

PREFACE

In the first part of the last century, the study of international relations, and international conflict in particular, was indistinguishable from diplomatic history. Major scholarly concern was with describing the events that led to the two world wars and in providing idiosyncratic explanations for those events. There were pioneering scholarly efforts by Lewis Fry Richardson, Pitirim Sorokin, Quincy Wright, and others that departed from this tradition. Yet these were clearly exceptions, however notable they now appear in retrospect. The study of international relations changed dramatically in the second half of the twentieth century as the political science discipline as a whole adopted the scientific method. At the forefront of this movement in international relations were J. David Singer and the Correlates of War (COW) Project. In the history of the international relations discipline, and indeed within political science as a whole, few have made more important contributions.

Begun in 1963, and directed by Singer for thirty-eight years, the COW Project was one of the first of several data-based projects in international relations. Yet of the four leading data-based projects (COW, Dimensionality of Nations [DON] Project, 1914 Project, and Inter-Nation Simulation Project) reviewed by Hoole and Zinnes (1976), only the COW Project survives today. The most obvious contribution of the COW Project has been in the area of data collection and dissemination. The project currently has eleven data sets (e.g., on war, militarized disputes, geographic proximity) that include information on events and national attributes from 1816 to modern times. Indicative of the importance of the data is its widespread use by scholars around the world. Two systematic analyses (McGowan et al. 1988; Diehl et al. 2000) concluded that Correlates of War data have been used by more international relations scholars than any other collection, and this is true by a wide margin.

There is a tendency to forget that J. David Singer and Correlates of

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War Project members also produced some of the most significant research on international conflict over the past four decades. Singer himself was the author, coauthor, or editor of many books, articles, and chapters that generated empirical findings from COW Project data. These extend over a long time-frame, from his early work on alliance aggregation (Singer and Small 1968) to more recent studies on civil war (Henderson and Singer 2000); these number more than 25 books and 150 journal articles or book chapters. Many of these studies represented important empirical findings, often well ahead of their time. For example, the first key empirical findings on the democratic peace were contained in an article by Small and Singer (1976) over a quarter of a century ago, presaging the field's fascination with the subject in the 1990s. Similarly, the original Wallace and Singer (1970) article on international organizations and war was one of the first to explore the intersection of the two. Yet COW research was always more than centered around one individual. Members of the Correlates of War Project produced hundreds of other books and articles on international war and conflict short of the war threshold (for a listing, see Suzuki, Krause, and Singer 2002). These include pathbreaking works on expected utility theory, the democratic peace, enduring rivalries, and many other subjects that now constitute the mainstream of international relations research.

It is tempting to simply sit back, reflect on Singer and COW's accomplishments, and give them the accolades that they deserve. Indeed, both have received many honors over the past decade. Yet the contributors to this volume have taken another tack. They begin with the premise that the data collection efforts of the COW Project and Singer's early empirical and theoretical work contain important paths for research into issues and problems vital to our understanding of international war processes. Some of these paths come from applying new techniques and approaches to the well-mined data sets on war and militarized disputes. Other paths stem from ideas that have been mistaken, ignored, or underdeveloped, but nevertheless have significant heuristic value. Still others derive from extending the work of Singer and COW further down the roads he helped establish or onto new venues.

All the contributors take an empirical finding, idea, or argument (or multiples of the same) first developed by J. David Singer and the Correlates of War Project as a starting point for their analyses. Except for the concluding chapter, which provides a theoretical and empirical synthesis of the Singer and COW legacies, all contributions to this volume provide empirical analyses using Singer and COW ideas and COW data. A few use some forgotten ideas or models (e.g., the internation

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influence model) developed forty years ago and apply it to new venues. Others revisit empirical findings from decades ago (e.g., on capabilities and dispute outcomes) that benefit from some reevaluation and extension. Still others take the standard COW data sets and subject them to new theoretical notions (e.g., power laws) or cutting-edge analyses (e.g., neural network analysis). The chapters in the collection represent many strands from the forefront of international conflict research, whether it be in the methods employed or the subject matters addressed (e.g., democratic peace, territory, intervention). What they have in common is a reflection that much can be learned by looking back at the work of J. David Singer and the COW Project. Yet they also recognize that such understanding is only enhanced by further empirical research using those ideas and data. That is, this collection is one in which leading scholars look back in order to move the study of international conflict forward.

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J. David Singer and the COW Project are perhaps most widely known for producing the definitive data sets on war and related conflict. First published as *The Wages of War* (Small and Singer 1972) and then revised and updated as *Resort to Arms* (Small and Singer 1982), these collections provided a comprehensive listing of wars since 1816 as well as providing descriptive overviews of the patterns and changes in the evolution of interstate war. The second book also included a comprehensive listing of civil wars. The first section of this collection is dedicated to a reexamination of those and related data, with an eye to uncovering theoretically important patterns, few or none of which are evident in standard COW analyses.

