

Preface

The terms ‘pioneer’ or ‘giant’ in a field of study are often tossed about loosely. But in the case of Bruce M. Russett, they barely begin to describe the place and impact he has had in the study of international relations and world politics. Bruce was a founder of, and continues to be a pioneer in, the empirical analytic study of international relations and foreign policy. He has produced pioneering work on methodology, data collection, and the application of economics to the field of international relations—especially in the area of analytical relationships between theory, policy, and normative standards for morality and ethics. His work has clarified and furthered our understanding of peace studies by looking at power and conflict, cooperation, integration, and community, the democratic/Kantian peace, economic development, dependency, and inequality, and the relationships between domestic and foreign politics. His academic achievements and stature derive from bringing these areas together as a coherent entity, based on his eclectic ability to ‘cross boundaries’ in regard to academic disciplines, sub-disciplines, methods of data gathering and analysis, broad theoretical perspectives as well as basic and applied research—and all within a strong normative perspective. Additionally, through his training of students, his service to various professional associations and especially his stewardship of the *Journal of Conflict Resolution* which he edited from 1973 to 2009, he has influenced almost every corner of international relations scholarship.

I first met Bruce Russett in the Spring semester of 1968, during my first year at Yale for graduate school. I took his graduate seminar in international relations theory. While I had taken two very good undergraduate IR courses at SUNY Buffalo from Glenn Snyder, Bruce’s course opened (blew!) my mind to the richness of the subfield—and I was hooked. This was to be my major field, my academic passion, and my career path. What could be a better description of the role and impact of a *mentor*?

As a major figure in the development (and later publication) of my dissertation, Bruce was also the co-author of my very first publication—a chapter in his award-winning book *What Price Vigilance?* (a chapter that was based on one of my comprehensive examination papers, for which Bruce was the advisor). We have co-authored several times since, most notably in the well-received (and, indeed, highly cited) undergraduate textbook, *World Politics: The Menu for Choice* which first

appeared as Russett and Starr in 1981. The 10th edition appeared in 2013 (as Kinsella, Russett and Starr). We have had a number of common interests, which only partially overlap, including the broad study of conflict and cooperation, and more specifically in the democratic peace. Indeed, when asked about what research he was most proud of, Bruce replied that it was the democratic peace and his extension of it into the Kantian peace.¹

One constant in my academic career, from graduate school at Yale to my present status as Dag Hammarskjöld Professor in International Affairs *Emeritus* at the University of South Carolina, has been Bruce Russett as “teacher, mentor, colleague, friend, and most of all—inspiration...”² I have always been humbled that Bruce willingly took on the role of mentor, not just to me, but to generations of international relations scholars. I am honored to be able to repay that debt, at least in part, by presenting an intellectual biographical summary of his long and acclaimed career, and in selecting a handful of articles that reflect some of the main themes of his intellectual journey.

One important note to the reader: this book will look somewhat different from other volumes in the ‘Pioneer’ series from Springer. Here, I have served as editor as well as the author of the Preface and the essay outlining Bruce Russett’s intellectual biography. That essay discusses the general themes of his work, and how the items selected for inclusion reflect and represent these themes. The remainder of the Preface will contain much of the biographical information that in other Pioneer volumes was *autobiographical*, written by the subject of the volume. All of the different aspects of the volume were done with the incredibly generous aid of Bruce, who asked me to take on these tasks. That is why the Preface and Acknowledgments are difficult to separate, as one flows into the other—as the reader will see in the Acknowledgments below.³

As I discovered in an earlier book on Henry Kissinger (Starr 1984), any scholarly/intellectual biography (or analysis) must be grounded in a number of basic biographical factors of the individual involved. Fortunately for me, Bruce Russett has left a number of published and unpublished items presenting some key elements of his personal history that includes his life experiences along with his intellectual journey. In particular, a 2011 statement at Williams College after receiving an honorary doctorate from that institution, a 2013 presentation at Yale’s

¹See the March 2014 interview with Bruce by MINDfields—Founding Conflict Scholars Look Back/Forward <http://mindfields.weebly.com/>. As noted on the MINDfields website: “We as researchers are pretty bad sometimes about understanding the history of the fields that we participate in, and we are not always good about recognizing or celebrating what has been done in the past... MINDfields—Political Conflict/Peace was designed to address this problem within the specific subfield of political conflict and peace research in political science and sociology.”

