 15 deaths in 1996)
High estimate: 51 (UCDP; Events reported by BBC total 44 deaths)

1997:
Best estimate: 60 (Commonly cited figure in news, MAR; lies within the range defined by UCDP low and high estimates)
Low estimate: 32 (UCDP)
High estimate: 109 (UCDP)

*Fatalities information for conflict #255, conflict against the FLAA in 1991-92:*

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 247: “May 1990-October 1994 … more than four hundred people were killed, many of them civilians in reprisals.”
This source, like most others, considers the FLAA to be a part of the same conflict that the CRA (Conflict #178) fought in.

(UCDP, 2009):
1992: 25-999 deaths
1993: Low estimate: 9; High estimate: 40; Best estimate: 10
1997: 25-999 deaths

*Interpretation:*

1991:
Best estimate: 40 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 200 (Based on Bercovitch and Jackson's estimated total of 400 deaths)

1992:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 200 (Based on Bercovitch and Jackson's estimated total of 400 deaths)
No best estimate.

1997:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #255, conflict against the MNJ in 2007-08:

(UCDP, 2009):
2007: Best and low estimate: 81; High estimate: 155
2008: 47 (no information on whether there are different estimates.)

Interpretation:

2007:
Best and low estimate: 81 (UCDP)
High estimate: 155 (UCDP)

2008:
Best estimate: 47 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Nigeria

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Nigeria:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Nigeria Military faction</td>
<td></td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>2070</td>
<td>Nigeria Republic of Biafra</td>
<td></td>
<td>1967-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nigeria Ahlul Sunnah Jamaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nigeria NDPVF</td>
<td></td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: Uppsala/PRIO coding refers to a coup on 15 January 1966. There was significant intracommunal violence before that time as well as another coup later in 1966.

Fatalities information for conflict #100, coup in 1966:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
A report filed in Keesing’s Record of World Events February 1966 notes one estimate of 567 people killed in riots preceding the coup. The account of the coup lists 10 deaths of Nigerian officials and persons with them. Some of these deaths might be considered assassinations or executions rather than battle deaths.


Interpretation:
Best estimate: 20 (Wood)
Low estimate: 10 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 567 (Keesing’s; includes rioting deaths)

Fatalities information for conflict #107, civil war in Biafra in 1967-70:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #672, “Nigeria vs. Biafrans” 1967-70: 100,000 state deaths out of 1 million total dead
(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 1 to 2 million total war-related deaths from 1967-70

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 135): Estimate hundreds of thousands dead due to famine, and more than 1 million total war-related deaths

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1967-70, “Biafrans vs. Govt; famine and massacre:” 1 million military war-related deaths, 1 million civilian war-related deaths, 2 million total war-related deaths

(Rummel, 1997, Table 14.1, lines 1545-1658):
Estimates of Nigerian war dead: 240,000 (low), 450,000 (middle), 1.0 million (high)
Estimates of Biafra war dead: 360,000 (low), 550,000 (middle), 1 million (high)

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 622: “Tribal friction resulted in a series of pogroms against ...Ibos...in 1966. As many as 30,000 Ibos were massacred ...Hostilities began on July 6, 1967, with a half-hearted and easily repulsed invasion of Biafra by Federal Nigerian forces.”
P. 622: “About 45,000 soldiers on both sides died in combat in the Biafran War. Some 30,000 civilians, mostly Ibo, and including 2,000 victims of Nigerian air force raids, were killed. But, though there were several isolated massacres of Ibo noncombatants, there was no repeat of the terrible large-scale butcheries of 1966...The great bulk of the 500,000 deaths caused by the Biafran War were those caused by starvation and starvation-induced diseases.”

**Interpretation:**

Clodfelter gives the only estimate of battle deaths rather than starvation-related deaths, such as the figure of 1 million total dead cited by COW and others.

Best estimate: 75,000 total deaths (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 47,000 (Clodfelter’s estimate of soldiers’ deaths and civilians killed in air raids)
High estimate: 100,000 (COW’s estimate of “state” deaths)

Trend: This war ended less than one month into 1970 and began in early July 1967. Rather than dividing total deaths evenly by year, deaths are divided between years based on the number of months of active conflict.

*Fatalities information for conflict #250, conflict between Nigeria and NDPVF in the Niger Delta in 2004:*
(IISS, 2006): fighting in Delta region claims 500 according to AI report, figure refuted by government

(Ploughshares, 2006): inter-communal clashes, clashes with government security forces and attacks on oil facilities claims over 1,200 [This may include deaths due to conflict with Ahlul Sunnah Jamaa as well]

(UCDP, 2009): Estimate 72 deaths

*Interpretation:*

Best and low estimate: 72 (UCDP. The best estimate is a conservative figure because much of the violence in the Delta was thought to be inter-communal attacks.)
High estimate: 1,200 (Project Ploughshares)

_Fatalities information for conflict #249, conflict between in Northern Nigeria between Nigerian government and Ahlul Sunnah Jamaa in 2004:*

(IISS, 2006): 35 deaths

(Ploughshares, 2006): inter-communal clashes, clashes with government security forces and attacks on oil facilities claims over 1,200 [This includes deaths in the Niger Delta area]

(UCDP, 2006): Estimate 52 killed. Coder’s note: “This figure is probably a bit low. Reporting on the fighting in January was sketchy and it was difficult to establish how many rebels had actually been killed and how many were arrested.”

(IRIN, 2004b): 21 killed as of January 8

*Interpretation:*
Best estimate: 52 (UCDP; this is a conservative estimate)
Low estimate: 35 deaths (IISS)
High estimate: 1,200 (Project Ploughshares)
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Oman:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>Muscat and Oman, United Kingdom</td>
<td>State of Oman/Free Oman</td>
<td>1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>2210</td>
<td>Oman</td>
<td>PFLOAG</td>
<td>1972-75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #61, civil conflict in 1957:

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 634: “Total losses [to 1959] were only 40 rebels, 8 Omani soldiers, and 6 British servicemen killed in combat.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004: 15709-10):
“August 17-24, 1957 … A British spokesman in Bahrein stated on Aug. 21 that casualty figures in the action against the Iman of Oman were one dead and four wounded, none of them British. One man of the Trucial Oman Scouts had died of wounds, two others had been wounded and two men of the Sultan of Muscat’s army had been wounded. The official estimates of the Iman’s dead was about 30. (Brigadier Robertson had previously announced that about 25 rebels [on the side of the Iman] were killed in the air attacks at Firq on Aug. 9-10).”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 31 (Deaths in 1957 reported in Keesing’s)
High estimate: 54 (Clodfelter’s estimate through 1959)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #121, Dhofar Rebellion in 1972-75:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): “About two thousand people were killed in the rebellion, including five hundred Iranian troops, twenty British troops, and six or more South Yemeni regulars.”

(OnWar.com, 1999): “Total Omani, British, and Iranian casualties during the final two-and-one-half years of the conflict were about 500.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 635: “The rebels lost 433 killed and 1,000 captured from 1970-76. Including civilians killed and nonbattle deaths, as many as 10,000 lives may have been lost in the Dhofar Rebellion. Also killed were 35 British soldiers serving in the sultan’s forces.”

**Interpretation:**

Sources give the following estimates by party to the conflict:
- 433 rebels killed (Clodfelter)
- 500 Iranian troops (Bercovitch and Jackson)
- 20-35 British troops (Bercovitch and Jackson, Clodfelter)
- 6 Yemenis (Bercovitch and Jackson)

This totals 959, and does not include civilian casualties or Omani government forces killed. For that larger group, Bercovitch and Jackson’s estimate of 2,000 total deaths may be roughly correct.

**Best estimate:** 959 deaths
**Low estimate:** 500 (OnWar.Com)
**High estimate:** 2,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson)

No trend was coded.
Panama

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Panama:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>2740</td>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>2750</td>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #172, attempted coup in 1989:

(Brogan, 1998): “On 3 October, a small group of PDF officers tried to depose Noriega. … Noriega’s troops surrounded the headquarters, and he persuaded the plotters to surrender. He then had their leaders marched round the back, and shot.”

(Clodfelter, 2002): “The invasion followed the failure of an attempted coup on October 3…which was put down with the loss of at least 20 and as many as 80 lives, including several coup leaders executed after their surrender.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“October 1989… According to official figures on Oct. 5, 10 people had been killed, 26 injured and 37 arrested. …Other sources claimed that the ringleaders had been executed rather than killed in the fighting, while according to the director of Panama’s human rights committee, information from hospitals, mortuaries and relatives brought the number of dead up to 77.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Lindgren et al., 1990):
Panama (Noriega) Govt vs. Military faction since 1989. Note reads: “An attempt at a military coup in Oct. (approx. 80 deaths) caused further deterioration between the US Govt and Noriega due to passive US support for the coup attempt.”

Interpretation:

The human rights committee, according to Keesing’s, compiled its count (77) through information provided by hospitals, mortuaries, and relatives, which is a fairly systematic approach. At least two of these people, the coup leaders Giroldi and Lorenzo, were likely summarily executed after the coup and their deaths are not considered battle deaths.
Fatalities information for conflict #173, conflict between Panama and the US in 1989:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1,000 civilian and total war-related fatalities, military fatalities not available.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 714: “Operation Just Cause cost the lives of 23 US servicemen … Eighteen other American military personnel died from nonhostile causes … Three American civilians were also killed. The PDF losses were at first reported as 314 killed…but in November 1990 Panama’s Institute of Legal Medicine lowered the estimate of total Panamanian dead to 345, including just 65 military deaths. The number of Panamanian civilian deaths was disputed. American military figures claimed 202 civilian fatalities, but other estimates went as high as 2,000. The Roman Catholic Church put total Panamanian deaths at 673.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 233: “The resistance to the invasion was strong, and more than 550 people were killed in the fighting, including 26 US soldiers and a number of civilians.”

Brogan, 1998:
P. 522: “At least 220 Panamanian civilians and 314 soldiers were killed. The American dead numbered 23 soldiers and 3 civilians. There were 324 American and 124 Panamanian wounded.” (Totals: 560)

(Musicant, 1990, 417): “According to conflicting reports, the casualties of Operation JUST CAUSE were: twenty-three American military dead and 323 wounded; 279 ‘enemy forces’ killed and 123 wounded; and an estimated 300 Panamanian civilians killed.” (Totals: 602)

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Lindgren et al., 1990):
Panama (Noriega Govt) vs USA Govt since 1988. Deaths in 1989: 542-1,000.
Note Reads: “Death figures vary considerably. According to official US figures, 542 persons were killed. Panorama Catolica (published by the Catholic Church of Panama) reports 655 deaths, based on figures from Panamanian hospitals and mortuaries. According to the Methodist Church of Panama, 1,000 persons were killed. 204 persons were reported missing, according to the Panamanian Red Cross. There are also reports of mass graves. Furthermore, other independent sources give figures, partly based on an inventory of damage, of between 3,000 and 5,000 killed.”

*Interpretation:*

All estimates are in a fairly close range. The Panama Institute of Legal Medicine’s final toll for Panamanian deaths (provided in Clodfelter) was used as the basis for the best estimate because it is the most recent evaluation of casualties in the invasion and provided by the source with the greatest expertise.

Best and low estimate: 371 (Panama Institute of Legal Medicine’s estimate of 345 Panamanian deaths, plus 23 US military and 3 US civilian deaths)
High estimate: 681 (Catholic Church of Panama’s estimate of 673 (Clodfelter; similar to report in SIPRI), plus 23 US military and 3 US civilian deaths)
Papua New Guinea

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Papua New Guinea:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>2760</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
<td>BRA</td>
<td>Bougainville</td>
<td>1989-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1992-96</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #174, civil conflict in Bougainville in 1989-90 and 1992-96:

(International Herald Tribune, 1989): 1 November 1989: “separatist rebels killed three policemen in an ambush on Bougainville island in Papua New Guinea on Wednesday … About 40 people have been killed since the rebellion broke out 11 months ago.”

(Cranston, 1990): 3 October 1990: “A ceasefire has been signed between secessionists on the Papua New Guinea island of Bougainville and the Port Moresby government. … More than 100 have died in the fighting.”

(The Economist, 1992): 23 May 1992: “…in 1988 a group calling itself the Bougainville Revolutionary Army renewed calls for independence and attacked workers at the mine. … The little war has resulted in the deaths of perhaps 150 people…”

(Far Eastern Economic Review, 1996): 4 July 1996: “The government launched a major offensive against the rebel Bougainville Revolutionary Army to recapture the 10% of the Bougainville Island controlled by the insurgent group. The attack is the first since peace talks and an 18-month ceasefire collapsed early this year. Hundreds have died in the eight-year-old conflict.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 236-237: “By the end of 1995, several hundred people had been killed as a direct result of the fighting, while up to three thousand had died as a consequence of the economic and medical blockade of the island.”

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: Estimate 25-44 deaths. Coder’s note: “Most reports claim that at least 40 casualties were recorded. One source gives an estimate of 44, but it is not clear that all of these fatalities were killed in battle-related incidents; the same source did, however, report that 12 of the casualties were PNG soldiers.”
1990: >25. Coder’s note: “In February, it was reported that the official death toll since the state of emergency was close to 100. It is, however, hard to distinguish between battle-related deaths and one-sided activity.”

1991: 18. Coder’s note: “The blockade made it hard to know how many people were actually killed during the year, but there were clashes recorded in January, April, June, August and onwards. … Some sources claim that as many as 1500 died during the first year of the conflict. This number probably includes one-sided incidents, since several international organisations (and the PNG) have concluded that atrocities against civilians were committed. Other sources claim that the conflict had cost over 200 lives for each side.”

1992: >25. Coder’s note: “It was reported in May-July that the total numbers of battle-related deaths in the conflict could be around 150, while the number of total dead including one-sided and health problems due to the blockade could be as many as 5000.”

1993: >40. Coder’s note: “In February, it was reported that around 200 people had been killed in battles since the conflict started. It was also claimed that hundreds of others had died due to the PNG blockade of the island, stopping medical supplies.”

1994: >25. Coder’s note: “It was reported in September that aid agencies had estimated more than 1000 people had died since the conflict started. It is unclear whether this includes attacks on civilians and/or the health effects of the PNG blockade.”

1995: >35

1996: 56-89. Coder’s note: “In November, sources estimated that the conflict had led to a total of close to 1000 casualties. The number given here should be considered very conservative.”

1997: 9-15

1998: 0-24

1999: 0-24

2000: 0-24

2001: 0-24

2002: 0-24. Coder’s note: “No conflict fatalities were reported, though there was sporadic election violence between unknown/unorganized groups.”

Interpretation:

1989:
Best and high estimate: 44 deaths (UCDP coder’s note; IHT)
Low estimate: 25 deaths (UCDP)

1990:
Best and high estimate: 100 (Official death toll from UCDP coder’s note. Cranston estimates >100 total deaths in fighting by October of 1990)
Low estimate: 25 deaths
1992:
Low estimate: 25

1993:
Best and low estimate: 40 (UCDP)
High estimate: 237 (Based on total of 1,000 dead, of ambiguous causes, through November 1996; see UCDP coder’s note for 1996)

1994:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 237 (Based on total of 1,000 dead, of ambiguous causes, through November 1996; see UCDP coder’s note for 1996)

1995:
Best and low estimate: 35 (UCDP; Best estimate through 1995 totals 300. Bercovitch and Jackson estimate “several” hundred killed by the end of 1995)
High estimate: 237 (Based on total of 1,000 dead, of ambiguous causes, through November 1996; see UCDP coder’s note for 1996)

1996:
Best and high estimate: 89 (UCDP high estimate; coder notes that figures for the year are conservative. Far Eastern Economic Review estimates “hundreds’ dead from 1989-1996. Best estimate given here totals 389. High estimate totals 1,000 based on UCDP coder’s note for 1996)
Low estimate: 56 (UCDP)
Paraguay

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Paraguay:

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<tr>
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<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1220</td>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>Opposition coalition (Febreristas, Liberals and Communists)</td>
<td>1947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1220</td>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>1220</td>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #22, civil war in 1947:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #633, “Paraguay v. Leftists’ 1947: 1,000 state deaths, total deaths unknown.


(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 715: “Total losses in the civil war, which ended with the rebel failure at Asunción on August 20, approached 4,000 dead.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“September 1947 … From April 28 to May 2 an insurrection took place in Asuncion itself… the situation was only restored by the Government after heavy street-fighting in which many casualties were reported. … After stubborn fighting lasting over a month the Government forces broke through the insurgent lines at the end of July and recaptured Concepcion on July 31. … Heavy fighting for Asuncion took place in the following weeks… the insurgents … were defeated with some 1,650 casualties’

Interpretation:

Keesing’s estimates 1,650 rebel casualties in only the final battle of the war, suggesting that the COW and Eckhardt estimate is too low.
Estimated 4,000 deaths based on Clodfelter.
Best and high estimate: 4,000
Low estimate: 1,000

422
Fatalities information for conflict #22, coup in 1954:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004): “June 1954 … President Federico Chaves was overthrown on May 5 by a military and civilian revolt … ten people had been killed in the fighting”

(OnWar.com, 1999): “In May 1954, Stroessner ordered his troops into action against the government after Chaves had tried to dismiss one of his subordinates. Fierce resistance by police left almost fifty dead.”

Interpretation:

Low estimate: 10 deaths (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 50 deaths (OnWar.com)
No best estimate

Fatalities information for conflict #22, coup in 1989:

(Clodfelter, 2002): “stroessner was overthrown by a military coup in 1989 that resulted in at least 200 deaths.”

(OnWar.com, 1999):
“Military forces … seized control of the government in Asuncion, the capital, where an estimated 300 people, both civilian and military, were killed.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“February 1989 … President Alfredo Stroessner, 76, was overthrown following a violent coup on Feb. 3, 1989 … estimated to have left 17 soldiers and sailors dead, with 30 wounded and an unknown number of civilians caught in cross-fire.”

The New York Times (Llanos, 1989): “At least 100 people were killed yesterday as the Paraguayan Army overthrew General Alfredo Stroessner … About 100 policemen, army troops and curious onlookers were reported to have been killed in the uprising and hospitals reported receiving many wounded. Observers said they feared the final death toll would be much higher.”
(UCDP, 2009): Estimate >50 deaths. Coder’s note: “The estimates of casualties in the coup varies. The first government statement spoke of 17 killed, but this was later corrected to "no more than 50." Western diplomats estimated the number of battle related deaths to be more than 300. Most sources refer to about 100 - 150 deaths in the five hour long pitched battle, involving soldiers from the elite 1st Army Corps, backed by 40 to 50 tanks’

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 100 (UCDP coder notes that most estimates fall between 100 and 150 deaths; Clodfelter estimates 200; NYT estimates 100)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP; government source)
High estimate: 300 (UCDP coder’s notes; OnWar.com)
Peru

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Peru:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>ELN, MIR</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Sendero Luminoso, Sendero Rojo, MRTA</td>
<td>1982-99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fatalities information for conflict #95, civil war in 1965:*

(Clodfelter, 2002, 719): “The Peruvian army lost 38 killed in crushing the uprising; at least 100 guerillas or Indian peasant sympathizers were slain.”

Keesing’s (Lewis, 2004): “December 1968 … The Peruvian Army and Air Force began on July 4, 1965, an offensive against Communist–led terrorists … According to press reports from Lima, roving bands of terrorists had … attacked members of the security forces, seven members of a police patrol having been killed in one such attack. … During the remaining months of 1965 and the first six months of 1966 Government troops continued their campaign … few details of the operations being made public … on Jan. 6, 1966, and on June 19, 1966, it was officially announced in Lima that the Army had destroyed all guerrilla bands…”

*Interpretation:*

Best estimate: 138 deaths (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 38 (state losses)
High estimate: 999 (Uppsala coding rules)

*Fatalities information for conflict #95, civil war in 1982-99:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #710, “Peru vs. Shining Path” 1982-95: 30,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, line 2664): Estimates of deaths 1980-87: 3,000 (low), 8,000 (middle), 18,000 (high)
(Leitenberg, 2003): 1980-92, “sendero Luminoso vs. government:” 64,000 civilian, 5,000 military and 69,000 total war-related deaths


(Eckhardt, 1996): 1980-95, “shining Path vs Government:” 25,000 civilian war-related deaths, 10,000 military war-related deaths, 35,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 647: Estimates 30,000 deaths since 1980
P. 530: “The crisis was reached in 1992. Nearly 4500 people had been killed in the previous year by the official count, 1,314 by Sendero, 139 by MRTA, and 3,145 by police.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
This source gives annual estimates for a number of years of the conflict.
P. 720: “...by the end of 1991 the war had taken upwards of 25,000 lives since 1980, including 11,500 guerilla dead.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2007):
1999: Estimate 60 deaths based on Human Rights Watch World Report, 2000

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987): Govt. vs. Sendero Luminoso since 1980. 6,000-8,000 fatalities.


(UCDP, 2009):
1989: Estimate 3198 deaths. Coder’s note: “The number illustrates deaths due to clashes between army and guerrillas, and attacks by left-wing rebels and right-wing death squads.” Estimate a total of 17,000 deaths since 1980.
1990: >3,000. Coder’s note: “The activities of both Sendero Luminoso and MRTA have cost about 20,000 lives since 1980. Around 6500 deaths have been reported after 1989.”
1991: 3,000. Coder’s note: “Around 9500 deaths have been reported after 1989.”
1992: 2,500-3,000. Coder’s note: “People dead in political violence since the Shining Path launched its insurgency in 1980. Around 12 500 deaths have been reported after 1989.”
1993: 1,000-1,300. Coder’s note: “Almost 14 000 deaths have been reported after 1989.”
1994: 200-650. Coder’s note: “Around 14 500 deaths have been reported after 1989.”
1995: <500. Coder’s note: “Around 15 000 deaths have been reported after 1989.”
1996: 50-200
1997: 90-185
1998: 25-100
1999: 50-100

(Oficina General de Planificación, Ministerio del Interior (Peru), 2009)
1980-1985: 7,015
1986-1989: 4,969
1990: 1,485
1991: 1,192
1992: 1,718
1993: 1,129
1994: 324
1995: 428
1996: 211  
1997: 130  
1998: 92  
1999: 54  
2007: 38  
2008: 36

(Comisión de la Verdad y Reconciliación, 2003): The Commission received reports of 23,969 deaths. It used "capture-recapture" methodology to estimate that the final death toll of the conflict was 69,280. Reported deaths by year, including one-sided violence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Deaths</th>
<th>By State Agents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>576</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>2,256</td>
<td>990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>4,086</td>
<td>1,728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>1,397</td>
<td>585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>920</td>
<td>344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>1,135</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>1,470</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>663</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2,327</td>
<td>602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>1,837</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>1,771</td>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>1,016</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Interpretation:*
The figures from the Ministry of the Interior are the most accurate in conforming to the definition of “battle death.” They are, however, likely to exclude clandestine forms of state action. The figures from the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (CVR) do not allow one to segregate battle deaths and one-sided violence. The “best” estimates are based on the figures reported by the Interior Ministry. For the years the Ministry is only able to report a consolidated figure (e.g., 1980-85), the corresponding yearly figures reported by the CVR are used as an index to the temporal distribution of conflict intensity. The high estimate is based on the CVR’s final estimate of 69,280 deaths, indexed according to the reported deaths.

