

Is There a War Party?

Online Appendix

Andrew Bertoli

Allan Dafoe

Robert Trager

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This document contains details on the cases for both the ideology and incumbency tests. It provides the following information: (1) who the opponent was, (2) which state(s) initiated the conflict, (3) which state(s) were trying to revise the status quo, (4) the country's hostility level (threat, display of force, or use of force), and (5) the highest level of action taken by the country.

Tables 1a and 2a show the cases for the ideology analysis, and they include all of the disputes that countries were involved in when the leaders were in power. The third and fourth tables provide information about the incumbent and challenger party cases. They also include disputes from the previous period, since the main outcome of interest was the change in disputes from the previous period. Additionally, we put all disputes that the countries initiated in the first year of the leader's new term in bold, since that was the other outcome that we looked at in the incumbency/challenger analysis.

We have also included descriptions of the recent cases, which are provided on the Correlates of War website. These case descriptions are available here: <http://cow.dss.ucdavis.edu/data-sets/MIDs>.

Lastly, we show the results for revisionist disputes. As we discuss in our paper, we did not include revisionist disputes in our pre-analysis plan. Our reason was that we believe that the "initiator" coding is less subjective, since it simply captures whether the country was on the initiating side of the dispute rather than whether it sought to change the "status quo." Nevertheless, the results are similar when we look at revisionist disputes.

Table 1a. Disputes for Countries Where the Right-Wing Parties Barely Won

<u>Country</u>	<u>Election</u>		<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Initiator</u>	<u>Revisionist State</u>	<u>Hostility</u>		<u>Highest</u>		<u>Dispute Number</u>
	<u>Year</u>	<u>Year</u>				<u>Level</u>	<u>Action</u>			
Austria	1957		Italy	Austria	None	Display	Border violation		2877	
Austria	1957		Hungary	Austria	None	Display	Border violation		2878	
Colombia	1978		Venezuela	Venezuela	Colombia & Venezuela	Use	Attack		2323	
Colombia	1978		Nicaragua	Colombia	Nicaragua	Display	Show of Force		3120	
Cyprus	1988		Turkey	Turkey	None	Use	Clash		2761	
Cyprus	1988		Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Use	Attack		4038	
Costa Rica	1994		Nicaragua	Costa Rica	None	Use	Seizure		4146	
South Korea	1997		North Korea	South Korea	South Korea	Display	Show of Force		4125	
South Korea	1997		North Korea	North Korea	North & South Korea	Use	Clash		4282	
Taiwan	2000		China	China	China	Display	Show of Force		4281	
Taiwan	2000		China	Taiwan	Taiwan	Display	Show of Force		4444	
Taiwan	2000		Philippines	Taiwan	Taiwan	Display	Show of Force		4461	
Taiwan	2000		China	Taiwan	China & Taiwan	Display	Show of Force		4462	
South Korea	2002		Japan	Japan	Japan	Display	Show of Force		4468	
South Korea	2002		North Korea	North Korea	North Korea	Use	Clash		4473	
South Korea	2002		Japan	South Korea	None	Display	Show of Force		4476	
Taiwan	2004		China	Taiwan	Taiwan	Threat	Threat		4469	
Taiwan	2004		Japan	Taiwan	Japan & Taiwan	Display	Show of Force		4470	

Table 2a. Disputes for Countries Where the Right-Wing Parties Barely Won

<u>Country</u>	<u>Election Year</u>	<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Initiator</u>	<u>Revisionist State</u>	<u>Hostility Level</u>	<u>Highest Action</u>	<u>Dispute Number</u>
USA	1877	Mexico	USA	USA	Display	Show of Force	1543
USA	1877	UK	UK	UK	Threat	Threat	1637
USA	1877	Haiti	USA	USA	Threat	Threat	1681
France	1974	Somalia	Somalia	Somalia	Use	Clash	361
France	1974	Congo, Uganda, Cuba, Angola	Congo, Uganda, Cuba, Angola	None	Use	Clash	2150
France	1974	France and Morocco	France and Morocco	France	Use	Clash	3012
France	1974	France and Tunisia	France and Tunisia	Tunisia	Display	Show of Force	3016
France	1974	Libya	Libya	Libya	Use	Clash	3631
France	1974	Libya	France and Chad	Libya	Display	Show of Force	3633
France	1986	Haiti	Dominican Republic	None	Display	Alert	2736
Cyprus	1993	Turkey	Cyprus	Turkey	Use	Attack	4039
Cyprus	1993	Turkey	Turkey	Cyprus	Use	Attack	4095
Israel	1996	Syria and Lebanon	Israel	Israel and Lebanon	Use	Clash	4182
Colombia	1998	Nicaragua	Nicaragua	Colombia	Use	Seizure	4263
Costa Rica	1998	Nicaragua	Costa Rica	Nicaragua	Display	Fortify Border	4147
USA	2001	China	China	China	Display	Border Violation	4280
USA	2001	China	China	China	Display	Show of Force	4281
USA	2001	Afghanistan	Coalition Including USA	Coalition Including USA	War	Clash	4283
USA	2001	North Korea	Spain & USA	None	Use	Seizure	4451
USA	2001	North Korea	USA	USA and North Korea	Display	Show of Force	4455
USA	2001	Indonesia	USA	None	Display	Show of Force	4460
USA	2001	Iran	USA and UK	None	Use	Attack	4512
USA	2001	Turkey	USA	None	Use	Seizure	4516
USA	2001	North Korea	USA	USA	Display	Show of Force	4465
USA	2001	Syria	USA	USA	Display	Show of Force	4518
USA	2001	Iran	Iran	None	Use	Clash	4519
USA	2001	Pakistan	Pakistan	Afghanistan, USA, Pakistan	Use	Clash	4552
USA	2001	Iran	USA	USA	Display	Show of Force	4524

