



Spring 2007

Vol. 1, Issue 3

Mershon Memo

A newsletter of the Mershon Center for International Security Studies

Speaker compares costs of war, containment

Since the war in Iraq began in 2003, much attention has been paid to its costs, both human and financial. What has not been asked, however, is how the costs of war stack up against the alternative of continued containment.

In a lecture Feb. 2 at the Mershon Center, Steven Davis, professor of international business and economics at University of Chicago, tried to do just that.



Steven Davis

In considering the cost of containment, Davis looked at two things: how much it would cost per year, and how long it would be needed.

Davis used two ways to calculate the cost per year. The first, commonly used by corporations, adds the value of deployed resources with the user cost to get the annual capital cost. This number for ground, sea and air forces combined came to \$11.26 billion per year.

In the second method, Davis took the number of Army,

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Soliya helps Ohio State students meet students from Middle East

Last fall, Eileen McDonnell worked on an assignment about identity with seven other students from the United States and Middle East.

Each student started with seven aspects of their identity, and then gradually removed items until they were left with the three most important.



Eileen McDonnell

To McDonnell's surprise, every single student had kept religion as one of the most important aspects of his or her identity.

This was just one of the discussions made possible during Richard Herrmann's Foreign Policy Decision Making class by technology from a company called Soliya.

Using Soliya's Connect Program, 12 of Herrmann's students met in separate groups each week with students from across the United States and Middle East.

The mission of Boston-based Soliya is to develop a new generation of leaders with the cross-cultural knowledge, communications skills, and international connections to create a more



This online image shows how Soliya's Connect Program fosters dialogue between students from universities across the United States and Middle East. Last fall, 12 students in Richard Herrmann's Foreign Policy Decision Making class used the technology to participate in weekly seminars.

informed, peaceful and just global society.

Soliya partners with educational institutions across areas in conflict, using new media technologies and educational programs to inspire young people to be catalysts for social change.

Weekly seminars

To attend the weekly seminars, Ohio State students visited a special workstation in the Baker Systems Engineering computer lab equipped with a web camera, headset with microphone and headphones, and Soliya software. After logging in, they could see and hear seven other students and two facilitators.

Discussion centered on a variety of topics such as

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Participating schools

In the Middle East:

- Al Akhawayn University in Morocco
- American University of Cairo
- American University of Kuwait
- American University of Sharja in the United Arab Emirates

- Dar Al-Hekma College in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia
- South Valley University in Qena, Egypt

In the United States:

- Georgetown University
- Ohio State University
- Tufts University
- University of Maine-Machias
- University of North Florida
- Virginia Commonwealth University

New journal to be forum for debate on defense

Air University announces the debut of a publication that will serve as a forum for the critical examination of and debate about contemporary national defense topics. The university is inviting authors to share their perspectives on strategic issues in today's headlines.

Topics of discussion in the new *Strategic Studies Quarterly* will range across the spectrum of warfare, strategy, national security, international and defense policy and academic issues.

The deadline to submit articles for consideration for the inaugural September issue is May 1.

Initially, *Strategic Studies Quarterly* will be available in print to senior leaders, Air Force organizations, professional military education schools and military libraries. Circulation will be 7,000 to 10,000. An electronic subscription service is planned.

Contributing authors can e-mail their 5,000- to 15,000-word articles for consideration to strategicstudiesquarterly@maxwell.af.mil or mail to: Managing Editor, Strategic Studies Quarterly, Air War College, 325 Chennault Circle, Maxwell AFB, AL 36112-6427.

For more information on Air University, visit www.au.af.

Newell reconstructs history of Native American slaves

Historians of racial slavery in America generally focus on the encounter between Europeans and Africans, especially in the South. Yet, Native Americans represented a majority of those enslaved by European colonists in much of North America through the early 18th century.

In her Mershon-supported project *Race Frontiers: Indian Slavery in Colonial New England*, Margaret Newell reconstructs this history of slavery and its devastating impact on Native Americans in New England.