1982:
Best and low estimate: 482 (Interior Ministry and CVR figures)
High estimate: 1,776 (CVR)

1983:
Best and low estimate: 1,887 (Interior Ministry and CVR figures)
High estimate: 6,955 (CVR)

1984:
Best and low estimate: 3,418 (Interior Ministry and CVR figures)
High estimate: 12,597 (CVR)

1985:
Best and low estimate: 1,168 (Interior Ministry and CVR figures)
High estimate: 4,307 (CVR)

1986:
Best and low estimate: 772 (Interior Ministry and CVR figures)
High estimate: 2,836 (CVR)

1987:
Best and low estimate: 952 (Interior Ministry and CVR figures)
High estimate: 3,499 (CVR)
1988:
Best and low estimate: 1,233 (Interior Ministry and CVR figures)
High estimate: 4,532 (CVR)

1989:
Best and low estimate: 2,013 (Interior Ministry and CVR figures)
High estimate: 7,399 (CVR)

1990:
Best and low estimate: 1,485 (Interior Ministry)
High estimate: 7,174 (CVR)

1991:
Best and low estimate: 1,192 (Interior Ministry)
High estimate: 5,663 (CVR)

1992:
Best and low estimate: 1,718 (Interior Ministry)
High estimate: 5,460 (CVR)

1993:
Best estimate: 1,129 (Interior Ministry)
High estimate: 3,132 (CVR)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)

1994:
Best and low estimate: 314 (Interior Ministry)
High estimate: 1,267 (CVR)

1995:
Best and low estimate: 428 (Interior Ministry)
High estimate: 894 (CVR)
1996:
Best and high estimate: 211 (Interior Ministry)
Low estimate: 546 (CVR)

1997:
Best estimate: 130 (Interior Ministry)
Low estimate: 50 (SIPRI; IISS)
High estimate: 432 (CVR)

1998:
Best estimate: 92 (Interior Ministry)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP; SIPRI)
High estimate: 324 (CVR)

1999:
Best estimate: 54 (Interior Ministry)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP; SIPRI)
High estimate: 265 (CVR)

Fatalities information for conflict #95, civil war in 2007-08:

(UCDP, 2009):
2007: 32
2008: 56

(IISS, 2009):
2007: 36
2008: 50

(Interior Ministry of Peru, 2009):
2007: 38
2008: 36

Interpretation:

2007:
Best and high estimate: 38 (Interior Ministry of Peru)
Low estimate: 32 (UCDP)

2008:
Best and low estimate: 36 (Interior Ministry of Peru)
High estimate: 56 (UCDP)
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in the Philippines:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>Huk</td>
<td></td>
<td>1946-54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1100</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>CPP, Military faction</td>
<td></td>
<td>1969-95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1999-2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2006-2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>2120</td>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>MIM, MNLF, ASG</td>
<td>Mindanao</td>
<td>1970-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1993-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2000-04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2006-08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fatalities information for conflict #10, the Huk Rebellion in 1946-54:**

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #642, “Philippines vs. Huk’s” 1950-52: 9,000 state deaths. Total deaths: unknown.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 9,000 deaths from 1950-60

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1950-52, “Huks vs Government:” 5,000 civilian war-related deaths, 4,000 military war-related deaths, 9,000 total war-related deaths

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 682: “By 1954 a total of 9,695 Huks had been killed, 1635 wounded, 4,269 captured, and 15,066 had surrendered.”

**Interpretation:**

Clodfelter implies that 9,000 deaths may account only for rebel and not government losses. With no other information available however, 9,695 deaths was used as a best estimate. A low estimate of 1,000 deaths per year was based on the Uppsala/PRIO coding rules; this totals 9,000 deaths.
for the period. A high estimate of twice rebel losses (19,390 deaths in total) is also coded; rebel estimates were probably much heavier than government losses, so this high estimate is probably excessive.

Best estimate: 9,695 (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 1,000 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 19,390 (See note above)

Fatalities information for conflict #10, civil war with the NPA 1969-95, 1997, and 1999-2004, 2006-08:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #684, “Philippines vs. NPA” 1971-92: 40,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 40,000 deaths since 1969


(IISS, 2009):
2003: Estimate 80 - 100 deaths between the NPA (armed wing of CPP) and the government
2004: Estimate more than 170 deaths between the NPA and the government. Mention media sources estimation of over 200 deaths, regional source of 60-100 deaths, and military source claims 182 NPA deaths.
2005: Estimate 25 deaths in NPA – government violence
2006: 208
2007: 83
2008: 103

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1972-94, “Communists vs Government:” 20,000 civilian war-related deaths, 20,000 military war-related deaths, 40,000 total war-related deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1972-87, “Muslims (MNLF, MILF), and New People’s Army vs. government:” 20,000 civilian, 15,000 military and 35,000 total war-related deaths.
1988-2000, “Muslims (MNLF, MILF), and New People’s Army vs. government:” 8,500 total war-related deaths.
In 1984 the NPA accounted for 1,000 government army deaths and 1,000 civilian deaths. The 1985 toll countrywide was 5,400 killed, including 2,017 Communist guerrillas.

(Please refer to the sources below for annual estimates and details.)

(Ploughshares, 2006): Estimate 40 deaths
2003: Estimate 40 deaths
2004: >60
2005: Estimate over 100 deaths in 2005. Reports 24 RAP deaths in June, 60 deaths in government-NPA clashes in October, and 15 deaths in November. Cites army reporting 120 killings by NPA from January to August.
Since 1969 up to 40,000 deaths

(US State Department Human Rights Report 2004): Cites AFP report of 91 civilian deaths inflicted by NPA in 2004


SIPRI Yearbooks:


(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996): Govt. vs. NPA since 1986. Total deaths including 1995: 21,000-25,000. During 1995: <100. (Note the change in year.)


(SIPRI, 2004): Estimate more than 200 deaths in 2003

(SIPRI, 2005): Estimate less than 300 deaths in 2004

(SIPRI, 2006): Estimate over 200 deaths in 2005

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: >1,095 deaths. Total of >16,000 – 20,149 deaths
1990: >405 deaths. Total of >16,550 – 20,550
1991: >1,500 deaths. Total of 18,000 – 22,000
1992: 1000 – 2290. Coder’s note: “The high estimate may include attacks on civilians.” Total of 19,000 – 25,600
1993: 600-800. Total of 19,700 – 26,400
1994: >25. Coder’s note: “The only active dyad was the government against the CPP.”
1995: 30-75. Coder’s note: “There were undoubtedly more than 25 fatalities, but it is unsure how many more, as only a few incidents were reported.”
1996: 0-24
1997: 30-50
1999: 68-100
2000: >212
2001: >119
2002: Best estimate: 150; Low estimate: 120; High estimate: 250
2004: Best estimate: 265, High estimate: 339, Low estimate: 258
2005: Best estimate: 232; Low estimate: 217; High estimate: 234
2006: Best and low estimate: 306. High estimate: 1,012

Interpretation:

1969-87:
Low estimate: 17,200 (Based on SIPRI 1993 estimate of 21,000-25,000 deaths from 1972-1992. The low estimate for that period totals 21,025. This estimate is trended based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 35,000 (SIPRI 1989; there is also a widely-cited estimate of up to 40,000 deaths in the conflict over a somewhat ambiguous period. This estimate is not trended.)
No best estimate.

1988:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1,500 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1989:
Low estimate: 600 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 1,095 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1990:
Best estimate: 405 (UCDP; SIPRI similar)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1991:
Low estimate: 1,200 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 1,500 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1992:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,290 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1993:
Low estimate: 523 (SIPRI estimate for first 6 months of the year)
High estimate: 800 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1994:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 200 (SIPRI; Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

1995:
Low estimate: 30 (SIPRI; Project Ploughshares estimate is >56)
High estimate: 100 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1996 not coded as active

1997:
Low estimate: 30 (UCDP; Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 100 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1998 not coded as active

1999:
Low estimate: 15 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 100 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

2000:
Low estimate: 50 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 212 (UCDP; SIPRI similar)
No best estimate.
2001:
Low estimate: 40 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 119 (UCDP; SIPRI similar)
No best estimate.

2002:
Low estimate: 30 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 250 (UCDP and SIPRI high estimate)
No best estimate.

2003:
Low estimate: 40 (Project Ploughshares; IISS estimates 80 deaths)
High estimate: 250 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

2004:
Best estimate: 265 (UCDP; SIPRI estimate is 300, within range defined here)
Low estimate: 60 (Project Ploughshares; IISS estimates 170)
High estimate: 339 (UCDP)

2005:
Best estimate: 200 (SIPRI; Project Ploughshares estimates >100)
Low estimate: 25 (IISS, 2009)
High estimate: 234 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and high estimate: 306 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 208 (IISS)

2007:
Best and high estimate: 132 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 83 (IISS)

2008:
Best and high estimate: 172 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 103 (IISS)

Fatalities information for conflict #112, conflict in Mindanao 1970-90 and 1993-2005:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #682, “Philippines vs. Moros’ 1972-80: 15,000 state deaths out of a total of 60,000 dead.

(Brogan, 1998): “Estimates of casualties during the long rebellion ranged from 50,000 to 120,000.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 60,000 deaths

(IISS, 2008):
Estimate <1,290 deaths since 1991
1997: 100
1998: 100
1999: 100
2000: 500 deaths in MILF conflict; 10 in ASG conflict
2001: 500 deaths in MILF conflict; 50 in ASG conflict
2002: 200 deaths in MILF conflict; 50 in ASG conflict
2003: 500 deaths in MILF conflict; 100 in ASG conflict
2004: 20 deaths in MILF conflict; 30 in ASG conflict
2005: 55 deaths in MILF conflict; 250 in ASG conflict

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1972-95, “Muslims vs Government;” 20,000 civilian war-related deaths, 15,000 military war-related deaths, 35,000 total war-related deaths.

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII. Country: Philippines, 1968-85. Victimized groups: Moro nationalists. Number of victims: 10,000-100,000.

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1972-87, “Muslims (MNLF, MILF), and New People’s Army vs. government:” 20,000 civilian, 15,000 military and 35,000 total war-related deaths.
1988-2000, “Muslims (MNLF, MILF), and New People’s Army vs. government:” 8,500 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 690: “By March 1975 government losses totaled 1,750 killed and 5,200 wounded. After as many as 50,000 deaths were totaled up as a result of the rebellion… in December 1976 … By April 1979 the rebellion’s death toll had reached 60,000 … By 2000 at least 120,000 had died in the conflict.”

( Amnesty International Annual Report 2004): February offensive with over 200 deaths, followed by sporadic MILF attacks, in 2003

(US State Department Human Rights Report 2004): 121 election-related deaths between January 1 and May 26, 2004

( Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“At least 100,000 people are estimated to have died in the conflict in Mindanao, with some estimates exceeding 150,000 deaths. Approximately 55,000 people have been displaced by the conflict.”
Annual estimates:
2002: “An estimated 800 people died as a result of the conflict, many of them Muslim combatants and military personnel, although Filipino Christians and foreigners were also targeted.”
2001: “According to media reports at least 1,000 people were killed as a result of the fighting, the majority of them combatants.”
2000: “At least 600 people (civilians, rebels and government soldiers) died this year as a result of government-rebel clashes.”
1999: “At least 100 people died in 1999 as a result of fighting between government forces and rebels.”
1998: “Figures are difficult to obtain, but it appears that casualties declined significantly from the number killed in 1997 fighting.
1997: “At least 150 combatants and some civilians died in the fighting of 1997.”
1996: “Between 50 and 100 people were killed in clashes between rebels and security forces.”
1995: “Between 50 and 100 people were killed in clashes between government troops and rebels and in rebel attacks on Mindanao cities and towns.”
1994: “Fighting between the government and the MILF and the ASG killed over 100 people.”
(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: Estimate less than 500 deaths in the various Mindanao conflicts, 250 in conflict with ASG. MILF blamed for over 200 killings. Government offensive in February with up to 200 deaths.
2005: Over 200 deaths in both MILF and Abu Sayyaf related battles.

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(SIPRI, 2004): < 800 deaths in 2003 in MILF-related violence only
(SIPRI, 2005): 25-100 in 2004 in MILF-related violence only
(SIPRI, 2006): 25-100 in 2005 in MILF-related violence only

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: 65-100 deaths. Coder’s note: “After the largest incident, which killed 43 people in February, official sources claimed that both MNLF and MILF troops had been involved.” Total battle deaths estimated to be 10,000 - 99,999.
1990: 120-150. Coder’s note: “There were also reports on fighting between different Moro groups and clans. Due to the problems within the military (see Philippines government conflict), no coordinated offensives were launched.”
1991: 15
1992: 7-40
1993: 60-150
1994: 25-999
1995: 75-150
1996: 25-999
1997: 25-999  
1998: 25-999  
1999: 25-999  
2000: 1,000-9,999  
2001: 25-999  
2002: 290-525  
2003: Best estimate: 828; Low estimate: 582; High estimate: 1035  
2004: 69. Coder’s note: “69 is the combined best estimates of the number of battle-related deaths in the two dyads of the Mindanao conflict (i.e. MILF vs. the government and Abu Sayyaf vs. the government). The high estimate is approximately 100 battle-related deaths and the low estimate is 66.”  
Abu Sayyaf vs. government: 142 (Best and low estimate); 241 (high estimate)”  

**Interpretation:**

Many figures available for this conflict are probably estimates of war deaths rather than battle deaths. Uppsala/PRIO coding rules imply lower intensity throughout than the highest total figures imply.

**1970-1988:**  
Low estimate: 10,000 deaths (Based on minimum estimate for the period 1972-1989 found in coder’s note to UCDP. Trended based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules)  
High estimate: 100,000 deaths (Project Ploughshares; Clodfelter. Not trended)  
No best estimate.

**1989:**  
Low estimate: 65 (UCDP)  
High estimate: 100 (UCDP)  
No best estimate.
1990:
Low estimate: 120 (UCDP)
High estimate: 150 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1991 and 1992: not coded as active

1993:
Low estimate: 60 (UCDP)
High estimate: 150 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1994:
Best estimate: 100 (Project Plougshares)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1995:
Low estimate: 50 (Project Plougshares; UCDP low estimate is 75)
High estimate: 150 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1996:
Low estimate: 50 (Project Plougshares)
High estimate: 100 (Project Plougshares)
No best estimate.

1997:
Best estimate: 100 (IISS; Project Plougshares estimates 150)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
1998:
Best estimate: 100 (IISS; Project Ploughshares estimates <150)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1999:
Best estimate: 100 (IISS; Project Ploughshares similar)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

2000:
Low estimate: 510 (IISS; Project Ploughshares estimates 600)
High estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI; UDCP)
No best estimate.

2001:
Best estimate: 550 (IISS)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1,000 (Project Ploughshares)

2002:
Low estimate: 75 (SIPRI; IISS estimates 250; UCDP low estimate is 290)
High estimate: 800 (Project Ploughshares; UCDP high estimate is 525)
No best estimate.

2003:
Low estimate: 582 (UCDP; IISS estimate is 600 deaths in the MILF and ASG conflicts; Project Ploughshares 750)
High estimate: 1,035 (UCDP; SIPRI estimates <800)
No best estimate.

2004:
Low estimate: 66 (UCDP; IISS estimates 50 deaths)
High estimate: 200 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2005:
Low estimate: 179 (UCDP coder’s note; Project Ploughshares estimates >200)
High estimate: 305 (IISS)
No best estimate.

2006:
Best and high estimate: 124 (IISS)
Low estimate: 50 (UCDP)

2007:
Best and high estimate: 333 (IISS)
Low estimate: 262 (UCDP)

2008:
Best estimate: 390 (IISS)
Low estimate: 295 (UCDP)
High estimate: 531 (UCDP)
Puerto Rico

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Puerto Rico:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>1410</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Puerto Rican Nationalist Party</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #41, Puerto Rican insurgency against the US in 1950:

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 702: “On October 30, 1950 … an unsuccessful attack on the palace of Governor Muñoz Marín … Four of the 5 attackers at the governor’s palace were killed, as was a defending policeman. … On November 1, 2 Puerto Rican nationalists stormed Blair House in Washington, DC, in an attempt to assassinate President Harry Truman. The president was unharmed, but 1 of the assailants and 1 security guard were killed. …The rebellion took the lives of 34 people, including 16 nationalist, and wounded 90 more.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“November 1950…An insurrectionary uprising fomented by the Puerto Rican Nationalist party broke out on Oct. 30 …27 people were killed and 51 injured … An attempt to assassinate President Truman was made in the early afternoon of Nov. 1 …in the ensuing gun battle Torresola was shot dead, Collazo severely wounded, and three of the guards wounded, one of whom died the same evening.”

Interpretation:

Keesing’s and Clodfelter’s estimates differ by only 5 people. Low estimate 29 deaths. Best and high estimate 34 deaths, including 2 US deaths, from Clodfelter.
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Rhodesia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>Rhodesia</td>
<td>ZANU</td>
<td>1967-68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>2220</td>
<td>Rhodesia</td>
<td>ZANU, ZAPU</td>
<td>1973-79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #122, civil war in 1967-68:

(Bowyer Bell, 1971):
1967: 29
1968: 51

Interpretation:
1967:
Best estimate: 29 (Bowyer Bell)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1968:
Best estimate: 51 (Bowyer Bell)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and a high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #122, civil war in 1973-79:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #685, “Zimbabwe vs. Patriotic Front” 1972-79: 12,000 state deaths. Total deaths: unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1972-79, “Patriot Front vs. Rhodesia:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, total war-related deaths 12,000.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 12,000 deaths from 1972-80
(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate more than 30,000 killed

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1972-79, “struggle for majority rule;” 12,000 total war-related deaths.
1979-87, “government vs. ZAPU, MNR;” 2,000 civilian and total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
This source contains a number of annual estimates of fatalities.
P. 635: “The seven-year war that transformed Rhodesia into Zimbabwe cost 21,000 lives within the borders of Rhodesia-Zimbabwe, with 6,000 more slain in the neighboring African republics.”

Interpretation:
Although the estimate of 12,000 deaths is cited persistently, Clodfelter’s estimate is based on more detailed discussion of the military history of the conflict.
Best and high estimate: 27,000 battle deaths
Low estimate: 12,000 battle deaths
Trended the estimates based on yearly counts in Clodfelter.
Romania

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Romania:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>2770</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>National Salvation Front</td>
<td>1989</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #175, civil conflict in 1989:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1966-95, “Government vs demonstrators:” 1,000 civilian war-related deaths, military war-related deaths not available, 1,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 605: “By year’s end 1,039 victims of the fighting had been positively identified.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Lindgren et al., 1990):
Romania (Ceausescu) Govt/Securitate vs. National Salvation Front (National Armed Forces), Total including 1989: 750-1,100.
Note reads: “Romanian hospitals counted 750-800 dead. The Army’s losses are given as 196. Victims in Timisoara were 90, according to official figures. Over 40 soldiers were reportedly executed after refusing to shoot at demonstrators in Timisoara. The number of killed Securitate men is unknown.”

Interpretation:

Best and low estimate: 909 battle deaths. (Clodfelter’s figure of 1,039 positively identified deaths was used as a starting point and 130 deaths (at Timisoara, per SIPRI) were excluded as one-sided violence.)
High estimate: 1,039 (Clodfelter)
Russia

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Russia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>3070</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Parliamentary forces</td>
<td></td>
<td>1993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>3090</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Republic of Chechnya</td>
<td>Chechnya</td>
<td>1994-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>3230</td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Republic of Dagestan</td>
<td>Dagestan</td>
<td>1999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td></td>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>Forces of the Caucasus Emirate</td>
<td>Extended Chechnya</td>
<td>2007-08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #204, civil conflict in 1993:

(Clodfelter, 2002, 606): “In Moscow…some 1,500 hard liners who wanted to restore the Communist state staged a rebellion, October 3-4, 1993, that was put down by 1,300 government troops, with total casualties of 193 killed and 437 wounded.”

(Lambroschini, 2003): “On 3 October, Yeltsin ordered the army to storm the White House … The number of people killed in the clashes is still a matter of debate - official estimates stand at around 150, but Yeltsin’s opponents claim as many as 2,000 people may have died. No political leaders were killed in the fighting - the victims were largely protesters, journalists, and curious onlookers caught up in the violence.”

(UCDP, 2009): Estimate 140-999 deaths. Coder’s note: “The official death figure was 148 fatalities, however the opposition claimed that 1000 people died. Many sources stated that between 140 - 170 people died in battle-related fights.”

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 193 (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 148 (Official figure in UCDP coder’s note)
High esimtate: 2,000 (Lambroschini)

Fatalities information for conflict #206, civil war in Chechnya in 1994-96:

Correlates of War Dataset :
Conflict #748, “Russia vs. Chechens’ 1994-6: 30,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.
(Brogan, 1998): Estimates that as of January 1997 “the war had cost about 50,000 lives, including 4500 Russian soldiers.”

(Clodfelter, 2002): “Russian deaths in the 1994-96 war totaled at least 4,175.”


(Project Ploughshares, 2003): Cite an estimate of casualties in the 1994-6 war by Russian Security Council Secretary Alexander Lebed of 80,000-100,000.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1994-95, “Russia vs. Chechen separatists:” 24,000 civilian, war-related deaths, 6,000 military war-related deaths, 30,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 261): “Russian forces were unable to defeat the Chechens and by the end of 1995 had suffered more than two thousand fatalities. The Chechen rebels had lost as many as eleven thousand men.”

(Dunlop, 2000): P. 338: “7,500 Russian soldiers died in combat or perished from wounds received in battle, from illnesses, or from accidents during the time of the 1994-96 conflict. A guessimate for Chechen combat fatalities would be in the order of 4,000, yielding a combined figure in the range of 11,500 for losses among combatants. Civilian losses among Chechens and Russians probably exceeded 35,000 which would yield a conservative total of 46,500 military and civilian deaths during the “first” Russo-Chechen war.”

**SIPRI Yearbooks:**

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996): Govt. of Russia vs. Republic of Chechnya since 1994. Total deaths including 1995: 10,000 to 40,000. Deaths in 1995: 10,000 to 40,000.


(UCDP, 2009):
1994: 25-999. Coder’s note: “No information could be found on the number of battle-related deaths this year.”

1995: 10,000-40,000. Coder’s note: “No detailed information could be found on the number of battle-related deaths this year. Yet, it was estimated that around 10 000 to 40 000 died in the fighting.” Total battle deaths: 10,000 - 40 000. Coder’s note on total deaths: “No detailed information could be found on the total number of battle-related deaths. One source estimated that between 10 000 and 40 000 people had died. It was unclear how many of these deaths were a result of one-sided violence against civilians and how many were battle-related. According to the Russian Defence Minister Grachev, 11 500 Chechen fighters and 1375 Russian soldiers had died in the conflict by May 1995. However, both sides have tended to exaggerate their enemy’s losses and minimised their own casualties during the war. Reliable casualty estimates have been elusive.”

1996: > 3000. Coder’s note: “No detailed information could be found on the number of battle-related deaths this year. Yet, it was certain that more than 3000 people died in the fighting.” Total battle-related deaths: 7000 – 40,000. Coder’s note on total: “No detailed information could be found on the total number of battle-related deaths. One source estimated that between 10 000 and 40 000 people had died. It was unclear how many of these deaths were a result of one-sided violence against civilians and how many were battle-related. According to another source, 4000 Chechen fighters and at least 3000 Russian soldiers had died in the conflict by 1996. Furthermore, at least 60 000 civilians had been killed in the war, however no information could be found on how many of these deaths were battle-related.”

Interpretation:

Dunlop’s study of the media coverage of the Chechen conflict is by far the most complete and detailed source available and agrees reasonably well with SIPRI and Brogan. Best estimate totals 46,500 deaths, from Dunlop.

1994: 
Best estimate: 500 (Based on Dunlop’s total estimate of 46,500 deaths, trended to be similar to UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 27,500 (Based on Leitenberg total of 95,000 deaths; Project Plougshares cites a Russian high official’s estimate of 80,000-100,000)

1995: 
Best estimate: 30,000 (Based on Dunlop’s total estimate of 46,500 deaths, trended to be similar to UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 10,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 40,000 (UCDP)
1996:
Best estimate: 16,000 (Based on Dunlop’s total estimate of 46,500 deaths, trended to be similar to UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 3,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 27,500 (Based on Leitenberg total of 95,000 deaths; Project Ploughshares cites a Russian high official’s estimate of 80,000-100,000. High estimate totals 95,000)

Fatalities information for conflict #206, civil war in Chechnya in 1999-2007:

(IISS, 2008):
2001: 5,000
2002: 5,000
2003: 2,000
2004: 2,000
2005: 1,300
2006: 350
2007: 301

(Dunlop, 2002): Estimates 20,000-25,000 civilians killed.

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1999-2000, “Russia vs. Chechen insurgents”: 15,000 total Chechen war-related deaths, 3,500 military and total Russian war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002): “By April 1, 2000, Russian casualties totaled 2,036 KIA … By mid-May Russian battle-deaths had increased to 2,251….”

