Mission Statement

The mission of the Mershon Center is to advance the understanding of national security in a global context. The center does this by fostering research on the use of force and diplomacy; the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security; and the institutions that manage violent conflict.
About the Center

The Mershon Center for International Security Studies is the fulfillment of a bequest by Colonel Ralph D. Mershon to The Ohio State University for the exploration of matters pertaining to national security.

Ralph D. Mershon was a man of action in public life. He organized the American engineers for service in World War I and led a public effort to create legislation that was the forerunner of the Reserve Officer Training Corps in the United States. He also was a contemplative and inventive person who held a number of important patents for his work in electrical engineering. Col. Mershon died February 14, 1952, and is buried in Zanesville, Ohio.

The Mershon Center encourages collaborative, interdisciplinary research projects within the university and with other institutions around the world. Current projects include an examination of the likelihood that nuclear weapons could be used, a history of the Cold War in non-aligned countries, an analysis of aggressive presidentialism over the past 30 years, an evaluation of the performance of international organizations, and an application of quantum mechanics to international theory. Faculty from many departments across the university participate in these projects.

Mershon supports multidisciplinary teams and individual faculty research. The center hosts visiting scholars and postdoctoral fellows, and it supports student research. The Mershon Center also organizes conferences, symposia, and workshops that bring together scholars, government officials, and business leaders from around the world to discuss the latest research in national and international security affairs.

The Mershon Center is also supported by community gifts and grant money. The center’s mission is to advance the scholarly study and intellectual understanding of national security in a global context. The center does this by fostering research on three areas of focus:

- the use of force and diplomacy
- the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security
- the institutions that manage violent conflict
From the Director

Since 1967, the Mershon Center for International Security Studies has worked to fulfill the vision of Ralph D. Mershon. He gave his generous gift to The Ohio State University nearly 50 years ago to ensure that civilians would study military activities.

The mission of the Mershon Center is to advance the understanding of national security in a global context. As the United States sends an increasing number of troops to Afghanistan while working to bring troops home from Iraq, the task remains urgent and complicated. The course of these conflicts has made it clear that strategies designed to accomplish political and social aims through the use of force require substantial cultural, historical, and area expertise.

As the security agenda has grown, and as military institutions have increasingly turned to the academy for social scientific and humanist expertise, the Mershon Center has complemented its focus on the use of force and diplomacy with equal attention to the cultures and ideas that underpin security, and to the institutions that manage conflict.

Projects sponsored by the center aim to explore fundamental questions such as:

- How can military force be used effectively to advance political aims, and what can and should be done to counter insurgencies?
- What role do national and religious identities play in conflict? Are they immutable or can we devise strategies to ameliorate the conflicts they generate?
- When can multilateral institutions be effective in managing international conflicts and what are the best ways for domestic institutions to balance the need for executive authority and democratic practices?

The Mershon Center promotes collaborative research on these themes among colleagues from more than 20 departments across Ohio State. It does this by funding multidisciplinary faculty and student research and undergraduate study abroad scholarships. The center also hosts numerous seminars and conferences, enriching intellectual life on campus by bringing some of the world’s leading scholars and practitioners to Ohio State.

My colleagues at the center continue to push in new theoretical and practical directions contributing to both scholarly and policy ideas. When evaluating who was doing interesting work around the world, Foreign Policy magazine put my colleague Alexander Wendt in the top five and my colleague Randall Schweller in the top 25. Peter Mansoor has been in front of TV cameras and Congressional committees commenting on the war in Iraq and counter-insurgency warfare, while Robert McMahon was appointed chair of the U.S. Department of State’s Historical Advisory Committee. Both Edward Crenshaw and Craig Jenkins were awarded funding by the National Science Foundation for their work on terrorism and environmental security, respectively. Princeton University invited Dorry Noyes to spend a year there, and Mark Grimsley will spend a second year at the U.S. Army War College.
The Mershon Center’s principal aim is to produce scholarship that has lasting value. This year my colleagues at the center published 22 books and almost 200 articles. This annual report highlights some of these and provides a glimpse of the research being done at Mershon. It also introduces many of the scholars and students carrying on the work of the center. For more information on projects and for access to recordings of the numerous lectures given at the center this past year, I invite you to visit our web site at mershoncenter.osu.edu.

### BY THE NUMBERS

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Robert Snyder, a major in international studies and evolution, ecology, and organismal biology, was one of 13 undergraduate winners of the Ralph D. Mershon Study Abroad Scholarship in 2008. He participated in the Minnesota Studies in International Development program in Senegal, where he lived with his host family in the rural town of Diadam III.

Mark Moritz, assistant professor of anthropology, met with herders in the Logone flood plain of Cameroon, where he was working on a Mershon-supported study of conflict resolution between herders and farmers in West Africa. Moritz was one of 22 Ohio State faculty members to receive a research grant from Mershon in 2008–09.

Peter Mansoor, Gen. Raymond E. Mason Chair in Military History, made several high-profile media appearances this year, including this interview on PBS’s Tavis Smiley show. Mansoor is a highly decorated officer with more than 26 years of military service, most recently as executive officer to Gen. David Petraeus in Iraq. During 2008–09, Mershon faculty were mentioned or interviewed by the media almost 500 times.

Randall Schweller, professor of political science, gave pointers about how undergraduates can best conduct research at “Recipe for Success: Basic Ingredients for Undergraduate Research,” held in conjunction with the Undergraduate Research Office on November 20, 2008.

A mosque leader from Columbus posed a question to panelists from the U.S.-Muslim Engagement Project during “Changing Course: A New Direction for U.S. Relations with the Muslim World” on February 20, 2009. Panelists included (l to r) Dalia Mogahed, executive director of the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies; Thomas Dine, director of the Syria Project, Search for Common Ground; and project manager Paula Gutlove.


Geography doctoral student Anurupa Roy (right) talked with migrant workers in west Bengal as part of fieldwork for her dissertation on “The Political Economy of Migratory Labor in India.” Roy was one of 20 graduate students whose research Mershon funded in 2008–09.

Channels of Power: The U.N. Security Council and U.S. Statecraft in Iraq was one of 22 books by Mershon affiliated faculty members published or forthcoming in 2008–09. In the book, Alexander Thompson offers a framework for why powerful states work through international organizations when conducting coercive policies—and why they sometimes work alone.

Mershon Faculty Publish 22 Books and More

Faculty members affiliated with the Mershon Center continue to be among the most productive at The Ohio State University, and this year was no exception. Mershon faculty have 22 books published or forthcoming in 2008–09. In addition, they edited three journals, with multiple issues in two, and published 195 articles, essays, and book chapters.

Among the highlights are John Mueller’s forthcoming Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda (Oxford University Press). In this highly provocative work, Mueller contends that our concern about nuclear weapons borders on an obsession unsupported by history or logic. He argues that nuclear weapons have never represented much of a threat because states are fundamentally unwilling to use them. Moreover, as Mueller points out, terrorists are unlikely to obtain nuclear weapons, much less build and successfully deploy them. Mueller maintains that our efforts to prevent the spread of WMDs have produced much more suffering and violence than if we had taken a more realistic view.


Law Professor Shane Joins Mershon Faculty

Peter Shane, Jacob E. Davis and Jacob E. Davis II Chair in Law, joined the Mershon Center as an affiliated faculty member this year. Shane is an internationally recognized scholar in administrative law, specializing in separation of powers. His research also focuses on the use of new communication technologies to strengthen democratic processes.

This was a banner year for Shane, who published two books, directed the Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy, and served on the Obama-Biden transition project by chairing the team that reviewed the International Trade Commission.

Shane published Madison’s Nightmare: How Executive Power Threatens American Democracy (Chicago, 2009), which argues that the United States has been in an era of “aggressive presidentialism” in which presidents exert ever more control over nearly every arena of policy—from military affairs and national security to domestic programs. He also edited a special issue of I/S: A Journal of Law and Policy for the Information Society on e-democracy, based on a conference he organized in 2008 with the support of the Mershon Center.

Shane has appeared in the media through blog entries in the Huffington Post, Executive Watch, and others, and through interviews with The New York Times, The Washington Post, and more. For more, see page 13.
HIGHLIGHTS

Nye Gives Kruzel Lecture on The Powers to Lead

Each year the Mershon Center holds one lecture in honor of Joseph J. Kruzel, an Ohio State faculty member in political science who was killed in Sarajevo, Bosnia, in 1995 while serving as deputy assistant secretary of defense for European and NATO affairs.

This year’s Kruzel Lecture was given by Joseph Nye, University Distinguished Service Professor and former dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, on his new book *The Powers to Lead* (Oxford, 2008). The book offers a sweeping look at the nature of leadership in today’s world, blending history, business case studies, psychological research, and more.

Many people believe that authoritarian and coercive forms of leadership—the hard power approaches of earlier military eras—have been supplanted by soft power approaches that seek to attract, inspire, and persuade rather than dictate. Nye argues, however, that the most effective leaders are those who combine hard and soft power in proportions that vary with different situations. He calls this smart power.

Drawing examples from leaders as diverse as Gandhi, Churchill, Lee Iacocca, and George W. Bush, Nye uses smart power to shed light on leadership types and skills, the needs and demands of followers, and the nature of good and bad leadership in both ethics and effectiveness.

Jenne Wins Furniss Book Award

Each year, the Mershon Center gives the Edgar S. Furniss Book Award to an author whose first book makes an exceptional contribution to the study of national and international security. The award commemorates the founding director of the Mershon Center, Edgar S. Furniss.

This year the award went to Erin K. Jenne of Central European University in Budapest for her book *Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment* (Cornell University Press, 2007). In this book, Jenne describes a theory of minority politics that combines field research and comparative analysis with the insights of rational choice and bargaining.

Jenne’s work focuses on ethnic cleavage in the post-communist countries of East Central Europe. She finds that even though nation-states have been more responsive to minority groups, claims by ethnic minorities have become more frequent since 1945. Jenne argues that minorities who perceive an increase in their bargaining power tend to radicalize their demands, moving from affirmative action to regional autonomy to secession.
Project Seeks to Improve U.S.-Muslim Relations

How can the United States work to improve relations with key Muslim nations and communities? Thomas Dine and Dalia Mogahed addressed this question in their presentation, “Changing Course: A New Direction for U.S. Relations with the Muslim World.”

Thomas Dine is director of the Syria Project and senior political advisor of the Israel Policy Forum. He is former executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. Dalia Mogahed is executive director of the Gallup Center for Muslim Studies, a non-partisan research center that focuses on views of Muslim populations world-wide.

Dine and Mogahed examined the history of U.S. relations with Muslims, obstacles to improving relations, and how these obstacles can be overcome. They encouraged local community efforts to improve mutual respect and understanding between Americans and Muslims, including discussion groups that focus on increasing awareness about policy decisions, overcoming stereotypes, and fostering cross-cultural exchanges.

Mershon Center Supports Students in Study Abroad

Study abroad is a key component of learning a foreign language and culture. To support this endeavor, the Mershon Center created the Ralph D. Mershon Study Abroad Scholarship for undergraduates who are preparing for a career related to international security studies.

Students are encouraged to take foreign language courses, especially those deemed critical for national security, such as Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Hindi, Persian, and others. Those researching issues related to peace and conflict resolution may also receive support.

Last year, the Mershon Center supported 13 undergraduates in study abroad. This year the center gave 11 scholarships. Countries where the students studied include Spain, France, Czech Republic, Switzerland, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt, Morocco, Senegal, India, China, Taiwan, and South Korea. Their career ambitions range from working for the State Department, U.S. military, or intelligence community to positions in international law, development, and public policy. For more, see pages 30–31.
Conference Considers Role of Women in Global Politics

In spring 2009, the Mershon Center sponsored Women in Politics: Global Perspectives, a one-day workshop focused on women’s political representation around the world.

Organized by Pamela Paxton, the conference featured panels on Women and Democracy, National Security, and Conflict; Women’s Global Organizing; and Gaining Access, Changing Institutions. Its goals were to demonstrate multiple approaches to the same problems, discuss ways to explain women’s representation in regions where traditional explanations are less helpful, and consider practical concerns in researching women in politics globally.

Participants included Aili Tripp, University of Wisconsin; Elisabeth Jay Friedman, University of San Francisco; Georgina Waylen, University of Sheffield; Hannah Britton, University of Kansas; Jocelyn Viterna, Harvard University; Laurel Weldon, Purdue University; Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, University of Missouri; Melanie Hughes, University of Pittsburgh; Miki Caul Kittilson, Arizona State; Mona Lena Krook, Washington University; and Sarah Childs, University of Bristol. For more, see page 50.

Graduate Students Organize Military Frontiers Symposium

Throughout the 1990s, graduate students in Ohio State’s military history program held annual conferences devoted to their field. This year, students Robert Clemm and Sarah Douglas, with the help of professors Peter Mansoor and Geoffrey Parker, organized Military Frontiers: A Graduate Symposium at the Mershon Center.

The one-day conference focused on World War I, with papers on the role of the United States in providing post-war humanitarian relief, the American military identity as presented in uncensored war testimonies, and the impact of changing technology on the U.S. military during the 20th century.

