

## CHAPTER 3

### **Deterrence and Conflict**

In the past two decades, the rapid growth in quantitative research on international conflicts has expanded into the area of deterrence studies. The attempts at quantitative testing of deterrence have quickly come under criticism on the grounds that many elements of deterrence, such as threat credibility and deterrence success or failure, are difficult to establish, let alone quantify. This chapter addresses several key conceptual and measurement problems that have often weakened the validity of empirical research in this area. The discussion starts with the issue of the difference between deterrence and compellence, then clarifies the problems resulting from previous ambiguities in distinguishing between general and immediate deterrence. This distinction, in turn, facilitates a better delineation of the generic decision structure and stages in deterrence encounters. The chapter also examines the issue of what can be tested logically in deterrence theory and what has been claimed to have been tested (i.e., deterrence success), but fails to meet the logical criteria of testability in the first place.

The conceptual discussion should then lead to a re-formulation of several analytical elements in deterrence theory, which allows for a more valid and reliable quantitative analysis of deterrence encounters. Yet the analysis remains consistent with the semantics and lexicography of traditional deterrence literature, which has been persistently skeptical about systematic large-*N* research in this area. The chapter also introduces a new data set of deterrence cases between major powers from 1895 to 1985, which resulted from thorough historical research and guided by the rigorous conceptual and operational rules discussed here. This new comprehensive set of deterrence cases will accordingly provide the empirical grounds for testing the theoretical framework outlined in the introduction.

### Conceptual Issues and Deterrence

In general, deterrence refers to a situation in which one side (i.e., the deterrer) threatens to retaliate if the other side (i.e., the potential attacker) takes some unacceptable action. Both the unacceptable action and the threatened retaliation may be undertaken through the use of military, economic, diplomatic, or other means. This general definition of deterrence also indicates that the main function of deterrence is to prevent some action from happening. In the military context, its most common purpose is to prevent an adversary from using force. In the strategic literature, therefore, deterrence theory stipulates the conditions for preventing wars.

#### The Notions of Deterrence

Although there is a general agreement on what constitutes deterrence, there are variations in understanding of the specific properties of deterrence as a relational concept. First, some specify that deterrence is different from *compellence* (Schelling 1960, 1966; Snyder 1961). The problem is that it is difficult sometimes to distinguish compellence from deterrence, as states often use both strategies simultaneously. As Lebow and Stein conclude from their extensive case studies, “Deterrence may be used to reinforce compellence, and compellence to deter” (1990, 352). In other words, although they are distinct analytical concepts, the difference between them may be blurred in reality. For this reason, some even define deterrence in terms of compellence, that is, as a “theory about the ways in which an actor manipulates threats to harm others in order to coerce them into doing what he desires” (Jervis 1979, 292). Generally, however, deterrence is rather understood as *dissuasion* of an adversary from a specific action rather than as *coercion* into an action. The latter situation is more often identified as “compellence,” at least for analytical purposes. In its most elemental form, therefore, “strictly speaking, the word ‘deterrence’ means dissuasion by terror” (Kahn 1965, 280).

It is also typical to think of deterrence as an action that involves the threat of sanctions or the promise of rewards (Kaufmann 1956; Snyder 1961; George and Smoke 1974). The latter form is characterized as deterrence by positive inducements, while the former (which is more often practiced) is characterized as deterrence by negative sanctions. Another common approach to deterrence specifies that the deterrer threatens by convincing the adversary that the costs and risks

of the undesired action would outweigh its potential benefits (Snyder 1961), as well as the benefits of inaction (Kaufmann 1956). Consequently, it is typical for this approach to imply the classical definition of deterrence as “simply the persuasion of one’s opponent that the costs and/or risks of a given course of action he might take outweigh its benefits” (George and Smoke 1974, 11). In this respect, Snyder (1961, 14–16) distinguishes between deterrence by denial (which threatens to decrease the benefits from an undesired action) and deterrence by punishment (which threatens to increase the costs of such an action). This is an important distinction since, under the influence of Schelling’s classic statement of the theory of commitments in the nuclear age (1960, 1966), much of the literature has focused on strategies that might enhance deterrence success by punishment, i.e., by “manipulating” the adversary’s costs and risks from an undesired action. Both theoretical and empirical works on “deterrence by denial” through inducements and via positive incentives are rather scarce in the strategic literature and, arguably, are often neglected in the official foreign policies as well (for a similar criticism, see George and Smoke 1974, chap. 21; 1989, 182).

These different definitional angles have greater consequences for testing a theory of deterrence. As will be seen later, disagreements over identifying particular historical cases as examples of deterrence or something else (e.g., compellence) often result from different conceptual approaches to deterrence and only secondarily from different empirical interpretations of historical facts.

#### Deterrence Success and Failure

Scholars are divided over how to approach deterrence success and failure. According to some, deterrence failed if the threatener had to use force (e.g., Karsten, Howell, and Allen 1984), while the others consider deterrence to fail if the threatener either had to use substantial force or did not attain its policy goals (e.g., Huth and Russett 1988, 1990). Deterrence theorists are sometimes criticized for speaking of deterrence failure when war breaks out, but the criticism is misplaced. Both critics and deterrence proponents sometimes confuse conceptual definitions with causal inference. Quester makes a critical observation that defining deterrence failure in terms of the outbreak of war is “tautological” and furthermore incorrect because “many wars may erupt simply *because of* inadequate retaliatory threats” (1989; emphasis added). This remark is relevant as it points to the perplexing nature of

what constitutes deterrence failure. It can also be argued, however, that defining deterrence failure in terms of the outbreak of war is not necessarily tautological unless it implies an exclusive causal linkage between the strategy of deterrence and its failure. Deterrence may fail for many reasons and not necessarily for those related to the effectiveness of deterrent threats. It may fail because of inadequate threats, but it may also fail *despite* threats, because it may be that some other factors have a stronger impact on the attacker's decision than the deterrer's behavior. Hence, the definition of what constitutes deterrence failure should be treated separately from the question of what caused this failure. If the threat is intended to prevent the use of force, then the use of force marks the deterrence failure notwithstanding the reasons for it. Most recent empirical research is thus quite correct in identifying deterrence failure in terms of the use of force as long as no causal inference is implied.

