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Defense Pacts: A Prescription for Peace?

Coding of Specific Adversaries

We start with a list of all defense pacts in the ATOP dataset that are coded DEFCOADV=1. There are 82 such alliances.

Of those, several have already been eliminated from our sample:

ATOPID 1015 is eliminated because it is outside the time period of our study. ATOPID 1150 is eliminated because one member is not a Correlates of War system member. The following alliances are eliminated because they include language requiring members to keep the existence of the alliance secret, and thus should not affect deterrence:

ATOPID 1050
ATOPID 1150
ATOPID 1210
ATOPID 1255
ATOPID 1310
ATOPID 1335
ATOPID 1350
ATOPID 1385
ATOPID 1395
ATOPID 1440
ATOPID 1475
ATOPID 2010
ATOPID 2012
ATOPID 2013
ATOPID 2440

Six additional alliances end up being dropped from our sample because they are applicable to relations only with adversaries who are not Correlates of War system members. The alliances are therefore not applicable to any dyads that appear in our dataset. These alliances are:

ATOPID 1040
ATOPID 1085
ATOPID 1090
ATOPID 1100
ATOPID 1110
ATOPID 1120

Thus, 59 alliances remain.

Of these, we determine that 22 should be coded as potentially applicable to any adversary due to the language in the treaties. The following 18 alliances among states in the Soviet bloc during

the Cold War specify that they apply to "Germany and any state associated with Germany" (or West Germany and states associated with West Germany). The language varies somewhat among the treaties, but this may be due to differences in English translation. Since any challenger state might be viewed as "associated" with Germany, we assume that the obligations apply to any potential attacker.

ATOPID 2563
ATOPID 3035
ATOPID 3045
ATOPID 3060
ATOPID 3115
ATOPID 3120
ATOPID 3135
ATOPID 3140
ATOPID 3145
ATOPID 3155
ATOPID 3160
ATOPID 3165
ATOPID 3170
ATOPID 3175
ATOPID 3185
ATOPID 3520
ATOPID 3540
ATOPID 3545

Similarly, ATOPID 3200 is limited to "Japan or states allied with Japan" and ATOPID 2330 is limited to Balkan states or non-Balkan powers in association with Balkan states.

ATOPID 2075 is limited to "Imperialistic States". Since any state could be perceived to be an "imperialistic state" we code this alliance as having the potential to be applicable to any adversary.

Finally, ATOPID 3260 is a multilateral alliance in which the United States restricts its obligations to "communist aggression". Since the other alliance members promise support regardless of the adversary, each member has a promise of support from this alliance against any potential challenger.

The remaining 37 alliances were coded as applicable in only some dyadic relations. We list below the alliance, the treaty description of the adversary, and our coding of which potential challengers the alliance is applicable to.

ATOPID	TREATY LANGUAGE	APPLICABLE POTENTIAL CHALLENGERS
1035	. . .they engage, in case the said body of troops should be attacked or menaced with an attack on the part of France, that the said Powers should be gain obliged to place themselves on a war establishment against that Power. . . (Art. III)	France

1060	In case the Netherlands direct hostilities against Belgium, the French and Belgian armies will act together to repel this aggression (Art.VII).	The Netherlands
1140	Treaty not located. Sybel (1891: v.1, 489) states that the alliance is limited to conflict with Prussia.	Germany
1160	[France and the UK] undertake by the present treaty still further to cooperate with [the Ottoman Empire for its defense] in Europe and in Asia against Russian aggression… (Art. 1).	Russia
1175	. . . Austria engages to exhaust all the means of negotiation and all other means to obtain the evacuation of the Danubian principalities by the foreign army which occupies them, and even to employ, in case they are required, the number of troops necessary to attain this end (Art.I).	Russia
1180	In case hostilities should break out between Austria and Russia, [the UK, Austria and France] mutually promise to each other their offensive and defensive alliance in the present war... (Art. III).	Russia
1190	[UK and France] on their part, engage to furnish the King of Sweden and Norway sufficient naval and military forces . . . for the purpose of resisting the pretensions or aggressions of Russia (Art. II).	Russia
1227	…should France come to the assistance of the Italians, . . . Wurttemberg will exert itself to support Austria in the conflict . . .(Art. V).	France, Italy
1260	[The parties] stipulate the closest offensive and defensive alliance between them for the purpose of repelling the present aggression of the Spanish Government… (Art. 1).	Spain
1330	If Batoum, Ardahan, Kars or any of them shall be retained by Russia, and if any attempt shall be made at any future time by Russia to take possession of any further territories of [Turkey] in Asia, as fixed by the Definitive Treaty of Peace, England engages to join [Turkey] in defending them by force of arms (Art.I).	Russia
1390	Japan will undertake all warlike operations against China, both offensive and defensive… (Art. II).	China
2050	In case of an unprovoked attack on the part of Hungary against one of the . . . parties, the other party agrees to assist in the defense of the party attacked… (Art. I).	Hungary
2055	In case a reinforcement of troops becomes necessary due to a threat or an aggression by Germany, France will send nine divisions of infantry… (Art. I).	Germany
2060	If Germany attacks one of the two countries they are bound to afford assistance to each other following an agreement between them (Art. I, Secret Military Convention).	Germany
2080	In case of an unprovoked attack on the part of Hungary against one of the . . .parties, the other party agrees to assist in the defense of the party attacked… (Art. I).	Hungary
2085	In case of an unprovoked attack on the party of Hungary or of Bulgaria or of both these Powers against one of the . . .parties . . .the other party agrees to assist in the defense of the party attacked… (Art. I).	Hungary, Bulgaria
2130	Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other (Art. II). In case of a flagrant violation of Article 2…by one of the . . . parties, each of the other contracting parties hereby undertakes immediately to come to the help of the party against whom such a violation or breach has been directed… (Art. IV).	Germany, France, Belgium
2135	In the event of Poland and France suffering from a failure to observe the undertakings arrived at this day between them and Germany with a view to the maintenance of the general peace, France, and reciprocally Poland, undertake to lend each other immediate aid and assistance… (Art. I).	Germany