The keynote address was given by Pulitzer Prize-winner Rick Atkinson, former correspondent for The Washington Post and author of the Liberation Trilogy, a three-volume history of the American Army in North Africa, Italy, and Western Europe during World War II. For more, see page 52.
Mershon Faculty Take Top Honors

It’s no secret that Mershon affiliated faculty members are among the best and the brightest. This year, 30 of them earned top honors and awards in their fields. Among them were:

Edward Crenshaw and J. Craig Jenkins, who each won two fellowships from the National Science Foundation

Robert McMahon, who became chair of the State Department Historical Advisory Committee

Sean Kay, who served on Barack Obama’s presidential campaign advisory team on Europe/NATO; and Peter Shane, who served as team lead for the International Trade Commission agency review of the Obama-Biden Transition Project

Peter Mansoor, who received the 2009 Ohioana Library Association Book Award for Baghdad at Sunrise, and appeared before the Air-Land Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee to discuss the future of U.S. ground forces in the 21st century

Tony Mughan, who won Ohio State’s Faculty Award for Distinguished University Service

Danielle Fosler-Lussier and Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, who each won a Diversity/International Outreach Fellowship from the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations

Allan Millett, who was conferred the title of Honorary Doctor by the Board of Governors at the Royal Military Academy in Belgium

For more, see pages 45–47.
Richard Gunther (lower right) stood with members of the Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP) research group, which met in Maputo, Mozambique. CNEP is a multi-year, multi-country examination of how citizens in democracies around the world receive information about candidates, parties, and politics during election campaigns. Pages 26-27

Mark Moritz (far right) pointed to an area map during a meeting with mobile pastoralists in Mazera, Cameroon. Moritz was studying conflict and conflict resolution between herders and farmers in West Africa. Page 19

A large crowd gathered to hear the University of Michigan Jazz Band, which toured Latin America as part of the State Department’s Cultural Presentations program. Danielle Fosler-Lussier is studying the role of American musicians in Cold War diplomacy. Page 18 (Photo courtesy of Lanny Austin)

Scribes in medieval London sometimes did more than record court cases. The doodles of this mayoral court scribe survive to this day in archives accessed by Barbara Hanawalt during her research on dispute resolution in 14th- and 15th-century London. Page 18

Amanda Roxen (right) interviewed Wayne Drysdale, a member of the Legislative Assembly of Alberta, during fieldwork for her dissertation on the politics of climate change in the United States and Canada. Page 29

Patrick Crawford toured Peñafiel Castle in Valladolid, Spain, where he spent two months doing archival research for his dissertation about the Spanish contingent in the Army of Flanders, considered the most effective soldiers in 16th-century Europe. Page 19

Anurupa Roy (far left) met with a group of brick industry workers in West Bengal as part of her fieldwork for her dissertation on migrant workers in India. Page 24

Yoon-Ah Oh (left) interviewed Alvaro Caharan Daus, mayor of Laur, Nueva Ecija, in the Philippines during fieldwork for her dissertation on the impact of emigration on domestic politics. Daus emigrated from the Philippines to the United States, then returned to run for office. Page 29
Peter Shane

Peter Shane is the Jacob E. Davis and Jacob E. Davis II Chair in Law and a faculty associate at the Mershon Center. He is an internationally recognized scholar in administrative law, specializing in separation of powers issues. His research also focuses on the use of new communication technologies to strengthen democratic processes.

Shane recently published Madison’s Nightmare: How Executive Power Threatens American Democracy (University of Chicago Press, 2009). The book weaves together historical, legal, and political arguments on the state of the presidency. Historically, Shane argues that 1981 to 2009 represents a distinctive period during which a bipartisan push toward enhanced executive power coincided with a right-wing campaign to radically redirect the policy agenda of the national government.

That combination produced an era of “aggressive presidentialism”—a view of the Constitution that imagines a largely autonomous executive branch in which the president enjoys a robust range of powers beyond the oversight of either Congress or the judiciary. Although the Clinton Administration did not pursue presidentialism as an ideology, it made its own ambitious claims of presidential authority, thus furthering the trend.

Legally, Shane argues that the presidentialists’ view of the Constitution lacks textual, historical, or theoretical support. Politically, Shane believes that presidentialism promotes bad governance by demeaning the role of Congress and the courts, and fostering inappropriate and sometimes illegal decisions.

Shane and coauthors Jerry L. Mashaw and Richard A. Merrill also recently published a sixth edition of their casebook Administrative Law: The American Public Law System (West, 2009). Because of Shane’s administrative law expertise, the Obama-Biden Transition Project asked him to head a review team analyzing the International Trade Commission.

Shane’s interest in law, democracy, and communications led to three key activities this year. First, he was executive director of the Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy. Besides programming six commission meetings and three forums, Shane will be lead drafter of the commission’s final report.

Shane also continues as co-chair of the NSF-funded International Working Group on Online Consultation and Public Policy Making. Last year, this group held a Mershon-supported conference that resulted in a special issue of I/S: A Journal of Law and Policy for the Information Society.

Shane is currently working with co-chair Stephen Coleman on an edited book, Connecting Democracy: Online Consultation and the Future of Democratic Discourse, which will include a comparative analysis he is writing with Polona Pičman-Stefančič of the role of law in shaping e-democracy in the United States and European Union.

Richard Herrmann

Richard Herrmann is Social and Behavioral Sciences Distinguished Professor of Political Science and director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies. He specializes in international relations, security and conflict studies, political psychology, and politics in the Middle East and Russia.

Herrmann is currently working on two projects. The first, “Ideology and Ideological Modes of Reasoning: A Theory of Contingent Preference Formation” with Paul Sniderman of Stanford University, uses experiments embedded in a national survey to examine the foreign policy preferences of conservatives and liberals in America.

The study finds that while liberals are more likely to judge a foreign policy situation based on due process and consistent standards, conservatives are more likely to judge the situation based on the character of the actors involved. This makes conservatives more likely to treat nations differently depending on whether they are friend or foe.

Herrmann’s second project, “Multiculturalism and Nationhood in America: Is Recognizing Difference Compatible with Building Unity?” tests the idea that the more people identify with a particular ethnic group, the less they support the nation as a whole.

Herrmann’s study finds little evidence to support this idea. The study finds that the more people see America as multicultural, the more they are willing to integrate with others who are different. The study also finds that, with a few exceptions, strong attachment to a cultural group is correlated with strong attachment to the nation. But to guard against the potential weakening in national unity, Herrmann recommends that political leaders who promote multiculturalism also emphasize what Americans have in common.

John Mueller

John Mueller is Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies. His interests include international politics, foreign policy, defense policy, public opinion, democratization, economic history, post-Communism, and terrorism.

Mueller is author or editor of 16 books, including:

- *The Remnants of War* (Cornell, 2004), winner of the Joseph P. Lepgold Prize for Best Book on International Relations from Georgetown University
- *War, Presidents and Public Opinion* (Wiley, 1973), recipient of the first Warren J. Mitofsky Award for Excellence by the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research

Mueller’s newest book is *Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda* (Oxford University Press, 2009). It examines the influence of nuclear weapons, assesses their spread, and evaluates the possibility that they may fall into the hands of terrorists.

Mueller argues that while the actual impact of nuclear weapons has been modest, they have had a massive influence on rhetoric, theorizing, and defense expenditures. Remarkably few countries have tried to develop nuclear weapons, and those that have did not find them to be an advantage. Nor are terrorists likely to surmount the difficulties involved in developing, delivering, and detonating an atomic device.

This year Mueller headlined a panel on “Atomic Obsession” at the American Political Science Association conference, and spoke on “Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al Qaeda” at the Norwegian Nobel Institute in Oslo. Mueller was also cited in almost 60 major media outlets on nuclear weapons, the war on terror, and war and public opinion. Placements included The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Atlantic, Slate, Reason, Foreign Affairs, and Foreign Policy.
Peter Mansoor

Peter Mansoor is the Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair in Military History at the Mershon Center. Mansoor is author of The GI Offensive in Europe: The Triumph of American Infantry Divisions, 1941–45 (University Press of Kansas, 1999), winner of book awards from the Society for Military History and the Army Historical Foundation. His most recent book is Baghdad at Sunrise: A Brigade Commander’s War in Iraq (Yale University Press, 2008), a memoir based on his command of the 1st Brigade Combat Team, 1st Armored Division, in Baghdad, Iraq. It won the 2009 Ohioana Library Association Book Award.

Last year, Mansoor taught courses on the history of counterinsurgency warfare and World War II. He also oversaw organization of Military Frontiers: A Graduate Symposium at the Mershon Center. His current projects include research into the U.S. Army in the Pacific during World War II. Next spring he is organizing a conference on counterinsurgency at the Mershon Center.

Mansoor is a highly decorated officer with more than 26 years of distinguished military service. Prior to coming to Ohio State, he served as executive officer to Gen. David Petraeus, then commander of the multinational forces in Iraq. In this position, Mansoor assisted with strategic planning for the U.S. war effort in Iraq and prepared Petraeus for meetings with top leaders as well as testimony before Congress.

Mansoor has remained an important figure in public discussion about the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Last year he published op-eds in The Washington Post and The New York Times, and appeared on several national news programs including NPR’s All Things Considered, The Charlie Rose Show, Tavis Smiley, 60 Minutes, and C-Span.

In March 2009, Mansoor appeared before the Air-Land Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee to discuss the future of U.S. ground forces in the 21st century.

Robert McMahon

Robert McMahon is Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History. A leading historian of American diplomatic history, he is author of several books on U.S. foreign relations, including The Cold War: A Very Short Introduction, The Limits of Empire: The United States and Southeast Asia since World War II, and The Cold War on the Periphery: The United States, India, and Pakistan.

McMahon’s most recent book is Dean Acheson and the Creation of an American World Order (Potomac Books, 2009). This biography critically assesses the life and career of Dean Acheson, who served as Harry S. Truman’s Secretary of State from 1949 to 1953.

McMahon’s current book project for Oxford University Press is The Cold War in the Third World, an edited volume based on a Mershon Center conference he is organizing this year. It asks two related questions. First, how did the Third World affect the course of the Cold War and the behavior and priorities of the two superpowers? And second, what impact did the Cold War have on the developing states and societies of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America?

In addition to research, McMahon is chair of the State Department’s Advisory Committee on Historical Diplomatic Documentation. He oversees publication of Foreign Relations of the United States, the nation’s official record of foreign affairs, and provides advice on sensitive issues surrounding the declassification of government documents.

McMahon also presented papers at several international research seminars, including the keynote address at the London School of Economics, and “Divided Allies: The Rise and Fall of America’s Alliances in Cold War Asia,” at China Foreign Affairs University in Beijing.
Alexander Wendt

Alexander Wendt is Ralph D. Mershon Professor of International Security Studies at the Mershon Center. He is one of the most cited scholars today. Foreign Policy has ranked Wendt the third-most influential scholar in international relations over the past 20 years.

Wendt was one of the first scholars to bring social constructivist theory to international relations. His book Social Theory of International Politics argues that international politics is determined not primarily by material concerns such as wealth and power, but by states’ perceptions of each other as rivals, enemies, and friends. It was named Best Book of the Decade by the International Studies Association in 2006.

This year, Wendt launched a new academic journal, International Theory: A Journal of International Politics, Law and Philosophy, co-edited with Duncan Snidal. Supported by the Mershon Center and published by Cambridge University Press, the journal promotes theoretical scholarship about the positive, legal, and normative aspects of world politics.

Wendt will also publish New Systems Theories of World Politics (Palgrave, 2009), edited with Mathias Albert and Lars-Erik Cederman. Based on a 2005 conference that Wendt organized at the Mershon Center, the book uses a number of systems’ theoretical approaches to analyze the structure and dynamics of the international system.

Wendt’s contribution to the volume “Flatland: Quantum Mind and the International System” is the basis for his current project, Quantum Mind and Social Science. In this book, Wendt explores implications of recent claims that human consciousness is a quantum mechanical phenomenon—in other words, it behaves as both a wave and a particle. If these claims are true, he argues, then social science must shift its foundation to quantum mechanics because consciousness is key to the social construction of reality.

Carole Fink

Carole Fink is Humanities Distinguished Professor of History and an associate of the Mershon Center. She is author or editor of 12 books and more than 50 articles, chapters, and monographs on European international history and historiography.

Fink’s most recent book, edited with Bernd Schaefer, is Ostpolitik, 1969–1974: European and Global Responses (Cambridge University Press, 2009). The product of a 2006 conference at the Mershon Center, the book examines the worldwide effects of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt’s policy of Ostpolitik, or normalizing relations with East Germany, the Soviet Union, and other Eastern European states.

Fink is currently working on two areas of research. The first, West Germany and Israel, 1966–74: The Transformation of the ‘Special Relationship,’ focuses on the impact of Ostpolitik on Israel. After World War II, Israel enjoyed a special relationship with West Germany based on the dark legacy of the Third Reich. Under Ostpolitik, however, Brandt sought a policy of “evenhandedness” in the Middle East. West Germany was not rejecting Israel, Fink says, but pursuing its national interest in an undisrupted oil supply. Brandt was also responding to internal pressure demanding sympathy for Palestinians.

Second, Fink gave an invited paper in June 2009 on “Revisiting the Refugee Problem on the Eve of World War II” at the Galilee Colloquia in Israel on Immigration, Asylum-Seeking, and Citizenship.

Fink’s paper examined the 1951 Convention on Refugees, tracing its roots to the Jewish refugee crisis just before World War II. The convention made progress by defining who is a refugee, establishing the right to legal aid, and setting forth the principle of burden sharing. But Fink argues other problems have not been solved. The U.N. High Commissioner’s work remains humanitarian, failing to address the political causes of refugee crises, and refugees still have no right to asylum.
Geoffrey Parker

Geoffrey Parker is Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History. He is author or editor of 36 books and is perhaps best known for his scholarship on Philip II of Spain.

Among Parker’s publications last year was “Crisis and Catastrophe: The World Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered,” one of four invited pieces for a special issue of American Historical Review. The article looks at why the period between 1640 and 1660 saw more wars and state breakdowns around the world than any other before or since.

This year, Parker has completed a revised biography of Philip II. From 1556 until 1598, Philip II ruled the first global empire in history, controlling much of Europe and the Americas. Yet his reign also marked the beginning of Spain’s decline as a world power, epitomized by the famous 1588 defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Since the 400th anniversary of Philip II’s death in 1998, many previously unknown materials have come to light, including 50,000 notes handwritten by the king on everything from how to conquer England, to where to put the toilets in the monastery of El Escorial. These stream of consciousness notes provide a glimpse into Philip’s mind.

Parker attributes Spain’s decline in part to two problems with Philip II’s strategy and leadership. First, Philip tried to micromanage actions in far reaches of the empire. The Spanish Armada lost, Parker says, because Philip’s instructions to the admirals were too narrow and there was no Plan B. Second, the king operated on a faith-based strategy, believing God would intervene on his behalf. Such faith made him inflexible because even bad decisions could not be challenged. Parker believes that Philip II’s tendency to micromanage and faith-based inflexibility have lessons and parallels for leaders today.

Pamela Paxton

Pamela Paxton is associate professor of sociology and political science. Her current areas of research include women in politics, social networks, and social capital.

Paxton is coauthor of Women, Politics, and Power: A Global Perspective (Sage, 2007). The book provides a detailed introduction to women’s political representation across a wide range of countries using broad statistical overviews and detailed case studies.

One dimension of this research is how cultural attitudes about women affect their ability to become political leaders. Paxton’s current project examines the opposite question: once women are elected to positions of power, does their presence change cultural attitudes? Paxton plans to test this relationship using data from the World Values Survey, which asked respondents in 68 countries about women’s place in politics, education, and the workforce in 1995 and 2005. Changes in attitudes could show that culture affects women’s representation, women’s representation affects culture, or both.

