

*War and Peace*  
**in International Rivalry**

**Paul F. Diehl and Gary Goertz**

*Ann Arbor*

**THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS**

Copyright © by the University of Michigan 2000

All rights reserved

Published in the United States of America by

The University of Michigan Press

Manufactured in the United States of America

♻ Printed on acid-free paper

2003 2002 2001 2000 4 3 2 1

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, or otherwise, without the written permission of the publisher.

*A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.*

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Diehl, Paul F. (Paul Francis)

War and peace in international rivalry / Paul F. Diehl and Gary Goertz.  
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-472-11127-2 (alk. paper)

1. International relations. 2. Balance of power. 3. War. 4. Peace.

I. Goertz, Gary, 1953– II. Title.

JZ1313 .D54 2000

327.1—dc21

99-462011

# Contents

<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>Acknowledgments</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>1 Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>I The Rivalry Approach to War and Peace</b>	<b>15</b>
2 The Concept and Measurement of Rivalries	17
3 The Empirical Importance of the Rivalry Concept	49
4 The Rivalry Approach to War and Peace	67
5 Rivalries as a Testing Methodology	85
6 The Rivalry Approach to the Democratic Peace	107
<b>II Enduring Rivalries</b>	<b>129</b>
7 A Punctuated Equilibrium Model of Enduring Rivalries	131
8 An Overview of Enduring Rivalries	143
9 Stability in Enduring Rivalries	163
10 The Conflict Management of Enduring Rivalries	185
11 Breaking the Stability of Rivalries	221
12 Linkages between Enduring Rivalries	241

<b>13 Future Research</b>	<b>263</b>
<b>Appendix A The Rivalry Web Site</b>	<b>279</b>
<b>Appendix B An Index of Dispute Severity</b>	<b>281</b>
<b>References</b>	<b>299</b>
<b>Index</b>	<b>315</b>

## Tables

2.1	Data-Based Operational Definitions of Enduring Rivalries . . .	36
2.2	Rivalries by Dispute Propensity, 1816–1992 . . . . .	43
2.3	Rivalries by Duration, 1816–1992 . . . . .	45
3.1	Distribution of Cases Across Rivalry Types . . . . .	50
3.2	Distribution of Rivalry Cases by Relative Power Status of Rivals	51
3.3	Nations Most Frequently Involved in Rivalries . . . . .	53
3.4	Rivalry Context and the Frequency of Disputes, 1816–1992 . .	60
3.5	Rivalry Context and the Severity of Disputes, 1816–1992 . . .	61
3.6	Rivalry Context and the Frequency of War, 1816–1992 . . . .	62
3.7	Rivalry Context and the Probability of at Least One War . . . .	63
3.8	Rivalry Context and Territorial Changes, 1816–1992 . . . . .	63
3.9	Rivalry Context and Violent Territorial Changes, 1816–1992 .	64
5.1	The History of Rivalry Testing . . . . .	90
5.2	Patterns of Deterrence Failure in Rivalries: Pattern 1 . . . . .	101
5.3	Patterns of Deterrence Failure in Rivalries: Pattern 2 . . . . .	102
6.1	Dyadic Regime Type and Probability of Rivalry Onset . . . . .	117
6.2	Dyadic Regime Type During Rivalries, by Type of Rivalry . .	118
6.3	Militarized Dispute Propensity in Regime-Change Rivalries . .	120
6.4	Democracy and Conflict in Regime-Change Rivalries . . . . .	121
6.5	Democracy and Conflict in Post-Transition Periods . . . . .	122
6.6	Democracy Levels before and during Rivalry . . . . .	124
6.7	Democracy Levels during and after Interstate Rivalry . . . . .	125
8.1	Enduring rivalries, 1816–1992 . . . . .	145
9.1	Patterns in Enduring Rivalries . . . . .	176
9.2	Negative Residuals at the Beginning and End of Rivalries . . .	179
9.3	Patterns in Enduring Rivalries . . . . .	182
10.1	High BRL Enduring Rivalries and War Avoidance . . . . .	195
10.2	High Dispute Enduring Rivalries and War Avoidance . . . . .	196

