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# Are Military Regimes *Really* Belligerent?\*

Nam Kyu Kim<sup>†</sup>

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## Abstract

Does military rule make a state more belligerent internationally? Several studies have recently established that military autocracies are more likely than civilian autocracies to deploy and use military force in pursuit of foreign policy objectives. I argue that military regimes are more likely to resort to military force because they are located in more hostile security environments, and not because they are inherently aggressive. First, I show that rule by military institution is more likely to emerge and exist in states facing external territorial threats. Second, by examining the relationship between military autocracies and conflict initiation, I find that once I control for states' territorial threats, the statistical association between military regimes and conflict initiation disappears. Additionally, more evidence suggests that civilian dictatorships are more conflict-prone than their military counterparts when I account for unobserved dyad heterogeneity. The results are consistent across different measures of international conflict and authoritarian regimes.

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Since Geddes's (2003) notable statement that authoritarian regimes differ from each other as much as they differ from democracies, a growing body of literature has paid attention to the institutional heterogeneity among autocracies to explain various outcomes.<sup>1</sup> An increasing number of studies on international conflict have examined how dictatorships differ from each other in their propensity to engage in belligerent international behavior. Particularly, three seminal studies (Lai and Slater 2006, Debs and Goemans 2010, Weeks 2012) have recently established that military autocracies are more likely than civilian autocracies to deploy and use military force in pursuit of foreign policy objectives. These studies attribute military regimes' relative conflict proneness to various sources: their lack of institutional power leading to regime's insecurity (Lai and Slater 2006), to the harsh, post-exit punishments military rulers face (Debs and Goemans 2010), or to ruling elites' military backgrounds (Weeks 2012, 2014). This research is indicative of a growing scholarly interest in examining the linkage between domestic politics and international affairs.

While recognizing the contributions of these studies, I argue that the "military belligerence hypothesis" must be subjected to further critical scrutiny. These previous studies pay little attention to the fact that political regimes are not randomly assigned across countries and over time. Drawing on the the peace-to-democracy and territorial peace literatures (Gibler 2012, Hintze 1975, Rasler and Thompson 2004, Thompson 1996), I argue that military regimes are more likely to emerge and exist in states facing sustained territorial threats. Salient territorial threats produce high levels of militarization, which expands and politically empowers the military. Thus, the military's capacity to intervene in politics increases when the country is exposed to salient external threats. If this is the case, territorial threats from neighboring countries may be causally responsible for generating both military regimes and militaristic behavior. That is, military regimes may be more likely to resort to military force or threat of military force because they are located in more hostile security environments, not because they are either institutionally fragile or predisposed toward using force. if as the

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<sup>1</sup>I interchangeably use the terms autocracy, authoritarian regime, and dictatorship.

previous research argues, military autocracies are indeed more prone to militarized conflict than civilian autocracies due to their inherent characteristics, a systematic relationship between military regimes and conflict initiation should be found even after controlling for countries' external territorial threats.

My empirical analysis consists of two parts. First, I show that rule by military institutions is more likely to emerge and persist when countries face territorial threats from neighboring rival states.<sup>2</sup> The same is not true of other authoritarian regime types. Second, I test the relationship between political regime types and the initiation of militarized disputes. I find some evidence that military dictatorships, including both collegial and personalist military rule, regimes—are more likely than civilian party-based dictatorships to initiate militarized disputes. However, controlling for territorial rivalries removes the statistical association between military regimes and conflict propensity. Additionally, more evidence suggests that civilian dictatorships are more conflict-prone than their military counterparts when I account for unobserved dyad heterogeneity. The lack of a significant association between military autocracies and conflict initiation remains consistent when 1) using either dyadic or monadic specifications, 2) using militarized disputes from the Militarized Interstate Disputes (MID) data, MIDs that feature the use of force, or international crises drawn from the International Crisis Behavior (ICB) data, 3) comparing military and civilian dictatorships with or without accounting for personalism, and 4) addressing unobserved dyad effects through random effects or fixed effects.

When I further distinguish between territorial and non-territorial militarized disputes and do not control for territorial rivalries, military regimes' aggressiveness is found only in territorial disputes. In the context of non-territorial disputes, no evidence supports military regimes' aggressiveness. The result provides additional evidence that territorial threats from neighboring countries are likely to produce both military autocracies and increased conflict propensity.

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<sup>2</sup>To the best of my knowledge, no previous studies have examined this relationship.

Overall, I find no compelling evidence that military rule increases a state's propensity to initiate military conflict, compared to civilian rule. It appears premature to conclude that certain characteristics encourage military dictatorships to engage in foreign aggression. Instead, my empirical analysis consistently demonstrates that civilian personalist regimes is the most belligerent of all, and monarchy is the most peaceful. The results suggest that consistent with previous studies (Weeks 2008, 2012), variations in domestic institutional constraints are important to explaining regimes' conflict propensity.

## **Military Regimes and Conflict Initiation**

Many studies on authoritarian regimes identify military dictatorships as a distinct sub-type of authoritarianism. Military dictatorships behave differently than nonmilitary dictatorships and are systematically associated with a range of important political outcomes. The distinctive features of military dictatorships can be summarized as follows.<sup>3</sup> First, military dictatorships are governed by those who specialize in the use of force. Military regimes' greater capacity for violence makes military dictatorships better-equipped to use repression in response to popular dissent (Escribà-Folch and Wright 2010). Additionally, military rulers prefer to maintain the military's internal unity to protect its corporate interests (Geddes 2003, Stepan 1971). However, military regimes' advantages in coercive capacity and internal coherence do not lend them stability or durability. Instead, both military dictatorships and their leaders have the shortest life spans (Geddes 2003, Gandhi 2008). Military dictators frequently face violent ousting by other officers, followed by severe post-tenure punishments of imprisonment and death (Debs and Goemans 2010). This fragility of military regimes could be due either to the nature of the military as an institution that emphasizes unity, as is argued by Geddes (2003), or to the absence of institutional infrastructure (Slater 2003). Military officers do not tend to retain their rule when faced with popular protests or economic crises because they value the unity of the military over political power (Geddes 2003). At the same time,

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<sup>3</sup>This summary draws on Geddes, Frantz and Wright (2014) that provide a great review of military dictatorships.

military regimes are less institutionalized (Escribà-Folch and Wright 2010, Nordlinger 1977, Slater 2003). Military regimes lack mechanisms of sociopolitical control because they tend to rely on terror and repression as a means of rule. Repression alone is not sufficient to hold a regime together. Military regimes may thus have difficulty surviving during hard times.

### **Existing Studies**

Scholarly attention to the different attributes of military dictatorships has probed the relationship between military regimes and conflict propensity. These studies produce considerable disagreement about the mechanisms that cause military dictatorships' belligerence. First, Lai and Slater (2006) focus on military dictatorships' institutional deficiencies. According to Lai and Slater, the institutional power affecting a regime's legitimacy and security relies on whether it is ultimately backed by the military or by a ruling party. Military dictatorships tend to lack institutional infrastructure for maintaining social control and elite cohesion. They rely on military apparatuses to maintain political control as they lack party infrastructure to enhance the regime's stability and durability. Thus, military rulers are less secure in power and more likely to initiate militarized conflict to bolster its regime by mobilizing domestic support.

Meanwhile, Lai and Slater are skeptical that the other institutional dimension involving constraints on leaders' decision-making power effectively explains conflict propensity. Instead, the only significant quality is whether the regime is led by civilians or the military. This implies that in their four-way classification of autocratic regimes, personalist (**Strongman**) and nonpersonalist military (**Junta**) regimes tend to initiate more disputes than personalist (**Boss**) and nonpersonalist civilian regimes (**Machine**). Finally, Lai and Slater argue that military regimes' belligerence is unrelated to the military background of the leaders because civilian rule controlled by military elites is just as conflict prone as direct military rule.

Challenging Lai and Slater's argument, Weeks (2012, 2014) claims that their background and training make military officers more likely than civilians to view the status quo as

threatening and to consider the use of force necessary and effective (see also [Sechser 2004](#)).<sup>4</sup> These pre-existing views result in military officers' proclivity for using military force. Weeks also disagrees with Lai and Slater's argument that diversionary incentives explain military regimes' aggression. In Weeks's view, domestic plights leading to diversionary conflicts do not arise often enough to drive up a regime's conflict propensity in general. Thus, a regime's institutional control over a society does not matter. The last point of disagreement between Weeks and Lai and Slater is that in explaining conflict propensity, Weeks emphasizes the extent to which members of the ruling group can impose limitations on rulers. When leaders face a domestic audience able to punish them for foreign policy mistakes, they are more cautious about using force. Conversely, unconstrained dictators are more willing to take risks and more emboldened to embark on aggression in interstate disputes. However, Weeks argues that a leader's background is largely redundant in personalist regimes that tend to select for highly violent and ambitious leaders. Accordingly, she orders autocratic regimes from most to least belligerent: **Strongman**, **Boss**, **Junta**, and **Machine**, and she expects the difference between **Strongman** and **Boss** to be marginal.

On a different note, [Debs and Goemans \(2010\)](#) explain the war propensity of different regime types by focusing on both leaders' sensitivity to war outcomes and their post-exit fates. As leaders' survival is more sensitive to war outcomes, and the cost of losing power is greater, they are less willing to make concessions to other states. Debs and Goemans find no significant difference in the sensitivity to war outcomes among dictatorships, although dictatorships are more sensitive to war outcomes than democracies. They instead find that military dictators and monarchs tend to face worse fates, such as death or imprisonment, after losing power than do civilian dictators. The fear of post-ouster fates looms in dictators' minds even when the likelihood of losing office is low. Dictators, fearing severe post-tenure punishments, cling more desperately to power and are less likely to make peaceful bargains

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<sup>4</sup> [Horowitz and Stam \(2014\)](#) directly test whether leaders' military backgrounds influence their propensity to initiate militarized disputes and wars using their new dataset covering the background experiences of more than 2,500 leaders from 1875 to 2004. They find that leaders with military service but no combat experience are most likely to initiate armed conflict, which supports Weeks' core assumption.

with other states. Hence, military dictators and monarchs are more likely than civilian dictators and democratic leaders to be involved in war. However, they do not claim that military dictators are more likely to initiate war.

Regime classification	Regime Data	DV	Predicted belligerence
<a href="#">Lai and Slater (2006)</a> : Strongman, Boss, Junta, and Machine	Banks CNTS & Polity III	MID initiation	Strongman and Juna> Machine and Boss
<a href="#">Weeks (2012, 2014)</a> : Strongman, Boss, Junta, and Machine	Raw regime data from Geddes (2003)	MID initiation	Strongman > Boss> Junta >> Machine
<a href="#">Debs and Goemans (2010)</a> : Civilian, Military, Monarchy	Cheibub et al. (2010)	War onset	Military and Monarchy> Civilian

**Table 1.** Summary of previous studies on military dictatorship and conflict propensity. MID: militarized interstate dispute.

Overall, these studies claim that military autocracies are more conflict-prone than civilian autocracies. However, they produce conflicting theories and incongruous empirical results (see also Table 1). In addition, these studies use different regime-type datasets that are built on different definitions of military regimes. We thus know neither which mechanism is responsible for the observed pattern, nor whether the previous findings are robust. However, since it is beyond the scope of this article to address these issues, I focus on one challenge to the military belligerence theories: a potentially spurious relationship between military autocracies and increased conflict propensity.

## The Argument

Previous studies attribute military regimes' conflict proneness to military regimes' institutional characteristics or to military leaders' personal characteristics. However, they do not consider the possibility that other factors may be responsible for generating both military rule and heightened conflict propensities. Building on the literature that emphasizes a state's security environment in explaining democratization, I argue that military rule, particularly



characterized by collegial forms, are more likely to emerge in states with external territorial threats. When faced with salient external threats, states tend to engage in more aggressive policies. Accordingly, military regimes will be more likely to initiate international conflicts because they are located in more hostile security environments, not because they are either institutionally fragile or predisposed toward using force.

### **External Threat Environment → Political Regime Types**

The prominent so-called war-making and state-making literature emphasizes the role wars and external threats play in state centralization and development, analyzing the interrelationship between wars, the military, and state building (Hintze 1975, Tilly 1975). States facing wars and external threats mobilize resources to build and maintain large standing armies, which in turn require a highly centralized state to raise and administer revenues and expenditures. Building on this literature, several scholars argue that a country's hostile security environment fosters authoritarianism and undermines democratic rule (Gibler 2012, Hintze 1975, Rasler and Thompson 2004, Thompson 1996). A state's centralization and militarization in response to external threats interact to undermine constraints on executive control and to suppress domestic opposition. Thus, external threats retard the development of democratic rule while the absence of these threats improves the prospects for democratization.

Drawing on the peace-to-democracy literature, Gibler (2012) develops the "territorial peace" theory that when states have peacefully settled borders, they no longer rely on military force to resolve disputes. Gibler posits that contested borders generate more salient and lasting external threats than any other factors. Contested borders encourage government centralization and militarization, which generates more aggressive foreign policies and worsen security environments (see also Vasquez 2009). Meanwhile, the presence of large standing armies, necessitated by territorial disputes, reduces the costs of domestic repression and empowers the military and elites. Accordingly, unsettled borders not only increase security threats to the state but also hinder democratization. Contrarily, when a state peacefully resolves border disputes with its neighbors, a hospitable environment emerges, reducing the

need for large standing armies and decentralizing political power. In sum, settled borders between two countries improve both interstate relations and the prospects for joint democracy within the dyad.

### **Territorial Threats and Military Regimes**

The military, created to protect against foreign and domestic enemies, is at the heart of existing theories on external threats and domestic politics. High levels of external threat pressure states to anticipate violent challenges and, in response, develop sufficient defenses. “Even if a state could avoid the temptation to expand, being in a neighborhood harboring some expansive aspirants meant that one had to develop adequate defenses against the possibility of attack” (Rasler and Thompson 2004, 882). Hence, rulers develop large, standing land-based armies in anticipation of such external threats (Huth 1996, Rasler and Thompson 2004). External threats also allow rulers to better extract the resources necessary for militarization at the expense of other sectors (Gibler 2012, Thies 2005, Tilly 1975), leading to the expansion of a coercive military organization.

Existing research on interstate conflict demonstrates that a state perceives greater military threats particularly when external threats emanate from its immediate neighborhood and are mainly concerned with the possession of territory (e.g., Gibler 2012, Rider 2013, Vasquez 2009). Rivals close to home pose more substantial threats due to simple proximity. Moreover, because people tend to have strong attachments to their homeland for material and/or symbolic reasons, and thus are willing to fight to defend it, states are likely to engage in provocative and violent behavior in order to protect or acquire that territory. States are highly attentive to the possibility of violent transfers of territory and actively develop war plans based on acquiring or retaining territorial control (Gibler and Tir 2010, 954). Therefore, rivalries with neighboring states over territories are more intense and have stronger repercussions on domestic politics and political institutions than threats from other actors.

High levels of military preparations in turn place the military in a politically pivotal role (Hintze 1975, Gibler 2012, Lasswell 1941). When a country is confronted with external threats

to its security, its military is better positioned to demand and obtain greater institutional autonomy in personnel, education, budgetary, organization, and procurement decisions. Rulers delegate extensive power to the military in order to defend against external threats. Furthermore, the need for military effectiveness tends to increase unity and cohesion within the military (Desch 1998), making it better able to intervene in politics (Belkin and Schofer 2003). Hence, a military equipped with greater resources, autonomy, and cohesion is better able to expand its political influence. As Svobik (2013) puts it, “Only once such preeminence translates into the military’s ability to garner greater autonomy and resources is the military in a position to intervene in politics should its political preferences or institutional interests be undermined” (769).

Rulers face a fundamental dilemma in that any military strong enough to defend a regime against external threats is also strong enough to subvert that regime. Additionally, salient threat environments discourage political leaders from weakening the military’s political power since the tactics employed to prevent the military from seizing power simultaneously erode the state’s military effectiveness while decreasing the risk of coups (e.g., Pilster and Böhmelt 2011). For example, promoting and appointing officers based on loyalty and ethnic affiliation diminishes leadership qualities and discourages the exercise of initiative (Pilster and Böhmelt 2011, 335, Brooks 2003, 162). Similarly, counterbalancing impedes coordination among different military units, which is critical to the implementation of modern system tactics and operations (Pilster and Böhmelt 2011, 335). Once the military obtains its privileged position under sustained external threats, therefore, the military’s capacity to intervene in politics is hard to curb.

### **Observable Implications**

The discussion above suggests that military rule is more likely to emerge in states facing sustained territorial threats to their homelands. Such sustained threats expand and empower the military as an institution, paving the way for military rule. Particularly given that sustained threats expand and empower the military as an institution, rule by the military as

an institution is more likely to emerge in hostile security environments. At the same time, states tend to rely on coercive tactics (such as arming, military mobilization, and seeking alliances) to address territorial disputes rather than disputes over other issues (Vasquez 2009). Numerous studies show that territorial disputes are more prone to violent conflict than disputes over other issues (Hensel 1996, Huth 1996), produce higher fatalities (Senese 1996), are more escalatory (Hensel 1996), and are more likely to persist (Hensel 2001).

Taken together, this suggests that military regimes, particularly collegial military regimes characterized by “rule by the military as an institution,” may be more likely to initiate international conflicts because they are often located in hostile security environments with a high likelihood of militarized conflict initiation. If collegial military regimes are indeed more prone than collegial civilian autocracies to militarized conflict due to their own characteristics rather than to territorial threats from neighboring countries, I should be able to identify a systematic relationship between military regimes and conflict initiation even after controlling for external threats to a countries’ homeland. This should hold true, because the sequential relationship, territorial threats  $\rightarrow$  military rule  $\rightarrow$  conflict, is possible.

Below, I first establish that sustained territorial threats to states increase the likelihood that collegial forms of military rule emerge and persist. Next, I test whether military autocracies are more likely to initiate militarized conflict than civilian autocracies even when controlling for states’ sustained territorial threats.

## **Testing Relationship between External Territorial Threats and Military Regimes**

The dependent variable are the emergence and incidence of collegial military regimes (denoted as *Junta*). The incidence of *Junta* is an indicator equaling one in years of ongoing *Junta*, and the onset of *Junta* is an indicator equaling one in the year a new *Junta* emerges. To measure *Junta*, I use the regime-type data constructed by Geddes, Wright and Frantz (2014) (hereafter GWF) since GWF emphasize rule by military institutions in defining military regimes. They

define military regimes as those in which “the dictator consults with other high-ranking officers and can be constrained by them” (152). Military dictatorships in Argentina 1955–1982, Brazil 1964–1984, and Uruguay 1973–1983 belong to this category.

The GWF dataset classifies autocracies as military regimes, dominant-party dictatorships, personalist regimes, hybrids of these three pure types, and monarchies. To distinguish among dictatorships, GWF focus on “whether control over policy, leadership selection, and the security apparatus is in the hands of a ruling party (dominant-party dictatorships), a royal family (monarchies), the military (rule by the military institution), or a narrower group centered around an individual dictator (personalist dictatorships)” (318). For example, they code a regime as a military regime if the proportion of questions regarding military rule answered by “yes” is high and the proportion of questions regarding personalist and party rule answered by “yes” is low. A regime with high scores in multiple categories is coded as a hybrid regime.

To fully utilize the information on military regimes from GWF regime data, I construct a measure of collegial military regimes aggregating all military hybrids, including “party-military” and “party-personal-military” hybrids. This coding rule is slightly different from what GWF suggest. For their analysis GWF include all party-hybrids and oligarchies in the category of dominant-party dictatorships by prioritizing a party dimension, grouping only “personal-military” with military regimes and classifying pure “personal” as personalist autocracies. Grouping “party-military” and “party-personal-military” hybrids with party-based regimes is not appropriate for my research since military belligerence theories indicate that these hybrids should not be less aggressive than pure party-based dictatorships. For instance, Honduras 1964–1971, El Salvador 1950–1982, and Congo 1969–1991 are coded as party-military hybrids; and Paraguay 1955–1993, Egypt 1953–2008, and Indonesia 1967–1999 are coded as party-personal-military hybrids. In all these countries, the military exerts effective control on important policies and key positions of power. These countries should behave differently than countries coded as purely party-based dictatorship, such as Cambodia

1975–2010, Hungary 1947–1990, and Zambia 1968–1991.

A key independent variable is salient and prolonged threats to a state’s territories. To measure this variable, I focus on interstate rivalries. Interstate rivalry involves a pair of states that regard each other as competitive, threatening enemies in protracted conflict (Colaresi, Rasler and Thompson 2008, Klein, Goertz and Diehl 2006). Rivalries, often characterized by mutual threat perception and intense hostility, are the context in which the vast majority of interstate conflicts occur. Militarized foreign policies are prevalent in a rivalry context. Several studies use interstate rivalries to capture a country’s external threats (e.g., Gibler 2012, Rasler and Thompson 2005, Thies 2005). For the measure of rivalries, I rely on two widely used datasets: Klein, Goertz and Diehl (2006) and Colaresi, Rasler and Thompson (2008). Klein et al. emphasize the occurrence of militarized disputes in conceptualizing rivalry relationships and define a rivalry as a dyadic relationship in which two states engage in militarized disputes at least three times over the same set of issues. Conversely, the Colaresi et al. data employ a perception-based approach to identify strategic rivalry. They focus on leaders’ perception, by evaluating leader statements and historical narratives, rather than on actual dispute participation. I employ both measures because I expect that both participation in repeated militarized disputes and perceived military threats affect the need for security and military build-ups. For the measure of strategic rivalry, I use the Thompson and Dreyer (2011) dataset that updates the Colaresi et al. dataset and covers the time period from 1816 to 2010.

