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 identity; the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security; and the institutions that manage violent conflict.
About the Center

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

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

Col. Mershon died February 14, 1952, and is buried in Zanesville, Ohio.

The Mershon Center 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 comprehensive history and analysis of the foundations of international terrorism, the cultural politics of homeland security, and the global history of war. 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.
From the Director

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

Richard Herrmann

The mission of the Mershon Center is to advance the understanding of national security in a global context. Rarely has that task seemed more urgent and complicated. With active fighting ongoing in Iraq and Lebanon, rising nationalism causing concern in China and Japan, nuclear and missile technologies proliferating, and the War on Terrorism defining a very different sort of battlefield, a host of fundamental questions have been raised:

- How can military force be used effectively to advance political aims? When and why will its use succeed on the battlefield? When will it fail politically?
- What role do national and religious identities play in conflict? Are they immutable or can we devise strategies to ameliorate the conflicts they generate?
- What institutions have been successful in managing violent conflict? How can such institutions be built and sustained?

The Mershon Center promotes collaborative research among colleagues from more than a dozen departments at Ohio State. Funding multidisciplinary faculty research, student research, and a host of seminars and conferences, the Mershon Center not only serves as a catalyst for activities on campus but also brings some of the world’s leading scholars and practitioners to Ohio State, enriching its intellectual life and student experience. This report gives a flavor of the myriad activities, seminars, and conferences that were underway at the center this past year. I am grateful to the many faculty colleagues and the host of students who made them successful.

The center’s principal aim is to produce scholarship that has lasting value. We organize our work around three themes: the use of force and diplomacy; the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security; and the institutions that manage violent conflict.

This report introduces research projects underway related to these themes that range from studies of the intricacies of war planning and combat in civil wars, through the cultural underpinnings of anti-Americanism, to
the analyses of comparative elections and the role women are playing in emerging democracies such as Afghanistan. We are especially proud that leading academic organizations such as the American Historical Association, Georgetown University, and the International Studies Association have recently awarded distinguished honors to several products of these endeavors.

Ms. Cathy Becker became the public relations coordinator at the Mershon Center this past spring. Her first job was to conceive, compile, and write this report. She took up the enterprise with enthusiasm and great professionalism. I am grateful for her efforts. The quality of the faculty and staff at the Mershon Center is certainly what makes being its director so enjoyable.

BY THE NUMBERS

Mershon Center

Number of visiting scholars and postdoctoral fellows: 5
Number of speaker series organized: 9
Number of speaker events held: 64
Number of conferences sponsored: 9
Departments represented: 14

Faculty

Number of faculty projects supported: 22
Number of books published by Mershon faculty: 16
Number of articles published by Mershon faculty: 112
Number of Mershon faculty who won book awards: 5
Number of Mershon faculty who won university awards: 2

Students

Number of student travel and research grants given: 10
Number of student research assistantships supported: 40 (25 percent each)
Number of undergraduate student employees: 6
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Mershon Director
Richard Herrmann

Richard Herrmann is a professor of political science and director of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies. Since 2002, Herrmann has led the Mershon Center’s efforts to attract a world-class faculty, establish its reputation as a leader in security studies, and offer special opportunities to enhance the student experience.

Herrmann has written widely on security affairs, international relations, and foreign policy. He is author or editor of three books, including:

- *Perceptions and Behavior in Soviet Foreign Policy* (1985)

Herrmann has published more than 30 articles and book reviews. His work has appeared in such journals as *American Political Science Review*, *International Organization*, *International Security*, and *World Politics*. From 1990–95, he was co-editor of *International Studies Quarterly*, the flagship journal of the International Studies Association.

Herrmann is currently working on two projects. The first is a multi-year study funded by the U.S. Institute of Peace that aims to improve how intelligence analysts update their estimates as new information becomes available. In the wake of several high-profile intelligence failures, repeated studies find that experts often adjust too slowly to unfolding events. This project represents an effort to identify central problems that hinder learning and to design new strategies using Bayesian belief networks to overcome them.

(continued)
Leaders of the Group of Eight, or G8, met at the Konstantinovsky Palace in Strelina, Russia, just outside St. Petersburg, on July 16, 2006. Much of the discussion was centered on fighting between Israel and Lebanon, which had begun a few days earlier.
Working with intelligence experts who focus on the Korean peninsula, Herrmann and his Ph.D. student, Jong Kun Choi, tracked assessments and learning over three years. Three tendencies were seen as especially important obstacles to rapid and appropriate updating. These were:

- A tendency to make excessively strong assumptions about the intentions of other countries and not to subject these to rigorous evaluation
- A tendency to explain outcomes by relying on conceptions of power that were ill-defined and so multi-dimensional that they could explain anything
- A tendency to focus on one causal factor as key and to spend too little time examining the combined effect of several factors

Herrmann’s second project, with Pierangelo Isernia of the University of Siena and Paolo Segatti of the University of Milan, explores the effect national identities have on mass public attitudes about foreign policy. Although it is popular to describe any number of recent conflicts as identity wars, it is unclear how mass popular attachment to the nation connects to international conflict. This project explores when and why national identities lead to conflict and under what circumstances they lead instead to greater international cooperation. Two new national surveys have been conducted in the United States and Italy to address these questions, measuring not only national identities and attitudes about foreign policy but also sub-national and transnational identities in both countries.

Besides his scholarship, Herrmann also brings practical experience to his post as director. From 1989–91, he was a member of Secretary of State James Baker’s policy planning staff.

From 1992–95, Herrmann worked with the U.S. Information Agency to hold conflict resolution workshops for scholars and policymakers from India, Pakistan, Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Algeria, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the United States.

Herrmann is also the recipient of fellowships from the Council on Foreign Relations, Harriman Institute, Ford Foundation, and Mellon Foundation. He holds a Ph.D. and master’s in public and international affairs from the University of Pittsburgh.
John Mueller is the Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies at the Mershon Center and a professor of political science at The Ohio State University. His research interests include international politics, foreign policy, defense policy, public opinion, democratization, economic history, post-Communism, and terrorism.

Mueller is the author or editor of 14 books, including:
- Capitalism, Democracy, and Ralph's Pretty Good Grocery (1999)
- Quiet Cataclysm: Reflections on the Recent Transformation of World Politics (1995)
- Policy and Opinion in the Gulf War (1994)
- Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War (1989)
- War, Presidents, and Public Opinion (1973), called a “classic” by the American Political Science Review
- The Remnants of War (2004), argues that war is on the decline. Developed nations have generally abandoned it as a way of conducting international relations, and most current warfare is opportunistic predation waged by criminals and bullies. Thus, Mueller argues, war has been reduced to its remnants. The Remnants of War is winner of Georgetown University’s Lepgold Prize.

Mueller’s most recent book, The Remnants of War (2004), argues that war is on the decline. Developed nations have generally abandoned it as a way of conducting international relations, and most current warfare is opportunistic predation waged by criminals and bullies. Thus, Mueller argues, war has been reduced to its remnants. The Remnants of War is winner of Georgetown University’s Lepgold Prize.

Mueller is also the author of more than 80 articles and book chapters, including most recently:
- “The Iraq Syndrome,” Foreign Affairs, November–December 2005
- “Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism,” Terrorism and Political Violence (Autumn 2005)
- “Ordering the New World,” in Michael Bothe, Mary Ellen O’Connell, and Natalino Ronzitti (eds.), Redefining Sovereignty: The Use of Force After the Cold War (2005)

Mueller speaks frequently at academic and government conferences, giving 25 presentations in 2004–05. He also has contributed more than 50 articles and editorials to newspapers such as The Wall Street Journal, Los Angeles Times, The New York Times, and The Washington Post. He is interviewed almost daily for stories about war and public opinion and was quoted in more than 100 articles this past year.

Mueller is currently working on Devils and Duct Tape: Terrorism and the Dynamics of Threat Exaggeration, about the reactions—and overreactions—that terrorism inspires.

The book expands on arguments he made in “Six Rather Unusual Propositions about Terrorism” that:
- Terrorism generally has only limited effects.
- The costs of terrorism often come from the fear and overreaction it inspires.
- The terrorism industry is a major part of the problem.
- Policies designed to deal with terrorism should focus more on reducing fear and anxiety than reducing terrorism’s limited dangers.
- Doing nothing after a terrorist attack in not unacceptable.
- Despite overreaction, the campaign against terrorism is going well.

Besides his work in international relations, Mueller is an expert in another field—the Hollywood musical. Here, he has written several books, including Astaire Dancing (1985), winner of the de la Torre Bueno Prize from the Dance Perspectives Foundation.

Mueller is also director of Ohio State’s Dance Film Archive and author of two musicals: A Foggy Day, which combines a P.G. Wodehouse play with songs by George and Ira Gershwin, and One For My Baby, from a Fred Astaire film with songs by Johnny Mercer.
Allan R. Millett, Raymond E. Mason Jr. Professor Emeritus of History, is a specialist in the history of American military policy and 20th-century wars and military institutions. He is one of the founders of the internationally renowned military history program at The Ohio State University.

Millett is the author of six books, including:

- *Their War for Korea* (2002)

In the past decade, Millett has become an international authority on the Korean War. His most recent book, *A House Burning: The War for Korea, 1945–50*, is the first of a two-volume history of the Korean War and offers the most comprehensive account to date of the war’s causes and early military operations. Millett traces the origins of the Korean War to the post-colonial conflict in Asia between two revolutionary movements, the Marxists-Leninists and the Nationalist-Capitalists.

With the U.S.-Soviet partition of Korea after World War II, each movement asserted its right to govern the Korean peninsula, leading to guerilla warfare and terrorism in which more than 30,000 died from 1948–50. Millett argues that this civil strife was not so much the cause of the Korean War as its beginning. He is currently at work on Volume 2, which will begin with North Korea’s invasion of South Korea on June 1, 1950.


Millett is also co-editor of seven books, including *Military Effectiveness* (1988), a three-volume history of military affairs 1900–45, and *Commandants of the Marine Corps* (2004), winner of the Gen. O.P. Smith Prize for Best Edited Book. Four of Millett’s books are on the required reading list for officers of the U.S. armed services. He is also the author of 45 essays, 28 articles, five pamphlets, and two bibliographies.

In December 2005, Millett retired from The Ohio State University after 37 years of service to become the Stephen Ambrose Professor of Military History at the University of New Orleans. He is also director of the Eisenhower Center for American Studies and senior counselor at the National World War II Museum.

Raymond E. Mason Jr. has given additional money to the Mershon Center to transform Millett’s position from an endowed professorship to an endowed chair. A national search to fill it began in 2006.
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 theory, and the philosophy of social science.

This year, Foreign Policy magazine named Wendt the third-most influential scholar in international relations. In addition, a survey of more than 2,000 international relations professors across the country ranked Wendt as among the most influential scholars in the field. In fact, he was the only scholar ranked in the top 5 in all three categories:
- Whose work has had the greatest impact on the field over the past 20 years
- Who has been doing the most interesting work in recent years
- Whose work has most profoundly affected his/her own research

Wendt was one of the first scholars to bring social constructivist theory to international relations. Beginning with his 1992 article, “Anarchy Is What a State Makes of It,” and developed in his 1999 book, Social Theory of International Politics, Wendt argues that international politics is determined not by material concerns such as wealth and power, but states’ perceptions of each other as rivals, enemies, and friends.

Wendt’s book has been translated into four languages and was named Best Book of the Decade by the International Studies Association in 2006. It has also inspired considerable commentary, much of which was collected in Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and his Critics, edited by Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leande (2005). Wendt himself contributed a chapter, “Social Theory as Cartesian Science: An Auto-Critique from a Quantum Perspective.”

Wendt’s current research centers on three areas: the inevitability of a world state, the idea of a quantum social science, and the epistemology of ignorance about UFOs.

In the first area, Wendt argues that a world state is inevitable because of the rising costs of war and the struggle of individuals and groups for global recognition of their rights. This work has led to two recent publications:

In the second area, Wendt is working on a book examining claims in neuroscience that human consciousness follows the laws of quantum mechanics—in other words, it behaves as both waves and particles. Because consciousness is key to social construction of reality, he argues, social science must also shift its foundation to quantum mechanics.

Finally, in “Sovereignty and the UFO,” Wendt and coauthor Raymond Duvall explore the question of why UFOs are a taboo topic in authoritative modern society. The authors take no position on what UFOs are—actual extra-terrestrials or something manmade—but argue that it is puzzling they receive no official government attention.

Wendt also organized two recent conferences at the Mershon Center: “New Systems Theories of World Politics” and “Realism and Constructivism: From Debate to Dialogue.” More information, including a list of participants, can be found in the “Events” section of this report.
Robert J. McMahon joined the Mershon Center last year as the Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History. He previously spent more than 20 years at the University of Florida, where he chaired the History Department, and four years at the U.S. Department of State, where he edited Foreign Relations of the United States, the official documentary history of U.S. foreign policy published continuously since the Lincoln administration.

A specialist in U.S. diplomatic history, McMahon is the author or editor of several books, including:

- *The Limits of Empire: The United States and Southeast Asia Since World War II* (1999)

McMahon has also written numerous articles, book chapters, and reviews. His recent and forthcoming articles include:


Besides his scholarship, McMahon serves on the State Department Historical Advisory Committee, which makes recommendations about declassifying government documents related to U.S. foreign policy. He is also a member of the collaborative committee for the Organization of American Historians and the Japanese Association of American Studies; the American bureau member for the Commission on the History of International Relations; and a member of the editorial board for *International History Review*.

McMahon is currently working on *Dean Acheson: Architect of the American Century*. This book will concentrate on Acheson’s diplomatic career; his influence on the development and implementation of American foreign policy during World War II and the Cold War; and the personal, political, social, and cultural forces that shaped his world view.
Since 1997 Geoffrey Parker has been the Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History at The Ohio State University and an associate of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies. Parker has published widely on the social, political, and military history of early modern Europe. His best-known book is The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West 1500–1800, winner of the Society for Military History’s Samuel Eliot Morison Prize and the Society for the History of Technology’s prize for best book in the field. This book is now in its third edition and has been translated into seven languages.


Unmaking the West is truly a Mershon Center project, as the seed was planted during a talk at the center, and the book was nurtured to fruition by two Mershon conferences. The book applies counterfactual reasoning to a particularly demanding test case—the rise of the West—by asking three questions:

• How close did the West come to not rising as the result of internal events?
• How close did external events come to preventing the rise of the West?
• Could the rise of the West have taken a different form?