On the other hand, the same argument is not applicable for defining deterrence success. Namely, a potential attacker's restraint from using force *because of* the deterrer's threats indicates that deterrence has succeeded. Analysts of deterrence are therefore correct when they define deterrence success as "a situation in which a state's leaders want to resort to force, prepare to do so, but ultimately decide to refrain because of the military capability and demonstrated resolve of their adversary" (Lebow and Stein 1987, 24; also Huth and Russett 1984, 497). In other words, the term *deterrence success* implies that the absence of war should be attributed to the effectiveness of threats. On the other hand, nonviolent outcomes of international crises may result from many conditions *despite* the deterrent threat, rendering the identification of cases of deterrence success difficult. Moreover, the absence of a challenge to a deterrer's threat against upsetting the status quo should not necessarily be interpreted as a deterrence success; a potential challenger may restrain itself from upsetting the status quo for many reasons, not all of which are attributable to a deterrent threat (George and Smoke 1989, 178). For instance, the putative Challenger may already be satisfied with the status quo.

The following Kissinger quote astutely acknowledges how it can be misleading to attribute the absence of war to the deployment of a particular deterrent strategy.

The Nuclear Age turned strategy into deterrence, and deterrence into an esoteric intellectual exercise. Since deterrence can only be tested negatively, by events that do *not* take place, and since it is never possible to demonstrate why something has not occurred, it

became especially difficult to assess whether the existing policy was the best possible policy or a just barely effective one. Perhaps deterrence was even unnecessary because it was impossible to prove whether the adversary ever intended to attack in the first place. (1994, 608)

Only if an analyst controls for all possible conditions except for the deterrer's threats, a quite impossible endeavor, may we say that a potential attacker abstained from using force because of the deterrer's threats. In addition, the analyst must demonstrate that the attacker indeed intended to use force in the first place. Since the first requirement is impossible to achieve and the second is mostly speculative, it is questionable whether deterrence success can ever be validly tested.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, Kissinger's implication that deterrence can only be tested negatively, that is, via those cases where deterrence did not fail, does not seem to offer a satisfactory resolution to the methodological problem. If we are interested in the conditions promoting deterrence success, then focusing only on cases with a "successful" deterrent outcome would yield results on necessary conditions at best. Furthermore, these same conditions may also precede deterrence failures (Jervis 1989, 193–94). The impossibility of interpreting the nonviolent outcome of dispute as a deterrence success does not necessarily leave us with just the option of considering only those cases where deterrence fails. It is, in fact, vital to consider both cases of deterrence failure and nonfailure, but it is essential not to automatically interpret the latter as a deterrence success. Some empirical analysts acknowledge this important analytical issue (e.g., Huth and Russett 1984, 497), though many others, despite its methodological relevance, continue to label peaceful resolutions as deterrence success.

### Major Types of Deterrence

Several criteria can be used for distinguishing various forms of deterrence. First, deterrence can be exercised in different areas of foreign policy, though the primary concern of scholars and practitioners is overwhelmingly in the domain of national security, especially nuclear strategy. In the context of military deterrence, we can further differentiate between strategic (nuclear) and substrategic (conventional) levels of deterrence, and, within the latter category, we can separate the deterrence of local and limited wars from the deterrence of less violent conflicts (George and Smoke 1989, 172).

Second, we can make a typology of deterrence cases based on the

question of what constitutes a deterrent threat. It is conventional to recognize deterrent threats through public verbal statements issued by official governments, but deterrent threats have been interpreted, both by analysts and policymakers, in many other ways. They can also be manifested through behavioral forms that imply a threat, such as the movement of troops into particular areas, partial or complete mobilization, putting forces (nuclear or conventional) on the highest alert, and so forth. Though not accompanied by explicit verbal warnings, these actions constitute unspoken signals of a deterrer's intent to take action unless the other side changes its behavior. That deterrence can be manifested in diverse ways is important, because it can significantly affect the identification of deterrence cases in empirical analysis.

Third, most quantitative studies of deterrence follow Morgan's (1983) distinction between general and immediate deterrence:

*Immediate deterrence* concerns the relationship between opposing states where at least one side is seriously considering an attack while the other is mounting a threat of retaliation in order to prevent it. *General deterrence* relates to opponents who maintain armed forces to regulate their relationship even though neither is anywhere near mounting an attack. (Morgan 1983, 30; emphasis in the original)

The distinction is quite intuitive, though it is apparent that it can be difficult, according to this definition, to distinguish an arms race, for instance, from "cases" of general deterrence.

Finally, another widely used classification, relevant especially for major power relations, makes a distinction between *direct* and *extended deterrence*. Basic or direct deterrence refers to the prevention of attack on the deterrer's home territory. In extended deterrence, a state attempts to deter an attack on a third party, such as an ally (e.g., Weede 1983, 234 ; Huth and Russett 1988, 30), a protégé (Stein 1987, 326; Wu 1990), a "pawn" (Russett 1963; Zagare and Kilgour 2000), or any other state (George and Smoke 1974, 58; Lebow and Stein 1990, 336).