(Shevtsova, 2003, 252): “Former minister of the interior Anatoly Kulikov, who knows the situation well, announced that in the course of the two wars in Chechnya Russia had lost as many men as in the war in Afghanistan in 1979-89, that is, about 15,000. According to official sources in Moscow, in the second Chechen war - from 1999 until August 2002 - 4,249 Russian were killed and 12,285 were wounded (and military data gave the number of separatists killed at about 13,000). But human rights activists maintained that the losses on the Russian side were much higher. “The number of the military death toll should be multiplied by three or four,” said the representative of the Committee of Soldier’s Mothers…”
Center for Defense Information, 2003a): “…Russia’s Itar-Tass news agency reported on February 17 that some 4,739 were killed in Chechnya in the year 2002, with another 13,108 wounded and 29 missing. … The figures, which were for just the one calendar year of 2002, vastly exceeded previous official tolls … Another denial came from the Defense Ministry, which claimed that only 4,572 Russian troops had died in action in Chechnya from the autumn of 1999 to December 23, 2002. …”

(Bakhaeva, 2003): This Chechenpress report provides figures “based on the reports received from the correspondents of the agency in the Chechen Republic, Ingushetia, general staff of Chechen forces, Russian media.” Claims that since September 6, 1999 Russia has lost 25,038 military personnel killed, 20,503 injured. 5,000 Chechen fighters have been killed, mostly during 1999-2000.

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“Estimates of the total number of deaths range from 20,000 to 50,000 since 1999. … Official Russian sources claimed that over 4,300 Russian troops were killed between August 1999 and August 2002 while at least one non-governmental organization estimated more than double the official figure. Interfax (Russia’s state-run media) estimated that 13,517 rebels were killed in the same period.”
Annual estimates:
2001: “According to official Russian government figures the death toll for 2001 was in the hundreds. Some international agencies claim the actual death toll is in the thousands.”
2000: “Hundreds of people, and possibly thousands, were killed in the fighting.”
1999: “Hundreds of combatants, with one report claiming almost 1,200 Russian soldiers were killed. Likely at least 1,000 civilians died, with some reports exceeding 4,000.”

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: > 300 and possibly over 1,000
2004: >600
2005: >400

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Seybolt and Uppsala Conflict Data Project, 2000): Govt. of Russia vs. Republic of Chechnya since 1999. Total deaths including 1999: 30,000 to 60,000. Deaths in 1999: >4,000. (This table is ambiguous as to whether the total deaths reflects the fighting in 1995 and 1996 as well as in 1999).


(SIPRI, 2004): >500 deaths in 2003

(SIPRI, 2005): >1,100 deaths in 2004

(SIPRI, 2006): <700 deaths in 2005

(UCDP, 2009):
1999: >4000. Coder’s note: “No detailed information could be found on the number of battle-related deaths this year. Yet, it was certain that more than 4000 people died in the fighting.
2000: >1000. Coder’s note: “No detailed information could be found on the number of battle-related deaths this year. Yet, it was certain that more than 1000 people died in the fighting. In August, a Russian general said that 14 000 guerrillas had died in the past 12 months of battles. No corresponding information could be found on the number of battle-related Russian deaths. Both sides have tended to exaggerate their enemy’s losses and minimised their own casualties during the war. Reliable casualty estimates have been elusive.”
2001: >1000. Coder’s note: “No detailed information could be found on the number of battle-related deaths this year. Yet, it was certain that more than 1000 people died in the fighting.
2002: 742. Coder’s note: “Due to the difficulties in finding independent sources the number of battle-related deaths presented here, 742, is quite conservative. It is very possible that the real number of battle-related deaths was substantially higher - a high estimate would be around 3500 battle-related deaths. However, from the sources available, it has only been possible to verify 742 deaths.”
2003: 503. Coder’s note: “The conflict deescalated during 2003. Most of the reported casualties came from the Russian government. 340 of the 503 estimated battle-related deaths were casualties on the government side, 51 were rebels and the rest were civilians or unknown casualties.”
2004: 1,141 Coder’s note: “Best estimate: 1141. Range: 1124-1255. Most of the reporting on conflict activity came from the Russian or local Chechen governments. Slightly more rebel than government losses were reported. 308 government casualties were reported, as compared to 453 rebels and 351 civilians.”
2005: 668. Coder’s note: “The best estimate for battle-related deaths in 2005 is 668. Range 657-721. The largest explanation to the differing figures is due to varying reports of the number rebel deaths from the attack in Nalchik. There were more casualties among the rebels (386) than within the government (234), additionally 42 civilians died during 2005 in battle-related deaths.”

2007: Best and low estimate: 146. High estimate: 217

Coder’s note: The majority of battle-deaths were located in Chechnya. On 7 October 2007, then-President of the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria (ChRI) Doku Umarov proclaimed the Caucasus Emirate, a unified Caucasian Islamic state, and abolished the ChRI. Thus, the goal of achieving independence for Chechnya was subsumed under the broader aim of establishing a Caucasus Emirate. As the incompatibility of the conflicting parties changed, UCDP regards the conflict over Chechnya as terminated by 7 October 2007. Instead, a new conflict over the Caucasus Emirate is recorded as starting the same day. Thus, all battle-deaths recorded after 7 October are coded as resulting from the conflict over the Caucasus Emirate.

**Interpretation:**

A low estimate for total deaths in this conflict might be 7,500 Russian military deaths (Kulikov) + 5,000 Chechen insurgent deaths (Chechen press) + 20,000 civilians (Dunlop). This totals 32,500.

A high estimate would be 25,038 Russian military deaths (Chechenpress) + 13,517 Chechen insurgent deaths (Interfax) + 30,000 civilian deaths (Project Ploughshares). This totals 68,555, similar to SIPRI’s high estimate of 70,000 deaths.

A plausible best estimate is: 45,500 (Toward the low end of SIPRI’s estimated range. Agrees with reports cited by Project Ploughshares)

7,500 Russian military fatalities (Kulikov) + 13,000 rebel fatalities (Russian military records cited in Shevtsova) + 25,000 civilian fatalities (Dunlop)

1999:
Best estimate: 14,500 (Based on 45,500 total deaths)
Low estimate: 4,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 25,000 (Based on 70,000 total deaths)

2000:
Best estimate: 14,500 (Based on 45,500 total deaths; SIPRI estimates 10,000)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 25,000 (Based on 70,000 total deaths)
2001:
Best estimate: 5,000 (IISS)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 8,500 (Based on 70,000 total deaths and trend in low estimate)

2002:
Best estimate: 5,000 (IISS)
Low estimate: 742 (UCDP)
High estimate: 6,000 (Based on 70,000 total deaths and trend in low estimate)

2003:
Best estimate: 2,000 (IISS)
Low estimate: 300 (Project Plougshares; UCDP estimates 503)
High estimate: 2,500 (Based on 70,000 total deaths and trend in low estimate)

2004:
Best estimate: 2,000 (IISS)
Low estimate: 600 (Project Plougshares; UCDP estimates 1,141)
High estimate: 5,000 (Based on 70,000 total deaths and trend in low estimate)

2005:
Best estimate: 2,000 (IISS. Best estimate totals 45,500)
Low estimate: 400 (Project Ploughshares; UCDP estimates 668)
High estimate: 3,000 (Based on 70,000 total deaths and trend in low estimate. High estimate totals 70,000)

2006:
Low estimate: 259 (UCDP)
Best estimate: 350 (IISS)
High estimate: 351 (UCDP)

2007:
Best and high estimate 301 (IISS)
Low estimate: 146 (UCDP)

Fatalities information for conflict #220, civil conflict in Dagestan in 1999:

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 606: “By August 24 Russian air strikes and ground assaults dislodged the invaders ... The Russians lost 47 soldiers and 12 policemen killed and claimed 1,000 rebel dead, although the militants themselves admitted to only 41 KIA. On September 5 Chechen leader Khattab led 2,000 men in a new incursion into Dagestan. The 1,500 Russian Federation troops sent to repel them lost 150 KIA within a week…”

(UCDP, 2009):
1999: <600 battle deaths. Coder’s note: “Detailed information on the number of battle-related deaths was difficult to find. A figure of around 600 people was stated, however, this also included the deaths occurring in the fights with the Chechen invaders in August and September. The Russian losses were estimated to make up almost one third of the 600 deaths reported.”

Interpretation:

Best and low estimate: 600 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,197 (Based on Russian reports in Clodfelter)

Fatalities information for conflict #257, against the Forces of the Caucasus Emirate, 2007–08:

(UCDP, 2009):
2007: Best and low estimate: 30; High estimate: 56.

(Project Ploughshares, 2009):
2007: 100
2008: 237.

(IISS, 2009):
2007: 58
2008: 339

Interpretation:
Because UCDP is the only source that splits the conflict in 2007 by the declaration of the Emirate of the Caucasus, it is used as the best estimate for that year.

2007:
Best estimate: 56 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 30 (UCDP)
High estimate: 100 (Ploughshares)

2008:
Best estimate: 339 (IISS)
Low estimate: 237 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 503 (UCDP)
### Fatalities Information for Conflict #179, Civil War in 1990-94:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #729, “Rwanda vs. Tutsi” 1990-3: 2,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.
Conflict #749, “Rwanda vs. Patriotic Front” 1994: 500,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 252-3): Estimate 500,000 killed in Rwandan genocide between 6 April 1994 and RPF capture of the country by mid-July 1994

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 253): In 1995 “an RPF government attack on a rebel training camp at Lake Kivu … left 141 rebels dead.”

(Clodfelter, 2002, 625): “A refugee invasion by several thousand exiles in September 1990 was repulsed … not before 2,000 people, mostly civilians, had died. … By late 1993 over 10,000 lives had been lost in the guerilla rebellion. …a 100-day genocide in 1994 … resulted in the deaths of from 500,000 to 800,000 Tutsi tribesmen.”

(IISS, 2003):
1997: 3,000
1998: 6,000
1999: 1,000
2000: 2,000
2001: 1,000
2002: 800
2003: 500
2004: 0
2005: 0

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>2810</td>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>FPR</td>
<td>1990-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1997-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>2810</td>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>Opposition alliance</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): Rwandan Govt vs. RPF/A since 1990. Unknown fatalities.


(UCDP, 2009):
1990: > 700. Coder’s note: “In the end of the year, 740 rebels were killed in two separate government offensives in the northern regions of Muvumva and Buymb. During the course of the conflict, several reports have been given about high numbers of battle-related deaths.” Total battle deaths: > 700. Coder’s note on total: “The figure indicates the absolute minimum. The real death toll may be significantly higher.”
1991: > 1000. Coder’s note: “At least a 1000 people have been killed in battle, however reports suggested "thousands of casualties on both sides’
1992: > 1000
1993: 500. Coder’s note: “Approximately 500. Hundreds of deaths on both sides were reported in February. SIPRI yearbook mentions 500 deaths, but it is not certain that all of these were battle-related.”
1994: 25 – 999. Coder’s note: “The massacres performed by Hutu militias and Hutu civilians are often estimated as having resulted in 500 000 - 800 000 deaths. These deaths are not classified as battle-related and are not included in this study.
1997: 200 – 2000
1998: > 1500
1999: > 100
2000: > 25
2001: > 1000

Interpretation:

UCDP coder’s notes indicate that those figures are highly conservative. High estimates were used as best estimates in most years, therefore.

1990:
Low estimate: 700 (UCDP)
Best and high estimate: 2,000 (Clodfelter)

1991:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
Best and high estimate: 3,200 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 10,000 deaths by end of 1993 and trend in low estimate)

1992:
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
Best and high estimate: 3,200 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 10,000 deaths by end of 1993 and trend in low estimate)

1993:
Low estimate: 500 (UCDP)
Best and high estimate: 1,600 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 10,000 deaths by end of 1993 and trend in low estimate)

1994:
No estimates exist for battle deaths separate from genocide. 25 deaths as a low estimate and 999 deaths as a high estimate based on UCDP. No best estimate.

1997:
Low estimate: 200 (UCDP)
Best and high estimate: 3,000 (IISS)
1998:
Low estimate: 1,500 (UCDP)
Best and high estimate: 6,000 (IISS)

1999:
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP)
Best and high estimate: 1,000 (IISS)

2000:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
Best and high estimate: 2,000 (IISS)

2001:
Best and low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP; IISS)
High estimate: 9,999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

2002:
Low estimate: 59 (UCDP)
Best and high estimate: 800 (IISS)
Saudi Arabia

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Saudi Arabia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>2460</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Juhayman Movement</td>
<td>1979</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatality information for conflict #145, civil conflict in 1979:

(Brogan, 1998): “200 fanatical tribesmen from the desert seized the Great Mosque in Mecca. … The Mahdi and 116 other rebels were killed, as were 127 soldiers and a dozen civilians. Juhayman was captured and he was executed, along with 62 other survivors, on 9 January 1980.”

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 649-650: “The Saudi forces lost…127 KIA and 451 WIA. Twenty-five Muslim pilgrims to the holy shrine were slain in the first moments of the battle and 20 hostages taken by the fanatics were later butchered. The extremists lost 117 killed and 143 taken prisoner. Sixty-three of those prisoners were later executed.”

Interpretation:

Clodfelter and Brogan agree on the number of rebels (117) and government (127) forces KIA. Clodfelter cites 25 civilian battle-deaths, Brogan “a dozen.” Because Clodfelter also gives an exact account of the civilians and hostages at the mosque, his figure was used as a Best and high estimate, Brogan’s figure as a low estimate.

Best and high estimate: 269
Low estimate: 256
Senegal

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Senegal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
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<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>180</td>
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<td>Senegal</td>
<td>MFDC</td>
<td>Casamance</td>
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<td>2000-01</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate several hundred people killed by 1995

(IISS, 2003): Estimate 770 killed between 1997 and 2002

(IISS, 2006): Estimate 34 deaths in 2003

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
2002: “Media reports suggest between 25 and 50 people - civilians and combatants - died in the first nine months of 2002 as a direct result of the conflict.”
2001: “According to media reports more than 50 people were killed in the first nine months of 2001. The majority of the dead were civilians ambushed on Senegal’s highways.”
2000: “At least 50 civilians, rebels and government soldiers were killed.”
1999: “More than 60 civilians, rebels and government soldiers were killed.”

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: 40 low, 50 high

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(UCDP, 2009):
1990: 72. Coder’s note: “Probably higher than 100.”
1991: 14. Coder’s note: “It is also reported that armed attacks followed by savage military reprisals took place in December 1991. The exact number of deaths during these events is not given.”
1992: 104. Coder’s note: “Probably between 100 and 200.”
1993: 180. Coder’s note: “Probably between 180 and 500.”
1994: NA
1996: 4
1997: 130. Coder’s note: “Probably between 130 and 500.”
1998: >250

2000: 54
2001: 90-318

2003: 40. Coder’s note: “Most deaths occurred in early 2003, when the government launched a string of operations, allegedly due to MFDC mine laying activities throughout the region.”
2004: 0-24

Interpretation:

1990:
Best estimate: 100 (UCDP coder’s note)
Low estimate: 72 (UCDP)
High estimate: 200 (UCDP coder’s note)

1992:
Best estimate: 104 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP coder’s note)
High estimate: 200 (UCDP coder’s note)

1993:
Best and low estimate: 180 (UCDP)
High estimate: 500 (UCDP coder’s note)

1995:
Best estimate 142 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 140 (UCDP coder’s note; Bercovitch and Jackson estimate “several” hundred deaths by 1995. Low estimate through 1995 totals 492)
High estimate: 200 (UCDP coder’s note)

1997:
Best estimate: 200 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 130 (UCDP)
High estimate: 500 (SIPRI)

1998:
Best and high estimate: 363 (Based on IISS estimate of 770 deaths 1997 to 2002)
Low estimate: 250 (SIPRI; UCDP)

2000:
Best and low estimate: 54 (UCDP; Project Ploughshares estimates >50)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

2001:
Best estimate: 90 (UCDP; Project Ploughshares estimates 50 people in first nine months of the year. IISS estimate 770 deaths 1997 to 2002. Best estimate for 1997 to 2001 totals 770)
Low estimate: 50 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 318 (UCDP)
2003:
Best estimate: 40 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 34 (IISS)
High estimate: 50 (Project Plougshares)
Sierra Leone

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Sierra Leone:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>2890</td>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>RUF, AFRC, ECOMOG, Kamajors</td>
<td>1991-2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #187, civil war in 1991-2000:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #730, “sierra Leone vs. RUF” 1991-6: 20,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1991-95, “Civil War:” civilian and military war-related deaths not available, 30,000 total war-related deaths


(Brogan, 1998): March 1991-November 1996: “more than 10,000 people were killed and half the population of 4 million became refugees.”

(IISS, 2008):
1997: 500 deaths
1998: 1,000
1999: 9,000
2000: 3,000

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 256: From 1991 to 1995: “…more than 4,600 people were killed, many in grisly massacres. … Since the civil war broke out in 1991, more than 100,000 people have been killed.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 629: “A new cease-fire on July 7, 1999…the civil war death toll since 1991 exceeded 14,000. The RUF once again attacked in May 2000…At least 12 UN personnel and several hundred Sierra Leonese were killed in this outbreak.”
(Williams, 2001):
P. 154: “Operation Palliser … on 17 May British paratroops and Nigerian troops killed four rebels about 20 miles from Lungi airport. … The next serious incident concerned the capture of 11 British soldiers by a group of rebels known as the “West Side Boys.” … After negotiations to release all 12 hostages collapsed, a rescue mission was launched on 10 September in which one British soldier was killed and several others were seriously injured.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(Seybolt, 2001): Govt. and UK vs. RUF, AFRC since 1991. Casualty figures unknown

(UCDP, 2009):
1991: > 100
1992: 25-999
1993: 25-999. Total deaths: 25-999
1994: 25-999. Total deaths: 1000-9999
1995: > 500. Total battle-related deaths: > 3000
1996: 200 – 500
1997: < 300. Coder’s note: “Fighting in May 1997 between the Nigerian forces and the coup forces associated with the RUF led to the death of 62 people. Fighting after May between The AFRC/RUF government and the Kamajor militia led to approximately 300 battle-related deaths.”
1998: > 1500. Total battle-related deaths: > 5000
1999: > 6000. Coder’s note: “In January 1999 an estimated 5 000 people were killed in Freetown, including thousands of civilians and hundreds of ECOMOG troops and RUF rebels. Nigerian forces lost an estimated 800 men in the fighting. About 200 rebels were reported to have been killed. An estimated 40% of the 6000 deaths were military and 60% civilian.” Total deaths: 1000-9999. Coder’s note regarding total deaths: “Possibly over 10 000 battle-related deaths.”
2000: 25-999

Interpretation:

The figure of 100,000 total deaths seems to be a figure for violent and non-violent deaths. SIPRI, COW and Clodfelter seem to give more realistic combat figures:

1991:
Best estimate: 200 (Based on UCDP estimate of >3,000 deaths 1991-1995 and trend in UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP)
High estimate: 300 (Based on Bercovitch and Jackson estimate of >4,600 deaths 1991-95, including one-sided violence, and trend in UCDP estimates)

1992:
Best estimate: 600 (Based on UCDP estimate of >3,000 deaths 1991-1995 and trend in UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 300 (Based on UCDP estimate of total of >1,000 deaths 1991-94)
High estimate: 900 (Based on Bercovitch and Jackson estimate of >4,600 deaths 1991-95, including one-sided violence, and trend in UCDP estimates)

1993:
Best estimate: 600 (Based on UCDP estimate of >3,000 deaths 1991-1995 and trend in UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 300 (Based on UCDP estimate of total of >1,000 deaths 1991-94)
High estimate: 900 (Based on Bercovitch and Jackson estimate of >4,600 deaths 1991-95, including one-sided violence, and trend in UCDP estimates)

1994:
Best estimate: 600 (Based on UCDP estimate of >3,000 deaths 1991-1995 and trend in UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 300 (Based on UCDP estimate of total of >1,000 deaths 1991-94. Low estimate 1991-94 totals 1,000)
High estimate: 900 (Based on Bercovitch and Jackson estimate of >4,600 deaths 1991-95, including one-sided violence, and trend in UCDP estimates)

1995:
Best estimate: 1,000 (Based on UCDP estimate of >3,000 deaths 1991-1995 and trend in UCDP estimates. Best estimate 1991-95 totals 3,000)
Low estimate: 500 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,500 (Based on Bercovitch and Jackson estimate of >4,600 deaths 1991-95, including one-sided violence, and trend in UCDP estimates. High estimate 1991-95 totals 4,500)

1996:
Best estimate: 274 (Based on Clodfelter estimate of 14,000 deaths by 1999 and trend in UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 200 (UCDP)
High estimate: 500 (UCDP)

1997:
Best estimate: 413 (Based on Clodfelter estimate of 14,000 deaths by 1999 and trend in UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 300 (UCDP coder’s note)
High estimate: 500 (IISS)

1998:
Best estimate: 2,063 (Based on Clodfelter estimate of 14,000 deaths by 1999 and trend in UCDP estimates)
Low estimate: 1,000 (IISS; UCDP estimates 1,500)
High estimate: 2,500 (Based on total of 20,000 deaths, from COW)

1999:
Best estimate: 8,250 (Based on Clodfelter estimate of 14,000 deaths by 1999 and trend in UCDP estimates. Best estimate 1991-99 totals 14,000)
Low estimate: 6,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 9,000 (IISS)

2000:
Best estimate: 212 (Clodfelter estimates 12 UN personnel and “several hundred” Sierra Leonese killed in May 2000)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 3,000 (IISS. High estimate totals 20,000 deaths for entire conflict, from COW)
Somalia

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Somalia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>2410</td>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>2410</td>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>SSDF, SNM, SPM, Military faction, USC</td>
<td>1982–84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1986–96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>2410</td>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>SRRC</td>
<td>2001–02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #141, attempted coup in 1978:

(OnWar.com, 1999):
“…an unsuccessful coup in April 1978, following the army’s humiliating defeat in the Ogaden War. An estimated 500 rebel soldiers were killed in fighting with forces loyal to Siad Barre, and subsequently seventeen officers, all but one of them Majeerteen, were executed.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“June 1978 … On April 12 President Siyad Barreh stated that the attempt had caused the death of 20 loyal officers and soldiers and injury to 34 others, and that only a few of the rebels had escaped and were still being sought.”

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 520 deaths. (Rebel losses from OnWar.com, government losses from Keesing’s. Both figures may be quite unreliable). Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #141, civil war in 1982-84, 1986–96:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #713, “somalia vs. Clan Factions” 1982-97: 95,000 Somali state deaths. 18 US deaths. French deaths, Italian deaths, and Nigerian deaths unknown. Total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1988-95, “Civil war:” 350,000 civilian war-related deaths, 5,000 military war-related deaths, 355,000 total war-related deaths
(Lamphear, 2003, 186): “‘Low intensity’ in terms of the simplicity of arms - sometimes machetes, spears, and agricultural tools are employed - these conflicts are catastrophically intensive in terms of casualties … 250,000 killed in Somali inter-clan struggles…”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): “by August 1992 two thousand people were reported dying each day of starvation while hundreds were being killed in factional fighting. … Deaths from the civil war and resulting famine were in the hundreds of thousands.”

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1980-90, “civil strife:” 5,000 civilian, 5,000 military and 10,000 total war-related deaths.
1990-93, “civil strife:” 300,000 total war-related deaths

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 97: “Estimates of death by famine in 1992 start at 500,000. Perhaps 50,000 to 100,000 people have been killed in civil wars since 1989.”
P. 100: In January 1990, Africa Watch concluded that 50,000 people had been killed in the civil war.
P. 102: Total US loses: 30 troops killed, 174 wounded. 6 non-combatants killed, mostly in accidents and 8 servicemen killed in a helicopter accident. The rest of the UN peacekeeping force lost 72 killed, 87 wounded, including 23 Pakistanis killed during one week in June 1993.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 617: “In house-to-house searches and summary executions the dictator’s army killed - according to conservative estimates by the US State Department - 5,000 noncombatants … between May 1988 and March 1989. … By the beginning of 1990 the organization, Africa Watch, estimates at least 50,000 lives had been lost in Somalia, the vast majority of them civilians.”
P. 617-618: “On December 27 Mogadishu became a battlefield. The battle, which claimed upwards of 5,000 lives, ended on January 27, 1991… In November 1991 rival factions within the victorious coalition fought to gain power. In the last six weeks of the year … at least 7,000 Somalis killed and 20,000 wounded.”
P. 618: “By the end of 1992 civil strife and starvation had cost about 350,000 lives.”
P. 618: “U.N. losses in Somalia between May 4-December 7, 1993, were 83 killed…including 29 US KIA…UN wrapped up its unsuccessful mission of nation-building by March 1, 1995, by which time it had lost 132 dead from all causes, including 44 Americans. US battle casualties from 87,000 deployed, 1992-94, were 30 KIA, 175 WIA.” This source also contains details of international operations in Somalia

(United Nations Department of Peacekeeping, 2004):
Nations participating in UNITAF: United States, Australia, Belgium, Botswana, Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Greece, India, Italy, Kuwait, Morocco, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom, and Zimbabwe.