The authors find that while there were infinite possibilities for redirecting history before 1500 so that the West never “rises,” after then it becomes progressively more difficult to find single events that “but for this” the world would have taken a different path. After 1800, it is virtually impossible to halt or reverse the rise of the West.

In La Crisis de la Monarquia de Felipe IV, Parker examines the series of violent economic, social, and political upheavals that affected countries across the globe during the mid-17th century. He finds that these simultaneous disturbances resulted from the interplay of several human and natural factors—above all, overtaxation and global cooling.

In all, Parker has written, edited, or co-edited 33 books, more than 90 articles, and more than 170 book reviews. In 1984, he became a Fellow of the British Academy, the highest honor open to scholars in the humanities in Britain. He is also a Corresponding Fellow of the Dutch and Spanish Royal Academies and holds honorary degrees from Vrij Universiteit in Amsterdam and Katholieke Universiteit of Brussels.

In 1992, the King of Spain made Parker a Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Isabella the Catholic, and in 1996 he became Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Alfonso the Wise. In 1999, Parker won the Samuel Eliot Morison Prize for his work in military history and in 2001 a John Simon Guggenheim Senior Fellowship. In 2006, he received an Alumni Award for Distinguished Teaching from Ohio State.

He has also given more than 200 lectures at universities and conferences around the world.

A selection of books by Geoffrey Parker:

- The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road, 1567–1659
- The Dutch Revolt
- Philip II
- The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800
- The Grand Strategy of Philip II
- Success Is Never Final: Empire War and Faith in Early Modern Europe
- The Thirty Years’ War
- The Spanish Armada (with Colin Martin)
- The Times Atlas of World History
- The Cambridge Illustrated History of Warfare
- Ohio and the World 1753–2053: Essays Toward a New History of Ohio
Alexander Stephan is an Ohio Eminent Scholar, professor in the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, and Senior Fellow at the Mershon Center. He has written widely on such topics as public diplomacy (European-American relations, American culture, and anti-Americanism in Europe); history (Cold War, FBI and culture, Third Reich); culture and area studies (migration and exile, German cultural relations with Eastern Europe, Marxist aesthetics); and German literature in historical context.

Stephan is author or editor of 30 books, 107 articles, and 89 book reviews. Fourteen articles and four edited volumes came out during the 2005–06 academic year, including:


- **Das Amerika der Autoren: Von Kafka bis 09/11 [The Authors’ America: From Kafka to 9/11]** (with Jochen Vogt), which explores the ambivalent constructions of 20th-century America in the work of German and Austrian writers such as Franz Kafka, Bertolt Brecht, Wolfgang Koeppen, and Ingeborg Bachmann.

- **Exile and Otherness: New Approaches to the Experience of the Nazi Refugees**, which explores the possibilities and limitations of concepts like diaspora, delocalization, and transit-culture for German and Austrian refugees who fled Nazi persecution. This book grew out of a 2004 conference at the Mershon Center.


- **Left Behind**: Popular Culture, Religiöser Fundamentalismus und Politik in den USA des George W. Bush, which examined current U.S. popular culture, religious fundamentalism, and politics as illustrated by the *Left Behind* series of books.

Stephan is currently working on several manuscripts, including *Culture and Politics: German-American Studies on Anti-Americanism, Exile, and Politics*; *America on My Mind: The Americanization of German Culture Since 1945*; and a compilation of presentations from his 2006 conference *Public Diplomacy as a Global Phenomenon*. In addition, Stephan has contributed to nine German television documentaries, including programs on U.S. surveillance of Marlene Dietrich, Berthold Brecht, and Thomas Mann. Most recently, he worked on *Left Behind*: Popular Culture, Religiöser Fundamentalismus und Politik in den USA des George W. Bush, which examined current U.S. popular culture, religious fundamentalism, and politics as illustrated by the *Left Behind* series of books.
An American soldier from Bravo Company 2-22 Infantry passed by an Iraqi flag spray-painted on a wall in a local market during a patrol of western Baghdad on October 28, 2005. More than 2,500 U.S. soldiers have been killed since the Iraq War began in 2003.
Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:
Terror’s Fourth Wave: A Regional and National Analysis of Ethno-Islamic Terrorism, 1968–2003

Principal Investigators:
Edward Crenshaw, J. Craig Jenkins, Department of Sociology

Although international terrorism has been a phenomenon for decades, the origin of the terrorists, their motivation, and their targets have changed. During the Cold War, most terrorist acts were Marxist or Leftist; however, since the early 1990s, the majority has been ethno-Islamic. For this reason, scholars have begun to discuss “waves of terror.”

In “Terror’s Fourth Wave,” Crenshaw and Jenkins focused on ethno-Islamic terrorism by sampling only countries with a sizeable Muslim population—either 70 nations with populations at least 10 percent Muslim, or 40 nations at least 50 percent Muslim.

They started the project by using the International Attributes of Terrorism Database to identify all acts of international terrorism carried out by citizens of these countries from 1968–2003. They then used the ITERATE database to identify the location of the attack, its nature, target, number of casualties, and ideologies of the groups involved.

Once the data set was assembled, Crenshaw and Jenkins conducted two investigations:
- Identifying the share of global acts of terrorism for the entire region as well as each country, broken down by target (American, Western, non-Western).
- Identifying the share of global casualties due to terrorism for the entire region as well as each country, broken down by target (American, Western, non-Western).

The ultimate goal was to determine the motivations for ethno-Islamic terrorism, and whether these motivations differ by target. Crenshaw and Jenkins found four triggering factors: a large secular government, greater rights for women, dependence on Western military support, and a sizeable but not dominant Muslim population.

An early version of their results was published in Kristopher K. Robison, Edward M. Crenshaw, and J. Craig Jenkins, “Ideologies of Violence: The Social Origins of Islamist and Leftist Transnational Terrorism,” Social Forces, June 2006. Crenshaw and Jenkins also have a pending grant from the National Science Foundation for a broader study.
Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:
Mershon Network of International Historians

Directors:
Carole Fink, Distinguished Humanities Professor, Department of History
Ursula Gurney, Ph.D. candidate in History, The Ohio State University

The Mershon Network for International Historians (MNIH) is a unique online association for scholars engaged in the study of 20th-century European international relations. The network’s mission is to foster intellectual discussion, research, and teaching in the field of European diplomatic history.

Located at www.mnih.org, the network’s primary purpose is to promote collaborative research by scholars in international history. MNIH does this by announcing upcoming conferences around the world, listing recent publications in the field, publishing calls for papers, and publicizing fellowship and grant opportunities.

MNIH also performs two other unique services. First, it provides researchers with one of the largest archival databases found on the Internet. Links to hundreds of archives around the world are posted, along with current information about many of them.

Second, scholars who join MNIH can request the names of other members working on a particular field or topic, or at a certain city or university. This promotes collaboration among scholars who otherwise might have no other way of meeting one another. Membership is free, and privacy is assured.

One of the measures of the usefulness of the MNIH web site is the number of people who use it. The network had more than 40,000 hits in 2005–06, an average of 3,355 per month. These visitors came from 38 countries, including the United States, Germany, Holland, Australia, Canada, and Britain, but also from as far away as the Ivory Coast, Moldova, Kazakhstan, China, and Saudi Arabia.
Acts of terror are intended to incite fear and intimidation. As such, they receive a great deal of attention from the media and policymakers. It is debatable whether such attention is warranted based on the economic damage that terrorism causes. For this reason, it is important to measure accurately the economic impact of terrorism.

Terrorism inflicts direct economic damage through destruction of physical property, injuries and deaths, and law enforcement expenditures. But it also inflicts indirect damage by raising the cost of doing business and making it harder for companies to attract customers and employees. Business and leisure travel is also deterred.

This project examined the indirect costs of terrorism on the hospitality industry—thought most vulnerable to terrorist attacks—in Italy from 1994 to 1997. The data came from two main sources. Data on terrorist incidents at the city level in Italy came from Pinkerton’s Global Intelligence Services, while data on hotel utilization came from the Tourism Council of the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI).

The study found that lodgings used by foreign visitors are most sensitive to terrorist attacks, and that the impact was felt most during the first year after the attack.

Greenbaum presented this study at several conferences, including the Regional Science Association International meeting in 2005 and the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) meeting in 2006.

An article by Greenbaum and Hultquist, “The Economic Impact of Terrorist Incidents on the Italian Hospitality Industry,” is forthcoming in Urban Affairs Review. Greenbaum has also applied for additional funding from the Department of Homeland Security to study the impact of both international and domestic terrorism in the United States.
Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:

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

Principal Investigators:

Peter Hahn, Mitch Lerner, Department of History

Since 1969, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations newsletter has provided a forum for the discussion of issues related to the practice of American diplomacy, while also presenting historians of U.S. foreign policy with a reliable source of professional information.

In 2003, the newsletter was renamed Passport, and editorship passed to Peter Hahn and Mitch Lerner, with support from the Mershon Center. Passport’s purpose is:

• To print essays on substantive issues related to the study of American diplomacy, particularly those focusing on newly opened archival materials
• To host debates among scholars
• To offer detailed information regarding new publications, scholarly competitions and awards, calls for papers and contributions, and other relevant resources

During the 2005–06 academic year, Passport included such articles as:

• A roundtable critique of John Gaddis’s *Surprise, Security, and the American Experience*
• “Fear and (Self) Loathing in Lubbock, Texas, or How I learned to Quit Worrying and Love Vietnam and Iraq,” by Robert Buzzanco
• “The Past is More than Prologue: Reflections on the Cold War and the War on Terror,” by Marc J. Selverstone
• Perspectives on teaching the history of U.S. foreign relations
• Annual list of doctoral dissertations in U.S. foreign affairs

In producing Passport, Hahn and Lerner aspire to provide historians of American diplomacy with a forum that educates them about the field, the profession, and the fundamental issues surrounding U.S. foreign policy in the international arena.
Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:
The Pathology of War Plans

Principal Investigators:
Richard Hamilton, Department of Sociology
Holger Herwig, University of Calgary

War is one of the most complex operations undertaken by a society. Large numbers of young men are pulled out of the labor force. Manufacture shifts from consumer goods to military goods. International trade is interrupted. In the midst of this, governments must deal with the enemy while balancing relationships with allies and neutral powers.

In The Pathology of War Plans, Hamilton and Herwig look at the plans of six European countries in the buildup to World War I. Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Russia all developed, discussed, and tested war plans. In all six cases, the plans were seriously flawed. Yet all six countries implemented them anyway.

How did this happen? To answer this question, Hamilton and Herwig have asked six scholars to review each country’s plans leading up to World War I. An opening chapter provides a general discussion of war planning and the kinds of problems encountered.

The final chapter provides a discussion and analysis, answering questions like:
- What processes give rise to these planning failures?
- How typical is the 1914 experience?
- What is the social psychology of complex decision making?

This project began with a 2005 conference at the Mershon Center. Contributors include:
- John Gooch, University of Leeds
- Guenther Kronenbitter, Universitaet Augsburg
- Bruce Menning, University of Kansas
- Keith Neilson, Royal Military College of Canada
- Robert Doughty, U.S. Military Academy at West Point (retired)
Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:
Reconstructing the Cold War: Identities, Institutions, and Interests in Moscow’s Foreign Policy Since 1945

Principal Investigator:
Theodore Hopf, Department of Political Science

In Reconstructing the Cold War: Identities, Institutions, and Interests in Moscow’s Foreign Policy Since 1945, Theodore Hopf is undertaking an ambitious project—a social constructivist account of the Cold War.

In writing this book, Hopf has several objectives. First, he wants to take advantage of Russian archives that have been opened to Western scholars over the past 15 years. This includes the work of Russian scholars who have been writing about the Cold War since it began but whose work has not been previously available to scholars in the West.

Second, Hopf wants to write a social constructivist account of the Cold War that foregrounds the identity politics between the Soviet Union and others it dealt with in world politics, including the United States, Europe, China, and the decolonizing world.

To do this, Hopf plans to recover the Soviet Union’s prevailing domestic identities from written sources such as novels, textbooks, and newspapers. He will then see whether these identities affected Soviet policy choices made in relation to other states.

Finally, Hopf hopes that his book contributes to debates on American foreign policy after the Cold War. Although history’s victors rarely examine their own strategies, Hopf hopes to perform just such a re-examination to identify such lessons for the United States.

Hopf will work on Reconstructing the Cold War in 2006–07 as a Senior Research Fellow at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies at Harvard University.
Research on Use of Force and Diplomacy

Project:
For Peace and Money: International Finance and the Making and Unmaking of the Entente Cordiale

Principal Investigator:
Jennifer Siegel, Department of History

Imperial Russia had more international debt than any other nation in Europe before World War I. To finance the modernization of industry, construction of public works, and development of the military-industrial complex, Russia turned time and time again to foreign capital.

By 1914, 48 percent of Russian imperial government debt was held by foreigners—80 percent in French hands and 14 percent held by the British. The French also owned one-third of Russian private debt, the British one-fourth.

In For Peace and Money: International Finance and the Making and Unmaking of the Entente Cordiale, Jennifer Siegel examines French and British bank loans to Russia in the late imperial period, up to the Genoa Conference of 1922. The study will help explain the ways non-governmental players were able to influence policy both domestically and across national borders.

The study has three main themes:
- The role of individual financiers and policymakers
- The importance of foreign capital in Russian policy formation
- The particular role of British investment in the Anglo-Russo-French entente

While much work has previously been done on Franco-Russian financial ties, the significant role played by British capital has been overlooked. The Franco-Russian alliance obliged French bankers to loan money to Russia, but the motivations for British finance were more complex and demand greater examination.

In this study, Siegel is drawing from archival material from all three sides—British, French, and Russian—as well as from players in both government and international finance, including N.M. Rothschild, ING Barings, BNP Paribas, and Crédit Lyonnais.
Pakistani activists burn a Danish flag during a demonstration in Karachi on February 5, 2006, against the publication in several European newspapers of cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed. The cartoons touched off weeks of protests across the Muslim world.
Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes that Affect Security

Project:

*Turkey: Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity*

Principal Investigator:

Carter V. Findley, Department of History

*Turkey: Islam, Nationalism, and Modernity* examines Turkey’s transition from Ottoman empire to nation-state. From 1789 to the present, Findley argues, the Turks triangulated over time in relation to three reference points: Islam, nationalism, and modernity.

Choices among these reference points led to the rise of two strategies for engaging with modernity: a radical, secular current of fast, disruptive change and a conservative, Islamic current of slow, adaptive change. As the Turks negotiated their transition from a multinational, Islamic empire to a Turkish nation-state, the two currents interacted to shape modern Turkish society.