To explore the effect of territorial threats, I distinguish rivalries competing over territorial issues or sharing land borders (what I call territorial rivalries) from rivalries competing over other issues or not sharing land borders. To this end, when I employ strategic rivalry, I utilize spatial rivalries as coded in Colaresi, Rasler and Thompson (2008). Colaresi et al. distinguish between spatial rivalries primarily concerned with territorial issues and positional rivalries concerned with power position. I measure **Territorial rivalry (strategic)** as a dichotomous variable that takes the value one when a country is involved in at least one

spatial rivalry in the prior year, and zero otherwise. `Nonterritorial rivalry (strategic)` is an indicator for countries that experience strategic rivalry but no spatial rivalry. For the Klein et al. rivalry measure, I create a binary variable `Territorial rivalry (KGD)` that is coded one when a rivalry's most frequent reason for militarized disputes is territory.<sup>5</sup> `Nonterritorial rivalry (KGD)` includes the remaining rivalries.

I also include control variables. First, I include an indicator of civil war taken from the Correlates of War data (Sarkees and Schafer 2000) to capture the possibility that internal conflicts encourage the military to take on a more active political role (Desch 1998). A binary indicator of internal armed conflicts is coded as one for country-years with at least one corresponding internal conflict occurring in the previous year, and zero otherwise. Second, I control for regime type by including dichotomous indicators for democracies and anocracies. Regimes that score above 5 in the previous year are classified as democracies while those that score between -5 and 5 in the previous year are classified as anocracies. Next, I include a natural log of real GDP per capita and the annual percentage change of real GDP per capita.<sup>6</sup> Fourth, global and regional environments may influence the establishment of military regimes. This is captured by a dummy variable for the post-Cold War period and the proportion of democratic neighbors.<sup>7</sup> Last, I include a natural log of the amount of the time elapsed between the last regime change and the military regime's emergence to control for potential negative duration dependence.

Figure 1 displays the estimated coefficients of territorial and non-territorial rivalries along with their standard errors from logit regressions. The full regression tables are reported in Table A1 of the Supporting Appendix. Models 1 and 2 examine regime onset,<sup>8</sup> and Models

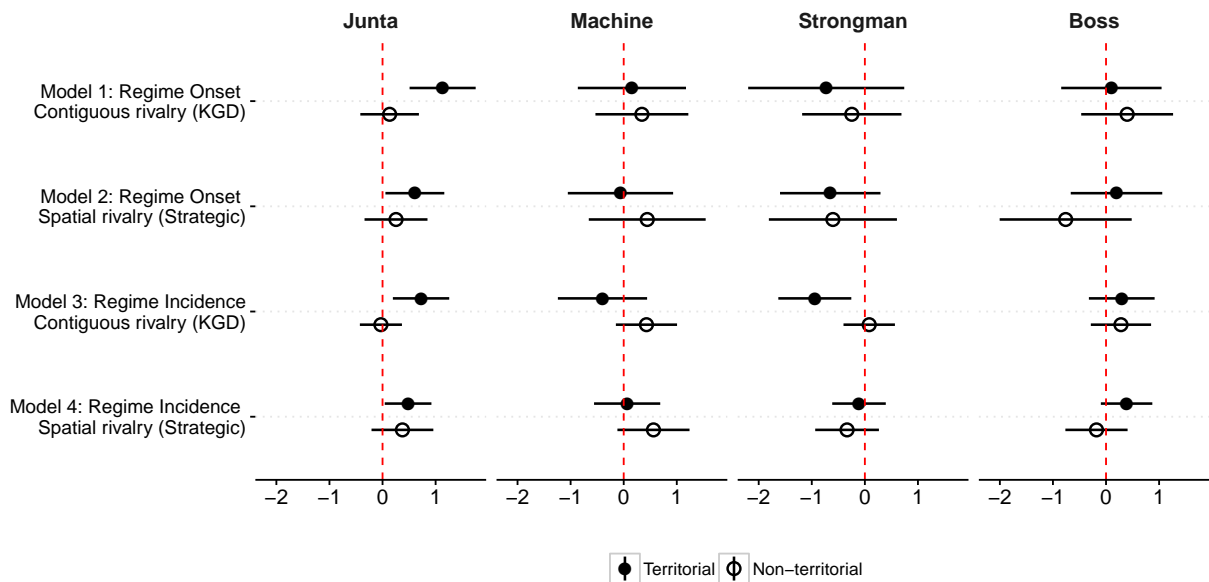
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<sup>5</sup>I thank an anonymous reviewer for the suggestion to use the percentage of territorial revisions. I use the two state-level revision type variables in the MID data to identify whether a territorial revision was sought. If territory is a motivation for either state, I record this as a territorial dispute, and otherwise, as a non-territorial MID.

<sup>6</sup>Data on GDP per capita are taken from Penn World Table 7.0 (Heston, Summers and Aten 2011).

<sup>7</sup> I define a country's neighbors to be countries with a minimum distance of 1001 km, as reported in the `cshapes R` library.

<sup>8</sup>I restrict the sample to countries that did not experience military rule in the previous year by setting ongoing years to missing.



**Figure 1.** Association Between Territorial Rivalries and Different Types of Autocracies. The graph shows the logit regression coefficients from separately estimated models. Circles show the point estimates, and horizontal line segments associated with circles show the 95% confidence intervals. All models include full control variables.

3 and 4 analyze regime incidence.<sup>9</sup>

Regardless of whether I examine regime incidence or onset, the left-most panel of Figure 1 shows that the coefficients on `Territorial rivalry (KGD)`, built on the dispute-density approach, and `Territorial rivalry (Strategic)`, based on the perception-based approach, are positive and statistically significant at the 5% level, which comports with my argument.<sup>10</sup> This suggests that `Junta` is more likely to emerge when a country has engaged in a series of militarized disputes fought over territory or has long-standing competition with rivals over territorial controls. Substantively, collegial military regimes are about three (when using `Territorial rivalry (KGD)`) or twice (when using `Territorial rivalry (Strategic)`) more likely to emerge when a country has territorial rivalries than when it has no rivalries. On the other hand, `Nonterritorial rivalry (KGD)` and `Nonterritorial rivalry (Strategic)` are not significantly associated with `Junta`, which confirms the importance of territorial

<sup>9</sup>I include a lagged dependent variable since a political regime is highly persistent, and ignoring dynamics will bias the estimated effect of any covariates that are positively serially correlated.

<sup>10</sup> I also fit models using country random effects. I fail to find significant variance terms in random effects specifications, and results remain similar to those reported in Figure 1.



threats.

For comparison, I examine the impact of territorial and non-territorial rivalries on other authoritarian regime types (see the next section for how to measure them). Figure 1 suggests no systematic relationship between territorial rivalries and other authoritarian regimes.

## **Testing the Relationship between Military Regimes and Conflict Initiation**

Next, I test whether military dictatorships are more likely to initiate militarized conflict than civilian dictatorships when I control for a country's territorial threats increasing the probability of dispute behavior. Previous studies characterize military belligerence as a monadic effect of military autocracies, operating independently of both domestic political conditions in other states and interactions with other states. However, they use different empirical strategies: [Lai and Slater \(2006\)](#) and [Debs and Goemans \(2010\)](#) use monadic tests in which country-years are the unit of analysis while [Weeks \(2012, 2014\)](#) employs dyadic tests in which directed dyad-years are the unit of analysis. To ensure robustness, I use both monadic and dyadic specifications.

To code conflict initiation, I use the Correlates of War MID dataset, and for purposes of comparison, focus on "Side A," the state that initiated the first militarized move, because [Lai and Slater \(2006\)](#) and [Weeks \(2012, 2014\)](#) use the same dependent variable. As [Ghosn and Bremer \(2004, 38–39\)](#) note, however, the state on Side A is not necessarily responsible for the conflict. "If a country perceives a potential threat, it may choose to attack first, and it is not clear that data focusing on the direction of attack are always able to account for such preemptive strikes" ([Caselli, Morelli and Rohner 2015](#)). Thus, I also examine MID initiation in terms of "revisionist" that sought to revise the status quo by force. In monadic models, the dependent variable is a count of a country's total number of MID initiations in year  $t + 1$ . In dyadic tests, the dependent variable is a dummy variable coded one if State A initiated a new MID against State B in the directed dyad in year  $t + 1$ , and zero otherwise. The time

period for the empirical analysis is 1946 to 2000.

A potential concern is that the MID dataset includes many minor disputes, not explicitly authorized by state leaders, and non-interstate conflict cases (Downes and Sechser 2012, 463–464). The inclusion of these cases may be problematic since the theories under examination explicitly focus on political leaders’ choices to engage in militarized disputes. To address this concern, I also limit MIDs only to those in which force is used.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, I employ the initiation of international crises as coded in the ICB project. The ICB project specifies two defining conditions for an international crisis: “(1) a change in type and/or an increase in intensity of disruptive, that is, hostile verbal or physical, interactions between two or more states, with a heightened probability of military hostilities; that, in turn, (2) destabilizes their relationship and challenges the structure of an international system—global, dominant, or subsystem” (Brecher and Wilkenfeld 1997, 4-5). The ICB dataset is attractive in that it excludes conflicts resulting from unauthorized or “accidental” uses of force.<sup>12</sup>

Following previous studies (Lai and Slater 2006, Weeks 2012, 2014), I differentiate between authoritarian regimes using personalism dimension as well as military-civilian dimension: personalist military (**Strongman**), personalist civilian (**Boss**), nonpersonalist military (**Junta**), and nonpersonalist civilian regimes (**Machine**). To measure autocratic regimes, I again use the GWF regime-type data. As explained above, GWF military regimes measure the rule by the military, corresponding to **Junta**. To measure **Strongman**, I follow Geddes, Frantz and Wright’s (2014) recommendation: a country-year qualifies as military strongman rule when it is coded both as personalist by GWF and as military by Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland’s (2010). The Cheibub et al. classification of dictatorships depends solely on the identity of the regime leader without considering institutional configurations and

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<sup>11</sup>**Use of force** equals one if the hostility level of a MID is coded as 4 or 5, and State A is Side A or a revisionist state in a new dyadic MID against State B.

<sup>12</sup>One challenge here is that the ICB dataset identifies neither conflictual dyads nor initiators. I rely on Mettler and Reiter (2013) for the information on crisis initiation from 1946 to 2007. They assigned the challenger status to “the state that made the first threat, mobilized its forces first, or used violence first” after identifying all the conflictual dyads within all ICB crises (861). They also exclude ICB crises that included only a single state.

the composition of the political leadership. It codes a dictatorship as a military dictatorship if the effective leader is or was a current or former military officer prior to seizing power. Thus, military dictatorships coded by Cheibub, Gandhi, and Vreeland identify military-led autocracies, and the strategy of combining the GWF dataset with the Cheibub et al. dataset can measure military strongman rule, a subset of military-led autocracies. Idi Amin in Uganda, Mobutu Sese Seko in Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rafael Trujillo in the Dominican Republic, and Muammar Gaddafi in Libya are notable examples of **Strongman**.

Additionally, I include two civilian counterparts, **Boss** and **Machine**. I code the remaining civilian personalist regimes in GWF data as **Boss**. Dominant-party dictatorships, including “party-based,” “party-personal,” and “oligarchy,” are coded **Machine**. In addition to these four autocratic regimes, I include **Monarchy** as a separate regime category. [Lai and Slater \(2006\)](#) and [Weeks \(2012, 2014\)](#) do not consider the conflict propensity of monarchies, theorizing military dictatorships’ belligerence only compared to civilian dictatorships. In contrast, [Debs and Goemans \(2010\)](#) argue that monarchs would be more war-prone than civilian autocrats because of their adverse post-ouster fates. Last, about two percent of all country-years are coded as “Not independent,” “Occupied by foreign troops,” “Ruled by a provisional government charged with overseeing a transition to democracy,” or “Lacking a central government.” I code these country-years as **Others** and include it in the model instead of removing these observations.

I include a set of control variables that might be correlated with political regime type and international conflict. First, I include a state’s national military capabilities, as measured by a state’s Composite Index of National Capabilities (CINC) score and a binary indicator of major power status in the international system, both as coded in the COW project. Dyadic models control for each state’s military capabilities and major power status, and additionally include an initiator’s proportion of dyadic capabilities. Second, I include a measure of geographic conditions. In the monadic analysis, I include the number of contiguous territorial borders with other states (separated by a land or river border). In the dyadic analysis, I include a

dummy variable for contiguity. Last, I control for a state's alliances. Monadic tests include the total number of a state's allies, as measured in the COW Alliance data (Gibler 2009). Dyadic models include the similarity of the two states' alliance portfolios. To control for duration dependence, I include a cubic polynomial of the number of years since the last MID initiation.

To control for potential unobserved unit-specific factors, I follow King's (2001) suggestion to use random-effects models. I thus include country-level random effects for the monadic analysis and dyad-level random effects for the dyadic analysis. A pooled model maintains a very strong assumption that the average rate of conflict initiation is the same for all countries (or dyads), and that control variables fully account for the unobservable determinants of a country's belligerence that may be spuriously correlated with regime type. Countries that have more frequently been under military rule may be fundamentally different from countries that have not. A pooled regression will be heavily confounded with other factors likely to be simultaneously correlated with military regimes and conflict propensity. I also use a conditional fixed effect logit model as an alternative estimator but report the results in the Supporting Appendix due to space considerations.

### **Dyadic Tests**

Tables 2 and 3 present the results of the twelve different models in which the dependent variable is **Side A initiation** (Table 2) or **Revisionist initiation** (Table 3). For comparison, I present both pooled and random effects logit estimates. However, likelihood-ratio tests indicate that there is significant unobserved heterogeneity at directed-dyad level, confirming the need to account for these differences. All the models include six regime-type dummy variables for State A and set **Democracy** as the baseline category. To test whether military autocracies are more likely to engage in militarized foreign policies than civilian autocracies, I compare the coefficients of military autocracies with those of civilian autocracies. I report the p-values of two-tailed Wald tests assessing the statistical significance of the differences at the bottom of the tables. If hostile security environments of **Junta** contribute to its conflict

propensity, the belligerence of **Junta** will disappear when I control for territorial threats. Otherwise, I should be able to identify the belligerence of **Junta** compared to other civilian autocracies even when I include territorial threats.

I begin with a pooled logit model that does not include a country's threat environments. Column 1 of Table 2 shows that **Machine** is the least aggressive and not statistically different from democracies, but another civilian autocracy, **Boss**, is the most aggressive of all. The differences not only between **Machine** and military autocracies but also between **Boss** and military autocracies are statistically significant. No previous research on the military belligerence predicts that **Boss** is more aggressive internationally than **Strongman**. Only  $\text{Junta} > \text{Machine}$  is consistent with previous studies.

Column 2 adds two variables measuring territorial rivalries, **Territorial rivalry (strategic)** and **Territorial rivalry (KGD)**, to Column 1. As expected, all territorial rivalry indicators have positive and statistically significant coefficients, which is consistent with existing research (Colaresi, Rasler and Thompson 2008, Diehl and Goertz 2001). A country is more likely to initiate militarized disputes against its territorial rivals than against other countries. Additionally, both **Strategic rivalry** and **KGD rivalry** are positive and statistically significant. This confirms that they capture different aspects of interstate rival relationships. Once I control for a potential initiator's external security environment, **Junta** decreases in magnitude, but **Machine** increases. Consequently, the statistical difference between **Junta** and **Machine** disappears. Interestingly, **Strongman** also decrease in magnitude, making the relative aggressiveness of **Boss** greater.

A similar pattern emerges when I include interstate rivalries including both territorial and non-territorial rivalries in Column 3. The coefficients on **Junta** and **Strongman** decline more in magnitude, and the coefficient on **Machine** increases, making **Machine** more belligerent than military autocracies. Thus, the ordering  $\text{Boss} > \text{Machine} > \text{Junta} > \text{Strongman}$  is found. This is the opposite of what the military belligerence hypothesis predicts.

Columns 4 through 6, my preferred specifications, add dyad random effects to the

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.589*** (0.152)	0.528*** (0.159)	0.270* (0.152)	0.307** (0.136)	0.244* (0.137)	0.153 (0.137)
Machine	0.210 (0.134)	0.296** (0.142)	0.313*** (0.115)	0.416*** (0.130)	0.462*** (0.129)	0.404*** (0.117)
Strongman	0.612*** (0.162)	0.614*** (0.168)	0.110 (0.144)	0.564*** (0.177)	0.496*** (0.169)	0.189 (0.173)
Boss	0.934*** (0.156)	1.009*** (0.154)	0.870*** (0.152)	1.197*** (0.167)	1.209*** (0.167)	1.159*** (0.155)
Monarchy	-0.129 (0.222)	-0.156 (0.205)	-0.417** (0.191)	-0.727*** (0.226)	-0.762*** (0.225)	-0.533** (0.217)
Others	0.247 (0.398)	0.327 (0.415)	-0.122 (0.359)	0.210 (0.418)	0.328 (0.417)	-0.171 (0.369)
Power Parity	0.429*** (0.155)	0.488*** (0.154)	0.516*** (0.162)	0.718*** (0.166)	0.751*** (0.167)	0.739*** (0.158)
Alliance Similarity	-0.774*** (0.153)	-0.757*** (0.160)	-0.230 (0.156)	-0.677*** (0.198)	-0.659*** (0.201)	-0.367** (0.178)
Contiguous Dyad	3.741*** (0.128)	3.378*** (0.148)	1.910*** (0.228)	5.193*** (0.205)	4.603*** (0.217)	2.998*** (0.206)
Trade Dependence	-2.145 (6.761)	2.120 (5.178)	8.195 (6.792)	6.256 (7.755)	6.332 (7.992)	8.114 (6.932)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.688*** (0.208)			1.446*** (0.219)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.447*** (0.233)			2.335*** (0.205)	
Strategic rivalry			0.398*** (0.140)			1.080*** (0.161)
KGD rivalry			3.900*** (0.222)			3.584*** (0.164)
Constant	-5.821*** (0.194)	-6.115*** (0.226)	-7.470*** (0.230)	-9.753*** (0.343)	-9.838*** (0.327)	-9.451*** (0.286)
Variance(Dyad RE)				4.707*** (0.448)	4.241*** (0.415)	1.714*** (0.244)
<i>Test of equality (p-values)</i>						
Junta=Machine	0.02	0.19	0.80	0.48	0.16	0.10
Junta=Boss	0.06	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.01	0.05	0.17	0.39	0.84	0.21
Strongman=Boss	0.06	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862
Log-Likelihood	-6085.6	-5943.8	-5224.4	-5585.6	-5463.2	-5062.2

**Table 2.** MID Initiation (Side A) in Directed-Dyad Years. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include each state's military capabilities, the major power status of each state in the dyad, and a cubic polynomial of peace years (not reported). All regime variables are lagged by one year. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

specifications of Columns 1 through 3. These models provide no evidence that military autocracies initiate MIDs at a higher rate than their civilian counterparts, irrespective of whether I include territorial rivalries or not. The results indicate the opposite: not only **Boss** but also **Machine** are more conflict-prone than their military counterparts although the difference between **Machine** and **Junta** is not statistically different.

The examination of **Revisionist initiation** also fails to provide a strong support for the relationship between military regimes and conflict initiation. In Column 1 of Tables 3, the pooled logit model, **Junta** and **Strongman** are more belligerent than **Machine**, but only the difference between **Strongman** and **Machine** is statistically significant. However, the inclusion of territorial rivalries wipes out the difference between **Junta** and **Machine** and substantially reduces the difference between **Strongman** and **Machine** (Column 2). When Column 3 includes interstate rivalries, I find  $\text{Boss} > \text{Machine} > \text{Strongman} \approx \text{Junta}$ . Finally, random effects models, reported in Columns 4 through 6, consistently show that **Machine** initiates MIDs at a higher annual rate than **Junta**, a difference significant at the 5% level. As in other models, **Boss** remains more belligerent than **Strongman**.

Overall, no evidence indicates that military rule makes states more aggressive internationally than civilian rule. All models demonstrate that civilian personalist autocracies are more belligerent than both types of military autocracies, a difference statistically significant. The only evidence for  $\text{Junta} > \text{Machine}$  comes from Column 1 of Table 2, the pooled model of **Side A initiation**. However, the association between military rule and conflict propensity is not robust to including dyad random effects or rivalry relationships. Combined with the finding displayed in Figure 1, this suggests that the conflict-proneness of collegial (and personalist) military dictatorships, compared to elite-constrained party dictatorships, seems driven by countries' external threat environments rather than by regimes' inherent characteristics.