²Which is how I described Bruce in the dedication to my 2006 edited *festschrift* volume, *Approaches, Levels and Methods of Analysis in International Politics: Crossing Boundaries* (Starr 2006).

³Three of the important intellectual autobiographical pieces I have drawn from are: Russett (1976) in Rosenau’s edited volume, *In Search of Global Patterns*; Russett (1989) in the Kruzell and Rosenau edited volume, *Journeys Through World Politics: Autobiographical Reflections of Thirty-four Academic Travelers*; and Russett (2001) in Thomas Landy’s edited volume, *As Leaven for the World: Reflections on Faith, Vocation, and the Intellectual Life*.

Henry Koerner Center for Emeritus Faculty, and a 2014 talk at Berkeley, provided important autobiographical details. In the talk at Berkeley, Bruce noted:

“I give an undergrad seminar on the history of international relations theory, starting with Thucydides and Kautilya, proceeding through Machiavelli, Hobbes, Kant, Clausewitz, Lenin, Schumpeter, Schelling... The central theme is that, like the ancients, all of us who study, write, or practice international relations come with our own implicit theories, whether or not we think of them as theories. And we, like our predecessors, write from very particular *personal*, political, and international experiences that shape those theories (emphasis added).”

Bruce Russett was born in 1935, in North Adams, Massachusetts, in the north-western corner of the state. While currently touted as ‘the smallest city in Massachusetts,’ it is no longer the small industrial city in which Russett grew up. Bruce recalls that his earliest political memories were about war and peace, with the attack on Pearl Harbor occurring in December 1941. The next year he put together what he jokingly calls his “first book”—a scrapbook of photos and purple prose about the attack. It has since been lost. Along with Pearl Harbor, prominent early memories included air raid drills, and the dropping of the atom bomb on Hiroshima. His more complete discussion of such early experiences helps to explain a lifelong interest in war and peace, deterrence, and indeed, in his words, a “strain of populism and distrust of authority that runs through my work” based on what he came to realize were government actions that hugely exaggerated the immediate threat to North Adams, Massachusetts (see also Russett’s MINDfields interview). In sum, Bruce has noted that “World War II was an intense experience” (Russett 2001).

One of the key events in Russett’s life was winning a partial scholarship to Williams College, only a few miles from his home. This was to be one of the major formative influences on his life. Bruce had wanted ‘to do good’ in some area of life, and at Williams decided it would be in politics and international affairs, as a major in political science would help him ‘to learn what doing good might mean, and how to do it.’ Even as early as high school (as a member of the World Federalists) this concern with policy was evident, and to become a major component of Bruce’s scholarly work (along with war and peace, and deterrence). Equally important, he later switched majors to ‘the elite hybrid major in political economy,’ setting the stage for later graduate work at Cambridge University and for his contributions in bringing the theories and methods of economics to the study of international relations (see especially Russett 1968). Russett acknowledged in his 2011 statement a number of ‘fine faculty’ at Williams in both political science and economics—“All were men of the world as well as intellectuals, and under their influence I took seriously the possibility of teaching at a college or university.” There were also three in particular that encouraged him to see the world and do post-graduate work, putting together a package of small grants that allowed him to do a one year Diploma in Economics (an M.A. equivalent) at King’s College, Cambridge. Bruce has said simply of these three individuals: “They changed my life.”

The year at Cambridge was important many ways. Bruce notes (Koerner 2013): “Intellectual activity mattered at Kings and in the friendships I made there. I studied economics—especially development economics—in the shadow of John Maynard

Keynes under three distinguished Keynesians, with a little political philosophy thrown in.” The time at Cambridge not only continued his education in, and exposure, to economics—and his concern with development and inequality in later work—but permitted him to become ‘more worldly’ through travel in Britain and across the Continent.

