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.

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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 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

The Mershon Center encourages collaborative, interdisciplinary research projects within the university and with other institutions around the world. Current projects include a study of urbanization and migration in China, an analysis of economic and civil insecurity in Brazil, and a series of experiments on the psychology of hate. Faculty from many departments and from 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 aims to advance the understanding of national security by examining it in a global context. Security is a very broad topic and encompasses many questions, as anyone looking at the range of things the U.S. Department of Defense spends money on would quickly see. In an era in which defining a problem as a matter of national security often leads to increased funding, it is not surprising that the security agenda is very long.

To make a high-quality impact on this agenda, even with the considerable talent available at The Ohio State University, it is necessary to concentrate the Mershon Center’s attention. We do this by focusing on three questions: 1) How is force in combination with diplomacy used in world affairs? 2) How do cultures and the ideas people have about what is right and about who they are affect their sense of security and readiness to fight and cooperate? 3) How can institutions be created to effectively manage violent conflicts both between states and within them?

The center addresses these questions by funding faculty research, doctoral dissertation projects, and undergraduate research and study abroad. It also brings to the Ohio State campus leading scholars and policymakers who are identifying the most important issues within the three broad questions and finding the best answers to them. The center seeks to draw out the implications of those answers for both policymakers and citizens more generally. As is clear in Iraq and Afghanistan, often the most vexing problems involve social change, the mobilization of people for collective action, and the construction of legitimate governance. They also often include understanding how human beings and social systems are likely to behave, how leaders are likely to decide, and how we can avoid major intelligence failures or at least contain them.

As part of The Ohio State University, the Mershon Center is fortunate in that it can draw on very talented people in numerous disciplines. Four federally funded national resources centers—for East Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and Russia, and Latin America—cooperate with Mershon. Moreover, colleagues in political science, history, economics, psychology, anthropology, and philosophy as well as law, English, and other disciplines contribute in crucial ways. They bring diverse theoretical perspectives, different methodological skills, and a range of expertise in issue areas and geographic regions. They are willing to engage across disciplines, overcome initial obstacles of different vocabularies and jargon, and respect the rigor and appropriateness of both qualitative and quantitative data analysis.
As colleagues from across campus engage at Mershon, they bring the best the academy has to offer to the questions at the heart of the center’s mission. It is their ideas that drive the center and make directing it such a pleasure. This report highlights the work they have done and the products they have generated. I encourage you to seek more information about research done at the center and video recordings of many of its events on our web site at mershoncenter.osu.edu.

**BY THE NUMBERS**

**General**
- Number of faculty research projects supported: **13**
- Number of postdoctorate fellows and visiting scholars: **7**
- Number of graduate student travel and research grants given: **24**
- Number of undergraduate study abroad grants given: **12**
- Number of departments whose faculty and students were supported: **23**

**Events**
- Number of speaker events held: **49**
- Number of conferences sponsored: **9**
- Total number of attendees: More than **3,291**
- Average number of people per event: **59**
- Number of collaborating colleges, departments, and centers: **40**
- Number of colleges, departments, and centers reached: **85**

**Faculty**
- Number of books published: **21**
- Number of articles published: **249**
- Number of journal issues edited: **8**
- Number of times quoted or cited in media (including blogs): **553**

**Students**
- Number of graduate student attendees at events: **560**
- Number of research assistantships supported (25 percent time): **28**
- Number of undergraduate attendees at events: **1,119**
- Number of undergraduate student employees: **6**

**Web Site**
- Average number of unique visitors per month: **4,221**
- Average number of visits per month: **6,062**
- Average number of page views per month: **17,057**
- Number of countries in which web site was viewed: **172**
- Percentage of visitors who bookmark web site in favorites: **68.1**

**Online Archives**
- Number of times streaming videos were viewed: **54,557**
- Number of unique visitors who viewed streaming videos: **1,482**
- Average number of streaming videos viewed per person: **37**
- Average number of streaming videos viewed per day: **149**
- Number of countries in which streaming videos were viewed: **42**
- Number of people who downloaded podcasts: **5,136**
- Number of podcasts downloaded: **157,102**
- Average number of podcasts downloaded per person: **31**
- Average number of podcasts downloaded per day: **430**
- Number of items viewed in the Knowledge Bank: **22,669**
- Number of files downloaded from the Knowledge Bank: **35,543**
Seung-Ook Lee, graduate student in geography, stood with a soldier in front of the USS Pueblo in North Korea. Lee traveled on Mershon funding to research the outcome of North Korea’s implementation of Special Economic Zones.

General James Mattis, then commander of U.S. Joint Forces Command, met with officers during the conference on “Hybrid Warfare: The Struggle of Military Forces to Adapt to Complex Opponents,” held at the Mershon Center. Gen. Mattis was keynote speaker for the conference.

Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789–2007 (Yale, 2010), by Carter Vaughan Findley, was one of 21 books published or forthcoming by Mershon Center faculty in 2009–10. The book reveals the historical dynamics propelling two centuries of Ottoman and Turkish history.

A framed portrait welcomed participants to “But What About Culture? Alexander Stephan’s Interdisciplinary Project,” a symposium and tribute for Ohio Eminent Scholar Alexander Stephan, who passed away in 2009. About 65 colleagues attended to pay their respects.

Dustin Koenig, winner of a Ralph D. Mershon Study Abroad Scholarship, stood in front of The Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow. Built in 1839 at the order of Tsar Nicholas I, the cathedral was modeled after the famous Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and is the tallest Eastern Orthodox Church.

Panelists took questions during “America’s Wars: The Way Forward in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq.” Experts included (l to r) Peter Mansoor, Gen. Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair in Military History; Mershon Center director Richard Herrmann; John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies; Fred Andrle, Institute for Collaborative Research and Public Humanities; Alam Payind, Middle East Studies Center; and Sean Kay, Mershon associate.

The 412th Army Civil Affairs Battalion (Airborne) participated in a workshop on Iraq, held at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies on May 28, 2010. Workshop presenters included Mershon Center director Richard Herrmann; Alam Payind, director of the Middle East Studies Center; and Bruce Fudge, assistant professor of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures.
Mershon Faculty Publish 21 Books

Faculty members at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies have always been among the most productive at The Ohio State University. In 2009–10 they published 21 books, edited eight special issues of academic journals, and authored 249 articles, chapters, essays, and reports.

Among the year’s books were *Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity: A History, 1789–2007* (Yale, 2010), by Carter Vaughn Findley, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History. In this book, Findley reveals the historical dynamics propelling two centuries of Ottoman and Turkish history. As threats to imperial survival mounted, ethnic and religious identities inspired different responses, as a radical, secular current of change competed with a conservative, Islamic current. Findley’s reassessment of political, economic, social, and cultural history reveals the interaction between radical and conservative currents, which clashed and converged to shape Turkish history.


Jenkins, Meyer Win NSF Grant; Jenkins Named to AAAS

Mershon faculty affiliates J. Craig Jenkins and Katherine Meyer, both professors of sociology, won their second three-year grant from the National Science Foundation for “Deciphering Civil Conflict in the Middle East.” They are part of a team that includes Hassan Aly in Economics, Ola Ahlqvist in Geography, Helen Rizzo of American University in Cairo, and a dozen graduate and undergraduate student assistants at Ohio State.

This grant picks up where the first, “Dissent-Repression Nexus in the Middle East,” left off. Besides surveying and quantifying transnational processes across the Middle East, the research team plans to explain and contextualize cycles of civil protest and state violence.

Jenkins was also one of 17 Ohio State faculty members to be named a fellow by the American Association for the Advancement of Science last year.

12 Undergraduates Win Mershon Study Abroad Grants

Twelve students studied abroad in countries as diverse as China, Russia, India, and Tunisia, thanks to the Ralph D. Mershon Study Abroad Scholarship. The scholarship supports undergraduates who aspire to careers related to international studies, often covering the cost of intensive training in a language deemed critical to national security.

Winners included Samantha Agarwal, who completed an intensive Hindi language program at the International Center for Language Studies in Delhi, India; Bradley Coler, an active duty Marine
HIGHLIGHTS

who completed an intensive language and cultural instruction in Persian at the University of Wisconsin-Madison; Nathan Fourman, who completed the Chinese Language Flagship Program in Qingdao, China; and Deanna Pan, who enrolled in the Minnesota Studies in International Development program in Jaipur, India.

Lüthi Wins Edgar S. Furniss Book Award

Lorenz Lüthi, assistant professor of history at McGill University in Montreal, was winner of the Mershon Center’s Edgar S. Furniss Book Award. The award recognizes authors whose first books make an exceptional contribution to the study of national and international security.


Lüthi spoke at Mershon on April 5, 2010.

Mershon Sponsors Keynote Events on Wars in Middle East

Working with the Institute for Collaborative Research and Public Humanities, the Mershon Center sponsored faculty panels on “Afghanistan: The Choices” and “America’s Wars: The Way Forward in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq.”

Panelists for “Afghanistan: The Choices” included (l to r) Peter Mansoor, Gen. Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair in Military History; Alam Payind, director, Middle East Studies Center; Fred Andrle, Institute for Collaborative Research and Public Humanities, former WOSU Open Line host; John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies; and Mershon Center director Richard Herrmann.

Panelists included Mershon Center director Richard Herrmann; Peter Mansoor, Mason Chair in Military History; John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies; Alam Payind, director of the Middle East Studies Center; and Sean Kay, Mershon associate. The panels were moderated by former WOSU Open Line radio talk show host Fred Andrle.

Jendayi Frazer, former U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, gave the keynote address on “Building Coalitions and Communities to End Terror” at the Mershon Center’s conference on “West Africa and the U.S. War on Terror.” Frazer, currently a distinguished professor at Carnegie-Mellon University, was a leading architect of U.S.-African policy over the past decade.

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Conferences Examine 2008 Election, West Africa, Hybrid Warfare

The Mershon Center held six academic conferences, attracting scholars, government officials, and practitioners from across the country and around the world.

“The Transformative Election of 2008,” organized by Herb Weisberg, examined a pivotal election that took place against the backdrop of wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as a domestic financial crisis.

“West Africa and the U.S. War on Terror,” organized
by Kalechi Kalu and Laura Joseph of the Center for African Studies, considered the growing importance of Africa in U.S. security calculations. Among its attendees was Jendayi E. Frazer, former U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs.

“Hybrid Warfare: The Struggle of Military Forces to Adapt to Complex Opponents,” organized by Peter Mansoor, examined the use of a combination of conventional and insurgent forces to wear down the enemy during conflicts throughout history. Gen. James N. Mattis, then commander of U.S. Joint Forces Command, gave the keynote address.

Colleagues Pay Tribute to Stephan

About 65 colleagues and friends came together on February 5 for a symposium and tribute to Alexander Stephan, the first Ohio Eminent Scholar in the Humanities, who passed away in 2009. Stephan was a professor in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures and senior fellow at the Mershon Center.

Stephan’s research on the Weimar Republic, anti-fascist exile, and the postwar period did much to establish German studies as it exists today both here and abroad. During his years at Ohio State, Stephan’s attention to transatlantic studies, European-American relations, and international responses to American culture and politics greatly enriched the interdisciplinary conversations of the Mershon Center and the Arts and Humanities.

“But What About Culture? Alexander Stephan’s Interdisciplinary Project” included presentations by Jost Hermand, University of Wisconsin and Humboldt Universität-Berlin, and Richard Ned Lebow, Dartmouth College Cambridge University, London School of Economics, and former director of the Mershon Center.

Mershon Supports Veterans Learning Community

More than 1,200 veterans of the U.S. armed forces are enrolled at The Ohio State University. To better serve these students, the Mershon Center worked with the Center for Folklore Studies and Department of Comparative Studies to establish the Veterans Learning Community.

In the program, students take a reading course that looks at representations of the experience of war in art, literature, and film, followed by a writing course that asks students to document their learning community’s knowledge and experiences. Students decide collectively what they want to write about and develop web-based projects to communicate their research.


Halina Stephan, former director of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, gave closing remarks at the symposium and tribute for her late husband, Alexander Stephan.

Participants in the Veterans Learning Community stood with Ohio State President E. Gordon Gee (standing fifth from right) and program coordinator Susan Hanson (standing fifth from left).
Ian Lanzillotti (second from right), PhD student in history, spoke with local and international scholars specializing in the Northwest Caucasus at a café in Nalchik, the capital of Kabardino-Balkaria.

Kaldir Yildirim, PhD student in political science, interviewed Mustapha ElKhalfi, editor of At-Tajdid newspaper in Morocco, for his project on “Muslim Democratic Parties: Globalization and Moderation in the Middle East.”

Robert Clemm, PhD student in history, researched maps at the Royal Geographic Society in London for his dissertation “An Ordered Scramble: The Use of Cartography in the Creation and Conquest of East Africa.”

Anne Sealey, PhD student in history, did research at the National Archives in the United Kingdom for her dissertation on “Combating the Enemy of Mankind: Epidemic Control, Internationalism and the League of Nations.”

Sha Fei’s photo “A Battle on the Ancient Great Wall” is widely considered to be the Chinese war photographer’s best work. Eliza Ho, PhD student in art history, curated an exhibition of Sha Fei’s photos at Ohio State’s Urban Arts Space.

This political cartoon of the mid-1930s shows just how many new government programs FDR and Congress established to re-stabilize the domestic economy in the wake of the Great Depression (thereby restoring economic security).

Soundarya Chidambaram, PhD student in political science, interviewed Tarun Vijay, director of the Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee Research Foundation, a think-tank affiliated to the Hindu Nationalist Party in India.

Ravi Gupta, a senior who majored in political science and molecular genetics, presented his research “Inform and Empower: Improving India’s Health Systems” at the 2010 Denman Undergraduate Research Forum. Gupta won a Marsden Center Peace and Conflict Resolution grant for travel and research in India.
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 studying how to build the sense of a common in-group as a strategy for managing conflicts and securing peace. How to bridge ethnic, religious, and cultural differences has been a perennial question in world politics and is central today in countries like Iraq, India, and Pakistan. It also becomes relevant in advanced industrial states experiencing high levels of immigration and demographic change. It remains central in cross-state relations as well, with the European Union charting new territory and Asian states working to overcome historical memories that divide them.

Following his research on national identity and multiculturalism in the United States, Herrmann is now working with Pierangelo Isernia and Paolo Segatti on a similar research project in France and Italy. The project seeks to understand how states create a sense of nationhood as the cultural composition of their population grows ever more diverse. It also explores the implications of fostering this sense of nationhood for foreign policy, including not only attitudes toward traditional security matters but also toward trade and immigration.

The United States and France serve as especially useful case studies because they are both civic nations, meaning that citizenship is not defined by race, religion, or ethnicity, yet both have well-known histories that feature dominant cultural groups. As their populations grow more diverse, the United States has embraced multiculturalism as a way to build nationhood through recognizing difference. France, by contrast, has emphasized shared principles and the color-blind ideal of individualism and liberalism.

In both countries, immigration has become a key policy issue, as have concerns with developing and maintaining a sense of community.

In early 2010, Herrmann came out of the field with data from a national survey of 1,800 French citizens, including 300 in-depth interviews with French citizens who are Muslim. He is now working on a book that explores what people in France think it means when one says one is French and what characteristics they attach to the nation. The project explores attitudes toward immigrants and compares the expectations of the majority with those of Muslims. It also explores how people’s attachment to France affects their attitudes about the United States and French policy in the Middle East.

John Mueller

John Mueller is Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies at the Mershon Center for International Security Studies and professor of political science at The Ohio State University. His interests include international politics, foreign policy, defense policy, public opinion, democratization, economic history, post-Communism, and terrorism.

