

# CODEBOOK FOR DATA USED IN "ATTACK AND CONQUER?"<sup>1</sup>

**Karen Ruth Adams**  
**December 2003<sup>1</sup>**

<u>Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>
Defining the Universe of Great Powers and Nuclear States	
Great Powers	2
Nuclear States	2
Dependent Variable Coding	
Conquests	2
Great-Power Attacks on Great Powers	3
Great-Power Attacks on Non-Great Powers	3
<u>Appendix A</u>	
Conquests of Great Powers and Nuclear States, 1800 to 1997 (Detailed Version)	5
<u>Appendix B</u>	
Great Power-Initiated Wars with Non-Great Powers, 1800 to 1997	9
<u>Appendix C</u>	
Non-Great Powers in Europe and the Middle East Conquered by Great Powers, 1816 to 1997	10
<u>Appendix D</u>	
List of Variables and Explanation of Coding in Attack and Conquer Data Set (A&C.gnp, Version 1)	11

---

<sup>1</sup> Copyright 2003 by Karen Ruth Adams.

## DEFINING THE UNIVERSE OF GREAT POWERS AND NUCLEAR STATES

### Great Powers

My coding of great powers is based on Jack Levy, *War in the Modern Great Power System*,<sup>2</sup> but it differs from Levy's in three ways. First, Levy counts Prussia from 1807-1812, France in 1816, 1817, and 1872, and Germany from 1920-1929 as great powers despite their occupation by other states. I do not do so because great powers are, by definition, peers – not super- and subordinates. Second, Levy codes the UK, France, and Germany after 1945, as well as China after 1949, as great powers because of their UN vetoes, military capabilities, and global reach. By contrast, I code just the US and Soviet Union as great powers after 1946 because their capabilities put them in a class by themselves. Finally, because Levy's data end in 1975, it was necessary to date the decline of the Soviet Union. I use 1989 because Soviet gross national product was stagnant from 1985-1989, and by 1989, the USSR could no longer service its hard currency debt on time.

My coding of great powers also differs from the Correlates of War (COW) project's list of major powers from 1816-1997. COW does not include the Soviet Union from 1918-1921 during its period of non-recognition by the US, Britain, and France but does include Japan after 1895; Germany after the Locarno Pact of 1925; the UK, France, and China after 1945; Germany after 1991; and Russia after 1990.<sup>3</sup>

### Nuclear States

Dates for the United States, Russia, United Kingdom, France, and China are from the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*.<sup>4</sup> Israel's dating reflects Avner Cohen's finding that Israel assembled its first nuclear weapons on the eve of the 1967 Six Day War.<sup>5</sup> Dates for India and Pakistan are based on the Federation of American Scientists' nuclear chronologies for these states.<sup>6</sup>

## DEPENDENT VARIABLE CODING

### Conquests

<sup>1</sup>States are coded as conquered if they involuntarily lost their monopoly of force over all of their territory to an external rival or rivals, and they were great powers or nuclear states when this occurred. Conquest may occur either directly, through the complete collapse or surrender of a state's military forces, or indirectly, through the surrender of political leaders in response to military threats or operations.

States are coded as having regained sovereignty when (1) the last occupying troops leave the country if their purpose is to run the country and/or its foreign policy, not simply assist the state in implementing its own policies; (2) the occupying state recognizes the sovereignty of the national government in some concrete way (*e.g.*, by signing a treaty relinquishing control of foreign, defense, and domestic policy and beginning to withdraw its troops, or by signing a treaty relinquishing control of policy and stipulating that any remaining troops are there at the discretion of the other state and for the purpose of assisting that state in implementing its own policies); or (3) a sovereign government assumes power (*e.g.*, after a national uprising or liberation by other states). To be considered sovereign, states born in the third way must seek independence from the conquering state, have some independent administrative apparatus and military capability, and survive at least one month.

For references and detailed information on each conquest, see Appendix A (below).

### **Great-Power Attacks on Great Powers**

A state was coded as attacking a great power if it was a great power or nuclear state and it conducted offensive operations against military and/or non-military assets in the territory of a great power or nuclear state that had not previously attacked it. Thus I excluded attacks by states that rose to great power status during the war in question (*e.g.* Japan during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905), as well as attacks on great power assets located in territories they did not control at the beginning of the war. I also excluded defensive and retaliatory counterattacks, which I defined to include all action between the attacking and defending states from the end of the initial attack to the end of the war. I defined war as a period of armed conflict between two or more states that begins with a declaration of war or an attack (whichever comes first) and ends with a peace treaty or the collapse, surrender, or withdrawal of one side's military forces (again, whichever comes first).