The radical current was closely associated with the formation of new civil and military elites and the rise of “print capitalism,” symbolized by the emergence in 1860 of privately owned, Turkish-language print media. The radicals engineered the Young Turk revolution of 1908 and ruled the republic for two generations. They still retain powerful positions and have made secularism into a lasting “belief system.”

The conservative current was expressed in a series of Islamic religious movements, somewhat comparable to the “Great Awakenings” in the early United States. Most influential were movements launched by Shaykh Khalid al-Naqshbandi (1777–1826), Said Nursi (1873–1960), and Fethullah Gülen (1938– ). Powerful under the Ottoman Empire, Islamic conservatives did not again control Turkish government until the 1980s. However, their movement had great cultural significance throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Although the radical movement has been extensively studied, the conservative one has been less so, and the interaction between the two has not. Findley’s book differs from previous studies in that it sees the history of Turkey not as an evolution from religion and autocracy toward secularism and nationhood, but as a dialectical interaction between two powerful forces that interacted across time to shape Turkish history.
Does Economic Integration Promote Cooperation Abroad?

Principal Investigator:
Timothy Frye, Department of Political Science

Economic integration is perhaps the most commonly cited cure for Russia’s ills. Many observers argue that expanded trade with Western countries, membership in international organizations, and increased foreign investment are critical to increasing the stability of Russia’s legal environment at home and its cooperative relations abroad.

Others, however, argue that international integration may provoke a political backlash from groups harmed by expansion of the global economy. Workers and managers in sectors competing with foreign imports may be most likely to reject economic openness.

This project examines the support for economic integration and international cooperation among both business elites and the mass public in Russia. Carried out with two years of support from the Mershon Center, it involves an original survey of 660 business leaders and the addition of questions to an existing Russian national survey.

Answers to these questions will provide insight into whether business elites and the mass public differ in their views of the relationship between economic integration and international security. Do those who favor greater economic openness see the United States and Europe as less threatening than those who don’t?

The analysis will also determine whether the views of people who work in sectors affected by the global economy differ from the views of people whose jobs are not so affected. Are those who feel threatened by economic integration more likely to vote for Russian nationalist candidates?

By analyzing the effect of globalization on support for economic integration and international cooperation at both the mass and elite levels, this project will provide an in-depth assessment of how Russians view their place in the global community.
Although Communism strove to standardize all aspects of life, the politics and economies of post-Communist countries could not be more varied. The bustling streets of Prague are a far cry from the drab thoroughfares of Minsk. Moldova has become the poorest state in Europe, while Poland became an economic powerhouse. Democracies have emerged in Latvia and the Czech Republic, authoritarian regimes in Turkmenistan and Belarus.

Partisan Politics in Transition Economies seeks to explain the diversity of politics and economy in 25 post-Communist countries by examining the level of partisan politics. Where either neocommunists or liberals dominate, Frye argues, there is little polarization, and executives can push through pro-business or pro-state policies. Because there is little chance these policies will be reversed, companies—whether private or state-owned—are likely to invest in a productive operation. This gives the executive a strong tax base.

Where neocommunists and liberals have roughly equal power, however, there is much more polarization. Neither private nor state companies invest because they fear reversal of executive policies. This leaves the executive with a much smaller tax base. It also means the executive tries to please both sides by backing “partial reforms” that include rapid privatization along with continuing subsidies for state-owned firms.

Partisan Politics in Transition Economies, forthcoming in 2007, includes surveys of business elites and case studies of Bulgaria, Russia, Poland, and Uzbekistan. It concludes by identifying the roots of political polarization.

Also forthcoming is an article, “The Political Economy of Constitutional Stability,” which explores why presidents have dramatically expanded their powers in some post-Communist countries but not others. Findings suggest that expansions of presidential power are especially likely in countries with high levels of income inequality at low levels of democracy. Case studies include Poland, Croatia, Moldova, and Russia.
Living Jerusalem: Cultures and Communities in Contention

The Living Jerusalem project has several parts. First, independent research teams led by Suad Amiry at Riwaq and Bir Zeit University in Palestine and Galit Hasan-Rokem of Hebrew University in Israel interviewed more than 200 cultural practitioners to understand living traditions in Jerusalem. Their work resulted in archival holdings at Hebrew University, Al-Quds University, and The Ohio State University, as well as a documentary, “Jerusalem: Gates to the City.” Project participants are currently completing a manuscript of essays begun in the 1990s. Co-editors Salim Tamari and Galit Hasan-Rokem will meet in November 2006 at the Mershon Center to review, critique, and revise the essays in light of events over the past decade.

A second part of the project, funded by the Batelle Corporation, is an exploration of the role of new technologies in fostering dialogue in conflict zones. Horowitz worked with instructors at Al-Quds University and Hebrew University to create a web-based course on Technology, Ethnography, Culture, and Conflict Resolution in Disputed Territory. Students from all three universities use weblogs and video conferencing to engage in dialogue about historical and contemporary issues facing Palestinians and Israelis in Jerusalem, and Muslim and Jewish communities in Columbus.

A third component of the project is “Living Columbus,” led by Norman Hosansky of Tifereth Israel Synagogue and Mazher Jalil of the Islamic Foundation of Central Ohio. Students at these centers will work with Ohio State students to map out community sites such as language learning centers; food, music, and clothing stores; and religious institutions. Students will then take each other on tours of their neighborhoods in Columbus. Drawing on this research, Marcelita Haskins, Instructional Services and Outreach coordinator for WOSU-TV 34, will design a cultural fair featuring Jewish and Muslim immigrant traditions in Columbus.
Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes that Affect Security

Project:
The Difference a State Makes: Public Sector Capacity and Political Stability in Latin America

Principal Investigator:
Marcus J. Kurtz, Department of Political Science

Why do some Latin American governments maintain stable democracies while others succumb to political unrest? To answer this question, Marcus Kurtz examined the institutional capacity of states, or their ability to respond to economic inequality and political unrest in ways that prevent escalation into crises that threaten the regime.

Kurtz sees two dimensions to state capacity: tax capacity and bureaucratic effectiveness. In the first area, states need access to a strong resource base, and they need to be able to mobilize it quickly. How resources are collected also matters—taxes on consumption, income, and property are more flexible than taxes on foreign export of natural resources.

States also must effectively mobilize these resources to pursue the public good. This means they need an effective bureaucracy, independent enough of special interests to avoid being captured, but sufficiently linked to civil actors to implement their policies.

Based on this notion of state capacity, Kurtz has developed four hypotheses:

- States with well developed tax capacity and effective bureaucracies show unusual political stability.
- States with well developed tax capacity but ineffective bureaucracies are politically stable, but may develop machine politics.
- States with little tax capacity and ineffective bureaucracies are unresponsive to crises and vulnerable to political unrest.
- States with effective bureaucracy but little tax capacity are relatively rare. This is because it is difficult to govern well with few resources.

To test these hypotheses, Kurtz is studying two pairs of Latin American states from the 1980s to the present: Argentina and Uruguay, and Mexico and Chile. These cases were chosen to match on possible causes of instability (inequality, history, position in world politics), but differ in the political outcomes of shared economic crises.

Kurtz is using the results of this project to apply for a grant from the National Science Foundation to conduct a broad cross-national study on the causes and consequences of different processes of state building.
Although economic insecurity has long been a fact of life in underdeveloped countries, since the 1980s it has become more prevalent in wealthy democracies. Two things have contributed to this trend. First, many of these nations are reducing taxes and rolling back the welfare state. Second, globalization has increased their international economic interdependence, sending jobs to countries where wages are lower and government regulation less stringent.

While most experts agree that wealthy democracies are becoming more economically insecure, they vary in what they see as its important consequencies. Does it weaken democracy by eroding support for established political parties and feeding support for right-wing populists? Does it fuel inter-group tensions by fostering resentment against immigrants?

Finally, research shows that while Australians support keeping a strong welfare state to offset the negative effects of globalization, Americans do not. Why is this so?

The first step in answering these questions is to understand what economic insecurity means to the people affected. Is it loss of a job? Is it the inability to find a job with good wages and benefits? Is it difficulty in paying for health care or lack of health insurance?

This project will hold a series of focus groups to find out what economic insecurity means to ordinary people and how it affects them politically. Three groups will be tested: suburban dwellers, blue-collar workers, and African Americans. The information gleaned will be used to create a broader survey in the everyday language of potential respondents.
Research on Ideas, Identities, and Decisional Processes that Affect Security

Project:  
Evaluation of the Impact of USAID Democracy and Governance Programming

Principal Investigator:  
Pamela Paxton, Department of Sociology

In 2001, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) spent more than $800 million in more than 70 countries to promote democratic institutions and good governance. However, until recently this work had not been adequately evaluated.

Two years ago, Paxton and Rumi Morishima undertook just such an evaluation. Previous studies had not found a link between foreign aid and democratization or human rights. However, Paxton and Morishima looked specifically at USAID money directed to democracy development from 1993 to 2001, finding that it did have a positive effect.

The next step was to probe these results more deeply. Specifically, Paxton wanted to know how much of the positive effect was from selection bias. In other words, did USAID choose to fund only “good bets” for democratization? And how much of the democratization was due to USAID support over what would have happened anyway?

This continuing evaluation has been carried out by a team of researchers from Vanderbilt University and the University of Pittsburgh. However, Paxton was part of the original team that suggested USAID bring academic researchers in to evaluate its efforts. She also helped guide the researchers’ work with data kept by USAID but, until then, unstudied.

The final report, “Effects of U.S. Foreign Assistance on Democracy Building: Results of a Cross-National Quantitative Study,” found that USAID support has a significant impact on democracy, over and above the normal dynamics of the country and controlling for selection bias. It is posted on the USAID website under Democracy and Governance.
International Political Economy has no shortage of concepts to explain international cooperation and conflict. Theories have been developed at several levels of analysis—the unit or agent level, the dyadic level, and the group or systems level.

However, few of these concepts have been tested empirically. In this project, Pollins set out to make progress in theory building by:

- Identifying both consistent and contradictory claims found in the field
- Testing these competing models using a common information base
- Building and refining a new theoretical framework based on these tests

A few of the concepts tested include:

- Groups that include a dominant member or bloc are more likely to cooperate than groups that do not have such dominance.
- Two nations with asymmetric resources are more likely to cooperate than two nations with symmetric resources.
- States that plan far into the future are more likely to cooperate than those that discount future gains.

Pollins tested such concepts using “model specification,” which identifies the premises of each contending model and confronts them with a common information base. A new model that integrates the most promising propositions from each contender is then identified and tested. These findings suggest new directions for research.

This project has contributed to publication of Pollins’ book *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate* (with Edward Mansfield, 2004), as well as two articles and two data sets, one on international trade from 1880 to 1996 and one on military disputes from 1816 to 2001.
Demiurgic Politics: The Republic and the Timaeus

Demiurgic Politics is a book-length study of the political and ethical theory in Plato’s Republic and its influence on the contemporary neo-conservative movement.

The book takes as its starting point Plato’s allegory of the cave. In this allegory, prisoners are chained facing the wall of a cave. Behind them is a constant flame that illuminates a series of statues. These statues are moved by others, causing shadows on the cave wall to flicker. These shadows are as close as the prisoners get to seeing reality.

The philosopher is a former prisoner who has been freed from his chains. He sees the fire and realizes the shadows on the wall are created by statues. He is then taken outside, where he sees objects in the real world illuminated by the sun. He comes to understand that the objects in the cave are just copies of the objects in the real world.

The question, then, becomes whether the philosopher should go back to the cave to rule those left behind. Plato repeatedly argues that because he has gained knowledge of the good, the philosopher is compelled to descend back into the cave. However, it is not clear why. Is it good for the philosopher, for his subjects, or simply good in an absolute sense?

Philosophers and political thinkers through the ages have developed answers to these questions. Demiurgic Politics examines four readings:

- Aristotle, one of Plato’s students
- Plotinus, the father of Neoplatonism
- Leo Strauss, the founder of neo-conservativism
- A new optimistic reading by Silverman himself

Silverman has presented parts of this project during conferences at Princeton, UCLA, and Berkeley. It was also the subject of his plenary address at the Australian Association of Philosophy meeting in Sydney in July 2005.
Supporters of Mexican presidential candidate Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador of the Democratic Revolutionary Party light candles to form the words "Vote by Vote" at Zocalo Square in Mexico City on July 25, 2006. After a narrow loss to National Action Party candidate Felipe Calderon, Obrador asked Mexico's top electoral court to order a recount.
Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:
Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP)

Principal Investigator:
Richard Gunther, Department of Political Science

The Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP) is a multi-year examination of democracies around the world. It began in the late 1980s as a survey to identify the ways that citizens receive information about politics, parties, and candidates during election campaigns in four democracies. The survey was expanded in the 1990s to consider the nature of support for democracy and the consolidation of newly established or re-established democratic regimes in 13 countries.

Because CNEP collected so much information, its full potential could be realized only through a rigorously analytical and comparative collaboration of project participants. The Mershon Center made this possible by supporting the first of a series of conferences in 2003; subsequent meetings were held at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, and the Mateus Palace in Vila Real, Portugal.

These discussions led to a new round of election surveys in 13 countries from 2004–06. The surveys, coordinated by Richard Gunther, looked at:
- The quality of democracy, and corruption in the electoral process
- The nature and manifestations of identity in multi-cultural societies
- Non-Western values that affect democracy or give rise to violent conflict

The result of these efforts has been the publication of more than 100 scholarly articles and a book: Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents (Oxford University Press, 2006), edited by Gunther, José Ramón Montero, and Hans-Jürgen Puhle.

This book explores the nature and consequences of support for democracy, finding three distinct clusters of attitudes: democratic satisfaction, political disaffection, and democratic support. The authors found that support for democracy depends not on how well the economy is doing, as has commonly been argued, but on the behavior of key political elites during the crucial states of forming a democratic state. The book also analyzed the impact of “values cleavage” on electoral behavior, finding that politics in the United States has become more polarized by values than in any other country analyzed.

CNEP is now the third-largest project of its kind in the world. In 2007, the project will expand again to examine 23 national surveys in 18 countries dating back to 1990.
After more than four decades of authoritarian rule, Indonesia held democratic legislative elections in 1999. Elections were held again in 2004, including Indonesia’s first direct election of a president and vice president. In both cases, a team led by Liddle and Mujani surveyed Indonesian voters to see why they made the choices they did.