Mueller is author or editor of 19 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

This year, Mueller has three books published or forthcoming. First, Atomic Obsession: Reactions and Overreactions to Terrorism (Oxford University Press, 2009) examines the influence of nuclear weapons on history, assesses their spread, and evaluates the possibility that nuclear weapons might 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. The United States has spent up to $10 trillion on nuclear weapons to combat a threat of military aggression that didn’t exist.

Remarkably few countries have tried to develop nuclear weapons, Mueller says, and those that have did not find them to be much of an advantage. For these reasons, nuclear proliferation is not a major threat. Nor are terrorists likely to surmount the practical difficulties involved in developing, delivering, and detonating an atomic device.

Second, Mueller is working with Mark Stewart of the University of Newcastle in Australia on Terrorism, Security, and Money: Balancing the Risks, Benefits, and Costs of Homeland Security. In this book, Mueller and Stewart apply standard risk and cost-benefit evaluation techniques to examine the cost-effectiveness of the enhanced expenditures on homeland security measures since 9/11. They also explore the evaluation of policing and intelligence matters, and comment on mitigation, resilience, and overreaction. Their key conclusion is that given the very limited risk of terrorism, enhanced expenditures designed to lower that risk have not been worth it.

Finally, a set of Mueller’s essays on war and the role of ideas and opinion will be published as War and Ideas (Routledge, forthcoming).

Besides these books, Mueller has published 26 articles, essays, and book chapters this year in outlets such as Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, and Nation. He also was interviewed or quoted in the media, including online blogs, more than 110 times. Outlets included CNN, Fox, The New York Times, The Washington Post, USA Today, The Wall Street Journal, The Christian Science Monitor, Time, The Atlantic, Science, Schneier on Security, Bloggingheads, and more.

Finally, Mueller received the Distinguished Scholar Award from The Ohio State University, recognizing exceptional scholarly accomplishments by a senior professor who has compiled a substantial body of research.

Peter Mansoor

Peter Mansoor is the Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair in Military History. His research interests include modern U.S. military history, World War II, the Iraq War, and counterinsurgency warfare.

Mansoor’s most recent book is Baghdad at Sunrise: A Brigade Commander’s War in Iraq (Yale University Press, 2008), winner of the Ohioana Library Association Book Award. Mansoor gave the keynote address on this book at the Perspectives in Military History conference this year in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He is also author of The GI Offensive in Europe: The Triumph of American Infantry Divisions, 1941–45 (University Press of Kansas, 1999), which won awards from the Society for Military History and the Army Historical Foundation.

This year, Mansoor organized a conference on “Hybrid Warfare: The Struggle of Military Forces to Adapt to Complex Opponents.” Hybrid warfare, a combination of conventional and irregular forces fighting against a common foe, has existed since the ancient world but has only recently been categorized as a unique type of conflict. This conference, with a keynote address by Gen. James Mattis, commander of U.S. Joint Forces Command, examined the history of hybrid wars, how great powers have dealt with them, and their prospects for the future.

Mansoor is a highly decorated officer with more than 26 years of distinguished military service. Before coming to Ohio State, he served as executive officer to Gen. David Petraeus, then-commander of the multinational forces in Iraq.
Mansoor also served on a Council of Colonels that enabled the Joint Chiefs of Staff to reassess the strategy for the Iraq War. Based in part on this group’s deliberations, the United States began the “surge” strategy in 2007–08. Mansoor is also founding director of the U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Center at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

Mansoor has remained an important figure in the public discussion about the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. This year he was quoted in the media more than 100 times. TV and radio appearances include CNN, CBC, Al Jazeera English, NPR, and 60 Minutes. Print interviews include The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press, and more.

The Mason Chair in Military History is endowed by Maj. Gen. Raymond E. Mason Jr., a 1941 graduate of The Ohio State University who retired from military service in 1976 and passed away in August. The previous holder of the Mason Chair was Allan R. Millett, now director of the Eisenhower Center for American Studies at the University of New Orleans.

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. His research also focuses on the use of new communication technologies to strengthen democratic processes.

This year Shane added two new publications to his repertoire. The first, Connecting Democracy: Online Consultation and the Future of Democratic Discourse, edited with Stephen Coleman (MIT Press, forthcoming), is a look by 19 scholars from seven countries at the phenomenon of online consultation. Many contributors to the volume presented works in progress to a 2007 conference sponsored by the Mershon Center.

Online consultations are government-sponsored, web-based projects to engage everyday citizens in policy dialogue. The authors view online consultations as an elaborate form of networked communication involving citizens, public decision makers, bureaucrats, technicians, civil society organizations, and the media. The book argues that online consultations’ greatest contribution to democracy depends on their becoming both an impetus and a form of support for re-imagining democratic citizenship.

Second, while serving as executive director of the Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy, Shane was lead drafter of Informing Communities: Strengthening Democracy in the Digital Age (Aspen Institute, 2009). The report provides an innovative framework for reacting to the information challenges and opportunities of the digital age, and a vision for building informed communities.

Shane also collaborated with Ohio State’s Digital Union on “Information Stories,” in which 12 activists from around the country produced short inspiring videos about how their initiatives to address the problem of information flow changed their lives and their communities. The project is supported by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation.

This year Shane was also a visiting scholar with the Federal Communications Commission, where he provided legal and policy advice on the use of new media to advance the goals of transparency, data-sharing, and citizen engagement, and assisted with the agency’s study, “The Future of Media in the Digital Age.”

His next project is Infoblivion: The Crumbling Information Infrastructure of American Democracy. In this book, Shane hopes to lay out the infrastructure of the ideal “informed society,” document the shortfall in social investment needed to support the infrastructure America needs, and set forth reforms in law and policy that will redress this shortfall.
Shane regularly appears in the media. Besides writing 13 blog entries for the Huffington Post, he was interviewed by such outlets as The New York Times, NPR, and law.com.

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.

His 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 conference held at the Mershon Center in February. 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?

The emergence of the Third World, together with the bloody, conflict-ridden process of decolonization that brought it forth, not only coincided with the Cold War but was inextricably shaped by that same Cold War, the book argues. Indeed, the very term “Third World” emerged directly out of the Cold War struggle between the United States and Soviet Union.

One of the central paradoxes of the Cold War is that it ushered in the longest sustained period of peace in modern European history at the same time as Asia, Africa, and the Middle East were convulsed by unprecedented violence and conflict. If Europe’s “long peace” can be attributed to the stability imposed by the East-West standoff, the book asks, then to what extent did the Cold War encourage, ignite, or exacerbate conflicts in the Third World?

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 presented papers at several international research seminars, including “Reconsidering the Cold War in the Third World” at the University of Helsinki, Finland, and “The Internationalist Turn and the Future of Cold War Scholarship” at McGill University in Montreal.

He also was named a distinguished lecturer by the Organization of American Historians and Fulbright Distinguished Lecturer for Japan in 2010.

Alexander Wendt

Alexander Wendt is the Ralph D. Mershon Professor of International Security Studies at the Mershon Center. His research interests include international relations theory, global governance, political and social theory, and the philosophy of social science.

Wendt is one of the most cited international relations scholars today. Based on a survey by the College of William and Mary of 2,000 international relations faculty, Foreign Policy named him the third-most influential scholar in the field 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. Social Theory of International Politics was named Best Book of the Decade by the International Studies Association in 2006 and has been translated into six languages.

This year Wendt co-edited three issues of International Theory: A Journal of International Politics, Law and Philosophy, with Duncan Snidal from the University of Chicago. The journal, supported by the Mershon Center and published by Cambridge University Press, promotes theoretical scholarship about the positive, legal, and normative aspects of world politics. Contributors included Nuno P. Monteiro and Keven G. Ruby, Andrew Moravcsik and Beate Jahn, and R. Harrison Wagner.

Wendt also edited 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,” compares the international system to a hologram. Unlike photographs, holograms store all their information in every part of the image. Thus, if a hologram is cut into pieces, each piece still contains a smaller but intact version of the original image. Wendt argues the same is true of the international system. Each person represents one point in the international system, and as such has all the information needed to recreate the system as a whole in his or her own mind.

This chapter is the basis for Wendt’s 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 on European history and historiography including:

- Marc Bloch: A Life in History (Cambridge University Press, 1989), translated into six languages

Fink’s current book project is West Germany and Israel in a Changing Regional and Global Environment, 1966–74. After World War II, Fink argues, Israel enjoyed a special relationship with West Germany based on the grim legacy of the Holocaust. Their link included restitution payments and a secret arms supply sent from Bonn to Jerusalem.

In 1969, however, West German Chancellor Willy Brandt embarked on a policy of Ostpolitik, establishing friendly relations with the Soviet Union and renewing ties with Arab governments. Israel, which feared these changes, denounced West Germany’s ties with its enemies, called on Bonn to maintain its political and economic support, and resisted Bonn’s pressure to conciliate its Arab neighbors. By 1974, the relationship between the two countries had become largely pragmatic and top-down.

Fink’s second area of research is on the international refugee regime established by the League of Nations. This system, which dealt with victims of World War I and the Russian Revolution as well as the Jewish refugee crisis before World War II, was the forerunner to the 1951 convention that created the U.N. High Commission for Refugees.
FACULTY SPOTLIGHT

Fink argues that the current international regime made progress in expanding the definition of a refugee, establishing the right to legal aid, and setting forth the principle of burden sharing. However, other problems have not been solved. The U.N. High Commission remains largely humanitarian and fails to address the political causes of refugee crises. Moreover, the refugee question has been kept separate from human rights programs, and refugees still have no right to asylum.

Besides her own research, Fink also will oversee editing of a book of essays based on the Mershon Center graduate student conference “Pacts and Alliances: Why They Succeed, Why They Fail, and Why We Should Care” to be published by I.B. Taurus.

She also directs the Mershon Network of International Historians, an online association for scholars in modern European international relations. Located at mnih.org, the web site is visited annually by more than 50,000 people in dozens of countries.

Geoffrey Parker

Geoffrey Parker is Distinguished University Professor and Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History at The Ohio State University. He is author or editor of 36 books, almost 100 articles, and almost 200 book reviews on the social, political, and military history of early modern Europe.

Parker is perhaps best known for his scholarship on Philip II of Spain, including a 1978 biography, The Grand Strategy of Philip II (Yale, 1998), translated into five languages, and The Spanish Armada (Manchester, 2001). In September 2010, Editorial Planeta published Parker’s revised biography of the king: Felipe II. La biografía definitiva.

From 1556 until 1598, Philip ruled the first global empire in history, controlling much of Europe and the Americas with outposts in Asia and Africa. 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 written in the king’s own hand on everything from how to conquer England to where to put the toilets in the monastery of El Escorial. These “stream of consciousness” notes allow historians to explore the king’s thoughts and actions in more detail than those of any of his contemporaries.

Parker attributes Spain’s decline to two defects in Philip II’s leadership style. First, he tried to micromanage actions throughout the empire. Though he was far from the action, Philip II tried to tell operational commanders what they must do.

Second, the king imposed a faith-based strategy, believing God would intervene on his behalf. Such faith led him to ignore the need for backup plans in each operation. Parker believes that Philip II’s tendency to micromanage and his faith-based inflexibility have lessons for leaders today.

Also this year, Parker published a revised and updated edition of The Cambridge History of Warfare (Cambridge, 2009), as well as a Spanish translation of the same work, Historia de la Guerra (Akal, 2010).

Parker is a fellow of the British Academy, the Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Spanish-American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Royal Academy of History (Madrid). He has received the Samuel Eliot Morison Prize from the Society for Military History, two book prizes, and two Guggenheim awards. In September 2010, the University of Burgos in Spain conferred upon Parker an honorary doctorate.
RESEARCH on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:
Rentierism and Conflict in the Middle East

Principal Investigators:
Hassan Aly, Economics; J. Craig Jenkins, Sociology and Political Science; Katherine Meyer, Sociology

The Middle East is one of the world’s hotspots, marked by terrorist attacks, armed conflict, and interstate war. The region also displays sharp disparities in wealth and poverty, as well as government corruption and persistent authoritarianism.

In this project, Hassan Aly, J. Craig Jenkins, and Katherine Meyer seek to understand the economic basis of Middle Eastern conflict by examining how it is affected by rentier status.

Historically, rentier status referred to “rents” that developed nations paid to Middle Eastern countries for the rights to natural resources such as oil. Such arrangements are known to create slow economic growth, sharp social disparities, and intense conflicts over distribution of revenues.

Over the past few decades, new forms of rentierism have developed based on revenues from foreign aid, worker remittances, international tourism, and fees for the use of water, land, and air space. Currently, most Middle Eastern countries rely on income from international transactions for goods and services that do not originate from direct production.

In examining the relationship of rentierism to civil conflict, Aly, Jenkins, and Meyer focus on 19 countries in the Middle East and North Africa, as well as global comparison. They hypothesize that while traditional natural resource rentierism may contribute to violent conflict, newer forms of rentierism such as international tourism and worker remittances create economic growth.

Wealthier oil states are also able to maintain effective policing and expansive citizen protection, thereby containing most active resistance, while the new rentierism in non-oil states has nurtured political changes that have reduced repression and corruption, possibly opening the way to democratization.

To test these arguments, the investigators are constructing rentier status indices for each country using data from World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and other sources. They then correlate those indices with civil conflict measures from the World Handbook of Political Indicators IV, PRIO/Uppsala armed conflict measures, and international terrorist attacks.

The project is developing articles for publication in academic journals and has secured additional funding from the National Science Foundation.

Project:
An Era of Moderation: The United States, 1933–68

Principal Investigator:
David Stebenne, History

The 1930s through the 1960s saw fundamental changes across the American political system, yet no historian has ever written a comprehensive account of this era. With this project, David Stebenne is undertaking that account, building upon his previous work in writing books about the American left and right during the same time period.

Stebenne sees two overarching themes in U.S. history from the 1930s through the 1960s. First was a search for greater security. In the military arena, this era saw the establishment of a large powerful military and national security complex as well as the embrace of collective security agreements to deter aggression and promote peace.
The economic arena saw the emergence of the modern U.S. welfare state with Social Security as the centerpiece, the establishment of a mass income tax structure to support government spending, and the use of government power to promote economic growth and fight downturns.

The search for security in social and cultural arenas saw a decline in support for legalized racial segregation, a revival of mainstream religious belief, the emergence of cities and suburbs as the dominant place of residence, and the success of mass media in reaching ever-broader audiences.

Stebenne’s second overarching theme in U.S. history during this era is ever-greater moderation in American political life. The book will explore the growth of moderation from the 1930s to the 1950s, as well as critiques of moderation that led to social upheaval in the 1960s.

Finally, the book will compare American history from the 1930s through the 1960s to what was happening in other advanced market economies, including both the winners and losers after World War II. It also will examine how U.S. developments affected nations of the Third World.

Stebenne’s research is expected to be of wide interest to anyone working in the field of modern American history.

**Project:**

**Rally-Round-the-Flag and Fifth-Column Effects in Trade Sanctions**

**Principal Investigator:**

Daniel Verdier, Political Science

In this project, Daniel Verdier and coauthor Byungwon Woo investigate that question by examining what happens in two situations: when a large country like the United States imposes negative incentives such as trade sanctions, and when it offers positive incentives such as foreign aid to get a target country to behave in a certain way.

Some policymakers have argued against negative incentives because they lead to a “rally-round-the-flag” effect in the target country. For example, if the United States imposes trade sanctions on Iran, that can trigger elements that reinforce the Iranian government’s anti-American policies.

Positive incentives, on the other hand, are thought to lead to a “fifth-column” effect in which elements within the target country support the actions of the sanctioner. This has led some policymakers to recommend that trade sanctions be weakened and combined or replaced with positive incentives such as investment. However, too many positive incentives carry the risk of extortion, in which a target country repeats offensive behavior to continue receiving a reward.