In 2009, Paxton organized a workshop at the Mershon Center on Women in Politics: Global Perspectives. Three panels discussed women in democracy, national security, and conflict; women’s global organizing; and gaining access, changing institutions. The conference was one of the most highly attended at Mershon.

A second area of Paxton’s research is social networks, specifically among international non-governmental organizations. Her article “Power and Relation in the World Polity: The INGO Network Country Score,” published in Social Forces, explores new ways of measuring a country’s connectedness to the world polity.

Traditionally, scholars measure how much power a country has on the world stage by counting the number of NGOs it participates in. Paxton and her coauthors argue that because not all NGOs are equal, a network model is a better measurement. By mapping how countries are networked to each other through NGOs, one can determine which countries act as central sites of diffusion and influence.
During the Cold War, the U.S. State Department sent musicians to strategically important regions around the world to enhance the image of American culture. Hundreds of musicians performed a broad variety of styles including jazz, classical, folk, blues, country, musical theater, choral, and even avant-garde art music.

Despite the importance of these tours, no scholar has yet done a thorough analysis of the effects of the program. Danielle Fosler-Lussier is attempting to do just that, relying not only on material from the State Department and other key archives, but also on privately held materials and oral history research with musicians and diplomats.

One example is the 1965 tour of Latin America by the University of Michigan Jazz Band. The State Department saw the tour as a vehicle for spreading American ideas and instilling respect for American culture. But the way events played out on the ground was more complex. In Bolivia, the jazz band played on the university campus in La Paz because the student leaders used the performance to enhance their own reputations.

The tour also gave American Embassy officials an opportunity to build relationships with student leaders. After the musicians left, embassy officials built on those connections by arranging for the Bolivian student leaders to visit the United States.

Other tours had other effects. A performance of avant-garde compositions in Egypt by the Claremont String Quartet was meant to connect with elite intellectuals. But many audience members worried they could not understand the music, which they saw as an international standard for listening expertise. In this way, the performance fostered a sense of inferiority. Musical tours thus built complex worldwide social relationships.

Foremost in the establishment of this civic culture was the election of the mayor and civic officials. These men were installed in an elaborate public ritual in which they wore ceremonial robes and progressed from London to Westminster to be ratified by the king. The mayor of London acted as judge at city courts and chief mediator between the king and the city, powerful guilds, and feuding individuals. He dealt with nobles through negotiation and with lower classes through punishment such as prison or fines.

New people coming to the city had to be indoctrinated. New citizens were required to take an oath to uphold the peace, and apprentices were required to take an oath to obey both their guild and the city. Because London was a center of commerce, the city regulated weights and measures and employed experts to investigate fraud.

To better understand medieval London’s culture of order, Hanawalt has made use of the London archives, including mayoral court cases and Letter Books, or records of important cases, letters, and papers of the king and mayor. She is also examining city ordinances and guild records, and comparing London to other European centers such as Venice, Florence, Bruges, Ghent, Marseilles, and Paris. The result will be an excellent case study of how urban institutions can successfully manage violent conflict.
**Project:**
A Comparative Study of Herder-Farmer Conflicts in West Africa

**Principal Investigator:**
Mark Moritz, Department of Anthropology

Herders and farmers in West Africa frequently cross paths when the herder’s cattle wander into the farmer’s crop land. Usually these conflicts are settled peacefully, but sometimes violence breaks out. At times the violence can be serious, as in 1989 when conflict between herders and farmers brought Senegal and Mauritania to the brink of war.

Mark Moritz wanted to understand why some conflicts between herders and farmers in Africa escalate into violence while most do not. To do this, he is comparing the conditions and outcomes of 29 cases of herder-farmer conflict.

Moritz started with three variables:

- **Environmental scarcity**, or the amount of land in proportion to the population. The more people in a given area, the less land is available for grazing, and the more likely cattle are to end up on crop land.
- **Economic interdependence**; for example, some farmers let herders graze cattle on their land after crops have been harvested in exchange for milk from the cows.
- **Institutional context**, which examines whether a system is in place to resolve conflicts, such as a village chief, judge, or police.

Moritz also developed a fourth variable: the behavior of the participants in the conflict itself. Did they engage in confrontational behavior that could escalate the conflict into violence? Or did they try to reach a compromise before the conflict spun out of control?

In a preliminary analysis, Moritz found that confrontational behavior was enough to escalate conflict under two conditions: if no institutions were in place to deal with the conflict, or if herders and farmers had no economic relationship. If institutions were functioning, and if farmers and herders were economically interdependent, conflicts did not turn violent. Surprisingly, scarcity of land resources had little effect.

**Graduate Students**

**Patrick Crawford** (History) spent two months in Valladolid, Spain, completing research for his project, “Los Honrados Soldados: Military Rewards, Combat Effectiveness, and Mutiny among the Spanish Veterans of the Army of Flanders, 1567–1598.” His dissertation examines why the Spanish contingent of the Habsburg Army of Flanders had the most effective soldiers in 16th-century Europe. Crawford visited the Archivo General de Simancas to examine collections that contained pay records and documents granting ventajas, or bonus payments, to Spanish soldiers. He discovered that the ventaja system was a key element of Spanish motivation and effectiveness during the 1580s. However, this system was altered in the late 1580s to lower rewards provided to many of the most decorated and long-serving soldiers in the Spanish contingent. Dissatisfaction with this change likely contributed to mutinies in the 1590s.

**David Dennis** (History) used Mershon funding to investigate collections at the Federal German Military Archive in Freiburg for his dissertation, “Coming Home? German Merchant Seamen and Volunteerism during the First World War.” Dennis examined two questions: How did German authorities try to ensure that civilian sailors would serve in the navy? And how did sailors who became stranded in neutral countries decide whether to try to return home? Dennis found that German authorities used educational institutions to instill discipline, loyalty, and a masculine “habitus” in merchant sailors. They also stressed the heroic efforts to get home by thousands of sailors held abroad. Yet Dennis also found that while some German seamen held abroad managed to get home, others either made no effort to return, or even mutinied to prevent a homecoming. Dennis plans to publish an article about his research in fall 2009.
**Katherine Epstein** (History) conducted a comparative analysis of British and American torpedo development from 1866 to 1914 at archives in Washington, D.C., and in Southampton, Greenwich, Winchester, and Kew, England. Her project, “Beneath the Surface: British and American Torpedo Development, 1895–1914,” aims to place weapons research and development in the context of domestic politics and foreign policy. Epstein’s focus on torpedoes expands the prevailing interpretation of naval history, which focuses mainly on capital ships. Her project concentrates on three areas: the physical capabilities of torpedo technology in terms of speed, range, and accuracy; the naval-industrial relationship involved in building torpedo technology; and the tactical implications of this technology. Mershon funding allowed Epstein to access technical manuals, business documents, and tactical records on torpedo development.

**Denise Fett** (History) spent summer 2008 in Spain at the Archivo General de Simancas, Archivo Histórico Nacional, and Biblioteca Nacional, completing research for her project, “Information Intelligence and Negotiation: The Reformation Diplomatic World, 1568–1585.” Fett’s dissertation follows the acquisition of information and intelligence in 16th-century Europe, tracing its dissemination through communications networks and examining its use in policy development. Her study draws on primary resources in diplomatic archives of five European governments. Mershon funding allowed Fett to complete the third section of her dissertation, which focuses on Spain. Among other sources, she studied financial accounts of King Philip II’s ambassador Don Guerau de Spes. She found that payments to couriers remained second only to the expense of acquiring intelligence. This confirmed the importance—and cost—of communicating accurate information in a secure manner.

**James Kajdasz** (Psychology) conducted experiments to explore different forms of intelligence analysis for his project, “Judgment and Decision Making Applied to Intelligence Analysis.” Military intelligence has historically been a subjective practice, following an apprenticeship model of teaching analysis techniques. However, since 2001, the U.S. government has hired many new intelligence analysts, leading to an increased interest in more systematic methodologies. Mershon funding allowed Kajdasz to run structured experiments to test different forms of intelligence analysis. He found that participants who formed early hypotheses resisted adjusting their ideas to new information and eventually came to inaccurate conclusions. These findings may imply that asking people what they think too early can have a detrimental effect on their ability to incorporate future information. Kajdasz plans to continue his research as an intelligence officer in the Air Force and assistant professor at the U.S. Air Force Academy.

**Robyn Rodriguez** (History) conducted pre-dissertation research on the German military mission to China in the 1920s and 1930s. Mershon funding enabled her to explore resources at Berlin’s Political Archive of the Foreign Office and Freiburg’s German Military Archive. Her project, “Journey to the East: The German Military Mission in China, 1927–1938,” investigates the role of retired military officers who led private missions to meet with Chinese leader Chiang Kai-shek after World War I. Rodriguez read correspondence on mission activities as well as personal papers of mission leaders such as Max Bauer, Georg Wetzell, and Hans von Seeckt. These leaders did not officially represent the Weimar government, or later, the Nazi regime. However, the mission to China was closely monitored to ensure compliance with Versailles Treaty restrictions on German rearmament and military attachés abroad.
RESEARCH on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes

Project:
Inter-relations between Political and Demographic Change, 1950–2000
Principal Investigator:
John Casterline, Director, Initiative in Population Research

Demographic change drives political and economic change, while political and economic change also drives demographic change. Yet few scholars have explored this reciprocal relationship.

In this project Casterline is investigating the relationship between political factors and demographic dynamics across all major countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America from 1950 to 2000. Among the data Casterline is gathering are:

- **Political factors**—governance systems, government expenditures, civil and international conflict, and human rights
- **Demographic factors**—fertility rates, mortality rates, and population age structures
- **Economic factors**—income, structure of the economy, economic crises, debt structure, urbanization, and participation of women and youths in the workforce
- **Education factors**—literacy rates and educational attainment
- **Status of women**—political rights and social rights

Among the hypotheses that Casterline is testing are:

- **Global factors**—NGO membership, development assistance, and foreign direct investment
- **Fertility decline increases participation of women in politics.**
- **Age structures weighted toward young adults increase the likelihood of civil conflict.**
- **Fertility decline is both a cause and consequence of greater civil rights for women and minorities.**
- **Greater integration in the world political system will result in greater fertility decline.**
- **Government expenditure on social services is associated with sharper fertility decline, whereas government expenditure on military has the opposite effect.**
- **Civil conflict slows fertility decline.**

No other scholar has attempted a project of this broad historical and geographical scope. The results will address large and basic questions about political change, social change, and their joint determinants.

Project:
The Development of Islamist Insurgency: Egypt, 1986–1999
Principal Investigator:
J. Craig Jenkins, Department of Sociology

What explains this rise and decline in Islamist insurgency? Jenkins set out to answer this question by examining the pattern of attacks against four variables:

**Poverty and regional inequality.** Some observers believe insurgency is a response to limited economic opportunity. Others think it comes from a sense of inequality as perceived through the media. Jenkins will examine poverty measures such as infant mortality, access to safe water and electricity, and income per capita, along with inequality measures such as income inequality and mass media exposure.

**Religious competition.** Some scholars believe Islamic insurgency is more likely in areas with a high percentage of Christians. Others think it happens where Islam is dominant. Jenkins will chart the percentage of Coptic Christians in each province of Egypt.

**Changing status of women.** Some scholars believe restrictions on women’s mobility, dress, and family practices correlates with insurgency, while others point to changes in women’s access to education, jobs, and opportunity. Jenkins will examine female education rates, literacy rates, workforce participation, and contraceptive use.

**State repression and political opportunity.** Some argue that an erratic mixture of political repression

From 1986 to 1999, Egypt experienced a wave of Islamist violence as 474 attacks killed and injured over 2,000 people. Perhaps most notable was the 1997 attack in Luxor in which 10 German tourists were killed. The Egyptian government responded with a campaign of arrests, trials, and executions, and by 1999 the violence had dissipated.
and relaxation of control stimulates insurgency. Others see an increasing “tit for tat” between government and insurgents. Jenkins examines three types of government action: hard repression, soft repression, and political relaxation.

Jenkins expected that modernization, particularly improvement in the status of women, would correlate with Islamic insurgency. Preliminary results, however, indicate that insurgency is more common in areas where change has not taken place. Thus, cultural traditionalism, not cultural change, may be the most important predictor of insurgency.

Project:
Principal Investigator:
Ousman Kobo,
Department of History

The end of European colonialism in the 1950s was a watershed moment in West Africa. Throughout the region, a new group of reformers challenged the political, social, and religious dominance of mystical Islam. These reformers condemned the belief in supernatural forces and tried to suppress local customs as contrary to the teachings of Prophet Muhammad. By the 1970s, they had a large following among urban dwellers, especially the younger generation educated in European institutions.

Why did these reformers have such mass appeal? Kobo argues that Wahhabism, the doctrine promoted by 18th-century Arab reformer Muhammad ibn Abdul Wahhab, allowed the reformers to reconcile Western modernity with Islamic faith.

Wahhabism came to West Africa in the 1940s, when Arabic scholars trained at al-Azhar University in Cairo arrived to preach against local customs and mystic rituals. These scholars emphasized a return to the pristine Islam of Prophet Muhammad and preached against anthropomorphism in conceptions of Allah. They insisted on practicing Islam exactly as it was practiced by Muhammad, and any innovations were forbidden.

This form of Islam was appealing to Western-educated elites, Kobo argues, because they were searching for a new religious identity that accommodated modern ideas. Wahhabi preachers argued that the strict form of Islam was consistent with modernity’s emphasis on economic progress, social equality, and rejection of superstitious beliefs.

Kobo traces the Wahhabi movement in Ghana and Burkina Faso. In both countries, formal education was provided mainly by missionaries. Muslim students acquired social norms and ideas about human progress that were rooted in Western culture.

This placed them in an awkward position. While seeking to become part of their communities, they frowned upon what they saw as backwardness. Wahhabism gave these students a way to reconcile these divergent forces. It represented authentic Islam while providing a vehicle for bringing their societies into the post-colonial age.

Project:
Demiurgic Politics: The Republic and The Timaeus
Principal Investigator:
Allan Silverman, Department of Philosophy

Few works have inspired as much discussion as Plato’s Republic. The book lays the foundation of our theories of citizenship, and of what people owe to each other as ruler and ruled. The Republic has prompted dialogue among theorists from ancient times to today, yet they draw very different lessons. Why do such different lessons emerge?

Silverman sets out to answer this question by examining four responses to Plato’s Analogy of the Cave. In this allegory, prisoners are chained facing the wall of a cave where a flame illuminates shadows. The philosopher is a former prisoner who realizes the
shadows are created by statues. He then goes outside, where he sees objects in the real world and realizes the objects in the cave are just copies. The question is whether the philosopher should stay outside or descend back into the cave to rule those left behind.