10.3	Patterns in Extreme Values . . . . .	197
10.4	Mediation Attempts in Rivalries, 1946–1992 . . . . .	210
10.5	The Timing of Mediation in Rivalries . . . . .	211
10.6	The Impact of Mediation on the Likelihood of War—Logit . . . . .	212
10.7	The Impact of Mediation on Conflict Levels in Rivalries . . . . .	213
10.8	The Impact of Mediation on Dispute “Waiting Times” . . . . .	214
10.9	Conflict Management Patterns . . . . .	219
11.1	Political Shocks, 1816–1992 . . . . .	231
11.2	Political Shocks at the Beginning of Enduring Rivalries . . . . .	232
11.3	Shocks and Rivalry Initiation: Comparison Across Time . . . . .	235
11.4	Political Shocks and the Termination of Enduring Rivalries . . . . .	236
11.5	Shocks and Rivalry Termination: Comparison Across Time . . . . .	237
12.1	Number and Types of Linkage with other Enduring Rivalries . . . . .	253
12.2	The Timing of Rivalry Linkage . . . . .	255
12.3	The Timing of Rivalry Delinkage . . . . .	256
12.4	Intercorrelations among Different Forms of Rivalry Linkage . . . . .	257
12.5	The Impact of Rivalry Linkage on the Basic Rivalry Level . . . . .	258
12.6	The Impact of Rivalry Linkage on Volatility . . . . .	259
12.7	The Impact of Rivalry Linkage on the Frequency of War . . . . .	260
B.1	MID Hostility Scale . . . . .	287

## Figures

2.1	Conceptualizing Rivalries . . . . .	29
3.1	Rivalries over Time, 1816–1992 . . . . .	55
3.2	Rivalries over Time, 1816–1992, Controlled for System Size . . . . .	56
7.1	Punctuated Equilibrium and Incrementalist Models . . . . .	138
9.1	Patterns of Rivalry Evolution . . . . .	171
12.1	Forms of Rivalry Linkage . . . . .	247
12.2	Hierarchy of Causation . . . . .	250
B.1	Cumulative Distribution of Dispute Severity, Nonfatality Cases . . . . .	293
B.2	Cumulative Distribution of Dispute Severity, Fatality Cases . . . . .	295
B.3	Cumulative Distribution of Interval Severity Scores . . . . .	296



## Acknowledgments

We have received significant support from a number of programs and institutions in completing this manuscript. We would like to express our deep appreciation to all of them. The National Science Foundation (grant no. SES-9309840) provided much of the early support for our work on enduring rivalries. Essential research assistance was facilitated by grants from the University of Illinois Research Board. Release time for Paul Diehl to draft much of this book was graciously given by a sabbatical from the University of Illinois Board of Trustees and a fellowship from the University of Illinois Center for Advanced Study. Gary Goertz would like to thank the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto for providing him time to work on this project by not inviting him to one committee meeting during his years there. He extends special thanks to the late Professor Paul Bairoch whose Institute for International Economic History at the University of Geneva provided a genial home and support during the beginning and end years of this research project.

Various individuals offered useful comments on the different chapters of this book, including preliminary versions that appeared as conference papers and journal articles. We are especially grateful to Paul Hensel, Scott Bennett, William Thompson, Nils Petter Gleditsch, and Manus Midlarsky in this regard. Some of the chapters here include material from collaborations with other scholars. Thus, we are thankful for the important roles that Paul Hensel played in the research in chapter 6 and that Jacob Bercovitch and Patrick Regan played in the analyses in chapter 10. Data for the analyses in this book were provided by the Correlates of War Project, with special thanks going to J. David Singer and Stuart Bremer, and by Jacob Bercovitch and his project on international mediation. Finally, we are grateful for Jaroslav Tir's assistance in editing and index preparation.