It is worth noting that controlling external threat environments does not wipe away the differences among authoritarian regimes. The results consistently show that **Boss** initi-

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.589*** (0.185)	0.526*** (0.189)	0.245 (0.180)	0.255 (0.167)	0.225 (0.167)	0.136 (0.169)
Machine	0.374*** (0.144)	0.445*** (0.145)	0.465*** (0.122)	0.613*** (0.143)	0.652*** (0.142)	0.590*** (0.129)
Strongman	0.750*** (0.176)	0.729*** (0.172)	0.243 (0.155)	0.729*** (0.195)	0.671*** (0.184)	0.358* (0.184)
Boss	1.095*** (0.173)	1.147*** (0.166)	0.988*** (0.165)	1.387*** (0.180)	1.393*** (0.181)	1.297*** (0.171)
Monarchy	-0.196 (0.298)	-0.244 (0.264)	-0.517** (0.263)	-0.823*** (0.296)	-0.838*** (0.289)	-0.611** (0.287)
Others	-0.401 (0.512)	-0.331 (0.518)	-0.734 (0.507)	-0.370 (0.554)	-0.170 (0.522)	-0.562 (0.502)
Power Parity	0.525*** (0.179)	0.576*** (0.174)	0.576*** (0.184)	0.905*** (0.185)	0.924*** (0.185)	0.860*** (0.179)
Alliance Similarity	-0.662*** (0.173)	-0.610*** (0.180)	-0.075 (0.169)	-0.494** (0.219)	-0.474** (0.222)	-0.184 (0.195)
Contiguous Dyad	3.710*** (0.144)	3.345*** (0.164)	1.741*** (0.254)	5.198*** (0.241)	4.637*** (0.252)	2.843*** (0.233)
Trade Dependence	0.821 (6.432)	3.276 (5.159)	11.849** (5.835)	9.123 (7.449)	8.260 (7.834)	10.535 (6.683)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.881*** (0.245)			1.298*** (0.259)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.227*** (0.269)			2.107*** (0.251)	
Strategic rivalry			0.392** (0.152)			0.969*** (0.186)
KGD rivalry			3.949*** (0.244)			3.561*** (0.189)
Constant	-6.189*** (0.234)	-6.427*** (0.254)	-7.652*** (0.245)	-10.558*** (0.420)	-10.503*** (0.401)	-9.794*** (0.336)
Variance(Dyad RE)				5.386*** (0.578)	4.844*** (0.537)	1.893*** (0.287)
<i>Test of equality (p-values)</i>						
Junta=Machine	0.25	0.68	0.26	0.04	0.02	0.01
Junta=Boss	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.02	0.08	0.15	0.54	0.92	0.19
Strongman=Boss	0.06	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862
Log-Likelihood	-4991.5	-4886.1	-4279.0	-4554.5	-4480.7	-4146.0

**Table 3.** MID Initiation (Revisionist) in Directed-Dyad Years. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include each state's military capabilities, the major power status of each state in the dyad, and a cubic polynomial of peace years (not reported). All regime variables are lagged by one year. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .



ates MIDs at the highest annual rate. Similarly, the differences between democracies and monarchies on the one hand and other types of autocracies remain significant. Particularly, monarchies initiate MIDs at the lowest rate. The probability of MID initiation for **Boss** is about three times greater than for **Democracy** and about six times greater than for **Monarchy**.

### **Monadic Tests**

Tables 4 and A7 report the result of monadic tests using a negative binomial model in which the dependent variable is the number of MID initiations in a given year. Table 4 examines **Side A initiation**, and Table A7 (reported in the appendix) examines **Revisionist initiation**. I again report both the results of pooled and random effects models.<sup>13</sup> Most models offer common results. First, **Machine** is likely to initiate more MIDs than **Junta** and **Strongman**, although the differences are not statistically distinguishable from zero.<sup>14</sup> Second, the inclusion of security environments decreases the coefficients on both military regimes, but does not much affect the coefficients on civilian autocracies. All rivalry indicators have positive and statistically significant coefficients, suggesting that a country is more likely to engage in foreign aggression when it resides in hostile neighborhoods. Last, **Boss** is the most aggressive internationally, and **Monarchy** is the least aggressive of all. In sum, monadic tests show little empirical relationship between military regimes and conflict propensity. These results provide no support for the idea that military autocracies are more belligerent than civilian autocracies due to their inherent characteristics or leaders' personal backgrounds.

### **Testing Additional Implication: Differentiating Between Territorial and Non-territorial MIDs**

I test an additional observable implication that flows from my argument. If territorial threats from neighboring countries tend to produce both **Junta** and increased conflict propensity,

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<sup>13</sup>I use `menbreg` in Stata 14 that can account for unobserved unit effects unlike `xtnbreg` that addresses only between-unit variation in the dispersion parameter. Likelihood-ratio tests reject the null that the share of the variance explained by the random effects is zero, strongly favoring the random effects model over the pooled model ( $p < 0.001$ ).

<sup>14</sup>**Junta** is greater only in Column 4 of Table 4, and **Strongman** is greater than **Machine** in Columns 4 and 5 of Table A7.

	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.144 (0.133)	0.049 (0.117)	0.035 (0.130)	0.203 (0.126)	0.110 (0.127)	0.081 (0.128)
Machine	0.215 (0.195)	0.287 (0.177)	0.226 (0.168)	0.140 (0.189)	0.060 (0.185)	0.105 (0.162)
Strongman	0.136 (0.167)	0.165 (0.163)	-0.083 (0.161)	0.259 (0.202)	0.075 (0.167)	-0.050 (0.199)
Boss	0.485** (0.222)	0.529*** (0.182)	0.494*** (0.185)	0.555*** (0.202)	0.491** (0.192)	0.422** (0.185)
Monarchy	-0.170 (0.183)	-0.364* (0.204)	-0.470** (0.184)	-0.864** (0.424)	-0.975*** (0.363)	-0.937*** (0.345)
Others	-0.188 (0.397)	0.012 (0.475)	-0.361 (0.361)	-0.034 (0.522)	-0.033 (0.542)	-0.325 (0.402)
Total Borders	0.070*** (0.018)	0.050*** (0.019)	0.083*** (0.016)	0.092*** (0.031)	0.097*** (0.029)	0.103*** (0.022)
Military Capabilities	5.310** (2.159)	3.387 (2.091)	2.491 (2.059)	-2.108 (1.757)	-4.747* (2.441)	-4.210 (2.713)
Number of Allies	0.001 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.005)	0.003 (0.005)	0.012* (0.006)	0.007 (0.007)	0.009 (0.006)
Major Power	0.171 (0.278)	0.309 (0.256)	0.195 (0.265)	1.321*** (0.379)	1.359*** (0.389)	0.970** (0.395)
Trade Openness	0.022 (0.052)	0.037 (0.044)	0.029 (0.044)	-0.033 (0.096)	-0.023 (0.083)	-0.007 (0.072)
Territorial rivalry (strategic)		0.344** (0.154)			0.715*** (0.216)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.578*** (0.172)			0.440*** (0.146)	
Strategic rivalry			0.450*** (0.116)			0.589*** (0.141)
KGD rivalry			1.295*** (0.146)			1.264*** (0.158)
Constant	-1.271*** (0.204)	-1.791*** (0.196)	-2.814*** (0.259)	-2.065*** (0.378)	-2.519*** (0.302)	-3.272*** (0.288)
Variance(Country RE)				0.715*** (0.156)	0.602*** (0.126)	0.338*** (0.089)
<i>Test of equality (p-values)</i>						
Junta=Machine	0.73	0.25	0.36	0.73	0.79	0.90
Junta=Boss	0.11	0.01	0.03	0.06	0.03	0.07
Strongman=Machine	0.72	0.59	0.16	0.55	0.93	0.47
Strongman=Boss	0.11	0.08	0.01	0.20	0.02	0.04
N	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986
Log-Likelihood	-2984.9	-2930.9	-2848.0	-2887.5	-2851.3	-2791.5

**Table 4.** MID Initiation (Side A) in Country-Years. Negative binomial estimates with standard errors clustered by country (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. All regime variables, trade openness, and the number of alliances are lagged by one year. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

territorial MIDs rather than non-territorial MIDs would be responsible for the association, found in Column 1 of Table 2 and previous studies, between **Junta** and conflict initiation. Contrarily, if the military belligerence idea holds true, **Junta** should be more prone than its civilian counterpart to initiate militarized disputes in both territorial or non-territorial MIDs. To test this observable implication, I do not include territorial rivalries and differentiate between territorial and non-territorial MIDs.

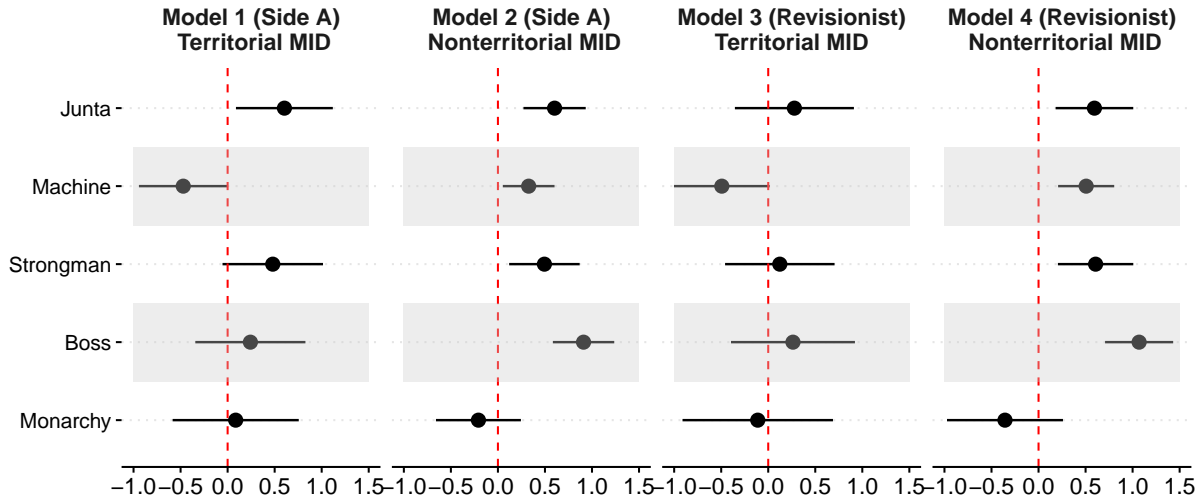
Figure 2 displays the coefficients on authoritarian regimes from pooled logit models (Panel (a)) and from random effects logit models (Panel (b)). The baseline category is democracies. Models 1 and 3 probe the initiation of territorial MIDs while Models 2 and 4 investigate the initiation of non-territorial MIDs. Congruent with expectations, **Junta** (and **Strongman**) initiates territorial MIDs at a higher rate than **Machine**, and the difference is statistically significant. However, this does not hold true in the context of non-territorial MIDs. No evidence suggest that military autocracies are more likely to initiate non-territorial MIDs than civilian autocracies. As the bottom panel of Figure 2 illustrates, a similar pattern emerges when I estimate a random effects model.

It is also worth noting that the inclusion of territorial rivalries substantially reduces or removes the difference between **Junta** and **Machine** in the models of territorial MIDs (see Tables A5 and A6). However, the same cannot be said for the models of non-territorial MIDs: the inclusion of territorial rivalries does not significantly affect the regime coefficients. These results provide additional evidence that military regimes' territorial threats are important to explaining to the relationship between military regimes and international conflict.

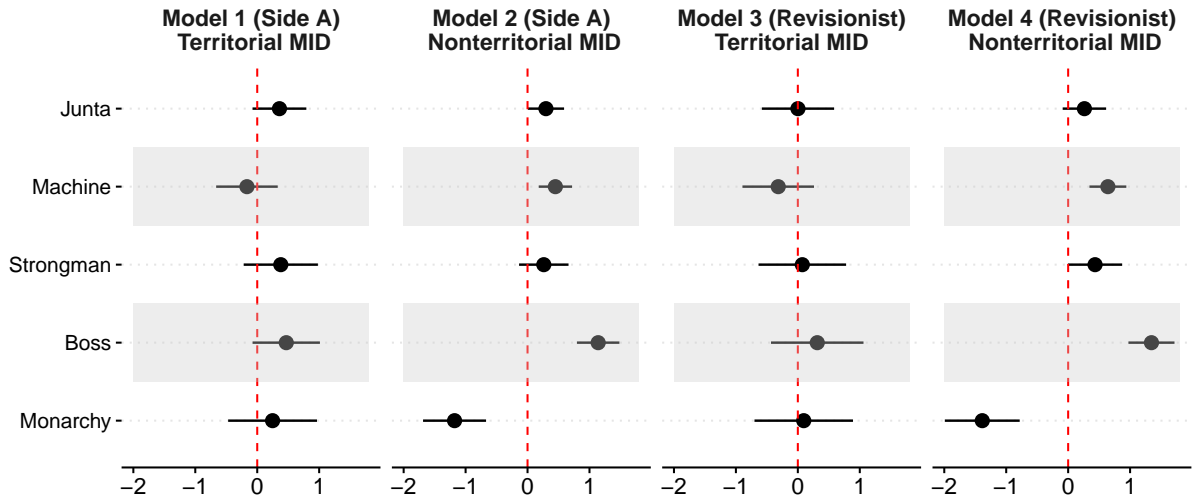
These results have a significant implication for the possibility of selection effects: when a country has weak constraints on the use of violence, the military is more likely to acquire political power, and it is less likely to settle territorial disputes peacefully.<sup>15</sup> This selection effect may pose a challenge to my argument that external territorial threats promote the emergence of military regimes as well as increase the likelihood of conflict initiation. However,

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<sup>15</sup>I thank an anonymous reviewer for raising this possibility. See also Debs (2016, 7).



(a) Pooled Logit



(b) Random Effects Logit

**Figure 2.** Differences in Coefficients Between Territorial MIDs and Non-Territorial MIDs from Logit Regressions. The graph shows the logit regression coefficients from separately estimated models. Circles show the point estimates, and horizontal line segments associated with circles show the 95% confidence intervals. All models include full control variables for dyadic models.

the results illustrated by Figure 2 and reported in Tables A5 and A6 lessen this concern. If circumstances favoring the use of violence cause both the emergence of military regimes and their greater likelihood of conflict initiation, we should observe that military regimes are more likely than civilian regimes to initiate not only territorial MIDs but also non-territorial

MIDs. Additionally, the inclusion of territorial rivalries should not significantly affect the relationship between military regimes and territorial MIDs initiations. However, Figure 2 and Tables A5 and A6 demonstrate that this is not true.

Finally, another interesting finding from Figure 2 is that the peacefulness of **Monarchy** and **Democracy** and the belligerence of **Boss** stand out only in the models of non-territorial MIDs. Conversely, **Junta**, **Machine**, and **Strongman** differ little from each other in the models of non-territorial MIDs. This may suggest the need to differentiate between territorial and non-territorial disputes in analyzing the effect of political regime types on conflict initiation, confirming the importance of the issue-based approach (Hensel et al. 2008).

### **Robustness Checks**

To ensure the robustness of my results, I perform several additional analyses. Due to space considerations, the results of these robustness checks are discussed briefly but are available in the Supporting Appendix unless indicated otherwise.

First, to ensure that the main results are driven by minor or accidental disputes, I use alternative measures of international conflict: **Use of Force** MIDs and ICB crises. The use of alternative MID measures does not alter the key findings (see Tables A8 through A11 for **Use of Force** MIDs, and Tables A12 and A13 for ICB crises).

Second, I compare military-led autocracies with civilian-led autocracies, monarchies, and democracies using Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland's (2010) regime type data without accounting for the personalism dimension (see Tables A14 through A17). Recall that the Cheibub et al. regime classification depends solely on the identity of the regime leader. Next, I further combine the measure of personalism constructed by Weeks (2012, 2014) with the Cheibub et al. regime classification to create the four-way dictatorship classification (see Tables A18 through A21).<sup>16</sup> Last, I use the original GWF measures of party-based regimes and military regimes for **Machine** and **Junta** (see Tables A22 through A25). In all

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<sup>16</sup> However, I do not use Weeks's classification of autocratic regimes, because Weeks codes about 20% of all country-years (and 30% of autocratic country-years) as **Other Authoritarian**. Thus, using the Weeks regime classification results in the loss of a substantial amount of information. See the Appendix for details.

cases, monadic and dyadic tests fail to find that military-led autocracies initiate MIDs at a higher annual rate than civilian-led autocracies. These results indicate that the main results presented above are not an artifact of my decision to use the GWF data or aggregate all military hybrids.

Third, I use alternative samples to test the relationship between military dictatorships and conflict propensity. I restrict the dyad sample to politically relevant dyads that include at least one major power or two states separated by no more than 24 miles of water (Tables [A28](#) and [A29](#)). Similarly, I include only autocracies for the monadic analysis or autocratic initiators for the dyadic analysis (Tables [A30](#) and [A31](#)). The central findings hold in both contexts.

Last, I estimate a conditional fixed effects logit model to control for time-invariant unobserved heterogeneity between dyads. This estimator allows me to explore the within-unit (country or directed-dyad) effects of military autocracies. Therefore, if either leaders' personal backgrounds or regime attributes are predictors of a military dictatorship's conflict propensity, we should be able to find that Argentina becomes more aggressive when transitioning from a civil to a military dictatorship and not only that Argentina is more aggressive than Mexico. I find that the fixed effects logit estimates are similar to the random effects logit estimates reported here (see Tables [A32](#) and [A33](#)).

## **Conclusion**

The contribution of this article is two-fold. First, it establishes that military regimes are more likely to emerge and exist when countries are faced with sustained territorial threats from neighboring countries. This relationship does not hold for other types of autocracies. Second, building on this finding, I show that the empirical evidence for the military belligerence hypothesis is significantly weakened once I control for territorial rivalries. In fact, by capturing territorial threats, military regimes' relative aggressiveness disappears. Further analysis demonstrates that territorial threats from neighboring countries likely drive the relationship

between military autocracies and increased conflict propensity reported in previous studies.

These findings indicate that military regimes initiate militarized conflicts because they are located in more hostile security environments, not because they are either institutionally fragile or predisposed toward using force. These results imply that the military belligerence hypothesis should be subjected to further examination. As briefly discussed, conflicting theories and incongruous empirical results mark the literature proposing this hypothesis. In addition, we know neither which mechanism is responsible for the observed pattern, nor whether the previous findings are robust, since these studies use different regime-type datasets that draw on different definitions of military regimes. Future studies should also examine whether the key assumptions of these previous studies are empirically supported. For example, does either civilian or military regime leadership predict autocrats' post-tenure fates or governing parties' institutionalization? Questions like these are central to the previous arguments regarding military regimes' conflict-proneness.

The argument and findings presented in this article have further implications for future study. First, future study should explore the relationship between military regimes and rivalry (particularly territorial rivalry) initiation. In this article, I treat territorial rivalries as exogenous. However, territorial rivalries may reflect leaders' purposeful choices in the sense that military autocrats may initiate rivalries with neighboring countries as a means of strengthening their political power. [Owsiak and Rider \(2013\)](#) and [Rider and Owsiak \(2015\)](#) recently examine the onset and termination of contiguous rivalries, but they do not differentiate among different types of autocracies. Accordingly, it is important to determine whether military autocracies are more likely to initiate and sustain territorial rivalries than civilian autocracies.

Second, this article highlights the need for continued research into the relationship between political regimes and conflict propensity. As previous studies contend, the conflict propensity of different types of autocracies varies significantly. However, my research departs from existing studies in that I fail to support military regimes' belligerence relative to civilian

regimes. Instead, civilian personalist regimes are the most belligerent of all, which is consistent with previous studies (Weeks 2008, 2012). Meanwhile, monarchies are found to be the most peaceful regime type, along with democracies. This may be because monarchies successfully construct stable ruling coalitions by sharing power via consultative councils (Gandhi 2008) or by utilizing political culture to enhance cohesion among ruling members (Menaldo 2012). The relationship between monarchies and international conflict, which (to the best of my knowledge) has yet to be subjected to a systematic investigation, warrants further research.

Last, future study should further probe the impact of sustained territorial threats on military regimes. For instance, the effects of territorial rivalries are likely to proceed and accumulate over time. Thies (2005) argues that interstate rivalries may represent a slow-moving, causal process that has more of an incremental impact on domestic political bargaining and political institutions. It is thus possible that the longer a country engages in territorial rivalries, the greater the military's capacity to intervene in politics. If so, I should be able to examine both the short- and long-term effects of territorial rivalries on domestic politics. However, the binary indicator of whether a country is experiencing territorial rivalries, adopted in this article, is not well-suited to capturing the long-run effect of territorial rivalries. I may borrow the empirical strategy used in Gerring, Thacker and Alfaro (2012). They calculate a "stock" measure of democracy, extending back to 1900 with several annual depreciation rates to examine the impact of a country's democratic history on its level of human development. This strategy would be helpful for investigating the long-term effect of a country's history of territorial rivalries on military regimes and domestic politics.



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# Supporting Appendix

to the paper

## Are Military Regimes *Really* Belligerent?

(not for publication)

This document presents the results of statistical models that I conducted but, due to space constraints, was not able to report in the paper.

### Contents

A.1 Models of Authoritarian Regimes	38
A.2 Differentiating Territorial and Non-territorial MIDs	42
A.3 Monadic Model of Revisionist Initiations	45
A.4 Using Alternative Measures of MIDs	47
A.5 Using Alternative Measures of Political Regimes	54
A.6 Using Alternative Measures of KGD Territorial Rivalries	68
A.7 Using Alternative Samples	71
A.8 Conditional Fixed Effects Estimates	76

## A.1 Models of Authoritarian Regimes

Tables A1 through A4 present the full regression results illustrated in Figure 1.