In coding great power attacks on other great powers, I first consulted Quincy Wright's list of wars from 1800-1825, Jack S. Levy's list of great power wars from 1495-1995, and the COW project's Inter-State War data for 1816 to 1997 to develop a list of great power wars from 1800-1997.<sup>7</sup> Then I used Ernest Dupuy and Trevor Dupuy's *Encyclopedia of Military History* to disaggregate the great power attacks in each war.<sup>8</sup>

### **Great-Power Attacks on Non-Great Powers**

Coding great power attacks on non-great powers was more difficult because the sources I used to code great power attacks on other great powers lack data on a number of great power/non-great power wars.

Although the COW Project's Inter-State War and Extra-State War data sets are the most complete in the field, they omit a number of wars against and among small, weak states. COW's Inter-State War data consists of wars among states considered by COW to be part of the interstate system, while its Extra-State War data counts wars fought between system members and non-system members (entities with populations of less than 500,000 or that, prior to 1920, were not recognized by Britain and France). Three aspects of COW's extra-state war data result in undercounting of war participation by weak states. First, the system member(s) involved in the war must have had at least 1,000 battle deaths each year for the war to appear in the data. Given the technological advantages of the COW system members involved in imperial wars with less powerful states in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this coding rule eliminates a number of wars. Second, COW's Extra-State War data includes only wars fought between system members and non-system members. Wars among sovereign, independent "non-system members" are not counted. Third, only a fraction of the independent "non-system members" with populations of less than 500,000 are included in COW's Extra-State data.<sup>9</sup>

Thus I estimated the number of great-power attacks on non-great powers based on data from three sources: Wright=s and Levy=s lists for the period from 1800 to 1815, COW=s Inter-State and Extra-State War data for 1816 to 1997,<sup>10</sup> and my State Survival and Death (SSAD) data on conquest in Europe and the Middle East from 1816 to 1994.<sup>11</sup>

First, I reviewed the wars listed by Wright and Levy as occurring between 1800 and 1815 to identify those that were initiated by one or more great powers against one or more non-great powers. In doing so, I found five great power attacks on non-great powers. Given the large number of small states that were attacked by great powers during the Napoleonic Wars, this figure is extremely low; but because coding these attacks would be very time-consuming, I did not attempt to do so. Next, using COW=s data on wars between 1816 and 1997, I counted the inter-state wars initiated by one or more great powers against one or more non-great powers, as well as the extra-state wars initiated by one or more great powers against one or more independent "non-state actors" (extra-state war type 3).<sup>12</sup> In doing so, I assumed that in the great power-initiated non-great power wars identified by COW, the great power initiator was not simply the first party to declare war but was also the first to attack; I also assumed the initiator attacked just one state per war.<sup>13</sup> Then, using my SSAD data, I counted great power conquests of non-great powers in Europe and the Middle East that occurred in wars that do not appear in the COW data. Here, I assumed that these conquests were the culmination of attacks by the great powers. Finally, I combined the three counts (which are summarized in Appendices B and C) to arrive at an estimate of 105 great power attacks on non-great powers between 1800 and 1997.<sup>14</sup> Although the assumptions I made in arriving at this estimate are problematic, they enabled me to generate a conservative estimate of the number of great power attacks on non-great powers.<sup>15</sup> This estimate will have to suffice until someone does the difficult work of counting all of the great power attacks on non-great powers over the past two centuries.