The surveys were designed to assess the relative impact on Indonesian voters’ choices of six sociological and psychological factors:

- Religious beliefs and affiliations
- Ethnic and regional loyalties
- Social class and economic interest
- Attachment to national party leaders
- Attentiveness to local opinion leaders
- Partisanship or party identification

Previous scholars have pointed to religious orientation as the primary determinant of voting behavior. Because most people in Indonesia are Muslim, it was thought that voters would choose a candidate based on whether the form of Islam they practiced was animistic, conservative, modernist, or priyayi (aligned with Hinduism).

Liddle and Mujani’s surveys did not find this to be the case. Instead, they found that the strongest determinants of Indonesian voting behavior were attachment to party leaders and party identification. Voter attachment to leaders is likely driven by the rapid spread of television in recent years and the current atmosphere of press freedom, the survey found. The importance of party identification may be a result of voter familiarity with the three parties allowed to operate during the previous authoritarian regime of Suharto.

Results of this survey will feed into the larger Comparative National Elections Project. They also help us to understand politics in the world’s largest Muslim nation, currently at the center of the worldwide struggle against terrorism. The creation and strengthening of democratic institutions in Indonesia is crucial to resolving these conflicts.
Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project: The Dissent/Repression Nexus in the Middle East

Principal Investigators: Katherine Meyer, Department of Sociology Christian Davenport, University of Maryland Deborah Gerner, University of Kansas (deceased) J. Craig Jenkins, Department of Sociology Phil Schrodt, University of Kansas Jillian Schwedler, University of Maryland Mary Ann Tétreault, Trinity University

The Middle East is often said to be caught in a never-ending spiral of dissent and repression, influencing almost all aspects of existence. This "dissent/repression nexus" is critical because the Middle East sits at the crossroads of three continents, contains vast reserves of natural resources, and its conflicts have spilled into other parts of the globe.

Despite the importance of the dissent/repression nexus, as well as the significance of the Middle East, there has been little systematic study of conflict dynamics in the region. Much research has drawn on a single methodology—event analysis, field research, or social surveys. Each study omits important aspects of the dissent/repression nexus.

To address these gaps, an interdisciplinary, multi-university team has set out to study the dissent/repression nexus in the Middle East. Some of their questions include:

- How do dissent and repression influence each another?
- What kinds of repression produce what kinds of dissent and vice versa?
- How are contentious activities influenced by the dominant forces of economic and political globalization?

The project focuses on several important Middle East countries—Egypt, Israel/Palestine, Jordan, Kuwait, and Turkey—from 1990 to the present. These locations make it possible to examine the process of transformational change, the relationship between individuals and social action, and the implications of cultural variation for conflict.

This project is supported by a three-year, $585,000 grant from the National Science Foundation’s Human Social Dynamics program on Agents of Change, as well as grants from Ohio State’s College of Social and Behavioral Sciences and the Mershon Center.

Some results will be published in a special issue of International Journal of Middle East Studies. For more information, see the project web site at www.drnexus.osu.edu.

Besides the principal investigators, this project involves the work of nine undergraduate and graduate students at Ohio State, University of Maryland, and Trinity University.
Shortly after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, President George W. Bush issued a directive dealing with the role of immigration policy in combating terrorism. Since then, the relationship between immigration policy and national security has deepened, and it will become even more important in an increasingly globalized world.

The literature on immigration policy, however, has not kept up with world events. First, most of it is country-specific, making comparisons of immigration policy between countries difficult. Second, it does little to explain how politics shapes immigration policy. Third, it pays strikingly little attention to concerns about security.

Nooruddin hopes to address these deficiencies in two ways. First, he is creating a cross-national database of immigration policy, coding policies on 90 variables such as:

- Restrictiveness. Is the policy based on absolute numbers or characteristics of the immigrant?
- Purpose. Does the policy seek to assimilate new citizens or simply provide additional labor?
- Conditions. Does the policy require things like permits, registration, or fingerprinting?
- Enforcement. Does the policy target employers or immigrants?
- Punishments. Do sanctions for not following the policy include fines or deportation?

Second, Nooruddin is conducting interviews with embassy officials in the United Arab Emirates and India. The UAE was chosen because it uses a tremendous amount of expatriate labor; in fact, just 20 percent of its population is native. India has long been a net exporter of population, making the “brain drain” a great concern to policymakers.

Nooruddin plans to use the results of this project as the basis for a proposal to the National Science Foundation to extend the database back to 1945.
Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

**Project:**

*IO Legitimation and the Use of Force*

**Principal Investigator:**

Alexander Thompson, Department of Political Science

The recent conflict in Iraq illustrates the important role of international organizations in the conduct of foreign policy and use of force. International support for the intervention hinged as much on United Nations approval as on the substantive goals of the policy itself. American leaders were aware of the benefits of U.N. authorization and framed many of their arguments for war in terms of compliance with U.N. resolutions.

In this project, Thompson set out to explain why the endorsement of an international organization (IO) such as the United Nations plays such a key role. Why did foreign leaders and publics care whether the United States got U.N. support for its actions?

The answer to these questions rests on the notion of legitimation, or the process by which IOs transfer legitimacy onto the actions of states. While most scholars, policymakers, and journalists agree that IOs do transfer legitimacy, they do not explain how this occurs.

Thompson explains this legitimation in terms of information transmission to foreign audiences, both leaders and their publics. IO approval signals to these audiences that an intervention policy is unthreatening and justified. He is gathering opinion data from around the world on attitudes toward the two wars (1990–1991 and 2003–present), and is interviewing foreign policy elites from the United States, Canada, Turkey, and Europe.

Through this project, Thompson explores a vital policy issue: Should coercive foreign policies be conducted unilaterally or multilaterally? The costs of multilateralism—the inefficiencies of collective decision making—are well understood, while the costs of unilaterism—often long-term and diffuse—are not. How U.S. policymakers negotiate these tradeoffs will have a lasting effect on international cooperation and goodwill.
Research on Institutions that Manage Violent Conflict

Project:
The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty as Contract

Principal Investigator:
Daniel Verdier, Department of Political Science

Since it dropped two nuclear bombs on Japan in 1945, the United States has sought to prevent the dissemination of nuclear weapons. In the 1950s, it granted certain countries access to nuclear technology in exchange for a guarantee that it be used only for peaceful applications. In 1968, it worked with the United Kingdom and Soviet Union to offer this arrangement to the rest of the world through the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

The NPT has been highly successful. Within five years, 80 countries had signed and ratified the treaty, and, by 1985, that number was 130. Two countries—China and France—refused to sign until 1992, while Israel, India, and Pakistan still have not signed. Three countries—Iran, Iraq, and Libya—are known to have signed and then cheated, while one country—North Korea—signed and then withdrew in 2003.

In this project, Verdier set out to explain why the NPT has been so successful. Previous literature on the NPT focused on the few countries that didn’t sign or that cheated. Instead, Verdier focuses on countries that did sign, explaining their actions as a contract between the principal, a cartel of nuclear states, and agents, all non-nuclear states.

Using game theory, Verdier argues that the object is to maximize non-proliferation by promising to reward signatories and threatening to punish non-signatories and cheaters. He then makes predictions about which countries were likely to sign and when. Finally, he is testing those predictions on a panel of all countries from 1968–2002.

This research feeds into a larger project on international economic incentives and sanctions whose aim is to pinpoint the right mix of carrots and sticks for countries to achieve their goals in the international arena. It also contributes to a growing literature applying game theory to the study of international institutions.
Sean Kay is the Libuse L. Reed Professor and Chair of the International Studies program at Ohio Wesleyan University in Delaware. He joined the Mershon Center last year as Mershon Associate, providing research analysis, guest speaker programs, and long-term planning with the center’s leadership. He is also a nonresident fellow in Foreign and Defense Policy at the Eisenhower Institute in Washington.

Kay specializes in international security, globalization, international organization, and U.S. foreign and defense policy. His books include:

- NATO After 50 (ed. with S. Victor Papacosma and Mark Rubin, 2001)

Kay’s most recent book, Global Security in the Twenty-First Century, offers a balanced introduction to contemporary security dilemmas, taking as its central theme the role of power within the international system. Kay surveys the full range of conceptual frameworks for thinking about power and peace, including realism, liberalism, constructivism, post-modernism, and feminism. He considers a wide array of case studies, including flashpoints in the Middle East, Asia, and Eurasia.

Kay also explores trade and technology, the militarization of space, the privatization of security, the use of sanctions, ethnic conflict, transnational crime, and terrorism. Retired Marine General Anthony Zinni, former chief of U.S. Central Command, called Kay’s book “a brilliant and sweeping strategic survey of today’s world environment … a must-read for all those who want to understand the security complexities and challenges we face and the policy implications this changing world presents.”

Besides his books, Kay has written more than 35 journal articles, book chapters, and book reviews. His work has appeared in such journals as Contemporary Security Policy, Current History, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, and Security Dialogue. He is interviewed regularly by the media, appearing twice this year on Ohio State’s “Open Line” with Fred Andrle to discuss global security and international affairs.

Kay also lectures widely about international affairs at academic and professional conferences. Most recently he spoke at “The Transatlantic Security Triangle: Where Does Canada Fit?” a meeting of American, Canadian, and European experts in transatlantic security issues in Ottawa, sponsored by Carleton University, the Canadian Foreign Affairs Ministry, and the European Commission. Kay was also a featured speaker at the International Affairs Conference at Star Island, New Hampshire.

Kay’s latest projects include:

- A coauthored chapter on transatlantic security relations in a global security context for the 3rd edition of Ronald Tiersky’s book Europe Today
- An article on “NATO and Counterinsurgency: Strategic Liability or Tactical Asset?” for a special edition of Contemporary Security Policy
- A feature presentation on “Repercussions from Middle East Conflict, Occupation, and Democracy Building” for the 2006 International Affairs Conference

Finally, Kay is leading the scheduling of the Mershon Center’s National Security Seminar speaker series and spearheading development of the Mershon Midwest International Security Seminar. This professional network of academics and public- and private-sector experts will engage in Mershon Center activities and meet annually.
Faculty Publications and Awards

Books

Stephen G. Cecchetti, Professor of International Economics, Brandeis University

This book surveys a broad series of topics, including what money is and how it is used; what a financial instrument is and how it is valued; what a financial market is and how it works; what a financial institution is and why we need it; and what a central bank is and how it operates. Cecchetti draws on his experience as vice president at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, a consultant for central banks in England, Israel, and Australia, and his research supported by the Mershon Center while he was at Ohio State.

Carter Findley, Distinguished Humanities Professor of History

Dünya Tarihinde Türkler, a Turkish translation by Aysen Anadol of his 2005 book The Turks in World History (Oxford University Press, 2005)
Beginning 2000 years ago in Inner Asia, the Turks have migrated and expanded to form today’s Turkish Republic, five post-Soviet republics, other societies across Eurasia, and a global diaspora. For the first time in one volume, this book traces the Turkic peoples’ trajectory from steppe, to empire, to nation-state. Cultural, economic, social, and political history unite in these pages to illuminate the projection of Turkic identity across space and time and the transformations marked by the Turks’ entry into Islam and modernity.

Mark Grimsley, Associate Professor of History

Shiloh: A Battlefield Guide, with Steven E. Woodworth (Bison Books, 2006)
Designed to lead the user on a one-day tour of one of the most important battles of the Civil War, Shiloh: A Battlefield Guide provides directions to all the key locations. A wealth of maps, vivid descriptions, and careful analysis makes plain the sweep of events and the geography of the battlefield.

Richard Gunther, Professor of Political Science

Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe, edited with P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Dimitri Sotiropoulos (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)
This volume analyzes the evolution of selected public policies and the changing roles and structure of the state in Greece, Italy, Portugal, and Spain since the 1960s. It makes a major contribution to work on recent democratic regime transition in southern Europe, demonstrating how the state has responded and adapted to the challenges and pressures associated with the overarching processes of democratization, socio-economic development, and Europeanization.

Democracy, Intermediation and Voting on Four Continents, edited with José Ramón Montero and Hans-Jürgen Puhle (Oxford University Press, forthcoming)
This book presents the results of systematic comparative analyses of electoral behavior and support for democracy in 13 countries on four continents. It is based on national election surveys held in both old and new democracies in Europe (Germany, Britain, Spain, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Hungary, and Bulgaria), North and South America (the United States, Chile, and Uruguay), and Asia (Hong Kong) between 1990 and 2004. This volume is the first book-length product of the now 18-country Comparative National Elections Project.
Books (continued)

Peter Hahn, Professor of History

_Crisis and Crossfire: The United States and the Middle East Since 1945_ (Potomac Books, 2005)

Although it seems almost incredible today, the United States had relatively little interest in the Middle East before 1945. But the dynamics and outcome of World War II elevated the importance of the Middle East in the American mind, and the United States has viewed the region with vital interest to its security and economy ever since. _Crisis and Crossfire_ surveys and analyzes the broad contours of U.S. involvement in the region.

Mitchell Lerner, Associate Professor of History

_Looking Back at LBJ: White House Politics in a New Light_ (University Press of Kansas, 2005)

Lyndon Baines Johnson ascended to the presidency in the wake of tragedy to lead the United States through one of its most violent and divisive decades. His troubled presidency was marked by endless controversies over civil rights, the Vietnam War, foreign policy, and law-and-order issues, among others. Drawing upon a wealth of new sources, including recently released phone conversations, this book shines a bright and probing light on LBJ’s beleaguered White House tenure. _Looking Back at LBJ_, edited by Lerner, was included on the Presidency Research Group’s 2005 “Recommended Reading” list.

Richard Hamilton, Professor Emeritus of Sociology

_President McKinley, War and Empire, Vol. 1: President McKinley and the Coming of War, 1898_ (Transaction Publishers, 2006)

The progressive reading of history focuses on two antecedents for the United States’ 1898 war with Spain: the 1896 presidential election and the Hearst-Pulitzer press war that generated a public clamor. _President McKinley, War and Empire, Vol. 1_ assesses those claims. It reviews McKinley’s biography, principally the events leading up to his election victory. It then examines the events leading up to the war. Studies of press content are reviewed and new material is introduced. The work also argues that two other factors were decisive: the efforts of an adept Cuban pressure group and partisan politics. The result is a different, more complex view of the origins of the war.

Sean Kay, Mershon Associate


_Global Security in the Twenty-First Century_ offers a balanced introduction to contemporary security dilemmas. Kay’s central theme is the key but evolving role of power within the international system. He surveys the full range of conceptual frameworks for thinking about power and peace, from realism and idealism to constructivism, postmodernism, and feminism. Kay considers a wide array of case studies, including flashpoints in the Middle East, Asia, and Eurasia. He also explores trade and technology, the militarization of space, the privatization of security, the use of sanctions, ethnic conflict, transnational crime, and terrorism.