To determine which types of reinforcements lead to which outcomes, Verdier and Woo examined a dataset of sanctions from 1950 to 2003. Although they hypothesized that negative incentives such as trade sanctions might be effective in countries with an entrenched export sector, they found that not to be the case. Rather, positive incentives were preferred in all cases because the “rally-found-the-flag” effect was disadvantageous enough to outweigh the risk of extortion.

Verdier and Woo produced two academic papers based on this research. One titled “Why Are Rewards Better than Sanctions?” will appear in a 2011 issue of *Economics and Politics.*
Graduate Students

In his project “Blame Games and Broken Promises,” Austin Carson (Political Science) explored how domestic audiences react to costly leadership decisions in foreign affairs. When democratic leaders make promises to use military force or pursue cooperative policies, the promise appears more believable to others because failure to follow through is assumed to be unpopular and punished at the ballot box. While few voters favor inconsistency in their leaders, the assumption that a broken promise results in political damage obscures the ample opportunities to share blame for such scenarios. This stage—the responsibility assessment stage—in the reaction of publics to broken foreign policy promises has seldom been explored. The Mershon Center funded Carson to conduct a survey on this stage of leader evaluation testing questions such as: How is blame assessed when the foreign policy promise that is broken involves action by both the legislature and the executive? Does the inclusion and action of allies in the promise making or promise breaking stages affect how audiences blame their leaders?

In “An Ordered Scramble: The Use of Cartography in the Creation and Conquest of East Africa,” Robert Clemm (History) examined how cartography aided in the creation and development of the Tanganyika, Eritrea, and Somali territories by Great Britain, Germany, and Italy. To conduct this research, the Mershon Center funded Clemm to spend the summer in London, where he researched in such archives as the Royal Geographical Society, the National Archives at Kew, the British Library, Parliament, and the Imperial War Museum. Using maps and government documents found in the archives, Clemm found his hypothesis that Britain’s military had a much larger role in mapping expeditions than those of Germany or Italy to be true.

Jon Hendrickson (History) spent three months in Europe doing research for naval planning before World War I for his dissertation “Now We Are a Mediterranean Power: The Three Way Mediterranean Naval Race 1906–1914.” Hendrickson sought to establish a link between naval planning and strategic decision making of countries on the Mediterranean. With the help of the Mershon Center, Hendrickson was able to do research in such archives as the Ufficio Storico della Marina Militare in Rome, the Österreichesstaatsarchiv in Vienna, and the Service Historique de la Defense Marine in Paris. He found that the situation between the Austro-Hungarians and Italy, France, and Great Britain in the Mediterranean during the 1900s was much more volatile than originally thought. Interestingly, Hendrickson revealed that the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with the help of Italy, played a much more catalytic role in the Mediterranean before World War I than originally thought.

In his project “Peaceful Revisionism in International Relations: A Comparative Study of Chinese and Indian Construction of Shared Identities,” Shivaji Kumar (Political Science) explored the question of whether a rising power is peaceful by contrasting China and India, two formerly insignificant players in international politics. He examined the identification of a rising power with a hegemonic power, such as the United States, and what types of identification leads to a more peaceful rise of new powers. With funding from the Mershon Center, Kumar traveled to Delhi,
India, to access the archives of Hindi news channel Aaj Tak, which commands the highest viewership in India. He also made valuable connections at the Center for the Study of Developing Societies. Initial findings suggest a widespread belief in India that it takes individual hard work and perseverance to be successful.

**Seung-Ook Lee** (Geography) explored the outcome of North Korea’s implementation of Special Economic Zones to bolster economic activity between its own socialism and global capitalism. Lee’s project “The Implication of the Introduction of Special Economic Zones in North Korea: Comparing Between the Gaeseong and the Sinuiju” used the rarely investigated Special Economic Zones as a test for North Korea’s new economic policy. The Mershon Center funded Lee to travel to four cities in North Korea: Sariwon, Nampo, Hyangsan, and Pyongyang. In these cities, Lee was able to build trust and foster continuing relationships with the North Korean people, including scholars and academics, conduct discussions with the scholars from universities and research institutes, and collect data in Grand People’s Library. This trip provided him with the necessary insight into the North Korean economy and foundations to conduct more research in neighboring countries.

**Stephen Shapiro** (History) traveled to England for nine weeks to conduct research for his dissertation “The Rise and Fall of Liberal Militarism: Political Culture and Defense Policy in Britain, 1842–1871.” There, Shapiro investigated the influence of liberalism as a political philosophy on British defense policy during this period. He found that the defining moment for liberalism’s influence was actually far earlier, with the adoption of short-service enlistment over the objections of the conservatives and the military establishment. Even within their own party, proponents of liberal militarism had to navigate between those too traditional to accept their reforms and those too hostile to military expenditures to recognize the innovation of their efforts.

In her project “The Politics of Transitional Justice in Post-Suharto Indonesia,” **Jiwon Suh** (Political Science) compared the political representations of state violence and the corresponding transitional justice outcomes by examining cases of political violence in Indonesia. She hypothesized that the degree of politicization of the incident affects the outcome and adoption of justice mechanisms. Conducting a case-study of Indonesia opened the door to understanding party-society relations in new democracies. Suh spent two months in Jakarta and traveled to Singapore to conduct interviews with specialists in Indonesian transitional justice. She also spent time improving her knowledge of the Indonesian language in order to more effectively read and understand research materials. Suh found that looking at the cases of political violence in a more holistic way is a better way to gauge and understand the outcomes of justice mechanisms. She also found that as the publicity of political violence decreases, the roles of victims of political violence themselves stand out much more than those of political elites.
Project:
Political Dimensions of Economic and Civil Insecurity in Brazil
Principal Investigator:
Sarah Brooks, Political Science

During the late 20th century, developing nations around the world made great strides in extending political rights to their citizens. The assumption behind extending these rights was that once granted the ability to participate in the political system, poor people would enact laws to bring about economic gains and close income gaps.

Yet in many countries this is not what happened, and Sarah Brooks wants to know why. Using Latin America, and specifically Brazil, as a backdrop for her analysis, Brooks postulates that citizens use democracy to achieve egalitarian outcomes most effectively if they have access to a social safety net. Without such security, democracy may reinforce rather than overturn sharp disparities.

Brazil makes a good test case for Brooks’s thesis because it has experienced positive economic growth with significant reductions in poverty and inequality. Despite these gains, however, political participation has waned as violence and insecurity have risen. Brazil has one of the highest homicide rates in the world, along with deep economic insecurity among the poor.

Brooks is investigating the link between democracy, insecurity, and inequality in two ways. First, she used a 2009 Brazilian survey to gauge how vulnerable people believe they are to crime and income loss, how they cope with this perceived vulnerability, and what this means for their participation in local councils that oversee health, education, and housing programs.

The results of the survey showed clearly that people who had access to risk-protection systems such as good jobs, health care, insurance, and community policing were more likely to participate in democratic institutions. People who did not have such access, however, were less likely to participate, even though participation could have given them the means to improve their own situation.

Second, Brooks will put the Brazilian experience into perspective by conducting a cross-national analysis of changing risk protection systems in Latin America. To do this, she will use data from the “Latinobarometer,” a survey of 34,000 people in 22 countries.

Based on this research, Brooks plans to produce two articles and a proposal to the National Science Foundation for multiyear cross-national study of risk protection and democracy.

Project:
The Psychology of Hate
Principal Investigators:
William Cunningham, Simon Dennis, J ay J. Van Bavel, Psychology

The 20th century was the bloodiest in history, with more than 50 million people killed in war and genocide. Yet basic questions about why such violence occurs remain unanswered. What motivates one person to harm another? What is the nature of hate?

One consideration in theorizing about hate is whether it is distinct from other negative attitudes. Is hate simply a stronger version of dislike? Or is it qualitatively different? In this project, Cunningham, Dennis, and Van Bavel conducted a scientific analysis of hate to identify its psychological underpinnings and motivational implications.
The investigators studied the nature of hate through a series of seven studies using two methods: latent semantic analysis and social cognitive neuroscience.

Latent semantic analysis uses computers to take a body of text, such as participant interviews, and produce a vector space representation of how key words are related. The researchers used this method in a series of studies that included:

- Participants reporting three objects, people, or concepts they hate, three they dislike, and detailed explanations why.
- Participants reporting one object, person, or concept they dislike, extremely dislike, and hate.
- Analysis of real-world conflicts in which collective attitudes reflect hate.

Social cognitive analysis investigates the role of the human brain in producing thoughts and emotions. Here, the investigators did two studies using functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI) and electroencephalography (EEG). In both experiments, participants were instructed to think about people and issues they dislike and those they hate so the investigators could see if different regions of the brain were involved.

Preliminary results show that hate is qualitatively different from dislike. While dislike was associated with avoidance, hate was associated with approach. Hate also was based on core moral or ideological beliefs, thus reducing positive attitudes or empathy toward others and possibly triggering violent motivations.

By understanding the psychological nature of hate, the investigators hope that interventions can be introduced to reduce or eliminate it.

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Project:

Principal Investigator:
Mytheli Sreenivas, History and Women’s Studies

Since the 19th century, Westerners have imagined India as teeming with overpopulated masses. Yet the rate of population increase was lower than in Europe and North America, and the country did not record notable population growth until the census of 1931.

In this book project, Mytheli Sreenivas examines this disconnect between perception and fact, arguing that overpopulation was not a neutral category but a politically fraught concept that underpinned claims of power, privilege, and citizenship.

Sreenivas focuses on three areas in South Asian history where population emerged as a target of social, political, and economic concern:

- **Famine.** Famines occurred throughout the colonial period in India. Some colonial officials argued famine was a Malthusian check against overpopulation, leading them to offer minimal relief. Indian nationalists blamed hunger on colonial mismanagement; even so, they cited concerns about population quality.

- **Reproduction.** Debates about women’s age of marriage, enforced widowhood, and female infanticide emerged in the late colonial era. By the 20th century, many were advocating contraception and even abortion. Fears of overpopulation underpinned this campaign, shaping broad questions of gender politics.
Policies and programs. Overt attempts at population control began after Indian independence. The Nehru government emerged at the forefront of government intervention in population control. These programs garnered significant international aid, even when they used controversial methods such as IUDs and sterilization.

Throughout this project, Sreenivas examines how population politics in the postcolonial era drew from paradigms developed under colonial conditions. To what extent did colonial-era debates reverberate after 1947? Did claims about India’s “teeming masses,” developed when India was a colony, change after it gained independence? Did nationalist critiques during the colonial era also challenge concepts of overpopulation?

Sreenivas’s project will make a contribution to debates in South Asian history, the transnational flow of ideas over time, and feminist analysis of reproductive politics.

Project: The Integration of Immigrants in Schools

Principal Investigator: Bruce Weinberg, Economics

In multicultural societies, people from different groups must deal with one another. Yet the ways in which they do this vary widely. How much do the groups integrate? How much do they segregate? How much influence does the majority group have on minorities, and vice versa?

Bruce Weinberg sets out to answer these questions by focusing on the microcosm of schools. Integration in schools is particularly important because they are formative environments. Students who do not integrate in schools are less likely to be successful in the labor market.

Weinberg is using a dataset of more than 40 million records over eight years from schools in London, one of the most diverse cities in the world, to examine the effects of immigrants on the educational outcomes of native-born students and on the immigrants themselves.

From previous research supported by the Mershon Center, Weinberg found that minority groups integrate when they have small numbers, but as their numbers grow, they tend to segregate.

Some of the variables Weinberg is considering in the current study include the size of the school, the size of the immigrant population, and overall test scores. For example, if immigrants at a school have low test scores, is it because they are immigrants or because they are in a poor school? To determine this, Weinberg is comparing immigrant test scores to those of native-born students as well as tracking immigrant test scores across different grades and schools.

Weinberg also will examine whether immigrants who do well bring up the majority population, or if they are so segregated that there are in effect two different populations. He also will be able to see the effect of immigrants on different types of schools (for example, those that offer free meals), or different types of students (for example, special needs classes).

The goal is to produce a pilot study suitable for inclusion in a larger grant proposal.
Graduate Students

**Nathan Arbuckle (Psychology)** conducted psychological tests in his project “Decreasing Nationalistic Motivation” in order to determine whether individuals could show less nationalistic favoritism if they saw themselves as unique. The Mershon Center funded Arbuckle to conduct numerous tests. One test examined the relationship between in-group identification and various dimensions of personality. Another test demonstrated that group membership causes an increase in the tendency for people to sacrifice self-interest for others, and provided evidence that this new measure of concern for self and other interest is valid and reliable.

In “Hinduization of Civil Society: Subregional Variation in ‘Uncivil’ Inter-Ethnic Associational Life in India,” **Soundarya Chidambaram (Political Science)** explored why and how some extreme right-wing Hindu groups are successful in some Indian states but unsuccessful in others. Chidambaram spent six months doing fieldwork in the states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka in India. There, she conducted 75 interviews with politicians, party workers, Hindu right-wing ideologues, and workers directly involved in running welfare projects. Her preliminary research suggests that within South India, the ability of Hindu nationalist organizations to polarize communities or provoke violence by manipulating religious symbols is much weaker in the state of Tamil Nadu than in Karnataka. Furthermore, state failure in service delivery pushes disadvantaged Hindus in Karnataka towards the Hindu right-wing, which offers alternative service-providing organizations. Patronage politics in Tamil Nadu, however, distributes benefits evenly, eliminating the need for alternative service-providing organizations.

In “Margins of the Mahjar: Arabic-Speaking Immigrants of Argentina, 1880–1946,” **Steven Hyland (History)** examined the Arabic-speaking colonies in northern Argentina as they adjusted to local realities while attempting to maintain links with the old country. More specifically, Hyland examined how the intersection of global processes and local concerns transformed notions of community among these immigrants. The Mershon Center funded Hyland to do research in the U.S. Library of Congress and the Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection at The University of Texas at Austin. His initial research enabled him to spatially plot out the Arabic-speaking merchant class. With this, Hyland found that a plurality of these merchants concentrated themselves in the sugar-growing zones and the burgeoning urban zones surrounding the plantations. Interestingly, he found that Arabic-speaking immigrants had the highest rates of arrest of any immigrant group in Tucumán for larceny, aggravated assault, and disorderly conduct between 1906 and 1925, but this group was also the wealthiest national group in the province, even surpassing Argentine merchants.
**Ian Lanzillotti** (History) spent two months in the Kabardino-Balkaria region of the former USSR to do research for his project “Nationality Policies and Identity Politics in the North Caucasus: Kabardino-Balkaria, 1864–1991.” In his research, Lanzillotti explored the stark difference between the violence and political dissent of the surrounding caucus regions with the relative peace of the Kabardino-Balkaria caucus. His initial findings show that the postwar years gave rise to an increased support for nativization, or the promotion of non-Russians as political, cultural, and industrial leaders, which seems to question the widely accepted view that after the 1930s the Stalinist state began to place greater importance on the progressive role of Russian culture and language in the lives of the Soviet Union’s national minorities.

**Kathryn Magee** (History) debunks the myth that the Huron people were destroyed by the Iroquois in 1649 in her project “Dispersed but Not Destroyed: A History of 17th Century Huron Diaspora.” It has commonly been held that the Huron people ceased to exist after 1649, but research conducted by Magee suggests that they obtained a collective identity beyond the Iroquois victory and their dispersal. Magee used Mershon Center funds to take trips to several Indian villages in Canada including Crawford Lake Indian Village in Ontario, Sainte-Marie-Among-The-Hurons in Ontario, and Wendake: Huron-Wendat Reserve in Quebec. These trips gave Magee a perspective on the struggles of relocation and violence among Native Americans, as well as access to related archives.

**Zoe Pearson** (Geography) investigated the everyday micropolitics of territorial control over the Yasuni region of Ecuador, by the private oil company Repsol, and its implications for the Waorani people in her project “Oil, Conflict, and Territory in Yasuni National Park, Ecuador.” She guided her research with the following questions: How does Repsol exercise power through the control of space? What can local expressions of territorial control tell us about the often-abstract security literature? The Mershon Center funded Pearson to travel to Ecuador and conduct this research in such cities as Qinto, El Coca, and Puyo. She conducted semi-structured interviews and some focus groups with Waorani people, scientific researchers, officials from prominent NGOs, and Repsol oil company employees.

**Kaldir Yildirim** (Political Science) explored the emergence and success of Muslim Democratic Parties (MDPs) in Egypt, Turkey, and Morocco for his dissertation “Muslim Democratic Parties: Globalization and Moderation in the Middle East.” After having done research in Egypt and Turkey, Yildirim traveled to Morocco and conducted interviews with officials from the Party for Justice and Development (PJD), members of the Islamist Justice and Spirituality Movement (JSM), and Moroccan businessmen. Yildirim’s research revealed how the transformation of the new democratic PJD was undertaken, how despite opposition the JSM was able to form such a well-developed political organization, and how the economic liberalization has benefitted small and medium sized businesses.
The Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP) is a multi-year, multi-country examination of citizen voting behavior in democracies around the world. In addition to including conventional factors in explaining vote decisions, it has pioneered a focus on how voters receive information about policies, parties, and candidates during election campaigns.

CNEP began in 1990 with surveys in the first national elections of the 1990s in Germany, Britain, the United States, and Japan. It expanded in 1993 to include eight more countries and additional questions. CNEP recently expanded again so that it now includes 35 national election surveys in 21 countries. It is now the third-largest international project of its kind.

The first edited volume from the project was published by Oxford University Press in 2007. This year, project leaders met at Jiatong University in Shanghai to finalize chapters for the next edited volume, which adds new Asian and African countries and a focus on values.

Among its topics are:
- determinants of voting turnout, including the impacts of individual characteristics, country electoral laws, and political communications
- A detailed case study of attitude formation and political behavior in Spain, based on a panel study and in-depth interviews

Participants also are planning the fourth phase of the project, which will integrate new survey data collected in five countries (including Brazil and Moldova) and may expand to include a newly democratized Egypt and up to 12 African countries.

So far CNEP has produced more than 100 chapters and articles, including some in leading political science journals, and one edited cross-national book. The 35 national surveys also are posted on the CNEP web site. For more information, see cnep.ics.ul.pt.beck.

Project:
Indonesian National Election Project
Principal Investigator:
R. William Liddle, Political Science

After more than four decades of authoritarian rule, Indonesia held democratic elections in 1999, 2004, and 2009, when for the first time an incumbent government was re-elected.

In all three elections, Bill Liddle worked with Saiful Mujani, director of the Indonesia Survey Institute, on polls to find out why Indonesians voted as they did. The results shed light on politics in the world’s largest Muslim nation.

Although conventional wisdom cites religious beliefs, regional loyalties, and social class as major determinants of voting behavior, survey results showed little evidence that any of these had an effect. Rather, factors that did correlate with voter choice included:
Likeability of party leader. The re-election of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was clearly connected to positive evaluations of him as a leader. Party identification also remained strongly associated with partisan choice.

Exposure to media. A vast majority of voters had seen political coverage on television, with others exposed to it in newspapers and radio. Voters also remembered advertisements from the winning incumbents far more often than from other candidates.

Economic conditions. Although neighboring Thailand and Malaysia were deeply affected by the world financial crisis, Indonesians saw themselves as better off and credited the government.

These findings lead to a mixed outlook for Indonesian democracy, Liddle and Mujani argue. On the positive side, Indonesians are less influenced by religious and ethnic claims, instead prioritizing economic growth, national unity, and rule of law.

On the other hand, reliance on mass media is a concern, especially with no transparency on funding sources for campaign advertisements. Finally, votes based on likeability of a party leader leave Indonesians vulnerable: Although they had a competent candidate in 2004 and 2009, next time they might not be so lucky.

Results of the Indonesian National Election Project will roll into the larger Comparative National Elections Project directed by Richard Gunther.

Project:
Voting for Peace: Do Post-Conflict Elections Help or Hinder Recovery

Principal Investigator:
Irfan Nooruddin, Political Science

Since the end of the Cold War, countries emerging from civil wars have been ushered as quickly as possible into democracy. Elections held soon after the signing of peace agreements are thought to initiate a transformation from violence to peace and poverty to prosperity.

But what if that is not the way it works? Irfan Nooruddin, with Thomas Flores of George Mason University, is examining elections in countries coping with the aftermath of a civil war. They argue that such rapid transitions to democracy are fraught with danger.

Of particular importance are non-state armed groups. If they run in an election and lose, they may suffer political retribution and be unable to run again in the future. Because they often are required to disarm as part of the peace process, they are unable to force winners to keep election promises once in office. For this reason, they often undermine the disarmament process until after elections are held, fearing that only force can prevent electoral fraud.

Thus, building a credible peace in post-conflict societies depends on convincing former armed groups that their rights will be respected even if they lose an election. Interventions in such countries should focus on helping armed groups convert to political parties and building democratic institutions strong enough to keep election winners in line.
Nooruddin’s argument has two implications. First, elections are more dangerous in countries that have no experience with democracy, where democratic institutions are at their weakest. Second, delaying elections in post-conflict societies can aid a peaceful transition. A longer interim period allows democratic institutions to build strength and non-state armed groups to evolve into political parties.

Nooruddin and Flores have found strong support for these arguments. In one paper, they found that post-conflict democracies face slow economic reconstruction and the threat of renewed conflict. In another, they found that moving post-conflict elections to the third year or beyond significantly reduces the risk of a return to war.

Project:
Managing Urbanization and Development in China During Crisis

Principal Investigator:
Jeremy Wallace, Political Science

Why has the Chinese Communist Party held power for the last six decades while the Soviet Union and most other communist states have collapsed? Jeremy Wallace tackles this question by examining how one socio-economic factor—urbanization—affects autocratic survival.

Scholars affiliated with the Chinese Communist Party have argued that the Chinese government fears “Latin Americanization,” marked by the development of highly unequal megacities and the crime, slums, and social instability that comes with them. For this reason, in 2002 China abolished agricultural taxes and began subsidizing rural areas.

China is an anomaly in this regard, as most developing nations favor cities as a way to reduce the threat of urban unrest. Wallace argues that such urban favoritism is self-defeating in the long run because it leads to further urbanization, increasing the number of malcontents who might threaten the regime. By funneling money to rural areas, China has reduced this long-term risk.

The recent global financial crisis provides an excellent test of Wallace’s arguments. The Chinese government responded to the economic crisis in two ways: by approving a $600 billion stimulus package, and by managing urban-rural migration through its hukou system of household registration.

As orders for Chinese goods plummeted, factories in cities along the east coast were forced to shut down. Collective ownership of land in the countryside provided a “social security system of last resort,” allowing 20 million unemployed workers to return to rural villages.

In addition, stimulus funds were used not to prop up failing export factories, but to support a variety of sectors including transportation and energy infrastructure, and rural social services such as water, electricity, health care, and education.

By maintaining rural areas as a viable option, Wallace argues, China was able to dissipate discontent in a time of crisis. He plans to further test his hypothesis by examining the geographic distribution of stimulus spending, and by correlating size and unemployment rates of cities with their enforcement of the hukou system.
Graduate Students

In her project “Dutiful Compliance in International Law: Origins and Functioning Legal Obligations in International Politics,” Burcu Bayram (Political Science) explored the power of legal obligation. Bayram focused on three major questions: When do decision makers comply with international law out of a sense of legal obligation? How does this motive come into existence? What are the pathways through which legal obligation leads to compliance? She hypothesized that actors in international politics and relations are motivated mainly by international legal duties when they are of a globalist identity as opposed to strictly a nationalist identity. To support this hypothesis, Bayram used funds granted by the Mershon Center to print and distribute original questionnaires to congressmen and parliamentarians in Germany. Preliminary results have supported her hypothesis.

Quintin Beazer (Political Science) traveled to two regions in Russia, Krasnoyarsk and Samara, to conduct a case study on regions with contrasting levels of bureaucratic efficiency. His dissertation “Risk in the Regions: Bureaucratic Quality and Domestic Investment across the Russian Federation” explores the reasons that some regional governments encourage business growth while others stifle and undermine business growth opportunities. Beazer conducted over 20 interviews with Russian business leaders and spent time with the Center for Economic and Financial Research, where he was able to interact with many scholars specializing in this field of study. Initial findings suggest that laws and regulation of businesses do not vary much across regional boundaries, but the application of these laws varies greatly between regions, and this application has a profound effect on the businesses.

Daniel Blake (Political Science) looked beyond the generic, functional explanation of how international institutions are designed in his project “The Domestic Determinants of International Institutional Design.” Instead of explaining institutional structures based on its functions, Blake investigated the design of an institution by taking into consideration the preferences of the political leader who created it and how bilateral investment treaties are made. Further, Blake hypothesized that these preferences are influenced by political incentives and pressures that spring from domestic political institutional environments within which these leaders operate. The Mershon Center funded Blake to spend four weeks in Turkey to conduct semi-structured field interviews with government officials, policymakers, representatives of business, and labor associations and experienced investment lawyers. Preliminary findings suggest that the structure of international institutions is affected by macroeconomics more than previously thought, and that governments’ preferences over investment agreements evolve over time.

Kevin Grove (Geography) traveled to Kingston, Jamaica, to conduct research for his project “Environmental Security, Disaster Management and Catastrophe Insurance: The Jamaican Case.” In his travels, Grove conducted an institutional ethnography in collaboration with the Office of Disaster Preparedness and Emergency Management, participated in disaster and development conferences organized for government officials and employees of NGOs, and interviewed government and business leaders involved in the CCRIF, a World Bank-organized regional catastrophe insurance pool for Caribbean governments. His initial research suggests that insurance- and community-based forms of disaster management have convergent political, economic, and cultural effects. Both types of disaster management do seek to foster resilient communities that can quickly adapt to the social, economic, and political
shocks that follow in the wake of a disaster. However, this type of insurance defuses the potential for individuals to experiment with alternative forms of political and economic activity in the wake of a disaster.

Jennifer Nowlin (Political Science) investigates the political participation of women in the Middle East in her project “Striking Out: Women and Political Participation in Egypt and Morocco.” Mershon Center funding allowed her to spend eight months in Egypt doing fieldwork by conducting interviews and administering a survey. While in Egypt, Nowlin also spent three days a week volunteering at the Egyptian Center for Women’s Rights. She found that women in Egypt still have trouble distinguishing between civil society and formal politics as outlined by Western society. Also, Nowlin found that prior studies tend to over-emphasize the formal aspect of politics, while the majority of “political” events are actually occurring in the informal sphere.

In “Open Borders and Democracy Promotion: Political Reform Through International Mass Migration,” Yoon-Ah Oh (Political Science) investigated how global labor migration and the resources it creates affect domestic politics in developing countries. She hypothesized that migration changes the nature of the relationship between citizens and the government. Specifically, labor migration appears to undermine democratic accountability and general public goods provision in the long run, but it induces narrow improvements in certain areas of governance. The Mershon Center funded Oh to travel to the Philippines to conduct interviews with politicians, government officials, journalists, academics, migrant workers, and NGO officers. In addition, she collected various types of aggregate data on migration, governance, and local elections, which were not brought together before. She spent most of her time in Manila, the state capital, while making several research trips to the provinces.

Scott Powell (Political Science) investigated the importance of the preferences and organization of groups within domestic labor markets in explaining shifts in the economy. In his project “Refining Labor Politics: The Social and Economic Foundations of Welfare State Reform,” Powell hypothesized that structural changes in the provision of economic security are the product of often-overlooked gaps within the labor force. To test this argument, he cross-examined the organizational structures of Germany, Denmark, and the United Kingdom. The Mershon Center funded Powell to travel to Berlin, where he met with labor union representatives and interviewed a number of political representatives for his examination of the organizational structure of Germany. His research helped debunk the common theory that unionized workers are a homogenous group with pro-welfare policy preferences, and not only proved his theory that labor unions affect policy, but how they are able to do so.

Anne Sealey (History) spent five weeks at United Nations headquarters in New York and one week in Geneva, Switzerland, completing research for her project, “Combating the Enemy of Mankind: Epidemic Control, Internationalism and the League of Nations.” In her dissertation, Sealey explores the importance of public health in cooperation, security, and community during the interwar period. She found that the League of Nations Health Organization (LNHO) was used as a powerful tool not only for the gain of individual countries, but for international cooperation in the tumultuous period between World War I and World War II. The LNHO also provided a friendly and often fruitful forum for cooperation between the United States, Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, and other, often untrusting, rivals.
Ralph D. Mershon Study Abroad Scholarship 2009–10

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 also may receive funding. Priority is given to students who are preparing for a career related to international security studies.

In 2009–10, the Mershon Center awarded 11 scholarships. Some of the winners are pictured here.

Valerie Hendrickson, majoring in East Asian studies and Chinese, studied at the Chinese Language Flagship Program in Qingdao, China.

Lowell Howard, an international studies major, studied in Brazil. He spent the first part of his trip in the state of Bahia, where he is pictured with a woman wearing traditional Bahian dress. He later studied at the Portuguese Language Program in Sao Paulo.

Jill Schofield, majoring in international studies and French, stood in front of the Château de Chenonceau. “One week I was learning about this château in my art history class. The next week I was seeing the things that I had learned about in person,” she said. Schofield enrolled in the International Studies Association Program in French Language, Culture, and Civilization.

Lydia Thomas posed after a dawn camel ride through the ancient roman city of Palmyra and up the hill to Qala’at Ibn Ma’an (an Arab fort). Pictured behind her is the Valley of the Tombs, home to the famous tomb, Elahbel’s Tower. Thomas studied at the Standard Arabic Program at Damascus University in Syria.

Logan West, an international studies major, studied at the CIEE Arabic Language Program in Amman, Jordan. Here, he explored the remnants of the Roman Coliseum in Amman, Jordan.

Timothy Sroka, majoring in political science and Russian, studied at the Russian Language and Culture Program in Tomsk. Here, he posed with the famous statue of Anton Chekhov along the river Tomsk. The statue mocks Chekhov for the negative comments he made about the Tomsk.
The Mershon Center awarded 12 study abroad scholarships for 2010–11. Winners include and their courses of study are:

**Samantha Agarwal**
Senior, Political Science and Environmental Policy and Management
Hindi Language Program at the International Center for Language Studies in Delhi, India

**Bradley Coler**
Sophomore, International Studies: Security and Intelligence
Arabic and Persian Immersion Program at the University of Wisconsin–Madison

**Michael Eizyk**
Senior, International Relations and Diplomacy; Spanish
Rothberg International School at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Israel

**Nathan Fourman**
Junior, Logistics Management and East Asian Studies
Chinese Language Flagship Program in Qunidao, China

**Gregory Friend**
Junior, Russian and International Studies
Intensive Russian Language and Culture Program at Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow

**Benjamin Harper**
Senior, History and Arabic
Learn and Serve in Tunisia Program

**Elaine Householder**
Junior, International Studies: African Studies
University of Ulster at Magee in Northern Ireland

**Courtney Murdock**
Junior, Chinese Language and International Studies
Study Abroad at Chinese University

**Deanna Pan**
Freshman, English and Political Science
Minnesota Studies in International Development Program in Jaipur, India

**Rachel Ruebusch**
Junior, Political Science and French
CIC Summer French Program at Laval University in Québec, Canada

**Michael Niday**
Sophomore, Russian and Linguistics
Intensive Russian Language and Culture Program at Russian State University for the Humanities in Moscow, Russia
Books

Alice Conklin, Associate Professor of History
France and Its Empire since 1870, with Sarah Fishman and Robert Zaretsky (Oxford University Press, 2010)
Providing an up-to-date synthesis of the history of an extraordinary nation—one that has been shrouded in myths, many of its own making—this book seeks both to understand these myths and to uncover the complicated and often contradictory realities that underpin them. It situates modern French history in transnational and global contexts and also integrates the themes of imperialism and immigration into the traditional narrative. Presenting a lively and coherent narrative of the major developments in France’s tumultuous history since 1870, the authors organize the chapters around the country’s many turning points and confrontations. They offer detailed analyses of politics, society, and culture, considering the diverse viewpoints of men and women from every background, including the working class and the bourgeoisie, immigrants, Catholics, Jews and Muslims, Bretons and Algerians, rebellious youth, and gays and lesbians.