Claudio Cioffi-Revilla and Manus Midlarsky explore the war data and seek to demonstrate that they obey a uniform class of power laws with respect to onset, fatalities, and duration. Unlike past efforts, these look at civil and interstate wars jointly as well as examine new hypotheses not found in Singer and Small's work or that of other scholars who have sought to uncover various patterns in warfare. The second chapter in this section also explores data patterns from perhaps the most widely used COW data set: militarized interstate disputes. Recently described in Jones, Bremer, and Singer (1996), militarized disputes are the interstate conflicts that have the potential to escalate to war. Monica Lagazio and Bruce Russett take this data set and apply neural network analysis to understand the initiation of disputes. The interactive and nonlinear influences postulated by the authors challenge

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conventional treatments, including by Singer and his associates, of dispute behavior.

Singer's own conceptual framework and much of the design of the Correlates of War Project was centered on the concept of levels of analysis (Singer 1961b). Empirical work was frequently divided according to whether the variables thought to influence war were at the subnational, national, dyadic, or systemic level of analysis. The next two sections of the book offer empirical studies of conflict at several of those levels of analysis; although the COW Project's initial work was set at the systems level, empirical research has increasingly moved away from such explanations in accounting for the onset and escalation of war, and system factors are accordingly not addressed here.

The second section of the book explores conflict factors at the national and subnational levels. J. David Singer recognized that leadership and domestic political factors were important in national decisions for war. Nevertheless, very little COW data gathering and empirical analysis focused on these concerns; of course, this was largely true of the quantitative study of international conflict in general, at least until the last decade. Zeev Maoz adopts and updates an approach to understanding decision makers' views used by Singer and Small (1974) to discern indicators of war and peace from the U.S. president's State of the Union messages. Maoz applies the same technique to statements made by world leaders at the 2000 UN Millennium Summit. He tries to match those statements on the events and conditions that led to war with historical reality. This provides insights into whether leaders' perceptions match such reality, a basic assumption of most models of war.

Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and James Lee Ray look beyond the concept of national interest, central to most realist approaches but widely criticized by Singer. This may seem somewhat surprising in that the COW data and research largely reflect a concern with testing realist propositions. They note that domestic political objectives of leaders have currency in explaining foreign policy actions, and discuss the implications of two-level games for conflict studies and levels of analysis. Finally, Volker Krause expands on the original Wayman, Singer, and Goertz (1983) article that sought to account for success in militarized disputes. He takes the finding that national capabilities and allocations to the military in particular are effective predictors of success, and then disaggregates them, exploring whether relying on alliances is more effective than building up one's arms.

In third section of the volume, the focus shifts to the dyadic level of analysis and interactions between different factors. At the dyadic level, joint characteristics or relationships of the two states involved in con-

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conflict are used to explain conflict behaviors. In Singer's work, and in the COW Project more broadly, this has often led scholars to concentrate on alliances, arms races, and the like. Douglas Lemke and Patrick Regan take Singer's (1963) international influence model and apply it to military interventions. The model is used to generate hypotheses in a different and increasingly important context. This chapter is another illustration of how old ideas can be adapted to generate new insights. A second chapter in this section focuses on the democratic peace. Although there have been hundreds of articles and a number of books on this subject in the past decade, perhaps the first systematic empirical finding on democracies and war came from Small and Singer (1976). Subsequently, Singer has adopted a skeptical view toward claims of a democratic peace. Errol Henderson starts with the original Small and Singer article and uses some of Singer's later criticisms to construct hypotheses and test them. He hopes to demonstrate that Singer was correct about the limitations of the democratic peace. In the final chapter of this section, Paul Senese and John Vasquez refine some of the earlier work by Singer and other COW Project members on alliances and war. Rather than looking at alliances in isolation, as was characteristic of previous work, Senese and Vasquez show that alliances have an escalatory impact in the context of territorial disputes between states. This is evident only when combining the two factors: alliances and territorial conflict.

The final section of the book consists of a chapter by Daniel Geller and is intended as a synthetic treatment of Singer and the Correlates of War Project's research on war. Geller reviews and assesses the theoretical contributions that Singer and COW have made to the study of war, as well as summarizing the key empirical findings in that work. He concludes with an analysis of the likely scholarly legacy for the study of war and international relations in general. We hope that these findings will inspire future research similar to that reflected in this collection.

The genesis of this collection came from a desire to find new ideas and approaches to understanding international war. Surprisingly (or maybe not), the stimulus came from the past work of J. David Singer and the Correlates of War Project, some it more than forty years old. We thank David Singer for a lifetime of contributions to the study of international conflict and his colleagues in the Correlates of War Project for building on that distinguished tradition. Accordingly, this collection is dedicated to J. David Singer.

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