**Appendix A**

**Conquests of Great Powers and Nuclear States, 1800 to 1997 (Detailed Version)**

<b>Conquered State and Date of Conquest</b>	<b>Conquered by</b>	<b>Military Occupation of Capital prior to Armistice</b>	<b>Collapse or Surrender of All Troops prior to Armistice</b>	<b>Army of Occupation</b>	<b>Demobilization or Limitation of Conquered State=s Army</b>	<b>Reparations Required</b>	<b>Other Aspects of Conquest Regime</b>	<b>Sovereignty Regained</b>	<b>Return to Great Power Status<sup>16</sup></b>
Austria <sup>17</sup> 12/4/1805	France War of the Third Coalition; Austerlitz Campaign	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes		12/26/1805 Treaty of Pressburg	same
Prussia <sup>18</sup> 11/24/1806	France War of the Third Coalition; Jena Campaign	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes -- limited to 42,000 (half previous size)	Yes	France did not evacuate as promised when first half of indemnity was paid in 1811; Prussia was required to contribute to French invasion of Russia in 1812.	2/3/1813 Rearmament/ Leipzig Campaign	same
Spain <sup>19</sup> 5/10/1808	France Peninsular War; French invasion, forced abdication of Charles and Ferdinand in favor of Napoleon=s brother	No	No	Yes	No B simply crushed when it resisted	No	Murat, commander of the French forces, was named King of Naples	3/1814 Liberation by Britain, Restoration of Ferdinand	n/a

<b>Conquered State and Date of Conquest</b>	<b>Conquered by</b>	<b>Military Occupation of Capital prior to Armistice</b>	<b>Collapse or Surrender of All Troops prior to Armistice</b>	<b>Army of Occupation</b>	<b>Demobilization or Limitation of Conquered State=s Army</b>	<b>Reparations Required</b>	<b>Other Aspects of Conquest Regime</b>	<b>Sovereignty Regained</b>	<b>Return to Great Power Status</b>
Austria <sup>20</sup> 7/10/1809	France Franco-Austrian War; Battle of Wagram	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes		11/14/1809 Beginning of French evacuation	same
France <sup>21</sup> 4/11/1814	Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Britain; War of Liberation; Leipzig Campaign	Yes	Yes -- through Napoleon=s abdication	No	No	No	Allies refused to let Napoleon abdicate to his son.	4/23/1814 Evacuation of all Allied troops	same
France <sup>22</sup> 6/22/1815	Britain, Prussia; Hundred Days= War; Waterloo Campaign	No	Yes -- through Napoleon=s abdication	Yes	Yes B could not occupy garrisons along the frontiers	Yes	Peace treaty gave occupation army authority only in the garrisons it held, but in 1815 Allied troops put down the White Terror, and in 1816 the Allies pressured Louis XVIII to dissolve parliament	11/30/1818 Evacuation of all Allied troops	same
France <sup>23</sup> 1/28/1871	Prussia Franco-Prussian War; capitulation of Paris	No B but Paris had been under siege for months	No	Yes	Yes B could not occupy garrisons along the frontiers	Yes	Peace treaty gave occupation army authority only in the garrisons it held.	3/1/1872 Beginning of German evacuation	9/16/1873 Evacuation of all German troops

Conquered State and Date of Conquest	Conquered by	Military Occupation of Capital prior to Armistice	Collapse or Surrender of All Troops prior to Armistice	Army of Occupation	Demobilization or Limitation of Conquered State=s Army	Reparations Required	Other Aspects of Conquest Regime	Sovereignty Regained	Return to Great Power Status
Austria <sup>24</sup> 11/3/1918	Italy, France, Britain, US; World War I; Battle of Vittorio Veneto	No	Yes	Yes B of strategic points	Yes B complete demobilization at first, then army limited to 30,000 and prohibited from offensive operations	Yes	New Austrian Republic forced to recognize independence of Czechoslovakia, <i>et al.</i> , forswear union with Germany, and allow financial oversight.	6/1924 End of direct military oversight	n/a
Germany <sup>25</sup> 6/28/1919	United States, Britain, France; World War I; Treaty of Versailles accepted by Germany	No	No	Yes - of the Rhineland and Ruhr	Yes B army limited to 100,000 and prohibited from offensive operations; General Staff abolished	Yes	New Weimar Republic forced to foreswear union with Austria and allow financial oversight.	6/30/1930 Evacuation of last Allied troops	same
France <sup>26</sup> > 6/22/1940	Germany World War II; Battle of France	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes B complete disarmament and demobilization	No	Trade and communications controlled.	07/11/1944 Allied liberation and recognition of DeGaulle	n/a
Italy <sup>27</sup> 9/8/1943	US, UK, Germany; World War II; Surrender to Allies, forced disarmament by Germany	No	No	Yes	Yes B under authority of either Allied Military government or Germany	Yes	Mussolini returned to power by Germany.	9/17/1947 Allied withdrawal after Italian ratification of peace treaty	n/a