William Liddle, Professor of Political Science

_Revolusi dari Luar: Demokratisasi di Indonesia_ [Revolution from Outside: Democratization in Indonesia] (Nalar and Freedom Institute, 2005)

_Revolusi dari Luar_ is a collection of Liddle’s recent newspaper columns and magazine articles originally written in Indonesian, plus translations of two of his scholarly articles on contemporary Indonesian politics. (Introduction by Hamid Basyaib.)

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


_A House Burning_ offers the most comprehensive account of the Korean War’s causes and early
military operations. Millett traces the war’s origins to the post-liberation conflict between two revolutionary movements, the Marxist-Leninists and the Nationalist-Capitalists. With the U.S.-Soviet partition of Korea following World War II, each movement asserted its right to govern the peninsula, leading to the guerrilla warfare and terrorism in which more than 30,000 Koreans died. Millett argues that this civil strife was not so much the cause of the Korean War as its actual beginning.

Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dorrklen Professor of History

*Unmaking the West* applies counterfactual reasoning to a particularly demanding test case—the rise of the West—by asking three questions: How close did the West come to not rising as the result of internal events? How close did external events come to preventing the rise of the West? Could the rise of the West have taken a different form? The authors find that while there were infinite possibilities for redirecting history before 1500 so that the West never “rises,” after then it becomes progressively more difficult to find single events that “but for this” the world would have taken a different path. After 1800, it is virtually impossible to halt or reverse the rise of the West.

*La Crisis de la Monarquia de Felipe IV* (Crítica, 2006)

Parker examines the world crisis of the 17th century, a series of violent economic, social, and political upheavals that affected countries across the globe from 1640–60. He finds that these simultaneous disturbances resulted from the interplay of five elements: a sudden episode of global cooling, the emergence of vulnerable areas of economic specialization, a sharp increase in religious and fiscal pressure by many governments, the crumbling of the prevailing demographic regime, and the emergence of radical new ideologies.

*Intelligence and Statecraft: The Use and Limits of Intelligence in International Society*, co-edited with Peter Jackson (Greenwood Publishing, 2005)

The practices of war and international politics were transformed by the conflicts of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era. One of the most important outcomes was the emergence of permanent and increasingly professionalized intelligence services in the military and foreign policy establishments of the Great Powers. *Intelligence and Statecraft* considers the causes and consequences of this trend as well as its impact on war, strategy, and statecraft.

*The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945* (Berghahn Books, 2006)

This volume, edited by Stephan, compares the role of American culture and anti-Americanism in 11 European countries. The book examines American public diplomacy, the transfer of American “high culture,” and the impact of American popular culture.


This book, edited by Stephan, explores the possibilities and limitations of concepts like diaspora, delocalization, and transit-culture for German and Austrian refugees who fled Nazi persecution.
**Articles and Book Chapters**

**Carol Atkinson, Postdoctoral Fellow**


**Edward Crenshaw, Associate Professor of Sociology**


**Carter Findley, Distinguished Humanities Professor of History**


**Carole Fink, Distinguished Humanities Professor of History**


**Timothy Frye, Associate Professor of Political Science**


**Robert Greenbaum, Associate Professor of Public Policy and Management**


**Richard Gunther, Professor of Political Science**


Peter Hahn, Professor of History


Richard Hamilton, Professor Emeritus of Sociology

Theodore Hopf, Associate Professor of Political Science


J. Craig Jenkins, Professor of Sociology


Sean Kay, Mershon Associate

“What Went Wrong with NATO?” Cambridge Review of International Affairs (April 2005).


Articles and Book Chapters (continued)

**Sally Kitch, Professor of Women’s Studies**


“Gender and Utopia: From Promise to Paradox,” in Gilbert Herdt and Catharine Stimpson (eds.), *Critical Terms for Gender Studies* (forthcoming).


**Markus Kornprobst, Postdoctoral Fellow**


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


Kurtz, Marcus J., and Andrew Schrank, “Credit Where Credit Is Due: Open Economy Industrial Policy and Export Diversification in Latin America and the Caribbean,” *Politics & Society* (December 2005).

**William Liddle, Professor of Political Science**


**Robert McMahon, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of History**


**Katherine Meyer, Professor of Sociology**


Margaret Mills, Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures


Homeira Moshirzadeh, Postdoctoral Fellow

“World System Theory: Potentials and Limitations of a Radical Perspective,” Journal of the Faculty of Law and Political Science (Spring 2006).

“Critical Theory in International Relations: A Reappraisal,” Journal of the Faculty of Law and Political Science (Spring 2005).

John Mueller, Woody Hayes Chair of National Security Studies


Anthony Mughan, Professor of Political Science


Daniel Nexon, Postdoctoral Fellow

Articles and Book Chapters (continued)


Irfan Nooruddin, Assistant Professor of Political Science


Geoffrey Parker, Andreas Dorporalen Professor of History

Pamela Paxton, Associate Professor of Sociology


Brian Pollins, Associate Professor of Political Science


Mary Sarotte, Visiting Scholar


“Seeing the Cold War from the Other Side,” in Peter Jackson and Jennifer Siegel (eds.), *Intelligence and Statecraft: The Use and Limits of Intelligence in International Society* (2005).

Jennifer Siegel, Assistant Professor of History
Allan Silverman, Professor of Philosophy
“The Unity of Logos,” in C. Cunningham (ed.), 
*Plato and the Post-Modern* (forthcoming).

“Ascent and Descent: The Philosopher’s Regret,”

Alexander Stephan, Ohio Eminent Scholar of Germanic Languages and Literatures


“Europe after the East: Where Do We Stand at the End of the Cold War?” in *The End of the Cold War: Assessing the Lessons* (forthcoming).

Daniel Verdier, Associate Professor of Political Science

Herbert Weisberg, Professor of Political Science

Alexis Morell Pons, Assistant Professor of Political Science


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


“Social Theory as Cartesian Science: An Auto-Critique from a Quantum Perspective,” in Stefano Guzzini and Anna Leande (eds.), *Constructivism and International Relations: Alexander Wendt and his Critics* (2005).
Honors

Ebru Canan, visiting student fellow at the Mershon Center in 2005, won the 2006 Alexander George Award for Best Graduate Paper from the International Studies Association. The award-winning paper written at Mershon was titled “Comparative Analysis of American and European Public Opinion on the Post-Cold War Use of Military Force: Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq.” Canan this year completed her Ph.D. at the University of Siena.

Carter Findley was elected an Honorary Member of the Turkish Academy of Science. He is one of only four foreigners to receive this distinction. Also, his 2004 book The Turks in World History was chosen as winner of the British-Kuwait Friendship Society Prize for Middle East Studies: the Al Mubarak Book Prize.


Richard Gunther won the 2006 Ohio State Distinguished Scholar Award, given by President Karen Holbrook during a surprise visit to his undergraduate International Studies class. Gunther is one of this country’s leading scholars on Southern European politics, especially Spain. He has published 11 books and more than 70 articles and book chapters. His research contributes to theories of democratic consolidation, with empirical and theoretical work on political parties and electoral behavior.

Peter Hahn was selected chair of Ohio State’s Department of History.

Theodore Hopf was named Senior Research Fellow at the Davis Center for Russian and Eurasian Studies, Harvard University, for 2006–07. He is also scientific director of the Research Project on the International Politics of Russia, Europe, and the United States at the Finnish Institute for International Affairs and Finnish Academy of Sciences, 2003–06.

Amy Horowitz won an Excellence in Engagement grant from the Office of University Outreach and Engagement for her Living Jerusalem project. The project also won a grant from the Battelle Endowment for Technology and Human Affairs.

J. Craig Jenkins was selected chair of Ohio State’s Department of Sociology.

Marcus Kurtz’s book Free Market Democracy and the Chilean and Mexican Countryside (Cambridge University Press, 2004) was selected as an Outstanding Academic Title by Choice,
Mitch Lerner was the Mary Ball Washington Distinguished Fulbright Chair in American History at University College-Dublin in 2005–06. In 2005, he won an Ohio State University Alumni Award for Distinguished Teaching.

Katherine Meyer and J. Craig Jenkins won a three-year $585,000 grant from the National Science Foundation’s Human Social Dynamics program on Agents of Change for their project The Repression/Dissent Nexus in the Middle East.

Margaret Mills received a 2005 fellowship from American Councils for International Education: ACTR/ACCELS for her project Ethnolinguistic Field Study of Everyday Ethical and Political Speech in Post-Soviet Tajikistan.


Geoffrey Parker won the 2006 Ohio State Alumni Award for Distinguished Teaching. One student described Parker as “an inspiring individual who never compromises his personal warmth and very real interest in individual students.” Inside the classroom, his breadth of knowledge and gentle demeanor augments the learning process and promotes student research. Students value that he continually challenges them to apply themselves to their full potential, both intellectually and professionally.

Pamela Paxton is the recipient of a 2006 grant for $115,000 from the National Science Foundation to support her project How Women Attain Political Power: Understanding Women’s Representation in Parliaments, 1893–2003.

Brian Pollins is incoming president of Peace Science Society (International), which encourages the development of peace analysis and conflict management. In particular, the society seeks to improve social science theory as it relates to international relations. It will hold its North American annual meeting in Columbus, November 10–12, 2006.

Allan Silverman was a Visiting Professor of Philosophy at University of California-Berkeley in fall 2005. He also received a University Distinguished Visiting Research Fellowship at Monash University in Victoria, Australia, in July 2005.

Alexander Stephan won a Fulbright Senior Specialist Grant, 2006–2011.

Alexander Wendt’s book Social Theory of International Politics was selected as the best book published in international studies in the past decade by the International Studies Association. He was also named the third most influential scholar in International Relations by Foreign Policy magazine.
South Korean conservative protesters hold anti-North Korea placards displaying portraits of North Korean leader Kim Jong-II and a model of a nuclear missile during an anti-North Korea rally on February 27, 2005, in Seoul, South Korea. North Korea test-fired several missiles in July 2006 that could possibly be used to carry a nuclear warhead.
EVENTS

Furniss Award

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

The Furniss Book Award was given for the first time in 1983 and has been awarded to several of the field’s most prominent scholars early in their careers. Past winners include John Mearsheimer, Barry Posen, and Stephen Walt. The winning author receives a cash award and is invited to address the faculty of the Mershon Center.

This year, the Furniss Book Award was given to Benjamin A. Valentino, assistant professor of government at Dartmouth College, for Final Solutions: Mass Killing and Genocide in the Twentieth Century (Cornell University Press, 2004).

In his book, Valentino finds that ethnic hatreds or discrimination, undemocratic systems of government, and dysfunctions in society play a much smaller role in mass killing and genocide than is commonly assumed. He shows that the impetus for mass killing usually originates from a relatively small group of powerful leaders and is often carried out without the active support of broader society. Mass killing, in his view, is a brutal political or military strategy designed to accomplish leaders’ most important objectives, counter threats to their power, and solve their most difficult problems.
Realism and Constructivism: From Debate to Dialogue

Organizers:
Alexander Wendt, Mershon Center
Patrick Jackson, American University
Daniel Nexon, Mershon Center and Georgetown University

Through most of the 20th century, the dominant school of thought in international relations was realism, which argues that conflict is inevitable because states are driven by power and self-interest. However, realism has recently been countered by constructivism, which argues that conflict between states is not inevitable, but comes from states’ agendas in the global arena and their perceptions of each other.

Realism and Constructivism: From Debate to Dialogue brought together scholars whose work bridges the divide between realism and constructivism. Its purpose was to flesh out areas of agreement and disagreement between the two schools. The conference had four main themes: anarchy, power, common criticism of liberalism, and policy insights.

Conference participants:
Dale Copeland, University of Virginia
Raymond Duvall, University of Minnesota
Stacie Goddard, Wellesley College
Theodore Hopf, The Ohio State University
Patrick Jackson, American University
Ron Krebs, University of Minnesota
Mark Laffey, School of Oriental and Asian Studies
Richard Ned Lebow, Dartmouth College
Kier Lieber, University of Notre Dame
Jennifer Mitzen, The Ohio State University
Daniel Nexon, Mershon Center and Georgetown University
Randall Schweller, The Ohio State University
Jack Snyder, Columbia University
Michael Williams, University of Wales
William Wohlforth, Dartmouth University

(Left to right) Randy Schweller of Ohio State, Jack Snyder of Columbia University, and Ted Hopf of Ohio State take a break during the Realism and Constructivism conference, held January 20-21, 2006, at the Mershon Center.
New Systems Theories of World Politics

Organizers:
Alexander Wendt, Mershon Center
Lars-Erik Cederman, Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich
Mathias Albert, World Society Studies, Bielefeld University, Germany

New Systems Theories of World Politics was a response to a question asked by a panel at the American Political Science Association: Is systems theory dead?

Previously, systems theory saw the world as bipolar, split between the two superpowers of the United States and the Soviet Union. This approach fell out of favor with the end of the Cold War. However, scholars are taking several new approaches to systems theory. The conference brought together scholars who had been working in isolation, allowing them to see what they had in common and where they differed.

Conference participants:
Bear Braumoeller, Harvard University
Barry Buzan, London School of Economics
Christopher Chase-Dunn, University of California, Riverside
Ryan Goodman, Harvard Law School
Richard Herrmann, Mershon Center
Hans-Martin Jaeger, University of Central Florida, Daytona Beach
Derek Jinks, University of Texas School of Law
Friedrich Kratochwil, European University Institute
Jennifer Mitzen, The Ohio State University
Daniel Nexon, Mershon Center and Georgetown University
Brian Pollins, The Ohio State University
Randy Schweller, The Ohio State University
George Thomas, Arizona State University
William Thompson, Indiana University
CONFERENCES (continued)

Post-Soviet In/Securities: Theory and Practice

Organizer:
Theodore Hopf, Department of Political Science

The former Soviet Union and its former satellite countries comprise an area that is in flux politically and economically. A group of scholars from North America, Russia, and Ukraine met at the Mershon Center to discuss the current state of affairs inside President Vladimir Putin’s Russia and in other post-Soviet republics. Participants covered topics such as:

- The state of civil society in Russia today
- Contemporary Russian electoral politics and political economy
- Relations between Russia and Europe
- Ethno-national developments in Russia and Central Asia
- Globalization and the former Soviet space

The conference also included a number of Ohio State graduate students as discussants and led to the publication of six journal articles and book chapters.