Table 3a. Disputes for Countries Where the Incumbent Party Barely Won

<u>Country</u>	<u>Election</u>		<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Initiator</u>	<u>Revisionist State</u>	<u>Hostility</u>		<u>Highest Action</u>		<u>Dispute Number</u>
	<u>Year</u>	<u>Level</u>				<u>Level</u>	<u>Action</u>			
USA	1877	Spain	Spain	Spain	Threat	Threat	Threat	Threat	256	
USA	1877	Mexico	USA	USA	Use	Attack	Attack	Attack	1544	
USA	1877	Mexico	USA	USA	Border Violation	Border Violation	Border Violation	Border Violation	1545	
USA	1877	Mexico	USA	USA	Display	Display	Display	Display	1547	
USA	1877	Spain	USA	USA	Threat	Threat	Threat	Threat	1559	
USA	1877	Mexico	USA	USA	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	1543	
USA	1877	UK	UK	UK	Threat	Threat	Threat	Threat	1637	
USA	1877	Haiti	USA	USA	Threat	Threat	Threat	Threat	1681	
Austria	1957	Italy	Austria	Austria	None	None	None	None	2877	
Austria	1957	Hungary	Austria	Austria	None	None	None	None	2878	
Colombia	1978	Venezuela	Venezuela	Colombia and Venezuela	Use	Attack	Attack	Attack	2323	
Colombia	1978	Nicaragua	Colombia	Nicaragua	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	3120	
Dominican Republic	1990	Haiti	Haiti	Dominican Republic	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	2736	
Dominican Republic	1990	Haiti	Haiti	Coalition Including D.R.	Use	Blockade	Blockade	Blockade	4016	
Dominican Republic	1994	Haiti	Haiti	Coalition Including D.R.	Use	Blockade	Blockade	Blockade	4016	
Cyprus	1998	Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Use	Attack	Attack	Attack	4039	
Cyprus	1998	Turkey	Turkey	Cyprus	Use	Attack	Attack	Attack	4095	
South Korea	2002	Japan	Japan	Japan	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	4468	
South Korea	2002	North Korea	North Korea	North Korea	Use	Clash	Clash	Clash	4473	
South Korea	2002	Japan	South Korea	None	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	4476	
Taiwan	2000	China	China	China	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	4281	
Taiwan	2000	China	China	Taiwan	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	4444	
Taiwan	2000	Philippines	Taiwan	Taiwan	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	4461	
Taiwan	2000	China	Taiwan	China & Taiwan	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	4462	
Taiwan	2004	China	Taiwan	Taiwan	Threat	Threat	Threat	Threat	4469	
Taiwan	2004	Japan	Taiwan	Taiwan	Display	Display	Display	Show of Force	4470	

Table 4a. Disputes for Countries Where the Challenger Party Barely Won

Country	Election		Opponent	Initiator	Revisionist State	Hostility		Highest Action	Dispute Number
	Year	Level							
Germany	1925		France	Germany	France	Display	Use	Show of Force	211
Germany	1925		Coalition Including UK	Germany	Germany	Use	Use	Occupation of Territory	1269
Germany	1925		Poland	Poland	Poland	Use	Use	Clash	1273
Germany	1925		Soviet Union	Soviet Union	Soviet Union	Use	Use	Occupation of Territory	2604
Germany	1925		China	Coalition Against China	Japan	Threat	Threat	Threat	2208
Costa Rica	1958		Nicaragua	Costa Rica	None	Display	Display	Show of Force	2042
Venezuela	1968		Cuba	Cuba	Cuba	Use	Use	Clash	1115
Venezuela	1968		Guyana	Venezuela	Venezuela	Use	Use	Occupation of Territory	1166
Venezuela	1968		Soviet Union	Venezuela	Venezuela	Use	Use	Seizure	2922
Venezuela	1968		Cuba	Venezuela	Venezuela	Use	Use	Seizure	2940
Venezuela	1968		Guyana	Venezuela	Venezuela	Display	Display	Show of Force	2239
Venezuela	1978		Guyana	Venezuela	Venezuela	Display	Display	Show of Force	2317
Venezuela	1978		Guyana and the UK	Venezuela	Venezuela	Display	Display	Show of Force	2237
Venezuela	1978		Venezuela	Venezuela	Colombia & Venezuela	Use	Use	Attack	2323
Venezuela	1978		Guyana	Venezuela	Venezuela	Use	Use	Attack	3085
Dominican Republic	1986		Haiti	Dominican Republic	None	Display	Display	Show of Force	2354
Dominican Republic	1986		Haiti	Dominican Republic	None	Display	Display	Show of Force	2736
Cyprus	1988		Turkey	Turkey	None	Use	Use	Clash	2761
Cyprus	1988		Turkey	Turkey	Turkey	Use	Use	Attack	4038
Cyprus	1993		Turkey	Turkey	Cyprus	Use	Use	Attack	4095
Cyprus	1993		Turkey	Cyprus	Turkey	Use	Use	Attack	4039
Costa Rica	1994		Nicaragua	None	Costa Rica	Use	Use	Seizure	4146
Israel	1996		Syria and Lebanon	Israel	Israel and Lebanon	Use	Use	Clash	4182
Israel	1996		Iraq	Coalition Including Israel	Coalition Including USA	Display	Display	Mobilization	4273
South Korea	1997		North Korea	USA & South Korea	North Korea	Display	Display	Show of Force	4021
South Korea	1997		North Korea	North Korea	North Korea	Display	Display	Fortify Border	4022
South Korea	1997		Japan	South Korea	South Korea & Japan	Display	Display	Show of Force	4126
South Korea	1997		North Korea	North Korea	North Korea	Use	Use	Clash	4087
South Korea	1997		North Korea	North Korea	South Korea	Display	Display	Show of Force	4125
South Korea	1997		North Korea	North Korea	South & North Korea	Use	Use	Clash	4282
Colombia	1998		Nicaragua	Nicaragua	Colombia	Use	Use	Seizure	4263
Costa Rica	1998		Nicaragua	Costa Rica	None	Use	Use	Seizure	4146
Costa Rica	1998		Nicaragua	Nicaragua	Costa Rica	Display	Display	Fortify Border	4147