#### Extended Deterrence as the Prevalent Deterrence Form

Extended deterrence is a common and precarious element of major power relationships, but it was not directly addressed in the literature until very recently. In particular, a series of works by Huth and Russett laid the grounds for quantitative research in this area (Russett 1963;

Huth 1988, 1994; Huth and Russett 1984, 1988, 1990; Huth, Gelpi, and Bennett 1993), while formal models of extended deterrence also expanded (Wu, 1990; Kilgour and Zagare 1994; Zagare and Kilgour 2000). The relevance of extended deterrence for major power relations is indicated by the recent attempt to record all deterrence encounters among great powers from 1816 through 1984: 65 percent of these encounters were cases of extended deterrence, while only 35 percent represented direct deterrence (Huth, Gelpi, and Bennett 1993, table A-1). The list of major power deterrence cases in this book (see tables 3.1, 3.2, 3.3) indicates a similar pattern despite slightly different criteria for their identification.

The historical record shows that almost all major wars have occurred after the failure of extended deterrence, that is, when at least one major power tried to prevent the other power's attack on a third party. Since the Congress of Vienna, almost all major power conflicts resulted from the failure of extended deterrence between powers. Nevertheless, there have been some notable and dramatic exceptions, such as the Franco-Prussian War or the Soviet and U.S. entries into World War II, which were triggered by direct attacks by Germany and Japan respectively. Notwithstanding these few exceptions, it may be argued that major power wars tend to develop from disputes over issues related to minor power(s). Typically, an initial conflict between a major power and some minor power(s) would trigger a military response by another major power in support of its protégé (the minor power). This dynamic, in turn, highlights the problem of maintaining stable extended deterrence in order to prevent major wars.

In addition, many intricacies of the stability of deterrence primarily relate to the credibility problems of extended deterrence. In fact, the entire theory of commitments developed by Schelling (1960, 1966), which dominated most of the strategic literature throughout the Cold War, was designed to strengthen the effectiveness of extended threats, especially when the "inherent" credibility of defending the third party was weak. Quester (1989, 63), for instance, argues that "in truth, basic deterrence is very easy to accomplish, where there is much more doubt comes in 'extended deterrence'" (see also George and Smoke 1974; Betts 1987). Like the traditional strategic literature, almost all recent quantitative research in this area primarily examines extended deterrence between states (Russett 1963; Huth and Russett 1984, 1988, 1990; Huth 1988, 1990; Huth, Gelpi, and Bennett 1993).

In the evolution of the idea of extended deterrence, Snyder (1961, 17) was one of the first to introduce the distinction between "primary"

and “secondary” deterrence, the latter being the “deterrence of enemy attack not against oneself, but against a third party.” Kahn later (1965, 281) distinguished between three types of deterrence, depending on whether the goal of deterrence was to prevent “attacks directed at the United States” (i.e., the threatener—Type I), “extreme provocations, such as nuclear or even conventional attack on Europe” (i.e., an important ally—Type II), or “relatively minor or moderate provocations” (i.e., any third party other than allies—Type III). While Kahn’s Type II and Type III deterrence are both incorporated under Snyder’s “secondary” deterrence, later analysts tended to specify extended deterrence primarily in terms of Kahn’s Type II deterrence (for an exception, see George and Smoke 1974; Lebow and Stein 1990). This restriction is problematic, however, because it does not differentiate the issue of a possible condition for successful extended deterrence (i.e., that the third party is a close protégé or an ally to the deterrer) from the very definition of extended deterrence. For this reason, it would be more appropriate to retain the original meaning of Snyder’s “secondary” deterrence. Extended deterrence can then be defined simply as an attempt to deter an attack on a third party, be it an ally, a protégé, or any other state.

## **The Conceptual and Operational Refinements**

### **Basic Deterrence Stages and Decision Structure**

The previous discussion demonstrates that any attempt to identify cases of deterrence success can be only speculative, and any list of such cases would be spurious at least. This is true for all types of deterrence situations, whether general (i.e., when there is no challenge to a deterrer’s threat) or immediate (i.e., the challenger is dissuaded from using the force). With this caveat in mind, we can provide a working distinction in both general and immediate types of deterrence between those situations that can be perceived as deterrence successes and those of deterrence failure. This working distinction is a necessary step toward a more rigorous selection of cases of immediate deterrence. Figure 3.1 delineates such situations and also outlines the sequence of events that distinguish general from immediate deterrence.

Figure 3.1 is helpful in clarifying which decision choices precede general or immediate deterrence and which decisions indicate the failure of either type of deterrence. Most scholars subscribe to the view that any overt or less explicit form of competition for influence

