

Assumption: successful war results in  $v_i = 1$ ,  $\tau_i = \mathbf{1} \implies \hat{G}'_i = 0$

War costs are specific to the directed dyad ( $\hat{c}_{ji}$  is  $j$ 's relative cost for attacking  $i$ ) and is a realization of a random variable from a known aggressor-specific distribution. These are held as private information to the aggressor. Government  $j$  prefers not to attack  $i$  so long as

$$(1 - \tilde{\chi}_{ji}(\mathbf{Z}; \boldsymbol{\theta}_m)) \hat{G}_j(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}; \hat{\mathbf{h}}) + \tilde{\chi}_{ji}(\mathbf{Z}; \boldsymbol{\theta}_m) \hat{G}_j(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}'_i; \hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i) - \hat{c}_{ji} \leq \hat{G}_j(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}; \hat{\mathbf{h}})$$

$$\hat{c}_{ji}^{-1} \leq \left( \tilde{\chi}_{ji}(\mathbf{Z}; \boldsymbol{\theta}_m) \left( \hat{G}_j(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}'_i; \hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i) - \hat{G}_j(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}; \hat{\mathbf{h}}) \right) \right)^{-1}$$

Let inverse war costs be distributed Frechét,

$$\Pr \left( \frac{1}{\hat{c}_{ji}} \leq \frac{1}{\hat{c}} \right) = F_j \left( \frac{1}{\hat{c}} \right) = \exp(-C_j \hat{c}^\eta)$$

where  $C_j$  is an aggressor-specific cost shifter and  $\eta$  is a global shape parameter.<sup>1</sup>

From this, we can calculate the probability that no government finds it profitable to attack  $i$ , which is given by

$$H_i(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}; \mathbf{Z}, \boldsymbol{\theta}_m) = \prod_{j \neq i} F_j \left( \left( \tilde{\chi}_{ji}(\mathbf{Z}; \boldsymbol{\theta}_m) \left( \hat{G}_j(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}'_i; \hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i) - \hat{G}_j(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}; \hat{\mathbf{h}}) \right) \right)^{-1} \right)$$

$$= \exp \left( - \sum_{j \neq i} C_j \left( \tilde{\chi}_{ji}(\mathbf{Z}; \boldsymbol{\theta}_m) \left( \hat{G}_j(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}'_i; \hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i) - \hat{G}_j(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}; \hat{\mathbf{h}}) \right) \right)^\eta \right)$$

A prospective policy-chooser then confronts the following objective function

$$\hat{G}_i(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}, \hat{\mathbf{h}}) = H_i(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}, \hat{\mathbf{h}}; \mathbf{Z}, \boldsymbol{\theta}_m) \hat{G}_i(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}, \hat{\mathbf{h}})$$

where implicitly  $i$ 's utility is zero with probability  $1 - H_i(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}, \hat{\mathbf{h}}; \mathbf{Z}, \boldsymbol{\theta}_m)$ . We solve this best response by imposing the constraints

$$\hat{\mathbf{h}} = \hat{\mathbf{h}}(\hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}})$$

(equilibrium ge constraints) and

$$\hat{\mathbf{h}}'_i = \hat{\mathbf{h}}(\mathbf{1}_i; \hat{\boldsymbol{\tau}}_{-i})$$

(conquest ge constraints)

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<sup>1</sup>Higher  $\eta$  correspond to more concentrated cost draws.