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download alternative
estimates for conflict
death tolls

The table refers to violent conflicts with total death tolls of 25,000 or more that began, or continued with substantial casualties, since the end of the Cold War.*

Profiles of each conflict, including a brief history and references for further information, can be accessed by clicking on the country name (in column 1).

Death toll estimates are meant to be comprehensive. They include civilian as well as military casualties, and indirect deaths from conflict-related famine, disease, and social disruption as well as deaths directly caused by violence. Casualty data are invariably uncertain, and often a matter of debate. Sources can differ in their definition of the period of the conflict, as well as their estimate of casualties in any given time period. In preparing the table, we have relied primarily on the following sources whose online databases are freely accessible:

Monty G. Marshall, *Major Episodes of Political Violence*. A Center for Systemic Peace research project.

<http://members.aol.com/CSPmgm/warlist.htm>

Correlates of War (COW) Project. A project based at Pennsylvania State University.

<http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>

Uppsala Conflict Database, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University.

<http://www.pcr.uu.se/database/index.php>

Matthew White, *Twentieth Century Atlas: Death Tolls*.

<http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/warstats.htm>

Project Ploughshares, *Armed Conflicts Report*. An ecumenical agency of the Canadian Council of Churches.

<http://ploughshares.ca/libraries/ACRText/ACR-TitlePageRev.htm#Preface>

Peace Pledge Union, *Wars and Armed Conflicts*. A UK-based independent organization.

<http://www.ppu.org.uk/war/>

We generally adopted Marshall's classification of conflicts (the "brief description" in column 2) and periodization. Our death-toll estimates are based on a review of multiple sources. Details on alternative death-toll estimates can be accessed by clicking on the death tolls (column 4) in the table.

To calculate death tolls as a percentage of the total population (column 5), we used population estimates for the mid-point of the conflict period. Where available, these were obtained from population data reported in the World Bank's *World Development Indicators*. In the case of the Ethiopia-Eritrea inter-state war, we used the sum of both countries' populations. In the case of the Iraq-Kuwait and Iraq-U.S. wars, we used the population of Iraq only.

* The December 1989 joint declaration by Presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev at the Malta Summit is taken as the date for the end of the Cold War.