After adding the 1957 Diploma in Economics from King’s College to his 1956 B.A. in Political Economy (Highest Honors), magna cum laude, from Williams, Russett entered Yale University to work on a Ph.D. in Political Science. He received his M.A. from Yale in 1958, and his Ph.D. in 1961. But even here, his time at Williams was influential. His Williams roommate advised Bruce in 1955 that to be successful in political science he needed to take higher mathematics. As Bruce relates it, he told the roommate that he ‘was crazy’—but it later turned out he was correct. However, Bruce’s economics background did give him an advantage at Yale—“which was exactly the right time and place” as intellectual giants such as Robert Dahl and Karl Deutsch “were making the study of politics self-consciously scientific.” At Yale, the key formative experience was working with Karl Deutsch, Russett’s mentor, and a pioneer in the application of science and systematic empirical research to the study of international relations.⁴ Deutsch was also a pioneering figure in the systematic theoretical approach to international integration, the area in which Russett did his dissertation under Deutsch about the development of British-American community [see the published version (Russett 1963)].

After receiving his Ph.D. in 1961, Russett spent 1961–1962 as an Instructor in Political Science, at MIT. He returned to Yale in 1962 as an Assistant Professor, where he again worked closely with Deutsch. Bruce notes (Berkeley 2014) that this assistant professor position had, “what was, for the time, an exceptional package of resources for pursuing my research. My former mentor, Karl Deutsch, had one of the first two NSF grants in international politics. He would buy out half my teaching time, provide summer salary, the financial resources to hire research assistants, a secretary, and computer time... I would have to work on Deutsch’s pet project, producing the first big compilation of political, social, and economic data on all countries in the world (the first *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators* 1964, which was about both data and ways to analyze them).” But, there were also time and resources for Russett’s own projects, notably *World Politics in the General Assembly* (1965) with Hayward Alker. Russett’s training in economics and his work with Karl Deutsch set the stage for Bruce’s own wide ranging contributions to the creation and management of large-N data sets, and the quantitative analysis revolution in the study of international relations.⁵ Again, Bruce’s upbringing influenced his work and his approach to scholarship: “So while getting tenure in 1968 meant

⁴In fact Russett is editor of another volume in the Pioneer series about Deutsch: Bruce M. Russett, (ed.) *Karl W. Deutsch: Pioneer in the Theory of International Relations* Springer, 2015).

⁵In the 2013 Koerner presentation Bruce noted that his approach to data and the systematic empirical analysis of large-N data sets, “meant a struggle—not just in the usual sense of trying to get tenure at an elite institution, but in the sense that the social scientific revolution in international relations was still being made.”

‘making it,’ it also left me, reinforced by my working-class background, feeling ‘in’ but not really ‘of’ the establishment. I found myself adopting the position of establishment critic; that is, using my newly privileged status as an opportunity to take positions critical of established political or scholarly wisdom” (Koerner 2013).

Bruce spent his entire subsequent academic career as a member of the Yale faculty. He was promoted to associate professor in 1966 and to full professor in 1968. He was made the Dean Acheson Professor in 1985, and formally retired in 2011, at that point becoming the Dean Acheson Research Professor. Other positions that he held at Yale both generated subsequent research directions and reflected past or ongoing research areas. From 1962 to 1973 he served as Director of the World Data Analysis Program shepherding the first edition of the *World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators* into existence (Russett et al. 1964). Drawing on his interests in peace and cooperation and international institutions/organizations as central to the *Kantian* peace, he also served as Director of United Nations Studies at Yale from 1993 to 2006. He was Chair of the Political Science Department from 1990 to 1996, but had no larger administrative ambitions.

While being based at Yale, Bruce also held a number of visiting positions both in the United States and internationally—from, for example, Columbia University, the University of Michigan, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and Harvard, to the Institut d’Etudes Europennes, Universite Libre de Bruxelles, the Richardson Institute for Peace & Conflict Research, London, the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, the Political Science Department, Tel Aviv University, and the University of Tokyo Law School. These and other activities were often accompanied by various grants and fellowships, as well as other professional activities.⁶