The Greek philosopher Plotinus, founder of Neoplatonism, believed the philosopher should go into the cave because he cannot increase his happiness by staying outside. Plato’s student Aristotle believed the philosopher should stay outside because he can increase his happiness by continuing to contemplate. The American philosopher Leo Strauss also believed the philosopher should not go back, but for a different reason—because those in the cave are not capable of improvement.

Finally, Silverman examines what Plato himself believed through a reading of *The Timaeus*, which provides the closest thing we have to Plato’s idea of god, the demiurge. The demiurge, literally “public worker,” is a craftsman, and reason is his tool.

Like the demiurge, the philosopher has knowledge and happiness, and he believes the people in the cave have the potential for this, too. Therefore, he should descend to the cave. Although people are imperfect, the philosopher’s task is to devise a way for the rational nature of as many as possible to flourish. This, Silverman argues, is how he maximizes the good.

**Project:**
**The Concept of Time in the Koran**

**Principal Investigator:**
Georges Tamer, M.S. Sofia Chair in Arabic Studies

*Georges Tamer has spent his career studying philosophy and Arabic and Islamic literature and culture.* Recently he made an important discovery: Many of the images used to describe the concept of time in the Koran come from pre-Islamic Arab society and have their roots in ancient Greece.

The Arabic concept of *dahr*, or endless time, corresponds to the Greek concept of *aion*, which was personified and given power over human life. Both represent a cyclical concept of time that proceeds continuously, irreversibly affecting human fates.

In the Koran, one way time is described is as God actively intervening to turn night into day and day into night. This means time is completely subjected to God’s will. This idea is a contribution to the development of the doctrine of predestination in Islam, Tamer argues. Muslims also point to the idea of God “turning” time in the Koran as a revelation of the Earth’s rotation to Muhammad centuries before the natural sciences became aware of this fact.

Tamer’s finding supports the notion that the Islamic tradition sprang from the same Hellenistic roots as Judaism and Christianity—as Tamer puts it, they are different branches of the same tree. This allows scholars to think of Islam not as a break from the Hellenistic roots of the Judeo-Christian tradition, but as a continuation of it.

By understanding the historical context of the Koran, Tamer argues, we can better understand not only Islam, but also how it relates to Judeo-Christianity. This can help us in structuring lines of communication between different cultures as well as religious and ethnic groups.

**Project:**
**Firms and the Welfare State: A Test of Employer Support for Economic Security**

**Investigator:**
Sara Watson, Department of Political Science

*During the 20th century, Western nations adopted social protection as a way to stem conflict between capital and labor, and to ensure economic growth.* Measures such as employment protection, unemployment insurance, and wage bargaining have helped pave the way for an era of social stability in Europe and the United States.

How did this change come about? Many observers argue that social protection was pushed through by left-wing parties and their trade union allies over the objections...
of capitalists, who uniformly opposed these measures. But recently, scholars have begun to argue that companies were the drivers of social protection. Advocates of this approach claim that firms favor economic security because it encourages workers to gain the skills needed for competing in an international market.

Using France and Germany as cases, Watson plans to test this idea by analyzing data from the stock market. Specifically, she is looking at what happens to a company’s stock price when social protection measures are passed. Her idea is that the type of skills a company requires from its labor force will determine how its share price responds to protectionist legislation.

To test this hypothesis, Watson is charting three types of data:
- social protectionist laws passed in France and Germany from 1975 to 1997
- manufacturing surveys showing whether workers’ training is firm-specific, industry-specific, or general
- daily stock market data

By gauging which types of firms support which type of social protection, Watson hopes to shed light on current controversies over welfare state provisions in Europe and the United States. Her research also brings techniques normally used by economists to bear in political science. Watson plans to publish articles outlining both contributions in the coming year.

Anurupa Roy (Geography) spent 10 weeks during summer 2008 investigating the local politics of migrant workers in West Bengal, India. Her project, “The Political Economy of Migratory Labor in India,” explores the material and ideological conditions that reproduce the system of migrant labor in India. Mershon funding enabled Roy to complete pre-dissertation research in West Bengal. She spent time at local archives researching publications on migrant conflicts. Roy was also able to build a network of contacts in urban Kolkata as well as in the rural districts of Malda and Darjeeling. She met with political representatives, labor union leaders, migrant workers, and labor contractors to discuss current and historical issues faced by migrant workers in the brick industry. During meetings with local researchers and NGO representatives, she received valuable feedback about her interviewing methodology and future fieldwork.

Graduate Students

Leanna Packard (History) spent time in London researching primary sources for her undergraduate honors thesis, “The Scottish Revolution in its International Context, 1639–1642.” This project focuses on Scotland’s relationship with France, England, and Ireland in the 17th century. While historians have explored the Scottish Revolution of this period, its international context has rarely been studied. Mershon funding allowed Packard to review materials at the National Archives in Kew Gardens. She read the English Secretary of State papers regarding France, the domestic papers of Charles I, and the correspondence of the French ambassador to England, Pierre de Bellièvre. Packard also explored the importance of the Auld Agreement between France and Scotland, a treatise that tied the two nations together against England.

Anurupa Roy

Leanna Packard

Sara Watson

Graduate Students
International organizations (IOs) are essential but controversial actors in world politics. They are expected to rebuild war-torn societies, reduce poverty, stop the spread of disease, prevent financial crises, address environmental problems, adjudicate disputes, ensure free trade, promote gender equality, reform legal systems, and reduce corruption. But instead of earning praise, IOs face relentless attacks from critics who believe they are ineffective—or worse, that they exacerbate the very problems they are supposed to solve.

Because IOs are so important to the international system, it is crucial that scholars and policymakers have a way to evaluate them. In this project, Alexander Thompson is developing a framework for understanding the performance of IOs. Why do some IOs perform better than others, and what are the determinants of their performance?

In order to fairly evaluate many very different IOs, Thompson proposes a continuum of metrics that range from process—how efficient and hardworking the IO is—to outcome—whether the IO solved the problem. Just because an IO is efficient doesn’t mean it can solve overarching problems; for example, the United Nations Development Fund is unlikely to singlehandedly eliminate world poverty regardless of how well it is run.

Thompson also examines the sources of IO performance, ranging from internal sources such as organizational culture and leadership to external sources such as the expectations of member states. Material resources are also considered.

One often-cited example of poor IO performance concerns U.N. peacekeepers in Africa during the genocide in Rwanda. Internally, the peacekeeping force’s culture was focused on objectivity and consent—they would go in only when invited and remain totally impartial. In Rwanda, they were reluctant to intervene in the genocide because they didn’t want to be seen as taking sides; thousands of people died as a result.

Yet peacekeepers also operate under external constraints, as the U.N. Security Council often charges them with multiple—and often conflicting—mandates. They are to create safe havens, deliver humanitarian aid, separate combatants, set up schools, and train the police, among other things. Some of these goals require taking sides in a conflict, yet they are told to remain impartial. In some cases they are not given enough money or troops to do the job. All this means their mission is bound to fail, not because of the IO itself, but because of disagreement and conflicting mandates from member states.

Thompson and his coauthor Tamar Gutner of American University held a conference on IO performance at the 2008 International Studies Association meeting, with a follow-up workshop in 2009. Participants included prominent scholars such as Robert Keohane, Miles Kahler, Duncan Snidal, Kenneth Abbott, Mark Pollack, Emilie Hafner-Burton, and Catherine Weaver. The goal is to produce an edited volume or special issue of a journal.

Project:
Sanctuary and the Devolution of Immigration Enforcement after 9/11
Principal Investigator:
Mathew Coleman,
Department of Geography

Since the 1970s, debate about immigration in the United States has centered on the entry of illegal aliens across the border with Mexico. Up to 80 percent of funding for immigration enforcement is allocated to this border. Yet the most under-explored change in immigration policy in recent years has been the shift of enforcement to the interior. Coleman argues that the trend toward immigration enforcement in non-border areas was cemented by a 2002 opinion from the Office of Legal Counsel.
that gave local police the authority to enforce the Immigration and Nationality Act. This ruling prompted the Department of Homeland Security to start a program that deputizes local officers, allowing them to detain immigration violators during the course of routine police work. So far 60 city, county, and state police departments have asked to participate.

This trend also spurred a counter movement, as select cities, counties, and states worried about the “securitization” of immigration, racial profiling, and the erosion of civil rights. Many of these locations passed laws of their own. San Francisco, for example, prohibited the use of city resources for federal immigration purposes and banned employees from questioning city residents about immigration status.

The result is an uneven patchwork of incompatible immigration laws and variable enforcement practices. Sometimes the contradictory laws cover the same location. In Los Angeles, for example, the county police agreed to work with Homeland Security, while city law prevents city police from asking residents about immigration status.

Coleman will study these dynamics through a series of case studies in Baltimore, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Los Angeles. He hopes to demonstrate the movement of immigration enforcement and the way this translates into intensified regulation of immigrant life. His goal is to compare immigration enforcement in the United States and the European Union, which has experienced a similar shift.

Project: Politics and Primacy: How Dictatorship and Development Set the Stage for Democratization
Principal Investigator: Edward Crenshaw, Department of Sociology

How does a society move from dictatorship to democracy? Social theorists usually explain this using political modernization theory. PMT asserts that industrialization leads to urbanization, creating a class structure in which interest groups vie for power. While these struggles can be violent, eventually interest groups switch to non-violent means. This leads to elections in a democracy.

While PMT provides an outline for how dictatorship turns into democracy, it does not take the environmental setting into account. In this project, Crenshaw hopes to fill in this gap through considering the role of the primate city.

Previous research shows that a nation’s capital city is 45 percent larger in a dictatorship than a democracy. The reason? Dictators concentrate power and resources into the area from which they govern to increase social control.

Crenshaw sheds light on how dictatorships turn into democracies by looking at the unintended consequences of building such large primate cities. He sees two dynamics at work. First, primate cities reinforce both real and perceived inequalities. Relative rather than absolute deprivation is strongly linked to grievances, and inequality is obvious in a city where rich and poor live side by side.

Second, primate cities offer social resources not available anywhere else. New service jobs force people to become literate, opening access to mass media. Access to international media and other international institutions lets citizens see how other countries operate, bringing dictatorships under increasing scrutiny and constraining their behavior.

This combination sets the stage for political mobilization. For a while, authoritarian regimes may be able to suppress dissent, but eventually it is forced to compromise.

Crenshaw’s research not only supplies a missing piece of political modernization theory, but also has implications for the international management of violent conflict.

Project: Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP)
Principal Investigator: Richard Gunther, Department of Political Science

The Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP) is a multi-year, multi-country examination of how citizens
States never ratified Kyoto, while China and India were not required to reduce emissions. Developed countries point to the rapidly growing greenhouse gas emissions from developing countries, while poor countries point to the North’s history of emissions and their own need for economic development.

Keeler and Mershon associate Alex Thompson hope to help bridge the gap between developed and developing nations through their work on resource transfers and greenhouse gas offsets. Their paper, “Industrialized-Country Mitigation Policy and Resource Transfers to Developing Countries: Improving and Expanding Greenhouse Gas Offsets,” is part of the Harvard Project on International Climate Agreements.

Keeler and Thompson argue that while offsets can offer a viable path toward reconciling the interests of developed and developing nations, realizing this potential will require changes to the Clean Development Mechanism, through which developed countries invest in projects that reduce emissions in developing countries.

Key recommendations include:

- Place less emphasis on strict ton-for-ton accounting and more on
Political scientists have traditionally seen two presidencies. The domestic affairs president is constrained by opposition from Congress and entrenched interest groups. The foreign affairs president, however, is relatively unconstrained because voters and organized groups are less concerned about policy outcomes.

This dynamic in foreign affairs began to change after the Vietnam War, when presidential initiatives received greater scrutiny. The September 11 attacks have made the counterbalance to presidential power from Congress even more important, as the Bush administration pursued a policy of pre-emption, unilateralism, and an invasion of Iraq.

Mughan hopes to develop a deeper understanding of the relationship between the president and Congress through a content analysis of newspaper articles covering the president and Congress in The Washington Post from 1988 to 2004. His hypothesis is that public opinion plays a key role in shaping executive-legislative relations, and that presidential-congressional conflict influences public perceptions of each actor’s competence.

To test this hypothesis, Mughan is pulling about 90 news stories a month that contain the words “president” or “congress.” Each story is coded as conflictual or non-conflictual, with the conflict identified as domestic or foreign, and economic or non-economic. Finally, to gauge the conflict’s intensity, the length of the story and its location in the paper is noted, as well as the number of congresspeople who oppose the president.

The project will produce monthly conflict data for the administrations of Clinton and both Bushes, allowing for a comparison of dynamics under Democrat and Republican presidents, as well as for the second term of at least one president. The period also covers U.S. overseas involvement in the Gulf War, Somalia, Kosovo, and Iraq. Mughan’s long-term goal is to match this monthly conflict data with monthly data on economic performance and presidential and congressional popularity ratings.

**Graduate Students**

**Ryan Irwin** (History) spent winter 2009 conducting research in South Africa for his project, “Race and Revolution: The Politics of Apartheid in the Postcolonial Era, 1958–1970.” His dissertation examines the apartheid debate from an international perspective, focusing on the diplomatic, legal, and cultural fight between the Nationalist government, African bloc, and U.S. government. In government archives in Johannesburg and Pretoria, Irwin examined collections on relations between South Africa and the United States and Britain, the apartheid debate at the United Nations, and South Africa’s propaganda efforts abroad. Of particular interest were strategies such as advertising campaigns used to gain public support among Western elites. At the Liberation Archives in Alice, he examined propaganda and information campaigns of the African parties. Irwin’s work reveals how the struggle over apartheid exposed deep-seated differences between post-colonial politicians and policymakers in the First and Third Worlds.
Amanda Rosen (Political Science) completed extensive fieldwork in Canada for her project, “Emission Impossible: Sub-National Climate Change Politics in the United States and Canada.” She is investigating how climate change may best be addressed using a bottom-up approach. In some cases, local or sub-national government initiatives do prompt widespread policy experimentation and diffusion of best practices. Mershon funding allowed Rosen to spend February 2009 in Alberta and Ontario, interviewing more than 30 policymakers and stakeholders engaged in current debates on global warming and climate change. She also conducted archival research at the office of Ontario’s Environmental Commissioner. Her findings revealed that contrary to reports in recent literature, Alberta is making positive strides in climate change policy. Rosen also discovered that policy entrepreneurs play a smaller role in generating local-level climate initiatives in Canada than they do in the United States.