	Regime incidence		Regime onset	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Territorial rivalry (KGD)	0.726*** (0.271)		1.132*** (0.318)	
Nonterritorial rivalry (KGD)	-0.031 (0.202)		0.133 (0.282)	
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.481** (0.224)		0.609** (0.283)
Nonterritorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.375 (0.297)		0.254 (0.303)
Civil War	-0.184 (0.427)	-0.424 (0.417)	-1.797* (1.028)	-1.658* (0.942)
Democracy	-0.569 (0.424)	-0.273 (0.420)	0.768 (0.544)	1.025** (0.518)
Anocracy	0.253 (0.231)	0.254 (0.216)	1.944*** (0.376)	1.889*** (0.360)
New/Unstable Regime	-0.660** (0.332)	-0.772** (0.320)	-0.109 (0.410)	-0.127 (0.392)
ln(GDP per capita)	-0.366*** (0.109)	-0.374*** (0.102)	-0.546*** (0.130)	-0.572*** (0.118)
GDP growth	0.005 (0.010)	0.004 (0.010)	-0.029*** (0.011)	-0.024** (0.010)
Post-Cold War	-1.040*** (0.304)	-1.092*** (0.261)	-2.192*** (0.597)	-2.110*** (0.455)
ln(Time)	-0.759*** (0.182)	-0.697*** (0.177)	-0.387** (0.183)	-0.269 (0.182)
Lagged DV	4.885*** (0.522)	5.127*** (0.520)		
Constant	0.395 (0.929)	0.192 (0.882)	-0.448 (1.006)	-0.444 (0.904)
Observations	5263	6257	4527	5482
No. countries	145	146	144	145
No. of Y=1	736	773	49	52
Log-Likelihood	-413.10	-447.92	-218.71	-245.53
Area under ROC	0.98	0.98	0.87	0.84

**Table A1.** Logit models of Junta. Robust standard errors clustered at the country level are in parentheses: \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .



	Regime incidence		Regime onset	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Territorial rivalry (KGD)	-0.400 (0.429)		0.155 (0.520)	
Nonterritorial rivalry (KGD)	0.429 (0.294)		0.343 (0.447)	
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.065 (0.318)		-0.061 (0.506)
Nonterritorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.561 (0.347)		0.443 (0.562)
Civil War	1.433 (0.943)	1.459 (1.030)	1.497** (0.731)	1.567** (0.684)
Democracy	-0.858* (0.461)	-0.782* (0.473)	0.228 (1.051)	0.142 (1.036)
Anocracy	-0.240 (0.369)	-0.160 (0.367)	0.749 (0.658)	0.772 (0.628)
New/Unstable Regime	0.300 (0.378)	0.169 (0.391)	0.464 (0.612)	0.475 (0.624)
ln(GDP per capita)	-0.047 (0.115)	-0.038 (0.113)	-0.377 (0.287)	-0.335 (0.300)
GDP growth	0.036*** (0.013)	0.038*** (0.013)	-0.023 (0.016)	-0.026* (0.015)
Post-Cold War	-0.420 (0.325)	-0.188 (0.313)	-2.205** (0.988)	-2.512** (1.022)
ln(Time)	-0.808*** (0.308)	-0.930*** (0.299)	-0.741** (0.318)	-0.735** (0.350)
lnew_party	6.843*** (0.832)	6.745*** (0.795)		
Constant	-3.076*** (1.085)	-3.045*** (1.034)	-1.344 (1.919)	-1.506 (2.035)
Observations	5263	6257	4025	4872
No. countries	145	146	130	132
No. of Y=1	1213	1360	15	15
Log-Likelihood	-260.47	-267.57	-82.89	-83.08
Area under ROC	0.99	0.99	0.87	0.88

**Table A2.** Logit models of *Machine*. Robust standard errors clustered at the country level are in parentheses: \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Regime incidence		Regime onset	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Territorial rivalry (KGD)	0.296 (0.316)		0.101 (0.482)	
Nonterritorial rivalry (KGD)	0.281 (0.290)		0.398 (0.442)	
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.387 (0.247)		0.197 (0.440)
Nonterritorial rivalry (Strategic)		-0.180 (0.299)		-0.760 (0.635)
Civil War	0.268 (0.691)	0.670 (0.524)	0.536 (0.636)	0.734 (0.625)
Democracy	-0.879* (0.503)	-0.519 (0.395)	0.297 (0.711)	0.245 (0.649)
Anocracy	-0.026 (0.274)	-0.171 (0.231)	1.049** (0.441)	1.000** (0.456)
New/Unstable Regime	0.643* (0.331)	0.691** (0.272)	1.180*** (0.406)	1.168*** (0.393)
ln(GDP per capita)	-0.262** (0.130)	-0.225** (0.099)	-0.452** (0.206)	-0.435** (0.183)
GDP growth	0.004 (0.011)	0.003 (0.011)	-0.011 (0.019)	-0.006 (0.021)
Post-Cold War	1.241*** (0.311)	0.488** (0.206)	0.429 (0.501)	0.077 (0.456)
lnbossyrs	-0.602** (0.255)	-0.478* (0.262)	-0.457* (0.242)	-0.333 (0.240)
Lagged DV	5.577*** (0.840)	5.709*** (0.836)		
Constant	-2.242* (1.206)	-2.614** (1.084)	-2.024 (1.744)	-2.165 (1.618)
Observations	5263	6257	4917	5820
No. countries	145	146	140	143
No. of Y=1	341	416	26	28
Log-Likelihood	-245.29	-313.73	-138.72	-154.24
Area under ROC	0.98	0.98	0.82	0.80

**Table A3.** Logit models of **Boss**. Robust standard errors clustered at the country level are in parentheses: \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Regime incidence		Regime onset	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Territorial rivalry (KGD)	-0.943*** (0.351)		-0.728 (0.750)	
Nonterritorial rivalry (KGD)	0.082 (0.247)		-0.246 (0.477)	
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		-0.110 (0.257)		-0.652 (0.483)
Nonterritorial rivalry (Strategic)		-0.335 (0.306)		-0.602 (0.616)
Civil War	0.087 (0.583)	0.322 (0.638)	0.232 (0.764)	0.190 (0.819)
Democracy	-0.744 (0.817)	-1.063 (0.774)	-0.050 (0.700)	-0.337 (0.717)
Anocracy	-0.575* (0.335)	-0.771*** (0.280)	-0.022 (0.518)	0.005 (0.459)
New/Unstable Regime	-0.452 (0.296)	-0.212 (0.238)	0.199 (0.427)	0.167 (0.410)
ln(GDP per capita)	-0.558*** (0.126)	-0.515*** (0.114)	-0.833*** (0.171)	-0.813*** (0.171)
GDP growth	0.021 (0.025)	0.020 (0.023)	-0.022 (0.018)	-0.022 (0.019)
Post-Cold War	-0.381 (0.361)	-0.403 (0.257)	-0.914 (0.604)	-0.909* (0.510)
lnstrongyrs	-0.606** (0.252)	-0.690*** (0.217)	-0.283 (0.269)	-0.382* (0.225)
Lagged DV	5.885*** (0.763)	5.453*** (0.659)		
Constant	1.078 (1.109)	0.987 (0.955)	1.881 (1.369)	2.138* (1.244)
Observations	5263	6257	4872	5804
No. countries	145	146	144	145
No. of Y=1	397	450	28	30
Log-Likelihood	-233.36	-279.22	-150.00	-161.09
Area under ROC	0.98	0.98	0.84	0.85

**Table A4.** Logit models of **Strongman**. Robust standard errors clustered at the country level are in parentheses: \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

## A.2 Differentiating Territorial and Non-territorial MIDs

Odd-numbered models of Tables A5 and A6 report the full estimation results when I differentiate between territorial and non-territorial MIDs. The results show that the relative aggressiveness of military dictatorships compared to **Machine** is found to be statistically significant only in territorial MIDs. When I examine non-territorial MID initiation, there is little difference between **Machine** and military dictatorships. Even-numbered models additionally include the measures of territorial rivalries. Importantly, the inclusion of territorial rivalries substantially wipes out the difference between **Junta** and **Machine** in the models of territorial MIDs. However, the same cannot be said for the models of non-territorial MIDs: the inclusion of territorial rivalries does not significantly affect the regime coefficients.

	Territorial MIDs				Non-territorial MIDs			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Junta	0.604** (0.263)	0.286 (0.242)	0.359 (0.221)	0.191 (0.243)	0.602*** (0.169)	0.622*** (0.186)	0.297** (0.149)	0.342** (0.167)
Machine	-0.472** (0.240)	0.056 (0.215)	-0.166 (0.253)	0.249 (0.241)	0.327** (0.140)	0.367** (0.147)	0.449*** (0.137)	0.548*** (0.140)
Strongman	0.480* (0.273)	0.558* (0.294)	0.380 (0.306)	0.561* (0.289)	0.494*** (0.191)	0.634*** (0.198)	0.263 (0.204)	0.566*** (0.197)
Boss	0.242 (0.299)	0.843*** (0.283)	0.469* (0.277)	0.993*** (0.284)	0.910*** (0.166)	1.061*** (0.171)	1.140*** (0.175)	1.361*** (0.185)
Monarchy	0.086 (0.342)	-0.088 (0.313)	0.248 (0.366)	0.073 (0.348)	-0.207 (0.230)	-0.180 (0.245)	-1.178*** (0.260)	-0.960*** (0.262)
Power Parity	-0.319 (0.319)	-0.092 (0.293)	0.015 (0.345)	0.060 (0.308)	0.451*** (0.164)	0.617*** (0.168)	0.805*** (0.175)	0.870*** (0.183)
Capabilities, Side A	4.778* (2.480)	0.858 (4.149)	5.632 (3.604)	4.495 (4.350)	7.691*** (2.013)	6.915*** (2.307)	5.845*** (1.799)	7.184*** (1.776)
Capabilities, Side B	-0.416 (3.164)	-10.651** (4.475)	1.160 (4.521)	-5.667 (5.027)	7.628*** (1.711)	8.207*** (2.185)	9.795*** (1.657)	11.076*** (1.876)
Major Power A	1.228*** (0.454)	1.513** (0.648)	1.980*** (0.557)	1.429** (0.651)	0.313 (0.323)	0.286 (0.368)	1.144*** (0.332)	0.914*** (0.318)
Major Power B	1.472*** (0.545)	2.312*** (0.647)	2.721*** (0.622)	2.369*** (0.678)	0.788** (0.336)	0.651 (0.416)	1.531*** (0.364)	1.200*** (0.380)
Alliance Similarity	-0.186 (0.292)	0.029 (0.352)	0.390 (0.409)	0.302 (0.414)	-1.054*** (0.163)	-0.911*** (0.173)	-0.953*** (0.197)	-0.874*** (0.214)
Contiguous Dyad	4.950*** (0.232)	3.538*** (0.326)	6.050*** (0.382)	3.785*** (0.291)	3.644*** (0.137)	3.419*** (0.152)	5.323*** (0.197)	4.748*** (0.207)
Trade Dependence	-12.218 (13.403)	8.676 (5.724)	2.670 (7.043)	9.479 (6.560)	-10.587 (8.717)	-1.141 (7.774)	-7.725 (15.611)	1.742 (14.232)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		1.309*** (0.349)		1.904*** (0.347)		0.372 (0.256)		1.001*** (0.263)
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		2.758*** (0.387)		3.016*** (0.349)		0.953*** (0.311)		1.907*** (0.229)
Others					0.331 (0.404)	0.582 (0.411)	0.344 (0.393)	0.659 (0.407)
Constant	-6.953*** (0.355)	-8.421*** (0.391)	-12.345*** (0.788)	-10.601*** (0.593)	-6.051*** (0.208)	-6.274*** (0.229)	-10.318*** (0.323)	-10.307*** (0.347)
var(_cons[dyadid])			6.875*** (1.203)	2.171*** (0.594)			5.627*** (0.460)	4.968*** (0.459)
Junta=Machine	0.00	0.40	0.06	0.84	0.13	0.20	0.35	0.26
Junta=Boss	0.26	0.10	0.73	0.01	0.13	0.04	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.00	0.12	0.11	0.33	0.37	0.16	0.33	0.93
Strongman=Boss	0.47	0.38	0.82	0.18	0.04	0.03	0.00	0.00
N	850316	833652	850316	833652	866907	849862	866907	849862
Log-Likelihood	-1772.7	-1185.7	-1571.0	-1159.2	-6009.3	-5177.6	-5416.2	-4750.6

**Table A5.** Differentiating Territorial and Non-territorial MIDs in Directed-Dyads (Side A initiation). Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Territorial MIDs				Non-territorial MIDs			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Junta	0.278 (0.323)	0.004 (0.265)	0.002 (0.297)	-0.060 (0.284)	0.594*** (0.211)	0.667*** (0.230)	0.262 (0.179)	0.406** (0.202)
Machine	-0.494* (0.259)	-0.205 (0.224)	-0.317 (0.295)	0.141 (0.271)	0.506*** (0.152)	0.590*** (0.155)	0.642*** (0.152)	0.793*** (0.155)
Strongman	0.123 (0.297)	0.203 (0.283)	0.072 (0.361)	0.312 (0.312)	0.607*** (0.205)	0.766*** (0.210)	0.434* (0.223)	0.774*** (0.229)
Boss	0.263 (0.336)	0.817*** (0.307)	0.313 (0.381)	1.015*** (0.315)	1.069*** (0.185)	1.261*** (0.194)	1.345*** (0.190)	1.641*** (0.203)
Monarchy	-0.112 (0.408)	-0.272 (0.371)	0.095 (0.406)	0.050 (0.383)	-0.357 (0.314)	-0.395 (0.345)	-1.387*** (0.308)	-1.240*** (0.336)
Power Parity	-0.385 (0.362)	-0.462 (0.300)	-0.065 (0.360)	-0.289 (0.313)	0.634*** (0.189)	0.822*** (0.194)	1.083*** (0.199)	1.136*** (0.208)
Capabilities, Side A	3.793 (2.323)	3.906 (4.169)	6.412* (3.549)	9.641** (3.852)	7.162*** (2.239)	6.834*** (2.266)	4.338** (1.861)	5.304*** (1.928)
Capabilities, Side B	-0.285 (3.387)	-9.753* (5.449)	0.985 (4.872)	-5.963 (5.699)	7.682*** (1.920)	9.533*** (2.007)	9.788*** (1.940)	11.423*** (2.047)
Major Power A	1.277*** (0.467)	1.017 (0.743)	1.657*** (0.640)	0.576 (0.713)	0.228 (0.340)	0.244 (0.336)	1.193*** (0.355)	1.049*** (0.351)
Major Power B	1.401** (0.614)	1.628* (0.861)	2.794*** (0.675)	2.105** (0.830)	0.799** (0.377)	0.615 (0.384)	1.639*** (0.407)	1.361*** (0.418)
Alliance Similarity	0.073 (0.322)	0.329 (0.371)	0.752 (0.473)	0.542 (0.445)	-1.027*** (0.187)	-0.807*** (0.194)	-0.918*** (0.214)	-0.774*** (0.236)
Contiguous Dyad	4.973*** (0.263)	3.712*** (0.332)	6.159*** (0.376)	4.064*** (0.284)	3.513*** (0.157)	3.369*** (0.169)	5.256*** (0.226)	4.933*** (0.249)
Trade Dependence	-10.717 (16.277)	9.389 (6.381)	7.847 (7.029)	12.384 (7.569)	-4.558 (7.634)	1.197 (7.522)	-1.707 (14.237)	5.420 (14.820)
Spatial rivalry (Strategic)		1.211*** (0.386)		1.675*** (0.397)		0.864*** (0.283)		0.847** (0.368)
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		2.943*** (0.414)		3.278*** (0.411)		-0.564 (0.456)		0.369 (0.446)
Others					-0.280 (0.512)	-0.010 (0.515)	-0.053 (0.506)	0.251 (0.517)
Constant	-8.501*** (0.377)	-9.337*** (0.388)	-13.830*** (0.725)	-11.767*** (0.645)	-6.396*** (0.250)	-6.739*** (0.264)	-11.187*** (0.390)	-11.301*** (0.450)
var(_cons[dyadid])			7.306*** (1.141)	2.813*** (0.704)			6.662*** (0.584)	6.134*** (0.642)
Junta=Machine	0.01	0.47	0.34	0.52	0.69	0.74	0.05	0.07
Junta=Boss	0.97	0.02	0.47	0.00	0.05	0.02	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.04	0.19	0.33	0.61	0.60	0.37	0.33	0.93
Strongman=Boss	0.70	0.07	0.63	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00
N	850316	833652	850316	833652	866907	849862	866907	849862
Log-Likelihood	-1683.9	-1113.6	-1454.6	-1078.0	-4842.5	-4129.9	-4324.9	-3779.7

**Table A6.** Differentiating Territorial and Non-territorial MIDs in Directed-Dyads (Revisionist initiation). Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

### **A.3 Monadic Model of Revisionist Initiations**

Table [A7](#) reports the result of monadic tests using a negative binomial model in which the dependent variable is the number of MID revisionist initiations in a given year. In the main text, I report only the result of a model in which the dependent variable is the number of Side A initiations in a given year.

	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.063 (0.136)	-0.045 (0.125)	-0.052 (0.147)	0.066 (0.144)	-0.035 (0.141)	-0.052 (0.150)
Machine	0.270 (0.199)	0.350* (0.182)	0.283* (0.172)	0.151 (0.193)	0.079 (0.182)	0.111 (0.159)
Strongman	0.133 (0.165)	0.170 (0.162)	-0.069 (0.160)	0.294 (0.210)	0.116 (0.184)	-0.030 (0.204)
Boss	0.492** (0.227)	0.530*** (0.182)	0.510*** (0.181)	0.545*** (0.211)	0.468** (0.204)	0.406** (0.198)
Monarchy	-0.230 (0.210)	-0.443* (0.239)	-0.543** (0.214)	-0.833* (0.498)	-0.941** (0.414)	-0.950** (0.394)
Others	-0.745 (0.512)	-0.579 (0.565)	-0.966** (0.460)	-0.560 (0.652)	-0.548 (0.657)	-0.857* (0.509)
Total Borders	0.074*** (0.020)	0.052** (0.020)	0.085*** (0.018)	0.093*** (0.032)	0.093*** (0.030)	0.101*** (0.023)
Military Capabilities	3.804* (2.264)	1.075 (2.301)	0.148 (2.283)	-3.733 (2.352)	-6.781*** (2.486)	-6.249** (2.833)
Number of Allies	0.003 (0.005)	0.001 (0.006)	0.004 (0.005)	0.010 (0.007)	0.006 (0.008)	0.007 (0.006)
Major Power	0.228 (0.290)	0.442 (0.279)	0.332 (0.297)	1.458*** (0.447)	1.516*** (0.473)	1.104** (0.460)
Trade Openness	0.039 (0.054)	0.045 (0.047)	0.045 (0.046)	-0.004 (0.102)	0.006 (0.086)	0.028 (0.074)
Territorial rivalry (strategic)		0.396** (0.181)			0.727*** (0.233)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.586*** (0.199)			0.435*** (0.167)	
Strategic rivalry			0.482*** (0.124)			0.604*** (0.156)
KGD rivalry			1.326*** (0.162)			1.295*** (0.169)
Constant	-1.422*** (0.230)	-1.938*** (0.217)	-2.996*** (0.283)	-2.235*** (0.406)	-2.638*** (0.311)	-3.434*** (0.307)
Variance(Country RE)				0.757*** (0.189)	0.589*** (0.148)	0.349*** (0.099)
<i>Test of equality (p-values)</i>						
Junta=Machine	0.34	0.08	0.15	0.66	0.56	0.42
Junta=Boss	0.04	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02
Strongman=Machine	0.54	0.43	0.12	0.50	0.85	0.52
Strongman=Boss	0.11	0.09	0.01	0.31	0.10	0.08
N	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986
Log-Likelihood	-2504.7	-2456.4	-2388.1	-2428.7	-2397.7	-2345.3

**Table A7.** MID Initiation (Revisionist) in Country-Years. Negative binomial estimates estimates with standard errors clustered by country (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. All regime variables, trade openness, and the number of alliances are lagged by one year \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .



## A.4 Using Alternative Measures of MIDs

To ensure that the main results are driven by minor or accidental disputes, I use alternative measures of international conflict: **Use of Force** MIDs and ICB crises. As explained in the main text, **Use of Force** MIDs include only those in which force is used. **Use of force** equals one if the hostility level of a MID is coded as 4 or 5, and State A is Side A or a revisionist state in a new dyadic MID against State B. Additionally, the ICB dataset excludes conflicts resulting from unauthorized or “accidental” uses of force.

Tables [A8](#) to [A11](#) report the results of the dyadic and monadic specifications for **Use of Force** MIDs while Tables [A12](#) and [A13](#) present those of the dyadic and monadic specifications for ICB crises. A pattern similar to that reported in Tables [2](#) and [3](#) emerges again. No significant evidence suggests that **Junta** and **Strongman** are more aggressive than **Machine** and **Boss**. Random effects models of **Use of Force** MIDs show that civilian autocracies are more aggressive than military autocracies. The results demonstrate that the main results are not driven by minor or accidental disputes.