Table 4a. Disputes for Countries Where the Challenger Party Barely Won (Continued)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Election</u>		<u>Opponent</u>	<u>Initiator</u>	<u>Revisionist</u>	<u>Hostility</u>	<u>Highest</u>	<u>Dispute</u>
	<u>Year</u>	<u>Number</u>						
USA	2001		China	China		Display	Show of Force	4088
USA	2001		Yugoslavia	Coalition Including USA	China	Use	Attack	4137
USA	2001		Yugoslavia	Coalition including USA	Coalition Including USA	Display	Show of Force	4186
USA	2001		Russia	Russia	None	Display	Alert	4197
USA	2001		Russia	USA	Russia	Use	Seizure	4213
USA	2001		Sudan	USA	USA	Use	Attack	4217
USA	2001		Russia	Russia	None	Display	Show of Force	4220
USA	2001		Afghanistan	USA	None	Use	Attack	4227
USA	2001		Liberia	USA	None	Display	Show of Force	4254
USA	2001		Venezuela	USA	USA	Display	Border Violation	4261
USA	2001		Yugoslavia	Yugoslavia	None	Display	Show of Force	4298
USA	2001		China	China	China	Display	Border Violation	4280
USA	2001		China	China	China	Display	Show of Force	4281
USA	2001		Afghanistan	Coalition Including USA	Coalition Including USA	War	Clash	4283
USA	2001		North Korea	Spain & USA	None	Use	Seizure	4451
USA	2001		North Korea	USA	USA and North Korea	Display	Show of Force	4455
USA	2001		Indonesia	USA	None	Display	Show of Force	4460
USA	2001		Iran	USA and UK	None	Use	Attack	4512
USA	2001		Turkey	USA	None	Use	Seizure	4516
USA	2001		North Korea	USA	USA	Display	Show of Force	4465
USA	2001		Syria	USA	USA	Use	Clash	4518
USA	2001		Iran	Iran	None	Use	Clash	4519
USA	2001		Pakistan	Pakistan	Afghanistan, USA, Pakistan	Use	Clash	4552
USA	2001		Iran	USA	USA	Display	Show of Force	4524

Descriptions of Recent Cases

4016 Dominican Republic 1990

Opponent: Haiti

Initiator: Coalition Including D.R.

Revisionist State: Coalition Including D.R.

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Blockade

Description: This dispute is comprised of a series of incidents generated by United States led efforts to restore the rule of Haitian President Aristide after he was deposed in a coup. The incidents begin with a naval blockade in October of 1993 where the United States was joined by a number of other nations (Argentina, Canada, the Dominican Republic, France, Haiti, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom). As the blockade wore on, and the military junta led by General Cedras remained in place, the United States resorted to a number of threats of military action and displays of force. The dispute was resolved with the return of Aristide only after the intercession of US Special Envoy Jimmy Carter. An invasion force was in the air as the deal was brokered.

4021 South Korea 1997

Opponent: North Korea

Initiator: USA & South Korea

Revisionist State: North Korea

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: In the wake of continued concern over the North Korean nuclear program, the US and South Korea began conducting joint exercises. North Korea threatened in March 1993 to withdraw from the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and ban inspections of its nuclear facilities. As a result, the US-ROK exercises, which were cancelled in the previous year, were conducted in 1993. In response, North Korea placed its forces on alert, declaring a “semi-war footing.” South Korea also declared an alert of its own.

4022 South Korea 1997

Opponent: North Korea

Initiator: North Korea

Revisionist State: North Korea

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Fortify Border

Description: This dispute involves a series of 26 incidents between November 1993 and April 1995. The primary participants in the dispute were South Korea, North Korea, and USA. Japan was the subject of a North Korean threat in March 1994 and participated in a joint naval exercise with USA, South Korea, Australia, and Canada

forces in June 1994. Australian and Canadian participation in the dispute was limited to the naval exercises. During the dispute, North Korea and the American-South Korean side exchanged alerts, threats of forces and war, and shows of force. Both sides conducted border fortifications and North Korea violated the South Korean border as it challenged the Korean War armistice agreement.