Carolyn Smith (Sociology) coded European Social Survey (ESS) event data throughout 2008–09 for her project, “How Does Opposition to Torture and Detainment Depend on Reported News?” Her dissertation analyzes the effects of reported events on people’s willingness to support torture and detention policies across 25 countries. In preliminary tests, Smith found that violent events, such as the execution of Saddam Hussein and the 2005 metro bombings in London, increased support for torture and extended detention in most European countries. Mershon funding allowed Smith to travel to Norway to discuss her findings as well as work with ESS archivists to clean her data and make it available to the public. She met with Kristen Ringdal, national coordinator of the European Social Survey, and staff at the Norwegian Social Science Data Service. Smith plans to complete her dissertation in fall 2009.
The Mershon Center offers the Ralph D. Mershon Study Abroad Scholarship to support undergraduates who wish to enhance their educational experience by studying in a foreign country. The scholarship supports students taking foreign language courses, especially those deemed critical for national security, such as Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Hindi, Farsi, and others. Students focusing on work in peace and conflict resolution may also receive funding. Priority is given to students who are preparing for a career related to international security studies.

In 2008–09, the Mershon Center awarded 13 scholarships. Some of the winners are pictured here.

Alexa Bruder, a sophomore linguistics major and navy ROTC member, participated in the intensive Chinese Language Program in Qingdao, China. She is pictured in front of a Buddhist temple in Henan province.

Dana Grinshpan is majoring in international studies and Arabic. She took courses at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Grinshpan is pictured in front of a cityscape of Jerusalem, with the Temple Mount in the background.

Josh Przybyla, a senior majoring in criminology, studied abroad in Poland during summer 2008. He is pictured in front of Old Town in Warsaw, Poland. Przybyla researched cross-border crime in Poland and attended school at the University of Warsaw, taking classes about social and political change in Central and Eastern Europe.

Vince Selip studied Arabic at the American University in Cairo. He is majoring in international studies and Arabic. Selip visited Lebanon during his time abroad and is pictured in front of Roman ruins in Baalbek.

Aaron Taylor (right) is an active duty U.S. marine majoring in East Asian studies and Korean. He is pictured with South Korean undergraduate students who attend Soon Chun Huang University. Taylor took Korean language classes at the university.

Lydia Thomas is a navy ROTC undergraduate, majoring in Chinese, Arabic, and international studies. She participated in the intensive Chinese Language Program in Qingdao, China. Thomas is pictured with an elementary school girl from Laixi City, in Northern Shandong province, where she learned about the Chinese education system.
Ralph D. Mershon Study Abroad Scholarship 2009–10

The Mershon Center awarded 11 study abroad scholarships for 2009–10. Winners include and their courses of study are:

**Julia Barham**
Junior majoring in international studies and Spanish
Fundación Jose Ortega y Gasset in Toledo, Spain

**John Bolam**
Junior majoring in East Asian studies and Korean
Korean Language Institute at Yonsei University in South Korea

**Ravi Gupta**
Senior majoring in political science and molecular genetics
Seva Mandir in Rajasthan, India

**Valerie Hendrickson**
Sophomore majoring in East Asian studies and Chinese
Chinese Language Flagship Program in Qingdao, China

**Lowell Howard**
Junior majoring in international studies
Portuguese Language Program in São Paulo, Brazil

**Dustin Koenig**
Senior majoring in political science
Russian Language and Culture Program in Tomsk, Russia

**Jillian Schofield**
Junior majoring in international studies and French
ISA French Language, Culture, and Civilization Program at Sorbonne University in Paris

**Surili Sheth**
Sophomore majoring in economics, political science, and philosophy
Minnesota Studies in International Development Program in India

**Timothy Sroka**
Sophomore majoring in political science
Russian Language and Culture Program in Tomsk, Russia

**Lydia Thomas**
Junior majoring in Chinese, Arabic, and international studies
Standard Arabic Program at Damascus University in Syria

**Logan West**
Freshman majoring in international studies
CIEE Arabic Language Program in Amman, Jordan
FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND HONORS

Books

Sarah Brooks, Associate Professor of Political Science
Social security institutions have been among the most stable postwar social programs around the world. Increasingly, however, these institutions have undergone profound transformation from public risk-pooling systems to individual market-based designs. Why has this “privatization” occurred? Why do some governments enact more radical pension privatizations than others? This book provides a theoretical and empirical account of when and to what degree governments privatize national old-age pension systems. Quantitative cross-national analysis shows the degree of pension privatization around the world and explains reform outcomes. A comparative analysis of pension reforms in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Uruguay evaluates a causal theory of institutional change. Brooks argues that pension privatization emerges from political conflict rather than external pressures. The argument is developed around three dimensions: the double bind of globalization, contingent path-dependent processes, and the legislative politics of loss imposition.

Alice Conklin, Associate Professor of History
Modern France and Its Empire, 1870—the Present, with Sarah Fishman and Robert Zaretsky (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)
This book offers a truly global history of modern France, in order to contextualize many of the events that have landed it in the news internationally in the 21st century: the integration of Europe, periodic anti-American sentiment, race riots, French military interventions in Africa, Corsican nationalism, superb social services, and the rise of far-right extremism. The authors examine the consequences of overseas expansion, emphasizing ways in which the French have reshaped their ideas, political practices, and tastes through contact with other cultures and peoples, especially in the exploitative context of empire and postcolonial immigration. This approach not only restores to view an often ugly history that the French have tended to try to forget, but also makes available to a wider public the results of what has become one of the most dynamic fields of French history in the last 30 years.

Gregory Caldeira, Ann and Darrell Dreher Chair in Political Communication and Policy Thinking, and Professor of Law
In recent years Americans have witnessed several hard-fought battles over nominations to the U.S. Supreme Court. This book examines one such fight—over the nomination of Samuel Alito. Drawing on a national survey, Gibson and Caldeira use the Alito confirmation as a window into public attitudes about the nation’s highest court. They find that Americans know far more about the Supreme Court than many realize, that the court enjoys a great deal of legitimacy, that attitudes toward the court do not suffer from partisan or ideological polarization, and that public knowledge enhances the legitimacy accorded the court. Yet the authors show that partisan and ideological infighting that treats the court as just another political institution undermines its considerable public support, and that politicized confirmation battles pose a grave threat to its basic legitimacy.

Carole Fink, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History
Recent studies of the Cold War transcend a narrow focus on four decades of superpower rivalry, recognizing that leaders and governments outside of Washington and Moscow also exerted political, economic, and moral influence well beyond their borders. One striking example was the Ostpolitik policy of Chancellor Willy Brandt, which not only redefined Germany’s relation with its Nazi past, but also altered the global environment of the Cold War. The book examines the years 1969–74, when Brandt broke the Cold War stalemate in Europe by assuming responsibility for the crimes of the Third Reich and by formally renouncing several major West German claims, while also launching an assertive policy toward his neighbors and conducting a deft balancing act between East and West. Not everyone then or now applauds the ethos and practice of Ostpolitik, but no one can deny its impact on German, European, and world history.
Books (continued)

Richard Hamilton, Professor Emeritus of Sociology and Political Science

War Planning: 1914, edited with Holger H. Herwig (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)
The major European powers drafted war plans before 1914 and executed them in August 1914; none brought the expected victory by Christmas. Why? This tightly focused collection of essays by international experts in military history reassesses the war plans of 1914 in a broad diplomatic, military, and political setting for the first time in three decades. The book analyzes the war plans of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia on the basis of the latest research and explores their demise in the opening months of World War I. Collectively and comparatively, these essays place contingency war planning before 1914 in the different contexts and challenges each state faced as well as into a broad European paradigm.

America’s New Empire: The 1890s and Beyond (Transaction Publishers, forthcoming)

In this work, Hamilton reviews and criticizes the perceived views of America’s “empire,” of its “world power” status, supposedly achieved in the 1890s. Although said to have been motivated by a concern for Asian markets, most especially that of China, little movement into those markets followed. America’s foreign trade continued to be primarily with well-off European countries and, increasingly, with Canada. Hamilton’s book outlines the most important change in the United States’ trade pattern at this time, the growth of the market in Canada. He describes an alternative reading of the business outreach strategies implemented by the United States in the 1890s.

Yana Hashamova, Associate Professor of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures, Comparative Studies, Women’s Studies, and Film Studies

Cinepaternity: Fathers and Sons in Soviet and Post-Soviet Film, edited with Helena Goscilo (Indiana University Press, forthcoming)

This wide-ranging collection investigates the father/son dynamic in post-Stalinist Soviet cinema and its Russian successor. Contributors analyze complex patterns of identification, disavowal, and displacement in films by such diverse directors as Khutsiev, Motyl, Tarkovsky, Balabanov, Sokurov, Todorovskii, Mashkov, and Bekmambetov. Several chapters focus on the difficulties of fulfilling the paternal function, while others show how vertical and horizontal male bonds repeatedly strain under the pressure of redefining an embattled masculinity in a shifting political landscape.

David Hoffmann, Professor of History

The Soviet system seemed to promise a new, more just society, with harmony and equality for all its members. Instead it produced a Stalinist dictatorship, with extreme interventionism and unprecedented state violence. Most historians have explained Soviet history in terms of factors unique to the Soviet Union, but Soviet state interventionism had striking similarities, as well as important differences, with practices in other 20th-century states. Cultivating the Masses places Soviet social policies concerning public health, welfare, reproduction, surveillance, and excisionary violence in comparative context to argue that the Soviet system is best understood as one particular response to the ambitions and challenges of the modern era.

Peter Mansoor, Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair in Military History

Baghdad at Sunrise: A Brigade Commander’s War in Iraq (Yale University Press, 2008)

This compelling book presents an unparalleled record of what happened after U.S. forces seized Baghdad in spring 2003. Army Col. Peter Mansoor, the on-the-ground commander of the 1st Brigade, 1st Armored Division, describes his brigade’s first year in Iraq, from the sweltering, chaotic summer after the Ba’athists’ defeat to the transfer of sovereignty to an interim Iraqi government a year later. Uniquely positioned to observe, record, and assess the events of that fateful year, Mansoor explains what went right and wrong as the U.S. military confronted an insurgency of unexpected strength and tenacity. Drawing not only on his own daily combat journal but also on observations by embedded reporters, news reports, combat logs, archived e-mails, and many other sources, Mansoor offers a contemporary record of the valor, motivations, and resolve of the 1st Brigade and its attachments during Operation Iraqi Freedom. Baghdad at Sunrise provides a detailed, nuanced analysis of U.S. counterinsurgency operations in Iraq, along with critically important lessons for America’s military and political leaders of the 21st century.

Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History

Dean Acheson and the Creation of an American World Order (Potomac Books, 2008)

This biography critically assesses the life and career of Dean Acheson, one of America’s foremost diplomats and strategists. Acheson was a top State Department official...
from 1941 to 1947 and served as Harry S. Truman’s Secretary of State from 1949 to 1953. McMahon expands on Acheson’s shaping of many U.S. foreign policy initiatives, including the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, rebuilding of Germany and Japan, America’s intervention in Korea, and its early involvement in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. McMahon argues that Dean Acheson is the principal architect of the American Century. Acheson played an instrumental role in creating the institutions, alliances, and economic arrangements that, in the 1940s, brought to life an American-dominated world order. The remarkable durability of that world order is a tribute to Acheson’s diplomacy.

John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies

Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)

Since World War II, nuclear weapons have been America’s—and the world’s—worst nightmare. But despite the fact that an ever-increasing number of countries have obtained them, they have never actually been used. Our fear levels today remain as high as ever, but are they justified? John Mueller thinks not, and in this highly provocative work, he contends that our concern about nuclear weapons borders on an obsession unsupported by history or logic. Drawing on the history of the entire atomic era, Mueller argues that nuclear weapons have never represented much of a threat because states are fundamentally unwilling to use them. After the focus shifted to the terrorist threat following 9/11, alarmists had a new cause. Yet analysts have consistently overestimated the destructive capabilities of suitcase nukes and dirty bombs. Moreover, as Mueller points out, terrorists are unlikely to obtain nuclear weapons, much less build and successfully deploy them. Mueller maintains that our efforts to prevent the spread of WMDs have produced much more suffering and violence than if we had taken a more realistic view.

Irfan Nooruddin, Associate Professor of Political Science

Coalition Politics and Economic Development (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)

This book revisits a central question in political economy: why do some countries enjoy better economic performance than others? Nooruddin argues that a specific configuration of state institutions—diffusion of policymaking authority to multiple actors with accountability to different constituencies—constrains an executive’s ability to change policy autonomously or arbitrarily. Such constraints bolster confidence among private economic actors, which fosters longer-term, more stable investment and helps countries withstand temporary shocks. Nooruddin tests these arguments using cross-national statistical data as well as original data from India, and illustrated through four comparative case studies using secondary data. The book makes two key contributions to our understanding of economic development. First, it introduces growth volatility as a key feature of national economic performance and shows that focusing on average economic growth misses a core feature of growth experiences. Second, it provides a more nuanced theory for how and when political institutions affect economic growth.

Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History

Felipe II: La biografía definitiva (Editorial Planeta, forthcoming)

Since 1978, scores of new biographies of Philip II have appeared in many languages; none, however, has made use of previously unknown sources. Yet in 1998, soon after the 400th anniversary of the king’s death, thousands of pages of new sources became available—including material published by “La Sociedad Estatal para las Conmemoraciones de los Centenarios de Carlos Y y Felipe II,” which mounted five exhibitions in Spain related to the king and also published catalogues, monographs, conference proceedings and sources:
to assess the quality of the estimates, and how to nonrecursive simultaneous equation models, how the specification, identification, and estimation of simultaneous equation models. The authors introduce inappropriate. This monograph provides an overview from nonrecursive models in which the assumptions equally problematic is the interpretation of results possible endogeneity and results in biased estimates. An estimation strategy that effectively ignores such correctly model it. As a result, researchers often adopt this type of endogeneity and/or be unaware of how to explicitly specify reciprocal relationships or feedback loops among multiple outcomes. But many social scientists may underestimate the consequences of this type of endogeneity and/or be unaware of how to correctly interpret results. They stress the importance of evaluating the quality of the instrumental variables used to identify and estimate nonrecursive equations.