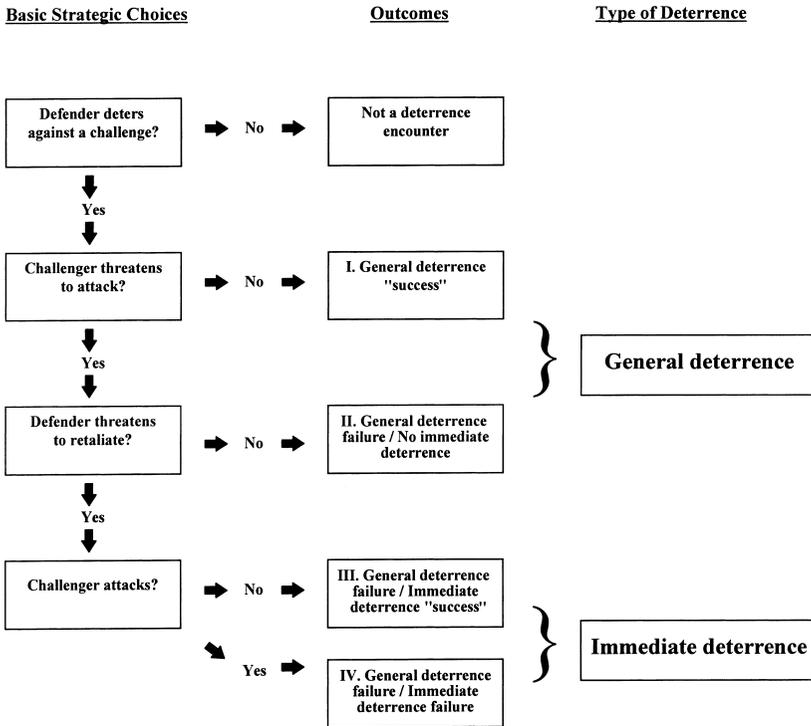


Fig. 3.1. General and immediate deterrence

between two or more powers, such as maintaining armed forces, can be interpreted as a case of general deterrence (Morgan 1983, 30). Figure 3.1, however, points to a more restrictive and reliable approach to identifying general deterrence cases. It indicates that general deterrence is triggered only if at least one side makes a certain threat, either through direct official statements or through any other behavior commonly understood to imply a threat, such as a substantial troop movement or putting armed forces on high alert. If there is no such verbal or behavioral form of threat, then actions such as the intensified maintenance of armed forces would be more correctly interpreted as an arms race, which might have different underlying dynamics than deterrence.

Figure 3.1 identifies deterrence successes only in order to draw an analytical distinction between “successes” and failures, though empirical identification of deterrence success can be very problematic for the reasons already discussed. Deterrence failure occurs when any other

party challenges the deterrer's original threat. As a simple generic definition, it applies to both general and immediate deterrence. As figure 3.1 shows, the failure of general deterrence does not necessarily lead to immediate deterrence, a point that has been often overlooked in previous empirical studies. In large part, this oversight is related to the requirement for a Challenger's *intention* to attack as a trigger for the onset of immediate deterrence, and the Defender's commitment to react. Though widespread, this requirement is problematic.

The obvious empirical problem is in establishing a Challenger's *intention* to retaliate. As with any other motivational or cognitive construct, intentions escape a replicable empirical identification.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, it is important to specify whether the Defender's commitment to defend the Protégé precedes or follows the Challenger's threat of attack. As indicated in figure 3.1, it is important to recognize that once general deterrence fails, immediate deterrence does not automatically start unless the Defender reacts to the challenge to its general deterring threat. Any prior Defender's threat against such a challenge belongs to the dynamics of general deterrence. If this prior threat is also considered as a definitional requirement for immediate deterrence, then the line between general and immediate dynamics of deterrence is blurred. To remove any possible confusion in this respect, a revised and more precise delineation of immediate deterrence is accordingly illustrated in figure 3.1. This clarification should provide better conceptual guidance for a more robust and replicable identification of historical cases of deterrence encounters.

To avoid all these problems, I define deterrence as a situation in which one side threatens the other side with some punitive retaliation if the other side takes a certain action. In direct deterrence, this undesired action is aimed at the territory of the deterrer, while in extended deterrence it is aimed against a third party. I focus on the immediate type of extended deterrence, which occurs when general deterrence fails and a Defender threatens to retaliate against the challenge (see fig. 3.1). In the extended form of immediate deterrence, the Challenger's threat and Defender's responses are related to a third party, which does not have to be the Defender's official ally.

#### Deterrence Outcomes

If a general deterrence failure enters the immediate crisis stage—that is, if the Defender demands the Challenger back away from its threatened or actual attack on a third party—then there are four possible out-

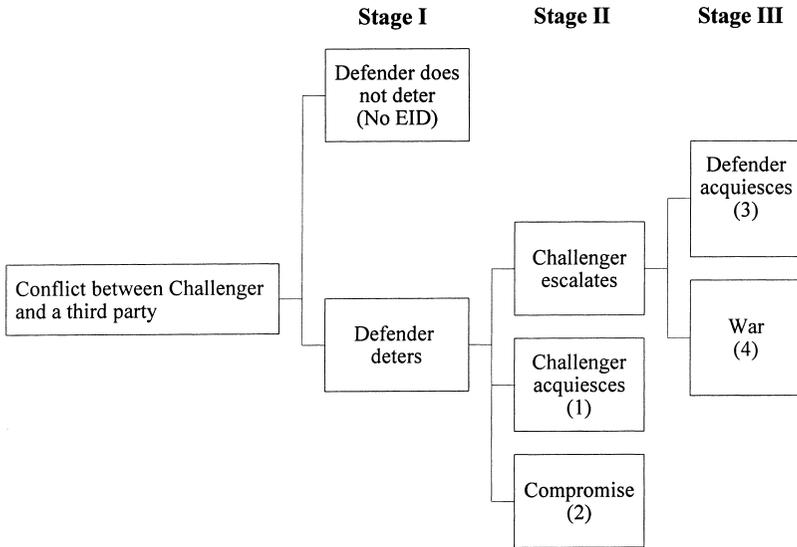


Fig. 3.2. Extended-immediate deterrence (EID)

comes: either Challenger or Defender can acquiesce to the other's demands, they can reach some sort of compromise, or, if neither is willing to concede, the crisis escalates into war (see fig. 3.2).

It should be noted that these outcomes are only partially comparable to the deterrence success and failure outcomes typically used in quantitative deterrence analyses. A *Challenger's acquiescence* is comparable to a "deterrence success" for the Defender (i.e., deterrer). However, "deterrence failure," as commonly used, can refer to either a situation where the *Defender acquiesces*, or *war* breaks out. Compromise outcomes have been routinely neglected in previous quantitative works. Unlike "compromise" as defined in the MID data set, which allows for a substantial use of force as long as disputants agree to accept or redefine the status quo (see Mousseau 1998), *compromise* here simply refers to the absence of an exchange of serious threats, or the reciprocated use of force between a Challenger and Defender. In this regard, it is similar to the "negotiation" outcome in Bueno de Mesquita and Lalman's international interaction game (1992) and "peaceful settlements" in Dixon (1994).