**SIPRI Yearbooks**


(UCDP, 2009):
1990: >1,000
1991: 10,000 - 25,000. Total deaths >60,000. Coder’s note on total deaths: “A low estimate. The figure is probably larger.”
1992: 3,000 – 4,000
1993: > 25. Coder’s note: “The number of deaths for this year is very uncertain, but it is definitely larger than 25.”
1994: > 25. Coder’s note: “The number of deaths for this year is very uncertain, but it is definitely larger than 25.”
1995: 200 – 500
1996: 300 – 600
1997: 0-24. Coder’s note: “In 1997 there was no conflict dyad where one group could be considered having the governmental power, in which also the criterion of at least 25 deaths was met.”
2001: 100 – 250
2002: 100
2003: 0
2004: 0-24

**Interpretation:**

1982-84, 1986–87:
A low estimate of 25 deaths per year and a high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
No best estimate.

1988:
Best and high estimate: 11,666 (Based on SIPRI 1992 estimate of at least 35,000 deaths 1988-1990)
Low estimate of 25 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1989:
Best and high estimate: 11,667 (Based on SIPRI 1992 estimate of at least 35,000 deaths 1988-1990)
Low estimate of 1,000 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1990:
Best and high estimate: 11,667 (Based on SIPRI 1992 estimate of at least 35,000 deaths 1988-1990)
Low estimate: 5,000 (Clodfelter’s estimate of battle of Mogadishu)

1991:
High estimate: 25,000 (SIPRI 1991. High estimate totals >60,000 deaths 1981-1991, following UCDP coder’s note)
Low estimate: 10,000 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1992:
Low estimate: 3,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 4,000 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

1993:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 6,000 (Based on COW estimate of 95,000 deaths 1982-1997)
No best estimate.

1994:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 6,000 (Based on COW estimate of 95,000 deaths 1982-1997)
No best estimate.

1995:
Best estimate: 500 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 200 (UCDP)
High estimate: 6,000 (Based on COW estimate of 95,000 deaths 1982-1997)

1996:
Low estimate: 300 (UCDP)
High estimate: 6,000 (Based on COW estimate of 95,000 deaths 1982-1997. High estimate 1981-1996 totals 94,993)

Fatalities information for conflict #141, civil war in 2001-02:


(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
2002: “At least 500 people were killed in the first ten months of 2002. Many of those killed were civilians.”
2001: “According to media reports, at least 400 people were killed this year as a result of the fighting, the majority of whom were civilians killed by stray bullets.”
2000: “At least 200 people, including local humanitarian workers, were killed in fighting by the end of September.”
1999: “More than 100 people were killed in various clashes during the year.”
1998: “The number of deaths for 1998 was at least 230, consisting mostly of unarmed civilians caught in the various interclan conflicts.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(UCDP, 2009):
2001: 100 – 250
2002: 100
2003: 0
2004: 0-24

Interpretation:

2001:
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP)
High estimate: 400 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2002:
Low estimate: 100 (UCDP)
High estimate: 500 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #141, civil war in 2006-08:

(Ploughshares, 2009):
2006: >300 deaths in 2006
2007: 6,500 civilians
IISS:
2006: 1,210
2007: 2,041
2008: 1,641

(AFP, 2008): Ethiopian government claims 3,000 rebels killed in 2006

(Jane’s Defense Weekly, 2007): 200 Ethiopia soldiers and 380 civilians killed by April 1

(UCDP, 2009):
Coder's note: "The Ethiopian government claimed its forces had killed between 2000-3000 "Islamists" during the government offensive in December. However, according to hospital sources collected by the International Red Cross, the fighting had led to "hundreds" of casualties and some 850 injured had been treated in hospitals in Mogadishu and Baidoa."

2007: Best: 1,589; Low: 1,571; High: 2,112.
Coder's note: "It should be noted that it was very difficult to distinguish the actors on the rebel-side in 2007 as SICS remnants (those same elements later in the year loosely attached to the ARS/UIC), Hawiye clan militias, and other armed groupings fought side by side. Also, the reporting often did not differentiate between these different armed groups, and therefore the battle-death figure may include violence not related to the ARS/UIC. However, to the extent possible, such events have been sifted out.
The discrepancy between best and high was largely due to the fact that the high estimate includes rebel causality figures from the Ethiopian side that may be deemed as biased."

2008: Best: 1,483; Low: 656; High: 2,165
Coder's note: "It should be noted that it was difficult to distinguish the actors on the rebel-side in 2008, as Al-Shabaab, ARS/UIC, Harakat Ras Kamboni and other insurgent groups fought side by side. The reporting often did not differentiate between these and other different armed groupings. Where that has been the case, clashes have been attributed to the main insurgent actor, Al-Shabaab.
The discrepancy between best and high estimates was largely due to the fact that parties at times exaggerated claims of attacks."

Interpretation:

2006:
Best estimate: 547 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 300 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 1,210 (IISS)

2007:
Best estimate: 1,589 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 1,571 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,041 (IISS)

2008:
Best estimate: 1,483 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 656 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,641 (IISS)
South Africa

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in South Africa:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #150, civil war in 1981-83, 1985–88:


(Eckhardt, 1996): 1983-94, “political, ethnic violence:” 16,000 civilian war-related deaths, military war-related deaths not available, 16,000 total war-related deaths

(Rummel, 1997, Table 15.1, Lines 2885-2888): Cites SIPRI figure of 3,000 battle deaths for conflict between the government and the ANC in 1984-6. Estimate 5,000 deaths in fighting between the ANC and Inthaka in 1984-86.

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 628: “Rioting against the system of apartheid again swept the black townships of South Africa in September 1984. By the end of year 58 people had been killed…The turmoil took 850 lives in 1985, including 24 policemen, 15 white civilians and 442 blacks killed by security forces.”

P. 627: “From September 1984 to the end of 1988, 4,012 South Africans had died in the violence, including 1,848 blacks killed by security forces, 78 white and black civilians killed by guerrilla land mines or bombs, 187 members of the security forces, and 163 ANC insurgents. … By the summer of 1991, 6,000 black South Africans had died in the violence.”

SIPRI Yearbooks

(Goose, 1987): Gov vs. ANC since 1970s. Total killed 1984-86: 3,000


(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): Govt. vs. ANC since 1961. Deaths 1984-91: 11,000. Deaths during 1991: 2,600. Both figures have a note saying that these are “victims of political violence.”

(Amer et al., 1993): Govt. vs. ANC since 1961, vs. PAC since 1992, vs. AZANLA since 1992. Deaths 1984-92: 14,500. Deaths in 1992: 3,500. This figure includes victims of political violence killed outside of the conflict between the government and the ANC, but excludes the conflict with PAC and AZANLA.


**Interpretation:**

This estimate was primarily based on SIPRI data because the Uppsala/PRIO dataset does not include conflict between the ANC and Inkatha in its definition of state-based armed conflict. However, even this source notes escalation in the conflict greater than Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.

**Estimated:**

**1981-1983:**
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths per year and high estimate of 999 battle deaths per year. No best estimate.

**1985:**
Best and low estimate: 850 (Clodfelter)
High estimate: 4,000 (Based on Rummel’s estimate of 8,000 deaths 1984-86. High estimate totals 8,000 for 1985-86)

**1986:**
Best estimate: 2,150 (SIPRI 1987 estimates 3,000 deaths 1984-1986. Best estimate totals 3,000 for 1985-86)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 4,000 (Based on Rummel’s estimate of 8,000 deaths 1984-86. High estimate totals 8,000 for 1985-86)

1987:
Best estimate: 312 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 4,012 deaths 1985-1988)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1988:
Best estimate: 700 (SIPRI. Clodfelter estimates 4,012 deaths 1984-88. Best estimate totals 4,012 1985-88)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Spain

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Spain:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>2480</td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>ETA</td>
<td>Basque</td>
<td>1980-81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1987</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1991-92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #147, civil conflict in the Basque region in 1980-81, 1987 and 1991-92:

(IISS, 2003): Provides a timeline of the conflict with information on fatal incidents included.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 602: “Up to the beginning of 1990 the violence had cost 600 lives, including 70 military personnel. In September 1998 the ETA declared a cease-fire. ETA violence over three decades had claimed at least 800 lives.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“April 1980 - SPAIN … Political violence continued unabated throughout the country in 1979, with 123 people being killed by the end of the year (66 of these in the Basque region) compared with 99 in 1978 (67 in the Basque region) and 30 in 1977.”
“April 1981 - SPAIN … During 1980 a total of 126 people (according to police sources) were killed in political violence throughout Spain, compared with 123 in 1979. Of these deaths, 85 were attributed to the ETA and 33 to the extreme right or left, and eight were ETA suspects killed by police.”
“March 1982 - SPAIN … Police sources said on Dec.30, 1981, that 49 people had been killed in political violence in Spain in 1981 (compared with 126 in 1980 and 123 in 1979), and that 31 of the deaths had occurred in the Basque region.”
“April 1988 - SPAIN … the explosion on June 19 of a car bomb in a car park beneath a crowded supermarket in Barcelona. The casualties were the highest ever recorded in any attack by ETA, with a final death toll of 21 and a further 30 people injured.”
See additional data in Keesing’s reports filed in October 1982; August and December 1991; and August and October 1992.

(Martínez-Herrera, 2002): Provides an original elaboration of police data giving victims of ETA terrorism 1968-2001. The author excludes from this account 38 victims (over roughly one decade) of a “dirty war” by vigilante terrorist groups related to state security corps. The author shared
additional figures for 2002 and 2003 with the author. He requests that any publication that makes specific reference to the fatality figures for the Basque conflict presented here (as one of 10 or fewer cases) cite his work specifically, as well as the PRIO Battle Deaths Data.

(UCDP, 2009):
1991: 31. Coder’s note: “31 people were killed in battle-related fights. The majority of the victims were Spanish policemen and civil guards who died in ETA bombings.”
Estimate 800 deaths in total. Coder’s note on total deaths: “It was estimated that around 800 people had died as a result of battle-related fights. Out of these casualties, around 650 were killed by the ETA. Between 7 June 1968 and May 1982, according to official Spanish statistics, the number of people killed was 413. Out of these victims, 64 were ETA members and 349 Spanish. 152 were civilians.”
1992: 26. Coder’s note: “26 people were killed in battle-related fights. The majority of the victims were Spanish policemen and civil guards who died in ETA bombings.”

Interpretation:

This information presented by Martínez-Herrera is the most complete and up-to-date source available. His information agrees quite closely with Keesing’s and Clodfelter’s.

1980:
Best and low estimate: 91 (Martínez-Herrera)
High estimate: 93 (Keesing’s)

1981:
Best and low estimate: 30 (Martínez-Herrera)
High estimate: 31 (Keesing’s)

1987:
Best and high estimate: 52 (Martínez-Herrera)
Low estimate: 25 (UCPD/PRIO coding rules)

1991:
Best and high estimate: 46 (Martínez-Herrera)
Low estimate: 31 (UCPD)
1992:
Best and high estimate: 26 (Martínez-Herrera; UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Sri Lanka

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Sri Lanka:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<td>117</td>
<td>2170</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>JVP</td>
<td>1971</td>
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<td>1989-90</td>
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<td>157</td>
<td>2580</td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>LTTE, TELO, PLOTE</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>2003-08</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #117, conflict with the JVP in 1971:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #724, “Sri Lanka vs. JVP” 1987-9: 2,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1971, “Maoists vs government:” 1,000 civilian, 1,000 military and 2,000 total war-related deaths

(Brogan, 1998): “By the government’s count, 2,000 people died; others claim that 10,000 were killed by security forces.”

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1971, “Maoists vs. Government:” 5,000 civilian war-related deaths, 5,000 military war-related deaths, 10,000 total war-related deaths

(UCDP, 2004): “The Sinhalese, maoist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) emerged as a political movement in 1965. … Government measures to curb the mounting insurrection involved the detention of 4,000 suspected JVP members, among them Wijeweera, in March 1971. The tension culminated on 5 April 1971 in a coordinated attack on police stations and government buildings by JVP members, in an attempt to seize power from the United Front government. … The estimated number of casualties varies between 1,200 and 10,000 - the majority of them suspected JVP-associates.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 670: “Of some 20,000 members of the JVP, 14,000 were in jails or concentration camps by the end of the insurgency and at least 1,200 were dead. Government forces … lost 60 killed and 262 wounded.”
Interpretation:

Clodfelter reports that 14,000 out of a total of 20,000 JVP members were imprisoned by the end of the rebellion, which suggests that estimates of battle fatalities in the tens of thousands are much too high.

Best estimate: 1,260 (From Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 1,200 (UCDP coder’s note)
High estimate: 10,000 (Cited by several sources)

Fatalities information for conflict #117, conflict with the JVP in 1989–90:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 208): “Up to a thousand people per month were being killed as a result of the 1989 JVP campaign.”

(UCDP, 2009):
1989: >5,150 deaths in all internal conflicts. Coder’s note: “NB: there is no separate number for battle-related deaths in the conflict between JVP and the Government. The above number refers to the total number of death in Sri Lanka, involving all armed groups- also the LTTE. It also includes civilian casualties, and is thus not automatically comparable to other conflict dyads.”
1990: >25. Coder’s note: “The government’s counter-offensive continued in the early months of 1990, and the casualties reported for this year are, with a few exceptions, alleged JVP rebels hunted down by government forces. Several reports ascribe the killing to so called government death squads made up of off-duty police-men and soldiers, and should not be included in a strict battle-related death estimate.”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 257: “The US State Department calculated that over 8,500 people were killed in the fight against the JVP during the last six months of 1989, and admitted that the estimate was conservative. Human rights groups said that over 20,000 were killed that year, thousands of them by death squads in the south”

(Clodfelter, 2002, 673-4): “In July 1987 … the Sri Lankan government and the Tamils agreed to a cease-fire … The militant Sinhalese of the JVP disagreed violently with the terms of the agreement, sparking a riot in Colombo in which 70 people were killed on July 28 and commencing
widespread terrorist attacks in which some 2,000 JVP militants were engaged by 10,000 Sri Lankan army troops. …the JVP insurrection was crushed with the help of the death squads by late 1989.”

**SIPRI Yearbooks**


**Interpretation:**

1989:
Best and low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 12,000 (Brogan reports up to 1,000 per month but this includes large numbers of summary executions carried out by the state)

1990:
Best and low estimate: 25 (UCDP; many sources consider the conflict terminated by this point)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

**Fatalities information for conflict #157, civil war in Tamil areas in 1984-2001:**

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate at least 100,000 total deaths in the Tamil insurgency

(IISS, 2003): Estimate >74,000 fatalities since 1983

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1984-95, “Tamils vs. Sinhalese vs. Govt:” 23,000 civilian war-related deaths, 27,000 military war-related deaths, 50,000 total war-related deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1983-89, “Government vs. Tamil Elam separatists/Indian intervention/Sinhalese People’s Liberation Front:” 15,000 total war-related deaths
1990-2002 “Government vs Tamil Elam (LTTE):” 50,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 256: “In the previous 5 years [1982-87], between 7,000 and 16,000 people had been killed and over half a million driven from their homes - and the rate of killings was increasing rapidly.” (Includes conflict with JVP)
P. 258: The last Indian troops left 24 March 1990, officially reported losing 1155 men.
P. 260: “By the end of (1997), the government admitted that at least 50,000 people had been killed since the civil war began in 1983 - not counting the thousands killed in the JVP insurrection.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 673–674: “India completed its withdrawal from Sri Lanka in March 1990, having lost 1,150 killed in battle with the Tigers, who suffered at least 800 KIA from Indian army fire. The overall death toll in Sri Lanka by now was at least 11,000.
P. 674: “… Peace negotiations were initiated in late 2000, by which time the overall civilian war death toll [in the Tamil insurgency] had exceeded 63,000.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
Total: “Estimates range from 60,000 to 100,000.”
Annual estimates:
2002: “The conflict resulted in the deaths of an estimated 25 people this year, many of whom were civilians killed by government forces.”
2001: “The casualty rate was not as high as for the last few years, possibly due to the unilateral cease-fire initiated by the rebels. Even so, hundreds were reported killed and thousands wounded, mostly fighters on both sides.”
2000: “At least 2,400 people, mostly combatants, were killed this year.”
1999: “More than 2,000 people, most of whom were combatants, were killed during the year.”
1998: “At least 2,000 combatants died in the September rebel attacks on government troops.”
1997: “Although independent reports were unavailable, government and rebel figures suggest as many as 4,000 people died in combat or from extra-judicial killings in 1997.”
1996: “More than 2,300.”
1995: “3,000.”
1994: “More than 1,000.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987): Gov vs. Tamils since 1983: 3,000–4,500 fatalities.


(UCDP, 2009):
1989: > 5150. Coder’s note: “High estimate, most likely to include civilians and all armed groups - also the JVP”
Total deaths: > 14,000. Coder’s note: “High estimate, most likely to include civilians and all groups also the JVP”
1990: 3500 – 4000 Coder’s note: “High estimate, most likely to include civilians and all armed groups (including the JVP)
1991: 6000. Coder’s note: “High, most likely to include civilians and all armed groups.”
1992: 4000. Coder’s note: “NB: First time civilians are not included in the SIPRI estimate.”
Total deaths: 24,000. Coder’s note on total deaths: “siAC estimate of all groups, 1992: first time civilians not included.”
1993: > 2000
1994: 1,000. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 500; High estimate: 1500; Best estimate: 1000
1995: > 5000
1996: > 3000
1997: > 4000
1998: > 4000
1999: > 3500
Total deaths: > 45,000. Coder’s note: “High estimate, civilians and all armed groups included for early years. In July 1999 it was reported that the army had lost 8,402 personnel in the conflict against LTTE since November 1994. In the same period 10,581 LTTE soldiers were killed. It is unclear if all of these are battle-related deaths.”
2000: > 4000. Coder’s note: “The rebel Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) said in November 2000 they had lost 16,333 guerrillas since they launched the war in 1983.
2001: > 1000
Interpretation:

Sources are fairly similar in regard to internal conflict in Sri Lanka, with estimates ranging from 60,000–100,000. SIPRI’s estimate of 60,000 fatalities was used as the basis of the best estimate because it explicitly refers to only combat deaths.

1984:
Best estimate: 1,666 (Based on SIPRI 1988 estimate of 4,500-5,000 fatalities 1983-86. Best estimate 1984-86 totals 5,000)
Low estimate: 500 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules indicate <1,000 deaths per year 1983-1985 but a total of at least 1,000 deaths in the same period. Low estimate totals 1,000 deaths 1984-85)
High estimate: 4,000 (Based on Brogan estimate of up to 16,000 deaths 1983-87. High estimate 1984-87 totals 16,000)

1985:
Best estimate: 1,667 (Based on SIPRI 1988 estimate of 4,500-5,000 fatalities 1983-86. Best estimate 1983-86 totals 5,000)
Low estimate: 500 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules indicate <1,000 deaths per year 1983-1985 but a total of at least 1,000 deaths in the same period. Low estimate totals 1,000 deaths 1984-85)
High estimate: 4,000 (Based on Brogan estimate of up to 16,000 deaths 1983-87. High estimate 1984-87 totals 16,000)

1986:
Best estimate: 1,667 (Based on SIPRI 1988 estimate of 4,500-5,000 fatalities 1983-86. Best estimate 1983-86 totals 5,000)
Low estimate: 850 (Based on total losses through 2000; see below)
High estimate: 4,000 (Based on Brogan estimate of up to 16,000 deaths 1983-87. High estimate 1984-87 totals 16,000)

1987:
Best estimate: 2,000 (SIPRI. Brogan estimates 7,000-16,000 to date; best estimate 1983-1987 totals 7,000)
Low estimate: 850 (Based on total losses through 2001; see below)
High estimate: 4,000 (Based on Brogan estimate of up to 16,000 deaths 1983-87. High estimate 1984-87 totals 16,000)

1988:
Best estimate: 3,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 850 (Based on total losses through 2000; see below)
High estimate: 3,200 (Based on total losses through 2000; see below)
1989:
Best estimate: 5,000 (Leitenberg estimates 15,000 deaths 1983-89. Best estimate totals 15,000 for that period).
Low estimate: 1,500 (Based on total losses through 2000; see below)
High estimate: 5,150 (SIPRI estimates >5,150 for deaths in all conflicts)

1990:
Best estimate: 4,000 (SIPRI estimates >4,000 deaths in all conflicts. However, best estimate of deaths in Sri Lanka’s civil war with JVP in this year is just 25 deaths).
Low estimate: 1,500 (Based on total losses through 2000; see below)
High estimate: 4,800 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)
(Clodfelter estimates >11,000 deaths by August 1990. Low estimate 1983-1990 totals 3,075. Best estimate totals 19,000.)

1991:
Best estimate: 6,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 1,500 (Based on total losses through 2000; see below)
High estimate: 7,100 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)

1992:
Best estimate: 4,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 1,500 (Based on total losses through 2000; see below)
High estimate: 4,800 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)
(UCDP coder’s note estimates 24,000 deaths in all conflicts to date. Low estimate 1983-1992 totals 9,550. Best estimate totals 29,000.)

1993:
Best estimate: 2,000 (SIPRI; UCDP says >2,000)
Low estimate: 1,500 (Based on total losses through 2000; see below)
High estimate: 2,400 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)

1994:
Best estimate: 1,500 (SIPRI; Ploughshares estimates 1,000; UCDP best estimate is 1,000)
Low estimate: 500 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,700 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)

1995:
Best estimate: 5,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 3,000 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 5,900 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)

1996:
Best estimate: 3,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 2,300 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 3,600 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)

1997:
Best estimate: 4,000 (SIPRI; Ploughshares)
Low estimate: 1,500 (Based on total losses through 2000; see below)
High estimate: 4,800 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)

1998:
Best estimate: 4,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 2,000 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 4,800 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)

1999:
Best estimate: 3,500 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 2,000 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 4,100 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate)
(Per UCDP coder’s note: 1994-1999 army claims lost 8,402 and that LTTE lost 10,581. Best estimate 1994-99 totals 21,000)

2000:
Best estimate: 4,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 2,400 (Ploughshares. Per UCDP coder’s note: PTTE says it lost 16,333 fighters since 1983. Combined with coder’s note for 1999 this implies the admitted military losses of the two sides are at least 24,735, a total that does not include civilians or Sri Lankan military fatalities prior to 1994. The low estimate 1983-2000 totals 24,750 and should be considered a very low estimate).

High estimate: 4,800 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 50,000 deaths 1990-2002. Trend based on trend in best estimate).

2001:
Best estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 200 (Ploughshares reports “hundreds’ killed)

Fatalities information for conflict #157, civil war in Tamil areas in 2003-08:

(IISS, 2009):
2003: Estimate < 100
2004: >100
2005: 282
2006: 4,126
2007: 4,500
2008: 11,144

(Ploughshares, 2006):  
2003: 40
2004: >45
2005: > 300, 1/3 were civilians

(South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2006):
2003: 31 civilians, 2 security forces, 26 insurgents = 59
2004: 33 civilians, 7 security forces, 69 insurgents = 109
2005: 153 civilians, 90 security forces, 87 insurgents = 330
2006: 4,126
2007: 4,369
2008: 11,144


(SIPRI, 2005): < 25 in 2004

(UCDP, 2009):
2003: 54
2004: 19
2005: 85. Coder’s note: “It should be noted that there are great difficulties involved in estimating the number of deaths in the conflict between the government and LTTE. This is due, not to poor reporting, but to difficulties in determining who is carrying out the violence. The rebels almost by default deny any involvement in attacks and breaches of the ceasefire. However, as most analysts and country experts deems the LTTE to be the ones responsible, the conflict is coded as active for 2005. The figure given is the sum of all attacks attributed to LTTE not only by news sources but also by analysts and country experts.”

2006: Best and low estimate: 1,970. High: 1,843

**Interpretation:**

2003:
Best and high estimate: 59 (SATP; UCDP estimate is 54)
Low estimate: 40 (Project Ploughshares)

2005:
Best estimate: 109 (SATP; UCDP estimate is 54)
Low estimate: 85 (UCDP)
High estimate: 300 (Project Ploughshares)

2006
Best and high estimate: 4,126 (SATP and IISS)
Low estimate: 1,970 (UCDP)
2007:
Best estimate: 4,369 (SATP)
Low estimate: 1,887 (UCDP)
High estimate: 4,500 (IISS)

2008:
Best and high estimate: 11,144 (SATP and IISS)
Low estimate: 8,396 (UCDP)
Sudan

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Sudan:

<table>
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<th>Territory</th>
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<td>1850</td>
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<td>Anya Nya</td>
<td>Southern Sudan</td>
<td>1963-72</td>
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Fatalities information for conflict #85, civil war in 1963-72:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 400,000 deaths from 1963-72

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1955-72, “civil war:” 750,000 total war-related deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1963-72, “Civil war; UK, Egypt intervene:” 250,000 civilian war-related deaths, 250,000 military war-related deaths, 500,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 115: Estimate 700,000 killed in the first Sudanese civil war (September 1963-March 1972): “many of them civilians killed by government troops in reprisals. Others died from starvation and disease.”