2140	In the event of Czechoslovakia or France suffering from a failure to observe the undertakings arrived at this day between them and Germany with a view to the maintenance of the general peace, France, and reciprocally Czechoslovakia, undertake to lend each other immediate aid and assistance… (Art. I).	Germany
2360	The Franco-Soviet Treaty of Assistance are to be understood as intended to apply only within the limits contemplated in the three-party Agreement previously planned (Protocol IV).	Germany
2365	Should…[the Czechslovak Republic or the USSR] be the object…of an unprovoked aggression on the part of a European state, the [USSR] and reciprocally the Czechoslovak Republic shall immediately come to each other's aid and assistance (Art. II).	Albania, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, Yugoslavia (All European States)
2475	The two contracting parties undertake to render each other assistance of every kind, including military assistance, in the event of direct aggression or threat of aggression on the part of a European Great Power… (Art. I).	UK, France, Germany, Italy (All European Major Powers)
2480	The two contracting parties undertake to render each other assistance of every kind, including military assistance, in the event of a direct aggression or threat of aggression by any great European Power… (Art. I).	UK, France, Germany, Italy (All European Major Powers)
2485	The two contracting parties undertake to render each other assistance of every kind, including military assistance, in the event of direct aggression or threat of aggression on the part of a European Great Power… (Art. I).	UK, France, Germany, Italy (All European Major Powers)
2490	In the event of Turkey being involved in hostilities with a European power in consequence of aggression by that power against Turkey, France and the UK will cooperate effectively with Turkey and will lend her all aid and assistance in their power (Art.1).	Albania, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Norway, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, Yugoslavia (All European States)
2515	[Germany, Italy and Japan] undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means when one of the three contracting powers is attacked by a power at present not involved in the European war or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict (Art. III).	All states except Canada, UK, France, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, and China

2535	The two governments mutually undertake to render each other assistance and support of all kinds in the present war against Hitlerite Germany (Art.1).	Germany, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Finland, and Japan (all states fighting on German side at time of alliance formation)
2550	Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war (Art. 1).	Germany, Italy, Japan
2570	[The UK] . . .accepts and agrees to the participation of Portugal in such operations as may be conducted eventually to expel the Japanese from Portuguese Timor in order that that territory may be restored to full Portuguese sovereignty.	Japan
2571	[The US] . . . accepts and agrees to the participation of Portugal in such operations as may be conducted eventually to expel the Japanese from Portuguese Timor in order that that territory may be restored to full Portuguese sovereignty.	Japan
2575	Each of the parties will continue to fight at the side of the other and of the United Nations until the final victory over Germany. Each side undertakes to provide to the other side aid and assistance in that war by all means it can deploy (Art.1).	Germany
3020	Each of the [parties] will continue the struggle ... against Germany until final victory. The two contracting parties pledge themselves to render each other military and other assistance and support of every kind (Art. I).	Germany
3025	The [parties] will continue . . . the fight against Germany until final victory. In this fight the [parties] agree to render each other military and other assistance by all the means in their power (Art. I).	Germany
3030	Should either of the [parties] become involved in hostilities with Japan in consequence of an attack by the latter against that Party, the other [party] will at once render to the [party] so involved in hostility all the military and other support and assistance in its power (Art. III).	Japan
3055	Should either of the High Contracting Parties become again involved in hostilities with Germany…the other High Contracting Party will at once give the High Contracting Party so involved in hostilities all the military and other support and assistance in his power (Art II).	Germany
3895	Member States declare and accept that any armed threat or aggression directed against any Member State shall constitute a threat or aggression against the entire Community (Art. II). When there is a conflict between two Member States of the Community, the Authority shall meet urgently and take appropriate action for mediation. If need be, the Authority shall decide only to interpose the A.A.F.C. between the troops engaged in the conflict (Art. XVII).	All states except Benin, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo
3925	United States-Israeli Strategic Cooperation…is designed against the threat to peace and security of the region caused by the Soviet Union… (Art. I).	Soviet Union
4295	The parties view that aggression from Serbia-Montenegro continues…the parties will engage in all forms of cooperation in the military area and will coordinate their military operations toward the removal of the threat (Art. VIII).	Serbia

Keep in mind as well that some defense pacts that are coded as applicable only to specific ongoing conflicts (DEFCOCON=1) are also coded as applicable only to some potential challengers. We identify those challengers as those states that are involved in the war on the side

opposite the alliance members according to the Correlates of War interstate war dataset (Sarkees 2000).

WORKS CITED

Sarkees, Meredith Reid. 2000. The Correlates of War Data on War: An Update to 1997. *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 18 (1): 123-144.