4038 Cyprus 1988

Opponent: Turkey

Initiator: Turkey

Revisionist State: Turkey

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Attack

Description: The dispute is about Cyprus's opposition to Turkey's presence in northern Cyprus and Turkey's demand for the recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) as a legal independent state. On 1/22/1993 Turkish Prime Minister threatened to use force "if a situation is created in Cyprus which [Turkey] would not want." Then on 4/8/1993 Turkish troops guarding UN-controlled buffer zone between Turkish and Greek Cyprus killed a Greek Cypriot national guardsman as he crossed the no-man's land of the buffer zone. Later, on 4/11/1993 Greek-Cypriot guards open fire at two posts manned by Turkish-Cypriots. (FG)

4039 Cyprus 1993

Opponent: Turkey

Initiator: Cyprus

Revisionist State: Turkey

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Attack

Description: Turkish Radio reported that on 10/14/1993 Cypriot national guardsman fired on a Turkish post, and as a result, Turkish authorities filed a complaint to the UN. This dispute is about Cyprus's opposition to Turkey's presence in northern Cyprus and Turkey's demand for the recognition of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as a legal independent state (FG).

4087 South Korea 1997

Opponent: North Korea

Initiator: North Korea

Revisionist State: North Korea

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Clash

Description: This dispute consisted of 49 incidents that occurred between 10/10/94 and 9/99. Although this is a large number of incidents over a long period of time, the longest duration between incidents was approximately 5.5 months. In addition, the pattern in which the incidents occurred suggests that they are linked and should be considered as one dispute. In the dispute, North Korea continually challenges South

Korean territorial boundaries along the DMZ and in the waters along the Northern Limit Line. South Korea responds by placing its forces on alert, conducting military exercises, showing ships and planes, and clashing with North Korean vessels that cross into South Korean waters and North Korea troops that cross the DMZ. Despite the distinction between the land and naval incursions by North Korea, their timing close together suggests a broader effort to challenge South Korean borders.

4088 USA 2001

Opponent: China

Initiator: China

Revisionist State: China

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: This dispute consists of 19 militarized incidents involving China, Taiwan, and the US. The overriding issue throughout this dispute is Chinese concern that Taiwan is moving toward independence from the mainland. As a result, China conducted a series of alerts, threats, and shows of force aimed at intimidating Taiwan. The Chinese shows of force included military exercises, missile tests, the deployment of missiles near Taiwan, and increased fighter sorties by Chinese jets near Taiwan. Taiwan responded to these actions by repeatedly placing its forces on alert and launching its own fighters when China conducted sorties near Taiwan. The tensions increased in late July 1999 when Chinese jets crossed the dividing line separating Taiwan and China on 2 separate occasions. The US responded to the increased tensions by deploying two aircraft carrier groups to the region in July and August 1999. The threats and shows of force by both sides continued into 2000.

4095 Cyprus 1993

Opponent: Turkey

Initiator: Cyprus

Revisionist State: Turkey

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Attack

Description: This MID deals with the issues surrounding the island of Cyprus. Turkey, Greece, and Cyprus repeatedly violate each others territory and airspace. These violations are interrupted by the occasional display and threat of force. It does not end with a settlement; rather, the tensions simply cool.

4125 South Korea 1997

Opponent: North Korea

Initiator: South Korea

Revisionist State: South Korea

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: This dispute consists of 2 incidents in which the United States and South Korea conducted landing exercises in the wake of suspicion that North Korea

was preparing for a missile launch. The reports described the landings as a “show of strength against North Korea”. Previously, on 6/16 the US increased patrols in the Yellow Sea, sending a guided missile cruiser, planes, and a destroyer.

4126 South Korea 1997

Opponent: Japan

Initiator: South Korea

Revisionist State: South Korea & Japan

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: This dispute consists of three disputes between Japan and South Korea over a three day period from 2/15/96 to 2/17/96. The dispute is over control of the Takeshima Islands, a series of islets approximately 150 km from both Japan and South Korea. The waters surrounding the islands are believed to be rich in both marine life and natural resources. As a result, because both states are attempted to claim the uninhabited islands, both states are coded as revisionist states.

4137 USA 2001

Opponent: Yugoslavia

Initiator: Coalition Including USA

Revisionist State: Coalition Including USA

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Attack

Description: In response to Yugoslav military activity in the bordering Kosovo region, Albania, followed by other nations, took military action against Yugoslavia. Albania began by fortifying its border with Yugoslavia, and engaged in numerous subsequent incidents with Yugoslavia over its stance toward ethnic Albanians in Kosovo. Beginning in mid-1998, NATO states began conducting military exercises and other shows of force and began to threaten Yugoslavia with airstrikes if it did not change its Kosovo policy. Yugoslavia responded with mobilizations and other militarized actions. From 3/24/99, NATO countries began carrying out airstrikes against Yugoslavia, which acceded to NATO demands to leave Kosovo in early June 1999. NATO bombings ceased on 6/10/99.

