

Additional Table for “Desperate Times, Desperate Measures:  
The Causes of Civilian Victimization in War.”

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In a section of my article “Desperate Times, Desperate Measures” entitled “Cause and Effect: Does Desperation Precede Civilian Victimization,” I investigate the question of whether civilian victimization actually occurs after a conflict becomes a war of attrition as my theory expects. I compiled a list of all the cases in which civilian victimization occurred in a war of attrition, and examined when civilian targeting began. This table presents the details of this analysis. Briefly, I found that in 30 out of 36 cases, attrition preceded civilian victimization. Of the 6 where targeting of noncombatants preceded attrition (indicated by italics below), all were also wars to annex territory, which was the motivation that caused civilian victimization to occur before the conflict became an attrition war. Moreover, in 4 of the 6 (Russo-Turkish, Greco-Turkish, Germany-Poland, Germany-Soviet Union), additional, different strategies of civilian victimization were initiated by belligerents after the onset of attrition. In only 2 cases, therefore—Romania 1941 and North Korea 1950—did attrition not influence the implementation of a strategy of civilian victimization.

Timing of Civilian Victimization in Wars Of Attrition					
War	State	Years	Onset of Attrition	Onset of CV	Comments
Franco-Prussian*	Prussia	1870-71	Sept. 1870	Sept. 19, 1870	Siege of Paris
<i>Russo-Turkish*</i>	<i>Russia</i>	<i>1877-78</i>	<i>July 20, 1877</i>	<i>July 1877 Oct. 24, 1877</i>	<i>Cleansing of Bulgarian Turks begins in July Siege of Plevna begins in October</i>
Boxer Rebellion	China	1900	June 20	June 20	Sieges of Tianjin and Western embassies in Beijing
Boxer Rebellion Boxer Rebellion Boxer Rebellion Boxer Rebellion	Russia UK USA France	1900	June 20	July 13 (Tianjin) August 14 (Beijing)	Reprisal massacres by Western armies after lifting sieges of Tianjin and Beijing
First Balkan*	Bulgaria	1912-13	Oct. 29, 1912	Nov. 1912	Ethnic cleansing of Turks in Balkans begins in early November
First Balkan*	Serbia	1912-13		Nov. 14, 1912	Siege of Adrianople by Serbs and Bulgarians begins in mid-November
WWI West	Germany	1914-18	Fall 1914	Dec. 21, 1914	Zeppelin bombings of Britain
WWI West WWI West WWI West	France UK USA	1914-18 1914-18 1917-18	Fall 1914	March 1915 March 1915 April 1917	Blockade of Central Powers expanded to deny food imports
<i>Greco-Turkish*</i>	<i>Greece</i>	<i>1919-22</i>	<i>Jan. 1921</i>	<i>May 15, 1919</i>	<i>Greeks massacre Turks upon landing in Smyrna</i>
Greco-Turkish*	Turkey	1919-22	June 1920	Sept. 1922	Destruction of Smyrna
Sino-Japanese	Japan	1931-33	Jan. 28, 1932	Jan. 29, 1932	Bombardment of Shanghai
Sino-Japanese*	Japan	1937-45	Aug. 13, 1937	Dec. 13, 1937	Battle of Shanghai; Rape of Nanking
<i>Poland*</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>1939</i>	<i>Sept. 8</i>	<i>First week of Sept. Sept. 25</i>	<i>Massacres of Poles and Polish Jews Siege and bombardment of Warsaw</i>
Russo-Finnish*	USSR	1939-40			Bombing of Finnish cities
WWII West	Germany	1940-45	August 1940	Sept. 1940	The Blitz
WWII West	UK	1940-45	August 1940	Feb. 1942	Strategic bombing of Germany
WWII West	USA	1940-45	August 1943	Nov. 1943	Radar bombing of Germany, 70 urban area raids
<i>German-Soviet*</i>	<i>Germany</i>	<i>1941-45</i>	<i>Dec. 1941</i>	<i>June 1941</i>	<i>Massacres by German Einsatzgruppen</i>
German-Soviet*	USSR	1941-45	1941	1945	Soviets massacre Germans
<i>German-Soviet*</i>	<i>Romania</i>	<i>1941-44</i>	<i>Dec. 1941</i>	<i>June 1941</i>	<i>Romanians massacre Jews</i>
Pacific War	USA	1941-45	1942	March 9, 1945	Firebombing of Japan
Palestine*	Israel	1948-49	March 1948	April 1948	Expulsion of Palestinian Arabs
<i>Korea*</i>	<i>N. Korea</i>	<i>1950-53</i>	<i>Sept. 1950</i>	<i>June 1950</i>	<i>North Korean massacres in Seoul</i>
Korea	USA	1950-53	Oct. 1950	Nov. 5, 1950	Strategic bombing of North Korean cities
First Vietnamese	USA	1965-73	1965	1968	Phoenix Campaign
First Vietnamese*	N. Vietnam	1965-73	1965	1965	Assassination of government officials (continued from civil war phase of conflict)
Iran-Iraq	Iraq	1980-88	End 1980	1982	War of the Cities
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Lebanon	Israel	1982	Mid-June 1982	July 4, 1982	Siege of Beirut
Armenia-Azerbaijan*	Azerbaijan	1992-94	Jan. 31, 1992	Feb. 1992	Siege and bombardment of Stepanakert
Armenia-Azerbaijan*	Armenia	1992-94			Massacre at Khojaly

\* = Conflict is also a war of territorial annexation

Italics = civilian victimization occurred before conflict became war of attrition