Conference participants:
Mikhail Alekseev, San Diego State University
Andrew Barnes, Kent State University
Doug Blum, Providence College
Volodymyr Dubovik, Odessa State University
Matthew Evangelista, Cornell University
Tim Frye, The Ohio State University
Volodya Gelman, European University-Saint Petersburg
Dmitri Gorenburg, Center for Naval Analyses
Henry Hale, George Washington University
Yoshiko Herrera, Harvard University
Juliet Johnson, McGill University
Mark Kramer, Harvard University
Ivan Kurilla, Volgograd State University
Andrei Makarychev, Nizhni Novgorod Linguistic University
Eric McGlinchey, George Mason University
Sergei Medvedev, Higher School of Economics, Moscow
Viatcheslav Morozov, Saint Petersburg State University
Nikolai Petrov, Center for Political-Geographic Research, Moscow
Vladimir Popov, New Economic School, Moscow
James Richter, Bates College
Regina Smyth, Pennsylvania State University
Brian Taylor, Syracuse University

Graduate student discussants
Richard Arnold, Quintin Beazer, Bridget Coggins, Paul Fritz, Dane Imerman, Danielle Langfield, Amanda Metskas, Michael Reese, Amanda Rosen, Srdjan Vucetic, Sarah Wilson

Regina Smyth, Henry Hale, and Nikolai Petrov participate in the Post-Soviet In/Securities conference, held October 2005 at the Mershon Center.
Public Diplomacy as a Global Phenomenon

Organizer:
Alexander Stephan, Department of German Languages and Literature

The State Department defines public diplomacy as the art of engaging, informing, and influencing key international audiences. It differs from traditional diplomacy in that it does not deal with governments but attempts to influence entire communications environments abroad.

Public Diplomacy as a Global Phenomenon examined the cultural dimensions of public diplomacy, the history of the U.S. Information Agency, and new strategies in public diplomacy such as online media and geo-social mapping. It also included practicing diplomats from around the world.

Conference participants:
Tahani Al-Terkate, Media Attaché, Information Office, Embassy of the State of Kuwait
John Brown, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, Georgetown University; Senior Fellow, Center on Public Diplomacy, University of Southern California
Terry Colli, Executive Director, Public Relations and Deputy Head, Washington Advocacy Secretariat, Canadian Embassy/Ambassade du Canada
Nicholas Cull, Center on Public Diplomacy, University of Southern California
Joshua S. Fouts, Director, Center on Public Diplomacy, University of Southern California
Barry Fulton, School of Media and Public Affairs, George Washington University, and Consultant on Change Management and Knowledge Management, Department of State
Robert Gosende, U.S. Ambassador, Associate Vice Chancellor for International Programs, SUNY

Richard Herrmann, Director, Mershon Center for International Security Studies
Christoph Meran, Press Counselor, Director of the Austrian Press and Information Service, Austrian Embassy
Frank Ninkovich, St. John’s University
Hjayceelyn Quintana, First Secretary and Consul, Cultural Affairs Embassy of the Republic of the Philippines
Keith Reinhard, President, Business for Diplomatic Action, and Chairman, DDB Worldwide Communications Group
Michael Vlahos, National Security Analysis Department, Applied Physics Laboratory, Johns Hopkins University

Practicing diplomats (left to right) Terry Colli of Ireland, Hjayceelyn Quintana of the Philippines, and Tahani Al-Terkate of Kuwait participate in the Public Diplomacy conference, held in April 2006 at the Mershon Center.
Seven Afghan women performing key roles in government, education, and non-government organizations expressed their views and shared their strategies for Afghanistan’s future. Panel discussions addressed such topics as:

- Conditions for Afghan women since the fall of the Taliban
- Current projects working to benefit Afghan women
- Ongoing needs of women of different ethnicities, economic statuses, and geographical locations
- Prospects and plans for women’s future empowerment
- Gender issues raised by the new Afghan Constitution
- Women’s leadership and religion


Afghan Women Leaders Speak: Conflict Mitigation and Social Reconstruction

Organizers:
Margaret Mills, Near Eastern Languages and Cultures
Sally Kitch, Department of Women’s Studies

In November 2005, the Mershon Center hosted the first research-oriented conference in the United States on Afghan women’s roles in their country’s social reconstruction. The conference brought together a substantial representation of Afghan women leaders with U.S.-based scholars and students who share expertise and interests relevant to the experiences of women working for social change in Afghanistan.

Afghan conference participants:
Jamila Afghani, director of the Noor Educational Center, a volunteer organization that provides education for women and children
Aziza Ahmadyar, foreiwoices Global Partnership
Marzia Basel, director of the Afghan Women Development Association, director of the Afghan Women Judges Association, and gender justice officer at UNIFEM Afghanistan
Marzia Meena, member of Peace Action and nominee for the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize for her project “1,000 Women”
Lisa Sorush, organizer of clandestine girls’ schools in Kabul that enrolled 1,600 girls
Masuda Sultan, program director of Women for Afghan Women, an organization that advocates for and supports Afghan women

U.S. conference participants:
Deborah Akers, Miami University of Ohio
Anne Brodsky, University of Maryland
Cindy Burack, Women’s Studies
Donna Guy, History
Karen Holbrook, President, The Ohio State University
Maria Julia, College of Social Work
Rachel Lehr, Rubia Handworks
Kay Maxwell, President, National League of Women Voters
Dorothy Noyes, English
Cathy Rakowski, Women’s Studies and Women in Development
Jen Regan, Ph.D. student in Political Science
John Roberts, Dean, College of Humanities
Jacqueline Royster, Dean, Colleges of the Arts and Sciences
Goldie Shabad, Political Science
Barbara Snyder, Provost, The Ohio State University
Julia Watson, Comparative Studies
Ara Wilson, Women’s Studies
Electoral Democracy During Wartime: The 2004 U.S. Election

Organizer:
Herbert Weisberg, Department of Political Science

This conference focused on political decision making that affects war, looking at the interplay between voting and war in the 2004 U.S. presidential election. Elections can serve as a public referendum for ongoing wars, particularly when the incumbent president who brought the nation into war is running for re-election, as was the case in 2004.

Because the 2004 election was the first since the September 11 terrorist attacks, foreign policy played a much larger role in the election campaign than is usually the case. However, this conference also considered the culture wars at home, with an examination of how gay marriage initiatives in several states, including Ohio, brought people to the polls.

Several papers from this conference will be published in a forthcoming special edition of Political Behavior, to be edited by Weisberg.

Conference participants:
John Aldrich, Duke University
Herb Asher, The Ohio State University
Michael Bailey, Georgetown University
Paul Beck, The Ohio State University
Henry Brady, University of California, Berkeley
John Bruce, University of Mississippi
Barry Burden, Harvard University
Gregory Caldeira, The Ohio State University
David Campbell, University of Notre Dame
Ted Carmines, Indiana University
Dino Christenson, The Ohio State University
Peter Feaver, Duke University
Christopher Gelmi, Duke University
Richard Herrmann, Mershon Center
Sunshine Hillygus, Harvard University
Gary Jacobson, University of California, San Diego
William Jacoby, Michigan State University
Luke Keefe, The Ohio State University
John Kessel, The Ohio State University
Jon Krosnick, Stanford University
Dean Lacy, The Ohio State University
Stuart MacDonald, University of North Carolina
Neil Malhotra, Stanford University
Erin McAdams, The Ohio State University
Stephen Mockabee, University of Cincinnati
Quin Monson, Brigham Young University
John Mueller, The Ohio State University
Helmut Norpoth, State University of New York, Stony Brook
George Rabinowitz, University of North Carolina
Jason Reifler, Loyola University
Jill Ricksenhauser, Duke University
Randall Ripley, The Ohio State University
David Rohde, Duke University
Merrill Shanks, University of California, Berkeley
Andrew Sidman, State University of New York, Stony Brook
Jim Stimson, University of North Carolina
Doug Strand, University of California, Berkeley
J. Clyde Wilcox, Georgetown University
Jack Wright, The Ohio State University
Listening to the World: New Ideas for Resolving Identity-Based Conflict

Sponsors:
Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution at the Moritz College of Law
Mershon Center for International Security Studies

In the United States, we turn to courts, administrative agencies, and the political process to resolve social problems. However, significant conflicts related to race, ethnicity, religion, and class often remain unaddressed.

This symposium brought together interdisciplinary scholars from around the world to generate new ideas for building U.S. institutions that are responsive to such conflict. The symposium used social problems in police-community relations as a case study to refine and expand our understanding of the possibilities for dispute resolution system design.

Morning sessions explored the causes and manifestations of selected problems in U.S. police-community relations. In the afternoon, conflict resolution experts from South Africa, Israel, and Northern Ireland shared experiences and offered ideas for improving dispute resolution in the United States. The symposium concluded with a discussion between dispute resolution experts and the domestic and international panelists.

The symposium was sponsored by the Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution and the Mershon Center for International Security Studies as part of The Bridge Initiative @ Mershon and Moritz: New Ideas for Bridging Divided Communities. All symposium papers will be published in the Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution in fall 2006.

Conference participants:
Michelle Alexander, Moritz College of Law
Dominic Bryan, Queen’s University in Belfast, Northern Ireland
Sandra Cheldelin, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University
Amy Cohen, Moritz College of Law
Sarah Rudolph Cole, Moritz College of Law
Ellen E. Deason, Moritz College of Law
Melanie Greenberg, Cypress Fund for Peace and Security
Michael Hamilton, Transitional Justice Institute, University of Ulster
Richard Herrmann, Mershon Center
Hagit Lernau, Institute of Criminology, Hebrew University
Gareth Newham, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, South Africa
Jacqueline Nolan-Haley, Fordham University School of Law
Raymond Patterson, Saltman Center for Conflict Resolution, University of Nevada
John A. Powell, Kirwin Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity
Nancy Hardin Rogers, Moritz College of Law
Jay Rothman, ARIA Group, a conflict resolution group that facilitated the Cincinnati Police-Community Relations Collaborative
Ntsikelelo Sandi, Truth and Reconciliation Commission, South Africa
Najeeba Syeed-Miller, Western Justice Center Foundation, Pasadena, California
David Weisburg, Hebrew University, University of Maryland
Carbon Sequestration in Central Asia

Organizers:
Rattan Lal, Carbon Management and Sequestration Center, School of Environmental and Natural Resources
David Hansen, Office of International Programs in Agriculture
Lynn Everett, Office of International Programs in Agriculture
Patricia Drillien, Clusters of Interdisciplinary Research on International Themes (CIRIT) Climate Change

The 3rd Annual CIRIT Climate Change conference was devoted to the role of agriculture in solving environmental degradation in Central Asia. Sponsors included the International Center for Agricultural Research in Dry Areas (ICARDA), International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, with experts from Ohio State, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Russia, Syria, and other countries.

Several natural resource management issues in Central Asia were addressed, including:
- Loss of agricultural lands (soil degradation) due to inappropriate farming systems
- Loss of the Aral Sea due to overuse of the rivers for irrigation
- Loss of water quality due to inappropriate irrigation practices
- Reduced food security due to the degradation of soil and water resources

The three-day conference included a field trip to Ohio State’s Agricultural Experiment Station in Wooster and the East Appalachian Watershed Experiment Station in Coshocton to observe projects designed to alleviate problems similar to those discussed.

The objectives were:
- To identify land use strategies that restore degraded soils and ecosystems, enhance soil quality, improve water use, and sequester carbon in soil and biomass
- To facilitate dialogue between scientists and policymakers so that soil and ecosystem recovery is an integral component of any governmental program
- To encourage dialogue on scientific and technological exchange
- To create multidisciplinary teams to facilitate carbon trading in national and international markets
- To identify social, economic and biophysical factors and processes that restore degraded soils and ecosystems

The proceedings of this conference will be published in a forthcoming book tentatively called Climate Change and Carbon Sequestration in Central Asia.
National Security Speaker Series

The National Security Speaker Series brings prominent experts from both academic and government backgrounds to discuss topics at the heart of the Mershon Center’s three areas of focus: the use of force and diplomacy; the ideas, identities, and decisional processes that affect security; and the institutions that manage violent conflict. The purpose is to foster interdisciplinary discussion and research among faculty and students.

Alan McPherson
Associate Professor of History, Howard University
“Anti-Americanism Studies Past and Future: The Case of Latin America”
Oct. 13, 2005

Juan Cole
Professor of Modern Middle East and South Asian History, University of Michigan
“Shiite Politics and the Future of Iraq”
Oct. 31, 2005

Scott Sagan
Director of the Center for International Security and Cooperation, Stanford University
Nov. 3, 2005

Mia Bloom
Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Cincinnati
“Theorizing Suicide Terrorism: Some Preliminary Findings”
Jan. 30, 2006

Michael Desch
Robert M. Gates Chair in Intelligence and National Security Decision Making, George Bush School of Government and Public Service, Texas A&M University
“America’s Illiberal Liberalism”
Feb. 17, 2006
Paul Michael Lutzeler  
Rosa May Distinguished University Professor in the Humanities, Washington University in St. Louis  
Feb. 20, 2006

John M. Owen IV  
Associate Professor of Politics, University of Virginia  
“Regime Change and the Balance of Power”  
Feb. 23, 2006

Brendan O’Connor  
Senior Lecturer in Politics and Public Policy, Griffith University, Australia  
“What Is Anti-Americanism: Tendency, Prejudice, or Ideology?”  
March 2, 2006

Daniel Deudney  
Associate Professor of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University  
“Bounding Power: Republican Security Theory from the Polis to the Global Village”  
May 5, 2006

Judith Yaphe  
Distinguished Research Professor, Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University  
“Iranian Aspirations and American Options: A Tale of Two Cities”  
May 10, 2006

Ole Waever  
Professor of International Relations, University of Copenhagen  
“Fear and Faith: Religion as a National Security Issue”  
May 17, 2006

Jennifer Rubenstein  
Link-Cotsen Fellow, Princeton University  
“Distribution and Emergency”  
April 3, 2006

Mahmood Sariolghalam  
Associate Professor of International Relations, National University of Iran  
“Iran and the Nuclear Crisis: Domestic Dynamics and Foreign Policy Challenges”  
April 10, 2006

Stephen J. Flanagan  
Director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies and Vice President for Research, National Defense University  
“Sustaining U.S. Alliances and Partnerships”  
April 13, 2006
Director’s Speaker Series

This series brings to the Mershon Center practicing officials, scholars, and others who have made important contributions to international security studies but might not otherwise fit neatly into our other speaker series categories.