4146 Costa Rica 1994

Opponent: Nicaragua

Initiator: Costa Rica

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Seizure

Description: Nicaragua-Costa Rica relations have been conflictual on many issues. In January 1995, Costa Rica expelled thousands of illegal Nicaraguans residing in Costa Rica. Nicaraguan press claimed that Costa Rican farmers exploited and mistreated Nicaraguans. They also have different views on the navigation on San Juan border

river. During the most recent of these disputes, according to Nicaraguan government, on March 3, 1995, 13 members of the Costa Rican civil guards crossed the border to Nicaragua while pursuing illegal immigrants. They were seized by Nicaraguan forces. In a retaliatory act, on March 5, 1995, two Nicaraguan policemen were arrested by Costa Rican authorities after they crossed the border “to get a drink of water.” By March 6, 1995, the two sides had exchanged their prisoners.

4147 Costa Rica 1998

Opponent: Nicaragua

Initiator: Costa Rica

Revisionist State: Nicaragua

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Fortify Border

Description: On July 16, 1998, an incident occurred over navigation rights on the San Juan River separating Nicaragua and Costa Rica. A Nicaraguan patrol boat stopped a Costa Rican patrol boat, claiming that Costa Rican guards were not allowed to carry weapons on the river, which belongs to Nicaragua. Following two weeks of protests, the two countries reached a new agreement on July 30, 1998. This new agreement allowed Costa Rican guards to carry weapons on the river, but also required them to report to various Nicaraguan military stations along the river. In August, following renewed Nicaraguan prohibition of Costa Rican moves with weapons on the San Juan River, Costa Rican President ordered a “heavy” military deployment on the border. Nicaragua reacted by suspending free navigation on August 3, 1998 and voided the agreement that had been signed in July. After nearly two years of uncertainty, a navigation rights agreement was reached on

4182 Israel 1996

Opponent: Syria & Lebanon

Initiator: Israel

Revisionist State: Israel & Lebanon

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Clash

Description: This dispute contains hundreds of militarized incidents between, primarily, Israel and Lebanon. Syria sporadically participated on the side of the Lebanese. Virtually all of the incidents occur when Israel attacks Hezbollah guerillas in Southern Lebanon in response to Hezbollah attacks on Israeli troops. Israeli violations of the Lebanese border, in an effort to monitor Hezbollah activities, are also common. Lebanon repeatedly protests the incursions, and often fights with the Hezbollah guerillas when the Israeli forces attack. The dispute begins in 1993 and continues through December 2001 with remarkably little change in the character of the incidents. The dispute is, therefore, still ongoing with no outcome or settlement.

4186 USA 2001

Opponent: Yugoslavia

Initiator: Coalition Including USA

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: This dispute deals with the relationship between NATO and Yugoslavia. At this time KFOR was patrolling the border between Kosovo and Yugoslavia, but a number of rebels from Kosovo were continuing to infiltrate into Yugoslavia and attack Serb police officers. Yugoslavia originally moved forces to the border to counter the actions by the Kosovars and this was met with a NATO threat.

4197 USA 2001

Opponent: Russia

Initiator: Russia

Revisionist State: Russia

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Alert

Description: Russia deployed seven bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons to bases in the Arctic as a “training exercise.” These confrontations were routine during the Cold War but not at the time of this dispute. Canada and the United States responded by moving fighters and AWACS radar planes to northern bases to counter what NORAD described as a “potential threat.”

4213 USA 2001

Opponent: Russia

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: USA

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Seizure

Description: USA patrol boats stopped and detained two Russian tankers suspected of carrying sanctioned Iraq oil from the Persian Gulf. Russian Foreign Minister demanded the immediate release of the tanker.

4217 USA 2001

Opponent: Sudan

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: USA

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Attack

Description: On August 20, 1998 the United States launched a cruise missile attack against a suspected chemical weapons plant in Khartoum, Sudan. This attack was in retaliation for the August 7 bombings of US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya. The Sudanese protested the attack, and subsequent investigation cast doubt on the assertion that this was a chemical weapons plant.

4220 USA 2001

Opponent: Russia

Initiator: Russia

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: On two separate occasions (10/17/2000 and 10/19/2000) two Russian jets fly over the USS Kitty Hawk on its way to, and then from, exercises in the Korean Straits. Both times the Russian jets were chased by American F-18s.

4227 USA 2001

Opponent: Afghanistan

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: USA

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Attack

Description: This dispute consists of one incident in which the United States fired cruise missiles at suspected terrorist training sites in response to the bombing of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Reports indicate that 26 people were killed in the strikes, but no information was given regarding whether the fatalities were civilian, military, or some combination thereof.

4254 USA 2001

Opponent: Liberia

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: The U.S. ordered the vessel Chinook to the waters off the Liberian coast after the U.S. embassy was caught in crossfire during a fight between rebel and govt. forces. Liberia protested this action as a violation of its territorial integrity.

4261 USA 2001

Opponent: Venezuela

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: USA

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Border Violation

Description: In mid-October, 2000, the United States Coast Guard boat Gendian was accused by the Venezuelan government by violating their territorial waters at the mouth of Orinoco River. On October 21, the United States Coast Guard boat Reliance was intercepted by a Venezuelan patrol boat, Patria. Reliance left the area after four Venezuelan airplanes came to the scene. Claiming that this was the second time in less than a month that such a violation of territorial waters took place, the

Venezuelan government issued a formal protest to the United States government. In their reply to the Venezuelan protest, United States officials claimed that the incident took place in international waters and that Venezuela used disproportionate military power.

