

REVENGE OF THE DRONES

APPENDIX 2

PETER BERGEN AND KATHERINE TIEDEMANN
COUNTERTERRORISM STRATEGY INITIATIVE
NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION
OCTOBER 19, 2009

Our analysis of the drone campaign is based only on accounts from reliable media organizations with substantial reporting capabilities in Pakistan. We restricted our analysis to reports in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*, accounts by major news services and networks--the Associated Press, Reuters, Agence France-Presse, CNN, and the BBC--and reports in the leading English-language newspapers in Pakistan--*The Daily Times*, *Dawn*, and *The News*--as well as those from Geo TV, the largest independent Pakistani television network. (Links to all those individual reports can be found in Appendix 1 to this paper.)

The news organizations we relied upon collectively for our data cover the drone strikes as accurately and aggressively as possible. And though we don't pretend that our study is accurate down to the last civilian death in every drone strike, our analysis draws on reliable media accounts that refer to the number of militant and civilian fatalities in each strike. There is a range for each category because sources differ on the exact numbers of militants and civilians killed per strike.

Further, it is not possible to differentiate precisely between militant and civilian fatalities because the militants live among the population and don't wear uniforms, and because the militants have the incentive to claim that all the casualties were civilians, while government sources tend to claim the opposite. With those caveats in mind, we posit that our research has generated some quite reliable data on the number of militant leaders killed, a fairly good estimate of the number of lower-level militants killed, and a reliable sense of the real civilian death rate.

SUMMARY: NUMBER OF DRONE STRIKES

2009: 43 (2 under Bush)
2008: 34
2007: 3
2006: 2

ESTIMATED TOTAL DEATHS FROM U.S. DRONE STRIKES IN PAKISTAN, 2006-09

	Deaths (low)	Deaths (high)
2009*	324	538
2008	291	310
2006-07	142	164
Total	757	1012

*Through October 19

ESTIMATED MILITANT DEATHS FROM U.S. DRONE STRIKES IN PAKISTAN, 2006-09

	Deaths (low)	Deaths (high)
2009*	246	406
2008	121	130
2006-07	138	160
Total	505	696

*Through October 19

2006-09: Civilian death rate of 31.2% to 33.3%

2009: Civilian death rate of 24.1% to 24.5%

2006-08: Civilian death rate of 38.8% to 40.2%

2006-09: 82 strikes total, 757-1012 total killed (505-696 militants, 252-316 civilians)

Average total killed per strike: 10.8

Average militants killed per strike: 7.3

Average civilians killed per strike: 3.5

2009 (through October 18): 43 strikes total, 324-538 total killed (246-406 militants, 78-132 civilians)

Average total killed per strike: 10.0

Average militants killed per strike: 7.6

Average civilians killed per strike: 2.4

2006-08: 39 strikes total

433-474 total killed (259-290 militants, 174-184 civilians)

Average total killed per strike: 11.5

Average militants killed per strike: 7.0

Average civilians killed per strike: 4.5

2008: 34 strikes total, 291-310 total killed (121-130 militants, 170-180 civilians)

Average total killed per strike: 8.8

Average militants killed per strike: 3.7

Average civilians killed per strike: 5.1

2006-07: 5 strikes total, 142-164 total killed (138-160 militants, 4 civilians)

Average total killed per strike: 30.6

Average militants killed per strike: 29.8

Average civilians killed per strike: 0.8