The issues she examines have present-day analogies ranging from ethnic cleansing in Europe to enslavement in Sudan. They also speak to questions of ideas, identities and their impact on security policy, as colonists imposed racial identities on Indians as a means of social control.

Standard accounts stress the primacy of family labor among the Puritans, but the reality is that colonists bound thousands of Indian men, women and children into servitude. Indian slavery was both an economic strategy -- white colonists relied on Indian labor -- and a way to assert control over a Native American population that lived near white settlements.



Margaret Newell

RAn-away the Last Spring from her Master John Otis Esqr. of Barnstable, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, an Indian Girl named Hannah Wapuck, aged about 20 years, middle-sized, full faced, a comely Countenance; she speaks good English, not very perfect of the Indian Language; had on English Apparell: Whosoever shall apprehend and take up the said Servant, and deliver her to her said Master, or give any true Intelligence, of her unto John Campbell Postmaster, of Boston, or unto her said Master, so as that he may have her again, shall be sufficiently rewarded, besides all reasonable Cost and Charges paid.

Image courtesy of Margaret Newell

This advertisement from a Massachusetts newspaper offers a reward for the return of a runaway Indian slave girl named Hannah Wapuck.



Image courtesy of Margaret Newell

This drawing depicts Metacom, also known as King Philip, leader of the Wampanoag Indians.

Newell's book examines the ideological and legal processes by which New England settlers came to sanction the slavery of native inhabitants. The colonists invoked a "just war" argument for taking Indian slaves during the Pequot War of 1637 and King Philip's War in 1676.

Even outside of wartime, colonists sought to convert Indians into servants. From 1636 to 1700, New Englanders enslaved 2,000 Native Americans and sentenced

hundreds more to long terms of servitude. By the mid-18th century, one-third of Indians in southern New England lived in white households as servants or slaves.

Newell also explores changes in enslavement from 1680 to 1760. With victory in King Philip's War, colonists succeeded in establishing sovereignty over Indians in southern New England.

Although new laws banned enslavement and regulated servitude, both persisted. Most notably, judicial enslavement -- or sentencing Native Americans to long periods of involuntary servitude for debt or criminal infractions -- became prevalent.

At the same time, colonists created a "race frontier" that stripped people of color -- Indians, Africans, and people of mixed race -- of rights enjoyed by whites.

Besides publishing a book, Newell hopes to organize a conference at the Mershon Center on America's treatment of prisoners and non-combatants during wartime.

Spring 2007 Pullout Calendar of Events



Ottaway

Tuesday, May 1, 2007

Marina Ottaway
Director, Middle East Program
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
"Democracy in the Middle East: Is It Happening?"
 12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120



Clemens

Friday-Saturday, May 11-12, 2007

Peace Matters: A Forum on the Discipline and Practice of Peace and Conflict Studies
A Mershon Center Conference
Julie Clemens and Richard Herrmann, Organizers
Co-sponsored by the Ohio Council of Churches and Interfaith Council of Ohio
 9 a.m. - 5 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120



Noyes

Wednesday-Saturday, May 2-5, 2007

Culture Archives and the State: Between Socialism, Nationalism, and the Global Market
A Mershon Center Conference
Dorothy Noyes and Margaret Mills, Organizers
 9 a.m. - 5 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120



Herrmann

This conference is an interdisciplinary workshop on peace and conflict studies in the United States. Day One will concentrate on how the subject is taught at U.S. universities, where it should head in the future, and how to institutionalize its presence in campus curricula. Day Two will feature peace activists from Ohio and beyond, highlighting practical steps that people interested in peace can take beyond the confines of the academy.



Mills

Not just the dusty preserve of researchers, archives are used to define national identities, shape national memories, and preserve cultural alternatives for future recovery. Their contents and uses are tensely negotiated between states, scholars, and citizens. Emphasizing socialist and post-socialist settings, this conference assembles scholar-practitioners from Europe and Asia to discuss the political uses of cultural archives.