(Stiansen, 2003): Estimates that figures of hundreds of thousands of deaths in this conflict reflect deaths from non-violent causes. The 1963-73 conflict was a low intensity guerilla war, and Stiansen estimated a total battle deaths were perhaps 55,000 deaths, slightly over 5,000 per year.
(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 610-611: “Sudanese government forces … were aided by Egyptian planes and pilots. Their guerrilla opponents never numbered more than 10,000 (that peak strength was reached in December 1971), with maybe 15,000 locally recruited auxiliaries. Only one-third of the Anya-Nya were armed with modern weapons. … The civil war of 16 years cost huge losses; probably at least 400,000 and possibly as many as 500,000 people were killed or died of sickness, malnutrition, and other causes attributable to the war.”

(Morrison et al., 1972):
P. 350: “The south has been in rebellion since 1955. … Combatant deaths for 1963-67 were reported to be over 1,500 although figures as high as 500,000 have recently been cited. The secessionists cannot match the armament of the central government on sabotage and small scale forays. … Some estimates place southern troop strength at 12000; the north is said to have 18,000 troops in the south.”

(Johnson, 2003):
P. 31: “By modern standards, the first years of the war were very modestly conducted. The guerillas were knit together very loosely and had no external military support, arming themselves mainly by theft from police outposts, the occasional ambush of army patrols, or through the defection of South police or soldiers.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events contains accounts of this conflict filed in January and July 1965; September 1966; February and June 1967; October 1968; June and November 1969; December 1970; July 1971; and March 1972. Although the reports are far from complete and perhaps unreliable, they support the impression that the vast majority of those who died were killed through starvation, disease, and one-sided violence: “September 1966… According to a report of Sept. 28, the virtual collapse of administrative services in the Southern provinces had led to widespread famine and disease, including more than 60,000 cases of sleeping sickness and similar diseases.” The highest count of battle fatalities from a specific incident is 400. 1965 has the highest number of total fatalities claimed by each side, summing to a total of 3,001 killed. Major engagements are reported in the press in 1964-8.

Interpretation:

There is no total estimate available for this conflict that records battle deaths separately from the massive starvation and disease incurred. However, the secondary literature does agree with Stiansen’s estimate of this conflict as a guerilla conflict of low to medium intensity, with Anya Nya having fairly limited weaponry and command structure. Keesing’s reports support relatively low numbers of combat related deaths in
comparison to those related to the collapse of humanitarian infrastructure and resulting disease and starvation. Therefore, casualty figures in the hundreds of thousands are probably better estimates for war-related deaths than for battle deaths.

Estimated:
Low estimate: 10,000 battle deaths or 1,000 battle deaths per year (Minimum per UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 55,000 battle deaths (Stiansen)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #113, counter-coup in 1971:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“August 1971 – SUDAN … Major Hashem el Atta (35) … who had been removed from the Revolutionary Command Council and the Government in November 1970, was on July 19 reported by Cairo Radio to have seized power. … Major-General al Nemery’s return to power was announced late on July 22 … General al Nemery announced the same day that of the soldiers loyal to his regime … 16 officers and 14 NCOs had been killed. Later he stated that a total of 38 persons had been killed and 119 wounded during the counter-coup.”

Interpretation:
Although the government statements in Keesing’s may not be reliable, they are the only available information. Best estimate of 38 deaths. Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #113, attempted coup in 1976:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“August 1976 - SUDAN … An attempt was made on July 2, 1976, to overthrow by force the Government of President Nemery of the Sudan; it was, however, suppressed by loyal troops, although with considerable loss of life and damage to property in Khartoum, the country’s capital. … It was announced on the same day that 300 people had been killed and another 300 wounded in the fighting…”

Interpretation:
Best estimate of 300 deaths based on government reports, which are of doubtful accuracy. Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
Fatalities information for conflict #113, civil war in southern Sudan in 1983-2002:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #717, “Sudan vs. SPLA-Garang Faction” 1983-ongoing: 1,300,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.

(IISS, 2003): Estimate more than 55,000 combat fatalities 1983-2002

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1984-95, “Civil war; south vs. Government:” 146,000 civilian war-related deaths, 40,000 military war-related deaths, 1,500,000 total war-related deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1983-90, “civil war” 500,000 civilian, 10,000 military and 510,000 total war-related deaths.
1990-95, “civil war,” 500,000 total war-related deaths. 1995-2000 “civil war” 1 million war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 104: “second civil war (1983–): 600,000 people are reported dead so far, including 250,000 of starvation in 1988.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 211: “Fighting erupted again in January 1990…Beset by droughts and famines that had claimed the lives of close to 300,000 people … Deaths have been estimated at 1.5 million – many of war-induced famine and disease…”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 611: “Civil war in the south resumed in 1983…contributed to a famine in 1988 that killed up to 250,000 people…The second civil war had cost up to 150,000 lives by 1990 (not including the famine deaths of 1988). By mid-1999 an estimated 1.9 million people had died in the Sudan from all causes associated from the civil conflict since 1955.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“The conflict in Sudan has caused the death of an estimated 2 million people, directly or indirectly, since 1983.”

Annual estimates:
2002: “Unconfirmed reports suggested that by October at least 1,300 people, both civilians and combatants, had been killed as a direct result of the fighting. Thousands more civilians died from war-related famine and disease.”
2001: “According to media reports and press releases from both government and rebel forces, over 1,500 combatants were killed due to the fighting. As well, the war and widespread famine caused the deaths of thousands of Sudanese civilians.”

2000: “Hundreds of people were reported killed in the fighting.”

1999: “While death figures for 1999 were not available, many observers believe there were fewer deaths than in the previous year.”

1998: “At least 70,000 deaths were reported from the war-induced famine in the first half of the year, with a significant, though unknown, number of deaths stemming directly from the conflict. Most conflict deaths in 1998 were civilian.”

SIPRI Yearbook:

(Goose, 1987): Govt. vs. SPLA since 1983. Fatalities: 3,000


(Heldt, Wallensteen and Nordquist, 1992): Govt. vs. SPLA/SPLM (Garang faction) since 1983, vs. SPLA/SPLM (Nazir faction) since 1991. Deaths including 1991: >36,000. During 1991: 3,000-5,000, military. Note saying that most deaths occurred in intra SPLA fighting.

(Amer et al., 1993): Govt. vs. SPLA (Torit faction) since 1983, vs. SPLA (Nazir faction) since 1991. Deaths to 1991: 37,000-40,000 military.

(Wallensteen and Axell, 1994): Govt. vs. SPLA (Garang faction) since 1983. Deaths to 1991: 37,000-40,000 military.

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1995): Govt. vs. SPLA (Garang faction) since 1983. Deaths to 1991: 37,000-40,000 military.

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1996): Govt. vs. SPLA (Garang faction) since 1983. Deaths to 1991: 37,000–40,000 military. Deaths in 1995: c. 1,000.
(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1997): Govt. vs. SPLA (Garang faction) since 1983. Deaths to 1991: 37,000–40,000 military. Deaths in 1996: > 2,000.

(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1998): Govt. vs. SPLA (Garang faction) since 1983. Deaths to 1991: 37,000–40,000 military. Deaths in 1997: > 5,000.


(UCDP, 2009):
1989: >1,000 deaths. Estimate >32,000 total deaths. Coder’s note on total deaths: “An estimated low. The figure is probably larger.”
1990: >1,000
1991: >1,000
1992: >1,000
1993: 500. Coder’s note: “Number of deaths is uncertain for this year but the best available estimate suggest around 500 people died.”
1994: 500. Coder’s note: “Number of deaths is uncertain for this year but the best available estimate suggest around 500 people died.”
1995: >1,000
1996: >2,000. Coder’s note: “In 1996 SAF, NDA and SPLM/A were all active in fighting against the government of Sudan. However, the vast majority of the battle-related deaths occurred in clashes between SPLM/A and the Government of Sudan.”
1997: 1,286
1998: 2,828. Coder’s note: “Of this battle related deaths 2391 was related to SPLM/A fighting, 238 to NDA fighting and 199 to SAF fighting the government.”
1999: 1,053. Coder’s note: “Best estimate: 1053; Low estimate: 1053; High estimate: 1986. The difference between the Best and high estimate is due to contested figure in some incidents including the SPLM/A. Most of the fighting taking place in 1999 involved SPLM/A. However, the difference between SPLM/A and the other active groups were not that extensive as in previous years.”

2000: 2,150. Coder’s note: “In the year of 2000 there were 2150 battle-related deaths in the civil war in Sudan. The vast majority (1793) of these deaths were from fighting between SPLM/A and the government. But there were also significant fighting between the government and NDA resulting in 222 battle-related deaths. The remaining 135 battle-related deaths comes from fighting where it was either jointly attacks by the SPLM/A and NDA or it was not clear which of the organisations it was that conducted the attacks. These battle-related deaths are counted as NDA deaths since they most likely were under NDA command.”

2001: 2,834
2002: 2,021. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 2021; Best estimate: 2021; High estimate: 3021. The difference between the Best and high estimate is due to an incident where SPLM/A claim a much higher casualty number than the government. Moreover, the government also said that the clash started with a militia and not ordinary governmental troops.”

*Interpretation:*

SIPRI and IISS are the only sources that estimate combat deaths apart from starvation and disease.

1983-91:
Best estimate: 37,000 (SIPRI; no trend coded.)
Low estimate of 1,000 deaths per year from UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
High estimate: 135,000 (Clodfelter estimates 150,000 deaths up to 1990 not including famine deaths in 1988 but probably including non-violent deaths in other years)

1992:
Best estimate: 2,000 (Based on IISS estimate of 55,000 combat deaths 1983-2002)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 15,000 (High estimate totals 150,000 for 1983-1992, based on figures in Clodfelter)

1993:
Best estimate: 500 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
1994:
Best estimate: 500 (UCDP)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

1995:
Best and low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,000 (SIPRI estimates c. 1,000 deaths, implying less than 2,000 deaths. High estimate set to 2,000 deaths)

1996:
Best and low estimate: 2,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 9,999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1997:
Best estimate: 1,286 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 5,000 (SIPRI)

1998:
Best estimate: 2,828 (UCDP; SIPRI estimates 2,500)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 9,999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1999:
Best and low estimate: 1,053 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,986 (UCDP coder’s note)

2000:
Best and high estimate: 2,150 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI; Ploughshares estimates “hundreds’ killed)

2001:
Best and high estimate: 2,834 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 1,500 (Project Ploughshares)

2002:
Low estimate: 1,300 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 3,021 (UCDP)

Fatalities information for conflict #113, civil conflict in Sudan 2003–08:

Information for conflict against SPLA/M, 2003-04:

(IISS, 2006):
2003: Estimate more than 1000 fatalities during 2003. “Government forces and members of the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) were responsible for virtually all of these deaths.”
2004: >200

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: “According to unconfirmed media reports, as few as thirty and as many as one hundred people were killed as a direct result of the conflict between the SPLM/A and the government, marking a significant decline from the previous few years.”
2004: “Unconfirmed reports estimated over 600 civilians were killed in conflict.” “Isaac Kenyi, the executive secretary of the Sudan Catholic Bishops’ Conference, undertook a fact-finding mission to the area and estimates that as many as 625 civilians have been killed by the fighting this year and 100,000 forcibly displaced.”

(Africa Confidential, 2003): hundreds of deaths in Western and Eastern Upper Nile during 2003

(Human Rights Watch, 2004): In 2003 “Fighting between the SPLA and southern militias, however, continues in Western Upper Nile/Unity State as well as in other parts of Upper Nile where the Nuer ethnic group (the mainstay of these militias) mostly live. The fighting has resulted in civilians killed and injured, and deprived of humanitarian assistance, although these conflicts are not reported to the CPMT by either the government (which backs the militias) or the SPLM/A.”
In 2003 “A cease-fire was in force between the government and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) throughout the year. However, in January and February government-sponsored militias attacked and burned villages and killed scores of civilians in oil-rich areas.”

(SIPRI, 2004):
2003: Estimate 2275 casualties in the various Sudanese conflicts
2004: >200. Notes this is an increase over 2003.

(IRIN, 2004c): 50 killed in SPLM/A and pro-government southern militias clashes (February 3, 2004); at least 3 killed in SPLM/A and pro-government southern militias clashes (November 9, 2004)

(Amnesty International, 2007): “In May [2004], hundreds of Shilluk people were killed in Upper Nile and more than 60,000 were reportedly displaced after attacks by government-supported militias.”

(UCDP, 2009): The Uppsala Conflict Database does not track the conflict in Southern Sudan separately from that elsewhere in the country. However, they provided the authors with their low (253), high (367), and best (253) estimates for conflict in Southern Sudan in 2004.

Information for conflict in Darfur (SLM/A, JEM), 2003-08:

(IISS, 2006):
2003: “…a high number of fatalities towards the end of 2003. Due to the lack of international monitors and difficult humanitarian access conditions, however, most fatalities go unreported ... Between 23 and 28 November, Arab militias burned down three villages, killing 24 people. The SLA and the Justice and Equality Movement retaliated by killing 186 militia members. On 18 February, Arab militias massacred 81 civilians near Shatatya.” Individual reports of 656 fatalities. Estimate more than 190,500 fatalities 2003-2006.
2004: >50,000
2005: 500
2006: 987
2007: 1,289
2008: 1,014

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: Estimate 5,000 fatalities in 2003, mostly civilians.
2004: At least 350 people killed by fighting in 2004.
2005: Estimate over 1000 fatalities. “The U.N. report, prepared by Jan Pronk, Annan’s special envoy in Sudan, said the number of confirmed deaths due to violence has not exceeded 100 a month since January when the figure was 300-350 people.” Project Ploughshares cites Evelyn Leopold, Reuters, July 20, 2005.

(International Crisis Group, 2003b): estimate 3,000 unarmed civilians dead in 2003

(IRIN, 2003b): 100’s of civilians killed in 2003

(US State Department Human Rights Report, 2003): As many as 3,000 civilians killed in 2003


(US State Department Human Rights Report, 2005): “The World Health Organization reported [in 2005] that, as a result of the conflict, at least 70 thousand civilians had died, more than 1.9 million civilians were internally displaced, and an estimated 210 thousand refugees fled to neighboring Chad since the start of the Darfur conflict.”

(Amnesty International Annual Reports, 2004): Hundreds of deaths in 2003. By the end of 2004 “An estimated 30,000 people have been killed, thousands of women have been raped, at least 130,000 people are now living as refugees on the Chad border or in camps in Chad.”

(Bloodhound, 2006): More than 3,200 reported killings in 2003, estimating 57,000 – 128,000 civilian casualties from April 2003 to September 2005

(Bloodhound, 2006): Estimate 57,000 – 128,000 people killed during attacks on villages throughout Darfur by Janjaweed and government forces from April 2003 to September 2005, excluding indirect deaths. Have more than 2,400 reported killings of civilians

(SIPRI, 2004): Estimate 2,275 casualties for the various conflicts in the Sudan in 2003. Notes also that the conflict in the West “has caused a total of approximately 3,000 deaths.”

(SIPRI, 2005): Estimate up to 3,000 casualties in 2004. Since February 2003 over 70,000 killed, some sources estimate at least 200,000.
(SIPRI, 2005): Estimate up to 500 casualties in 2005. Since 2003 at least 200,000 killed. Since the creation of AMIS in June 2004 there have been over 700 deaths.

(UCDP, 2009):
2008: Best and low estimate: 588. High estimate: 1,466

Interpretation:

2003:
Southern Sudan:
Best estimate: 100 (Based on high estimate in Ploughshares. SIPRI estimates <200 deaths in 2003)
Low estimate: 30 (Ploughshares)
High estimate: 1,000 (IISS)

Darfur:
Best estimate: 2,275 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 656 (IISS)
High estimate: 5,000 (Project Ploughshares)

Total:
Best estimate: 2,375
Low estimate: 686
High estimate: 6,000

2004:
Southern Sudan:
Best estimate: 253 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 200 (IISS, SIPRI)
High estimate: 625 (Ploughshares)
Darfur:
Best and high estimate: 3,000 (SIPRI; killings of unarmed civilians are not battle deaths)
Low estimate: 350 (Project Ploughshares)

Total:
Best estimate: 603
Low estimate: 550
High estimate: 3,625

2005:
Low estimate: 161 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2006:
Low estimate: 987 (IISS)
High estimate: 2,718 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

2007:
Low estimate: 217 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,289 (IISS)
No best estimate.

2008:
Low estimate: 588 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,466 (UCDP)
No best estimate.

Users interested in estimates of total mortality and one-sided violence in Darfur should consult Guha-Sapir and Degomme (2005a,b) for a review and analysis of epidemiological work on Darfur.
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in the Suez:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>1420</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>1951–52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>1550</td>
<td>Israel, United Kingdom, France</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1956</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #42, conflict between Egypt and UK in 1951–52:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003): MID #7 estimates 26–100 Egyptian deaths and 1–25 UK deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 25 British soldiers and 1,000 Egyptians killed 1951-1956

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 633: “On January 25, 1952, ... 41 Egyptians were killed...British casualties were 9 killed...The next day a mob retaliated in Cairo by attacking restaurants, hotels, and clubs frequented by British citizens. Before the riot had burned itself out, 17 Europeans and at least 50 Egyptians were slain. ... hostilities against the base [ended] in 1954, after 54 British servicemen had died in the skirmishes along its perimeter.”

Keesing’s Record of World Events contains reports on the conflict filed on Oct. 20-27, 1951; January 5-12, 1952; February 2-9, 1952; March 22-29, 1952; June 14-21, 1952. These give a day-by-day timeline of events in the Canal zone. Summing these incidents gives a battle deaths total of 94 dead in 1951, and 89 deaths in 1952. These reports do not always include a full account of Egyptian casualties. There are also additional reported deaths due to unorganized violence, especially rioting.

Interpretation:

The Keesing’s data is the most complete reckoning of deaths in the Suez available in the time frame of interest.

1951:
Best estimate: 94 (Keesing’s)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.
1952:
Best estimate: 89 (Keesing’s)
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #55, conflict between Israel, the UK, and France against Egypt in 1956:

Correlates of War Project (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #157, “sinai” 1956: 3,000 Egyptian, 10 French, 189 Israeli, and 22 British deaths. Totals 3,221.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1956, “suez; Israel, France, UK invade:” 1,000 civilian war-related deaths, 3,000 military war-related deaths, 4,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):”More than six thousand military personnel were killed during the conflict including twenty British and ten French soldiers.”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 645: Estimates 10,000 killed
P. 312: Occupation of the Suez included Israeli killing of 275 civilians at Khan Younis and 111 Palestinians in a refugee camp at Rafah.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 633–634: “Total Egyptian losses in the Sinai were 1,000 killed … Israeli losses in the Sinai were 189 killed…The British lose 22 KIA… the French lost 10 KIA… At least 921 Egyptians perished in the allied air bombardment or in the fighting against the Anglo-French invasion force. … While occupying the Gaza Strip, Israeli troops had panicked in the face of Palestinian mob protests and had killed 275 people at Khan Younis on November 3 and 111 at Rafah on November 12.”
(Totals 2,142 combat-deaths)

(Dupuy, 1984):
P. 212: provides table with approximate ground force strength of all sides as well as “Estimated Losses, Suez-Sinai Campaign, 1956,” including KIA, WIA and captured/missing.
Estimates Egypt lost 1,000 KIA in conflict with Israel and 650 KIA in conflict with Allies.
Estimates Israel lost 189 KIA.
Britain: 16 KIA
France: 10 KIA.
Total for all military deaths: 1,865

*Interpretation:*

Most sources are consistent on Israeli, British and French KIA. Estimates of Egyptian fatalities range from COW’s high estimate of 3,000 deaths to low estimates of 1,650 (Dupuy) and 1,921 (Clodfelter). The low estimates were preferred because they come from the sources that also give the most detail regarding the military history of the conflict. Clodfelter’s estimate was treated as the best estimate because Dupuy seems to be excluding civilian deaths. The deaths in Palestinian refugee camps reported by Clodfelter are considered one-sided violence.

Best estimate: 2,142 (189 Israeli KIA (Dupuy, Clodfelter, COW) + 22 British KIA (Clodfelter, COW) + 10 French KIA (Dupuy, Clodfelter, COW) + 1,921 Egyptian KIA (Clodfelter))
Low estimate: 1,865 (189 Israeli KIA (Dupuy, Clodfelter, COW) + 16 British KIA (Dupuy) + 10 French KIA (Dupuy, Clodfelter, COW) + 1,650 Egyptian KIA (Dupuy))
High estimate: 3,000 (COW)
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Suriname:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>2630</td>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>SLA/Jungle Commando</td>
<td>1986-88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #162, civil conflict in 1986–88:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 228: “The fighting ceased by December 1992 … several hundred people were killed during the fighting.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events reports on this conflict in February 1987, March 1988, and August 1992. The reports are not complete, but they suggest a very small scale conflict. The size of the guerilla force is estimated at 100–300. The largest death toll claimed by either side for a single incident is 40 killed. By 30 October 1987 the government estimated its losses at 35 killed. There were reports that several hundred people had been killed in one-sided violence by the military, however.

Interpretation:
Best estimate of 200 battle deaths coded without a trend. Based on Bercovitch and Jackson’s estimate of “several” hundred deaths and supported by the relatively small numbers of people killed in the individual engagements reported by Keesing’s.
Low estimate of 25 deaths per year and high estimate of 999 deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
Syria

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Syria:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>Muslim Brotherhood</td>
<td>1979-82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #102, coup in 1966:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“March 1966 - SYRIA … It was officially stated that 41 people had been killed in the fighting and 95 wounded; unofficial reports, however, put the number of killed at several hundred, describing the coup as the bloodiest in recent Syrian history.”

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 200 (Unofficial reports of “several” hundred deaths)
Low estimate: 41 deaths (Official figure)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #102, conflict with the Muslim Brotherhood in 1979–82:

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1981 [sic], “government massacre of Muslim Brotherhood at Hamah:” 10,000 civilian and total war-related deaths.

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1981-82, “Govt massacres conservatives, Muslims:” 20,000 civilian war-related deaths, military war-related deaths not available, 20,000 total war-related deaths
Estimates Hama democide and battle-dead separately (low, middle and high estimates). It is unclear whether democide is defined as deaths of civilians, or as executions, but the magnitude of the figures suggests that democide includes all civilian deaths (including combat-related civilian deaths).

**Battle-dead:** 1,500 (low), 5,000 (middle), 8,000 (high).

**Democide:** 1,500 (low), 10,000 (middle), 23,000 (high).

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**Brogan, 1998:**

P. 369: “...on 16 June 1979, Captain Ibrahim al-Yussuf, a Ba’ath party political officer and a Sunni Muslim, assembled the cadets of the Aleppo Artillery School ... killing 60 of them (some sources put the number at 32).”

P. 370: “By the end of [1980], at least 1,000 people had been executed. ... In April 1981, after an attempt on the life of President Assad, another 200-300 men were publicly executed in Hama ... another 150 officials were murdered that year. In February 1982, the Brotherhood took control of Hama ... between 2,000 (the official figure) and 20,000 people were killed...”

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**Clodfelter, 2002:**

P. 650: “The Brotherhood’s first major strike against the Alawite government occurred on June 16, 1979, when 60 unarmed artillery cadets were gunned to death ... in 1980 and 1981 ... some 300 political murders occurred and the government executed at least 1,000 people ...”

P. 650: “The violence culminated ... in February 1982 in the city of Hama. ... At least 3,000 people were killed, and possibly as many as 20,000, including 1,000 government troops.”

**Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):**

“July 1982 ... an armed insurrection in the city of Hama in February 1982. ... The Economist (May 15) stated that in that time most of the old part of the city had been bulldozed flat. The article also stated that estimates of the total casualties reached over 30,000; figures were hard to verify, however, as during the fighting many bodies had lain in the streets unburied and also as inhabitants had been buried in the rubble when their homes were bombarded.”