Carter Vaughn Findley, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History
This book reveals the historical dynamics propelling two centuries of Ottoman and Turkish history. As threats to imperial survival mounted, ethnic and religious identities inspired different responses. A radical, secular current of change competed with a conservative, Islamic current. The radical current began with reformist governmental elites and expanded with “print capitalism,” symbolized by Ottoman-language newspapers. The radicals engineered the 1908 Young Turk revolution, ruled empire and republic until 1950, and made secularism a lasting “belief system.” The conservative current grew from three Islamic renewal movements, those of Mevlana Halid, Said Nursi, and Fethullah Gülen. Powerful under the empire, Islamic conservatives did not regain control of government until the 1980s. Findley’s reassessment of political, economic, social, and cultural history reveals the interaction between radical and conservative currents, which clashed and converged to shape Turkish history.

In the new seventh edition, this best-selling book thoroughly covers recent world history by focusing on themes of global interrelatedness, identity and difference, the rise of mass society, and technology versus nature. Outlined in the book’s introduction, these themes help readers effectively place historical events in a larger context. Integrating the latest dramatic phases in world history, the book has been extensively revised and updated, especially the period since 1945. Findley has completely rewritten the two chapters on superpowers, Europe, and the Cold War. The text also takes an in-depth look at the economic growth of India and China, recent developments of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the impact of the global financial crash, the latest in the war on terror, new international environmental initiatives, and more.

Richard Hamilton, Professor Emeritus of Sociology and Political Science
America’s New Empire: The 1890s and Beyond (Transaction Publishers, 2010)
In this book, Hamilton deals with the antecedents and outcome of the Spanish-American war, specifically, the acquisition of an American empire. It critiques the “progressive” view of those events, questioning the notion that businessmen (and compliant politicians) aggressively sought new markets, particularly in Asia. Hamilton shows that U.S. exports continued to go predominantly to the major European nations. The progressive tradition has focused on empire, specifically on the Philippines as a stepping stone to the China market. Hamilton shows that the Asian market remained minuscule, and that other historical works have neglected the most important change in the nation’s trade pattern, the growth of the Canada market, which became the United States’ largest foreign market. This review and assessment of arguments about American expansion in the 1890s adds much to the literature of the period.
military, and political setting. 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. The essays place contingency war planning before 1914 in the different contexts and challenges faced by each state as well as into a broad European paradigm. This is the first such undertaking in three decades, and the result is breathtaking in both scope and depth of analysis.

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*, co-edited with Helena Goscilo (Indiana University Press, 2010)

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 are repeatedly strained by the pressure of redefining an embattled masculinity in a shifting political landscape.

Aspasia: International Yearbook of Central, Eastern, Southeastern European Women’s and Gender History, special cluster on “Women in War,” co-edited with Helena Goscilo (Berghahn Books, 2010)


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.

Amy Horowitz, Scholar in Residence

*Mediterranean Israeli Music and the Politics of the Aesthetic* (Wayne State University Press, 2010)

The relocation of North African and Middle Eastern Jews to Israel in the 1950s and 1960s brought together immigrants from Egypt, Iraq, Kurdistan, Yemen, and other Islamic countries, as well as their unique music styles. In transit camps, development towns, and poor neighborhoods, they created a new pan-ethnic Mizrahi identity and a homegrown hybrid music. Horowitz focuses on the work of three artists—Avihu Medina, Zohar Argov, and Zehava Ben—who pioneered the Mizrahi style and moved it to the national arena. She also contextualizes the music by detailing the mass migration of North African and Middle Eastern Jews to Israel, the emergence of these immigrants as a political coalition in the 1970s, and the opening of markets for music makers. The book places folklore within the frameworks of nationalism, ethnicity, ethnomusicology, Jewish studies, Israel studies, Middle Eastern Studies, and politics.

Mitchell Lerner, Associate Professor of History, and Peter Hahn, Professor of History

*Passport: The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (SHAFR)*

Passport welcomes submissions of essays detailing research in foreign and domestic archives, dealing with the teaching of diplomatic history, or exploring other issues of interest to readers. Passport also carries personal notices, publication announcements, calls for papers, employment advertisements, fellowship notices, obituaries, and other such items.
The Ohio State University

Inside...
The Fight Over Vice-President Cheney’s Records
Research at the Herbert Hoover Library and Museum
The View From Overseas: Turkish-American Relations
The Tragedy of American Diplomacy
Happy Anniversary to William Appleman Williams’s
Teaching Humanitarian Intervention in the Classroom
A Roundtable Discussion of J.C.A. Stagg’s
Writing the Great Historical Novel
Dealing with Digital Books
A Roundtable on Marc Selverstone’s
An Overview of the Peace History Society
The Newsletter of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations
Visit to Turkey and the State of Turkish-
“Ever We Can”: President Barack Obama’s Visit to Turkey and the State of Turkish-

FACULTY PUBLICATIONS AND HONORS

Books (continued)

Vol. 41, Issue 1 (April 2010)
“How Did Political Leaders Experience the Fall of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989?” by Mary Elise Sarotte
“How I Became a Novelist and Lived (Learned) to Tell the Tale,” by Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman
“Digital Books,” by Michael J. McGandy
“A Call to Broaden the Reach of SHAFR through the Social Science Research Network, by Dan Margolies
“A Postcard from your Friend, Joe Canuck,” by Brian Clancy

Vol. 40, Issue 2 (September 2009)
“Taking History Overseas,” by Douglas Karsner, Ron Eisenman, and David Koistinen
“A Classroom Simulation on Humanitarian Intervention,” by Philip Nash
“The Background and Activities of the Peace History Society,” by Lawrence S. Wittner
“Frances Bolton and Africa: 1955–58,” by Andy DeRoche

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Vol. 40, Issue 2 (September 2009)
“The Elusive Vice-Presidential Records of Richard B. Cheney,” by Anne L. Weismann

“Ever We Can”: President Barack Obama’s Visit to Turkey and the State of Turkish-

American Relations,” by Edward P. Kohn
“Historical Resources on Foreign Policy at the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library-Museum,” by Spencer Howard

J. Craig Jenkins, Professor of Sociology
The Handbook of Politics: State and Society in Global Perspective, ed. with Kevin T. Leicht (Springer, 2010)
Political sociology is the interdisciplinary study of power and the intersection of personality, society, and politics. The field also examines how the political process is affected by major social trends and how social policies are altered by various social forces. Political sociologists use a variety of quantitative and qualitative methodologies and incorporate theories and research from other social science disciplines. This handbook focuses on current controversies about the use of different methodologies for the study of politics and society, as well as discussions of specific applications found in the widely scattered literature where substantive research is published.

The purpose is to summarize state-of-the-art theory, research, and methods used in the study of politics and society. The handbook is designed to reflect diversity in content, method, and focus. In addition, it will cover research in the developed and underdeveloped worlds.

Allan R. Millett, Gen. Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair Emeritus in Military History
The War for Korea, 1950–1951: They Came from the North (University Press of Kansas, 2010)
In the second volume of his Korean War trilogy, Millett focuses on the 12-month period from North Korea’s invasion of South Korea on June 25, 1950, through the end of June 1951—the most active phase of the war. Moving between the battlefield and halls of power, Millett weaves together military operations and tactics without losing sight of Cold War geopolitics, strategy, and civil-military relations. This book is the first look at the contributions and challenges of integrating naval and air power with the ground forces of United Nations Command. Millett also provides the most complete account of the role of South Korea’s armed forces. Research in South Korean, Chinese, and Soviet as well as American and U.N. sources, Millett has exploited oral history collections—including interviews with American and South Korean officers—and made extensive use of reports based on interrogations of North Korean and Chinese POWs.

The Ohio State University
Since World War II, nuclear weapons have been designed to lower it have simply not been worth it. The risk that terrorism presents, enhanced expenditures by regulators, academics, businesses, and governments. In doing so, they apply standard risk and cost-benefit evaluation techniques that have been used for decades as comment on mitigation, resilience, and overreaction. Security, the Risks, Benefits, and Costs of Homeland Terrorism, Security, and Money: Balancing effective of the enhanced expenditures on homeland security measures taken since 9/11. They also explore the evaluation of policing and intelligence matters, as well as comment on mitigation, resilience, and overreaction. In doing so, they apply standard risk and cost-benefit evaluation techniques that have been used for decades by regulators, academics, businesses, and governments. Their key conclusion is that given the quite limited tendency to exaggerate external threats, currently the one presented by international terrorism. The third section deals with the role of public opinion in foreign policy, also arguing that much so-called ethnic warfare was really more criminal in nature. Terrorism, Security, and Money: Balancing the Risks, Benefits, and Costs of Homeland Security, with Mark Stewart (forthcoming)

In seeking to evaluate the effectiveness of post-9/11 homeland security expenses—which have risen by more than a trillion dollars not including war costs—the common query has been, “Are we safer?” This, however, is the wrong question, as the posting of a single security guard at one building’s entrance enhances safety, however microscopically. The correct question is, “Are the gains in security worth the funds expended?” Mueller and Stewart seek to provide answers by focusing on the cost-effectiveness of the enhanced expenditures on homeland security measures taken since 9/11. They also explore the evaluation of policing and intelligence matters, as well as comment on mitigation, resilience, and overreaction. In doing so, they apply standard risk and cost-benefit evaluation techniques that have been used for decades by regulators, academics, businesses, and governments. Their key conclusion is that given the quite limited tendency to exaggerate external threats, currently the one presented by international terrorism. The third section deals with the role of public opinion in foreign policy, also arguing that much so-called ethnic warfare was really more criminal in nature.

Atomic Obsession: Nuclear Alarmism from Hiroshima to Al-Qaeda (Oxford University Press, 2009)

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? 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, 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: Credibility and the Strength of Weak Governments (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming)

This book challenges the conventional wisdom that coalition government hinders necessary policy reform in developing countries. Nooruddin presents a fresh theory that institutionalized gridlock, by reducing policy volatility and stabilizing investor expectations, is actually good for economic growth. Successful national economic performance, he argues, is the consequence of having the right configuration of national political institutions. Countries in which leaders must compromise to form policy are better able to commit credibly to investors and therefore enjoy higher and more stable rates of economic development. Quantitative analysis of business surveys and national economic data together with historical case studies of five countries provide evidence for these claims. This is an original analysis of the relationship between political institutions and national economic performance in the developing world and will appeal to scholars of political economy, economic development, and comparative politics.

John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies

War and Ideas: Selected Essays (Routledge, forthcoming)

This book collects Mueller’s key essays on war and the role of ideas and opinions. Mueller has maintained that war and peace is in essence merely ideas, and that war has waned as the notion that peace is good has gained currency. The first part of the book notes that war is losing out not only in the developed world, but in the developing one, and that even civil war is in marked decline. The second part updates Mueller’s argument that the Cold War was at base a clash of ideas, not of arms, domestic systems, geography, or international structure. It also maintains that there has been a considerable tendency to exaggerate external threats, currently the one presented by international terrorism. The third section deals with the role of public opinion in foreign policy, also arguing that much so-called ethnic warfare was really more criminal in nature.

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Kenneth A. Osgood, former postdoctoral fellow, and Brian C. Etheridge, former PhD student

The United States and Public Diplomacy: New Directions in Cultural and International History (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010)

Public diplomacy is the art of cultivating public opinion to achieve foreign policy objectives. A vital tool in contemporary statecraft, public diplomacy is also one of the most poorly understood elements of a nation’s “soft power.” Based on a 2007 conference at the Meroshon Center, this book adds historical perspective to the ongoing global conversation about public diplomacy and its proper role in foreign affairs. It highlights the fact that the United States has not only been an important sponsor of public diplomacy, it also has been a frequent target of public diplomacy.
initiatives sponsored by others. Many of the essays in this collection look beyond Washington to explore the ways in which foreign states, non-governmental organizations, and private citizens have used public diplomacy to influence the government and people of the United States.

Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dornalen 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 Commemoraciones de los Centenarios de Carlos V y Felipe II,” which mounted five exhibitions in Spain related to the king and also published catalogues, monographs, conference proceedings, and sources: in all over 25,000 pages. Parker is incorporating this and other material to write a full-scale biography of Philip II. The biography will be fully illustrated and include chapters on the king’s religion, his strategic vision, and his role as “Mecenas y coleccionista.”

The Cambridge History of Warfare, rev ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Spanish translation published as Historia de la Guerra (Akal, 2010)

A compelling subject, war is common to almost all known societies and almost all periods of history. This book is a comprehensive account of war in the West. The combined effort of seven leading experts, it treats the history of all aspects of the subject: the development of warfare on land, seas, and air; weapons and technology; strategy and defense; discipline and intelligence; mercenaries and standing armies; cavalry and infantry; chivalry and blitzkrieg; guerrilla assault and nuclear warfare. It places in context key elements in the history of armed engagement, from the Greek victory at Marathon, through the advent of gunpower in medieval England and France, to the jungle warfare of Vietnam and the strategic air strikes of the Gulf War. Throughout, there is an emphasis on the socio-economic aspects of military progress and how these help explain the rise of the West over the past two millennia to global military dominance.

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

Connecting Democracy: Online Consultation and the Future of Democratic Discourse, with

Connecting Democracy is a multi-authored look, by 19 scholars from seven different countries, at the phenomenon of online consultation. Online consultations are government-sponsored, web-based projects to engage everyday citizens in policy dialogue. The authors view online consultations as an elaborate form of networked communication involving citizens, public decision makers (of both the legislative and administrative sort), bureaucrats, technicians, civil society organizations, and the media. Based on multiple methodological approaches, comparative study and analysis across a variety of key disciplines, the authors argue that the online consultation phenomenon’s greatest contribution to democratic practice depends on its becoming both an impetus and a form of support for a re-imagination of democratic citizenship.

Informing Communities: Strengthening Democracy in the Digital Age (Aspen Institute, 2009)

The time has come for new thinking and aggressive action to ensure the information opportunities of America’s people, the information health of its communities, and the information vitality of our democracy. Information technology is changing our lives in ways that we cannot easily foresee. Critical intermediating practices—journalism perhaps most obviously—are facing challenges of economics, organization, and values. As dramatic as the impacts have been already, they are just beginning. How we react, individually and collectively, to the information challenges and opportunities now presented will affect the quality of our lives and the nature of our communities. The Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy, with Shane as executive director and lead drafter, has created what it hopes will be a helpful framework for seizing these opportunities and providing a vision for "informed communities."

Herbert F. Weisberg, Professor of Political Science

Controversies in Voting Behavior, 5th ed., edited with

Despite all that scholars have learned about voting behavior, significant questions persist. This book brings together the best scholarship and organizes it around five important debates that drive research in the field. This new edition features 15 new selections, many of which contain new or updated evidence. Section introductions establish useful context while guiding readers through conflicting interpretations that emerge across the chapters and in the academic literature. The book offers up a new set of readings ranging from the realignment of party lines and polarization of the American electorate, to what issues really get voters out to the polls on election day. All new section introductions
establish useful context and help readers make connections and sort through the divergent opinions of the authors. Collectively, the readings and supporting essays provide the best scholarship available on voting behavior in one volume.