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.664*** (0.189)	0.579*** (0.196)	0.334* (0.195)	0.348** (0.160)	0.324** (0.164)	0.218 (0.168)
Machine	0.341** (0.153)	0.361** (0.158)	0.471*** (0.133)	0.628*** (0.149)	0.652*** (0.147)	0.595*** (0.137)
Strongman	0.675*** (0.203)	0.596*** (0.201)	0.169 (0.178)	0.663*** (0.221)	0.506** (0.220)	0.240 (0.216)
Boss	1.029*** (0.189)	1.063*** (0.183)	0.928*** (0.170)	1.296*** (0.195)	1.304*** (0.192)	1.218*** (0.186)
Monarchy	-0.076 (0.280)	-0.128 (0.249)	-0.349 (0.248)	-0.725** (0.288)	-0.732** (0.286)	-0.464 (0.284)
Others	0.564 (0.381)	0.570 (0.391)	0.157 (0.358)	0.559 (0.440)	0.676 (0.422)	0.236 (0.394)
Power Parity	0.432** (0.193)	0.456** (0.190)	0.484** (0.203)	0.820*** (0.207)	0.807*** (0.209)	0.808*** (0.201)
Capabilities, Side A	5.175** (2.526)	4.706 (3.271)	0.287 (3.080)	5.881*** (1.938)	5.932*** (2.034)	3.030 (2.051)
Capabilities, Side B	7.397*** (1.905)	6.865*** (2.600)	5.801*** (2.181)	10.121*** (1.846)	10.072*** (1.994)	8.889*** (2.049)
Major Power A	0.287 (0.361)	0.114 (0.496)	0.112 (0.408)	0.831** (0.355)	0.680* (0.369)	0.334 (0.305)
Major Power B	0.877** (0.346)	0.872** (0.444)	0.557 (0.364)	1.715*** (0.387)	1.612*** (0.401)	0.921*** (0.343)
Alliance Similarity	-0.761*** (0.181)	-0.729*** (0.188)	-0.212 (0.177)	-0.727*** (0.239)	-0.695*** (0.240)	-0.381* (0.209)
Contiguous Dyad	3.863*** (0.145)	3.573*** (0.162)	1.930*** (0.291)	5.426*** (0.203)	4.903*** (0.219)	3.012*** (0.219)
Trade Dependence	0.250 (6.945)	1.941 (5.468)	10.760 (6.791)	9.559 (10.585)	9.665 (10.971)	11.112 (8.870)
Spatial rivalry (Strategic)		0.817*** (0.206)			1.241*** (0.261)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.019*** (0.277)			2.347*** (0.320)	
Strategic rivalry			0.274* (0.152)			0.968*** (0.195)
KGD rivalry			3.910*** (0.291)			3.554*** (0.199)
Constant	-6.336*** (0.255)	-6.485*** (0.266)	-7.696*** (0.278)	-10.774*** (0.416)	-10.769*** (0.422)	-9.999*** (0.369)
var(_cons[dyadid])				5.672*** (0.578)	5.282*** (0.574)	2.071*** (0.321)
Junta=Machine	0.11	0.30	0.53	0.11	0.07	0.03
Junta=Boss	0.11	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.08	0.22	0.08	0.87	0.48	0.08
Strongman=Boss	0.11	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
N	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862
Log-Likelihood	-4331.4	-4263.6	-3725.7	-3966.8	-3897.8	-3595.1

**Table A8.** Use of Force MID Initiation (Side A) in Directed-Dyad Years. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.609*** (0.228)	0.514** (0.234)	0.252 (0.227)	0.223 (0.194)	0.212 (0.196)	0.120 (0.205)
Machine	0.409** (0.161)	0.412** (0.163)	0.496*** (0.139)	0.712*** (0.157)	0.732*** (0.156)	0.657*** (0.147)
Strongman	0.740*** (0.218)	0.645*** (0.209)	0.228 (0.193)	0.685*** (0.245)	0.546** (0.236)	0.273 (0.237)
Boss	1.110*** (0.204)	1.110*** (0.195)	0.955*** (0.184)	1.331*** (0.210)	1.335*** (0.206)	1.232*** (0.203)
Monarchy	-0.073 (0.327)	-0.151 (0.284)	-0.375 (0.284)	-0.710** (0.350)	-0.697** (0.341)	-0.462 (0.336)
Others	-0.001 (0.510)	-0.007 (0.517)	-0.387 (0.503)	-0.078 (0.575)	0.130 (0.532)	-0.213 (0.502)
Power Parity	0.505** (0.215)	0.531** (0.210)	0.529** (0.222)	0.920*** (0.224)	0.908*** (0.225)	0.879*** (0.219)
Capabilities, Side A	5.514** (2.721)	5.136 (3.400)	0.640 (3.112)	5.618*** (1.959)	5.626*** (2.050)	2.936 (2.066)
Capabilities, Side B	7.897*** (2.045)	7.328*** (2.757)	6.234*** (2.408)	10.347*** (1.996)	10.288*** (2.146)	9.227*** (2.293)
Major Power A	0.211 (0.383)	0.028 (0.509)	0.019 (0.424)	0.798** (0.359)	0.662* (0.372)	0.321 (0.312)
Major Power B	0.786** (0.365)	0.808* (0.465)	0.455 (0.393)	1.667*** (0.413)	1.563*** (0.425)	0.856** (0.376)
Alliance Similarity	-0.758*** (0.195)	-0.712*** (0.203)	-0.183 (0.188)	-0.749*** (0.247)	-0.728*** (0.246)	-0.386* (0.218)
Contiguous Dyad	3.784*** (0.160)	3.493*** (0.178)	1.775*** (0.311)	5.309*** (0.215)	4.792*** (0.233)	2.891*** (0.234)
Trade Dependence	3.738 (6.396)	4.105 (5.282)	14.180** (5.928)	14.059 (9.946)	13.783 (10.437)	14.429* (8.576)
Spatial rivalry (Strategic)		0.929*** (0.244)			1.199*** (0.314)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.880*** (0.316)			2.052*** (0.350)	
Strategic rivalry			0.273 (0.169)			0.880*** (0.228)
KGD rivalry			3.940*** (0.305)			3.499*** (0.221)
Constant	-6.504*** (0.286)	-6.614*** (0.293)	-7.715*** (0.290)	-11.073*** (0.458)	-10.960*** (0.465)	-10.103*** (0.398)
var(_cons[dyadid])				5.991*** (0.659)	5.483*** (0.654)	2.231*** (0.342)
Junta=Machine	0.39	0.68	0.31	0.02	0.01	0.01
Junta=Boss	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.10	0.24	0.16	0.91	0.39	0.09
Strongman=Boss	0.12	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00
N	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862
Log-Likelihood	-3711.9	-3657.9	-3203.6	-3387.4	-3341.3	-3090.5

**Table A9.** Use of Force MID Initiation (Revisionist) in Directed-Dyad Years. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.250 (0.156)	0.152 (0.142)	0.131 (0.163)	0.284* (0.160)	0.221 (0.163)	0.173 (0.169)
Machine	0.317 (0.212)	0.440** (0.196)	0.338* (0.186)	0.376* (0.217)	0.372* (0.198)	0.315* (0.188)
Strongman	0.233 (0.187)	0.292* (0.176)	0.013 (0.181)	0.396* (0.238)	0.256 (0.196)	0.071 (0.224)
Boss	0.633** (0.289)	0.688*** (0.231)	0.621** (0.249)	0.731*** (0.266)	0.680*** (0.249)	0.558** (0.247)
Monarchy	-0.035 (0.206)	-0.254 (0.232)	-0.350* (0.195)	-0.738* (0.420)	-0.768** (0.350)	-0.763** (0.334)
Others	0.152 (0.374)	0.377 (0.463)	-0.025 (0.325)	0.305 (0.535)	0.384 (0.536)	0.066 (0.402)
Total Borders	0.051** (0.020)	0.029 (0.022)	0.059*** (0.017)	0.073** (0.035)	0.067* (0.034)	0.073*** (0.027)
Military Capabilities	6.446*** (2.088)	3.563** (1.647)	2.433 (1.972)	0.818 (3.240)	-1.395 (2.508)	-1.676 (2.725)
Number of Allies	0.002 (0.006)	-0.000 (0.005)	0.003 (0.005)	0.011 (0.007)	0.005 (0.007)	0.007 (0.006)
Major Power	-0.129 (0.297)	0.006 (0.244)	0.009 (0.293)	0.903* (0.479)	0.783* (0.414)	0.581 (0.409)
Trade Openness	0.010 (0.058)	0.016 (0.047)	0.002 (0.050)	-0.014 (0.085)	-0.017 (0.077)	-0.020 (0.078)
Spatial rivalry		0.303*** (0.114)			0.530*** (0.140)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.796*** (0.154)			0.689*** (0.137)	
Strategic rivalry			0.559*** (0.128)			0.669*** (0.138)
KGD rivalry			1.270*** (0.192)			1.219*** (0.188)
Constant	-1.498*** (0.232)	-2.129*** (0.222)	-3.041*** (0.331)	-2.498*** (0.332)	-2.851*** (0.320)	-3.490*** (0.337)
lnalpha	0.104 (0.405)	-0.109 (0.369)	-0.154 (0.414)	-0.565 (0.360)	-0.578 (0.373)	-0.592 (0.376)
var(_cons[ <i>cowcode</i> ])				0.781*** (0.222)	0.511*** (0.142)	0.292*** (0.111)
Junta=Machine	0.74	0.20	0.36	0.64	0.43	0.48
Junta=Boss	0.14	0.02	0.06	0.05	0.03	0.09
Strongman=Machine	0.70	0.52	0.14	0.93	0.53	0.24
Strongman=Boss	0.13	0.10	0.02	0.22	0.06	0.08
N	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986
Log-Likelihood	-2263.6	-2204.9	-2159.0	-2196.2	-2163.9	-2125.8

**Table A10.** Use of Force MID Initiation (Side A) in Country-Years. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.162 (0.163)	0.044 (0.153)	0.002 (0.178)	0.147 (0.174)	0.081 (0.171)	0.034 (0.180)
Machine	0.325 (0.218)	0.448** (0.201)	0.320* (0.188)	0.349 (0.214)	0.332* (0.190)	0.260 (0.182)
Strongman	0.203 (0.202)	0.245 (0.179)	-0.030 (0.197)	0.370 (0.260)	0.224 (0.209)	0.030 (0.242)
Boss	0.636** (0.289)	0.661*** (0.221)	0.603** (0.241)	0.696*** (0.267)	0.630*** (0.243)	0.526** (0.247)
Monarchy	-0.108 (0.222)	-0.339 (0.249)	-0.442** (0.206)	-0.715 (0.454)	-0.737** (0.363)	-0.771** (0.341)
Others	-0.274 (0.471)	-0.075 (0.547)	-0.535 (0.416)	-0.178 (0.649)	-0.085 (0.627)	-0.446 (0.479)
Total Borders	0.044** (0.022)	0.020 (0.022)	0.053*** (0.019)	0.069** (0.035)	0.057* (0.034)	0.066** (0.027)
Military Capabilities	5.253*** (1.867)	2.042 (1.677)	0.998 (2.115)	0.838 (3.243)	-1.200 (2.295)	-1.632 (2.457)
Number of Allies	0.004 (0.006)	0.002 (0.005)	0.004 (0.005)	0.009 (0.008)	0.004 (0.007)	0.006 (0.006)
Major Power	0.008 (0.305)	0.179 (0.276)	0.171 (0.339)	0.959** (0.482)	0.835** (0.398)	0.622 (0.405)
Trade Openness	0.019 (0.058)	0.021 (0.050)	0.019 (0.052)	-0.002 (0.088)	-0.002 (0.077)	0.006 (0.077)
Spatial rivalry		0.337*** (0.125)			0.545*** (0.148)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.805*** (0.167)			0.645*** (0.146)	
Strategic rivalry			0.627*** (0.140)			0.685*** (0.153)
KGD rivalry			1.223*** (0.195)			1.160*** (0.190)
Constant	-1.547*** (0.267)	-2.165*** (0.245)	-3.086*** (0.351)	-2.555*** (0.357)	-2.820*** (0.336)	-3.475*** (0.354)
lnalpha	0.300 (0.397)	0.079 (0.352)	0.046 (0.399)	-0.367 (0.333)	-0.372 (0.346)	-0.378 (0.348)
var(_cons[ <i>cowcode</i> ])				0.782*** (0.238)	0.456*** (0.139)	0.269** (0.107)
Junta=Machine	0.46	0.10	0.20	0.34	0.22	0.30
Junta=Boss	0.07	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.04
Strongman=Machine	0.61	0.40	0.15	0.93	0.61	0.33
Strongman=Boss	0.12	0.08	0.02	0.30	0.11	0.11
N	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986
Log-Likelihood	-1940.7	-1888.1	-1851.0	-1884.0	-1857.2	-1825.7

**Table A11.** Use of Force MID Initiation (Revisionist) in Country-Years. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled Logit			Random Effects Logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.656** (0.269)	0.424* (0.238)	0.288 (0.222)	0.598** (0.243)	0.451* (0.233)	0.304 (0.226)
Machine	0.132 (0.227)	0.220 (0.241)	0.342* (0.187)	0.478** (0.197)	0.599*** (0.191)	0.498*** (0.183)
Strongman	0.918*** (0.284)	0.861*** (0.261)	0.730*** (0.252)	1.017*** (0.264)	0.945*** (0.261)	0.828*** (0.252)
Boss	0.480* (0.276)	0.477* (0.268)	0.426* (0.233)	0.812*** (0.254)	0.724*** (0.270)	0.578** (0.249)
Monarchy	0.204 (0.363)	0.041 (0.342)	-0.014 (0.347)	0.203 (0.361)	0.150 (0.358)	0.109 (0.357)
Others	0.699 (0.439)	0.586 (0.460)	0.709* (0.422)	1.036** (0.419)	0.872* (0.468)	0.762* (0.432)
Power parity	0.460 (0.288)	-0.097 (0.355)	-0.722*** (0.277)	0.604** (0.260)	0.363 (0.281)	-0.462 (0.293)
Capabilities, State A	7.067*** (2.507)	7.106** (3.071)	4.721* (2.767)	7.261*** (2.317)	7.449*** (2.459)	6.468** (2.559)
Capabilities, State B	-0.527 (4.362)	-4.337 (6.693)	-6.322 (4.263)	1.653 (3.108)	0.878 (3.498)	-3.811 (4.130)
Contiguity	3.267*** (0.225)	2.142*** (0.292)	0.847*** (0.270)	3.922*** (0.225)	2.602*** (0.304)	1.425*** (0.317)
Allied dyad	0.361* (0.219)	0.550** (0.216)	0.591*** (0.181)	0.633*** (0.215)	0.756*** (0.224)	0.758*** (0.204)
Spatial Strategic rivalry		0.888*** (0.305)			1.593*** (0.342)	
Contiguous KGD rivalry		1.792*** (0.306)			2.002*** (0.297)	
Strategic rivalry			1.216*** (0.213)			1.650*** (0.244)
KGD rivalry			3.877*** (0.319)			3.381*** (0.322)
Constant	-7.415*** (0.284)	-7.607*** (0.329)	-8.589*** (0.248)	-10.752*** (0.326)	-10.720*** (0.315)	-10.184*** (0.320)
var(_cons[dirdyadid])				3.845*** (0.442)	3.162*** (0.412)	1.438*** (0.276)
Junta=Machine	0.05	0.44	0.81	0.63	0.55	0.42
Junta=Boss	0.57	0.85	0.58	0.47	0.37	0.33
Strongman=Machine	0.01	0.03	0.14	0.05	0.22	0.21
Strongman=Boss	0.17	0.19	0.26	0.48	0.46	0.39
N	919420	919420	919420	919420	919420	919420
Log-Likelihood	-2407.7	-2310.2	-2018.3	-2248.1	-2170.4	-1981.8

**Table A12.** ICB Crisis Initiation in Directed-Dyad Years. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include the major power status of each state in the dyad and a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled Logit			Random Effects Logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.632*	0.345	0.325	0.768**	0.492	0.421
	(0.372)	(0.315)	(0.314)	(0.368)	(0.325)	(0.319)
Machine	0.433	0.516*	0.494*	0.749**	0.776***	0.683**
	(0.329)	(0.283)	(0.279)	(0.316)	(0.285)	(0.280)
Strongman	0.945**	0.772**	0.747*	1.176***	0.907**	0.873*
	(0.402)	(0.388)	(0.405)	(0.396)	(0.408)	(0.452)
Boss	0.719	0.664	0.665	0.956**	0.845*	0.754*
	(0.548)	(0.460)	(0.445)	(0.474)	(0.436)	(0.432)
Monarchy	0.312	0.008	-0.014	0.263	0.118	0.066
	(0.380)	(0.342)	(0.343)	(0.490)	(0.408)	(0.385)
Others	1.181*	0.903	1.001*	1.293*	0.856	0.870
	(0.669)	(0.703)	(0.584)	(0.661)	(0.670)	(0.604)
Total Borders	-0.004	-0.075**	-0.011	-0.077	-0.113***	-0.060
	(0.037)	(0.037)	(0.033)	(0.049)	(0.043)	(0.039)
Military Capabilities	7.415**	5.893**	4.091	7.423	8.559***	4.219
	(2.921)	(2.851)	(2.648)	(5.175)	(2.526)	(3.212)
Number of Allies	0.009	0.008	0.009	0.014	0.008	0.012
	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.011)	(0.009)	(0.009)
Major Power	0.551	1.011**	0.539	1.469**	1.466***	1.009**
	(0.411)	(0.508)	(0.417)	(0.582)	(0.515)	(0.515)
Trade Openness	0.137	0.163*	0.142	0.138	0.150	0.131
	(0.098)	(0.093)	(0.094)	(0.130)	(0.114)	(0.109)
Spatial rivalry		0.294			0.400	
		(0.221)			(0.264)	
Contiguous rivalry		1.091***			1.156***	
		(0.196)			(0.224)	
Strategic rivalry			0.974***			1.009***
			(0.232)			(0.264)
KGD rivalry			1.193***			1.186***
			(0.250)			(0.267)
Constant	-3.091***	-3.860***	-4.828***	-4.140***	-4.756***	-5.353***
	(0.430)	(0.456)	(0.462)	(0.501)	(0.488)	(0.511)
var(_cons[ <i>cowcode</i> ])				1.015***	0.672***	0.446***
				(0.315)	(0.178)	(0.124)
Junta=Machine	0.51	0.53	0.54	0.95	0.35	0.38
Junta=Boss	0.87	0.47	0.42	0.68	0.41	0.42
Strongman=Machine	0.11	0.44	0.49	0.22	0.72	0.67
Strongman=Boss	0.68	0.83	0.87	0.65	0.90	0.82
N	5976	5976	5976	5976	5976	5976
Log-Likelihood	-1133.9	-1100.2	-1076.5	-1108.1	-1082.4	-1066.5

**Table A13.** ICB Crisis Initiation in Country-Years. Negative binomial estimates with standard errors clustered by country (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

## A.5 Using Alternative Measures of Political Regimes

Here I compare military with civilian autocracies, monarchies, and democracies using [Cheibub, Gandhi and Vreeland's \(2010\)](#) regime type data. As stated previously, the Cheibub et al. regime classification depends solely on the identity of the regime leader. An autocratic country-year is coded as a military dictatorship if the regime leader is not a monarch and is a current or former member of the armed forces, and as a civilian dictatorship if the leader qualifies neither as a monarch nor as a military ruler. I estimate the same set of models in Tables ?? and ?? and set military dictatorship as the baseline category. Results are available in Tables A14 to A17. If the military belligerence theory is correct, I should find negative coefficient estimates on civilian-led autocracies. This should apply even to Weeks' argument, since **Machine** and **Boss** constitute civilian-led autocracies, and **Junta** and **Strongman** belong to military-led autocracies.

Next, I further combine the measure of personalism constructed by [Weeks \(2012, 2014\)](#) with the Cheibub et al. regime classification to create the four-way dictatorship classification. To measure personalism, Weeks relies on Geddes's data on authoritarian regimes. [Colgan and Weeks \(2015\)](#) update the Weeks's personalism measure to fill in missing data where possible, based on their own research and the Geddes et al. dataset. I use the measure of personalism taken from [Colgan and Weeks \(2015\)](#).

I choose this classification over the [Weeks \(2012, 2014\)](#) classification of autocratic regimes, because Weeks codes about 20% of all country-years (and 30% of autocratic country-years) as **Other Authoritarian**. Accordingly, using the Weeks regime classification will result in the loss of a substantial amount of information. In addition, [Weeks \(2014\)](#) finds that **Other Authoritarian** is as conflict-prone as **Junta** and **Strongman** (44). This is puzzling given that the half of **Other** observations are coded as democracies and monarchies, the most peaceful regime types, 40% of them civilian autocracies, and only 10% of them military autocracies in the Cheibub et al. and Geddes et al. datasets. If Weeks's argument is correct, **Other** type should be less likely to initiate militarized disputes than military regimes. Therefore, I use



only the measure of personalism from the Weeks data. Tables [A18](#) through [A21](#) present the estimation results.

Last, to ensure that the central findings are not simply an artifact of my decision to aggregate all military hybrids, I use the original GWF measures of military and party-based regimes for **Junta** and **Machine** and re-estimate all the dyadic and monadic models. The results are reported in Tables [A22](#) through [A25](#).