<b>Conquered State and Date of Conquest</b>	<b>Conquered by</b>	<b>Military Occupation of Capital prior to Armistice</b>	<b>Collapse or Surrender of All Troops prior to Armistice</b>	<b>Army of Occupation</b>	<b>Demobilization or Limitation of Conquered State=s Army</b>	<b>Reparations Required</b>	<b>Other Aspects of Conquest Regime</b>	<b>Sovereignty Regained</b>	<b>Return to Great Power Status</b>
Germany <sup>28</sup> 5/7/1945	USSR, US, UK World War II; Soviet winter offensive, Allied Ruhr campaign	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes B complete disarmament at first, then rearmament in European framework	Yes	Denazification, political and economic reforms, war crimes tribunals, direct administration by occupying troops.	3/25/1954 (GDR) 5/5/1955 (FRG) Sovereign governments recognized by occupying states	n/a
Japan <sup>29</sup> 8/14/1945	United States World War II; Naval blockade, bombing of mainland, conquest of Okinawa, Soviet invasion of Manchuria	No B but Tokyo was heavily bombed	No	Yes	Yes B complete demilitarization	Yes	Purges of nationalists, political and economic reforms, war crimes tribunals.	4/28/1952 Allied recognition of Japanese sovereignty, agreements re. remaining US troops	n/a

**Appendix B**  
**Great Power-Initiated Wars with Non-Great Powers, 1800 to 1997<sup>30</sup>**

Russo-Persian (Russia, 1804)	Anglo-Egyptian (UK, 1882)
Russo-Turkish (Russia & UK, 1806)	Franco-Madagascan (France, 1883)
Anglo-Danish (UK, 1807)	Sino-French (France, 1884)
Russo-Swedish (Russia 1808)	Mandigo (France, 1885)
Neapolitan (Austria, 1815)	Russo-Afghan (Russia, 1885)
Franco-Spanish (France, 1823)	Italo-Ethiopian (Italy, 1887)
Russo-Turkish (Russia, 1828)	Franco-Dahomeyan (France, 1889)
British-Zulu (UK, 1838)	Franco-Thai (France, 1893)
First Opium (UK, 1839)	Sino-Russian (Russia, 1900)
Russo-Khivan (Russia, 1839)	Boxer Rebellion (UK, France, US, & Russia, 1900)
Franco-Moroccan (France, 1844)	Italo-Turkish (Italy, 1911)
British-Kaffir (UK, 1846)	Franco-Turkish (France, 1919)
First Schleswig-Holstein (Prussia, 1848)	Russo-Polish (Russia, 1919)
Roman Republic (France, 1849)	Sino-Soviet (USSR, 1929)
British-Burmese (UK, 1852)	Manchurian (Japan, 1931)
Anglo-Persian (UK, 1856)	Italo-Ethiopian (Italy, 1935)
Second Opium (UK & France, 1856)	Sino-Japanese (Japan, 1937)
Franco-Indochinese (France, 1858)	Russo-Finnish (Russia, 1939)
British-Maorin (UK, 1860)	Vietnam (US, 1965)
Franco-Mexican (France, 1862)	Six Day (Israel, 1967)
Second Schleswig-Holstein (Austria & Prussia, 1864)	Sino-Vietnamese (China, 1979)
British-Ethiopian (UK, 1867)	Israeli-Syrian (Israel, 1982)
Franco-Tonkin (France, 1873)	Sino-Vietnamese (China, 1987)
Russo-Turkish (Russia, 1877)	
Russo-Turkoman (Russia, 1878)	

**Appendix C**  
**Non-Great Powers in Europe and the Middle East  
Conquered by Great Powers, 1816 to 1997<sup>31</sup>**

Cracow (Russia, 1827)	Georgia (USSR, 1921)
Algeria (France, 1830)	Fiume (Italy, 1922)
Baden (Prussia, 1849)	Austria (Germany, 1938)
Hungary (Austria & Russia, 1849)	Czechoslovakia (Germany, 1939)
Chechnya (Russia, 1859)	Poland (Germany, 1939)
Hanover (Prussia, 1866)	Albania (Italy, 1939)
Saxony (Prussia, 1866)	Denmark (Germany, 1940)
Hesse-Kassel (Prussia, 1866)	Luxemburg (Germany, 1940)
Frankfurt (Prussia, 1866)	Netherlands (Germany, 1940)
Nassau (Prussia, 1866)	Belgium (Germany, 1940)
Tunisia (France, 1881)	Norway (Germany, 1940)
Sudan (UK, 1898)	Estonia (USSR, 1940)
Persia (UK and Russia, 1911)	Latvia (USSR, 1940)
Morocco (France, 1912)	Lithuania (USSR, 1940)
Luxemburg (Germany, 1914)	Serbia (Germany, 1941)
Serbia (Austria & Germany, 1915)	Greece (Germany & Italy, 1941)
Montenegro (Austria, 1915)	Iraq (UK, 1941)
Ukrainian National Republic (Germany, 1918)	Iran (UK and USSR, 1941)
Latvia (Russia and Germany, 1919)	Romania (USSR, 1944)
Ukrainian National Republic (Russia, 1919)	Bulgaria (USSR, 1944)
Don Voisko, (Russia, 1920)	Hungary (Germany, 1944)
Azerbaijan (Russia, 1920)	Czechoslovakia (USSR, 1968)
Syria (France, 1920)	

**Appendix D**  
**List of Variables and Explanation of Coding in Attack and Conquer Data Set**  
**(A&C.gnpn, Version 1)**

**Missing Data**

Missing data is indicated by an empty cell.

**List of Variables**

<u>Column</u>	<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Description</u>
A	CtyCode	Correlates of War (COW) country code
B	CtyAbbrev	COW country abbreviation
C	Year	Year
D	GPstatus	Great power status of the state in question (per Adams, "Attack and Conquer," Table 2) 1 = great power 0 = nuclear state
E	YrsGPNP	Number of years this state has been a great power or nuclear state (per Adams, "Attack and Conquer," Table 2)
F	Conquered	Indicates whether the state was conquered this year (per Adams, "Attack and Conquer," Table 3) 1 = conquered 0 = not conquered
G	PartGPWar	Indicates whether the state participated in at least one great power war this year (per Adams, "Attack and Conquer," Table 4 and COW Inter-State War Data, 1816-1997, version 3). A great power war is a war with at least one great power on each side. 1 = participated in at least one great power war 0 = participated in no great power wars
H	nGPWarDyads	Number of great power war dyads in which the state participated this year (KRA calculation based on Adams, "Attack and Conquer," Table 4 and COW Inter-State War Data, version 3).

I	nGPAttacks	Number of great powers or nuclear states the state attacked this year (per Adams, "Attack and Conquer," Table 4).
J	nNGPWini	Number of non-great powers the state initiated war against this year (per COW Inter-State War Data, 1816-1997, version 3 and COW Extra-State War Data, 1816-1997, version 3).
K	NGPConq	Number of non-great powers the state conquered this year that do not appear in wars listed in the COW Inter-State or Extra-State War Data (per Adams= State Survival and Death Data, 1816-1994, SSAD.conqun.timespan.A5).
L	nNGPAttacks	Total number of attacks this state launched against non-great powers this year (Column J plus Column K)
M	TotAttacks	Total number of attacks this state launched against all states this year (Column I plus Column L)
N	COWcap	The state=s indexed capability figure for the year (from COW=s National Material Capabilities Data set, version 2.1). This index measures the state=s overall capabilities relative to the capabilities of all other states in the system, based on annual, country-level data on military personnel, military expenditure, energy consumption, iron and steel production, urban population, and total population
O	COWmilper	The number of military personnel the state had this year (from COW=s National Material Capabilities Data set, version 2.1).
P	COWmilex	The state=s military expenditures this year (from COW=s National Material Capabilities Data set, version 2.1).
Q	COWenergy	The state=s energy production this year (from COW=s National Material Capabilities Data set, version 2.1).
R	COWirst	The state=s iron and steel production this year (from COW=s National Material Capabilities Data set, version 2.1).