4263 Colombia 1998

Opponent: Nicaragua

Initiator: Nicaragua

Revisionist State: Colombia

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Seizure

Description: In 1999, after Honduras and Colombia signed a treaty that dismissed Nicaragua's claim to 52,000 square miles of the Caribbean Sea, Nicaragua filed a lawsuit with regional and world courts. When Honduras countersued at the regional court, Nicaragua imposed a 35 percent duty on imports from Honduras. These moves led to a number of incidents in the Caribbean involving Nicaragua and either Colombia or Honduras. In one of those incidents, the maritime border between Nicaragua and Colombia witnessed a new incident sometime in late October or early November 2001. Colombian navy boarded the Nicaraguan fishing boat "Danny Junior" and arrested 11 Nicaraguan fishermen, claiming that they had entered Colombian territorial waters. The arrested fishermen were taken to San Andres Island and a fine of \$8,000 was demanded for their release. Nicaraguan officials sent a "firm note of protest" to Colombia and claimed that the incident took place in their own territorial waters.

4273 Israel 1996

Opponent: Iraq

Initiator: Coalition Including Israel

Revisionist State: Iraq & Coalition

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Mobilization

Description: Statements by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.

4280 USA 2001

Opponent: China

Initiator: China

Revisionist State: China

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Border Violation

Description: U.S. moved three destroyers to region and participated in contested overflights.

4281 Taiwan 2000

Opponent: China

Initiator: China

Revisionist State: China

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: This dispute consists of 6 incidents in which Chinese threats toward Taiwan escalated to involve shows of force by both sides. The issue under dispute involves Chinese concern over Taiwanese moves toward independence. Because Chinese actions are aimed at changing Taiwanese behavior, China is coded as the revisionist state. The dispute began on 3/27/01 when China threatened to declare war if Taiwan declared independence. On 8/1/01 China again threatened to use force if Taiwan declared independence. These threats were followed by a Taiwanese show of force in which Taiwan conducted aerial flight maneuvers with 10 AH-1W Helicopters on 8/21/01. On 8/22/01 China conducted the largest exercises ever around Dongshan Island. According to reports, the exercises involved 100,000 personnel and simulated how the PLA would “smash” separatist actions by Taiwan. The US responded to the Chinese moves by threatening force if Taiwan was attacked. The US also conducted naval exercises in the South China Sea as a show of force. The naval exercise only lasted one day (8/17/01) and involved two U.S. aircraft carriers. China is coded as the revisionist state because its actions are aimed at altering Taiwanese policy toward independence.

4282 South Korea 1997

Opponent: North Korea

Initiator: North Korea

Revisionist State: North Korea & South Korea

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Clash

Description: This militarized dispute consists of four incidents in which North Korean and South Korean forces squabbled over their border. The dispute began on 6/2/2001 when three North Korean cargo vessels crossed the Northern Limit Line, returning to international waters when they were challenged by South Korean naval vessels. A second North Korean incursion occurred on 9/26/2001 when North Korean forces accidentally encroached across the DMZ on two separate occasions. In response, South Korean border forces fired warning shots. On 11/18/2001 another North Korean border violation occurred when a North Korean patrol boat violated the Northern Limit Line and remained in South Korean waters for 36 minutes before being driven out. On 11/27/2001 North and South Korean forces along the DMZ exchanged fire. There were no injuries or fatalities from the exchange of fire, only minor damage. North Korea is coded as the revisionist state in this dispute because their actions are challenging the post Korean War status quo. In this dispute, North Korea challenges both the Northern Limit Line and the DMZ that were established following the Korean war.

4283 USA 2001

Opponent: Afghanistan

Initiator: Coalition Including USA

Revisionist State: Coalition Including USA

Hostility Level: War

Highest Action: Clash

Description: This dispute consists of a series of 35 militarized incidents that are centered around the response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist strikes against the United States. In response to the terrorist attacks, the United States demanded that Afghanistan turn over Osama bin Laden and expel Al Qaeda members that were operating and training in Afghanistan. 9/15/01– The United States, Great Britain, and France deployed naval forces to waters near Afghanistan. The United States deployed 2 aircraft carriers, Great Britain deployed 6 warships, and France deployed 2 warships. In response to the American deployment, Afghanistan placed its forces on alert and deployed anti-aircraft weapons around Kandahar. Russia, which had experienced previous disputes with Afghanistan along the Tajik border, placed its forces along the Tajik border on alert and mass weapons and troops along the border in response to the rising tensions in the region. 9/17/01 – American president Bush issued an ultimatum to the Afghan leadership to turn over Osama bin Laden or face American military strikes.

4298 USA 2001

Opponent: Yugoslavia

Initiator: Yugoslavia

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: Yugoslavia seized a Croatian freighter, the “Dea,” which was released 2 days later. Shortly after this incident, the USA and Croatia conduct a joint naval exercise. The USA claims that the timing was a coincident, but acknowledged that it had been delayed and rescheduled at Croatian request.