Regardless of whether I use only the Cheibub et al. regime classification, combine it with the Weeks personalism, or rely on the original GWF measures of military and party-based regimes, I fail to find that military autocracies initiate MIDs at a higher annual rate than civilian autocracies. These results indicate that the main results are robust to alternative regime data.

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democracy	-0.675*** (0.130)	-0.659*** (0.131)	-0.328*** (0.119)	-0.459*** (0.120)	-0.419*** (0.120)	-0.271** (0.120)
Civilian	-0.270** (0.121)	-0.167 (0.129)	0.167 (0.127)	0.300** (0.123)	0.365*** (0.121)	0.421*** (0.116)
Monarchy	-0.835*** (0.222)	-0.786*** (0.217)	-0.687*** (0.209)	-1.117*** (0.211)	-1.101*** (0.212)	-0.748*** (0.212)
Power Parity	0.625*** (0.147)	0.681*** (0.144)	0.729*** (0.153)	0.968*** (0.158)	0.992*** (0.159)	0.960*** (0.150)
Capabilities, Side A	6.400*** (2.015)	6.065** (2.521)	2.592 (2.394)	5.837*** (1.799)	5.731*** (1.819)	4.767*** (1.596)
Capabilities, Side B	7.317*** (1.898)	6.612** (2.959)	5.763** (2.370)	10.277*** (1.740)	10.215*** (1.891)	9.118*** (1.912)
Major Power A	0.378 (0.327)	0.286 (0.423)	0.202 (0.346)	1.214*** (0.300)	1.060*** (0.302)	0.502** (0.241)
Major Power B	0.822** (0.332)	0.839* (0.483)	0.474 (0.362)	1.492*** (0.348)	1.370*** (0.356)	0.766** (0.313)
Alliance Similarity	-0.828*** (0.153)	-0.803*** (0.161)	-0.297* (0.158)	-0.747*** (0.202)	-0.722*** (0.206)	-0.458** (0.181)
Contiguous Dyad	3.821*** (0.130)	3.462*** (0.150)	1.934*** (0.237)	5.376*** (0.213)	4.790*** (0.225)	3.112*** (0.218)
Trade Dependence	0.682 (5.917)	3.718 (4.989)	10.770* (6.157)	8.532 (7.502)	8.334 (7.986)	9.545 (7.123)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.678*** (0.206)			1.294*** (0.230)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.440*** (0.235)			2.326*** (0.211)	
Strategic rivalry			0.398*** (0.140)			1.090*** (0.163)
KGD rivalry			3.977*** (0.235)			3.616*** (0.167)
Constant	-5.343*** (0.244)	-5.651*** (0.269)	-7.365*** (0.270)	-9.703*** (0.373)	-9.793*** (0.355)	-9.496*** (0.305)
var(_cons[dyadid])				4.958*** (0.472)	4.457*** (0.434)	1.855*** (0.265)
N	976306	976306	976306	976306	976306	976306
Log-Likelihood	-6124.0	-5986.9	-5258.7	-5599.8	-5485.5	-5085.7

**Table A14.** Using the Cheibut et al. Regime Type Data (dyadic). The dependent variable is Side A initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democracy	-0.702*** (0.151)	-0.684*** (0.147)	-0.345*** (0.134)	-0.451*** (0.136)	-0.431*** (0.135)	-0.285** (0.137)
Civilian	-0.190 (0.136)	-0.100 (0.143)	0.240* (0.136)	0.401*** (0.139)	0.459*** (0.136)	0.512*** (0.131)
Monarchy	-0.979*** (0.292)	-0.941*** (0.280)	-0.844*** (0.278)	-1.301*** (0.266)	-1.277*** (0.263)	-0.907*** (0.270)
Power Parity	0.702*** (0.170)	0.757*** (0.165)	0.772*** (0.176)	1.125*** (0.176)	1.138*** (0.177)	1.053*** (0.171)
Capabilities, Side A	6.211*** (2.164)	5.965** (2.683)	2.124 (2.390)	4.601** (1.993)	4.578** (2.005)	3.928** (1.712)
Capabilities, Side B	7.127*** (2.106)	6.083* (3.245)	5.640** (2.602)	9.920*** (1.922)	9.732*** (2.095)	8.505*** (2.251)
Major Power A	0.231 (0.346)	0.109 (0.443)	0.063 (0.353)	1.095*** (0.337)	0.967*** (0.339)	0.378 (0.263)
Major Power B	0.857** (0.355)	0.934* (0.498)	0.477 (0.387)	1.692*** (0.373)	1.605*** (0.381)	0.918*** (0.345)
Alliance Similarity	-0.697*** (0.174)	-0.637*** (0.182)	-0.121 (0.172)	-0.545** (0.226)	-0.516** (0.229)	-0.248 (0.201)
Contiguous Dyad	3.791*** (0.147)	3.433*** (0.167)	1.733*** (0.265)	5.383*** (0.252)	4.836*** (0.266)	2.947*** (0.247)
Trade Dependence	2.453 (5.918)	4.164 (5.129)	13.916** (5.626)	10.881 (7.435)	9.844 (8.033)	11.460 (7.139)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.856*** (0.245)			1.127*** (0.275)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.236*** (0.270)			2.148*** (0.259)	
Strategic rivalry			0.392** (0.154)			0.979*** (0.190)
KGD rivalry			4.053*** (0.258)			3.635*** (0.191)
Constant	-5.663*** (0.289)	-5.926*** (0.306)	-7.515*** (0.286)	-10.484*** (0.451)	-10.459*** (0.428)	-9.856*** (0.350)
var(_cons[dyadid])				5.702*** (0.613)	5.165*** (0.571)	2.106*** (0.310)
N	976306	976306	976306	976306	976306	976306
Log-Likelihood	-5022.1	-4920.5	-4299.8	-4565.0	-4494.6	-4153.2

**Table A15.** Using the Cheibut et al. Regime Type Data (dyadic). The dependent variable is Revisionist initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democracy	-0.260** (0.128)	-0.209* (0.112)	-0.085 (0.120)	-0.213 (0.142)	-0.108 (0.131)	-0.093 (0.137)
Civilian	0.034 (0.160)	0.120 (0.162)	0.213 (0.170)	0.156 (0.143)	0.203 (0.125)	0.181 (0.139)
Monarchy	-0.510** (0.213)	-0.624*** (0.236)	-0.581*** (0.201)	-1.305*** (0.316)	-1.268*** (0.269)	-1.194*** (0.303)
Total Borders	0.089*** (0.020)	0.068*** (0.021)	0.086*** (0.018)	0.133*** (0.032)	0.132*** (0.030)	0.121*** (0.023)
Military Capabilities	4.620* (2.505)	2.748 (2.498)	1.751 (2.326)	-3.977** (1.603)	-6.877** (2.876)	-6.000** (2.889)
Number of Allies	0.004 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	0.005 (0.006)	0.014** (0.007)	0.010 (0.007)	0.011* (0.006)
Major Power	0.202 (0.313)	0.339 (0.278)	0.264 (0.293)	1.716*** (0.355)	1.698*** (0.386)	1.264*** (0.406)
Trade Openness	0.005 (0.047)	0.027 (0.043)	0.010 (0.049)	-0.053 (0.079)	-0.041 (0.068)	-0.033 (0.066)
Spatial rivalry		0.333** (0.164)			0.707*** (0.217)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.603*** (0.178)			0.496*** (0.149)	
Strategic rivalry			0.438*** (0.132)			0.556*** (0.137)
KGD rivalry			1.355*** (0.137)			1.343*** (0.150)
Constant	-1.119*** (0.157)	-1.686*** (0.218)	-2.779*** (0.316)	-2.207*** (0.337)	-2.734*** (0.277)	-3.385*** (0.314)
Inalpha	0.137 (0.330)	0.011 (0.335)	-0.131 (0.315)	-0.487 (0.369)	-0.536 (0.343)	-0.624* (0.323)
var(_cons[ <i>cowcode</i> ])				0.907*** (0.170)	0.744*** (0.132)	0.426*** (0.096)
N	6792	6792	6792	6792	6792	6792
Log-Likelihood	-3048.3	-2991.2	-2894.4	-2926.2	-2888.8	-2821.9

**Table A16.** Using the Cheibut et al Regime Type Data (monadic). The dependent variable is Side A initiation. Negative binomial estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democracy	-0.210 (0.129)	-0.155 (0.119)	-0.018 (0.124)	-0.099 (0.148)	0.014 (0.129)	0.038 (0.140)
Civilian	0.086 (0.174)	0.168 (0.178)	0.279 (0.186)	0.173 (0.159)	0.213 (0.144)	0.208 (0.152)
Monarchy	-0.565** (0.253)	-0.682** (0.282)	-0.629*** (0.238)	-1.325*** (0.417)	-1.273*** (0.353)	-1.211*** (0.378)
Total Borders	0.095*** (0.022)	0.071*** (0.023)	0.089*** (0.020)	0.135*** (0.035)	0.129*** (0.032)	0.119*** (0.025)
Military Capabilities	3.142 (2.630)	0.478 (2.680)	-0.647 (2.482)	-6.238*** (1.432)	-9.776*** (2.082)	-8.822*** (2.451)
Number of Allies	0.006 (0.006)	0.002 (0.006)	0.005 (0.006)	0.012 (0.008)	0.008 (0.008)	0.009 (0.006)
Major Power	0.266 (0.325)	0.492* (0.297)	0.416 (0.324)	1.906*** (0.429)	1.924*** (0.477)	1.452*** (0.479)
Trade Openness	0.020 (0.050)	0.039 (0.047)	0.028 (0.054)	-0.030 (0.088)	-0.018 (0.076)	-0.002 (0.075)
Spatial rivalry		0.396** (0.195)			0.756*** (0.241)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.602*** (0.208)			0.491*** (0.172)	
Strategic rivalry			0.479*** (0.139)			0.601*** (0.156)
KGD rivalry			1.399*** (0.152)			1.396*** (0.165)
Constant	-1.304*** (0.185)	-1.872*** (0.250)	-3.022*** (0.357)	-2.448*** (0.393)	-2.945*** (0.311)	-3.657*** (0.361)
Inalpha	0.429 (0.323)	0.301 (0.330)	0.158 (0.301)	-0.175 (0.346)	-0.233 (0.319)	-0.327 (0.299)
var(_cons[ <i>cowcode</i> ])				1.006*** (0.224)	0.785*** (0.167)	0.469*** (0.114)
N	6792	6792	6792	6792	6792	6792
Log-Likelihood	-2555.4	-2504.4	-2422.1	-2459.2	-2426.1	-2366.2

**Table A17.** Using the Cheibut et al Regime Type Data (monadic). The dependent variable is Revisionist initiation. Negative binomial estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Machine	0.039 (0.140)	0.126 (0.144)	0.126 (0.122)	0.232* (0.135)	0.238* (0.132)	0.166 (0.118)
Boss	0.852*** (0.142)	0.941*** (0.150)	0.872*** (0.133)	1.313*** (0.145)	1.360*** (0.147)	1.233*** (0.136)
Strongman	0.745*** (0.138)	0.740*** (0.140)	0.346*** (0.124)	0.614*** (0.138)	0.569*** (0.134)	0.371*** (0.132)
Junta	0.363** (0.183)	0.371** (0.180)	0.203 (0.172)	0.194 (0.161)	0.156 (0.167)	0.100 (0.168)
Monarchy	-0.185 (0.228)	-0.152 (0.220)	-0.352* (0.207)	-0.556** (0.221)	-0.587*** (0.219)	-0.409* (0.215)
Power Parity	0.462*** (0.154)	0.529*** (0.153)	0.589*** (0.162)	0.787*** (0.166)	0.826*** (0.167)	0.825*** (0.159)
Capabilities, Side A	7.541*** (2.016)	7.195*** (2.497)	4.223* (2.382)	7.754*** (1.810)	7.634*** (1.856)	6.916*** (1.642)
Capabilities, Side B	7.040*** (1.907)	6.290** (3.006)	5.385** (2.436)	10.176*** (1.781)	10.144*** (1.938)	8.929*** (1.973)
Major Power A	0.166 (0.336)	0.087 (0.430)	-0.015 (0.352)	0.999*** (0.311)	0.854*** (0.316)	0.254 (0.257)
Major Power B	0.807** (0.335)	0.841* (0.481)	0.455 (0.360)	1.457*** (0.351)	1.343*** (0.359)	0.747** (0.315)
Alliance Similarity	-0.808*** (0.154)	-0.798*** (0.163)	-0.290* (0.161)	-0.699*** (0.204)	-0.689*** (0.207)	-0.420** (0.184)
Contiguous Dyad	3.722*** (0.132)	3.380*** (0.151)	1.891*** (0.234)	5.225*** (0.208)	4.671*** (0.220)	3.053*** (0.216)
Trade Dependence	1.380 (6.162)	5.123 (4.983)	11.326* (6.287)	9.388 (7.197)	9.025 (7.403)	10.829 (6.822)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.624*** (0.218)			1.381*** (0.223)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.452*** (0.246)			2.366*** (0.208)	
Strategic rivalry			0.369** (0.143)			1.092*** (0.172)
KGD rivalry			3.936*** (0.229)			3.619*** (0.164)
Constant	-5.782*** (0.198)	-6.093*** (0.232)	-7.533*** (0.237)	-9.899*** (0.355)	-10.036*** (0.338)	-9.693*** (0.304)
var(_cons[dyadid])				4.710*** (0.450)	4.325*** (0.418)	1.824*** (0.259)
Junta=Machine	0.09	0.20	0.69	0.83	0.65	0.70
Junta=Boss	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.01	0.03	0.14
Strongman=Boss	0.46	0.19	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	871245	871245	871245	871245	871245	871245
Log-Likelihood	-5946.0	-5816.1	-5115.3	-5454.9	-5336.5	-4944.0

**Table A18.** Combining the Cheibub et al. Regime Type Data and Weeks' Personalism (dyadic). The dependent variable is Side A initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Machine	0.074 (0.158)	0.147 (0.154)	0.148 (0.134)	0.231 (0.153)	0.249* (0.150)	0.206 (0.135)
Boss	1.034*** (0.157)	1.106*** (0.157)	1.012*** (0.143)	1.476*** (0.158)	1.531*** (0.161)	1.372*** (0.151)
Strongman	0.777*** (0.159)	0.758*** (0.155)	0.355** (0.140)	0.576*** (0.156)	0.559*** (0.151)	0.364** (0.150)
Junta	0.417** (0.209)	0.443** (0.205)	0.260 (0.191)	0.295 (0.183)	0.266 (0.189)	0.197 (0.188)
Monarchy	-0.310 (0.312)	-0.291 (0.296)	-0.502* (0.294)	-0.783*** (0.297)	-0.797*** (0.293)	-0.591** (0.294)
Power Parity	0.562*** (0.180)	0.619*** (0.176)	0.644*** (0.187)	0.967*** (0.186)	0.991*** (0.187)	0.932*** (0.181)
Capabilities, Side A	7.551*** (2.180)	7.337*** (2.679)	4.068* (2.420)	7.147*** (2.021)	7.009*** (2.056)	6.495*** (1.758)
Capabilities, Side B	6.996*** (2.122)	5.849* (3.312)	5.339** (2.684)	9.904*** (1.987)	9.723*** (2.161)	8.407*** (2.310)
Major Power A	-0.014 (0.356)	-0.123 (0.453)	-0.193 (0.361)	0.829** (0.351)	0.718** (0.356)	0.095 (0.280)
Major Power B	0.836** (0.359)	0.933* (0.499)	0.453 (0.384)	1.658*** (0.380)	1.581*** (0.387)	0.895*** (0.346)
Alliance Similarity	-0.687*** (0.176)	-0.641*** (0.186)	-0.116 (0.176)	-0.503** (0.228)	-0.489** (0.231)	-0.203 (0.204)
Contiguous Dyad	3.687*** (0.150)	3.341*** (0.170)	1.683*** (0.260)	5.171*** (0.240)	4.662*** (0.252)	2.851*** (0.242)
Trade Dependence	3.787 (6.129)	6.281 (5.028)	14.757*** (5.617)	12.314* (7.088)	11.110 (7.267)	13.323** (6.729)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.806*** (0.263)			1.203*** (0.279)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.247*** (0.288)			2.207*** (0.258)	
Strategic rivalry			0.364** (0.159)			0.966*** (0.200)
KGD rivalry			4.005*** (0.249)			3.622*** (0.189)
Constant	-6.147*** (0.241)	-6.399*** (0.262)	-7.702*** (0.250)	-10.640*** (0.419)	-10.677*** (0.400)	-10.032*** (0.353)
var(_cons[dyadid])				5.342*** (0.563)	4.950*** (0.526)	2.023*** (0.296)
Junta=Machine	0.12	0.18	0.60	0.76	0.94	0.96
Junta=Boss	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.05	0.07	0.33
Strongman=Boss	0.11	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	871245	871245	871245	871245	871245	871245
Log-Likelihood	-4857.5	-4762.7	-4166.1	-4427.9	-4354.0	-4023.8

**Table A19.** Combining the Cheibub et al. Regime Type Data and Weeks' Personalism (dyadic). The dependent variable is Revisionist initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.027 (0.169)	0.034 (0.140)	-0.051 (0.159)	0.112 (0.159)	0.032 (0.157)	0.045 (0.150)
Machine	-0.131 (0.149)	-0.047 (0.148)	-0.063 (0.122)	-0.158 (0.224)	-0.179 (0.216)	-0.126 (0.162)
Strongman	0.316** (0.135)	0.273** (0.125)	0.163 (0.127)	0.281* (0.167)	0.198 (0.149)	0.193 (0.164)
Boss	0.685*** (0.238)	0.715*** (0.209)	0.671*** (0.207)	0.747*** (0.238)	0.707*** (0.216)	0.639*** (0.202)
Total Borders	0.083*** (0.020)	0.068*** (0.020)	0.092*** (0.018)	0.126*** (0.034)	0.129*** (0.031)	0.127*** (0.024)
Military Capabilities	5.808*** (1.947)	4.160** (1.715)	3.314* (1.772)	-1.212 (1.569)	-3.605** (1.675)	-3.237 (1.981)
Number of Allies	0.002 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.004 (0.005)	0.013* (0.007)	0.008 (0.007)	0.010* (0.006)
Major Power	0.159 (0.299)	0.240 (0.280)	0.163 (0.283)	1.446*** (0.365)	1.426*** (0.379)	1.083*** (0.375)
Trade Openness	0.027 (0.062)	0.060 (0.053)	0.052 (0.057)	-0.040 (0.095)	-0.010 (0.082)	0.017 (0.081)
Spatial rivalry		0.251* (0.151)			0.607*** (0.182)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.607*** (0.166)			0.473*** (0.134)	
Strategic rivalry			0.385*** (0.126)			0.480*** (0.128)
KGD rivalry			1.312*** (0.147)			1.301*** (0.158)
Constant	-1.396*** (0.220)	-1.931*** (0.214)	-2.945*** (0.301)	-2.339*** (0.373)	-2.814*** (0.342)	-3.581*** (0.371)
Inalpha	0.047 (0.304)	-0.066 (0.318)	-0.191 (0.295)	-0.608* (0.339)	-0.662** (0.324)	-0.718** (0.311)
var(_cons[ <i>cowcode</i> ])				0.787*** (0.159)	0.679*** (0.150)	0.414*** (0.101)
Junta=Machine	0.36	0.64	0.94	0.23	0.33	0.34
Junta=Boss	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.00	0.05	0.10	0.06	0.07	0.07
Strongman=Boss	0.12	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.02
N	5631	5631	5631	5631	5631	5631
Log-Likelihood	-2747.3	-2702.3	-2625.0	-2647.5	-2619.3	-2562.8

**Table A20.** Combining the Cheibut et al. Regime Type Data and Weeks' Personalism (monadic). The dependent variable is Side A initiation. Negative binomial estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .



	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	-0.028 (0.155)	-0.010 (0.122)	-0.099 (0.142)	0.059 (0.165)	-0.039 (0.147)	-0.018 (0.142)
Machine	-0.217 (0.165)	-0.128 (0.179)	-0.136 (0.140)	-0.355 (0.258)	-0.367 (0.249)	-0.289 (0.189)
Strongman	0.259* (0.137)	0.209 (0.137)	0.085 (0.135)	0.127 (0.175)	0.047 (0.158)	0.028 (0.174)
Boss	0.731*** (0.245)	0.751*** (0.214)	0.703*** (0.209)	0.702*** (0.255)	0.639*** (0.227)	0.564*** (0.215)
Total Borders	0.092*** (0.022)	0.075*** (0.020)	0.099*** (0.019)	0.139*** (0.037)	0.137*** (0.033)	0.133*** (0.026)
Military Capabilities	4.907*** (1.866)	2.578 (1.658)	1.578 (1.852)	-2.285 (2.555)	-5.321*** (1.815)	-5.130** (2.269)
Number of Allies	0.003 (0.006)	0.000 (0.006)	0.004 (0.006)	0.010 (0.008)	0.006 (0.008)	0.008 (0.007)
Major Power	0.181 (0.298)	0.335 (0.287)	0.264 (0.302)	1.570*** (0.450)	1.599*** (0.467)	1.219*** (0.458)
Trade Openness	0.060 (0.065)	0.091 (0.057)	0.090 (0.060)	0.013 (0.108)	0.044 (0.092)	0.075 (0.088)
Spatial rivalry		0.302* (0.172)			0.654*** (0.203)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.594*** (0.189)			0.438*** (0.154)	
Strategic rivalry			0.426*** (0.134)			0.519*** (0.151)
KGD rivalry			1.338*** (0.164)			1.334*** (0.173)
Constant	-1.595*** (0.243)	-2.123*** (0.246)	-3.187*** (0.339)	-2.621*** (0.423)	-3.057*** (0.375)	-3.848*** (0.413)
Inalpha	0.311 (0.288)	0.196 (0.305)	0.074 (0.276)	-0.312 (0.305)	-0.371 (0.290)	-0.429 (0.283)
var(_cons[ <i>cowcode</i> ])				0.897*** (0.201)	0.752*** (0.191)	0.465*** (0.118)
Junta=Machine	0.31	0.55	0.84	0.12	0.19	0.19
Junta=Boss	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.01
Strongman=Machine	0.00	0.11	0.21	0.08	0.11	0.15
Strongman=Boss	0.06	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01
N	5631	5631	5631	5631	5631	5631
Log-Likelihood	-2299.7	-2261.2	-2196.8	-2221.7	-2198.1	-2149.3

**Table A21.** Combining the Cheibut et al. Regime Type Data and Weeks' Personalism (monadic). The dependent variable is Revisionist initiation. Negative binomial estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.509** (0.204)	0.509** (0.204)	0.383* (0.199)	0.256* (0.152)	0.185 (0.153)	0.157 (0.158)
Party	0.330** (0.134)	0.330** (0.134)	0.281*** (0.108)	0.429*** (0.123)	0.465*** (0.123)	0.374*** (0.111)
Strongman	0.609*** (0.169)	0.609*** (0.169)	0.117 (0.144)	0.570*** (0.177)	0.500*** (0.169)	0.191 (0.173)
Boss	1.006*** (0.154)	1.006*** (0.154)	0.875*** (0.152)	1.202*** (0.167)	1.214*** (0.167)	1.160*** (0.156)
Monarchy	-0.160 (0.204)	-0.160 (0.204)	-0.411** (0.191)	-0.720*** (0.227)	-0.757*** (0.225)	-0.533** (0.217)
Others	0.323 (0.415)	0.323 (0.415)	-0.116 (0.359)	0.214 (0.418)	0.330 (0.418)	-0.171 (0.370)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)	0.701*** (0.207)	0.701*** (0.207)			1.444*** (0.219)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)	1.445*** (0.235)	1.445*** (0.235)			2.336*** (0.205)	
Power Parity	0.492*** (0.155)	0.492*** (0.155)	0.509*** (0.163)	0.719*** (0.166)	0.752*** (0.166)	0.737*** (0.157)
Capabilities, Side A	6.613*** (2.521)	6.613*** (2.521)	3.631 (2.349)	6.947*** (1.750)	6.800*** (1.784)	5.922*** (1.552)
Capabilities, Side B	6.236** (2.871)	6.236** (2.871)	5.146** (2.231)	9.616*** (1.712)	9.533*** (1.859)	8.346*** (1.844)
Major Power A	0.309 (0.426)	0.309 (0.426)	0.227 (0.343)	1.152*** (0.301)	1.001*** (0.303)	0.473* (0.241)
Major Power B	0.851* (0.470)	0.851* (0.470)	0.504 (0.338)	1.534*** (0.346)	1.412*** (0.352)	0.795*** (0.300)
Alliance Similarity	-0.751*** (0.160)	-0.751*** (0.160)	-0.235 (0.156)	-0.680*** (0.198)	-0.664*** (0.201)	-0.372** (0.178)
Contiguous Dyad	3.374*** (0.148)	3.374*** (0.148)	1.914*** (0.228)	5.192*** (0.205)	4.602*** (0.216)	3.001*** (0.205)
Trade Dependence	1.936 (5.183)	1.936 (5.183)	8.284 (6.844)	6.332 (7.747)	6.473 (7.974)	8.278 (6.942)
Strategic rivalry			0.395*** (0.138)			1.076*** (0.161)
KGD rivalry			3.893*** (0.220)			3.578*** (0.163)
Constant	-6.117*** (0.227)	-6.117*** (0.227)	-7.464*** (0.230)	-9.755*** (0.341)	-9.839*** (0.326)	-9.449*** (0.286)
var(_cons[dyadid])				4.703*** (0.445)	4.236*** (0.415)	1.719*** (0.244)
Junta=Machine		0.41	0.63	0.29	0.09	0.19
Junta=Boss		0.03	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine		0.08	0.25	0.40	0.83	0.28
Strongman=Boss		0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862
Log-Likelihood	-5944.9	-5944.9	-5224.1	-5585.2	-5462.7	-5062.8

**Table A22.** Using Original GWF Measures of Party-Based and Military Regimes (dyadic). The dependent variable is Side A initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.568** (0.240)	0.497** (0.249)	0.334 (0.239)	0.202 (0.191)	0.160 (0.191)	0.126 (0.201)
Party	0.405*** (0.139)	0.464*** (0.138)	0.415*** (0.115)	0.598*** (0.137)	0.633*** (0.136)	0.542*** (0.124)
Strongman	0.746*** (0.176)	0.728*** (0.172)	0.254 (0.155)	0.734*** (0.196)	0.675*** (0.184)	0.362** (0.184)
Boss	1.093*** (0.173)	1.146*** (0.166)	0.994*** (0.165)	1.393*** (0.180)	1.398*** (0.182)	1.299*** (0.172)
Monarchy	-0.198 (0.297)	-0.245 (0.264)	-0.507* (0.263)	-0.821*** (0.297)	-0.838*** (0.291)	-0.611** (0.288)
Others	-0.404 (0.512)	-0.332 (0.518)	-0.726 (0.507)	-0.368 (0.553)	-0.168 (0.522)	-0.560 (0.502)
Power Parity	0.531*** (0.179)	0.579*** (0.174)	0.569*** (0.186)	0.900*** (0.185)	0.919*** (0.185)	0.852*** (0.179)
Capabilities, Side A	6.684*** (2.170)	6.497** (2.699)	3.084 (2.391)	5.897*** (1.943)	5.799*** (1.967)	5.098*** (1.679)
Capabilities, Side B	6.781*** (2.046)	5.695* (3.188)	5.102** (2.511)	9.270*** (1.907)	9.066*** (2.076)	7.753*** (2.173)
Major Power A	0.266 (0.347)	0.140 (0.446)	0.107 (0.354)	1.038*** (0.338)	0.910*** (0.340)	0.365 (0.264)
Major Power B	0.863** (0.348)	0.943* (0.488)	0.509 (0.367)	1.735*** (0.371)	1.642*** (0.377)	0.944*** (0.331)
Alliance Similarity	-0.657*** (0.173)	-0.607*** (0.180)	-0.080 (0.170)	-0.501** (0.220)	-0.482** (0.222)	-0.193 (0.196)
Contiguous Dyad	3.707*** (0.144)	3.344*** (0.164)	1.747*** (0.254)	5.191*** (0.240)	4.633*** (0.251)	2.850*** (0.233)
Trade Dependence	0.756 (6.400)	3.178 (5.169)	11.934** (5.907)	9.333 (7.435)	8.496 (7.803)	10.775 (6.702)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.887*** (0.244)			1.292*** (0.258)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.227*** (0.271)			2.109*** (0.251)	
Strategic rivalry			0.381** (0.151)			0.961*** (0.186)
KGD rivalry			3.936*** (0.242)			3.551*** (0.188)
Constant	-6.192*** (0.235)	-6.430*** (0.255)	-7.642*** (0.246)	-10.544*** (0.417)	10.493*** (0.399)	9.791*** (0.336)
var(_cons[dyadid])				5.362*** (0.574)	4.830*** (0.536)	1.905*** (0.287)
Junta=Machine	0.50	0.90	0.74	0.04	0.02	0.04
Junta=Boss	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.03	0.10	0.28	0.46	0.81	0.30
Strongman=Boss	0.06	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862
Log-Likelihood	-4992.2	-4886.1	-4280.3	-4554.3	-4480.4	-4147.3

**Table A23.** Using Original GWF Measures of Party-Based and Military Regimes (dyadic). The dependent variable is Revisionist initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.158 (0.142)	0.091 (0.134)	0.091 (0.145)	0.228* (0.131)	0.112 (0.132)	0.102 (0.130)
Party	0.198 (0.172)	0.228 (0.151)	0.169 (0.144)	0.128 (0.171)	0.066 (0.168)	0.086 (0.146)
Strongman	0.137 (0.166)	0.164 (0.162)	-0.082 (0.160)	0.254 (0.201)	0.075 (0.167)	-0.053 (0.199)
Boss	0.485** (0.222)	0.526*** (0.185)	0.492*** (0.187)	0.549*** (0.202)	0.490** (0.194)	0.419** (0.186)
Monarchy	-0.170 (0.183)	-0.363* (0.204)	-0.470** (0.185)	-0.871** (0.427)	-0.973*** (0.362)	-0.946*** (0.349)
Others	-0.189 (0.397)	0.005 (0.472)	-0.364 (0.360)	-0.038 (0.522)	-0.032 (0.543)	-0.330 (0.402)
Total Borders	0.070*** (0.018)	0.051*** (0.019)	0.084*** (0.016)	0.092*** (0.031)	0.097*** (0.029)	0.103*** (0.022)
Military Capabilities	5.382** (2.165)	3.667* (2.059)	2.734 (2.024)	-2.081 (1.722)	-4.764* (2.449)	-4.156 (2.680)
Number of Allies	0.001 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.002 (0.005)	0.012* (0.006)	0.008 (0.006)	0.009 (0.005)
Major Power	0.174 (0.275)	0.320 (0.252)	0.207 (0.261)	1.316*** (0.380)	1.357*** (0.389)	0.969** (0.393)
Trade Openness	0.024 (0.052)	0.043 (0.044)	0.035 (0.043)	-0.033 (0.096)	-0.023 (0.083)	-0.006 (0.072)
time2	0.992*** (0.194)	0.765*** (0.167)	0.653*** (0.188)	0.614*** (0.157)	0.485*** (0.153)	0.426*** (0.165)
time3	-1.081*** (0.324)	-0.796*** (0.283)	-0.674** (0.316)	-0.622** (0.263)	-0.462* (0.255)	-0.406 (0.279)
Spatial rivalry		0.344** (0.153)			0.713*** (0.217)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.561*** (0.173)			0.440*** (0.146)	
Strategic rivalry			0.454*** (0.118)			0.592*** (0.143)
KGD rivalry			1.281*** (0.139)			1.262*** (0.156)
Constant	-1.274*** (0.203)	-1.788*** (0.198)	-2.809*** (0.251)	-2.061*** (0.379)	-2.517*** (0.303)	-3.269*** (0.289)
lnalpha	0.069 (0.338)	-0.051 (0.344)	-0.170 (0.329)	-0.499 (0.372)	-0.553 (0.345)	-0.619* (0.325)
var(_cons[cowcode])				0.715*** (0.156)	0.600*** (0.127)	0.338*** (0.091)
Junta=Machine	0.83	0.47	0.69	0.55	0.79	0.92
Junta=Boss	0.13	0.03	0.07	0.10	0.05	0.10
Strongman=Machine	0.75	0.75	0.21	0.51	0.95	0.49
Strongman=Boss	0.11	0.08	0.01	0.20	0.02	0.04
N	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986
Log-Likelihood	-2985.1	-2932.5	-2849.3	-2887.4	-2851.3	-2791.5

**Table A24.** Using Original GWF Measures of Party-Based and Military Regimes (monadic). The dependent variable is Side A initiation. Negative binomial estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled NB			Random Effects NB		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.044 (0.145)	-0.032 (0.143)	-0.016 (0.171)	0.091 (0.148)	-0.042 (0.141)	-0.038 (0.151)
Party	0.243 (0.174)	0.275* (0.156)	0.207 (0.147)	0.122 (0.175)	0.068 (0.167)	0.076 (0.145)
Strongman	0.133 (0.165)	0.168 (0.161)	-0.069 (0.159)	0.290 (0.210)	0.117 (0.184)	-0.032 (0.204)
Boss	0.490** (0.228)	0.525*** (0.185)	0.505*** (0.184)	0.544*** (0.211)	0.472** (0.204)	0.406** (0.198)
Monarchy	-0.231 (0.210)	-0.441* (0.239)	-0.545** (0.215)	-0.845* (0.505)	-0.945** (0.418)	-0.963** (0.402)
Others	-0.746 (0.512)	-0.588 (0.563)	-0.970** (0.458)	-0.565 (0.650)	-0.549 (0.657)	-0.861* (0.508)
Total Borders	0.074*** (0.020)	0.053*** (0.020)	0.086*** (0.018)	0.093*** (0.032)	0.092*** (0.030)	0.101*** (0.024)
Military Capabilities	3.918* (2.247)	1.486 (2.228)	0.507 (2.210)	-3.587 (2.289)	-6.734*** (2.437)	-6.137** (2.772)
Number of Allies	0.003 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	0.002 (0.005)	0.010 (0.007)	0.005 (0.008)	0.006 (0.006)
Major Power	0.232 (0.287)	0.449 (0.275)	0.345 (0.294)	1.453*** (0.445)	1.521*** (0.473)	1.110** (0.459)
Trade Openness	0.041 (0.054)	0.053 (0.047)	0.052 (0.045)	-0.004 (0.102)	0.006 (0.086)	0.030 (0.074)
rtime2	0.976*** (0.195)	0.788*** (0.172)	0.705*** (0.199)	0.665*** (0.164)	0.561*** (0.160)	0.500*** (0.173)
rtime3	-1.028*** (0.306)	-0.792*** (0.278)	-0.726** (0.321)	-0.662** (0.261)	-0.528** (0.255)	-0.478* (0.283)
Spatial rivalry		0.392** (0.181)			0.730*** (0.234)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		0.563*** (0.201)			0.435*** (0.167)	
Strategic rivalry			0.488*** (0.125)			0.611*** (0.157)
KGD rivalry			1.305*** (0.152)			1.288*** (0.165)
Constant	-1.423*** (0.229)	-1.929*** (0.220)	-2.983*** (0.274)	-2.228*** (0.406)	-2.641*** (0.312)	-3.432*** (0.307)
lnalpha	0.351 (0.333)	0.230 (0.342)	0.115 (0.319)	-0.192 (0.348)	-0.248 (0.319)	-0.320 (0.300)
var(_cons[cowcode])				0.755*** (0.188)	0.592*** (0.150)	0.353*** (0.102)
Junta=Machine	0.31	0.14	0.32	0.86	0.53	0.54
Junta=Boss	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.04
Strongman=Machine	0.59	0.60	0.18	0.41	0.79	0.60
Strongman=Boss	0.11	0.09	0.01	0.30	0.09	0.08
N	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986	5986
Log-Likelihood	-2505.0	-2458.6	-2390.2	-2428.8	-2397.8	-2345.5

**Table A25.** Using Original GWF Measures of Party-Based and Military Regimes (monadic). The dependent variable is Revisionist initiation. Negative binomial estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

## **A.6 Using Alternative Measures of KGD Territorial Rivalries**

The primary measure of KGD Territorial Rivalries is a binary variable that takes the value of one when a rivalry's most frequent reason for militarized disputes is territory. I reestimate the models of MID initiations with alternative measures of KGD Territorial Rivalries: the percentage of rivalry MIDs fought over territory, the percentage of rivalry years with territorial disputes, as coded in an updated version of Huth and Allee (2002), and a binary indicator of contiguous KGD Rivalries. The main results hold with these alternative measures of KGD Territorial Rivalries. See Tables [A26](#) and [A27](#).

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)	0.329 (0.237)	0.899*** (0.229)	0.566*** (0.195)	1.204*** (0.223)	1.204*** (0.223)	1.268*** (0.217)
% of territorial MIDs under KGD rivalry	2.607*** (0.284)			3.513*** (0.330)	3.513*** (0.330)	
% of KGD rivalry years with territorial disputes		1.790*** (0.339)				
Contiguous rivalry (KGD)			1.937*** (0.168)			2.302*** (0.166)
Junta	0.563*** (0.161)	0.546*** (0.160)	0.465*** (0.157)	0.273** (0.138)	0.273** (0.138)	0.261* (0.136)
Machine	0.329** (0.137)	0.268** (0.135)	0.288** (0.140)	0.468*** (0.129)	0.468*** (0.129)	0.481*** (0.126)
Strongman	0.566*** (0.165)	0.551*** (0.161)	0.379** (0.151)	0.439** (0.174)	0.439** (0.174)	0.358** (0.177)
Boss	1.035*** (0.156)	1.026*** (0.155)	0.974*** (0.151)	1.219*** (0.167)	1.219*** (0.167)	1.244*** (0.170)
Monarchy	-0.197 (0.214)	-0.263 (0.213)	-0.272 (0.186)	-0.763*** (0.226)	-0.763*** (0.226)	-0.687*** (0.226)
Others	0.375 (0.415)	0.310 (0.418)	0.091 (0.377)	0.408 (0.401)	0.408 (0.401)	0.034 (0.363)
Power Parity	0.473*** (0.157)	0.461*** (0.155)	0.437*** (0.151)	0.752*** (0.167)	0.752*** (0.167)	0.730*** (0.164)
Capabilities, Side A	7.218*** (2.267)	7.535*** (2.138)	6.476** (2.762)	7.021*** (1.750)	7.021*** (1.750)	7.457*** (1.695)
Capabilities, Side B	6.852*** (2.384)	7.488*** (1.981)	6.207** (2.781)	9.685*** (1.793)	9.685*** (1.793)	9.676*** (1.804)
Major Power A	0.294 (0.378)	0.275 (0.355)	0.431 (0.443)	0.957*** (0.293)	0.957*** (0.293)	0.978*** (0.298)
Major Power B	0.813** (0.400)	0.719** (0.352)	0.929** (0.450)	1.370*** (0.342)	1.370*** (0.342)	1.437*** (0.349)
Alliance Similarity	-0.763*** (0.158)	-0.702*** (0.163)	-0.556*** (0.163)	-0.670*** (0.197)	-0.670*** (0.197)	-0.634*** (0.201)
Contiguous Dyad	3.361*** (0.148)	3.380*** (0.151)	2.867*** (0.157)	4.592*** (0.203)	4.592*** (0.203)	4.133*** (0.211)
Trade Dependence	2.755 (5.318)	-4.319 (6.886)	4.017 (6.636)	4.319 (8.626)	4.319 (8.626)	9.230 (7.414)
Constant	-6.173*** (0.211)	-6.113*** (0.200)	-6.390*** (0.244)	-9.767*** (0.325)	-9.767*** (0.325)	-9.825*** (0.336)
var(_cons[dyadid])				4.093*** (0.395)	4.093*** (0.395)	3.961*** (0.410)
Junta=Machine	0.18	0.11	0.32	0.21	0.21	0.15
Junta=Boss	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.14	0.07	0.53	0.87	0.87	0.48
Strongman=Boss	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862
Log-Likelihood	-5903.8	-5950.4	-5851.2	-5458.9	-5458.9	-5418.3

**Table A26.** Using Alternative Measures of KGD Territorial Rivalries (dyadic). The dependent variable is Side A initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)	0.434 (0.274)	0.997*** (0.260)	0.628*** (0.220)	1.069*** (0.266)	1.351*** (0.279)	1.111*** (0.258)
% of territorial MIDs under KGD rivalry	2.578*** (0.338)			3.197*** (0.361)		
% of KGD rivalry years with territorial disputes		1.907*** (0.385)			2.853*** (0.337)	
Contiguous rivalry (KGD)			1.960*** (0.177)			2.204*** (0.185)
Junta	0.543*** (0.192)	0.542*** (0.191)	0.447** (0.186)	0.227 (0.167)	0.196 (0.172)	0.236 (0.166)
Machine	0.491*** (0.143)	0.437*** (0.143)	0.447*** (0.142)	0.659*** (0.141)	0.629*** (0.142)	0.668*** (0.139)
Strongman	0.681*** (0.170)	0.659*** (0.170)	0.507*** (0.163)	0.614*** (0.189)	0.618*** (0.190)	0.545*** (0.192)
Boss	1.174*** (0.169)	1.178*** (0.170)	1.124*** (0.165)	1.404*** (0.179)	1.438*** (0.180)	1.420*** (0.183)
Monarchy	-0.284 (0.277)	-0.365 (0.275)	-0.371 (0.249)	-0.824*** (0.289)	-0.843*** (0.293)	-0.783*** (0.296)
Others	-0.277 (0.519)	-0.331 (0.520)	-0.525 (0.506)	-0.128 (0.519)	-0.180 (0.520)	-0.355 (0.488)
Power Parity	0.570*** (0.175)	0.562*** (0.175)	0.534*** (0.175)	0.925*** (0.186)	0.918*** (0.186)	0.898*** (0.184)
Capabilities, Side A	6.956*** (2.478)	7.303*** (2.356)	5.888* (3.052)	5.809*** (1.934)	6.331*** (1.921)	6.488*** (1.844)
Capabilities, Side B	6.379** (2.714)	7.286*** (2.263)	5.856* (3.168)	9.279*** (2.006)	9.666*** (1.912)	9.339*** (2.021)
Major Power A	0.130 (0.404)	0.092 (0.380)	0.255 (0.469)	0.863*** (0.331)	0.836** (0.336)	0.836** (0.334)
Major Power B	0.902** (0.426)	0.774** (0.378)	0.984** (0.480)	1.566*** (0.365)	1.551*** (0.363)	1.602*** (0.372)
Alliance Similarity	-0.614*** (0.180)	-0.543*** (0.185)	-0.412** (0.183)	-0.488** (0.217)	-0.456** (0.220)	-0.440** (0.220)
Contiguous Dyad	3.293*** (0.166)	3.299*** (0.170)	2.805*** (0.170)	4.570*** (0.234)	4.638*** (0.244)	4.081*** (0.241)
Trade Dependence	4.815 (5.368)	-1.798 (6.188)	6.613 (5.736)	6.827 (8.422)	4.413 (8.854)	11.470 (7.171)
Constant	-6.531*** (0.245)	-6.511*** (0.233)	-6.725*** (0.274)	-10.398*** (0.392)	-10.449*** (0.404)	-10.394*** (0.403)
var(_cons[dyadid])				4.534*** (0.503)	4.738*** (0.514)	4.320*** (0.513)
Junta=Machine	0.80	0.60	1.00	0.02	0.02	0.01
Junta=Boss	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.24	0.16	0.70	0.81	0.95	0.51
Strongman=Boss	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862	849862
Log-Likelihood	-4837.5	-4863.6	-4792.3	-4468.8	-4483.3	-4434.4

**Table A27.** Using Alternative Measures of KGD Territorial Rivalries (dyadic). The dependent variable is Revisionist initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .



## A.7 Using Alternative Samples

In the main text, I use the full sample including all directed dyad-years. I here use alternative samples to test the relationship between military dictatorships and conflict propensity. First, I restrict the dyad sample to politically relevant dyads that include at least one major power or two states separated by no more than 24 miles of water (Tables [A28](#) and [A29](#)). Second, I include only autocracies in the case of the monadic analysis or autocratic initiators in the dyadic analysis. Tables [A30](#) and [A31](#) report the results. I find that the main findings hold in both contexts.

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.536*** (0.174)	0.470*** (0.182)	0.204 (0.183)	0.346** (0.169)	0.236 (0.169)	0.163 (0.168)
Machine	0.145 (0.161)	0.310** (0.148)	0.225* (0.115)	0.186 (0.158)	0.288* (0.149)	0.215* (0.120)
Strongman	0.554*** (0.180)	0.606*** (0.182)	0.033 (0.159)	0.538** (0.213)	0.483** (0.199)	0.060 (0.186)
Boss	0.396** (0.196)	0.521*** (0.184)	0.303* (0.162)	0.535** (0.217)	0.587*** (0.213)	0.398** (0.178)
Monarchy	0.018 (0.222)	-0.024 (0.205)	-0.354* (0.193)	-0.358 (0.250)	-0.431* (0.240)	-0.385* (0.210)
Others	0.497 (0.432)	0.673 (0.467)	0.072 (0.368)	0.369 (0.490)	0.552 (0.504)	-0.022 (0.395)
Power Parity	0.450** (0.199)	0.591*** (0.203)	0.512** (0.217)	0.824*** (0.282)	0.953*** (0.279)	0.781*** (0.225)
Capabilities, Side A	3.923*** (1.499)	3.814** (1.670)	1.942 (1.528)	4.019*** (1.497)	3.772** (1.557)	2.455* (1.475)
Capabilities, Side B	4.483*** (1.528)	4.396*** (1.655)	3.493** (1.421)	3.696** (1.746)	3.745** (1.858)	3.146* (1.634)
Major Power A	-0.997* (0.573)	-1.385** (0.556)	-0.867*** (0.323)	-1.390*** (0.464)	-1.655*** (0.454)	-1.072*** (0.308)
Major Power B	-0.627 (0.588)	-0.880 (0.575)	-0.541 (0.347)	-0.569 (0.487)	-0.739 (0.484)	-0.430 (0.326)
Alliance Similarity	-0.399** (0.167)	-0.436** (0.182)	0.050 (0.154)	-0.435* (0.246)	-0.479* (0.247)	-0.052 (0.182)
Contiguous Dyad	1.219** (0.492)	0.629 (0.461)	0.409 (0.273)	1.718*** (0.375)	1.127*** (0.365)	0.680*** (0.259)
Trade Dependence	-21.402* (12.049)	-15.560* (9.389)	-13.072 (9.316)	-25.557* (14.546)	-23.445* (11.988)	-16.924 (10.296)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.679*** (0.161)			1.191*** (0.185)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.388*** (0.158)			2.056*** (0.181)	
Strategic rivalry			0.454*** (0.112)			0.735*** (0.127)
KGD rivalry			2.836*** (0.141)			2.908*** (0.126)
Constant	-3.180*** (0.535)	-3.344*** (0.517)	-5.063*** (0.362)	-5.368*** (0.478)	-5.434*** (0.473)	-5.963*** (0.357)
var(_cons[dyadid])				2.304*** (0.296)	1.958*** (0.267)	0.518*** (0.168)
Junta=Machine	0.02	0.41	0.92	0.38	0.78	0.77
Junta=Boss	0.51	0.82	0.67	0.44	0.16	0.29
Strongman=Machine	0.01	0.08	0.23	0.07	0.30	0.39
Strongman=Boss	0.42	0.67	0.16	0.99	0.63	0.11
N	55713	55713	55713	55713	55713	55713
Log-Likelihood	-3367.4	-3235.1	-2849.9	-3213.4	-3102.8	-2820.4

**Table A28.** MID Initiation in Politically Relevant Directed-Dyads. The dependent variable is Side A initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.479** (0.223)	0.404* (0.229)	0.101 (0.221)	0.177 (0.219)	0.105 (0.217)	0.039 (0.216)
Machine	0.278 (0.182)	0.434*** (0.164)	0.371*** (0.129)	0.397** (0.177)	0.477*** (0.165)	0.397*** (0.135)
Strongman	0.695*** (0.203)	0.716*** (0.191)	0.162 (0.174)	0.726*** (0.242)	0.672*** (0.221)	0.249 (0.205)
Boss	0.494** (0.221)	0.594*** (0.204)	0.375** (0.185)	0.657*** (0.241)	0.694*** (0.239)	0.485** (0.201)
Monarchy	-0.028 (0.303)	-0.100 (0.265)	-0.456* (0.269)	-0.442 (0.330)	-0.479 (0.308)	-0.475 (0.292)
Others	-0.169 (0.570)	0.014 (0.583)	-0.589 (0.571)	-0.251 (0.640)	0.013 (0.601)	-0.558 (0.571)
Power Parity	0.558** (0.235)	0.707*** (0.225)	0.568** (0.248)	1.067*** (0.320)	1.175*** (0.308)	0.933*** (0.260)
Capabilities, Side A	3.694** (1.810)	3.749* (1.990)	1.557 (1.736)	2.336 (1.625)	2.138 (1.680)	1.180 (1.620)
Capabilities, Side B	4.739*** (1.731)	4.585** (1.897)	3.946** (1.680)	4.617** (1.959)	4.447** (2.054)	3.729** (1.859)
Major Power A	-1.092 (0.676)	-1.479** (0.660)	-0.911** (0.385)	-1.377*** (0.521)	-1.549*** (0.511)	-0.999*** (0.359)
Major Power B	-0.620 (0.670)	-0.810 (0.653)	-0.530 (0.398)	-0.456 (0.533)	-0.527 (0.524)	-0.288 (0.362)
Alliance Similarity	-0.239 (0.203)	-0.214 (0.213)	0.292* (0.177)	-0.166 (0.285)	-0.185 (0.277)	0.239 (0.206)
Contiguous Dyad	1.189** (0.568)	0.592 (0.536)	0.318 (0.319)	1.750*** (0.412)	1.180*** (0.403)	0.646** (0.294)
Trade Dependence	-17.227 (11.999)	-12.976 (8.627)	-8.007 (8.248)	-20.485 (14.207)	-19.365* (11.559)	-11.507 (9.083)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.847*** (0.195)			1.181*** (0.214)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.254*** (0.184)			1.791*** (0.209)	
Strategic rivalry			0.484*** (0.126)			0.727*** (0.141)
KGD rivalry			2.789*** (0.148)			2.813*** (0.142)
Constant	-3.572*** (0.646)	-3.725*** (0.616)	-5.315*** (0.418)	-6.281*** (0.547)	-6.166*** (0.533)	-6.446*** (0.419)
var(_cons[dyadid])				2.812*** (0.404)	2.227*** (0.344)	0.616*** (0.187)
Junta=Machine	0.30	0.89	0.24	0.33	0.10	0.10
Junta=Boss	0.95	0.48	0.30	0.09	0.04	0.09
Strongman=Machine	0.01	0.10	0.22	0.14	0.35	0.44
Strongman=Boss	0.36	0.56	0.31	0.80	0.93	0.30
N	55713	55713	55713	55713	55713	55713
Log-Likelihood	-2713.0	-2609.7	-2296.8	-2567.2	-2497.7	-2271.5

**Table A29.** MID Initiation in Politically Relevant Directed-Dyads. The dependent variable is Revisionist initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.326** (0.162)	0.146 (0.175)	-0.149 (0.174)	-0.165 (0.167)	-0.280* (0.166)	-0.357** (0.155)
Strongman	0.361** (0.155)	0.243 (0.159)	-0.297** (0.148)	0.193 (0.171)	0.055 (0.166)	-0.210 (0.172)
Boss	0.656*** (0.153)	0.612*** (0.153)	0.450*** (0.150)	0.806*** (0.171)	0.758*** (0.170)	0.736*** (0.157)
Monarchy	-0.389* (0.215)	-0.529*** (0.202)	-0.821*** (0.198)	-1.247*** (0.237)	-1.321*** (0.236)	-1.054*** (0.230)
Others	-0.014 (0.403)	-0.053 (0.418)	-0.542 (0.361)	-0.224 (0.438)	-0.212 (0.457)	-0.694* (0.386)
Power Parity	0.488*** (0.186)	0.587*** (0.187)	0.655*** (0.194)	0.832*** (0.199)	0.873*** (0.200)	0.904*** (0.190)
Capabilities, Side A	6.390** (2.747)	5.839* (3.437)	1.375 (3.155)	9.896*** (2.514)	9.471*** (2.533)	5.382** (2.173)
Capabilities, Side B	5.653*** (1.950)	4.480 (2.798)	5.541** (2.300)	9.691*** (1.873)	9.259*** (2.079)	8.897*** (2.163)
Major Power A	0.055 (0.404)	-0.237 (0.538)	-0.183 (0.445)	-0.146 (0.477)	-0.432 (0.459)	-0.426 (0.363)
Major Power B	0.981** (0.382)	1.162** (0.527)	0.632 (0.423)	1.818*** (0.397)	1.786*** (0.399)	1.042*** (0.356)
Alliance Similarity	-0.946*** (0.182)	-0.848*** (0.193)	-0.276 (0.193)	-0.757*** (0.255)	-0.683*** (0.258)	-0.429* (0.225)
Contiguous Dyad	3.738*** (0.161)	3.428*** (0.183)	1.943*** (0.287)	5.513*** (0.257)	4.900*** (0.270)	3.238*** (0.251)
Trade Dependence	16.247** (6.679)	11.606 (7.354)	20.364*** (5.912)	26.844*** (6.192)	22.373*** (7.702)	23.736*** (8.081)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.682*** (0.234)			1.435*** (0.236)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.343*** (0.286)			2.193*** (0.256)	
Strategic rivalry			0.373** (0.163)			1.161*** (0.193)
KGD rivalry			3.821*** (0.280)			3.461*** (0.197)
Constant	-5.448*** (0.264)	-5.674*** (0.289)	-7.067*** (0.275)	-9.706*** (0.440)	-9.716*** (0.421)	-9.366*** (0.346)
var(_cons[dyadid])				5.287*** (0.620)	4.736*** (0.584)	2.115*** (0.328)
Junta=Boss	0.09	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Boss	0.07	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	544338.00	544338.00	544338.00	544338.00	544338.00	544338.00
Log-Likelihood	-4257.37	-4172.29	-3669.01	-3876.88	-3799.80	-3519.90

**Table A30.** MID Initiation in Authoritarian Sample (dyadic). The dependent variable is Side A initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). Machine is the baseline category. All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	Pooled logit			Random Effects logit		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.204 (0.192)	0.054 (0.204)	-0.266 (0.197)	-0.360* (0.193)	-0.446** (0.190)	-0.520*** (0.177)
Strongman	0.379** (0.167)	0.270 (0.165)	-0.252 (0.156)	0.194 (0.184)	0.079 (0.176)	-0.180 (0.176)
Boss	0.690*** (0.165)	0.651*** (0.165)	0.473*** (0.161)	0.781*** (0.184)	0.747*** (0.182)	0.704*** (0.169)
Monarchy	-0.585** (0.289)	-0.715*** (0.259)	-1.019*** (0.266)	-1.510*** (0.313)	-1.558*** (0.306)	-1.288*** (0.303)
Others	-0.772 (0.522)	-0.800 (0.529)	-1.221** (0.512)	-0.920 (0.567)	-0.849 (0.556)	-1.156** (0.520)
Power Parity	0.588*** (0.207)	0.673*** (0.205)	0.701*** (0.214)	0.980*** (0.216)	1.006*** (0.216)	1.009*** (0.210)
Capabilities, Side A	6.516** (2.724)	6.149* (3.228)	1.642 (2.882)	8.643*** (2.518)	8.373*** (2.526)	4.750** (2.179)
Capabilities, Side B	5.817*** (2.146)	4.544 (3.091)	5.542** (2.726)	10.054*** (2.114)	9.600*** (2.336)	9.032*** (2.492)
Major Power A	0.036 (0.412)	-0.234 (0.518)	-0.193 (0.439)	0.007 (0.468)	-0.233 (0.455)	-0.307 (0.361)
Major Power B	0.880** (0.406)	1.064* (0.551)	0.511 (0.461)	1.802*** (0.422)	1.785*** (0.429)	0.997** (0.397)
Alliance Similarity	-0.947*** (0.195)	-0.850*** (0.203)	-0.244 (0.204)	-0.719*** (0.268)	-0.660** (0.269)	-0.401* (0.236)
Contiguous Dyad	3.693*** (0.175)	3.398*** (0.197)	1.783*** (0.317)	5.394*** (0.279)	4.846*** (0.293)	3.057*** (0.274)
Trade Dependence	16.840** (6.635)	10.651 (7.331)	20.974*** (5.833)	26.860*** (5.870)	21.755*** (7.197)	23.388*** (7.508)
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		0.887*** (0.282)			1.321*** (0.269)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		1.010*** (0.333)			1.809*** (0.320)	
Strategic rivalry			0.394** (0.178)			1.072*** (0.221)
KGD rivalry			3.813*** (0.304)			3.397*** (0.221)
Constant	-5.592*** (0.291)	-5.760*** (0.306)	-7.023*** (0.279)	-9.963*** (0.487)	-9.871*** (0.461)	-9.328*** (0.369)
var(_cons[dyadid])				5.520*** (0.716)	4.979*** (0.671)	2.185*** (0.358)
Junta=Boss	0.09	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Boss	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
N	544338.00	544338.00	544338.00	544338.00	544338.00	544338.00
Log-Likelihood	-3566.68	-3509.48	-3080.59	-3247.01	-3202.59	-2958.88

**Table A31.** MID Initiation in Authoritarian Sample (dyadic). The dependent variable is Revisionist initiation. Logit estimates with standard errors clustered by dyad (reported in parentheses). Machine is the baseline category. All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

## A.8 Conditional Fixed Effects Estimates

The random effects model used in the main text assumes the exogeneity between the observed covariates and the unobserved unit-specific factors. This assumption may be too strong. Accordingly, I estimate a conditional fixed effects logit model that does not impose the exogeneity assumption. The fixed effects estimator allows me to explore the within-unit (country or directed-dyad) effects of military autocracies. Therefore, if either leaders' personal backgrounds or regime attributes are predictors of a military dictatorship's conflict propensity, we should be able to find that Argentina becomes more aggressive when transitioning from a civil to a military dictatorship and not only that Argentina is more aggressive than Mexico. However, fixed-effects perfectly predict the absence of conflict, and only dyads experiencing at least one MID in the sample period can be included in the estimation. Accordingly, the fixed effects model drops units in which there is no temporal variation in the outcome variable, losing almost 98% of observations (King 2001).

Table A32 reports the results of conditional fixed effects logit models using both measures of MID initiation, `Side A initiation` and `Revisionist initiation`. The results of Tables A32 are similar to random effects estimates reported in Tables 2 and 3, even though the sample is markedly reduced. This shows that my key finding is not model dependent. The same is true of Table A33 that estimates fixed effects logit models using ICB crises. The result remains similar to random effects estimates reported in Table A12.

	Side A initiation			Revisionist initiation		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Junta	0.213 (0.173)	0.178 (0.168)	0.074 (0.181)	0.054 (0.215)	0.063 (0.206)	-0.017 (0.223)
Machine	0.412* (0.244)	0.495** (0.251)	0.378 (0.252)	0.651** (0.268)	0.755*** (0.274)	0.596** (0.277)
Strongman	0.721** (0.284)	0.633** (0.265)	0.455 (0.312)	0.800** (0.337)	0.752** (0.309)	0.518 (0.349)
Boss	0.926*** (0.242)	0.903*** (0.244)	0.925*** (0.261)	0.986*** (0.266)	0.987*** (0.272)	0.956*** (0.296)
Monarchy	-1.409*** (0.392)	-1.438*** (0.400)	-1.303*** (0.428)	-1.435*** (0.506)	-1.403*** (0.511)	-1.242** (0.546)
Others	0.486 (0.488)	0.655 (0.475)	0.120 (0.458)	0.008 (0.646)	0.389 (0.551)	0.086 (0.529)
Power Parity	2.004** (0.911)	2.090** (0.944)	2.601*** (0.985)	3.080*** (1.043)	3.130*** (1.072)	3.496*** (1.176)
Capabilities, Side A	1.152 (3.295)	0.280 (3.380)	1.849 (3.384)	-3.652 (3.763)	-4.507 (3.813)	-2.856 (3.873)
Capabilities, Side B	5.040* (2.731)	4.917* (2.922)	7.779*** (3.004)	6.326** (2.529)	6.103** (2.746)	8.773*** (3.156)
Alliance Similarity	-0.477 (0.419)	-0.508 (0.437)	-0.482 (0.462)	-0.290 (0.483)	-0.323 (0.498)	-0.388 (0.525)
Trade Dependence	5.616 (12.802)	2.749 (16.250)	2.948 (16.612)	14.449 (8.904)	10.909 (11.393)	11.596 (11.684)
Time since last initiate	-8.001*** (2.304)	-2.971 (2.419)	8.956*** (2.649)			
time2	10.587 (13.488)	-10.043 (14.131)	-57.927*** (15.157)			
time3	59.596*** (22.424)	84.856*** (23.797)	141.443*** (25.129)			
Territorial rivalry (Strategic)		1.107*** (0.270)			0.758*** (0.287)	
Territorial rivalry (KGD)		2.024*** (0.208)			1.885*** (0.284)	
Strategic rivalry			1.184*** (0.192)			0.940*** (0.229)
KGD rivalry			2.315*** (0.143)			2.189*** (0.168)
Junta=Machine	0.43	0.22	0.23	0.04	0.02	0.03
Junta=Boss	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Strongman=Machine	0.23	0.58	0.78	0.62	0.99	0.79
Strongman=Boss	0.42	0.23	0.09	0.52	0.35	0.13
N	19836	19836	19836	16414	16414	16414
Log-Likelihood	-2810.7	-2737.9	-2572.7	-2135.1	-2096.7	-1973.7

**Table A32.** Conditional Fixed Effects Logit Estimates (using MID data). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

	ICB crisis initiation		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Junta	0.758** (0.353)	0.653* (0.345)	0.464 (0.345)
Machine	0.898*** (0.328)	1.038*** (0.372)	0.682* (0.390)
Strongman	1.362*** (0.408)	1.298*** (0.456)	1.145** (0.471)
Boss	0.790** (0.361)	0.972*** (0.371)	0.777* (0.401)
Monarchy	-0.178 (0.685)	-0.073 (0.766)	0.147 (0.757)
Others	1.300** (0.519)	1.308** (0.610)	0.812 (0.630)
Power parity	-1.438** (0.568)	-1.657** (0.656)	-1.641** (0.699)
Capabilities, State A	5.584* (2.872)	7.021* (3.858)	10.218** (4.160)
Capabilities, State B	4.869* (2.488)	8.476*** (3.056)	9.793*** (2.921)
Allied dyad	0.350 (0.272)	0.584* (0.344)	0.511 (0.337)
Spatial Strategic rivalry		0.923* (0.501)	
Contiguous KGD rivalry		1.407*** (0.312)	
Strategic rivalry			1.510*** (0.323)
KGD rivalry			1.622*** (0.212)
Junta=Machine	0.73	0.36	0.61
Junta=Boss	0.94	0.42	0.45
Strongman=Machine	0.29	0.60	0.34
Strongman=Boss	0.13	0.37	0.32
N	11344	9682	9682
Log-Likelihood	-1243.9	-1098.1	-1050.5

**Table A33.** Conditional Fixed Effects Logit Estimates (using ICB crises). All models include a cubic polynomial of peace years. \* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .