

- Russett, Bruce & John Oneal, 2001. *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organization*. New York & London: Norton. 393 pp. ISBN 039397684X.

*Triangulating Peace* is a landmark in a literature that extends the theoretical domain of the democratic peace. The two main proponents of this research program offer a masterful, yet accessible, survey of a decade of work. The crisp and sometimes crusading style also renders *Triangulating Peace* a worthwhile read. Like others, Russett & Oneal trace the liberal hypotheses back to Kant. This amounts to more than playing the idea-history card: Russett & Oneal show convincingly that the Königsberg philosopher was basically right in his prophecy that a perpetual peace could be established on the basis of democracy, commercial bonds, and a web of international organizations. The authors present ample statistical evidence for the three overlapping liberal hypotheses. An appendix offers the full empirical record. Russett & Oneal draw on a broad and impressive literature to develop a largely correlational theory of interstate conflict. Their rigorous analysis does justice to competing hypotheses. Yet, they barely sketch the causal mechanisms that would help us to understand why the Kantian vision works. Why are firms able to convince governments that

war is costly? Why do politically integrated states refrain from using force? Models that link the decisions of various agents to government choices are required to solve these liberal puzzles. Claiming that the three Kantian precepts for peace reinforce each other is not a truly convincing substitute for an overarching theoretical framework. However, the increasing division of labor in academic research renders it more and more unlikely that a single study will combine a theoretical inquiry into the microfoundations of the Kantian Peace with a rigorous empirical investigation. Undoubtedly, modelers will follow in the footsteps of Russett & Oneal.

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