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**SIPRI Yearbooks:**

(Goose, 1987):

Government vs. Sunni rebels, anti-government rebels since 1976. Total deaths: >6,000-26,000.

Note reads: “Main armed opposition to government has come from Islamic fundamentalist groups, most notably Sunni rebels known as Muslim Brotherhood. ... Disaffection with the Assad regime erupted into warfare in 1976; fighting climaxed with destruction of town of Hamah - a
suspected Muslim Brotherhood stronghold - in Feb. 1982, resulting in 5,000-25,000 deaths. Support for President Assad after Israel’s invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 halted most fighting until spring 1986, when a new wave of bombings and assassinations occurred.”
(SIPRI seems to have estimated that roughly 1,000 deaths occurred before February 1982)

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988):
Note reads: “A new wave of bombings and assassinations occurred in 1986. Armed opposition also from pro-Iraqi Ba”athists and Palestinians. After a relatively high death toll (400) in 1986, armed opposition was mainly extra-territorial in 1987, aimed at individual diplomats and Syrian property abroad.”

*Interpretation:*
Most deaths in this conflict were described as executions, massacres, or murders. It is highly unclear what should be counted as a battle deaths estimate and what refers to one-sided violence.

1979-81:
Low estimate of 25 battle deaths per year and high estimate of 999 battle deaths per year based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

1982:
Low estimate: 2,000 (Official estimate of deaths given in Brogan)
High estimate: 25,000 (SIPRI 1987 maximum estimate; multiple sources give a maximum estimate in this range)
No best estimate.
Tajikistan

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Tajikistan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>3020</td>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>UTO</td>
<td>1992-96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>3020</td>
<td>Tajikistan</td>
<td>Movement for Peace in Tajikistan</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #200, civil war in 1992–96 and 1998:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #740, “Tadzhikistan vs. Popular Democratic Army” 1992–97: 20,000 state deaths out of 50,000 total deaths.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 35,000 deaths


(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): “The fighting was intense, and as many as fifty thousand people are thought to have been killed in the conflict.”

(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
“The war is estimated to have killed about 50,000 people, most of them in 1992.”

Annual estimates:
1999: “several people were killed in conflict violence during the year, but independent figures were not available.”
1998: “The number of deaths in 1998, estimated at 70-100, was low compared to casualty figures in the early years of the conflict.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:


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(UCDP, 2009):
1992: 4,000. Coder’s note: “Estimates of the number of battle-related deaths in 1992 range between 4000 and 30 000. The number of battle-related deaths is therefore likely to be at least 4000. It is unclear whether this figure contains battle related deaths only, or if other deaths are included as well.”
1993: >16,000. Coder’s note: “Estimates of the number of battle-related deaths in 1993 range between 16 000 and 20 000. The number of battle-related deaths is therefore likely to be at least 16 000. It is unclear whether this figure includes battle related deaths only, or if other deaths are included as well.”
1994: >25. Coder’s note: “The number of battle related deaths for 1994 is unknown but is likely to have decreased significantly compared to 1993. The conflict remained active, however. It is unclear whether this figure includes battle related deaths only, or if other deaths are included as well.”
1995: >500. Coder’s note: “It is unclear whether this figure includes battle-related deaths only, or if other deaths are included as well.”
1996: >300. Coder’s note: “It is unclear whether this figure includes battle related deaths only, or if other deaths are included as well.”
1997: <25
1998: >114. Coder’s note: “During 1998 the original dyad in the Tajikistan conflict, i.e. government of Tajikistan vs. the UTO did not reach the 25 battle related deaths threshold. However, a new party called the Movement for Peace in Tajikistan made its appearance during 1998, and the fighting between them and the government of Tajikistan left at least 114, but probably more than 200, soldiers and rebels dead.”

Interpretation:
1992:
Best estimate: 10,000 (Based on estimate of 30,000 total battle deaths, from Clodfelter and Brogan)
Low estimate: 4,000 (UCDP Coder’s note)
High estimate: 30,000 (UCDP Coder’s note)

1993:
Best and low estimate: 16,000 (UCDP Coder’s note)
High estimate: 20,000 (UCDP Coder’s note)

1994:
Best estimate: 3,200 (Based on estimate of 30,000 total battle deaths)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP)
High estimate: 3,333 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 60,000 total deaths; COW estimates 50,000 total deaths)

1995:
Best and low estimate: 500 (UCDP; SIPRI)
High estimate: 3,333 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 60,000 total deaths)

1996:
High estimate: 3,334 (Based on Leitenberg estimate of 60,000 total deaths. High estimate 1992-96 totals 60,000)

1998:
Best estimate: 200 (UCDP coder’s note)
High estimate: 560 (IISS)
Low estimate: 70 (Project Ploughshares)
Thailand

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Thailand:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>1430</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Military faction (Navy)</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>1430</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>CPT</td>
<td>1974-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>Patani insurgents</td>
<td>2003-08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: No reports of violent deaths in the coup in 1951 were found.

Fatalities information for conflict #43, coup in 1951:

(OnWar.com, 1999):
“In November 1951, military and police officers announced in a radiobroadcast that the 1949 constitution was suspended by the government and that the 1932 constitution was in force. The reason given for restoring a unicameral parliament with half its membership appointed by the government was the danger of communist aggression. Shortly after the government-engineered coup, King Bhumibol Adulyadej was called back to Thailand…”

Keesing’s Record of World Events:
“December 1951… A military coup d’"état was carried out in Bangkok on Nov. 29 - three days before the return from Europe of King Rama IX - by a group of high-ranking Army, Navy, and Air Force officers, who overthrew the Government, dissolved Parliament, and appointed a Provisional Executive Council…”

Interpretation:
No reported violence in the sources identified. Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and a high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules. No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #43, conflict with the CPT in 1974-82:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
By 1967 some 1,300 rebels were assassinating or abducting government officials at a monthly rate of 20. … In 1968 government fighter-bombers began a bombing and strafing campaign … Thai government casualties for 1969 were 300 killed and 500 wounded. In 1970 they totaled 450 killed and 500 wounded. In the next year … Thai government losses included 500 killed. … The government lost over 700 killed in 1972. … In October 1973 the military government ruling Thailand was kicked out of power … decreased the military pressure on the guerrillas … However, on October 6, 1976, the military again took power. … In 1980, an upsurge of hostilities accounted for the deaths of 502 soldiers and loyal civilians and 310 guerrillas. The insurgency waned during the 1980s…”

April 1969 … Formed on Jan. 1, 1965, the Front, according to statements by its spokesmen in China, first went into action on Aug. 7 of the same year … Chinese sources claimed that by the middle of January 1969 the guerrillas had killed about 300 Government troops and police…”

1974: Guerillas claim >40 of their forces killed in October and November
1975: No information
1976: 100 reported killed in specific incidents
1977: 107 deaths reported in specific incidents. Guerillas claim 1,475 security forces killed in the year following the Oct. 1976 coup.
1978: No information
1979: Government reports 544 civilians and loyalists killed in 1979, the lowest total in 4 years
1980: Thai government reports 822 killed
1981: Government claims 300 guerrillas killed. 15 government security personnel reported killed in November
1982: 47 deaths reported in specific incidents

(Goose, 1987): Govt. vs. CPT since 1965, separatist rebels, roughly 100 killed per year.

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988): Govt. vs. CPT, CPM, PULO, Viet Nam, <100 deaths yearly.

*Interpretation:*

Coding of this conflict should begin at least in 1970, possibly earlier. Also, the COW figure of 1,650 state deaths from 1970–73 is equal to Clodfelter's estimates of government losses in the same three years.

1974:
Low estimate: 40 (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1975:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1976:
Low estimate: 544 (In 1979, the Thai government reported that at least 544 loyalists and soldiers were killed each year from 1976-79)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1977:
Low estimate: 544 (In 1979, the Thai government reported that at least 544 loyalists and soldiers were killed each year from 1976-79)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

1978:
Low estimate: 544 (In 1979, the Thai government reported that at least 544 loyalists and soldiers were killed each year from 1976-79)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.
1979:  
Low estimate: 544 (In 1979, the Thai government reported that at least 544 loyalists and soldiers were killed each year from 1976-79)  
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)  
No best estimate.

1980:  
Best and high estimate: 822 (Thai government report in Keesing’s)  
Low estimate: 812 (Clodfelter)

1981:  
Low estimate: 315 (Keesing’s)  
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)  
No best estimate.

1982:  
Low estimate: 47 (Keesing’s)  
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)  
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #248, conflict with Patani insurgents in 2003-2008:

(UCDP, 2009):  
2003: 27. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 26, High estimate: 28. Occasional attacks on police posts occurred throughout the year. In 2002, these attacks led to around 20 battle-related deaths but this escalated somewhat in 2003. Most of the attacks seemed intent to capture weapons from the police.”  
2004: 164. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 162. High estimate: 170. The estimate given above is only counting battle-related deaths. Both sides in the conflict also attacked civilians, so called one-sided violence, throughout the year.”  
2005: 205. Coder’s note: “Low estimate: 202. High estimate: 212. The estimate given above is not counting deliberate targeting of civilians, or one-sided violence, which was rampant in the region throughout 2005. At the same time, due to the difficulty of identifying a specific organisation to the attacks, it is possible that some violence by non-insurgent related actors may be included in the estimate above.”  

(IISS, 2006):
2003: Not recorded as active
2004: 500
2005: 580
2006: 278
2007: 452
2008: 230

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2005: > 1,000

(The Nation, 2004): 250 killed since beginning of 2004 (August 4, 2004); 184 killed protesting against arrest of villagers suspected of collaborating with Islamic militants (October 27, 2004)

(Wall Street Journal, 2004): 240 government officials and security personnel killed in hit-run-assaults and more than 375 people have been killed in sectarian violence (October 22, 2004)

(Agence France Presse, 2005): Unrest has left at least 570 dead (January 26, 2005). Time period of this estimate is unclear.

Interpretation:

2003:
Best estimate: 27 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 26 (UCDP coder’s note)
High estimate: 28 (UCDP; IISS codes conflict as entirely inactive)

2004:
In 2004 and 2005, Uppsala’s low estimates seem to be the result of excluding attacks against civilians. Because a broader range of attacks on civilians are considered battle deaths in this dataset, as compared to UCDP, figures from IISS were used as best estimates.
Best and high estimate: 500 (IISS; corresponds to reports in The Nation and WSJ)
Low estimate: 164 (UCDP)

2004:
Best estimate: 580 (IISS)
Low estimate: 205 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,000 (Project Ploughshares)

2005:
Best and high estimate: 580 (IISS)
Low estimate: 205 (UCDP)

2006:
Best and high estimate: 278 (IISS)
Low estimate: 218 (UCDP)

2007:
Best and high estimate: 452 (IISS)
Low estimate: 206 (UCDP)

2008:
Best and high estimate: 230 (IISS)
Low estimate: 131 (UCDP)
Togo

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Togo:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>2640</td>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>MTD</td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>2640</td>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #163, attempted coup in 1986:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 30 killed

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“May 1987 … An attempted coup against the government of President Gnassingbe Eyadema carried out on Sept. 23-34, 1986, by a well-armed “terrorist commando unit,” was defeated by Togolese security forces after a night of fighting. …The official death toll was given as 26, but many residents of Lome, the Togolese capital, reported it as being substantially higher.”

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 30 deaths (Bercovitch and Jackson)
Low estimate: 26 deaths (Official figure given in Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules; Keesing’s report suggests deaths may have been much higher than acknowledged in official reports)

Fatalities information for conflict #163, coup in 1991:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“December 1991 - TOGO … Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh was seized by rebel soldiers on Dec. 3 after an attack on his residence in which at least 17 people were killed. The action was the latest in a series of attempts by sections of the military to unseat the transitional government appointed by the national conference in August.”
(UCDP, 2009): 42 – 59 deaths estimated. Coder’s note: “One report speaks about more than 300 deaths in the coup attempt on 28 November and another report mentions more than 50 deaths in the military putsch on 3 December 1991. This adds a bit more than 300 dead to what has generally been reported.”

**Interpretation:**

Low estimate: 42 (UCDP minimum estimate)
High estimate: 350 (UCDP coder’s note)
No best estimate.
Trinidad and Tobago

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Trinidad and Tobago:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>2850</td>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>Jamaat al-Muslimeen</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #183, attempted coup in 1990:

(OnWar.com, 1999):
“In late July 1990, some 120 members of the militant Jamaat al-Muslimeen … attempted to overthrow the government of Trinidad and Tobago … At least 30 persons died in the fighting and looting during the rebellion, which drew little popular support and ended five days later on August 1, 1990.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“July 1990 … Members of the Jamaat al Muslimeen, a militant black Moslem sect, staged an unsuccessful coup attempt on July 27 against the government of Prime Minister Arthur Robinson. In the five days of violence which resulted official estimates suggested that at least 30 people died (including one MP) and several hundred were injured.”

(UCDP, 2009): Estimate at least 30 deaths.

Interpretation:
Best and low estimate: 30
High estimate of 999 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Tunisia:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>1480</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>National Liberation Army</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>1953-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>1750</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>Bizerte</td>
<td>1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>2490</td>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>Résistance Armée Tunisienne</td>
<td></td>
<td>1980</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #48, Tunisian war of independence against France 1953–56:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 2,000 killed

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1952-54, “Independence from France:” 3,000 civilian war-related deaths, military war-related deaths not available, 3,000 total war-related deaths

(Clayton, 1988, 162–165): “In an eight-day amnesty period, 1 to December 1954, 2,514 insurgents surrendered including the two largest groups, a total estimated at 90 per cent of those involved; 1,958 weapons were also handed in.”

(Clayton, 1994):
P. 90: French forces arrived progressively in the summer and early autumn of 1954
P. 91: “The Declaration of Carthage (in May 1954) briefly eased tension, and, as a carrot, in time encouraged others to surrender; an effective goad was the high French kill rate - more than 250 with 200 weapons recovered.”
P. 92: “The total casualties from 1 May to 1 November 1954 were 80 civilians and 34 soldiers or police killed…The total of insurgents killed was 147.”
P. 92-93: “Violence returned to the country in January 1956. … Some 200 insurgents were killed, as were four French soldiers and a small number of civilians…”

(715 deaths mentioned explicitly, other periods of violence recounted as well but without fatality figures)
Interpretation:

Best estimate: 2,000 (Bercovitch and Jackson. Plausible based on information in Clayton)
Low estimate: 715 (Clayton)
High estimate: 3,000 (COW)

These estimates were trended based on information in Clayton.

Fatalities information for conflict #75, conflict between Tunisia and France in 1961:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 1,000 killed

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 611: “While the French lost only 24 KIA and 100 WIA, the Tunisians lost 1,370 killed, some 700 of whom were civilians, and 2,200 wounded.”

Interpretation:

Clodfelter and Bercovitch and Jackson are quite consistent and support the Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.
Best and high estimate: 1,394 deaths (Clodfelter; gives most detailed breakdown of deaths)
Low estimate: 1,000 deaths (Bercovitch and Jackson; UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #148, civil conflict in 1980:

(Clodfelter, 2002, 616): “Libya also had border dust-ups with Tunisia. The most serious incident occurred on January 27, 1980, when 50 Libyan commandos raided the Tunisian town of Gafsa, killing 41 people.”

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 74: “...27 January 1980, a raid was mounted against Gafsa in southern Tunisia, carried out by 50 commandos, either Libyans or exiled Tunisians trained in Libya. The raiders came over the border from Algeria and attacked the police station, an army barracks, and a militia barracks, killing 41 people, mostly military men; then they escaped back to Libya. … there was no repeat of the raid.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“May 1980 – TUNISIA … A statement issued on Jan.30 by the then Tunisian Interior Minister, Mr Othman Kecherid … gave the casualties resulting from the fighting on Jan.27 as 41 dead … (Whereas the Tunisian authorities claimed to be in full control of the situation by Jan.28, press reports suggested that sporadic fighting had continued for several days in the hills around Gafsa, that as many as 300 insurgents had been involved and that the final casualty toll was considerably higher than the official Tunisian figures indicated.)”

Interpretation:
In this case, the official casualty figure seems to have been repeated in secondary sources, although press reports imply that the official report might have been misinformation.
Low estimate: 41 deaths (Official casualty figure)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.
Turkey

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Turkey:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>2600</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>PKK</td>
<td>Kurdistan</td>
<td>1984-2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>2900</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Devrimci Sol</td>
<td></td>
<td>1991-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>MKP</td>
<td></td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: PKK has changed its name several times: in 2002, PKK changed to Kadek; in November 2003, to Kongra-GEL; in April 2005 back to PKK.

Fatalities information for conflict #159, civil war in Turkish Kurdistan 1984–2008:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):


(Eckhardt, 1996): 1984-95, “Kurd rebellion; Govt crackdown:” 4,000 civilian war-related deaths, 14,000 military war-related deaths, 18,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997, 220): “…by the end of 1988, more than three thousand people had been killed. … more than eighteen thousand people have been killed in the conflict”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 655: “The official count of casualties, 1984-88, was 185 Turkish soldiers, 480 Kurdish civilians, and 200 guerillas killed. Fighting grew more intense in 1989 and by the end of 1991 as many as 3,400 lives had been lost … The toll had increased to 14,000 dead by the end of 1994 and up to 18,000 dead a year later. In May 1997 Turkey send 30,000 troops into the Kurdish area of northern Iraq to destroy the guerilla bases there. In a month of combat the Turks claimed 2,500 rebels killed at a cost of 100 soldiers KIA. At the end of 1998 Turkey announced official fatal casualties in its Kurdish war of 23,638 PKK personnel, 5,555 Turkish security personnel and 5,302 noncombatants.”
In August 1984 a hitherto largely unknown party, Partiya Karkari Kurdistan (PKK – The Kurdistan Workers’ Party) launched a series of attacks and ambushes on Turkish forces in the Kurdish region. During the next decade its activities resulted in the deaths of an estimated 12,000 people...

In November 1991, by which time the total death toll exceeded 3,000

July 1993: “That month the death toll (since 1984) rose to an estimate 6,500.”

By the end of 1993 the overall death toll exceeded 10,000

By 1996 the estimated number of deaths was 20,000. By 1999 they were thought to exceed 35,000.”

By official count, in the four years 1984–88, 185 Turkish soldiers, 480 Kurdish civilians and about 200 guerillas were killed.”

June 1995 the Turkish government reported that 19,000 people had been killed during the insurgency since 1984, and the death toll was rising rapidly. Other estimates were much higher.”

“The war has claimed between 30,000 and 40,000 lives since 1984.”

Annual estimates:
2002: “Media reports suggested that close to 25 people died in the fighting this year.”
2001: “The death toll declined from the previous year to an estimated 20 deaths.”
2000: “Although at least 100 people were killed this year, this was a sharp decline from the estimated conflict deaths in 1999.”
1999: “About 1,300 people, including civilians, were killed in 1999.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Amer et al., 1993): Gov vs. PKK since 1984 and Gov vs. Devrimci Sol since 1978. Deaths including 1992: 6,200 for PKK conflict only. Deaths in 1992: 3,000 (estimate is likely for both conflicts)


(UCDP, 2009): 1989: >150 deaths in 1989 and a total of 1,500-3,000 deaths to date
1990: >360 deaths and a total of 2,000-2,500 deaths to date
1991: 250 deaths and a total of 2,500-3,100 deaths 1984-91
1992: 3,000 deaths and a total of 6,200 deaths to date
1993: 3,000 deaths and a total of 9,200-10,500 deaths to date
1994: >3,000 deaths and a total of >13,000 deaths to date
1995: >4,000 deaths and a total of >17,000 deaths to date
1996: >2,000 deaths and a total of >19,000 deaths to date
1997: >1,000 deaths and a total of >30,000 deaths to date
1998: >800 deaths and a total of >30,000 deaths to date
1999: 300-600 deaths and a total of >30,000 deaths to date
2000: 200-400 deaths and a total of >30,000 deaths to date
2001: 100-200 deaths and a total of >30,000 deaths to date. Coder’s note: “According to a Turkish security source 38,000 rebels, 4,418 Turkish soldiers, and 5,400 civilians had been killed during the entire conflict. Turkish Daily News, "Retired General predicts PKK resurgence - Baykal calls for overhaul of politics - FP establishes...,” 31 January 2001, via Factiva Search”
2003: 83 deaths. Total deaths >30,000. Coder’s note: “28 government soldiers, 2 police men, 45 suspected Kongra-GEL members, 8 civilians dead in the conflict.”
2005: Best estimate: 424; High estimate: 538; Low estimate: 423. Total >30,500. Coder’s note: “The total number of battle-related deaths is the result of adding government deaths, rebel deaths, civilian deaths and unknown deaths in the violent conflict between the PKK/Kongra-Gel and the Turkish government (mainly soldiers, police, village guards) in the year 2005. Deadly casualties are counted on the basis of media reports, i.e. Reuters, AFP, Kurdish Roj TV, NTV television, Anatolia and Ozgur Politika website. By comparing the news articles, the primary sources they refer to and the details they provide it is possible to come up with a best estimate for the total number of battle-related deaths.”

(Universität Hamburg, 2008): 424 in 2007 (158 Turkish, 266 Kurdish)

(IISS, 2009):
2006: 294
2007: 338
Interpretation:

Most sources converge on an estimate that very closely matches the official Turkish figure of 34,495 deaths through the end of 1998; this is used as the best estimate. A high estimate was taken from the death toll of 47,818 reported by a retired general in 2001 (see UCDP coder’s notes), as this is a credible alternative account of the conflict. The low estimate is primarily based on UCDP minimum estimates.

1984-1988:
Best estimate: 865 (From official count of casualties – see Brogan, Clodfelter). No trend coded.
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year (From UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1138 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).

1989:
Best estimate: 845 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 3,400 deaths through the end of 1991)
Low estimate: 150 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1130 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).

1990:
Best estimate: 845 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 3,400 deaths through the end of 1991)
Low estimate: 360 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1130 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).

1991:
Best estimate: 845 (Based on Clodfelter’s estimate of 3,400 deaths through the end of 1991)
Low estimate: 250 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1130 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).

1992:
Best estimate: 3,000 (UCDP; also based on UCDP estimate of 10,500 through 1993; similar to McDowall’s total through end of 1993)
Low estimate: 3,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 4,010 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).
1993:
Best estimate: 4,100 (Based on UCDP estimate of 10,500 to date; similar to McDowall’s total through end of 1993)
Low estimate: 3,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 5,490 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).

1994:
Best estimate: 5250 (Based on total death figures and trend in UCDP. Total through 1994 is 15,750; Clodfelter’s estimated total through this point is 14,000).
Low estimate: 3,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 7,040 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).

1995:
Best estimate: 7,000 (Based on total death figures and trend in UCDP. Total through 1995 is 22,750; official estimated total through June 1995 was 19,000 – see Brogan).
Low estimate: 4,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 9,380 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).

1996:
Best estimate: 5,250 (Based on total death figures and trend in UCDP).
Low estimate: 2,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 7,040 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).

1997:
Best estimate: 4,200 (Ploughshares. Also based on total death figures and trend in UCDP).
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP)
High estimate: 5,630 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).

1998:
Best estimate: 2,100 (Ploughshares. Official sources give a total of about 34,500 deaths through the end of 1998. Total figure here is 34,300).
Low estimate: 800 (UCDP)
High estimate: 2,800 (Calculated based on 47,818 deaths from 1984-2001 and using the trend data from the best estimate).
1999:
Low estimate: 300 deaths (SIPRI; UCDP)
High estimate: 1300 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2000:
Low estimate: 100 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 400 (SIPRI; UCDP)
No best estimate.

2001:
Low estimate: 20 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 200 (SIPRI; UCDP)
No best estimate.

2002:
Best estimate: 50 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 300 (SIPRI)

2003:
Best estimate: 83 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 50 (IISS)
High estimate: 83 (UCDP; SIPRI lies in the range between the low and high estimates)

2004:
Best estimate: 166 (UCDP; similar to SIPRI)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 208 (UCDP high estimate; similar to IISS)

2005:
Best estimate: 424 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 200 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 751 (IISS)

2006:
Best and low estimate: 210 (UCDP)
High estimate: 294 (IISS)

2007:
Best estimate: 424 (AKUF)
Low estimate: 338 (IISS)
High estimate: 458 (UCDP)

2008:
Best estimate: 580 (IISS)
Low estimate: 513 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,068 (UCDP)

*Fatalities information for conflict #188, civil conflict against Devrimci Sol in 1991–92:*


(Reuters, 1992): On 18–19 April 1992 reported: “Turkish security forces killed 11 leftist militants in Istanbul…”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events contains reports on this conflict in January, February, March, April, May, July, August, and October 1991 and in February, March, April and November 1992. The attacks detailed in the articles account for 18 deaths in 1991, with 2 additional deaths possibly linked to the group. In 1992, 16 deaths related to the conflict were recorded, with 4 additional deaths possibly related to this conflict.