The advantage of this treatment of deterrence outcomes over the simple dichotomy of success or failure is twofold. First, though some

might argue that the outcomes of Defender's acquiescence or war can be viewed as deterrence failure and the outcome of Challenger's acquiescence as deterrence success, compromise, as a midpoint between success and failure, escapes this dichotomy. Consequently, it is important to include the possibility for an outcome that does not present a clear-cut success or failure for either side.<sup>3</sup>

Second, it is common for the dichotomized approach to deterrence outcomes to identify deterrence failure with the use of force and deterrence success with a peaceful outcome. The classification of four outcomes reveals why such an approach can be misleading. While war undoubtedly represents deterrence failure, peaceful outcomes imply three possibilities in terms of perceived successes: a deterrer's perceived success if the Challenger peacefully acquiesces (AcqCh), the Challenger's success if the deterrer acquiesces without fighting (AcqDef), or compromise by both. These three peaceful outcomes carry different *political* implications for either side in terms of winning or losing the conflict, which are all conflated in the single notion of deterrence success as a peaceful outcome.

### **The Historical Cases of Major Power Deterrence, 1895–1985**

In their search for more robust and rigorous ways to measure and test deterrence arguments, a number of analysts have made remarkable contributions. Theoretical arguments on deterrence have been tested in both qualitative and quantitative research. Among those who use qualitative methods, comparative case studies figure prominently (George and Smoke 1974; Snyder and Diesing 1977; Organski and Kugler 1980; Lebow 1981; Mearsheimer 1983; Betts 1987), though there were some theoretically significant single case studies as well (Russett 1967; Stein 1987). On the quantitative side, the pioneering work by Russett (1963) was followed by a series of studies on extended deterrence in the 1980s and later (Weede 1983; Huth 1988, 1995; Huth and Russett 1984, 1988, 1990; Wu 1990). In contrast to the empirical studies, attempts to address issues of extended deterrence in formal theory have been less widespread. In this respect, a series of formal modeling works by Zagare and Kilgour (Zagare 1992; Kilgour and Zagare 1994; Zagare and Kilgour 2000) can be singled out for their significant contribution to our better understanding of theoretical ramifications and the logic of

extended deterrence. Regardless of the adopted method, it is clear that extended-immediate deterrence has received much scholarly attention.

### The Operational Rules for Identifying Deterrence Cases

Partly to address several conceptual weaknesses and partly to guide a more robust and replicable empirical analysis, the operational criteria for selecting the cases of deterrence will be consistent with the rules set out in the previous conceptual section.

The cases of general deterrence failure include all instances in which (1) at least one major power (Challenger) upsets the status quo in general deterrence vis-à-vis another major power (Defender) by getting into a conflict with a third state (Protégé), and (2) the Defender demands the Challenger pull out from the conflict against the Protégé. The first stage constitutes general deterrence failure as a necessary but not sufficient condition for immediate deterrence. The second stage marks the onset of immediate deterrence between the powers in their extended deterrent encounter. The focus here is on those types of crises and deterrence in which military means are used by either power. The essential moves marking general deterrence failure and the beginning of immediate deterrence, therefore, are operationally defined in terms of military moves. As deterrent threats can be manifested both verbally and behaviorally, as discussed previously, the range of such moves includes:<sup>4</sup> (1) a threat of force (including the threat to blockade, occupy territory, declare war, or use force); (2) a display of force (alert, mobilization, or show of force); and (3) the use of force (blockade, occupation, seizure, limited use of force, or war).<sup>5</sup>

A more refined distinction among several possible outcomes should help us overcome the problematic nature of identifying deterrence outcomes as a success or failure. Specifically, we need to first identify whether general deterrence failed or not. Once general deterrence between major powers fails, i.e., conflict breaks out between at least one major power (Challenger) and a third nation (Protégé), it can either escalate into immediate deterrence between the Challenger and another major power (Defender), or not. If there is at least one other major power willing to aid the Protégé as its Defender, then the analysis differentiates four possible outcomes of extended-immediate deterrence: (1) the Challenger's acquiescence to the Defender's demands to pull out from the conflict against the third party (AcqCh); (2) the Defender's acquiescence to the Challenger's perseverance in its conflict

against the Defender's Protégé (AcqDef); (3) a compromise between Challenger and Defender in which each side achieves some goals while yielding on some other issues without any use of force (compromise); (4) a war in which Challenger and Defender use force against each other as a means of resolving the dispute (war). The operational rules for identifying deterrence outcomes are evidently based on a combination of two factors: the extent to which each side's demands are met and the degree of escalation in the use of force.<sup>6</sup>

#### An Empirical Survey of Major Power Deterrence Cases, 1895–1985

Following these operational rules, we can determine the universe of deterrence cases between major powers from 1895 to 1985. Table 3.1 lists all cases of general deterrence failures that did not escalate into immediate deterrence crises (a total of 105 cases), while the cases of escalation to extended-immediate deterrence (EID) between major powers are presented in table 3.2 (a total of 44 cases).<sup>7</sup> Five of these cases contained 2 distinct subcrises, as the threats issued by each side were for different targets. Finally, there were only 4 cases of direct deterrence between major powers (see table 3.3), which once again justifies the focus on issues of extended threats. Each table identifies major actors (Challenger, Defender, Protégé) and lists conventional names for conflicts as commonly used in historical surveys. The list of general deterrence failures that escalated into extended-immediate deterrence (table 3.2) also identifies the outcomes according to the operational definitions for EID outcomes.<sup>8</sup> Brief historical summaries of all listed cases of extended-immediate deterrence are given in appendix A along with the sources of information used for developing the entire set of all three types of deterrence cases.