Alexander Wendt, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of International Security Studies New Systems Theories of World Politics (Palgrave Studies in International Relations, 2010), 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: A Journal of International Politics, Law and Philosophy, edited with Duncan Snidal (Cambridge University Press) International Theory (IT) promotes theoretical scholarship about the positive, legal, and normative aspects of world politics respectively. The journal 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’s over-arching goal is to promote communication and engagement across theoretical and disciplinary traditions. Articles include:


Articles, Essays, and Book Chapters

Chadwick F. Alger, Professor Emeritus of Political Science

“Expanding Governmental Diversity in Global Governance: Parliamentarians of States and Local Governments” (Global Governance, January 2010).


Carol Atkinson, former Postdoctoral Fellow, now Assistant Professor of Political Science, Vanderbilt University


Sarah Brooks, Associate Professor of Political Science


Gregory Caldeira, Dreher Chair in Political Communications and Policy Thinking

“Knowing the Supreme Court? A Reconsideration of Public Ignorance of the High Court,” with James L. Gibson (The Journal of Politics, 2009).

“Has Legal Realism Damaged the Legitimacy of the U.S. Supreme Court?” with James L. Gibson (Stanford Public Law Working Paper No. 1491128, 2009).


John B. Casterline, Robert T. Lazarus Professor in Population Studies

“The time dynamics of individual fertility preferences among rural Ghanaians women,” with Ivy Kodzi and Peter Aglobitse (Studies in Family Planning, March 2010).


Amy Cohen, Assistant Professor of Law


Mathew Coleman, Assistant Professor of Geography


Alice L. Conklin, Associate Professor of History


Edward Crenshaw, Associate Professor of Sociology


“Reevaluating the Global Digital Divide: Socio-Demographic and Conflict Barriers to the Internet Revolution,” with Kristopher K. Robison (Sociological Inquiry, 2010).


William Cunningham, Assistant Professor of Psychology

“In defense of brain mapping in social and affective neuroscience” (Social Cognition, forthcoming).


“Type I and Type II error concerns in fMRI research: Re-balancing the scale,” with M. Lieberman (Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience, 2009).

“Neural correlates of reflection on goal states: The role of regulatory focus and temporal distance,” with D.J. Packer (Social Neuroscience, 2009).


Simon Dennis, Associate Professor of Psychology


Lesley Ferris, Professor of Theatre

“Incremental art: negotiating the route of London’s Notting Hill Carnival” (Social Identities, 2010).


Carole Fink, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History


“Type I and Type II error concerns in fMRI research: Re-balancing the scale,” with M. Lieberman (Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience, 2009).

“Neural correlates of reflection on goal states: The role of regulatory focus and temporal distance,” with D.J. Packer (Social Neuroscience, 2009).


Simon Dennis, Associate Professor of Psychology


Lesley Ferris, Professor of Theatre

“Incremental art: negotiating the route of London’s Notting Hill Carnival” (Social Identities, 2010).


Carole Fink, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History


Articles, Essays, and Book Chapters (continued)


**Danielle Fosler-Lussier, Assistant Professor of Music**


**Mark Grimsley, Associate Professor of History**


**Peter L. Hahn, Professor of History**


Review of Patrick Tyler, A World of Trouble: The White House and the Middle East from the Cold War to the War on Terror (Proceedings, 2009).

**Richard Hamilton, Professor Emeritus of Sociology and Political Science**

“Good old days’ weren’t so great for teachers in the 19th century” (Plain Dealer, August 30, 2009).

**Barbara Hanawalt**, King George III Professor of British History

“Justice without Judgment: Criminal Prosecution before Magna Carta” in Magna Carta and the England of King John, ed. by Janet S. Loengard (Boydell and Brewer, 2010).

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

“(Re)Negotiating Identities: Representations of Muslim Minorities in Bulgarian Film” (Film International, 2010).


**Jane Hathaway**, Professor of History


“Representations of an Ottoman Chief Harem Eunuch: El-Hajj Beshir Agha (term 1717–46),” in Melanges en l’honneur du Prof. Dr. Suraiya Farooqi, ed. by Abdeljelili Temimi (Publications de la Fondation

**Richard Herrmann**, Director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies

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

**Ted Hopf**, Associate Professor of Political Science

“The Logic of Habit in International Relations” (European Journal of International Relations, 2010).

**Amy Horowitz**, International Studies Lecturer and Scholar in Residence


**J. Craig Jenkins, Professor of Sociology**


“Civil Society and the Environment: Understanding the Dynamics and Impacts of the U.S. Environmental Movement,” with


**John Kagel, University Chaired Professor of Applied Microeconomics**


**Kelechi Kalu, Professor of African American and African Studies**


**Sean Kay, Mershon Associate**


“Time to Get Real on NATO” (*ForeignPolicy.com*, April 2010).


“New Afghan War Assumptions Must Be Weighted Before a Surge” (*The Plain Dealer*, October 25, 2009).


“From COIN to Containment – Plan B for Afghanistan” (*ForeignPolicy.com*, September 2009).

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


**Ousman Murzik Kobo, Assistant Professor of History**

“‘We are citizens too’: The politics of citizenship in independent Ghana” (*Journal of Modern African Studies*, 2010).

**Marcus Kurtz, Associate Professor of Political Science**


**Mitchell Lerner, Associate Professor of History**

“Carrying All Precincts: Vice President Lyndon Johnson and the Diplomacy of Travel” (*Diplomatic History*, 2010).

Articles, Essays, and Book Chapters (continued)

“The Whole World Changed Completely and Forever” (Military History Magazine, 2010).

“Full Attention and Benefit: Lyndon Johnson and the Racial Legacy of the Texas NYA” (Presidential Studies Quarterly, 2009).

William Liddle, Professor of Political Science


“Banting Stir Obama” (“Obama’s Changed Course”) (Kompas, April 28, 2010).

“Gaya Kepemimpinan Obama” (“Obama’s Leadership Style”) (Kompas, March 25, 2010).

“Dua Presiden dalam Krisis” (“Two Presidents in a Crisis”) (Kompas, March 10, 2010).

“Politik Sebagai Perjuangan atau Pengeboran?” “[Politics as Struggle or Boring of Hard Boards?]”, in Demokrasi dan Disilusi [Democracy and Disillusion], ed. by Ihsan Ali-Fauzi (Paramadina, 2009).

“Saat Ini Merupakan Era Politik Ketokohan” [“Personalities Dominate Today’s Politics”] (Kompas, July 7, 2009).

“Muslim Indonesia’s Secular Democracy,” with Saiful Mujani (Asian Survey, 2009).

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


“From Baghdad to Kabul: The Historical Roots of the U.S. Counterinsurgency Doctrine” (Origins: Current Events in Historical Perspective, 2009).

Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History


“War, Democracy, and the State,” in Selling War in a Media Age, ed. by Kenneth Osgood and Andrew K. Frank (University Press of Florida, 2010).


“Security or Freedom? The Impact of the Korean War on America’s Quest for a Liberal World Order,” in Re-Examining the Cold War, ed. by Hideki Kan (Hosei University Press, 2009).

Katherine Meyer, Professor of Sociology

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


Allen R. Millett, Gen. Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair Emeritus in Military History


Margaret Mills, Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures


“Are You Writing Our Book Yet!’ War, Culture, Structural Violence, and the Ethics of Oral Historical Representation,” in Remembering the Past in Iranian


Mark Moritz, Assistant Professor of Anthropology


"Crop-livestock interactions in agricultural and pastoral systems in West Africa (Agriculture and Human Values, 2010).

John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies


"Capitalism, Peace, and the Historical Movement of Ideas" (International Interactions, 2010).

"The Atomic Terrorist?" in Terrorizing Ourselves: Why U.S. Counterterrorism Policy Is Failing and How To Fix It, ed. by Benjamin Friedman (Cato Institute, 2010).

"Assessing Measures Designed to Protect the Homeland," in Terrorizing Ourselves: Why U.S. Counterterrorism Policy Is Failing and How To Fix It, ed. by Benjamin Friedman (Cato Institute, 2010).


Review of Francis J. Gavin, “Same As It Ever Was: Nuclear Alarmism, Proliferation, and the Cold War” (H-Diplo, March 18, 2010).

"Assessing Measures Designed to Protect the Homeland" and “Response” (Policy Studies Journal, 2010).

"Think Again: Nuclear Weapons: President Obama’s pledge to rid the world of atomic bombs is a waste of breath. But not for the reasons you might imagine" (Foreign Policy, 2010).

"Exaggerating the alarm over a nuclear attack" (washingtonpost.com, January 21, 2010).


“Calming Our Nuclear Jitters: An exaggerated fear of nuclear weapons has led to many wrongheaded policy decisions. A more sober assessment is needed” (Issues in Science and Technology, Winter 2010).

“The Atomic Terrorist?” (Nuclear Proliferation Update, Cato Institute, 2010).

“Nuclear Bunkum: Don’t panic: bin Laden’s WMD are mythical, too” (American Conservative, January 2010).


“The ‘Safe Haven’ Myth” (Nation, November 2009).

“Mueller on the Zazi case: This Is It?” (Informed Comment, juancole.com, November 4, 2009).

“The Rise of Nuclear Alarmism: How we learned to start worrying and fear the bomb—and why we don’t have to” (foreignpolicy.com, October 23, 2009).

“War Has Almost Ceased to Exist: An Assessment” (Political Science Quarterly, 2009).


Anthony Mughan, Professor of Political Science

Articles, Essays, and Book Chapters (continued)

Irfan Nooruddin, Associate Professor of Political Science
“Credible Commitment in Post-Conflict Recovery,” with Thomas E. Flores, in Handbook on the Political Economy of War, ed. by Christopher Coyne and Rachel Mathers (Edward Elgar, forthcoming).
“Making a Gesture: French Outsider Politicians Between Classicism and Transgression,” in Gesture at Large, ed. by Brian Rotman (Department of Comparative Studies, The Ohio State University, web publication, forthcoming).
“Culture Archives and the State: Between Socialism, Nationalism, and the Global Market” (Conference proceedings, Knowledge Bank, The Ohio State University, forthcoming).
“Festival and the Shaping of Catalan Community,” in A Companion to Catalan Cultural Studies, ed. by Dominic McKeown (Tamesis Press, 2010).
“Making Sense of Senses: Interview with Dorothy Noyes,” by Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto (Else, 2010).
“Hardscramble Academies: Toward a Social Economy of Vernacular Invention” (Ethnologia Europaea, 2009).
Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dørpalen Professor of History
“States make war but wars also break states” (Journal of Military History, 2010).
“Arms and the Asian: Revisiting European firearms and their place in early modern Asia,” with Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Revista de Cultura, 2009).
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, 2010).
Cathy Rakowski, Associate Professor of Women’s Studies and Rural Sociology
Review of Women’s Work and Lives in Rural Greece: Appearances and Realities, by Gabriella Lazaridis (Contemporary Sociology, 2010).
Randall Schweller, Professor of Political Science
“The Future is Uncertain and the End is Always Near” (Cambridge Review of International Affairs (forthcoming).
“The logic and illogic of the security dilemma and contemporary realism: a response to Wagner’s critique” (International Theory, 2010).

“Ennui Becomes Us” (The National Interest, Jan/Feb 2010).

“Entropy and the trajectory of world politics: why polarity has become less meaningful” (Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 2010).


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


“First Draft of a Constitutional Amendment to Authorize the Regulation of Corporate Involvement in Politics” (huffingtonpost.com, Jan. 23, 2010).

“FCC Launches Examination of the Future of Media and Information Needs of Communities in a Digital Age” (huffingtonpost.com, Jan. 21, 2010).


“Putting Local Journalism at the Core of Higher Education” (huffingtonpost.com, Nov. 23, 2009).


“Obama’s Peace Prize: The World Bets on America” (huffingtonpost.com, Oct. 9, 2009).


“President Obama, Health Care and the Rope Burning Contest” (huffingtonpost.com, Aug. 25, 2009).

“Protecting U.S. Attorneys from At-Will Discharge” (huffingtonpost.com, July 31, 2009).


“Resolved: Presidential signing statements threaten to undermine the rule of law and the separation of powers,” in Debating the Presidency, by Richard J. Ellis and Michael Nelson (CQ Press, 2009).

Amy Shuman, Professor of English and Anthropology


“Across the Curriculum: Folklore and Ethnography” in Teaching Narrative Theory, ed. by David Herman, Brian McHale, and James Phelan (MLA, forthcoming).

“Contradictory Discourses of Protection and Control in Transnational Asylum Law,” with Carol Bohmer (Journal of Legal Anthropology, 2010).


Kazimierz Słomczynski, Professor of Sociology


**Articles, Essays, and Book Chapters (continued)**

**Mythili Sreenivas**, Assistant Professor of History and Women’s Studies  


**David Stobenne**, Professor of History  

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


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

“Rational Design in Motion: Uncertainty and Flexibility in the Global Climate Regime” (*European Journal of International Relations*, 2010).


**Daniel Verdier**, Professor of Political Science  


**Bruce Weinberg**, Professor of Economics  

“Group Effects and Economic Outcomes” (Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, forthcoming).


**Herbert Weisberg**, Professor of Political Science  


**Alexander Wendt**, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of National Security Studies  

**Judy Tzu-Chun Wu**, Associate Professor of History and Women’s Studies  


Honors, Awards, and Service

**Hassan Y. Aly**, professor of economics, was named chief research economist for the African Development Bank in Tunis, Tunisia, in 2009–10.

**Paul Beck**, professor of political science, was named Distinguished Professor of Social and Behavioral Sciences, as well as professor in the School of Communication and the Department of Sociology. He also was interviewed more than 30 times in the news media about elections, voting, and political parties.


**Amy Cohen**, assistant professor of law, received the Fulbright-Nehru Visiting Lectureship at the West Bengal National University of Juridical Sciences in fall 2010.

**Edward Crenshaw**, associate professor of sociology, received a National Science Foundation grant for “Political Violence as Communication” (2009–11, with J. Craig Jenkins and Kristopher Robison).

**William Cunningham**, assistant professor of psychology, won the SAGE Young Scholars Award from the Foundation for Social and Personality Psychology (2009).

**Lesley Ferris**, professor of theatre, curated the exhibition “Midnight Robbers: The Artists of Notting Hill Carnival,” on display at the Art Museum, University of Memphis, from July 17 to September 11, 2010. This is the exhibit’s first major tour after London and the USA opening at Ohio State’s Urban Art Space in February 2008.

**Carter V. Findley**, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History, gave the University Distinguished Lecture on “Turkey, Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity” on May 11, 2010.

**Carole Fink**, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History, gave the keynote address on “Facing Brezhnev and Each Other: Nixon, Brandt and Meir, 1969–1974,” at the Conference on the 40th anniversary of “Neue Ostpolitik,” sponsored by the Center for German and European Studies at Haifa University.


**Mark Grimsley**, associate professor of history, won the Department of the Army Outstanding Civilian Service Award. The award, the second-highest given by the Army for public service, recognizes his work in revitalizing the Army War College’s Harold Keith Johnson Chair of Military History.

**Peter L. Hahn**, professor of history, was appointed by former Governor Ted Strickland to the State of Ohio’s War of 1812 Bicentennial Commission. He also was appointed to a second term as chair of the history department.

**Barbara Hanawalt**, King George III Professor of British History, won a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship for 2010. She is using it to examine materials related to medieval London at the Newberry Library in Chicago, in support of her book on civic ceremonial and dispute resolution, a project also supported by the Mershon Center.