As Bruce has noted, there was an even more important consequence to spending a year at Cambridge, and in his subsequent his decision to pursue a Ph.D. at Yale: “The greatest legacy of those years may have been to give me enough of the air of a man of the world to make a good first impression on a history graduate student at Yale, Cynthia Eagle. We clicked, and she was my marvellous wife for 53 years—a soulmate sharing similar interests and values, and fully my intellectual equal—or more” (Berkeley 2014). Bruce Russett and Cynthia Eagle married in 1960, and had four children—Margaret, Mark, Lucia, and Daniel. Even with her familial duties Cynthia completed her Ph.D. in 1964 and taught part-time at Yale for a number of years, before becoming a tenured full professor of History in 1990. In 2001 she became the Larnard Professor of History, the position that had been held by Gaddis Smith—the distinguished historian of American foreign policy and diplomatic history, who retired in 2000.⁷ She authored three major books focusing on

⁶See Box 1.1 “Bruce M. Russett: Curriculum Vitae” for a selected list of his visiting appointments. See also Box 1.2 “Bruce M. Russett: Selected Awards, Fellowships, Honors,” as well as Box 1.3, “Bruce M. Russett: Selected Professional Activities and Memberships.” A complete CV, with full lists of these activities and honors can be found online at: http://afes-press-books.de/html/SpringerBriefs_PSP_Russett.htm.

⁷And, I might add, one of the members of my own dissertation committee!

nineteenth and twentieth century American intellectual life, the best known was her 1989 Harvard University Press book, *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood*. She was particularly interested in women's history and women in higher education, as well as the impact of science on American culture.

In one of the autobiographical essays (Russett 2001), Bruce noted that his father was raised Catholic but became very disillusioned. Bruce's mother was Protestant. He notes that, "I was raised as a Protestant, but my identity is split" (Russett 2001: 380). In Cynthia he married 'a deeply committed Catholic.' He returned to Catholic instruction, and almost a year after their marriage, Bruce was baptized and confirmed (Russett 2001: 381). This faith has been one central component of the normative concerns that informed so much of his later work—with the treatment of war and peace, deterrence, and foreign policy being influenced by the Christian 'just war' tradition; most famously in his role of drafting the important 1983 National Council of Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter on war and peace in the nuclear age, "The Challenge of Peace." Thus, in complementing earlier personal influences, this long-lasting and central relationship with Cynthia reinforced the place of morality, ethics, and inequality in the normative foundations underlying much of Bruce Russett's scholarship. In turn, during her 13-year struggle with myeloma she called him "my strong right hand (see "Alhambra" on the volume's website)."

The accompanying boxes with lists of Bruce Russett's awards, honors, and professional activities provide some idea of his decades-long stature as a scholar of international relations. He was funded by the most prestigious national and international organizations. In addition to receiving 11 grants from the National Science Foundation, he has been awarded support from such other government related organizations as ARPA, the United States Institute of Peace, the Naval War College, the Department of Energy, and from the Fulbright-Hays program. But he was also been the recipient of multiple grants from private foundations, including Carnegie, Ford, Guggenheim, MacArthur, and Rockefeller. His work was also recognized by support from international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the German Marshall Fund.

In 1995 he was made a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. A reliable source has told me that he was nominated twice to the Nobel Peace Prize Committee (2006 and 2009) for his work on the liberal peace, which he began in the late 1980s, and was initially punctuated by his 1993 book, *Grasping the Democratic Peace*. This thread of Russett's research agenda picked up steam throughout the 1990s with several co-authors. However, Russett's work with John Oneal was the most important for the extension of the democratic or liberal peace to the Kantian peace. Their 2001 book, *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations* has been perhaps the single-most important contribution to the study of democracy and international conflict. It was the co-winner of the 2010 International Studies Association prize for *best book of the decade, 2000–2009*. During this same time period of work on the democratic/Kantian peace, Russett received the Lifetime Achievement Award by the Conflict Processes Section of the American Political Science Association (in 1997). He also received the quadrennial Founders' Medal for "significant and distinguished life-

long scientific contributions to peace science” by the Peace Science Society (International) in 2009. Previously, Russett was elected President of the Peace Science Society for 1977–1979, and President of the International Studies Association for 1983–1984.

The above material will provide the reader with some of the background necessary for understanding the origins of, and the connections between, the themes and directions of Bruce Russett’s scholarly career to be presented in Part I. ‘On Bruce Russett.’ I will return to a number of points made here in the section below, ‘A Scholarly Biography,’ as I present and discuss the items selected to represent these themes. I am pleased to have you along on this intellectual journey.

Columbia, SC, USA
December 2014

Harvey Starr

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