(UCDP, 2009): Estimates:
1991: 39 deaths. Coder’s note: “During 1991 there were 39 cases of people killed that could clearly be attributed to the conflict between the government and Dev Sol. Another 14 were also killed in non-Kurdish rebel activity but in circumstances where Dev Sol’s involvement could not be confirmed.”

1992: >42 deaths. Coder’s note: “During 1992 there were 42 cases of people killed that could clearly be attributed to the conflict between the government and Dev Sol. Another 26 were also killed in non-Kurdish rebel activity but in circumstances where Dev Sol’s involvement could not be confirmed.”

**Interpretation:**

News reports suggest very low intensity conflict activity, as does the UCDP Database. The UCDP Database was used to make the following estimates:

**1991:**
Low estimate: 39 deaths (UCDP)
High estimate: 53 deaths (UCDP coder’s note)
No best estimate.

**1992:**
Low estimate: 42 deaths (UCDP)
High estimate: 68 deaths (UCDP coder’s note)
No best estimate.

**Fatalities information for conflict #188, conflict between Turkey and MKP in 2005:**

(UCDP, 2009):
2005: Best estimate of 30 deaths. Low estimate of 22 deaths.

**Interpretation:**
Best and high estimate: 30 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 22 (UCDP)
Uganda

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Uganda:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1971</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>UPA</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Military Faction</td>
<td>1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td></td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>1978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2180</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>UNLA</td>
<td>1978-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>NRA, Various Groups</td>
<td>1980-88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Faction of UPDA, UPA, UPDCA</td>
<td>1989-92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>LRA, WNBF, ADF</td>
<td>1994-2007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information on conflict #118, coup in 1971:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“February 1971 - UGANDA …Whereas General Amin claimed that there had been no casualties, unofficial estimates were that between 20 and 100 persons might have been killed, including two former Cabinet Ministers and two French Canadian missionaries (shot during the troops’ attack on Entebbe airport).”

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 20 (Keesing’s minimum)
High estimate: 100 (Keesing’s maximum)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #118, attempted coup in 1972:

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 144: “Postcoup tensions; border clashes (1971-October 1972) … As many as two hundred Ugandan and Tanzanian military personnel are reported to have died in the fighting.”
Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“November 1972 – UGANDA – TANZANIA … The Ugandan Government announced on Sept. 17 that invading “Tanzanian troops,” numbering at least 1,000 men, had advanced to within about 100 miles of Kampala … In Tanzania, on the other hand, it was announced in an official statement on the same day (Sept. 17) that forces of a “People’s Army” inside Uganda had taken over a military camp at Kisenyi … In a speech before diplomatic representatives of OAU member-countries, President Amin said that Uganda had been attacked by “some 1,500 men, including Tanzanian soldiers, supporters of ex-President Obote and Israeli mercenaries,” 230 of the “enemy” having been killed and 50 captured. … Earlier on Sept. 18 two Ugandan aircraft bombed the Tanzanian town of Bukoba, about 40 miles south of the Ugandan border, nine persons having reportedly been killed and 200 injured. … General Amin added that 150 Ugandan civilians and a White teacher (later identified as an American Peace Corps worker) had been killed in the fighting around Mbarara.”

Interpretation:
Government statements in Keesing’s are of questionable reliability.
Best estimate: 200 (Bercovitch and Jackson)
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths coded based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #118, attempted coup in 1974:
(Time, 1974): 71 soldiers and civilians were killed during the coup attempt. Additionally, “at least 500 people are known to have been executed.”

Interpretation:
Best and high estimate of 71 deaths taken from the Time article. Low estimate of 25 deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Fatalities information for conflict #252, Ugandan invasion of Tanzania in 1978, and conflict #118, internationalized civil war in 1978–79 in Uganda following Tanzanian counterstrike:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #190, “Ugandan/Tanzanian” 1978-79: 500 Libyan deaths, 1,000 Tanzanian deaths, and 1,500 Ugandan deaths. This yields a total of 3,000 dead.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1978-79, “Tanz vs. Amin; Libya intervenes:” civilian war-related deaths not available, 3,000 military war-related deaths, 3,000 total war-related deaths

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): P. 185–186: “…an estimated 3,500 people were killed during the conflict, including 1,000 Tanzanian military fatalities and at least 200 Libyan soldiers.”

(Brogan, 1998): P. 647: Estimates 4,000 deaths in Tanzania and Ugandan war 1978–79 P. 117: “During the war, approximately 4,000 people were killed: 373 Tanzanian soldiers; 150 Ugandan rebels fighting alongside the Tanzanians; 600 Libyans; 1,000 of Amin’s troops; 1,500 Tanzanian civilians massacred by Ugandan troops; and about 500 Ugandan civilians.”

(Clayton, 1998): Tanzanian government alleged ten thousand dead during the Ugandan invasion

(Clodfelter, 2002): P. 627–628: “The war…cost the Tanzanian army about 373 dead (including only 97 KIA, the rest died in accidents), the Ugandan exiles lost about 150, and the Ugandan military approximately 1,000 killed. The Libyans lost about 600 dead. Some 1,500 Tanzanian and 500 Ugandan civilians were killed.”

Interpretation:

Brogan, Clodfelter, and COW closely correspond, if the COW figure for Tanzanian deaths is interpreted as including civilians. The best estimate is based on Clodfelter’s reckoning, which explicitly accounts for military and civilian losses on both sides. However, it was difficult to determine which deaths to assign to the Ugandan invasion of Tanzania and which to the ensuing civil war in Uganda.

Conflict #252:

1978: Low estimate of 25 battle deaths and high estimate of 999 battle deaths based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Conflict #118:

1978-9:
Best estimate: 3,847 deaths (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 3,000 deaths (COW)
High estimate: 4,000 deaths (Brogan)
No trend.

Fatalities information on conflict #118, civil war 1980-92:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1981-87, “Army vs. people; massacres:” 300,000 civilian war-related deaths, 8,000 military war-related deaths, 308,000 total war-related deaths

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 647: “Between 1979 and 1986, when Yoweni Museveni took power, a further 100,000 to 300,000 people were killed. A few thousand have been killed in various insurgencies every year since 1986.”

(Leitenberg, 2003):
1981–88, “National Resistance Army vs. government/NRA vs. opposition:” 100,000 civilian, 6,000 military, and 106,000 total war-related deaths.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 628: “On January 25, 1986, 9,000 NRA troops captured Kampala and deposed the Okello government. The National Resistance Army had lost at least 6,000 killed during the uprising; the victorious rebels claimed government losses included 39,516 killed. … Between 1981 and 1988 the death toll in all of Uganda’s civil conflicts numbered 102,000.”

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987): Govt. (NRA) vs. Anti-gov rebels (Obote, Okello, Amin) since 1981. Total killed: >250,000.
Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988: NRA Govt. vs. Opposition since 1981. 1981–87: 5,000–6,000 military deaths, 100,000 civilian. Total killed in 1987: 2,000


(Lindgren et al., 1990): NRM Govt. vs. UPDA since 1988, UPA since 1988, HSM (Kony) since 1989. 1981–89: >6,000 military deaths, 100,000 civilian. Total killed in 1989: 600–800 military deaths.


**Interpretation:**

The SIPRI estimate of 106,000 deaths from 1981-87 roughly corresponds to figures in COW, Clodfelter, and Leitenberg. This conflict included a great deal of one-sided violence, which may be reflected in these figures.

**Estimate:**

1980-86:
Best estimate: 104,000 (Based on total of 106,000 deaths by the end of 1987 from SIPRI. Not trended).
Low estimate: 100,800 (Based on total of 102,000 deaths by the end of 1988 from COW, Clodfelter. Not trended).
High estimate: 303,000 (Based on total of 306,000 deaths by the end of 1987 from Brogan, Eckhardt; this figure probably includes most of the one-sided violence in the conflict).

1987:
Best estimate: 2,000 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 3,000 (Based on total of 306,000 deaths by end of 1987).

1988:
Best estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Low estimate: 200 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 9,999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1989:
Best estimate: 1,000 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
Low estimate: 600 (SIPRI)
High estimate: 9,999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1990:
Low estimate of 25 deaths and high estimate of 999 deaths from UCDP. No best estimate.

1991:
Best and low estimate: 1,000 (SIPRI; UCDP)
High estimate: 9,999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.


Fatalities information for conflict #1289, civil war from 1994–2007:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #753, “Uganda vs. Lords Resistance Army” 1996–ongoing: 10,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.

(Brogan, 1998): “By one count, 100,000 people have been killed in fighting, massacres and starvation due to the LRA.”

2003: < 300 deaths
2004: > 1,000
2005: over 510 rebels, at least 19 government soldiers, and more than 140 civilians killed
2006: 294
2007: 338

(Global Security, 2006): “In January 2004 Ugandan Defense Minister Amama Mbabazi said that the government army had killed 928 Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) rebels between Jan. 1, 2003 and Jan. 16, 2004 [and that] 88 army soldiers died in the combat, 141 others were injured and four went missing during the period.” (Total of 1,016).


(Project Ploughshares, 2003):
2002: “Unconfirmed media sources report that over 1,000 people were killed. Most were civilians targeted by the LRA, although the Ugandan government claimed to have killed hundreds of rebel fighters.”
2001: “Hundred of civilians, soldiers and rebels were reported killed by October.”
2000: “By September, more than 150 people were killed as a result of fighting.”
1999: “At least 1,000 people, mostly civilians, were killed in 1999.”
1998: “Though the numbers vary, the estimated number of deaths in the conflict during 1998 exceeded 800.”

(Ploughshares, 2006):
2003: over 3,000 deaths
2004: over 845 killed
2005: over 4,000 people killed by conflict violence in first 7 months of year
2006: “only 100”
2007: over 100

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(SIPRI, 2005): 1,600 battle fatalities in 2004

(UCDP, 2009):
For 1994-1997 estimate between 25 and 999 deaths per year.
1999-2000: estimate between 25 and 999 deaths per year.
2001: Low estimate: 283; Best estimate: 283; High estimate: 321
2002: High estimate (battle-related deaths): 1390; Low estimated (battle-related deaths): 506; Best estimate (battle-related deaths): 1032
Coder’s note: “In 2002 Sudan sided with the Ugandan army against the LRA, making Sudan a secondary warring party. Because of this, the deaths caused by the Sudanese army on LRA and vice versa were included in the battle-related deaths. These deaths have pushed the death toll over 1000. … There is a great variation in the death toll mainly due to poor reporting. The LRA give no comments to any incidents making official statements the main source of information. Sometimes it has not been possible to confirm the official death tolls. There seem[s] to be a tendency for the government to exaggerate the opponent’s deaths but to play down its own.”
2003: High estimate: 1116; Low estimate: 582; Best estimate: 624. Repeats coder’s note from 2004 regarding uncertainty of the death toll
2004: 1,600
2005: 700
2007: Best and low estimate: 91. High estimate: 147

Interpretation:

1994:
Best estimate: 250 (Based on total of at least 1,000 deaths for 1994-96, from SIPRI)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1995:
Best estimate: 250 (Based on total of at least 1,000 deaths for 1994-96, from SIPRI)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1996:
Best and high estimate: 500 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 200 (SIPRI)
No best estimate.

1997:
Best estimate: 250 (SIPRI)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1998:
Best estimate: 800 (SIPRI; Ploughshares)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

1999:
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 1000 (Project Ploughshares)
No best estimate.

2000:
Low estimate: 150 (Project Ploughshares)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.

2001:
Best estimate: 283 (UCDP; Ploughshares’ estimate of 100’s killed through October of 2001 is similar)
Low estimate: 283 (UCDP)
High estimate: 321 (UCDP)
2002:
Best estimate: 1032 (UCDP; Ploughshares’ report of over 1,000 killed is similar)
Low estimate: 506 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1390 (UCDP. High estimate 1997-2002 totals 5708, low estimate for the same period totals 1,014. IISS estimates deaths mid-1997 to 2002 as 3,800, within range defined by low and high estimates)

2003:
Best estimate: 624 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 300 (IISS)
High estimate: 3000 (Project Ploughshares)

2004:
Best and high estimate: 1,624 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 845 (Ploughshares)

2005:
Best estimate: 770 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 700 (UCDP)
High estimate: 4,000 (Ploughshares)

2006:
Best estimate: 292 (IISS)
Low estimate: 221 (UCDP)
High estimate: 318 (UCDP)

2007:
Best estimate: 144 (IISS)
Low estimate: 91 (UCDP)
High estimate: 147 (UCDP)

Other information:
(Eckhardt, 1996): 1971-78, “Idi Amin massacres,” 300,000 civilian war-related deaths, military war-related deaths not available, 300,000 total war-related deaths

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in the USSR:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1110</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>Forest Brothers</td>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>1946-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>1120</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>LTS(p)A, LNJS, and LNPA</td>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1130</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>BDPS</td>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>1946-48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>1140</td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>UPA</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>1946-50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflicts #11, 12, 13, and 14, civil conflicts in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the Ukraine in 1946–48:

(Tolstoy, 1981):
P. 354: “A Soviet historian estimated that Lithuanian partisans killed about twenty thousand Soviet troops during the years 1944-8, and Krushchev himself admitted that “after the war, we lost thousands of men in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet power.”“

(Schmid, 1985):
P. 21: “During the [Lithuanian] partisan war some 20-30,000 partisans were reported killed along with a comparable number of Soviets and Lithuanian “collaborators.” … From the end of 1948 onwards, the Lithuanian partisans could no longer effectively paralyze the functioning of local soviets and prevent the establishment of kolkhozes, and four years later organized armed resistance in Lithuania was destroyed.”

(Shtromas, 1986):
P. 192 “In an interview with American journalist George Weller, director of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee’s Institute of the History of the Party Romas Šarmaitis stated that, during the eight years of guerilla war in Lithuania, 20,000 guerillas and a similar number of Soviet troops perished on the battlefield.”

(Starkauskas, 2000):
P. 46: “The number of (Lithuanian) partisans killed by the eight regiments of the 4th Division was as follows: 1,686 in 1946; 1,540 in 1947; 841 in 1948; and 963 in 1949. According to chekist data, the total partisan casualties in these years were as follows: 2,143 in 1946; 1,540 in 1947; 1,135 in 1948; and 1,192 in 1949 (in 1950 the number of victims was 635; in 1951, 590; in 1952, 457; in 1953 over 200).”
(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 597: “From 1945–53 as many as 100,000 anti-Soviet partisans operated in Lithuania, 40,000 in Latvia, and 30,000 in Estonia. The guerilla organization called the Forest Brothers estimated 50,000 partisan and 80,000 casualties in Lithuania in this period, but a more probable estimate is about 20,000 for each side. Before they were crushed, the guerillas also killed at least 4,000 Lithuanians who collaborated with the Soviets,”
P. 597: “Poland alone admitted to 32,400 casualties in combat with the Ukrainian guerillas from 1945–48. In the same period the UPA and Polish resistance units lost at least 8,700 killed in Polish-controlled areas. In early 1949 most of the UPA high command gave up the struggle, but hold-outs continued fighting …Soviet army deaths alone in the conflict were over 40,000.”

(Misiunas and Taagepera, 1993):
P. 86: “The average lifespan of a forest brotherhood career has been estimated at no more than two years, due to casualties, disease and return to civilian life. Thus over the eight years of intense guerilla activity (1945–52), about 100,000 people may have been involved in Lithuania. This estimate is in line with estimates of guerilla casualties as between 20,000 (Soviet estimate) and 50,000. The Latvian and Estonian forest brotherhoods may have involved at one time or another respective totals of about 40,000 and 30,000 people.”
P. 89: “From 1945 to 1952, an estimated 4,000 to 13,000 Soviet collaborators and suspects were executed (in Lithuania).”
P. 90: “The History of the Estonian SSR says that “several hundred Soviet people were killed” by the guerillas in 1948 and early 1949, although “the backbone of banditism was broken by the end of 1946.” Hence close to 1,000 collaborators must have been murdered in Estonia between 1944 and 1952.”
P. 91: “The losses suffered by the forces of repression have been estimated at 20,000 by the Soviets and 80,000 by guerilla sources.”

(Anušaukas, 2000):
P. 64: Information in the following table is based on records of the operations of NKVD-MVD-MGB troops from 1941 to 1946 in the Military Archives of Russia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Partisan Casualties</th>
<th>Captured Partisans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>2,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>997</td>
<td>9,085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>29,511</td>
<td>50,270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>30,057</td>
<td>119,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>8,552</td>
<td>27,773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>69,299</td>
<td>208,817</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

P. 65-69: The following information comes from the Russian archives:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Estonia</th>
<th>Latvia</th>
<th>Lithuania</th>
<th>Ukraine</th>
<th>Western Belarus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partisan Dead</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>1,584</td>
<td>6,526</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interior Troops Dead</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civilians Dead</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>2,262</td>
<td>1,175</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>3,971</td>
<td>7,942</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partisan dead</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>1,344</td>
<td>4,136</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total military and civilian dead in partisan attacks</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>2,307</td>
<td>1,962</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troops KIA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>3,749</td>
<td>6,364</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Estonia and Latvia</td>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partisan Dead</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>841</td>
<td>3,057</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troops KIA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>206</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>3,263</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interpretation:**

Anušauskas’s data were used for the best and high estimates of deaths from 1946–48, because this is the newest and most complete information available. The low estimate is from UCDP/PRIO coding rules.

Note that in 1948 Anušauskas estimates 186 deaths in Estonia and Latvia. According to the Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict data, only the Estonian conflict was active in 1948. The high and best estimate for Estonia in 1948 is 186. The low estimate is 25.

No data were available for 1949–50 in the Ukraine. Fatalities in these years were estimated based on Uppsala/PRIO coding rules.
The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in the United Kingdom:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>1160</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Albania</td>
<td>Korfu Channel</td>
<td>1946</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>2190</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>PIRA</td>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>1971-93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>2190</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>Real IRA</td>
<td>Northern Ireland</td>
<td>1998</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information on conflict #16, conflict between the United Kingdom and Albania in 1946:

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #4 in 1946 estimates 0 Albanian deaths and 25–100 UK deaths.

(1upInfo.com, 2003):
“A major incident between Albania and Britain erupted in 1946 after Tiranë claimed jurisdiction over the channel between the Albanian mainland and the Greek island of Corfu. Britain challenged Albania by sailing four destroyers into the channel. Two of the ships struck mines on October 22, 1946, and forty-four crew members died.”

(Keesing’s, 2004: 8240): “November 2-9, 1946 … Two British destroyers, HMS Saumarez … and HMS Volage were badly damaged when they struck mines on Oct. 22 in the Corfu Straits (between Corfu and the Albanian coast), an officer and 37 ratings being killed and 2 officers and 43 ratings injured.”

Interpretation:

Low estimate: 38 British deaths (Keesing’s) and zero Albanian deaths (COW)
High estimate: 44 British deaths (1upInfo) and zero Albanian deaths (COW)
No best estimate

Fatalities information for conflict #119, civil conflict in Northern Ireland in 1971–91 and 1998:

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 413: “3,248 people were killed between 1969 and the Good Friday agreement in 1998.”

(Sutton, 2001):
This data source contains the names, ages, religious and military affiliation, date, and mode of death of every person killed in the Northern Ireland conflict from 1968 to 2001. Using this data it is possible to generate an exact count of the numbers of people killed.

SIPRI Yearbooks:

(Goose, 1987): British Govt. vs. IRA and Protestant Irish paramilitary since 1969. >2,500 killed

(Wilson and Wallensteen, 1988): British Govt. and Protestant Irish paramilitary vs. IRA since 1969. 1969-87: 2,500 deaths, <100 yearly


(Sollenberg and Wallensteen, 1995): Gov of UK vs. PIRA. Clarifies earlier figures: Total deaths between gov and IRA, including 1994, is 1,500; total including violence by other paramilitary groups is almost 3,200. There were 17 deaths in 1994 related to fighting between the IRA and the government, 61 due to all political violence.

SIPRI 1996: Conflict not included.


(UCDP, 2009): 1989: 30 deaths. Coder’s note: “The sources used were reliable and detailed. Yet, the number of battle-related deaths can be considered to be somewhat uncertain, as there at times were difficulties in deciding whether the violence was directed against the British state, Protestant civilians or members of the Loyalist paramilitaries. In the same way, it was not always possible to determine whether the victims were IRA members or Catholic civilians. The estimation of battle-related deaths was also rendered difficult because of the alleged collusion between British security forces and active Loyalist groups. A high number of deaths in the region occurred in violence between the IRA and the Loyalist paramilitaries. In total, 61 people died in Northern Ireland during the year. The figure 30 deaths concerns people killed in clear attacks between the IRA and the British troops.”

1990: Low estimate: 25; High estimate: 76; Best estimate: 25  
Coder's note: “The sources used were reliable and detailed. Yet, the number of battle-related deaths can be considered to be somewhat uncertain, as there at times were difficulties in deciding whether the violence was directed against the British state, Protestant civilians or members of the Loyalist paramilitaries. In the same way, it was not always possible to determine whether the victims were IRA members or Catholic civilians. A high number of deaths in the region occurred in violence between the IRA and the Loyalist paramilitaries. A total of 76 people were killed in the conflict during 1990. The number of people killed in clear attacks between the IRA and the British troops were more likely closer to 25 than to 76.”

1991: 29 battle deaths. Coder’s note: “Even though the number of battle-related deaths was decreasing, the civilian death toll in the province soared to 94, the highest figure in the conflict for 15 years. These deaths occurred as a result the sectarian violence and a bloody "tit-for-tat" dynamics.”

1992: 24 battle deaths. Coder’s note: “The sources used were very specific and credible. 20 representatives for the British government were killed by the IRA, while four IRA members were killed by the British troops and the RUC. In total, 84 deaths occurred as a result of the violence in Northern Ireland”

1993: 17 battle deaths. Coder’s note: “The 17 battle-related deaths occurred to British soldiers, RUC policemen and civilians working for the military or the RUC. 1993 was the first year since 1969 where no cases were reported in which the British security forces killed people in disputed circumstances. In all, 86 died as a result of the Northern Irish conflict in 1993.”

1994: 17 battle deaths. Coder’s note: “The vast majority of the battle-related deaths occurred as a result of IRA violence, and targeted British soldiers and RUC policemen. Around 60 people died in the violence between the paramilitaries.”

**Interpretation:**

The battle deaths definition used in this dataset is somewhat less restrictive than that used by the UCDP Database. Specifically, terrorist attacks against civilians and fighting between armed factions are included in this dataset but not in the UCDP Database. Therefore, Best and high estimates were taken directly from Sutton.

However, by using this information the conflict reaches 1,000 deaths before the Uppsala/PRIO coding rules indicates. A low estimate of 25 deaths per year 1971-88 was coded based on UCDP/PRIO coding rules, and, from 1989 and on, the UCDP Database best estimate of battle deaths was used as the low estimate.
United States of America

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in the United States of America:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>3270</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Al-Qaida</td>
<td>2001-02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>3270</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Al-Quaida</td>
<td>2004-08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #224,

Deaths in the United States on 11 September 2001:

In New York City: 2,752 civilians, including passengers and crew of two airlines crashed into World Trade Center Towers
In Washington, DC: 125 civilians on the ground and an additional 59 airline passengers and crew
In Pennsylvania: 40 passengers and crew
Al-Qaeda members: A total of 19 deaths. 5 each aboard flights American Airlines #77 (flown into the Pentagon), American Airlines #11 (North Tower of the WTC), United Airlines #175 (South Tower of the WTC), and 4 aboard United Airlines #93 (crashed in Pennsylvania).
Total dead: 2,995.

War in Afghanistan from US-led invasion in late 2001 and 2002:

(Herold, 2003):
Herold has used media reports to compile an estimate of civilian deaths due to US bombing from October 2001 to December 2001. Gives a low estimate of 3,070 and a high estimate of 3,590. In 2002, civilian deaths are estimated to be between 296-333.