Richard Ned Lebow
James O. Freedman Presidential Professor of Government, Dartmouth College, and former director of the Mershon Center
“Fear, Interest, and Honor: A General Theory of International Relations”
Sept. 28, 2005

Gary LaFree
Professor of Criminology and Criminal Justice, University of Maryland
“Using Event Data to Test a Rational Choice Model of Aerial Hijackings”
Oct. 14, 2005

His Excellency Said Tayeb Jawad
Afghan Ambassador to the United States
Nov. 15, 2005

Mark Plant
Advisor, Policy Development and Review Department, International Monetary Fund
“The IMF and Low-Income Countries: Poverty of Ideas or Ideas on Poverty?”
Nov. 28, 2005

The Mayaguez Incident of May 12-15, 1975: A Reappraisal
Major Kent Landreth, USAF
Major Ed Lengel, USAF
Major Chuck Rambo, USAF
Major Shelly Rodriguez, USAF
United States Navy Post-Graduate School
Nov. 30, 2005

Taner Akçem
Turkish historian, sociologist, and author
“The Armenian Genocide in the Ottoman Sources”
Jan. 11, 2006
Terence Taylor
President and Executive Director,
International Institute for Strategic Studies
“International Law and Imminent Threats”
Jan. 12, 2006

Holly Shissler
Assistant Professor of Ottoman and Modern
Turkish History, University of Chicago
“Islam and Nationalism in the Late
Ottoman Empire: Perspectives of an
Émigré from the Russian Empire”
Jan. 18, 2006

Tsuyoshi Hasegawa
Professor of Modern Russian
and Soviet History, University of
California, Santa Barbara
“Stalin’s Role in Ending World
War II with Japan, 1945”
Feb. 1, 2006

James Gibson
Sidney W. Souers Professor of Government,
Washington University in St. Louis
“Overcoming Apartheid: Can Truth
Reconcile a Divided Nation?”
Feb. 3, 2006

Kathryn Yount
Assistant Professor of International
Health and Sociology, Emory University
“Developmental Idealism and
Family Life in Egypt”
Feb. 13, 2006

Klaus Schwabe
Professor Emeritus at the
Historisches Institut, University of
Technology, Aachen, Germany
“Germany and the United States, From
the Marshall Plan to the Iraq War”
April 17, 2006

Paul Rusesabagina
“Hotel Rwanda: A Lesson Yet to be Learned”
An Ohio State Hillel/Mershon Lecture
April 26, 2006

Ellen Lust-Okar
Assistant Professor of Political
Science, Yale University
“Syria: Prospects for Reform”
April 27, 2006

Air Force Majors (left to right) Kent Landreth, Chuck
Rambo, Shelly Rodriguez, and Ed Lengel discussed the
Mayaguez incident, in which military forces almost
failed in rescuing the 40-man crew of the ship seized
by Cambodia’s Khmer Rouge in 1975. With them is Ohio
State professor of military history John Guilmartin.

Paul Rusesabagina, manager of a luxury hotel
in Rwanda, spoke about his experiences in
sheltering hotel guests from genocide in 1994.
His life was the basis of the movie Hotel Rwanda.
Faculty Speaker Series

This series allows Ohio State faculty members from a variety of colleges and departments to present their work in areas concerning international relations and national security.

Alexander Wendt, Ralph D. Mershon Professor of International Security Studies at the Mershon Center
Raymond Duvall, Associate Director of the Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change, University of Minnesota
“Sovereignty and the UFO”
Jan. 19, 2006

Margaret Newell
Associate Professor of History, The Ohio State University
“Race Frontiers: Indian Slavery in Colonial New England”
Feb. 27, 2006

Peter Shane, Joseph S. Platt/Porter, Wright, Morris & Arthur Professor of Law, The Ohio State University
Alexander Domrin, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Legislation and Comparative Law in Moscow
“Emergency Powers in Russia and the United States: A Comparative Discussion”
April 14, 2006

Robert McMahon
Ralph D. Mershon Distinguished Professor of History
“U.S. National Security Policy Under Eisenhower and Kennedy”
May 4, 2006
Citizenship Speaker Series

_Disciplina in Civitatem_ is the motto of The Ohio State University, and studying and promoting the principles of good citizenship were priorities that Ralph D. Mershon asked that his gift to Ohio State promotes. To fulfill both the university’s mission and Mershon’s wishes, the center sponsors a Citizenship Speaker Series each year. The series, organized by professor of philosophy Allan Silverman, brings scholars to Ohio State to discuss the principles of good citizenship from a variety of perspectives.

**James C. Scott**  
Sterling Professor of Political Science and Anthropology, Yale University  
“Hills and Valleys and States in Southeast Asia, or Why Civilizations Can’t Climb Hills”  
Nov. 9, 2005

**Michael Blake**  
Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Washington  
“Collateral Benefit”  
Feb. 10, 2006

**Danielle Allen**  
Dean of the Division of the Humanities, University of Chicago  
“On Gladiator: Does Ancient History Have Anything to do with Modern Politics?”  
April 7, 2006

**Thomas Hurka**  
Professor of Philosophy, University of Toronto  
“Asymmetries in Value”  
May 5, 2006

Allan Silverman (left), professor of philosophy and organizer of the Citizenship Speaker Series, stands with Danielle Allen, dean of the Division of the Humanities at the University of Chicago. Allen spoke about the resurgence of interest in the classics since the 2000 movie _Gladiator_.

International Political Economy Speaker Series

Each year, the Mershon Center sponsors a series of talks on international political economy, an interdisciplinary field that takes a variety of approaches to study international trade and finance. The series is guided by political scientists Timothy Frye, Sarah Brooks, Brian Pollins, Marcus Kurtz, and Daniel Verdier and economists Massimo Morelli, Erick O.N. Fischer, and John Kagel.

Mark Blyth
Associate Professor of Political Science, Johns Hopkins University
“Constructivism and Political Economy: Blissful Union or Shotgun Wedding?”
Oct. 27, 2005

Michael Ward
Professor of Political Science, University of Washington
“Examining Latent Geographies of Network Interdependencies in International Commerce”
Feb. 16, 2006

Edmund J. Malesky
Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of California, San Diego
“Gerrymandering Vietnam Style: The Political Motivations Behind the Creation of New Provinces in Vietnam”
Feb. 24, 2006

Islam and Democracy Speaker Series

Mershon Center senior faculty fellow R. William Liddle worked with Ohio State’s Honors and Scholars programs, the Middle East Studies Center, and the Department of Political Science to bring together talented undergraduate students and guest speakers to look at the intersecting roles of religion and democracy in traditionally Islamic countries. Guest lecturers spoke with the university community at the center and led a special seminar designed exclusively for students taking the jointly sponsored course.

M. Din Syamsuddin
President, Muhammadiyah
“Islam and the New Indonesian Democracy”
April 25, 2006

Mark Gasiorowski
Director of the International Studies Program, Louisiana State University
“The Prospects for Democracy in Iran”
May 2, 2006

Rex Brynen
Chair of the Middle East Studies Program, McGill University
“Understanding Hamas’ Electoral Victory in Palestine: Causes and Consequences”
May 9, 2006

Toby Dodge
Lecturer in Politics, Queen Mary University, London
“Political Mobilization in the Absence of a State: Islamism, Nationalism, and Sectarianism in Iraq”
May 16, 2006
Graduate Workshop in Diplomatic History

This series, organized by professors of history Peter Hahn and Mitch Lerner, invites distinguished scholars in the fields of national security and diplomatic history to give presentations for the benefit of graduate students and faculty in history, political science, and other disciplines. The purpose of the series, now running for 15 years, is to generate interdisciplinary discussion of international relations and U.S. security policy.

Salim Yaqub
Associate Professor of History, University of California, Santa Barbara
“Strained Embrace: The United States and the Arab World in the 1970s”
November 4, 2005

Piero Gleijeses
Professor of Foreign Policy and Latin American Studies, Johns Hopkins University
“Cuba’s Foreign Policy in Africa in the 1970s”
March 3, 2006

Melani McAlister
Associate Professor of American Studies and International Affairs at George Washington University
“Prophecy, Politics, and Popular Culture: American Evangelicals and the Middle East”
April 11, 2006

Anders Stephanson
James P. Shenton Associate Professor of the Columbia Core, Columbia University
April 27, 2006

Graduate Workshop on the History of Armed Coercion

The Ohio State military history program is widely known as one of the strongest in North America, with an average of 36 graduate students at any given time. This series was meant to enhance not just their intellectual experience, but that of the Mershon community as a whole, by bringing in speakers who could illuminate the role of politics, economics, and culture in the use of violence as a way of solving problems.

Reina Pennington
Director of Peace, War, and Diplomacy Studies, Norwich University
Oct. 6, 2005

Michael Fellman
Director of the Graduate Liberal Studies Program, Simon Fraser University
“Redemption Through Blood: The White Line Terrorist Movement in Mississippi, 1875”
Nov. 7, 2005

Edward M. “Mac” Coffman
Professor Emeritus, University of Wisconsin
“Prelude to War: The American Regular Army in the Twenties and Thirties”
April 26, 2006

Williamson “Wick” Murray
Professor Emeritus, The Ohio State University
“The Iraqi Side of the Hill”
May 4, 2006
Women in Development

The Ohio State University Association for Women in Development hosts an annual speaker series supported by the Mershon Center with collaboration from other offices and centers at Ohio State. Women in Development celebrated its 20th anniversary in 2006, and its executive committee is made up of 20 faculty, students, staff, and community members. The committee is chaired by Cathy A. Rakowski, associate professor of rural sociology and women’s studies. During 2005–2006, Women in Development sponsored eight speaker events at Mershon.

Susanne Schmeidl
Senior Research Analyst, Swiss Peace Foundation
“Women’s Advancement in Conservative Societies: The Case of Afghanistan”
Oct. 18, 2005

Diana Dolev
Israeli professor and peace activist
“Militarism, Feminism, and Education in Israeli Society”
Oct. 25, 2005

Victoria Sanford
Assistant Professor of Anthropology, Lehman College-CUNY
“Morality and Survival: Child Soldiers and Displacement in Guatemala and Colombia” Nov. 10, 2005

Panel discussion
“Immigrant Women Negotiate Gender and Livelihood in Ohio”
Organized by the Economic and Community Development Institute, Columbus
Feb. 7, 2006

Rebecca Upton
Assistant Professor of Anthropology at DePauw University
“Gender and Genocide: AIDS, Adultery, and Antivirals in Contemporary African (In)Fertility Tales”
March 1, 2006

Malalai Joya
Member of Parliament, Afghanistan
“Women’s Rights, Warlords, and the U.S. Occupation of Afghanistan”
March 10, 2006

Nora Strejilevich
Assistant Professor of Spanish and Portuguese, San Diego State University
“Beyond the Language of Truth: Testimony, History, Fiction”
Panel discussion including Ileana Rodriguez, Wendy Hesford, Theresa Kulbaga, Rebecca Wanzo, Jim Phelan
April 20, 2006

Hyun Sook Kim
Professor of Sociology, Wheaton College
“Gender-Sexual Violence and ‘America’s Wars’ in Asia”
May 17, 2006
An Israeli Merkava tank returns from operations in southern Lebanon on July 28, 2006. Fighting between the two nations began July 12 when Hezbollah forces kidnapped two Israeli soldiers; Israel responded with air attacks and a ground invasion of southern Lebanon. Hundreds were killed and thousands forced to flee their homes.
STUDENTS AND VISITORS

STUDENT RESEARCH GRANTS

Each year, the Mershon Center hosts a competition for Ohio State students, both undergraduate and graduate, who seek funding for travel to conduct research, take courses, and attend meetings abroad on topics related to international security studies.

The grant is meant for undergraduate and graduate students who are interested in research or study abroad pertaining to the mission of the Mershon Center. Funds may be used for a variety of purposes related to the conduct of research and study, such as travel, food and lodging, tuition at an accredited foreign institution, and interview or library fees.

Lisa Balabanlilar
Doctoral Student in History

Traditional scholarship has seen the Mughal Empire, which ruled northern India from 1526 to the mid 18th century, as politically and culturally isolated to the subcontinent. Balabanlilar’s dissertation reevaluates this premise, arguing that India’s Muslim kingdoms cannot be seen as unique.

Instead, Balabanlilar argues that the roots of the Mughal Empire stretch back to what is now Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan through its founder, Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, who was a direct descendant of the Central Asian warlords Timur and Genghis Khan. Over their 250-year reign in India, the Mughals expressed their Central Asian identity through imperial conquest, courtly social life, and even their approach to Islam.

Balabanlilar used her Mershon Center research grant to spend two months in the archives of the India Office in London, which has the world’s largest collection of Mughal-era documents. This research was the basis for her dissertation, “A Timurid Renaissance in India: Imperial Identity on the Subcontinent.”

Jacob Grover
Undergraduate in Political Science and International Studies

Jacob Grover is a senior majoring in political science and international studies at Ohio State. He used his Mershon Center research grant to study at American University in Beirut for a semester.

Grover became interested in Middle Eastern politics after making friends with a Lebanese student studying at Ohio State. Grover’s friend told him that the pictures broadcast after September 11 of Lebanese people dancing in the street were not the sentiment of the nation and were not even from that day; they were from a celebration after a soccer match. This shocked Grover but made him want to find out more. Since then, he has taken classes in such areas as the United States in World Politics, Economies of War, and International Political Economy.

Grover’s Mershon Center grant gave him a chance not only to see Beirut, with his Lebanese friend as tour guide, but also to take classes in political science, economics, and history taught from the Middle Eastern point of view. The experience broadened Grover’s education, helping to prepare him for a career as a professor, policymaker, or foreign diplomat.
Teresa Hutchinson
Doctoral Student in Geography

Social policy is often predicated on demographic information; however, reliable data can be hard to get in remote communities. Teresa Hutchinson used her Mershon research grant to gather population data about one such community, the Guarani-Kaiowá people of the Te’ýikue Reserve in Caarapó, Mato Grosso do Sul, Brazil.

Hutchinson faced several obstacles in her research. First was the difficult journey: the nearest hotel was four hours away on a dirt road. Second, she had to gain the trust of the people, who are suspicious of outsiders and unwilling to cooperate.

Hutchinson overcame these obstacles by working with the well-respected school supervisor to teach students about herself, her project, and why it was important. She then enlisted the aid of about 25 older students to do a basic census count.

Through this project, Hutchinson not only gained the trust of the community, but identified some important aspects of its population.

- At least 2,612 people live in 540 households of 1 to 14 people each.
- 185 households reported at least one member who works away from home.
- Men make up 48.39 percent, women 51.61 percent of the population.
- Ages range from newborn to 100 years, with an average age of 19 years.
- The population is highly fertile and rapidly growing. However, several age groups are under-populated, including females ages 15–19 and 30–34.