4444 Taiwan 2000

Opponent: China

Initiator: Taiwan

Revisionist State: Taiwan

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: Ships from the Taiwanese navy and coastguard chased off a Chinese research ship that had entered Taiwanese waters. Taiwan also chased off Chinese spy ships that entered its waters.

4451 USA 2001

Opponent: North Korea

Initiator: Spain & USA

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Seizure

Description: Two Spanish warships stopped a North Korean vessel suspected of carrying Scud missiles to Yemen. The Spanish warships escorted the ship to a Yemeni port where it was searched by the US Navy. The ship was released after it was cleared by US officials.

4455 USA 2001

Opponent: North Korea

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: USA & North Korea

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: Tension between the US and North Korea increased over North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons. The US military increased its naval presence around the Korean peninsula with several additional warships. North Korea responded with its own shows of force in the waters of the Yellow Sea. In one incident, North Korea mobilized several planes to chase off American planes that had entered North Korean airspace.

4460 USA 2001

Opponent: Indonesia

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: On July 3, USA warships and planes briefly violated Indonesian waters near the island of Java.

4461 Taiwan 2000

Opponent: Philippines

Initiator: Taiwan

Revisionist State: Taiwan

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: Taiwan increased patrols in the Bashi Channel, an area of disputed fishing rights with the Philippines, following what they claimed to be Filipino aggression toward Taiwanese fishermen in the region.

4462 Taiwan 2000

Opponent: China

Initiator: Taiwan

Revisionist State: China & Taiwan

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: Taiwan protested intrusions into its territorial waters by Chinese research vessels. Taiwan accused them of being spy ships. In response, Taiwan also stepped up naval patrols around Matzu Masu islands, ownership of which is disputed between Taiwan and China.

4465 USA 2001

Opponent: North Korea

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: USA

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: The US deployed new air defense batteries to the Korean DMZ and sent a squadron of fighter jets for training. North Korea also accused the US of repeated airspace violations by American spy planes.

4468 South Korea 2002

Opponent: Japan

Initiator: Japan

Revisionist State: Japan

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: South Korea several times deployed fighter jets to warn away Japanese planes approaching the disputed Tokdo Islands. South Korea also increased their patrols around the Tokdo islands when Japan stepped up patrols around the islands.

4469 Taiwan 2004

Opponent: China

Initiator: Taiwan

Revisionist State: Taiwan

Hostility Level: Threat

Highest Action: Threat

Description: Taiwan threatened to forcibly board a Chinese surveillance ship after the ship ignored warnings to leave Taiwanese territorial waters.

4470 Taiwan 2004

Opponent: Japan

Initiator: Taiwan

Revisionist State: Taiwan

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: Taiwan repeatedly deployed naval vessels to the waters around the Senkaku Islands, an area of water disputed with Japan (see MID 30306), to protect its fishermen from harassment by Japanese naval vessels.

4473 South Korea 2002

Opponent: North Korea

Initiator: North Korea

Revisionist State: North Korea

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Clash

Description: Border guards in the Korean DMZ briefly exchanged fire. While PRK forces fired first, it is unclear why the exchange occurred.

4476 South Korea 2002

Opponent: Japan

Initiator: South Korea

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: Continuing the issue of MID 30501, South Korea and Japan dispute control over the Tokdo Islands. In one incident, South Korea deployed 18 coast guard vessels to the area to patrol against Japanese naval vessels.

4512 USA 2001

Opponent: Iran

Initiator: USA & UK

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Attack

Description: During the USA-IRQ war of 2003 (MID 50202), there was a concurrent MID between USA, UKG, and IRN. The MID began on 3/22 when two USA missiles landed in Iranian territory and US planes violated Iranian airspace while conducting combat operations. This was met with the Iranian response that it would use military force to repel any further incursions or transgressions against the state. Later, on June 1, Iranian authorities detained four US soldiers and 2 boats overnight. About a month later, US forces detained two Iranian reporters due to suspicious activity, which was protested by Iran. It is unclear when or if the reporters were released.

4516 USA 2001

Opponent: Turkey

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Seizure

Description: USA arrested 11 Turkish soldiers who were allegedly planning to attack a Kurdish governor in northern Iraq. The soldiers were released to the Turkish military the next day.

4518 USA 2001

Opponent: Syria

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: USA

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Clash

Description: US forces in Iraq exchanged fire with Syrian border troops over the Iraq-Syria border. No one was killed in the clash. A few days later, US military forces increased the US troop presence along the Iraq-Syria border to prevent incursions into Iraq by Syrian troops and foreign fighters.

4519 USA 2001

Opponent: Iran

Initiator: Iran

Revisionist State: None

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Clash

Description: While questioning potential smugglers near the Iraqi town of Tikrit, US forces were fired upon by Iranian border troops from Iranian territory. US forces returned fire, killing one of the Iranian troops.

4524 USA 2001

Opponent: Iran

Initiator: USA

Revisionist State: USA

Hostility Level: Display

Highest Action: Show of Force

Description: The underlying issue of this MID is the increasing hostilities between the US and Iran over the Iranian nuclear program. In August 2004, US warplanes violated Iranian airspace, apparently to test the sensitivity of Iran's anti-aircraft defense system. In November, both a US cruiser and US warplanes simultaneously violated Iranian territorial waters and airspace briefly. In January 2005, US warplanes violated Iranian airspace near Afghanistan, apparently spying on potential Iranian nuclear sites. This prompted the Iranian military to threaten force to repel all future incursions into Iranian territory.