S	COWupop	The state=s nominal urban population this year (from COW=s National Material Capabilities Data set, version 2.1).
T	COWtpop	The state=s nominal total population this year (from COW=s National Material Capabilities Data set, version 2.1).
U	COWmaj	Indicates whether the state was a COW major power this year (based on COW Inter-State War Data, 1816-1997, version 3) 1 = major power 0 = not a major power
V	ODDBal	The offense-defense-deterrence balance this year (per Adams, "Attack and Conquer," Table 1). 2 = offense dominant 1 = defense dominant 0 = deterrence dominant  0 = not a major power according to COW
W	ODBal	Indicates whether this year was part of an offense-dominant era or part of a defense- or deterrent dominant era (per KRA coding in TCW) 1 = offense-dominant 0 = defense or deterrent dominant
X	ODBalNoDeter	Indicates whether this year was part of an offense-dominant or defense-dominant era (per KRA coding in TCW) 1 = offense-dominant 0 = defense dominant

## NOTES

---

<sup>1</sup> Karen Ruth Adams, "Attack and Conquer? International Anarchy and the Offense-Defense-Deterrence Balance," *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Jack S. Levy, *War in the Modern Great Power System, 1495-1975* (Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1983), pp. 22-49.

<sup>3</sup> For COW's major power system membership criteria, see Melvin Small and J. David Singer, *Resort To Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816-1980* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982), pp. 44-45.

<sup>4</sup> Global Nuclear Stockpiles, 1945-2000," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 56:2 (March/April 2000), p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Avner Cohen, *Israel and the Bomb* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), pp. 273-276.

<sup>6</sup> Available at <http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/index.html>.

<sup>7</sup> COW Inter-State War Data, 1816-1997 (Version 3), available at <http://pss.la.psu.edu/DATARES.HTM>. Quincy Wright, *A Study of War*, 2nd rev. ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), Table 37. *War in the Modern Great Power System*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>8</sup> R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993).

<sup>9</sup> On COW's criteria for including states and wars, see Small and Singer, *Resort To Arms*, pp. 38-43. Meredith Reid Sarkees, "The Correlates of War Data on War: An Update to 1997," *Conflict Management and Peace Science* Vol. 18, No. 1 (2000), pp. 128-129. For a list of some of the wars excluded from the COW data because of low battle deaths, see J. David Singer and Melvin Small, *The Wages of War, 1816-1965: A Statistical Handbook* (New York: John Wiley, 1972), Appendix C. On the European and Middle Eastern states missing from the COW data, see Karen Ruth Adams, "States We Pretend Exist and States We Ignore," paper presented at the 2003 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, P.A., August 28-31, 2003.

<sup>10</sup> COW Inter-State War Data, 1816-1997 (Version 3) and COW Extra-State War Data, 1816-1997 (Version 3), available at <http://pss.la.psu.edu/DATARES.HTM>.

<sup>11</sup> The SSAD data, which is available from the author, is described in Karen Ruth Adams, "Conquering Myths: Testing Realist, Liberal, and Constructivist Arguments about State Vulnerability to Conquest," paper presented at the 2002 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, MA, August 29-September 1, 2002.

---

<sup>12</sup>For an explanation of COW's coding, see Sarkees, "Correlates of War Data on War," pp. 128-129. Since COW identifies just one initiator per war, I was unable to count great-power attacks on non-great powers during great-power wars.

<sup>13</sup>I also deleted one case identified by COW: the Russo-Hungarian War of 1956. Since Soviet troops in Hungary were not put under Hungarian jurisdiction until 1957, Hungary was not an independent state during the national uprising. Andrew Felkay, *Hungary and the USSR, 1956-1988* (NY: Greenwood, 1989), p. 111.

<sup>14</sup>Here again, I excluded attacks by states that rose to great power status during the war in question (e.g. the U.S. during the Spanish-American War of 1898). Furthermore, I assumed that if a war was initiated by more than one great power, each great power initiator attacked the state. Similarly, if a state was conquered by more than one great power, I assumed it was attacked by each participating great power. Thus I counted 54 attacks in 48 great power-initiated wars and 51 attacks in 45 great power conquests of non-great powers.

<sup>15</sup>The estimate is surely low because it excludes the many great power attacks on non-great powers during the Napoleonic Wars and, due to problems with the COW data noted above, as well as my lack of data on conquest beyond Europe and the Middle East, probably overlooks a number of great power attacks on European and Middle Eastern non-great powers that did not culminate in conquest, as well as a number of great power attacks on non-great powers in Asia, Africa, and the Americas during great-power wars. If the large number of great power conquests of non-great powers in Europe and the Middle East that occurred in wars that do not appear in the COW data is any indication, my estimate is very low indeed. After all, the number of great power attacks on non-great powers in Europe and the Middle East that I identified based on my SSAD data (51) is almost as large as the number of great powers COW identifies as having initiated wars with non-great powers world-wide (54).