Hutchinson also found that despite their location atop the Guarani Auqifer—one of the largest sources of fresh water in the Americas—the Guarani-Kaiowá people had little or no access to drinking water. Most had to walk long distances to get water from a spring. Wealthier people might have a well, but even these were unprotected.

Irina Tomescu-Dubrow
Doctoral Student in Sociology

In her dissertation “Democratization and the Risk of Increasing Ethnic Conflict,” Irina Tomescu-Dubrow focused on relations between the Roma ethnic minority and the dominant society in Romania. Her goal was to examine whether conflict between these groups has increased since the 1989 regime change, and, if so, to determine the Roma people’s response.

Through a review of literature, Tomescu-Dubrow found that conflict between the Roma and the majority population in Romania has increased, with more than 30 incidents in which Romanians have injured Roma or chased them from their homes. She also found that the welfare system in Romania has not improved poverty among the Roma.

Next, Tomescu-Dubrow plans to interview about 30 key leaders of the Roma community to find out whether they think social conflict is a viable response to prejudice and discrimination, or if they hope to avoid confrontation with the Romanian majority.
this end, she has prepared a lengthy interview guide and identified the leaders of Roma political parties, anti-discrimination organizations, and social groups.

The Mershon Center research grant will enable Tomescu-Dubrow to conduct these interviews in Romania, and the results will be incorporated into her dissertation.

Sarah Wilson
Doctoral Student in Political Science

What determines the extent to which a post-Communist state pursues market reforms? Ideology is often cited as the reason some regions privatize industry more than others. But this begs the question: Why are some regions more conservative than others?

Sarah Wilson set out to examine this question by comparing two regions in Russia—Saratov, one of the most advanced regions regarding land privatization and the development of a land market, and Ulyanovsk, one of the least advanced.

Wilson’s Mershon Center research grant enabled her to spend two weeks in each region interviewing bureaucrats, farmers, interest groups, and professors to understand the regional process of land privatization.

She found that the best explanation for the difference between Saratov and Ulyanovsk was the ability to provide financial and material assistance to farmers in order to mitigate the costs of switching to a market-based system of agriculture. Saratov, which had more revenue from industrial production, could provide more such assistance than Ulyanovsk.

John Winters
Doctoral Student in History

The rapid technical change that occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries posed numerous dilemmas for the Royal Navy of Great Britain. As guardians of the Pax Britannica, the navy needed to stay abreast of changes. Yet by the 1890s, Britain had lost its overwhelming industrial and financial security.

In his dissertation “Forging the Instrument of Victory: Capital Ship Development in the Royal Navy, 1890–1914,” John Winters examines innovation and decision making in the Royal Navy leading up to World War I.

Winter focuses on innovations in warships, especially in guns, propulsion, construction, and communications. He investigates how the Royal Navy adapted technical changes to its capital ships and how it adapted the fleet’s operational and tactical functions to new technology. His work also deals with the Navy’s organizational culture.

The Mershon Center research grant enabled Wilson to spend a month in London doing key research in the British National Archives, the National Maritime Museum, and the archives of the Ministry of Defense, British Library, and Churchill College.
STUDENT ACTIVITIES

Model United Nations

The Mershon Center is proud to sponsor The Ohio State University Model United Nations program, held May 6, 2006. This year’s program considered the question of whether Iran should be penalized for its pursuit of nuclear technology.

Two special students who attended the event were Simon Dau and Bol Aweng, new students at Ohio State and refugees from the civil war in Sudan. Simon is an international studies major with a specialization in international relations and diplomacy. He hopes to help find diplomatic solutions to the conflict in his home country. Bol is a pre-art major whose work has already caught the attention of galleries in the Columbus metro area.

Other participating students and faculty included:

Secretary General: Dr. Robert Woyach
Security Council permanent members:
China: Jessica Hill
France: Katie Krause
Russian Federation: David Mudrauskas
United Kingdom: Taylor Shaffer
United States: Rajeev Ravisankar
Non-permanent members:
Argentina: Erellyn Apolinar
Congo: Margo Simon
Denmark: Lindsay Nichols
Ghana: Linnae Bohar
Greece: Tabitha Hickman
Japan: Kenny Haber
Peru: Isabel Gonzalez
Qater: Doug Murphy
Slovakia: Sabrina Hersi-Issa
Tanzania: Sarah Weiner
Interested parties
Iran: Safi Roshdy
International Atomic Energy Agency:
Chase Brook, Liz Ghandakly
Model Arab League

For the second year, the Mershon Center is pleased to support The Ohio State University Model Arab League team. This group of undergraduates participated in a regional convention held in February at Miami University of Ohio, then a national convention held in April at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. In both cases they debated issues relevant to the 22 Arab nations that comprise the League of Arab States.

At the Miami University event, the Ohio State students represented Algeria, Egypt, and Iraq. The group representing Algeria won an Honorable Mention, while the group representing Egypt won an Outstanding Delegation Award. At the national event, the Ohio State team represented Syria.

The agenda included consideration of such issues as:

- The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East
- Building support in the international community for the Palestinians
- Coordinating efforts to respond to natural disasters in the Arab world
- Enhancing Arab/African cooperation
- Addressing the Kyoto Protocol
- Expanding and strengthening the Arab Free Trade Zone
- The status of women in society
- Five cases in the Arab Court of Justice

Participating students included:

Ahmad Hassan (president), Outstanding Delegate Award-National
Aladean Abdrabbo, Honorable Mention-Ohio
Sumbul Alam
Rami Arafah, Outstanding Delegate Award-National and Ohio
Jena Bolte
Noura Dabdoub
Maha Darwish
Nader Jameel, Honorable Mention-Ohio
Amelia Murab
Linnea Overman
Rajeev Ravisankar, Outstanding Delegate Award-National
Safi Roshdy
Randa Saleh, Honorable Mention-Ohio
Nadeem Shwen
Mark Toukan

(Left to right) Mark Toukan, Rajeev Ravisankar, and Nadeem Schwen take part in the Model Arab League national competition at Georgetown University in Washington.

Maha Darwish participates in the Model Arab League regional competition at Miami University of Ohio.
Youth Atlantic Treaty Association

The Atlantic Treaty Association (ATA) acts as a network facilitator among the nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and beyond by drawing together political leaders, academics, and diplomats in an effort to further the values set forth in the treaty: freedom, liberty, peace, security, and the rule of law.

Its youth division, the Youth Atlantic Treaty Association (YATA) seeks to educate and promote debate among the youth of Euro-Atlantic nations in an effort to create responsible future political leaders who have an understanding of these values.

One way YATA fulfills its mission is by holding summits in the various NATO nations. The Mershon Center is pleased to support Ohio State students, both graduate and undergraduate, who are accepted to attend these summits.

Charlene Chi, a senior majoring in political science and economics, attended the Latvian Atlantic Youth Summit, held August 10–14, 2005, in Jurmala, Latvia. The program, titled “Stability, Security, and Democracy in the EU and NATO Neighboring Countries,” centered on building democracy in post-Soviet states through coordinated efforts of international organizations, national governments, and non-governmental organizations.

Paul Fritz, a doctoral student in political science, attended the 51st Annual General Assembly of the ATA, held September 28–30, 2005, in Tallinn, Estonia. The theme of the meeting was “Democracy and Human Rights: A New Mission for NATO.” The keynote speaker was General Wesley Clark, former Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.

As a member of the U.S. youth delegation, Fritz discussed NATO’s mission to provide security and spread democracy, as well as strategies to better inform the citizens of NATO countries, particularly youth, of the treaty’s values through public education and diplomacy.

David Knapp, a junior majoring in political science and economics, was one of two Americans to attend the inaugural Turkish Atlantic Youth Summit, or YATA-Turk, held November 16–20, 2005, in Istanbul. The conference focused on aspects of the possible Turkish ascension to the European Union and the repercussions of the European Union Defense Policy on NATO.

Laura Tompkins, a senior majoring in political science, was one of four Americans to attend the 10th Portuguese Atlantic Youth Summit, held July 23–30 in Lisbon. The program, titled “Global Civil Society and International Security,” included lectures from Portuguese scholars, briefings from national and NATO officials, and tours of historic sites.
POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWS

Each year the Mershon Center hosts several postdoctoral fellows with a variety of research interests. This one-year fellowship allows scholars who have obtained their doctorate in the past five years to spend a year in residence at the Mershon Center working with Ohio State faculty and furthering their research. The fellowship is open to any postdoctoral scholar whose research complements the mission of the center.

Carol Atkinson
Carol Atkinson (Ph.D., Duke University, 2003) was a postdoctoral fellow in political science. Her research focuses on democratization, political socialization, and the nonviolent uses of the U.S. military.

While at the Mershon Center, Atkinson worked on a project studying the influence of U.S. military-to-military contact programs and the influence of military-to-military interactions on democratization. Atkinson chose to study the role of military organizations because military organizations are an influential part of states’ political structures, and military members frequently participate in transnational interactions that have the potential to influence government domestic and international policies.

Atkinson argues that U.S. military-hosted exchange programs are an effective mechanism of liberal political socialization. To test this hypothesis she uses a variety of quantitative techniques and an original data set encompassing more than 160 states from 1972–2000. She finds that U.S. military-to-military contacts have been positively and systematically associated with liberalizing trends. Her research will be published in a forthcoming issue of International Studies Quarterly.

Before coming to Mershon, Atkinson served as the director of the research elective program at the Air Force’s Command and Staff College where she taught courses on national security, military strategy, and airpower doctrine and history. Previously, she was assistant professor of military studies at the Air Force Academy, teaching senior-level courses in military organization, operations, and strategy.

Atkinson is a veteran of Operation Desert Storm (1991) where she served on the intelligence staff in Riyadh and the contingency planning staff in Dhahran/Khobar, Saudi Arabia. She retired from the U.S. military in 2005. In 2006–07, Atkinson will be a fellow at the University of Southern California’s Center for International Studies.

Markus Kornprobst
Markus Kornprobst (Ph.D., University of Toronto, 2005) was a postdoctoral fellow in political science. His research interests encompass international relations theory, international security, nationalism and identity politics, and regions in world politics.

While at the Mershon Center, Kornprobst worked on a book manuscript from his doctoral dissertation, Argumentation and Compromise: The Politics of Irredentism in Europe, and a related article “Argumentation and Compromise: Why Ireland Selected the Territorial Status Quo Norm,” forthcoming in International Organization. This research addresses the sharp decline in border dispute claims in Europe after World War II.

Kornprobst also started a new project—Argumentative Encounters: A Common European Foreign Policy in the Face of Crisis?—which examines the significance of argumentation for attempts by European Union members to achieve converging responses to international crises. He analyzes the dynamics of three argumentative encounters—diplomatic, domestic, and transnational—to four crises since the Cold War: Iraq, 1990–91; Bosnia, 1992–95; Kosovo, 1998–99, and Iraq, 2002–03.
Finally, Kornprobst prepared to co-edit *Metaphors of Globalisation: Mirrors, Magicians, and Mutinies*. Its purpose is to reflect on the use of metaphors for describing, explaining, and critiquing globalization. The volume is based on the proceedings of a conference at the Munk Centre for International Studies in Toronto, which Kornprobst helped to organize in March 2006.

After his fellowship at the Mershon Center, Kornprobst will begin a three-year fellowship at Oxford University in fall 2006.

Homeira Moshirzadeh
Homeira Moshirzadeh (Ph.D., University of Tehran, Iran, 1999) is an assistant professor in the Department of International Relations and an associate faculty at the Center for Women’s Studies, University of Tehran. Her interests are international relations theory, theories of social movements, and women’s studies.

Moshirzadeh has published many books in Persian. She is the author of:

- *From a Social Movement to a Social Theory: History of Feminism* (2002, winner of the best book prize from the Women’s Cultural Center Library in Tehran)
- *An Introduction to Women’s Studies* (2005)
- *Theories of International Relations* (2006)

She has also edited *Caspian Sea: An Overview* (2002) and *Dialogue of Civilizations* (2005) and translated several major International Relations texts into Persian, including Hans Morgenthau’s *Politics Among Nations* and Alexander Wendt’s *Social Theory of International Politics*.

Moshirzadeh argues that Iran’s initial change to a revolutionary anti-Western foreign policy resulted from a redefinition of its role in the region and world. Over the past 25 years, however, Iran has distanced itself from revolutionary imperatives and moved toward acting as a normal state. Based on this research, Moshirzadeh has drafted two scholarly articles and plans to write a book about the foreign policy of Iran.

Daniel Nexon
Daniel Nexon (Ph.D., Columbia, 2004) is an assistant professor in the Department of Government and the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. He specializes in international-relations theory and comparative-historical international relations.


While a postdoctoral fellow at the Mershon Center, Nexon finished a book manuscript based on his dissertation, *Religious Contention, Imperial Rule, and International Relations in Early Modern Europe*. He was also co-investigator for the Mershon Center conference “Realism and Constructivism: From Debate to Dialogue.”

Nexon also worked on issues involving hierarchy and international politics, empires and imperialism, and the relationship between dynastic norms and the balance of power in early modern European politics. In 2000-01, he was a MacArthur Consortium Fellow at Stanford University’s Center for International Security and Cooperation.
VISITING SCHOLARS

Each year, the Mershon Center hosts visiting scholars for varying lengths of time, anywhere from one month to one academic year. These residential fellowships are open to scholars in a variety of fields, as long as their research complements the mission of the Mershon Center. The program is designed to promote collaborative research between Ohio State faculty members and their colleagues around the world.

Mary Sarotte

Mary Sarotte (Ph.D., Yale University, 1999) is a lecturer in politics at Cambridge and a fellow of St. John’s College. She teaches international relations in both historical and current perspectives, with an emphasis on transatlantic relations in the Cold War.

Sarotte’s publications include *Dealing with the Devil: East Germany, Détente, and Ostpolitik, 1969–1973* (2001) and *German Military Reform and European Security* (2001), as well as many popular and scholarly articles.

While a Senior Visiting Scholar at the Mershon Center, Sarotte worked on her next book, a history of the 1980s. She looked specifically at the interactions between revolutions from above and below during the late Cold War and conducted research in Washington, D.C., and the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California.

Previously, Sarotte served as a White House Fellow; her first day of work for the White House was September 4, 2001. She was also recipient of a Humboldt Scholarship and a postdoctoral fellowship at Harvard, and she has worked for *Die Zeit* in Hamburg and the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London.

She is a frequent commentator for CNN International and has contributed to such media as *The Washington Post* and *The Economist*.

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