4552 USA 2001

Opponent: Pakistan

Initiator: Pakistan

Revisionist State: Afghanistan, USA, Pakistan

Hostility Level: Use

Highest Action: Clash

Description: The Afghanistan-Pakistan border was a source of tension for Pakistani forces and Afghan-American forces. In several instances, the Afghan military deployed additional troops to the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to secure the frontier against incursions by rebels from Pakistan. These border troops periodically exchanged small-arms fire with Pakistani troops, but it appears the localized conflicts were simple exchanges of hostilities and not part of larger offensives. At the end of 2002, the US military became increasingly involved, deploying its own troops to the border with Pakistan and beginning direct attacks against rebels in Pakistani territory.

Figure 1a. Testing How Barely Electing Right-Wing Leaders Affects Military Disputes Initiated per Year

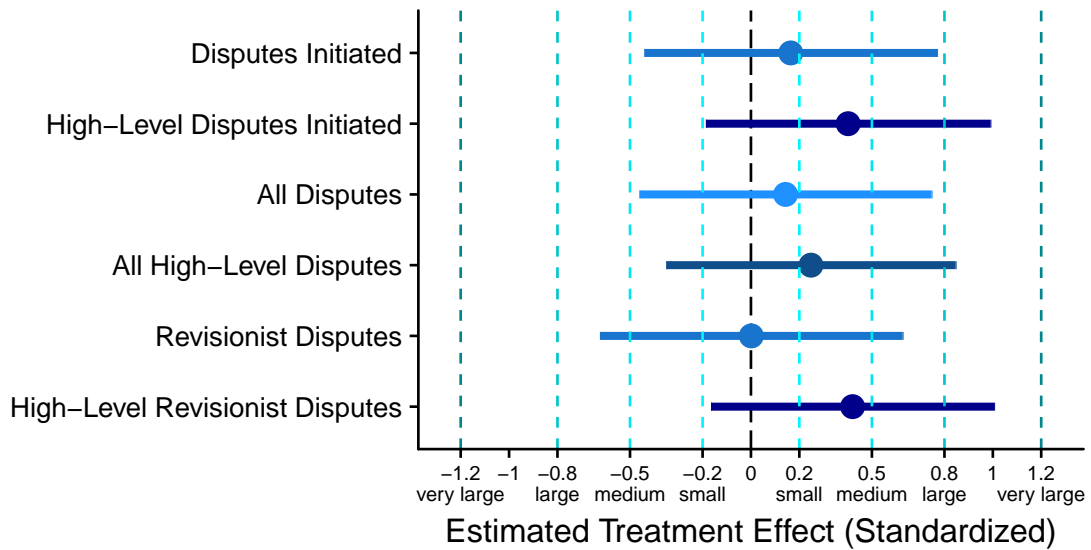
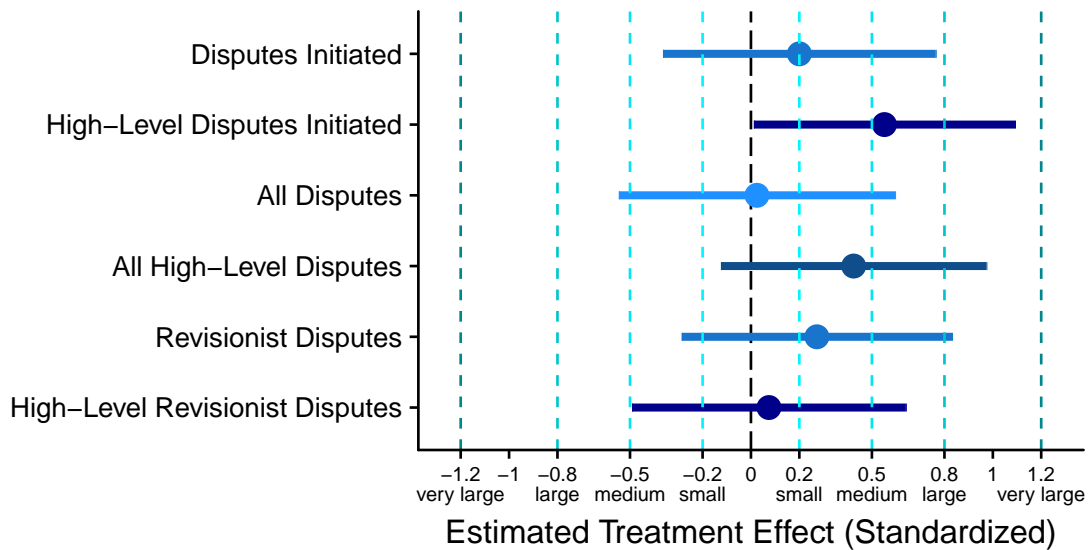


Figure 2a. Testing How Barely Electing Challenger Parties to the Presidency Affects the Absolute Change in Military Disputes Initiated per Year



Note: Since our test for this section are one-sided, we use 90% confidence intervals for this graph.

Figure 3a. Testing How Barely Electing Challenger Parties to the Presidency Affects State Aggression in the First Year of the New Term