**American Behavioral Scientist**, two-volume special issue on social capital and social networks, edited with James Moody (SAGE Publications, July-August 2009)

For 50 years, **American Behavioral Scientist** has been a valuable source of information for scholars, researchers, professionals, and students, providing in-depth perspectives on intriguing contemporary topics throughout the social and behavioral sciences. Each issue offers comprehensive analysis of a single topic, examining such important and diverse arenas as sociology, international and U.S. politics, behavioral sciences, communication and media, economics, education, ethnic and racial studies, terrorism, and public service.

**Articles in Vol. 52(11) include:***

James Moody and Pamela Paxton, “Building Bridges: Linking Social Capital and Social Networks to Improve Theory and Research”

Jennifer L. Glanville and Elisa Jayne Bienenstock, “A Typology for Understanding the Connections Among Different Forms of Social Capital”


**Articles in Vol. 52(12) include:***

Pamela Paxton and James Moody, “Continuing to Build Bridges: More on Linking Social Capital and Social Networks”

Kenneth A. Frank, “Quasi-Ties: Directing Resources to Members of a Collective”

Wendy M. Rahn, Kwang Suk Yoon, Michael Garet, Steven Lipson, and Katherine Loflin, “Geographies of Trust”

Rochelle R. Côté and Bonnie H. Erickson, “Untangling the Roots of Tolerance: How Forms of Social Capital Shape Attitudes Toward Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants”

David Knote, “Playing Well Together: Creating Corporate Social Capital in Strategic Alliance Networks”


**Peter Shane, Jacob E. Davis and Jacob E. Davis II Chair in Law**

**Madison’s Nightmare: How Executive Power Threatens American Democracy** (University of Chicago Press, 2009)

The George W. Bush administration’s claims of unilateral executive authority raised deep concerns among constitutional scholars, civil libertarians, and ordinary
citizens. But they were only the culmination of a near-30-year assault on the basic checks and balances of the U.S. government—a battle waged by presidents of both parties, and one that threatens to utterly subvert the founders’ vision of representative government.

Tracing this tendency back to the first Reagan administration, Shane shows how this era of “aggressive presidentialism” has seen presidents exerting ever more control over nearly every arena of policy, from military affairs and national security to domestic programs. The solution, Shane argues, will require a multipronged program of reform, including both specific changes in government practice and broader institutional changes aimed at supporting a renewed culture of government accountability.


**Articles in Vol. 5(1) Include:**

- Peter M. Shane, “Introduction: Online Consultation and Democratic Communication”
- Andrew Chadwick, “Web 2.0: New Challenges for the Study of E-Democracy in an Era of Informational Exuberance”
- Oren Perez, “Complexity, Information Overload, and Online Deliberation”

- Steven J. Balla, “Municipal Environments, Nonprofit Entrepreneurs, and the Development of Neighborhood Information Systems”
- Michael Froomkin, “Building the Bottom Up From the Top Down”


Following an introduction to the history, institutional context, and theory of administrative law, students are exposed to four main topics: the political control of administration by Congress and the executive branch; formal agency processes for lawmaking—adjudication and rulemaking; government access to and required disclosure of information; and judicial remedies for official illegality. Doctrinal analysis is enriched by case studies of the law in action in particular administrative contexts and attention to the deregulatory and devolutionary trends that are reshaping American administrative law.

**Georges Tamer**, M.S. Sofia Chair in Arabic Studies

**Zeit und Got: Hellenistische Zeitvorstellungen in der altarabischen Dichtung und im Koran**

[Time and God: Hellenistic Concepts of Time in Old Arabic Poetry and the Koran] (De Gruyter, 2008)

This work deals with concepts of time in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and in the Koran, placing them in relation to Hellenistic conceptions of time in Late Antique poetry. The analysis shows that just as in the much earlier field of Greek poetry, so too in Old Arabic verse time is seen as an inescapable power. The Arabic concept for endless time, dahr, is revealed to be the Arabic equivalent of the Greek concept aión. In the Koran, the power of time is denied completely and replaced by the absolute power of God, which is described with the help of Hellenistic conceptions of time. The research suggests the existence of an Arabic Hellenism, in the context of which Islam came into being.

**Alexander Thomspson**, Associate Professor of Political Science


President George W. Bush launched an invasion of Iraq in March 2003 without the approval of the U.N. Security Council. His father, by contrast, achieved Council authorization for the U.S.-led Gulf War in 1991. In this book, Thompson surveys U.S. policy toward Iraq, including the Gulf War, the interwar years of sanctions and coercive disarmament, and the 2003 invasion and its aftermath. He offers a framework for understanding why powerful states often work through international organizations when conducting coercive policies—and why they sometimes work alone or with ad hoc coalitions. Conventional wisdom holds that because having legitimacy for their actions is important, states seek multilateral approval. Thompson offers an alternative argument based on the notion of strategic information transmission: when state
actions are endorsed by an independent organization, this sends politically crucial information to the world community and results in greater international support.

Herbert Weisberg, Chair and Professor of Political Science


This book examines how contemporary voters decide, using the lens of the original 1960 text, which was based on the presidential elections of 1952 and 1956. In this new volume, the ideas and methods of *The American Voter* are tested against presidential election surveys from 2000 and 2004 to provide a lens into what lies ahead in upcoming elections. Many things have changed since the original text was published, including the intense polarization of the two leading political parties that has heightened the ideological tenor of American politics. Each chapter includes a Comment and Controversy section that brings the reader up to date on the numerous scholarly and political questions that the material of the chapter has generated over the years.

Alexander Wendt, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of International Security

*New Systems Theories of World Politics* (Palgrave Studies in International Relations, edited with Mathias Albert and Lars-Erik Cederman)

This book offers a fresh look at contemporary world politics. It uses a number of systems theoretical approaches to analyze the structure and dynamics of the international system. While a rich tradition of systems theorizing in international relations emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, in recent years the study of world politics has tended to bypass developments in systems theory in favor of micro-level theories. Drawing on advances in systems theorizing in both the social and natural sciences, from agent-based modeling to quantum physics, this book explores the utility of reinvigorated systemic thought in helping us to understand the contemporary global condition. Based on a 2005 conference at the Mershon Center.

International Theory (IT) is open to theory of all varieties and from all disciplines, provided it addresses problems of politics, broadly defined, and pertains to the international. IT welcomes scholarship that uses evidence from the real world to advance theoretical arguments. However, IT is intended as a forum where scholars can develop theoretical arguments without an expectation of extensive empirical analysis. The journal’s goal is to promote communication and engagement across theoretical and disciplinary traditions. IT puts a premium on contributors’ ability to reach as broad an audience as possible, both in the questions they engage and in their accessibility to other approaches. IT is also open to work that remains within one scholarly tradition, although authors must explain how their arguments relate to other theoretical approaches.

Volume 1(1) includes:
Duncan Snidal and Alexander Wendt, “Why there is International Theory now”
Nuno P. Monteiro and Keven G. Ruby, “IR and the false promise of philosophical foundations”
Jack Donnelly, “Rethinking political structures: from ‘ordering principles’ to ‘vertical differentiation’—and beyond”
David Jason Karp, “Transnational corporations in ‘bad states’: human rights duties, legitimate authority and the rule of law in international political theory”
John M. Parrish, “Collective responsibility and the state”
K.M. Fierke, “Agents of death: the structural logic of suicide terrorism and martyrdom”

Volume 2(2) includes:
Anna Stilz, “Why do states have territorial rights?”
Sergei Prozorov, “Generic universalism in world politics: beyond international anarchy and the world state”
Stacie E. Goddard, “Brokering change: networks and entrepreneurs in international politics”
Symposium on Andrew Guzman’s How International Law Works
Andrew T. Guzman, “How international law works: introduction”
Andrew Kydd, “Reputation and cooperation: Guzman on international law”
Alexander Thompson, “The rational enforcement of international law: solving the sanctioners’ dilemma”
Rachel Brewster, “The limits of reputation on compliance”
Andrew T. Guzman, “How international law works: a response to commentators”
Articles, Essays, and Book Chapters

Chadwick Alger, Professor Emeritus of Political Science
“Thinking with Culture in Law and Development” (Buffalo Law Review, 2009).

Mathew Coleman, Assistant Professor of Geography

Edward Crenshaw, Associate Professor of Sociology

Lesley Ferris, Professor of Theatre

Carter Findley, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History

Carole Fink, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History

Danielle Fosler-Lussier, Assistant Professor of Music

Alistair Fraser, former PhD student in Geography, now at National University of Ireland
“Gaining ground: Emerging agrarian political geographies” (Political Geography, 2008).

Articles, Essays, and Book Chapters (continued)

Richard Gunther, Professor of Political Science

Peter Hahn, Professor of History
“The Formulation of U.S. Policy During the Suez Crisis: The White House, the State Department, the Pentagon, and the Central Intelligence Agency,” in The West and the Suez Crisis, ed. by Philippe Vial (University of Sorbonne Press, forthcoming).

Barbara Hanawalt, King George III Professor of British History
“History of Family, Women, and Children in Late Medieval Europe,” in New Approaches to the History of Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. by Troels Dahlerrup and Per Ingesman (Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 2009).

Yana Hashamova, Associate Professor of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures, Comparative Studies, Women’s Studies, and Film Studies

Richard Herrmann, Director, Mershon Center
“Attachment to the Nation and International Relations: Probing the Dimensions of Identity and Their Relationship to War and Peace,” with Pierangelo Isernia and Paolo Segatti (Political Psychology, 2009).

Fred Hitzhusen, Professor of Agricultural, Environmental, and Development Economics

David Hoffmann, Professor of History

Book Review of The Voices of the Dead: Stalinist Terror in the 1930s, by Hiroaki Kuromiya (American Historical Review, 2008).

Theodore Hopf, Associate Professor of Political Science

Amy Horowitz, International Studies Lecturer and Scholar in Residence

J. Craig Jenkins, Professor of Sociology

John Kagel, University Chaired Professor of Applied Microeconomics


Sean Kay, Mershon Associate


“Russia’s Response to NATO” (Chronicle Review, 2008).


Andrew Keeler, Associate Professor in the John Glenn School of Public Affairs


“Climate Change and State Utility Commissions: What Is the Public Interest?” (National Regulatory Research Institute, 2008).


Ousman Murzik Kobo, Assistant Professor of History


David Kraybill, Professor of Agricultural, Environmental, and Development Economics


“A Liberalização Comercial e os Impactos Regionais Sobre a Pobreza e a Distribuição de Renda no Brasil,” with Maurício Bittencourt, Vaz Lobo, and Donald W. Larson (Pesquisa e Planejamento Economico, 2008).


Mitchell Lerner, Associate Professor of History
“Carrying All Precincts: Vice President Lyndon Johnson and the Diplomacy of Travel” (Diplomatic History, forthcoming).

“Full Attention and Benefit: Lyndon Johnson and the Racial Legacy of the Texas NYA” (Presidential Studies Quarterly, 2008).


“Making Sense of the Hermit Kingdom: North Korea in the Nuclear Age” (Origins, 2008).

William Liddle, Professor of Political Science
“Muslim Indonesia’s Secular Democracy,” with Saiful Mujani (Asian Survey, forthcoming).


“Kegagalan Pencalonan Wapres di Amerika” [A Vice-Presidential Nomination Failure in America] (Kompas, 2008).

Peter Mansoor, Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair in Military History


Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History

“Security or Freedom? The Impact of the Korean War on America’s Quest for a Liberal World Order,” in America’s Wars and World Order, ed. by Hideki Kan (Hosei University Press, forthcoming).


Articles, Essays, and Book Chapters (continued)

**Katherine Meyer, Professor of Sociology**
“Women’s Rights in the Middle East: Longitudinal Study of Kuwait,” with Mary Ann Tetraault and Helen Rizzo (International Political Sociology, 2009).


Allan Millett, Raymond E. Mason Jr. Professor Emeritus of History

“War Behind the Wire” (Quarterly Journal of Military History, 2009).

“Cantigny: 90th Anniversary, Battle of Cantigny, 1918” (McCormick Foundation, 2008).

**Mark Mortiz, Assistant Professor of Anthropology**
“Crop-Livestock Interactions in Agricultural and Pastoral Systems in West Africa” (Agriculture and Human Values, forthcoming).

“How Dangerous Are the Taliban?” (Foreign Affairs, April 15, 2009).

“Irfan Nooruddin, Associate Professor of Political Science


**John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies**
“This Just In: War Has Almost Ceased to Exist” (Political Science Quarterly, forthcoming).


“Are We Correctly Assessing and Addressing Terrorist Threats?” in Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, ed. by Stuart Gottlieb (Congressional Quarterly Press, forthcoming).

“Are We Correctly Assessing and Addressing Terrorist Threats?” in Debating Terrorism and Counterterrorism, ed. by Stuart Gottlieb (Congressional Quarterly Press, forthcoming).


**Anthony Mughan, Professor of Political Science**

**Margaret Newell, Associate Professor of History**
“Indian Slavery in New England,” in Indian Slavery in Early America, ed. by Alan Gallay (University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming).

**Dorothy Noyes, Associate Professor of English, Comparative Studies, and Anthropology**

“Hardsovalde Academies: Toward a Social Economy of Vernacular Invention” (Ethnologia Europaea, 2009).


**Geoffrey Parker**, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History


**Pamela Paxton**, Associate Professor of Sociology and Political Science


“Women as Presidents, Prime Ministers, and Government Ministers,” with Melanie Hughes, in Gender and Women’s Leadership, ed. by Karen O’Conner (Sage, forthcoming).


“Gender and Democratization,” in Democratization, ed. by Christian W. Haerpfer, Ronald Inglehart, Chris Welzel, and Patrick Bernhagen (Oxford University Press, 2009).


“Year of the Woman, Decade of the Man: Trajectories of Growth in Women’s Statehouse Representation,” with Matthew Painter and Melanie Hughes (Social Science Research, 2009).


**Randall Schweller**, Professor of Political Science


**Peter Shane**, Jacob E. Davis and Jacob E. Davis II Chair in Law


“Resolved: Presidential signing statements threaten to undermine the rule of law and the separation of powers,” in Debating the Presidency, ed. by Richard J. Ellis and Michael Nelson (CQ Press, forthcoming).


“Help Identify the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy” (Huffington Post, April 22, 2009).

“Three Takes on the Torture Memos” (ExecutiveWatch.net, April 21, 2009).

“Keeping Signing Statements Rare” (ExecutiveWatch.net, April 8, 2009).


“Obama’s First Executive Order Strikes a Blow for Transparency and the Rule of Law” (Huffington Post, January 22, 2009).

“Executive Vigor Without Executive Arrogance Parts I-III: Three Steps Away from the Unitary Presidency” (Huffington Post, January 9, 2009).