While this is the first attempt to develop a set of all cases of general deterrence failures between major powers, there have been a few similar attempts to collect information on the universe of extended-immediate deterrence cases (see Huth and Russett 1990; Huth, Gelpi, and Bennett 1993). Despite some degree of overlap between these lists of cases, there are some significant differences among all three studies. First, the earlier set developed by Huth and Russett (1990) included fewer cases of deterrence encounters than the data set introduced here or that of Huth, Gelpi, and Bennett (1993). About 20 cases included in this study are not found in Huth and Russett's list, while 4 cases from their set are ruled out as cases of extended-immediate deterrence here.

On the other hand, Huth, Gelpi, and Bennett (1993) list 17 cases of extended deterrence that are not found in the present analysis, but they omit 13 cases that can be found here. The difference in determining the Defenders and the Challengers is relatively small: out of 26 commonly identified cases in my list and that developed by Huth and Russett (1990), only 20 percent have reversed roles for Defenders and Challengers; the difference is even smaller in comparison to the list provided by Huth, Gelpi, and Bennett (1993).

Major differences between this list of extended-immediate deterrence cases and the previous ones result from several factors, both conceptual and empirical. The operational rules for identifying the cases are guided here by the conceptual distinction between general deterrence failure and the onset of immediate deterrence as presented in figure 3.1. This clarification resulted in identifying several cases as general deterrence failures, but not as immediate deterrence cases as well. Furthermore, at the conceptual level, I do not specify deterrence in terms of actors' intentions, but strictly behaviorally, to avoid (among other things) the problem of reliability in identifying intentions. Finally, an attempt was made to consult more comprehensive number of historical sources than those reported in previous studies of deterrence (e.g., Huth 1988, 26–27; Huth and Russett 1984, 504–5). This reanalysis of historical materials explains many differences in the coding of some historical cases.<sup>9</sup>

There are a few general patterns that can be observed in tables 3.1 through 3.3. First, strategic thinkers' primary interest in issues of extended deterrence is fully justified given that there were only 4 cases of direct-immediate deterrence between major powers compared to 44 cases of extended-immediate deterrence. Second, the argument advanced in the previous conceptual discussion that general deterrence failure should not be confused with the onset of immediate deterrence is also proven valid. Out of 153 cases of general deterrence failures between major powers, 105 cases (68.63 percent) never escalated into crises of immediate deterrence, whether extended or direct (see table 3.1). Third, regarding the outcomes of extended-immediate deterrence (see table 3.2), half of the cases (50.0 percent) resulted in the Challenger's acquiescence to the Defender's demands without fighting, but 32.87 percent led to deterrence failure (i.e., either war or Defender's acquiescence without fighting), while the remaining 17.1 percent were resolved through compromise. Almost half of the deterrence failures escalated to war.

The data set presented here will provide the empirical material for

**TABLE 3.1. General Deterrence Failure/No Immediate Deterrence, Major Powers, 1895–1985**

No.	Year	Major Power	Minor Power	Crisis Name
(1)	1895–96	France	(Madagascar)	French Annexation of Madagascar
(2)	1895	UK	Turkey	Armenian Massacres
(3)	1895–96	Italy	Ethiopia	Italo-Ethiopian War
(4)	1899–1900	France	Morocco	French Occupation of Tuat
(5)	1899–1902	UK	South Africa	Boer War
(6)	1900	Russia	Afghanistan	Russo-Afghan Frontier Dispute
(7)	1900	Russia	(Manchuria)	Russian Intervention in Manchuria
(8)	1903	UK	Iran	Persian Gulf Naval Demonstration
(9)	1903	U.S.	Colombia	Panama Independence
(10)	1903	U.S.	Dominican Republic	Dominican Turmoils
(11)	1903–4	UK	(Tibet)	British Invasion of Tibet
(12)	1906	UK	Turkey (i.e., Palestine/Egypt)	Akaba Affair
(13)	1906–8	France	(Algeria)/Morocco	French Occupation of Sahara and Mauretania
(14)	1906–9	U.S.	(Cuba)	Cuban Revolution
(15)	1909–12	Russia	Iran	Russian Invasion of Northern Persia
(16)	1910–12	U.S.	Nicaragua	Nicaraguan Revolution
(17)	1911	U.S.	Honduras	Honduran Revolution
(18)	1911–12	Italy	Turkey (Libya)	Tripoli War
(19)	1911–14	U.S.	Dominican Republic	Occupation of the Dominican Republic
(20)	1912	U.S.	Cuba	“Negro Revolt” in Cuba
(21)	1912	Italy	Turkey	Italian Occupation of Dodecanese Islands
(22)	1912	Russia	Bulgaria	Constantinople Issue (First Balkan War)
(23)	1913	Italy, A-H	Greece	Albanian Boundaries Issue (Second Balkan War)
(24)	1913–14	U.S.	Mexico	Mexican Revolution
(25)	1914	U.S.	Haiti	American Intervention in Haiti
(26)	1919	Italy	Greece	Smyrna
(27)	1919–21	France	Turkey	Cilician War