**Yana Hashamova** will continue as director of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, and will be acting chair of the Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Literatures.
Honors, Awards, and Service (continued)

**J. Craig Jenkins**, professor and chair of the Department of Sociology, was elected Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He also won grants from the National Science Foundation for projects on “NCSSA/SA: Deciphering Civil Conflict in the Middle East” (2009–12, with Hassan Aly, Katherine Meyer, and Ola Alqvist) and “Political Violence as Communication” (2009–11, with Edward Crenshaw and Kristopher Robison). Jenkins also will spend 2010–11 as a visiting professor at the Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO) in Norway.

**John Kagel**, University Chaired Professor of Applied Microeconomics, received grants from the National Science Foundation for projects on “Package Auctions” (2009–11) and (“Collaborative Research: Experimental Studies of Group Decision Making in Strategic Environments” (2009–12, with Hal Arkes and David Cooper).

**Sean Kay**, Mershon associate, was primary author of “A New Way Forward: Rethinking U.S. Strategy in Afghanistan,” the final report of the Afghanistan Study Group at the New America Foundation.

**Ousman Kobo**, associate professor of history, was a visiting scholar at the Ecoles des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), in Paris during spring 2010.

**Mitchell Lerner**, associate professor of history, was elected to the governing council of the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

**William Liddle**, professor of political science, with Saiful Mujani, visiting scholar, and Tom Pepinsky of Cornell, won the Franklin L. Burdette/Pi Sigma Alpha Award for their paper “Testing Islam’s Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia,” presented at the 2010 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association. He also published several opinion pieces in *Kompas*, the leading newspaper of Jakarta, Indonesia.


**Robert McMahon**, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History, was selected to join the Organization of American Historians’ Distinguished Lecturer Program. He also was named Fulbright Distinguished Lecturer for Japan in 2010.

**Katherine Meyer**, professor of sociology, was named president of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion. She also won a grant from the National Science Foundation for projects on “NCSSA/SA: Deciphering Civil Conflict in the Middle East” (2009–12, with Hassan Aly, J. Craig Jenkins, and Ola Alqvist).

**Margaret Mills**, professor of near eastern languages and cultures, received a John Richards Fellowship from the American Institute for Afghanistan Studies to work in fall 2010 on indexing her field recordings for the Library of Congress.

**Mark Moritz**, assistant professor of anthropology, won a seed grant from the Initiative in Population Research for “Livestock Movements and Disease Transmission in the Chad Basin” (2009–10), a grant from the Climate, Water, and Carbon Program for “Modeling Coupled Human and Natural Systems in the Chad Basin” (2009), and a Public Health Preparedness for Infectious Diseases seed grant for “Pilot Study of Livestock Movements and Disease Epidemiology in the Chad Basin” (2009–11), all at The Ohio State University.

**Dorothy Noyes**, associate professor of English and comparative studies, was named to the Interdisciplinary Research Group on Cultural Property at Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft/Georg-August Universität Göttingen (2008–10, in residence August 2010). She also was named a fellow at the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies at Princeton University.

**Geoffrey Parker**, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History, received an honorary doctorate from the University of Burgos in Spain, conferred in September 2010. He also won $25,000 from the Bradley Foundation of Milwaukee to be distributed among his graduate students in 2009–10 and again in 2010–11.

**Randall Schweller**, professor of political science, was named co-editor of the Studies in Asian Security series, published by Stanford University Press and sponsored by the East-West Center of Washington, D.C.

**Peter M. Shane**, Jacob E. Davis and Jacob E. Davis II Chair in Law, served as executive director of the Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy. He also was named a visiting scholar at the Federal Communications Commission. He also published 13 opinion columns in the online *Huffington Post*.

**Jennifer Siegel**, associate professor of history, was named co-chair of the Program Committee for the 2012 meeting of the American Historical Association.

**Kazimierz M. Slomczynski**, professor of sociology, won a grant from the Polish Academy of Sciences and The Ohio State University for a project on “Contribution of the Area Studies to the Knowledge of Ethnic Tensions” (2009–10, with Irina Tomescu-Dubrow and Joshua K. Dubrow).

**Mytheli Sreenivas**, assistant professor of history, won a senior fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies (2010–11), a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities (2010), and a Gateway Study Abroad Seed Grant (2010–2011, with Pranav Jani). She also was awarded a Fulbright-Nehru Fellowship from the Fulbright Scholars Program for nine months of research in India.

**David Stebenne**, professor of history, has been appointed to the Public Award Committee of the Ohio Academy of History.


**Sara Watson**, assistant professor of political science, won a National Science Foundation Research Grant for “Divorce and the Political Gender Gap” (2009–10, with Raj Arunachalam). She also won a Coca-Cola Critical Differences for Women Faculty Research Grant from The Ohio State University (2009–10).

**Bruce Weinberg**, professor of economics, was a visiting scholar at the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, where he worked on “Research, Social Interactions, and Local Economic Performance” (2009).

**Judy Tzu-Chun Wu**, associate professor of history and women’s studies, won a Diversity/International Outreach Fellowship from the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations (2009-10).
An interdisciplinary panel spoke as part of Trafficking and Civil Society: Denial, Distress, Danger. Experts included (l to r) Ambassador Mark P. Lagon, executive director and CEO of the Polaris Project; Yana Hashamova, director of the Center for Slavic and East European Studies; Kristin Silver, research assistant for the Center for Cognitive Science; and Marguerite Hernandez, graduate student in sociology.

Ira Katznelson, Ruggles Professor of Political Science and History at Columbia University, spoke at the Mershon Center on May 5, 2010. His lecture, “Shaded by Fear: The New Deal and Its Legacies,” was co-sponsored by Social and Behavioral Sciences and Arts and Humanities.

Julius Nyang’oro, professor and chair of African and Afro-American Studies at the University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill, talked with Andrea Walther, head of instruction for civil-military operations training at Development Alternatives, Inc., during the West Africa and the U.S. War on Terror conference at the Mershon Center.

Jonathan Landay, senior national security and intelligence correspondent for McClatchy Newspapers, spoke on “The Real Dangers of U.S. Failure in Afghanistan-Pakistan.” Landay is a veteran foreign affairs reporter and has written on U.S. defense, intelligence, and foreign policies for nearly 25 years.

Carol Anderson (l) of Emory University talked with Judy Wu of Ohio State during a break at The Cold War in the Third World conference at the Mershon Center.

Catherine Weaver, assistant professor of international relations at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, spoke on “The Politics of IO Accountability: Transparency and Evaluation in the International Monetary Fund” as part of the Globalization, Institutions, and Economic Security (GIES) Workshop.

Richard Ned Lebow, James D. Freeman Presidential Professor of Government at Dartmouth College, spoke on “Why We Fight? Past and Future Motives for War” at the Mershon Center. Lebow used case studies from 500 years in history to argue against rationalist views that nations go to war after a measured cost-benefit analysis.
Conferences

The Transformative Election of 2008
October 2–3, 2009

Organizer
Herb Weisberg, Department of Political Science

This conference examined the 2008 presidential campaign and election, analyzing the foreign and military policy debates as well as the voting trends that remade the image of the U.S. abroad. The 2008 U.S. presidential election took place against the backdrop of the continuing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as a domestic financial crisis. The two major-party candidates secured their nominations in large part because of their stances on the wars. Discussion of foreign and military policies became paramount throughout the campaign. Few disputed that America’s popularity abroad had declined during the George W. Bush years. This conference examined how the change in the party controlling the White House, the accession of an opponent of the Iraq War, and the election of the first African American president of the United States changed perceptions of the United States around the world.

Participants
Alan Abramowitz, Emory University
Herb Asher, The Ohio State University
Matt Barreto, University of Washington
Paul Beck, The Ohio State University
Janet Box-Steppensmeier, The Ohio State University
Barry Burden, University of Wisconsin
Dino Christenson, The Ohio State University
Harold Clarke, University of Texas-Dallas
Chris Devine, The Ohio State University
Edward Foley, Moritz College of Law, The Ohio State University
Richard Herrmann, Mershon Center for International Security Studies
Sunshine Hillygus, Duke University
Gary Jacobson, University of California-San Diego
Bill Jacoby, Michigan State University
Michael Lewis-Beck, University of Iowa
Steve Mockabee, University of Cincinnati
Quin Monson, Brigham Young University
John Mueller, The Ohio State University
Richard Niemi, University of Rochester
Helmut Norpoth, State University of New York-Stony Brook
Gary Segura, Stanford University
Michael Tesler, University of California-Los Angeles
Daniel Tokaji, Moritz College of Law, The Ohio State University

Chris Devine (l) and conference organizer Herb Weisberg (c), both from the political science department, listened as Michael Tesler (r) of UCLA fielded a question from an audience member during a panel on “Race and Voting” at the Transformative Election of 2008 conference.
Conferences

West Africa and the U.S. War on Terror

October 30–31, 2009

Organizers
Kelechi Kalu, Department of African and African American Studies
Laura Joseph, Center for African Studies
George Klay Kieh, University of West Georgia

Since September 11, 2001, heightened security attention has focused on West Africa. The vast geographical expanse of the Sahel, with its relatively small governmental infrastructure, makes the region an appealing base for terrorist groups. One example is the oil-producing Niger-Delta zone of Nigeria. This area continues to show increasing vulnerability as a failed state, making it a target location to organize and train Islamic militants. To address such issues, the United States launched a $500 million Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Initiative, which seeks to boost the military capacity of selected West African nations and counter the security threats posed by terrorists. The establishment of the U.S. military’s Africa Command (AFRICOM) in 2007 marks the growing importance of Africa in U.S. security calculations. This conference provided a comprehensive study of the evolving U.S.-Africa security partnership.

Participants
Clement Adibe, DePaul University
Pita Ogaba Agbese, University of Northern Iowa
Charles Agbo, National Emergency Management Agency, Nigeria
Gen. Jonah Arogbofa, Nigerian Armed Forces (Ret.)
Boakye Osahene Djan
Idowu Ejere, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex
Jendayi E. Frazer, Carnegie Mellon University; Former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs
Gen. Russell Howard (Ret.), University of Montana
Julius Ihonvbere, Former Special Advisor to the President of Nigeria for Policy Monitoring
Kelechi Kalu, The Ohio State University
George Klay Kieh, University of West Georgia
Emmanuel Kwesi-Aning, Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center
John Mukum Mbaku, Weber State University
Dean A. Minix, Tarleton State University
Boubacar N’Diaye, The College of Wooster
Julius Nyangoro, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Sylvester Odion-Akhaine, Centre for Constitutionalism & Demilitarization, Lagos, Nigeria
Diane Chinonso Orefo, National Investment Promotion Commission, Abuja, Nigeria
Zakaria Ousman, Consulate of Pakistan in Chad
Vinton M. Prince, Wilmington College
Abdoulaye Saine, Miami University of Ohio
Philip Spangler, AFRICOM
The Cold War in the Third World

February 26–27, 2010

Organizer
Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History

One of the central paradoxes of the Cold War is that it ushered in the longest sustained period of peace in modern European history at the very same time as Asia, Africa, and the Middle East were convulsed by unprecedented amounts of violence and conflict. The emergence of the Third World not only coincided temporally with the Cold War but was shaped by that same Cold War. Indeed, the very term “Third World” emerged directly out of the Cold War struggle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. If Europe’s long peace can be attributed to the structure of stability imposed by the East-West standoff, then to what extent did the Cold War encourage, ignore, or exacerbate, whether indirectly or directly, the Third World conflicts of the Cold War era? This conference brought together scholars from international, diplomatic, and Third World history to produce an integrative, broadly focused approach to this large and complex subject.

Participants
Carol Anderson, Emory University
Jeffrey Byrne, University of British Columbia
Nick Cullather, Indiana University-Bloomington
Susan Ferber, Oxford University Press
Greg Grandin, New York University
Ted Hopf, The Ohio State University
Chen Jian, Cornell University
Mark Atwood Lawrence, University of Texas-Austin
Mitch Lerner, The Ohio State University

William Roger Louis, University of Texas-Austin
Chester Pach, Ohio University
Andrew Rotter, Colgate University
Bradley Simpson, Princeton University
Jonathan Winkler, Wright State University
Molly Wood, Wittenberg University
Judy Wu, The Ohio State University
Salim Yaqub, University of California, Santa Barbara
EVENTS

Conferences [continued]

Human Rights: Confronting Images and Testimonies
March 4–5, 2010

Organizers
Ann Hamilton, Department of Art
Wendy Hesford, Department of English
Amy Shuman, Department of English and Anthropology

This conference began with the question, “What is evidence?” Art offers a lens through which we come to recognize the politics of power and abuse. Human Rights: Confronting Images and Testimonies brought together artists, activists, and scholars who discussed their work in the context of human rights as it transforms the raw material of individual and collective suffering into legible and convincing data, confrontational imagery, and testimony. This conference began with a presentation by artist activist Coco Fusco and concluded with the collaborative project Combatant Status Review Tribunals, pp. 002954-0034064: A Public Reading.

Participants
Carroll Bogert, Human Rights Watch
Brenda Brueggemann, The Ohio State University
Coco Fusco, Parsons The New School for Design
Andrea Geyer, Artist
Sam Gregory, Witness
Sharon Hayes, Artist
Andrew Herscher, University of Michigan
Amy Horowitz, The Ohio State University
Ashley Hunt, The Corrections Project
Ratna Kapur, Geneva School of Diplomacy and International Relations

Coco Fusco, New York-based interdisciplinary artist, writer, and associate professor in the fine arts program at Parsons The New School for Design, gave the opening keynote lecture on “Torture, the Feminine Touch: Exploring Military Interrogation as Interculture Performance” at Human Rights: Confronting Images and Testimonies.
Making Sense in Afghanistan: Interaction and Uncertainty in International Interventions

April 9–10, 2010

Organizers
Dorothy Noyes, Associate Professor of English, Comparative Studies, and Anthropology
Margaret Mills, Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

In asymmetrical warfare with non-state actors, the tools of the modern state are inadequate or counterproductive. Conflict takes place with imperfectly known actors on their own imperfectly known terrain. Their reliance on hybrid, localized tactics, unpredictable by standard models, leaves the dominant actor paradoxically vulnerable. The unfolding of the Iraq and Afghan conflicts has opened the question of whether the intervening powers can reasonably expect to gain military, political, or even intellectual control of the situation.

A workshop held at Cambridge University in July 2009 examined the attempts of militaries in the United States and United Kingdom to draw upon academic expertise in implementing the counterinsurgency strategy. This paired conference turned to the uses of uncertainty and informality, looking at interactions in the field through the eyes of NATO combatants, Provincial Reconstruction Teams, contractors, and diplomats; NGO workers; and Afghans themselves.

Participants
Josef Teboho Ansorge, Cambridge University
Tarak Barkawi, Cambridge University
David Beall, U.S. Army
Keith Brown, Brown University
Ray Cashman, The Ohio State University
David B. Edwards, Williams College
Robert P. Finn, Princeton University
Ben Gatling, The Ohio State University
Susan Hanson, The Ohio State University
Richard Herrmann, The Ohio State University
Scott Levi, The Ohio State University
Peter R. Mansoor, The Ohio State University
John Mueller, The Ohio State University
Robert A. Rubinstein, Syracuse University
Mir Hekmat Sadat, National Defense Intelligence College
Omar Sharifi, American Institute of Afghan Studies
Abdulkader Sinno, Indiana University

Ambassador Robert P. Finn (l), Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, fielded questions after delivering the keynote address, “Afghanistan: Points of Power” at the Making Sense in Afghanistan conference. Margaret Mills, professor of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures and co-organizer of the conference, chaired the session.
EVENTS

Conferences (continued)

Pacts and Alliances: Why They Succeed, Why They Fail, and Why We Should Care
April 16–17, 2010

Organizers
Charles Carter, Graduate Associate, Department of History
Anthony Crain, Graduate Associate, Department of History
Carole Fink, Humanities Distinguished Professor of History

This conference brought together scholars and advanced graduate students to explore pacts and alliances, the mechanics of which have shaped history in fundamental ways but whose presence has often been ignored. Although sometimes pointing out reasons that a particular pact or alliance failed or succeeded, historians largely have not drawn broader conclusions about the requisites necessary for the successful implementation of alliances. The Pacts and Alliances conference was organized around four questions: Why do pacts and alliances generally fail in their aims? What common denominators are shared by alliances and pacts that succeed in their objectives? Is it inevitable that pacts or alliances are destined to break down? And what are the implications of these results on pact- and alliance-making in the 21st century?