<sup>16</sup>States are coded as returning to great power status if, when they regain control of all or most of their pre-conquest territory, their overall (military, economic, political, and other) capabilities approximate those of other contemporary great powers. On the importance of overall capabilities, see Kenneth N. Waltz, *Theory of International Politics* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1979), p. 131.

<sup>17</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 815-819. William Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History* 5th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980), p. 641. "Treaty of Peace between Austria and France," in Clive Parry, ed., *The Consolidated Treaty Series*, Vol. 58 (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana, 1969), Articles XVII and XXII, p. 346.

<sup>18</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 819-821, 830-833. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 641-642, 647. Agatha Ramm, *Germany 1789-1919: A Political History* (London: Methuen, 1981), pp. 65, 69, 73, 97.

---

<sup>19</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 823-824, 835-837. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 643, 694. Raymond Carr, *Spain, 1808-1975*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), ch. 3.

<sup>20</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 825-827. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 643-644. "Treaty of Peace between Austria and France," in Clive Parry, ed., *The Consolidated Treaty Series*, Vol. 60, Articles 2 and 5, pp. 484-485. "Military Convention between Austria and France," in Clive Parry, ed., *The Consolidated Treaty Series*, Vol. 60, Article 1, p. 493.

<sup>21</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 830-835. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 648-650. "Convention for a Suspension of Hostilities between Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia and Spain, and France," in Parry, ed., *Consolidated Treaty Series*, Vol. 63, Articles I and II, pp. 142-143.

<sup>22</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 838-841. "Convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and France, relative to the Occupation of a Military Line in France by an Allied Army," in Edward Hertslet, ed., *The Map of Europe by Treaty*, Vol. 1 (London: Harrison and Sons, 1891), Articles V and IX, pp. 360-361. "Convention between Great Britain (Austria, Prussia, Russia), and France for the Evacuation of French Territory by the Allied Troops," in Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, Article I, p. 558. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, p. 677. Pamela Pilbeam, *The Constitutional Monarchy in France, 1814-48* (New York: Longman, 2000), ch. 1.

<sup>23</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 914-916. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 686-687. "Preliminary Treaty of Peace between France and Germany," in Hertslet, *Map of Europe by Treaty*, Article III, pp. 1914-1915.

Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 1078-1079. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 973, 978, 1013. F. L. Carsten, *The First Austrian Republic, 1918-1938* (Brookfield, VT: Gower, 1986), pp. 80-81, 114.

<sup>25</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 1082-1084. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 975-978, 1005-1007, 1124-1125. Koppel S. Pinson, *Modern Germany: Its History and Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1954), pp. 427-445.

<sup>26</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 1162-1163. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 1136-1137, 1180-1181. "Franco-German Armistice Convention," *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. 144 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1952), pp. 402-407.

<sup>27</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 1199-1200. Langer,

---

*Encyclopedia of World History*, p. 1188. "Italy, history of," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 22 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002), p. 240. J. A. S. Grenville, *The Major International Treaties 1914-1973* (New York: Stein and Day, 1974), p. 210.

<sup>28</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 1225-1228. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 1151-1152, 1157, 1194-2000. "Germany, history of," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 20 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002), pp. 125-127. Pinson, *Modern Germany*, ch. 22.

<sup>29</sup>Dupuy and Dupuy, *Encyclopedia of Military History*, pp. 1293-1294, 1303-1309. Langer, *Encyclopedia of World History*, pp. 1156-1158, 1344-1346. "Japan, history of," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15<sup>th</sup> ed., vol. 22 (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2002), pp. 304-306.

<sup>30</sup>Based on Wright, *Study of War*, Table 37. Levy, *War in the Modern Great Power System*, pp. 72-73. COW Inter-State and Extra-State War Data (version 3). The great power initiator is identified in parentheses.

<sup>31</sup>Based on SSAD data (SSAD.conqun.timespan.A5). The great power conqueror is identified in parentheses.