(28)	1920	France	(Syria)	French Colonization of Syria
(29)	1921	U.S.	Panama	Panama–Costa Rica Border Dispute
(30)	1921	France, UK	Germany	Reparations Problem
(31)	1922	UK	Turkey	Chanak Affair
(32)	1922–32	Italy	(Libya)	Italian Recolonization of Libya
(33)	1923	Italy	Greece	Corfu Crisis
(34)	1923–24	U.S.	Honduras	Honduran Revolution
(35)	1923–25	France	Germany	Ruhr Occupation
(36)	1924	UK	Egypt	British Ultimatum to Egypt
(37)	1924	UK	Turkey (i.e., Iraq)	Mosul Land Dispute
(38)	1925–26	France	(Morocco)	Riffians Rebellion
(39)	1925	UK	China	Shanghai Incident
(40)	1925–27	U.S.	Nicaragua	Second U.S. Intervention in Nicaragua
(41)	1927–28	Japan	China	Shantung
(42)	1928	UK	Egypt	Sinai Ultimatum
(43)	1929	USSR	China	Chinese Eastern Railway
(44)	1929–34	U.S.	(Haiti)	U.S. Withdrawal from Haiti
(45)	1931–32	Japan	China	Manchurian War (Mukden Incident)
(46)	1932–33	Japan	China	Jehol Campaign
(47)	1933–34	U.S.	Cuba	“Sergeants Revolt” in Cuba
(48)	1934	Italy	Albania	Italo-Albanian Frictions (Durazzo Naval Demonstration)
(49)	1934	Italy	Austria	Dolfuss Affair (Nazi Putsch in Austria)
(50)	1934	Italy	Ethiopia	Wal-Wal
(51)	1936–39	Germany, Italy	Spain	Spanish Civil War
(52)	1937	France	Turkey (i.e., Syria)	Alexandretta Crisis
(53)	1937–41	Japan	China	Sino-Japanese War
(54)	1938	Germany	Austria	Anschluss
(55)	1939	Italy	Albania	Italy’s Invasion of Albania
(56)	1939	Germany	Czechoslovakia	German Annexation of Czechoslovakia
(57)	1939	Germany	Lithuania	Memel Annexation
(58)	1939	USSR	Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania	Soviet Occupation of the Baltics

(continues)

**TABLE 3.1. — Continued**

No.	Year	Major Power	Minor Power	Crisis Name
(59)	1940	USSR	Finland	Russo-Finnish War
(60)	1948-51	USSR	Yugoslavia	Soviet-Yugoslav Rift
(61)	1950-51	China	(Tibet)	Chinese Invasion of Tibet
(62)	1951-52	UK	Egypt	Canal Zone
(63)	1952	China	Portugal	Macao
(64)	1953	USSR	East Germany	East Berlin Uprising
(65)	1954	U.S.	Guatemala	U.S. Intervention in Guatemala
(66)	1955	U.S.	Nicaragua	Nicaragua-Costa Rican Dispute
(67)	1956	USSR	Poland	Polish October
(68)	1956	USSR	Hungary	Hungarian Intervention
(69)	1957	U.S., UK	Jordan	Jordanian Civil War
(70)	1958	U.S.	Lebanon	Lebanon Upheaval
(71)	1958-61	France	Tunisia	Tunisian Military Bases and Bizerta Conflict
(72)	1959-60	China	Nepal	Sino-Nepalese Border Dispute
(73)	1959-62	China	India	Sino-Indian War
(74)	1961	U.S.	Cuba	Bay of Pigs
(75)	1961-62	U.S.	Laos/Thailand	Laos
(76)	1962	China	Taiwan	Taiwan Strait
(77)	1962	U.S.	Yemen	Yemeni Civil War (1962-current)
(78)	1963-65	UK	Indonesia	Borneo
(79)	1964	U.S.	Panama	Panama Canal
(80)	1964	France	Gabon	Military Putsch in Gabon
(81)	1964-66	UK	North Yemen	Yemeni Civil War (1962-current)
(82)	1964-75	U.S.	Vietnam	Vietnam War
(83)	1964	U.S.	Congo	Congo
(84)	1965	China	India	Indo-Pakistani War 1964-65
(85)	1965	U.S.	Dominican Republic	Dominican Intervention

(86)	1968	U.S.	North Korea	<i>Pueblo</i> Seizure
(87)	1968	USSR	Czechoslovakia	Prague Spring
(88)	1969–72	France	Chad	First Chadian Civil War (1965–72)
(89)	1970	U.S.	Cambodia	Invasion of Cambodia (Vietnam War)
(90)	1975	U.S.	Cambodia	<i>Mayaguez</i> Crisis
(91)	1978	France	Zaire	Shaba
(92)	1978–79	China	Vietnam	Sino-Vietnam War
(93)	1978–82	France	Chad	Second Chadian Civil War (1978–82)
(94)	1979	U.S.	Yemen	Yemeni Civil War (1962–current)
(95)	1979–89	USSR	Afghanistan	Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan
(96)	1979	USSR	Pakistan	Soviet Threat to Pakistan
(97)	1979–80	U.S.	Iran	U.S. Hostages in Iran
(98)	1980	UK, France	Vanuatu	Espiritu Santo Secessionist Fighting
(99)	1980–81	USSR	Poland	<i>Solidarity</i> Movement in Poland
(100)	1981	U.S.	Libya	Gulf of Syrte
(101)	1982	UK	Argentina	Falklands (Malvinas) War
(102)	1983	U.S.	Nicaragua	Contras
(103)	1983	U.S.	Grenada	U.S. Invasion of Grenada
(104)	1983–84	France	Chad	Third Chadian Civil War (1983–current)
(105)	1983–84	China	Vietnam	Sino-Vietnamese Clashes

*Note:* Parentheses are used for those third parties that were not classified as independent states in the Correlates of War project (Singer and Small 1982).