“Is Palin Rehearsing to Be Dick Cheney II?” (Huffington Post, October 23, 2008).

“Ending Divided Government, Bringing Back Checks and Balances” (Huffington Post, October 21, 2008).

**Amy Shuman**, Professor of English and Anthropology


Book Review of They Called Me Meyer July, by Meyer Kirshenblatt and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (Western Folklore, forthcoming).


**Jennifer Siegel**, Associate Professor of History


**Allan Silverman**, Professor of Philosophy

Articles, Essays, and Book Chapters (continued)


Kazimierz M. Slomczynski, Professor of Sociology


“Effects of Democracy and Inequality on Soft Political-Conflict in Europe: Exploring the European Social Survey Data,” with Joshua Kjerulf Dubrow and Irina Tomescu-Dubrow (International Journal of Sociology, 2008).


“Guest Editor’s Introduction” (International Journal of Sociology, 2008).

Donald Sylvan, Professor Emeritus of Political Science

Georges Tamer, M.S. Sofia
Chair in Arabic Studies
“Bemerkungen zu al-Farābī’s ‘Zusammenfassung der platonischen Nomoi,’” in Politischer Platonismus, ed. by Andreas Eckl and Clemens Kauffmann (Königshausen and Neumann, 2008).


Alexander Thompson, Associate Professor of Political Science
“Rational Design in Motion: Uncertainty and Flexibility in the Climate Change Regime” (European Journal of International Relations, forthcoming).


Daniel Verdier, Professor of Political Science
“Successful and Failed Screening Mechanisms in the Two Gulf Wars” (Journal of Theoretical Politics, 2009).


“Multilateralism, Bilateralism, and Exclusion in the Nuclear Proliferation Regime” (International Organization, 2008).

Sara Watson, Assistant Professor of Political Science
“The Left Divided: Parties, Unions and the Resolution of Southern Spain’s Agrarian Social Question” (Politics and Society, 2008).


Bruce Weinberg, Associate Professor of Economics


Herbert Weisberg, Chair and Professor of Political Science

“Variables,” in Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods, ed. by Lavrakas (Sage, 2008).

Alexander Wendt, Ralph D. Mershon
Professor of International Security Studies


Judy Tzu-Chun Wu, Associate Professor of History


Honors, Awards, and Service

Chadwick Alger, professor emeritus of political science, was honored as a founder of peace research at the 22nd Global Conference of the International Peace Research Association in Leuven, Belgium.

John Casterline, Robert T. Lazarus Professor in Population Studies, was named director of the Initiative in Population Research at The Ohio State University. He also received a five-year National Institute of Child Health and Human Development grant of $2.35 million for his project “Initiative in Population Research.”

Amy Cohen, assistant professor of law, was a visiting professor at the University of Turin, Faculty of Law.

Edward Crenshaw, associate professor of sociology, received two National Science Foundation grants for “The Ecology of Terrorist Organizations” with Johnathan Wilkefeld, Gary LaFree, V. Subrahamian, and Victor Asal, and “Terrorism as Theater, Political Violence as Communication” with J. Craig Jenkins and Kristopher Robison.

Lesley Ferris, professor of theatre, received the 2009 Greater Columbus Arts Council Award of Artistic Excellence for opening The Ohio State University Urban Arts Space and the Midnight Robbers: The Artists of Notting Hill Carnival exhibition.

Danielle Fosler-Lussier, assistant professor of music, received a Diversity/International Outreach Fellowship from the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

Mark Grimsley, associate professor of history, was named Harold Keith Johnson Chair of Military History at the U.S. Army War College for a second year, the first time someone has served in this position two years in a row.

Richard Gunther, professor of political science, received a 2009 Distinguished Teaching Award from the Department of Political Science at The Ohio State University.

Barbara Hanawalt, King George III Professor of British History, received the 2008 Choice Academic Book of the Year Award for The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and the Economy in Late Medieval London. She was also selected to be a fellow in the Society of Antiquaries of London.

Yana Hashamova, associate professor of Slavic and East European languages and literatures, comparative studies, women’s studies, and film studies, was appointed director of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies.
**Honors, Awards, and Service (continued)**

**Richard Herrmann**, director of the Mershon Center, was named College of Social and Behavioral Sciences Distinguished Professor at The Ohio State University.

**J. Craig Jenkins**, professor of sociology, received two National Science Foundation grants for “Protecting the Environment: Does the Environmental Movement Matter?” with Robert Brulle, and “Terrorism as Theater, Political Violence as Communication” with Edward Crenshaw and Kristopher Robison.

**Sean Kay**, Mershon associate, served as a member of the Obama Presidential Campaign Advisory Team on Europe/NATO.

**David Kraybill**, professor of agricultural, environmental, and development economics, received a Targeted Investments in Excellence grant from The Ohio State University for “Modeling Climate Change Adaption Responses to Changing Hydrology.”

**Mitchell Lerner**, associate professor of history, was chosen to serve as an advisory board member for the North Korean Document Initiative of the Cold War Internal History Project at the Wilson Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

**Peter Mansoor**, Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair in Military History, received the 2009 Ohioana Library Association Book Award for *Baghdad at Sunrise*, which was also named one of the best books of 2008 by *Aviation Week*. Mansoor also appeared before the Air-Land Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee to discuss the future of U.S. ground forces in the 21st century. Subcommittee chair Sen. Joseph Lieberman said he appreciated Mansoor’s candid and thoughtful testimony and thanked him for his service.

**Robert McMahon**, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History, was appointed chair of the U.S. State Department Historical Advisory Committee.

**Allan Millett**, Raymond E. Mason Jr. Professor Emeritus of History, was conferred the title of Honorary Doctor by the Board of Governors at the Royal Military Academy in Belgium for exceptional scholarship in military history.

**Mark Moritz**, assistant professor of anthropology, received a National Science Foundation CAREER grant for “Pastoral Management of Open Access: The Emergence of a Complex Adaptive System.”

**Anthony Mughan**, professor of political science, received the 2009 Faculty Award for Distinguished University Service. This award honors faculty members whose contributions to the development and implementation of university policies and programs have been extensive and have made documentable impact on the quality of the university. Mughan is director of the Undergraduate International Studies Program.
**Dorothy Noyes**, associate professor of English, comparative studies, and anthropology, received a grant from the Center for Research in the Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences at Cambridge University for “Mars Turns to Minerva: The Military, Social Science, and War in the 21st Century,” with Tarak Barkawi and Josef Ansorge. She also was awarded a Teagle Foundation grant for “Big Questions and the Disciplines,” with Timothy Lloyd at the American Folklore Society. She was selected to be a Princeton University Fellow at the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies.

**Randall Schweller**, professor of political science, was named one of the top 25 scholars who have produced the most interesting scholarship in the area of international relations in the past five years by the Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations.

**Peter Shane**, Jacob E. Davis and Jacob E. Davis II Chair in Law, served as team lead for the International Trade Commission Agency Review of the Obama-Biden Transition Project.

**Allan Silverman**, professor of philosophy, served as the Barnett Bank and Trust Distinguished Visitor at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

**Kazimierz M. Slomczynski**, professor of sociology, was an International Affiliate at the Stanford Center for the Study of Poverty and Inequality. He also received a grant from the Ministry of Science and Higher Education at the Polish Academy of Science for “Polish Panel Study, POLPAN 1988–2008,” with Krystyna Janicka, Henryk Domanski, and Irina Tomescu-Dubrow.

**Georges Tamer**, M.S. Sofia Chair in Arabic Studies, was a visiting faculty member at the Central European University in Budapest. He taught “Religion and Politics: The Presence of Sacred and Secular Traditions in Europe and the Middle East.”

**Sara Watson**, assistant professor of political science, received a National Science Foundation Collaborative Research grant and a Coca-Cola Critical Differences for Women Faculty Research grant for “Divorce and the Political Gender Gap.”

**Bruce Weinberg**, associate professor of economics, was a visiting scholar at the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, where he received a grant for “Research, Social Interactions, and Local Economic Performance” with Subra Saha. He received another grant from the John Templeton Foundation for “Geography and Creativity” with John Ham and Ben Jones.

**Alexander Wendt**, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of International Security, was named one of the top five scholars whose work has had the greatest influence on the field of international relations in the past 20 years by the Institute for the Theory and Practice of International Relations.

**Judy Tzu-Chun Wu**, associate professor of history, was awarded a SHAFR Diversity/International Outreach Fellowship and a Pressey Honors Course Enrichment Grant from The Ohio State University.
EVENTS

Michelle Brattain (center) of Georgia State University posed a question during the Race in Culture conference on May 1, 2009.

Mershon Center faculty listened as Peter Shane (front right), Jacob E. Davis and Jacob E. Davis II Chair in Law, discussed his book Madison’s Nightmare: How Executive Power Threatens American Democracy on January 21, 2009.

Lisa Wedeen, chair of political science at University of Chicago, spoke with students on May 7, 2009, about public discussions in Yemen over qat, a leafy stimulant chewed during afternoon socializing. Qat chews often foster intense political debates.

Miles Hewstone (left), director of the Centre for the Study of Intergroup Conflict at Oxford University, spoke with Pamela Paxton, associate professor of sociology, after his lecture on intergroup conflict on February 9, 2009.

Organizers of the Empire at End conference, held April 3–4, 2009, included (l to r) Carole Fink, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History, and three PhD candidates in history: Charles Carter, Alex Foster, and Ryan Irwin.

Holger Nehring (right), visiting scholar at the Mershon Center, talked with Dorothy Noyes (left), professor of English and anthropology, and Elo-Hanna Seljamaa, graduate student in comparative studies, before a dinner presentation by Geoffrey Parker on February 26, 2009.
Conferences

Empire at End: Global Transformations in the Late Cold War April 3–4, 2009

Organizers
Ryan Irwin, PhD candidate in History
Charles Carter, PhD candidate in History
Alex Poster, PhD candidate in History
Carole Fink, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History

Empire at End: Global Transformations in the Late Cold War brought together junior faculty and advanced PhD candidates to examine the patterns, limits, and agents of global change in the late 20th century. Panelists considered to what extent, and for what reasons, the bipolar balance of power that characterized the Cold War was challenged, particularly from the 1970s on. The conference examined themes of globalization and nationalism, as well as warfare, social protest, and political economy. It focused not only on the United States and Soviet Union, but also Western and Eastern Europe, East and South Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

Participants
Kathleen Barr, Texas A&M University
Christopher Capozzola, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Lien-Hang Nguyen, University of Kentucky
Jason Parker, Texas A&M University
Robert Rakove, postdoctoral fellow, Mershon Center
Emily Rosenberg, University of California-Irvine
Daniel Sargent, University of California-Berkeley
Sarah Snyder, Chauncey Fellow, Yale University
Dustin Walcher, Southern Oregon University
Joshua Walker, Princeton University

Emily Rosenberg (left), professor of history at the University of California-Irvine, spoke with conference organizer Carole Fink during a break at the Empire at End conference. Rosenberg gave the plenary address on “Consumer Capitalism and the End of the Cold War.”
Conferences

Women in Politics: Global Perspectives

April 24, 2009

Organizer

Pamela Paxton, Associate Professor of Sociology and Political Science

Women in Politics: Global Perspectives was a one-day workshop featuring three panels of speakers with planned discussion and extended opportunity for informal communication. The three panels covered Women and Democracy, National Security, and Conflict; Women’s Global Organizing; and Women in Politics – Gaining Access, Changing Institutions. The goal was to demonstrate multiple approaches to the same topics, spark conversations about fruitful ways to explain women’s representation in areas where traditional explanations are less helpful, and provide the backdrop for facilitated discussions of practical concerns in researching women in politics globally.

Participants

Hannah Britton, University of Kansas
Sarah Childs, University of Bristol
Elisabeth Jay Friedman, University of San Francisco
Melanie Hughes, University of Pittsburgh
Miki Caul Kittilson, Arizona State University
Mona Lena Krook, Washington University
Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, University of Missouri
Aili Tripp, University of Wisconsin
Jocelyn Viterna, Harvard University
Georgina Waylen, University of Sheffield
Laurel Weldon, Purdue University

Speakers on the Women’s Global Organizing panel included (l to r): Laurel Weldon, Purdue University; Elisabeth Jay Friedman, University of San Francisco; Mona Lena Krook, Washington University; and conference organizer Pamela Paxton.
The Race in Culture: 20th-Century Ethnology and Empire in Comparative Perspective  May 1–2, 2009

Organizers
Alice L. Conklin, Associate Professor of History
Dorothy Noyes, Professor of English

This conference examined the concepts of “race” and “culture” by comparing the 20th-century trajectories of three states torn among nationalist, imperialist, and universalist aspirations: France, the United States, and China. The conference had two foci. First it examined ethnological museums, their original importance as knowledge institutions, and their contested roles today as vehicles for promoting cultural diversity. Second, it considered how earlier concepts were reconfigured in the wake of World War II. Although a shift from race to culture can be dated to the 1950 UNESCO Declaration on Race, continuities as well as ruptures persisted in policy and administration.

Participants
Michelle Brattain, Georgia State University
Christian Bromberger, University of Provence
Kirk Denton, The Ohio State University
Katherine Palmer Kaup, Furman University
Rohit Negi, The Ohio State University
Nancy Parezo, University of Arizona
Sigrid Schmalzer, University of Massachusetts
Paul Silverstein, Reed College
Tracy Teslow, University of Cincinnati

Discussants
Kevin Boyle, The Ohio State University
Leo Coleman, The Ohio State University
Steven Conn, The Ohio State University
Douglas Crews, The Ohio State University
David Horn, The Ohio State University
Jason Baird Jackson, Indiana University-Bloomington; editor, Museum Anthropology
Kwaku Korang, The Ohio State University
EVENTS

Conferences (continued)

Military Frontiers: A Graduate Symposium
May 15, 2009

Organizers
Robert Clemm, MA candidate in History
Sarah Douglas, MA candidate in History
Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History
Peter Mansoor, Gen. Raymond E. Mason Chair in Military History

Military Frontiers: A Graduate Symposium brought together leading scholars and graduate students to engage in national academic debate within military history. Discussion focused on issues raised by emerging scholars of World War I. Panelists presented on the role the United States played in providing humanitarian relief in response to war sufferings, the American military identity as presented in uncensored war testimonies, and the impact of changing military technology on leadership development of the U.S. military during the 20th century. The symposium examined themes of ethical and legal issues of armed conflict; ways in which war affects and is affected by race and gender; and links between war, science, and technology.