Participants
Kathleen Burk, University College London
Yasser M. El-Shimy
James Helicke, The Ohio State University
Peter Mansoor, The Ohio State University
Michael K. McKoy, Princeton University
Robert McMahon, The Ohio State University
Xiaoyu Pu, The Ohio State University
Evan Resnick, Yeshiva University
Jean-Bertrand Ribat, Indiana University
Mark Rice, The Ohio State University
Jennifer Siegel, The Ohio State University
William Stueck, University of North Carolina at Asheville
Teddy J. Uldricks, University of North Carolina at Asheville
Jonathan Winkler, Wright State University
Joshua Su-Ya Wu, The Ohio State University
Melissa Yeager, Longwood University
Hybrid Warfare: The Struggle of Military Forces to Adapt to Complex Opponents

May 14–15, 2010

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

Hybrid warfare, a combination of conventional and irregular forces fighting against a common foe, has been an integral part of the historical landscape since the ancient world, but these conflicts have only recently been categorized as unique. Informed defense analysts believe that hybrid wars are the most likely conflicts in the 21st century. The United States is currently engaged in extended counterinsurgency conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan and has significant military and other national assets assisting other states and regions against insurgencies. Rather than historical anomalies, Iraq and Afghanistan are harbingers of the wars to come in the next several decades. The United States and its allies must study and understand the strategic, operational, tactical, and doctrinal parameters of hybrid conflicts and prepare to apply lessons from them. This project, which illuminated historical examples of hybrid warfare from ancient Greece to the modern world, was a step along that journey of understanding.

Participants
John Ferris, Canadian Defence and Foreign Affairs Institute, University of Calgary
Marcus Jones, United States Naval Academy
Jim Lacey, Institute for Defense Analyses; Johns Hopkins University
Sharon Tosi Lacey, Army Materiel Command
Wayne Lee, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill
Karl Lowe, Institute for Defense Analyses
Gen. James Mattis, United States Joint Forces Command
Williamson Murray, Institute for Defense Analyses, The Ohio State University
Richard Sinnreich, Independent consultant and columnist
Dan Sutherland, University of Arkansas
Lt. Gen. (Ret.) Noboru Yamaguchi, National Defense Academy of Japan
Fall Quarter

September 25, 2009
Robert Pape
“America’s Relative Decline and Its Consequences”

September 30, 2009
Tom O’Donnell
“The U.S.-Iran Crisis: Oil and Nukes in the Struggle for Power”

September 30, 2009
Mark Stewart
“Critical Infrastructure Protection: Are We Spending Too Much on Terrorism?”

October 9, 2009
Susan Stokes
“Studying Electoral Clientelism: Recent Advances and Persistent Puzzles”

October 14, 2009
Lisa Stampnitzky
“Disciplining an Unruly Field: Terrorism Studies and the State, 1972–2001”

October 21, 2009
Mark Beissinger
“Imperial Reputations: How Sovereignty and Self-Determination Norms Have Altered”

November 4, 2009
Nicholas Rankin
“Secrets and Lies: How the British Used Camouflage and Deception in Two World Wars”

November 5, 2009
Catherine Weaver
“The Politics of IO Accountability: Transparency and Evaluation in the International Monetary Fund”

November 6, 2009
Janice Bially Mattern
“The Emotional Politics of Transnational Crime”

November 9, 2009
Afghanistan: The Choices
Mershon Center panel with Richard Herrmann, Peter Mansoor, John Mueller, and Alam Payind, moderated by Fred Andrle

November 13, 2009
William Scheuerman
“What Cosmopolitans Can Learn from Classical Realists”

November 18, 2009
Elizabeth Borgwardt
“The Mad Pursuit of a World Bill of Rights: International Legal Norms and the Senate after Nuremberg”

December 8, 2009
CHINA Town Hall: Local Connections, National Reflections
National webcast and discussion with Kurt Campbell and I. Allen Barber II
Winter Quarter

January 12, 2010
Human Trafficking and Civil Society: Denial, Distress, Danger
Panel discussion with Ambassador Mark P. Lagon, Yana Hashamova, Margurite Hernandez, and Kristin Silver

January 20, 2010
Jeffrey Checkel
“Casual Mechanisms and the (Transnational) Dynamics of Civil War”

January 22, 2010
Jeffrey Engel
“1989 and the Key to the Present”

February 1, 2010
George Gavrilis
“State Failure and Regional Containment: The Case of Afghanistan”

February 4, 2010
Richard Ned Lebow
“Why We Fight? Past and Future Motives for War”

February 5, 2010
But What About Culture? Alexander Stephan’s Interdisciplinary Project
Symposium and Tribute with Jost Hermand and Richard Ned Lebow

February 12, 2010
Lisa Martin
“International Institutions as Signaling Devices”

February 22, 2010
Jesse Crane-Seeber
“Multiple Masculinities in U.S. Military Culture”

February 23, 2010
Susanne Schmeidl
“Military Intervention and the Protection of Civilians in Afghanistan”

February 24, 2010
Mark Bradley
“The United States and the Global Human Rights Imagination”
CALENDAR OF EVENTS

February 25, 2010
Jonathan Landay
“It’s the Region, Stupid: The Real Dangers of U.S. Failure in Afghanistan-Pakistan”

March 9, 2010
James Holston
“Right to the City, Right to Rights, and Insurgent Urban Citizenship”

March 10, 2010
Linda Tropp
“Emerging Perspectives on Intergroup Contact”

March 11, 2010
Vincent Pouliot
“International Security in Practice: The Politics of NATO-Russia Diplomacy”

Spring Quarter

April 5, 2010
Lorenz Lüthi
“The Rise of the Post-Cold World”

April 7, 2010
Luis Astorga
“Mexico: Drug Trafficking Organizations and Political Change”

April 12, 2010
Klaus Larres
“The United States and the ‘United States of Europe’: A Comparison of the Cold War and the Post-Cold War Years”

April 14, 2010
James Fishkin
“Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation”

April 15, 2010
Charles Butterworth
“Political Aspects of Prophecy in Islamic Philosophy”

April 29, 2010
Marvin Weinbaum
“The Islamic Dimensions of the Insurgencies in Afghanistan and Pakistan”

April 30, 2010
Sangeeta Mahapatra
“Rise of Red Terror: The Ethics and Effectiveness of Maoist Violence in India”

May 4, 2010
Jorge Bustamante
“Extreme Vulnerability of Migrants: The Cases of the United States and Mexico”

May 5, 2010
Ira Katznelson
“Shaded by Fear: The New Deal and Its Legacies”

May 6, 2010
Nathan Brown
“Running to Lose: The Muslim Brotherhood and Parliamentary Elections”

May 7, 2010
Susan Wolf
“Blame, Italian Style”

May 10, 2010
America’s Wars: The Way Forward in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Iraq
Mershon Center panel with Richard Herrmann, Sean Kay, Peter Mansoor, John Mueller, and Alam Payind, moderated by Fred Andrle
May 11, 2010
William Hitchcock
“Liberation: The Human Cost of Allied Victory in World War II Europe”

May 12, 2010
Isa Blumi
“Why Yemen Now? Reassessing South Arabia’s Recent Past”

May 13, 2010
Andy Rotter
“Narratives of Bombing: Tokyo and Hiroshima 1945”

May 17, 2010
David Messenger
“Beyond War Crimes: Denazification, National Security and American Deportation and Internment of SS Agents after World War II”

May 18, 2010
Eva Bellin
“Arbitrating Identity: Courts and the Politics of Religious-Liberal Reconciliation in the Middle East”

May 20, 2010
Bernard Haykel
“The Salafis, the Wahhabis and the Nature and Doctrines of Global Islamic Movements”

May 24, 2010
Shinobu Kitayama
“Ethos of Independence across Regions in the United States: The Production-Adoption Models of Cultural Change”

May 25, 2010
Francisco Gonzalez
“The War on Drugs in Mexico: Chronicle of a Failure Foretold”

May 26, 2010
Chris Bobonich
“Plato on Action and Knowledge”

May 27, 2010
Jessica Chen Weiss
“Powerful Patriots: Nationalist Protest in Chinese Foreign Relations”
Postdoctoral Fellow

**Lisa Stampnitzky**

Lisa Stampnitzky was the Mershon Center postdoctoral fellow for 2009–10. She received her PhD in sociology from the University of California-Berkeley in 2008.

Stampnitzky used her time at the Mershon Center to turn her dissertation “Disciplining an Unruly Field: Terrorism Studies and the State, 1972–2001” into a book manuscript.

Stampnitzky’s work discusses the organization of expert knowledge on terrorism from the 1970s to the present. It examines the first identification of terrorism as a state problem, the role of government in organizing the production of knowledge, and the ongoing efforts of academic and practical experts to define the field.

Her previous publications include “How Does ‘Culture’ Become ‘Capital’? Cultural and Institutional Struggles Over ‘Character and Personality’ at Harvard” (Sociological Perspectives, 2006), which explores the historical construction of cultural capital and its role in elite university admissions.

She was a Jean Monnet Fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies at the European University Institute and a pre-doctoral fellow at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University.

**Visiting Scholars**

**Sangeeta Mahapatra**

Sangeeta Mahapatra was a Fulbright-Nehru Doctoral and Professional Research Fellow at the Mershon Center working on a comparative study of counterterrorism strategies of India, Israel, and the United States.

In her research, Mahapatra argued that the core of counterterrorism is capability. While states may set for themselves certain goals, how far they are able to deliver on them determines the strengths and weaknesses of their counterterrorism strategy.

The aim of her study was to expand the scope of counterterrorism decision making by examining how the three countries use their political, legal, civilian, and economic structures to deal with an outlier event. The question is not about expending a lot of resources on a “high risk-low probability” threat but about responding to it in timely, cost-efficient, and effective manner.

Mahapatra is author of *Pacification of the Irreconcilable: The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Kolkata, 2005) and *Miasma: A Collection of Short Stories* (Chowringhee Prakashini Press, Kolkata, 1999). She worked at the Mershon Center with Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies John Mueller.

**Mark Stewart**

Mark Stewart is professor of civil engineering and director of the Centre for Infrastructure Performance and Reliability at the University of Newcastle, Australia.

Stewart visited the Mershon Center in 2008 to work with Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies John Mueller on “Assessing the Risks, Costs, and Benefits of United States Aviation Security Measures.”
In 2009–10, Stewart continued his collaboration with Mueller on “Assessing the Vulnerability and Protection of Critical Infrastructure and Key Assets to Terrorist Attack.” While the Department of Homeland Security uses risk-based approaches to focus mainly on vulnerabilities, Stewart argued that equal attention should be given to threat probability as well as to the impact of and recovery from a terrorist attack. The project described a terrorism risk assessment that considers threat scenarios and probabilities. Factors such as the value of human life, physical/direct damages, indirect damages, risk reduction, and protective measure costs were assessed. Stewart also demonstrated how a probabilistic terrorism risk assessment can better quantify the costs and benefits of protecting buildings and airport infrastructure.

Saiful Mujani
Saiful Mujani is founder of the Lemnaga Survei Indonesia (Indonesian Survey Institute), the premier survey institute in that country, as well as director of research at the Freedom Institute, and associate professor of political studies at the Universitas Islam Negeri, Jakarta.

While at the Mershon Center, Mujani worked with Bill Liddle on the Indonesian National Election Project, a social scientific survey conducted in the wake of Indonesia’s national parliamentary elections on April 9, 2009.

Research foci included perceptions of Indonesian voters about political parties and leaders, as well as channels and processes through which voters received information about partisan politics during the political campaign. The project was part of the Comparative National Elections Project, organized by Richard Gunther.


Jean François Juneau
Jean François Juneau was a visiting scholar at the Mershon Center working with Humanities Distinguished Professor Carole Fink.

Juneau’s dissertation in history at the Université de Montréal dealt with how Egon Bahr, the chief architect of West Germany’s *Ostpolitik*, defined West Germany’s
Jean François Juneau worked with Humanities Distinguished Professor Carole Fink.

His research project at Mershon examined the Western policy, or Westpolitik, of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) during the 1960s and early 1970s. At the beginning of the 1960s the SPD abandoned its opposition to the Federal Republic of Germany’s integration in Euro-Atlantic structures and started developing a détente-oriented foreign policy that was eventually implemented at the beginning of the 1970s.

Juneau examined the links between the SPD’s Westpolitik and its global policy of détente aiming at the reunification of Germany within a new European peace order. His goal was to show how the Social Democrats’ new approach to the German question and the East-West conflict affected their position toward the Western powers, NATO, and European integration.

Undergraduate Research

Geoffrey Parker (standing), Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History, offered advice on how undergraduates can develop good research questions, make connections with faculty members, and prepare for work in foreign countries during the 2009 Mershon Undergraduate Research Forum. Other presenters included (seated l to r) Helen Cweren of the Undergraduate Research Office; William Cunningham, assistant professor of psychology; and Sarah Brooks, associate professor of political science.

Panelists for the 2010 Mershon Undergraduate Research Forum included (l to r) Dorothy Noyes, associate professor of English, comparative studies, and anthropology; William “Chip” Eveland, professor of communication; Alexander Thompson, associate professor of political science; and Mershon Center director Richard Herrmann. The event is co-sponsored by the Office of Undergraduate Research.

Richard Herrmann (l) observed a tense meeting between students playing the roles of Israel and the United States during a diplomatic simulation for his class on Foreign Policy Decision Making. In the exercise, students played members of 18 countries negotiating wars, treaties, and alliances.

Kristin Silver, a senior psychology major and research associate in the Center for Cognitive Science, presented “Human Trafficking in the United States: Citizen Empathy and Awareness” at the 2010 Denman Undergraduate Research Forum. Silver had received a Ralph D. Mershon Study Abroad Scholarship, which she used to conduct research on human trafficking in the Czech Republic. Silver also presented her research as a participant in the Mershon Center and Slavic Center panel on human trafficking, which featured Ambassador Mark P. Lagon.
OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE

Richard Herrmann, director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies, reports to Dieter Wanner, interim associate provost for international affairs, and to a provost-appointed oversight committee. The 2009–10 oversight committee includes:

John Roberts, Faculty Emeritus, 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

Peter Hahn, Chair, Department of History

Camille Hébert, Carter C. Kissell Professor of Law

Stanley Lemeshow, Dean and Professor, College of Public Health

Capt. Steven Noce, Commander, Navy ROTC

Col. Curtiss Petrek, Commander, Air Force ROTC

Richard Petty, Distinguished University Professor and Chair, Department of Psychology

Kazimierz Slomczynski, Professor, Department of Sociology

Gifford Weary, Dean, Social and Behavioral Sciences

William Brustein, Vice Provost for Global Strategies and International Affairs (ex-officio)

CREDITS

Writing and Photos:
Cathy Becker, Public Relations Coordinator
Cheryl King, Program and Research Associate
Susannah Dunbar, Student Intern

Design: Ed Maceyko Jr., Senior Graphic Designer, University Marketing Communications

Editing: Pamela Steed Hill, Editor, University Marketing Communications

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CONTACT US

Mershon Center for International Security Studies
The Ohio State University
1501 Neil Ave.
Columbus, OH 43201
Phone: (614) 292-1681
Fax: (614) 292-2407
mershoncenter.osu.edu