(Benini and Moulton, 2004):
Household surveys investigating victims of landmine and UXO incidents, aerial or indirect fire bombardment, shooting and other forms of violence before and after September 11, 2001.
P. 419: “During the twelve months preceding 9/11, an estimated 12,421 residents of the 600 communities became victims of violence—8,935 to direct violence, 3,486 to landmine and UXO strikes.” Annualized post-9/11 figure is 14,360, but the post 9/11 violence seems to have fallen off dramatically after January 2002.
“… the 5,576 deaths during our post-9/11 survey period approximate one-twelfth of the historic violence level.”

SIPRI Yearbooks
(Seybolt, 2002): Govt. vs. UIFSA and international coalition. Total deaths unknown. Deaths in 2001 >1,000; note saying this is only an absolute minimum.

(UCDP, 2009):
2001: Best estimate: 1,585 Low estimate: 1,266. High estimate: 1,862. Coder’s note: “Of these fatalities, 233 occurred in the attack on US targets on 11 September 2001. The remaining casualties were inflicted during US attacks on al-Qaida bases in Afghanistan from 7 October onwards. Most of the attacks targeting al-Qaida was reported after the Afghanistan government changed from the Taleban to UIFSA on 12 November.”

(IISS, 2009):
2001: 10,000
2002: 4,000

(O’Hanlon, 2002): “As many as 8,000 to 12,000 were killed -- roughly 20 percent of the Taliban’s initial fighting capability.”

(ur-Rehman, 2001): “Senior Taliban sources have also said that more than 6,000 Taliban forces have been killed all over Afghanistan since the start of the air campaign by the US planes.”

(Dunnigan, 2003, 220): “Northern Alliance casualties were murky] including several hundred dead.” The lowest the phrasing could imply is 300.
Given the losses recorded in sample individual encounters below, three-hundred will be taken as a reasonable estimate of Northern Alliance battle deaths.

(Globalsecurity, 2009)
20 Northern Alliance dead when helicopter shot down.

(Time, 2009)
20 Northern Alliance dead in an ambush

(Associated Press, 2001)
20 Northern Alliance killed in fighting in Kunduz.
200 Northern Alliance losses.


(Project Ploughshares, 2009):
2001: > 1000
2002: 1,500

(CNN, 2002): Estimate of insurgent losses in “Operation Anaconda” to be at least 500; 69 coalition deaths in the Operation; 12 Afghan security force deaths.

Interpretation:

The Uppsala Conflict Database has a more limited definition of battle deaths in terrorist attacks than does this dataset, which accounts for the unusually low number of deaths reported in 2001. Following the Battle Deaths Dataset definitions, 2,995 battle fatalities occurred within the US in 2001.

In 2001 in Afghanistan, deaths include: 12 US and 200 Northern Alliance, with a range of Taleban casualties between 6,000 and 12,000. Given SIPRI’s “absolute minimum” of 1,000 combat deaths, and the IISS figure of 10,000 for the entire year, the lower figure for Taleban losses may be considered closer to the true number. Herold estimates at least 3,070 civilians killed in Afghanistan.

2001:
Best and high estimate: 12,377 (2,995 deaths in United States; 6,000 Taleban deaths; 12 US soldiers and ~300 Northern Alliance troops killed; 3,070 civilian deaths in Afghanistan)
Low estimate: 3,995 (2,995 deaths in United States; minimum of 1,000 combat deaths in Afghanistan, from SIPRI)

2002:
Best estimate: 877 (500 Taleban deaths; 81 US soldiers and Northern Alliance troops killed; 296 civilian deaths)
High estimate: 4,000 (IISS)
Low estimate: 693 (UCDP)
Fatalities information for conflict #224, United States conflict with Al-Qaida in 2004-2008:

(UCDP, 2009): fatality estimates from Pakistani attacks on Al-Qaida militants in tribal areas bordering Afghanistan

2004: 320
2008: Best and low estimate: 182. High estimate: 292

IISS:
2004: 550
2005: 620
2006: 709
2007: 1,760
2008: 1,243

Interpretation:
Deaths in this conflict for 2004 and 2005 were taken directly from the Uppsala Conflict Database because the events included in this war versus the civil war in Afghanistan and Pakistan are ambiguous. Comparison of the figures given by UCDP with reported insurgent battle deaths in Afghanistan and Pakistan from UCDP/PRIO and SATP (see above), suggest that the figures for Al-Qaida deaths are reasonably discriminated from those of Afghan and Pakistani insurgents.

2004:
Best estimate: 320 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 59 (UCDP)
High estimate: 684 (UCDP)

2005:
Best estimate: 100 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 99 (UCDP)
High estimate: 620 (IISS)
2006:
Best and low estimate: 191 (UCDP)
High estimate: 709 (IISS)

2007:
Best estimate: 153 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 142 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,760 (IISS)

2008:
Best and low estimate: 182 (UCDP)
High estimate: 1,243 (IISS)
Uruguay

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Uruguay:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>2230</td>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>MLN or Tupamaros</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #123, civil conflict against the MLN/Tupamaros in 1972:

(Lopez, 1988):
P. 507: Tupamaros had 750-1,000 active members and about 2,000 supporters by late 1960s.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 717: “The Tupamaros finally overreached themselves in April 1972. On April 4 they gunned down 4 prominent members of the Death Squads. … Within three months, at a cost of 11 security personnel killed, 100 Tupamaros and leftist sympathizers had been killed … During the insurgency 300 Tupamaros and 50 security personnel had been killed. Only 61 of the rebel deaths occurred in shootouts; the rest died in detention.”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“August 1972 – URUGUAY … the urban guerrillas’ Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN) or Tupamaros launched attacks in mid-April involving the deliberate killing of Government officials and members of the security forces. … On April 14 groups of Tupamaros shot and killed a former Under-Secretary of the Interior, two police officers and a naval captain. … Immediately after the shooting incidents of April 14, gunfights between MLN members and the security forces had broken out in a number of places, with loss of life on both sides. Senor Alejandro Rovira, the Minister of the Interior, stated on April 14 that at least eight Tupamaros had been killed… In one of these clashes, on April 17, at least eight civilians and an Army officer were killed. … While the total of MLN members killed in the security operations was thought to exceed 30, the numbers of those arrested grew considerably during the months of June and July.”

Interpretation:

Clodfelter provides the most detailed breakdown of deaths, and distinguishes to some extent between rebels killed in battle and deaths in captivity. His estimates were used as best estimates, therefore.
Best estimate: 111 (Clodfelter: 50 security personnel + 61 rebel deaths in battle)
Low estimate: 39 deaths (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 211 (Clodfelter: Up to 100 rebel supporters killed + 50 security personnel + 61 rebel deaths in battle)
Uzbekistan

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflict in Uzbekistan:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>3240</td>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>MIU</td>
<td>1999-2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>3240</td>
<td>Uzbekistan</td>
<td>Jihad Islamic Group / “Jamoat”</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflict #221, conflict against the MIU by Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in 1999-2000:


(UCDP, 2009):
1999: 56
2000: Estimate >200 battle deaths.

Interpretation:
1999:
Best estimate: 56 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 120 (IISS)

2000:
Best estimate: 200 (UCDP)
Low estimate: 25 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #221, conflict against the JIG by Uzbekistan in 2004:

(IISS, 2006): Estimates < 50 deaths
(RFE/RL): Report 47 deaths on April 8

(AP, 12 April 2004): 47 dead, government blames radical Islamic groups


*Interpretation:*

Best estimate: 47 (Original news report; IISS)
Low estimate: 35 (UCDP)
High estimate: 55 (UCDP)
Venezuela

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Venezuela:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>Venezuela</td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td>1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bandera Roja</td>
<td></td>
<td>1982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Military faction</td>
<td></td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B.: Uppsala/PRIO gives the exact timeframe for the conflict in 1992 as 4 February 1992 to 29 November 1992. Thus, this conflict consists of the two coup attempts that year, one on 4 February and the other on 29 November.

Fatalities information for conflict #80, military rebellion in 1962:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“May 1964 - VENEZUELA … rebellion broke out on June 3, 1962, at Puerto Cabello (75 miles west of Caracas), the principal Venezuelan naval base. The revolt was only put down after 48 hours’ heavy fighting … Casualties among Government troops were officially given as 136 killed, but unofficial reports from Caracas said that at least 200 loyal troops had been killed and several hundreds wounded. Insurgent casualties were believed to be still heavier.”

Interpretation:
Best estimate: The seemingly more credible unofficial estimate given in Keesing’s is 200 loyalist troops killed and at least 200 insurgent fatalities. Estimated 400 deaths.
Low estimate: 136 (Acknowledged government losses)
High estimate: 999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #80, military rebellion in 1982:

(Guernsey, 1982): 24 members of the guerrilla group Bandera Roja are reported killed by the Interior Minister, who reports that government forces suffered two deaths. Note that there were and continue to be allegations that the clash was in fact a massacre.

Interpretation:
Best and high estimate: 26
Low estimate: 25

Fatalities information for conflict #80, coups in 1992:

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“February 1992 - VENEZUELA … Attempted military coup … Ochoa stated on Feb. 6 that 14 people had been killed and 57 wounded…”

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
“November 1992 - VENEZUELA … Coup attempt … In the second coup attempt of the year, dissident members of the military on Nov. 27 seized important air force bases … On Nov. 29 the Defence Minister, Gen. Iván Jiménez Sánchez, reported that 142 civilians and 27 members of the armed forces had been killed. … The Governor of Caracas, Antonio Ledezma, reported that 100 prisoners had been killed and 200 injured at the Catia prison in western Caracas, after troops quashed a mass escape attempt sparked by the coup.”

(UCDP, 2009): Estimate >120 deaths.

Interpretation:
Low estimate: 120 (UCDP)
High estimate: 183 (Keesing’s reports 14 deaths in February and 142 civilians and 27 soldiers killed in November. The prison riot in Caracas in November was not considered battle-related.)
No best estimate.
Vietnam

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Vietnam:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>1520</td>
<td>South Vietnam</td>
<td>FNL</td>
<td>1955-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>South Vietnam</td>
<td>North Vietnam</td>
<td>1965-74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflicts #52 and 96, the Vietnam War in 1955–74:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 2 million deaths from 1960–75

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): “The war …cost the lives of an estimated 1.8 million people, including almost sixty thousand US troops and four thousand South Korean troops. Thailand and Australia each lost five hundred troops…”

(Rummel, 1997):
Estimates of deaths in conflict between Vietnam and communist guerillas in 1954-59: 29,000 (low), 57,000 (middle), 86,000 (high)
Estimates of deaths in Vietnam in 1960-75: 985,000 (low), 1.8 million (middle), 2.587 million (high)

(Harff and Gurr, 1988):
Table of Genocides and Politicides since WWII.
Country: S. Vietnam, 1965-72. Victimized groups: civilians in NFL areas. Number of victims: 475,000

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1960–65, “US intervenes in civil war:” 200,000 civilian war-related deaths, 100,000 military war-related deaths, 300,000 total war-related deaths 1965–75, “US and S Vietnam vs. N Vietnam:” 1 million civilian war-related deaths, 1,058,000 military war-related deaths, 2,058,000 total war-related deaths

(Agence France Presse, 1995): On 4 April the Vietnamese government released a press release estimating the number of victims of 20 years of war in Vietnam to be five million deaths, including 2 million civilian deaths in the North, 2 million South Vietnamese deaths, and 1.1 million deaths among North Vietnamese combatants and Viet Cong.

(Smith, 2000): This source includes estimates of strength deployed and breakdowns of US casualties according to several other variables, including unit and location of death. US casualty information was derived from the Combat Area Casualty File of 11/93, and The Adjutant General’s Center (TAGCEN) file of 1981, available from the National Archives. Smith’s NVA casualty data is based on North Vietnamese press release to Agence France Presse (AFP) on April 3, 1995. Additional sources listed in Smith (2000).

Estimates of deaths 1955–75:
ARVN: 223,748 KIA. 1,169,763 WIA.
South Korea: 4,407 KIA. 17,060 WIA.
Australia: 469 KIA. 2,940 WIA.
Thailand: 351 KIA. 1,358 WIA.
New Zealand: 55 KIA; 212 WIA.
NVA/VC: 1,100,000 KIA. 600,000 WIA

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 770: “nearly 1 million NVA-VC soldiers, 250,000 South Vietnamese military personnel, and nearly 50,000 American servicemen killed in battle. In addition, at least 247,600 South Vietnamese civilians had been slain by the weapons of the contending arms, another 38,954 had been assassinated… and 65,000 noncombatants in the north had died under the rain of American bombs.”
P. 790–791: “Civilians suffered almost as greatly as soldiers in the Vietnam War. It is estimated that 522,000 noncombatants in South Vietnam and 65,000 civilians in North Vietnam were killed during the conflict. One estimate of total civilian casualties in the south from 1965–73 was 1,435,000, with another 339,882 killed or injured from 1973–75. … South Vietnamese refugee organizations released unverifiable claims of 65,000 South Vietnamese soldiers and civilians executed by the Communists following the war and 250,000 more who died in Communist reeducation camps. South Vietnam’s military toll for the war, according to Saigon’s and MAC V’s figures, included 196,863 KIA and 502,383
Including its losses due to nonhostile causes, the Republic of Vietnam sacrificed 220,357 lives in its unsuccessful fight against North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. However, a more thorough accounting, particularly of ARVN losses from 1973–75, places South Vietnamese losses at 254,257 dead and 783,602 wounded. The official count puts NVA-VC battle dead from 1961–73 at 927,124. Including the losses incurred in the last two years of the war, 1973–75, the official toll exceeded 1 million. But most authorities claim that the Communist body count was often inflated, possibly by as much as one-third. Subtracting from the official count by 30% still leaves the appalling total of over 731,000 battle dead for North Vietnam and the Viet Cong, and Giap admitted to 330,000 NVA–VC missing. These colossal losses were absorbed by a total Communist combatant strength during the war of about 4 million, 3 million of whom were North Vietnamese. Of some 3,000 Soviet military personnel who served in Vietnam mainly as advisers or pilots, 13 were killed and 3 died from nonhostile causes. Of 327,000 Chinese logistical and antiaircraft troops who supported North Vietnam, 1,100 died and 4,200 were wounded.

*Interpretation:*

The preferred data source here was Clodfelter, who has made a detailed study of casualties in the Vietnamese civil war.

**Best estimate based on:**
- South Vietnam military casualties: 254,257 (Clodfelter; COW)
- South Vietnam civilian casualties: 522,000 (Clodfelter)
- North Vietnam military and Viet Cong casualties: 731,000 (Clodfelter; very rough estimate)
- North Vietnam civilian casualties: 65,000 (Clodfelter)
- China: 1,100 (Clodfelter)
- USSR: 13 (Clodfelter)
- Other militaries: 5,225 (Clodfelter; Smith estimates 5,282)

Total: 1,625,973 (Slightly lower than estimates of 1.8 to 2 million deaths)

**Low estimate based on:**
- South Vietnam military casualties: 196,863 (Official losses)
- South Vietnam civilian casualties: 247,600 (Clodfelter)
- North Vietnam military and Viet Cong casualties: 700,000 (COW)
- North Vietnam civilian casualties: 65,000 (Clodfelter)
- Other militaries: 5,225 (Clodfelter)

Total: 1,262,066
High estimate based on:
South Vietnam military casualties: 254,257 (Clodfelter; COW)
South Vietnam civilian casualties: 1,750,000 (Based on 2 million total South Vietnamese deaths, Agence France Press)
North Vietnam military and Viet Cong casualties: 1,100,000 (Agence France Press; repeated in other sources)
North Vietnam civilian casualties: 2,000,000 (Agence France Press)
China: 1,100 (Clodfelter)
USSR: 13 (Clodfelter)
Other militaries: 6,028 (COW)
Total: 5,158,786

Trend:

Annual US losses were available in Clodfelter (pp. 743, 791) as are annual losses for US allies (p. 791).

The remaining deaths were trended based on:

Conflict #52:

1955-60: Data on page 740 of Clodfelter implies at least 35,000 South Vietnamese deaths mid-1957 to mid-1962, or an average of 5,800 deaths per year. Estimated 5,800 deaths per year as best estimate. Low and high estimates adjusted accordingly.


Conflict #52 & Conflict #96:

1964-74: Trend based on S Vietnamese military losses (pp. 742, 747, 769, 791).
Yemen

The Uppsala/PRIO Armed Conflict Dataset codes the following conflicts in Yemen:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ID</th>
<th>ID_Old</th>
<th>Side A</th>
<th>Side B</th>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>Yemen (North)</td>
<td>Opposition coalition</td>
<td></td>
<td>1948</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>Yemen (North)</td>
<td>Royalists</td>
<td></td>
<td>1962-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>1330</td>
<td>Yemen (North)</td>
<td>National Democratic Front</td>
<td></td>
<td>1980-82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>NLF, FLOSY</td>
<td>Aden/South Yemen</td>
<td>1964-67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>2240</td>
<td>Yemen (North)</td>
<td>Yemen (South)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1978-79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>2650</td>
<td>Yemen (South)</td>
<td>Faction of Yemenite Socialist Party</td>
<td></td>
<td>1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>3100</td>
<td>Yemen</td>
<td>Democratic Republic of Yemen</td>
<td>South Yemen</td>
<td>1994</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fatalities information for conflicts #33, civil conflict in North Yemen in 1948:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #635, “Yemen Arab Republic vs. Yahya Family” 1948: 4,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1948, “Yahya Family vs N. Yemen:” 2,000 civilian war-related deaths, 2,000 military war-related deaths, 4,000 total war-related deaths.

Interpretation:
Best estimate: 4,000 deaths (Only available estimate)
Low estimate: 1,000 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 9,999 (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #33, civil conflict in North Yemen in 1962-70:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #660, ‘Yemen Arab Republic vs. Royalists’ 1962–69: 1,000 Egyptian deaths and 100,000 Yemeni state deaths. Total deaths: unknown.
(Leitenberg, 2003): 1962-69, “civil war, including Egyptian intervention:” 10,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 100,000 deaths

(Eckhardt, 1996): 1962-69, “Civil war in N. Yemen; Egypt interv:” civilian war-related deaths and military war-related deaths not available, 15,000 total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 112: “It is estimated that more than one hundred thousand people were killed in the war, most of them civilian. Egypt and Saudi Arabia lost one thousand troops each.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 634-635: “In February 1968, however, a 1000-man armored column…broke through the Royalist siege lines and relieved the city. Total casualties for both sides in the relief of San’a were in excess of 3,000. This Republican victory marked the war’s turning point. … Casualties are difficult to ascertain, but fatalities probably exceeded 50,000 and possibly numbered as high as 100,000. Egypt lost about 10,000 dead in its five years in Yemen.”

_ Interpretation:_

Sources vary widely on this conflict. Clodfelter gives Egyptian losses of 10,000, other sources list 1,000. Low estimates for deaths in this conflict stand at 10,000-15,000, and high estimates at closer to 100,000.

Low estimate: 10,000 (Leitenberg; Eckhardt; low estimate is trended to correspond to UCDP/PRIO coding rules.)
High estimate: 101,000 (COW; no trend coded)
No best estimate.

_Fatalities information for conflict #33, civil conflict in North Yemen in 1980–82:_

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events contains reports on this conflict in April 1980 and March 1981. This information does not cover the entire conflict period coded by Uppsala/PRIO, nor does it mention specific fatalities data other than estimating at least 100 North Yemeni forces killed in 1980.

Interpretation:

1980:
Low estimate: 100 fatalities (Keesing’s)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
No best estimate.


Fatalities information for conflict #89, conflict between the United Kingdom and the NLF and FLOSY in 1964–67:

(Brogan, 1998): “In June 1967 there was heavy fighting in Aden, and the British were driven out of the Crater District, the city’s Arab quarter, with the loss of 22 soldiers.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 635: “Terrorist incidents rose from 36 in Aden in 1964 to 286 in 1965, 510 in 1966, and nearly 3,000 in 1967. On June 20, 1967 a mutiny by the Adenese soldiers of the South Arabian Army in a section of the city called the Crater resulted in British casualties of 22 killed… Britain lost, October 1964-November 1967, a total of 126 soldiers and policemen killed … Nineteen European civilians were slain. Local security forces lost 81 killed… An estimated 345 Arab terrorists and civilians died in the violence.”

Interpretation:

Best estimate: 571 deaths (Clodfelter). Trended based on terrorist incidents recorded in Clodfelter. Clodfelter and Brogan give similar data on the Crater District incident.
Low estimate: 25 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 deaths per year (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

Fatalities information for conflict #124, conflict between North and South Yemen in 1972:
Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #1107 in 1971–72: deaths unknown

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 641: “skirmishes broke out in February and March and intensified to near all-out warfare, September 26–October 13. … A cease-fire quieted the border after more than 200 casualties had been inflicted on the two sides.”

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997):
P. 145: Estimate 200 killed in border conflict from October 1971 to October 1972, including “forty to fifty North and South Yemeni regular troops.”

*Interpretation:*

Best estimate: 200 deaths (Clodfelter, Bercovitch and Jackson)
Low estimate: 25 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)
High estimate: 999 deaths (UCDP/PRIO coding rules)

*Fatalities information for conflict #124, conflict between North and South Yemen in 1978–79:*

Militarized International Dispute Dataset (Ghosn and Palmer, 2003):
MID #2357 in 1978–79: deaths unknown

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate 150 killed.

Keesing’s (Keesing’s, 2004):
Keesing’s Record of World Events contains reports on the conflict in November 1978 and April 1980. No fatalities data is provided.

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 650: “The Yemens…clashed again, beginning February 23, 1979. … The Arab League managed to secure a cease-fire, ending this round of hostilities on March 13, 1979. Total combat fatalities were about 500.”
(Bidwell, 1983):
P. 318-319: “…on 24 June 1978 Ghashmi too was murdered and his successors had no hesitation in pinning the guilt upon the authorities in Aden. … By September there were almost daily accounts of incidents while each government encouraged rebels against the other… a series of communiqués from the NDF claiming to have killed at least a hundred Zaydi soldiers despite “raids of extermination, killing and destruction” which had caused 8,000 to flee, killed 15 and smashed 300 houses and 30 artesian wells. There was trouble, too, in Sanaa, in which Salih was nearly killed: he blamed this plot on Aden which gave asylum to the surviving conspirators.”

Interpretation:


In 1979:
High estimate: 500 (Clodfelter)
Low estimate: 150 (Bercovitch and Jackson)
No best estimate.

Fatalities information for conflict #164, civil conflict in South Yemen in 1986:

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):
Conflict #723, “Yemen People’s Republic vs. Leftist Faction” 1986: 12,000 state deaths. Total deaths: unknown.

(Leitenberg, 2003): 1986, “Yemen, (former) People’s Democratic Republic of civil war:” 10,000 total war-related deaths.

(Eckhardt, 1996):
1948-48, “Civil War in South Yemen:” 7,000 civilian war-related deaths, 4,000 military war-related deaths, 11,000 total war-related deaths.

(Brogan, 1998):
P. 377: “The government later reported that 4,230 members of the ruling party had been killed in the fighting, and it seems likely that the total number killed was about 13,000. Over 60,000 refugees fled to North Yemen.”

(Clodfelter, 2002):
P. 655: “Rivalries among the leaders of the Marxist politburo governing South Yemen broke out in a gun battle between bodyguards during a cabinet meeting on January 13, 1986. Two members of the ruling triumvirate…were killed along with about 20 others … The government reported that 4,230 members of the ruling party were slain in the civil war. The total number of deaths in the savage fighting probably neared 13,000.

**Interpretation:**

Low estimate: 10,000 (Leitenberg)  
High estimate: 13,000 (Brogan, Clodfelter)  
No best estimate.

*Fatalities information for conflict #207, Yemeni civil war in 1994:*

Correlates of War Dataset (Sarkees, 2000):  
Conflict #750, “Yemen vs. South Yemen” 1994: 7,000 state deaths. Total deaths unknown.

(Brogan, 1998): Estimates 5,000 deaths.

(Leitenberg, 2003): Estimates 4,000 military and total war-related deaths.

(Bercovitch and Jackson, 1997): Estimate a total of “thousands’ of fatalities

(Eckhardt, 1996):  
1994-94, “Govt vs secessionists:” civilian war-related deaths and military war-related deaths not available, 7,000 total war-related deaths.

SIPRI Yearbooks:


(UCDP, 2009): Estimate 1500-7000 deaths.
Interpretation:

Low estimate: 1,500 (UCDP minimum)
High estimate: 7,000 (COW and Eckhardt; UCDP maximum)
No best estimate
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