Participants
Rick Atkinson, Pulitzer Prize winner and former Washington Post reporter
Kate Epstein, The Ohio State University
John Guilmartin, The Ohio State University
Edward Gutiérrez, The Ohio State University
Captain Mark Hagerott, University of Maryland
Branden Little, University of California-Berkeley
Jennifer Siegel, The Ohio State University
Leonard Smith, Oberlin College
Jon Sumida, University of Maryland
Glenn F. Williams, University of Maryland
John Winters, The Ohio State University

Former Washington Post reporter and Pulitzer Prize winner Rick Atkinson gave the keynote address on “Writing the Liberation Trilogy,” a narrative history of the American Army in North Africa, Italy, and Western Europe during World War II. He is currently working on the third volume, about the role of the U.S. military in the liberation of Europe.
Since the 1990s, China has been one of the most speculated, researched, and analyzed topics in the United States. However, most of the analysis has been framed by the idea that China has a homogenous history, people, and culture. This conference promoted an interdisciplinary discourse on a multifaceted view on China. By convening scholars on the local, linguistic, and cultural diversity of China, it highlighted the heterogeneous and dynamic inner workings of China, and examined the representation of a homogeneous China both inside and outside its national boundary.

The Limits of Empire in the Early Modern World: A Conference in Honor of Geoffrey Parker
February 27–28, 2009

Organizers:
David Coleman and Diane Tyer, Eastern Kentucky University
Pamela McVay, Ursuline College

This conference brought together dozens of former students to honor Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History. Panels included Information, Rumor, and the Practice of Power Roundtable in the Early Modern World; The Edges of Hispanic Hegemony; The Limits of Empire: The Case of the Dutch Republic; Theorizing Sovereignty and Empire; and Frontiers of Early Modern Rulership.
Great Lakes Ottoman Workshop  April 18–19, 2009

Organizer:
Jane Hathaway, Professor of History

The Great Lakes Ottoman Workshop was launched in 2005 as a supplement to the Middle East Studies Association meeting. It encourages exchange among scholars from the Great Lakes region and beyond on the history, art, architecture, and folklore of the Ottoman Empire. Emphasis is on intensive discussion of pre-circulated papers.

Workshop on Climate Change and Livelihoods in Sub-Saharan Africa  May 15, 2009

Organizers:
David Kraybill, Agricultural Economics; Kalechi Kalu and Laura Joseph, Center for African Studies; Mark Moritz, Anthropology; Andy Keeler, Public Policy

Changes in climate have a major impact in Africa because the majority of its people are directly dependent on natural resources that are affected by climate. The natural environment and human systems interact in complex ways. This workshop focused on climate change and its interaction with African systems of crop and animal agriculture. Speakers discussed theories, concepts, and methods to understand the interaction between social, ecological, and climate systems. The workshop addressed how researchers from multiple disciplines can integrate climate change into their own research.

Seçil Yılmaz (far left), master’s student at Boğaziçi University and Fulbright fellow at New York University, speaks on “Syphilis in Late 19th-Century Ottoman Anatolia.”

Chinwe Ifejika Speranza of the German Development Institute in Bonn and the Centre for Training and Research in Development in Kenya spoke about adaptation to climate change in East Africa.
CALENDAR OF EVENTS

October

October 3, 2008
Mary Ellen O’Connell
“The New Militarism”

October 6, 2008
Patrick James
“What Way Forward for Offensive Realism?”

October 8, 2008
Juan R.I. Cole
“Can Ayatollah Sistani’s Alternative to Khomeinism Survive?”

October 9, 2008
Mary Robinson
“Women and International Policy”

October 14, 2008
Dawood Azami
“Drug Money: Opium, Crime, and Insurgency in Afghanistan”

October 16, 2008
Jennifer Heath
“The Veil: Visible and Invisible Spaces”

October 22, 2008
Richard Combs
“Inside the Soviet Alternate Universe”

October 24, 2008
Robert Rakove
“Getting the Worst of Both Worlds: John F. Kennedy and Decolonization”

October 29, 2008
Jeff McMahan
“Killing Civilians in War”

November

November 4, 2008
Matthew Fehrs
“Are You Talkin’ to Me? The Domestic Politics of Government Signaling in International Conflicts”

Mary Ellen O’Connell, professor of law at the University of Notre Dame, discussed tools to stop ethnic violence, arguing that targeted sanctions and no-fly zones are more effective than military intervention. O’Connell is a former faculty associate of the Mershon Center.

Patrick James, director of the Center for International Studies at the University of Southern California, discussed differences between structural realism and offensive realism in international relations theory. Here he explained a formula to determine how much nations view each other as a threat by measuring their hatreds and capabilities.

The Honorable Mary Robinson (left), former president of Ireland and former U.N. high commissioner for human rights, was interviewed by Fred Andrle, host of WOSU’s Open Line, as part of the 65th anniversary of the International Studies Program.

Jeff McMahan, professor of philosophy at Rutgers University, considered various ethical dilemmas involving civilians in wartime. His recent work focuses on the ethics of killing in war, self-defense, and as punishment.
November 7, 2008
Carol Anderson

November 19, 2008
Allan Millett
“They Came From the North: The War for Korea, 1950–51”

November 21, 2008
Caroline Elkins
“British Colonial Violence and the End of Empire”

January

January 15, 2009
Jonathan Winkler
“An Emerging Approach in International History: Information Technology, Strategy, and Diplomacy”

January 16, 2009
Lt. Gen. Mohd Aminul Karim
“Security in South Asia After the Mumbai Terror Attacks”

January 21, 2009
Peter Shane
“Madison’s Nightmare: How Executive Power Threatens American Democracy”

January 28, 2009
Thomas Christensen
“Crafting a China Strategy: Some Recent Lessons for the New Administration”

February

February 6, 2009
John Bowen
“Can Islam Be French? Pluralism and Pragmatism in a Secularist State”

February 9, 2009
Miles Hewstone
“Living Apart Together: Segregation vs. Mixing as Sources of, or Solutions for, Intergroup Conflict”
February 11, 2009
Joseph J. Kruzel Memorial Lecture
Joseph Nye
“The Powers to Lead”

February 12, 2009
Kate Bedford
“Embedding Neoliberalism: Crisis, Sexuality, and Social Reproduction”

February 16, 2009
Daniel Hellinger
“How Red Is the Pink Tide in Hugo Chávez’s Venezuela?”

February 18, 2009
Williamson Murray
“An Historian Looks at the Future Environment”

February 20, 2009
Thomas Dine and Dalia Mogahed
“Changing Course: A New Direction for U.S. Relations with the Muslim World”

February 24, 2009
Minoo Moallem
“Political and Cultural Citizenship: The Making and Unmaking of the Nation in Iran”

February 26, 2009
Geoffrey Parker
“The Global Crisis: War, Climate, and Catastrophe in the 17th-Century World”

March

March 4, 2009
Holger Nehring
“A Peaceful Europe? European Exceptionalism in the 20th Century”

March 6, 2009
Jeffry Frieden
“The Political Economy of Exchange Rate Regimes in Transition Economies”
March 10, 2009  
Thomas Walker  
“Electoral Observation: A Tool for Democratization and Peace in Latin America”

March 13, 2009  
Hendrik Spruyt  
“Contracting States: Incomplete Contracts in International Relations”

April 6, 2009  
James Fearon  
“A Simple Political Economy of International Relations between Democracies and Autocracies”

April 9, 2009  
J. Craig Jenkins and Katherine Meyer  
“The Dissent-Repression Nexus in the Middle East”

April 13, 2009  
Francine Hirsch  
“The Nuremberg Trials and the Making of the Soviet Union as an International Power”

April 14, 2009  
Jason Brownlee  
“Reconsidering Presidential Elections in the Middle East”

April 17, 2009  
Frank Costigliola  
“The Perils of Intimacy: Harry Hopkins as Franklin D. Roosevelt’s National Security Adviser”

April 20, 2009  
Man-houng Lin  
“The Neglected Taipei Treaty: Asia-Pacific Powers and Taiwan”

April 21, 2009  
Saskia Sassen  
“Neither Global nor National: Novel Assemblages of Territory, Authority, and Rights”
April 28, 2009
Leonardo Villalón
“Negotiating Democracy in Muslim West Africa: Sahelian Trajectories”

May

May 4, 2009
Edgar S. Furniss Book Award
Erin K. Jenne
“Ethnic Bargaining: The Paradox of Minority Empowerment”

May 7, 2009
Lisa Wedeen
“The Politics of Deliberation: Qat Chews as Public Spheres in Yemen”

May 8, 2009
Caroline Ford
“France’s New Museums in a Postcolonial Age”

May 11, 2009
Carole Fink

May 14, 2009
Eduardo Gamarra
“Evo Morales, Bolivian Democracy, and U.S. Policy: Still on the Brink?”

May 21, 2009
Isis Nusair
“Gendered Bodies/Gendered Wars: Iraqi Women Refugees in Jordan”

May 21, 2009
Elliott Abrams
“The Future of the U.S.-Israel Relationship”
Matthew Fehrs
Matthew Fehrs’ project, “Are You Talkin’ to Me? The Domestic Politics of Government Signaling in International Conflicts,” explores three puzzles in international relations theory:

- What causes a country to have or perceive incomplete information and lead states to war?
- Why, despite high levels of transparency and freedom of information, are democracies likely to be attacked?
- What is the role of opposition groups in military crises?

To answer these questions, Fehrs developed a theory that focuses on the unity and hawkishness of the government in democratic states. He hypothesizes that the more unified a government, the less likely it is to send mixed signals to potential challengers. Likewise, the more hawkish a country, the more likely it is to use military posturing and harsh rhetoric.

During his year at Mershon, Fehrs pursued two case-study articles. The first provided an alternative explanation for the Falklands War based on his dissertation theory, analyzing the divisions within the British government and how these were viewed by the Argentines. The second applied Fehrs’ theory to contradictions in British signaling prior to World War I.

Fehrs has a PhD in political science from Duke University.

Robert Rakove
Robert Rakove’s project, “Befriending the Nonaligned: Kennedy, Johnson, and the Neutralist Powers,” examines efforts of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations to create lasting, constructive relations with leading states of the non-aligned world. Rakove defines non-aligned countries as those who declared neutrality during the Cold War, including India, Indonesia, Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Tanzania, and Yugoslavia.

Rakove’s project explores how U.S. policies of interaction with non-aligned powers helped define relations between the United States and its allies, many of whom had tense relations with the new post-colonial states in Africa and Asia. He examines how U.S. foreign aid was used in forming international relationships during the 1960s. He also investigates how policymakers in this era addressed issues of incompatible goals between the United States and new international acquaintances, while also dealing with regional rivalries within non-aligned states.

From examining areas such as the India-Pakistan rivalry and the Bush administration’s use of aid programs to gain support for the war in Iraq, Rakove’s project engages contemporary policymakers who continue to reconcile relationships between the United States and emerging nations.

Rakove has a PhD in U.S. history from the University of Virginia.
Visiting Scholars

Holger Nehring
Holger Nehring teaches contemporary European History at the University of Sheffield, United Kingdom. His research interests lie in the social, political, and cultural history of post-World War II Western Europe, with a special emphasis on the social history of the Cold War in Britain and Germany since 1945, and in historical peace research.

Nehring is author of Life against Death: West European Peace Movements and the Cold War, a connective history of the British and West German protests against nuclear weapons in the 1950s and early 1960s, due out with Oxford University Press in 2009. He is currently working on a new project titled “The Last Battle of the Cold War: Peace Movements, German Politics, and the End of the Cold War.”

Since November 2007, Nehring has served as vice chair of the German Association for Historical Peace Research. He also serves as associate editor of the journal Contemporary European History.

Nehring studied at Tübingen University (Germany), the London School of Economics, and Oxford University as a Rhodes scholar.

Lt. Gen. Mohd Aminul Karim
Lt. Gen. Mohd Aminul Karim was the commandant at the National Defense College, a military institution in Dhaka, Bangladesh. He also served as the military secretary to the president of Bangladesh, Iazuddin Ahmed.


Karim visited the Mershon Center in January 2009 to study security issues in South Asia, including the roles of China and India in relation to national security in Bangladesh. He has a PhD in political science from Dhaka University.
Dustin Koenig, a political science major and winner of a 2009 Ralph D. Mershon Study Abroad Scholarship, presented “Iraq War Fatalities by Population Size of Hometown” at the Denman Undergraduate Research Forum on May 13, 2009. He found that service personnel killed in action from 2003 to 2008 were proportionally more likely to come from small and mid-sized towns than large cities.

Edward Crenshaw (right), associate professor of sociology, gave advice to students at the Undergraduate Research Forum as fellow panelists Randy Schweller (left), professor of political science, and Barbara Hanawalt, King George III Professor of British History, listened on November 20, 2008.

Students in Richard Herrmann’s Political Science 545 Foreign Policy Decision Making class took part in a diplomatic simulation on November 18, 2008, at the Mershon Center. In the simulation, groups of students representing different countries negotiated wars, treaties, and alliances. These students were discussing the Iranian nuclear program.

Students in Living Jerusalem: Ethnography and Bridge Building, taught by Amy Horowitz (lower right) held a video conference with Karen Armstrong, author of Jerusalem: One City, Three Faiths, on May 27, 2009. The Living Jerusalem course allowed Ohio State students to interact with Palestinian and Israeli faculty and students at Al-Quds University and Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Student employee Christy Vallejos staffed the Mershon Center booth at the Study Abroad Fair on October 10, 2008. The fair showcased 100 programs available in over 40 countries.
OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE

The director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, Richard Herrmann, reports to Dieter Wanner, interim associate provost for international affairs, and to a provost-appointed oversight committee. This year, the committee included:

- John Roberts, Interim Dean, College of Arts and Humanities (chair)
- James Bartholomew, Professor, Department of History
- Kevin Cox, Distinguished University Professor, Department of Geography
- Lt. Col. Farrell J. Duncombe II, Commander, Army ROTC
- Daniel Farrell, Professor, Department of Philosophy
- Camille Hébert, Carter C. Kissell Professor of Law
- David G. Horn, Chair, Department of Comparative Studies
- Robert Kaufman, Professor, Department of Sociology
- Capt. Steven Noce, Commander, Navy ROTC
- Col. Curtiss Petrek, Commander, Air Force ROTC
- Kazimierz Slomczynski, Professor, Department of Sociology
- Gifford Weary, Interim Dean, College of Social and Behavioral Sciences
- Herbert F. Weisberg, Chair, Department of Political Science
- Michael Sherman, Vice Provost for Academic Administration (ex-officio)

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