**TABLE 3.2. The Cases of Extended-Immediate Deterrence among Major Powers, 1895-1985**

No.	Year	Challenger	Defender	Third Party	Outcome	Crisis Name
(1)	1895-96	Germany	UK	(South Africa)	Acq <sup>Germany</sup>	Delagoa Bay and Jameson Raids
(2)	1897	Germany	Russia	China	Compromise	Kiao-Chow (German occupation)
(3)	1897-98	France	UK	(Nigeria)	Compromise	Niger Dispute
(4)	1898-99	Russia	UK	China	Compromise	Anglo-Russian crisis
(5)	1898-99	UK, U.S.	Germany	(Samoa)	Compromise	Samoa Islands Dispute
(6)		France	UK	(Sudan)	Acq <sup>France</sup>	Fashoda
(7)	1899-1900	Russia	Japan	Korea	Acq <sup>Russia</sup>	Masampo Episode
(8)	1901-03	Russia	Japan	(Manchuria)	Acq <sup>Japan</sup>	Manchurian Evacuation
(9)	1902	UK, Germany	U.S.	Venezuela	Acq <sup>UK, Germany</sup>	Venezuelan Crisis
(10)	1904-5	Russia	Japan	Korea, (Manchuria)	War	Russo-Japanese War
(11)	1905-6	Germany	France	Morocco	Acq <sup>Germany</sup>	First Moroccan (Tangier) Crisis
(12)	1908	A-H, Germany	Russia	Serbia	Acq <sup>Russia</sup>	Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina
(13)	1911	Germany	France	Morocco	Acq <sup>Germany</sup>	Second Moroccan (Agadir) Crisis
(14)	1912	A-H, Germany	Russia	Serbia	Acq <sup>Russia</sup>	First Balkan War
(15a)	1914-17	A-H, Germany	Russia	Serbia	War	World War I
(15b)	1914-18	Germany	UK, France	Belgium, France	War	World War I
(16)	1920-23	USSR	UK	Iran, Afghanistan	Compromise	Anglo-Russian Frictions in Central Asia
(17)	1932	Japan	UK, U.S.	China	Acq <sup>Japan</sup>	Shanghai Incident
(18)	1935-36	Italy	UK	Ethiopia	Acq <sup>UK</sup>	Italo-Ethiopian (Abyssinian) War
(19)	1935-36	Japan	USSR	(Outer Mongolia)	Acq <sup>Japan</sup>	Outer Mongolian Frontier Dispute
(20)	1937	USSR	Japan	(Manchuria)	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Amur River Incident
(21)	1938	USSR	Japan	(Manchuria)	Acq <sup>Japan</sup>	Changkufeng
(22)	1938	Italy	France	(Tunisia)	Acq <sup>Italy</sup>	Italian Colonial Claims
(23)	1938	Germany	UK, France	Czechoslovakia	Acq <sup>UK, France</sup>	Sudetenland Problem and Munich Crisis

(24)	1939	Italy	UK, France	Greece	Acq <sup>Italy</sup>	Italy's Invasion of Albania
(25)	1939	Japan	USSR	Mongolia	War	Nomonhan Incident
(26)	1939-45	Germany	UK, France	Poland	War	World War II
(27)	1945	USSR	U.S., UK	Iran	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Azerbaijan Issue
(28)	1945-46	France	UK	Syria	Acq <sup>France</sup>	Levant
(29)	1946	USSR	U.S.	Turkey	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Turkish Straits
(30)	1948-49	USSR	U.S., UK, Fra.	West Germany	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Berlin Blockade
(31)	1950	China	U.S.	Taiwan	Acq <sup>China</sup>	Taiwan Strait
(32)	1950-53	U.S.	China	North Korea	War	Korean War
(33)	1954-55	China	U.S.	Taiwan	Acq <sup>China</sup>	Chinese Offshore Islands
(34a)	1956	UK, France	USSR	Egypt	Acq <sup>UK, France</sup>	Suez Canal
(34b)	1956	USSR	U.S.	France, UK	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Suez Canal (Soviet retaliatory threat)
(35a)	1957	U.S.	USSR	Syria	Acq <sup>U.S.</sup>	Turkish-Syrian Frontier Dispute
(35b)	1957	USSR	U.S.	Turkey	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Turkish-Syrian Frontier Dispute
(36)	1958	China	U.S.	Taiwan	Acq <sup>China</sup>	Quemoy-Matsu
(37)	1958-59	USSR	U.S.	West Germany	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Berlin Deadline
(38)	1961	USSR	U.S., UK, Fra.	West Germany	Compromise	Berlin Wall
(39)	1962	USSR	U.S.	Cuba	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Cuban Missile Crisis
(40a)	1967	U.S.	USSR	Egypt, Syria	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Six Day War
(40b)	1967	USSR	U.S.	Israel	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Six Day War
(41)	1970	Syria/USSR	U.S.	Jordan	Acq <sup>USSR</sup>	Black September
(42)	1971	U.S.	USSR	(Bangladesh)	Acq <sup>U.S.</sup>	Bangladesh
(43a)	1973	USSR	U.S.	Israel	Compromise	Yom Kippur War
(43b)	1973	U.S.	USSR	Egypt, Syria	Compromise	Yom Kippur War
(44)	1975	USSR	U.S.	Angola	Acq <sup>U.S.</sup>	Angolan Civil War

*Note:* Parentheses are used for those third parties that were not classified as independent states in the Correlates of War project (Singer and Small 1982).

**TABLE 3.3. The Cases of Direct-Immediate Deterrence between Major Powers, 1895–1985**

No.	Year	Challenger	Defender	Outcome	Crisis Name
(1)	1936	Germany	France	Acq <sub>France</sub>	Remilitarization of Rhineland
(2)	1941	Germany	USSR	War	World War II (Barbarossa)
(3)	1941	Japan	U.S.	War	World War II (Pearl Harbor)
(4)	1969	China	USSR	Compromise	Sino-Soviet Border Dispute (Ussuri River)

testing the role of the explanatory factors (see chap. 1) in accounting for variations in deterrence outcomes. In cases of immediate deterrence, where at least one major power acted as the Defender of its Protégé (extended-immediate deterrence), the test will use deterrence dyads as the unit of analysis. Some of the cases had more than one Challenger, Defender, or Protégé, which results in a total of 70 cases of EID dyads as the unit of analysis of this empirical test. In next part of the book, each chapter examines the individual effect of a specific explanatory factor on deterrence outcomes. This includes the key variables of relative capabilities (chap. 4) and inherent credibility, the latter being examined in terms of the interests at stake, either external (chap. 5) or internal (chap. 6). Chapter 7 tests their joint interactive effect and, most important, compares the explanatory power of two basic models of deterrence—inherent credibility and interdependent commitments—as outlined in the introduction.