Bucknam

Tuesday, May 15, 2007

Anita Bucknam
CIA Officer in Residence
Mershon Center for International Security Studies
"Inside the CIA"
 12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120



Barkawi

Monday, May 7, 2007

Tarak Barkawi
Post-Doctoral Fellow
Mershon Center for International Security Studies
"Orientalism in Times of War: Why 'Small Wars' Have Big Consequences"
 12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120



Hiscox

Friday, May 18, 2007

Michael Hiscox
Professor of Government
Harvard University
"The Demand for Labor Standards: New Evidence from Online Experiments in Social Labeling of Imported Products"
 3:30 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120



Abshar-Abdulla

Thursday, May 10, 2007

Ulil Abshar-Abdulla
Founder, Liberal Islam Network (JIL), Indonesia
"Is God Subject to Vote? Islam, Democracy and Religious Pluralism in Indonesia"
 12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120



Foster

Monday, May 21, 2007

Jennifer Foster
Lecturer, School of Commerce
University of South Australia
"Can Positive Group Experiences Shift Attitudes Toward Group Work?"
 12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120



Hull

Thursday, May 10, 2007

Isabel Hull
Stambaugh Professor of History
Cornell University
"Imperial German Warfare: Colonial or European?"
 3:30 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120
 Co-sponsored by the OSU History Department



Gause

Thursday, May 24, 2007

Gregory Gause
Associate Professor of Political Science
University of Vermont
"Oil and Democratic Prospects in the Persian Gulf States"
 12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120

For more information and to reserve your spot, please see the Mershon Center website at mershoncenter.osu.edu
Mershon Center for International Security Studies, 1501 Neil Ave., Columbus, OH 43201, (614) 292-1681

March

| Sunday | Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday | Saturday |
|--------|--------------------------------|---------|---|---|--------|----------|
| 25 | 26 Spring quarter begins | 27 | 28 Anne Davies <i>"The Role of the International Labor Organization in a Globalizing World"</i> | 29 Xinbo Wu <i>"New Thinking and Practice in China's Diplomacy"</i> | 30 | 31 |

April

| Sunday | Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday | Saturday |
|--------|---|--|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 Taehyun Kim <i>"National Identity and Foreign Policy Attitudes of the South Korean Public"</i> | 5 | 6 Nathan Jensen <i>"Firm Responses to Politics"</i> | 7 |
| 8 | 9 Nadje Al-Ali <i>"Iraqi Women Between Dictatorships, Wars, Sanctions and Occupation"</i> | 10 | 11 | 12 Paul Kennedy <i>"How the War was Won" "Reforming the United Nations: Mission Impossible?"</i> | 13 Paul Kennedy <i>"Engaging Rudyard Kipling"</i> | 14 |
| 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 Nicholas Bamforth <i>"Public Law and the Emergence of a Multi-Layered Constitution in Europe"</i> | 19 | 20 Conference The United States and Public Diplomacy: Toward an International History | 21 Conference The United States and Public Diplomacy: Toward an International History |
| 22 | 23 | 24 Daniel Brumberg <i>"Islamists and Non-Islamists: Prospects for Coalition Building"</i> | 25 Jeffrey Taliaferro <i>"Realism and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Primacy of Power"</i> | 26 | 27 | 28 |
| 29 | 30 | | | | | |

These event listings are subject to change. For the latest information, please see mershoncenter.osu.edu
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May

| Sunday | Monday | Tuesday | Wednesday | Thursday | Friday | Saturday |
|--------|--|---|---|--|--|---|
| | | 1 Marina Ottaway <i>"Democracy in the Middle East: Is It Happening?"</i> | 2 <i>Conference</i> Culture Archives and the State | 3 <i>Conference</i> Culture Archives and the State | 4 <i>Conference</i> Culture Archives and the State | 5 <i>Conference</i> Culture Archives and the State |
| 6 | 7 Tarak Barkawi <i>"Orientalism in Times of War: Why 'Small Wars' Have Big Consequences"</i> | 8 | 9 | 10 Ulil Abshar-Abdalla <i>"Is God Subject to Vote? Islam, Democracy and Religious Pluralism in Indonesia"</i> Isabel Hull <i>"Imperial German Warfare: Colonial, or European?"</i> | 11 <i>Conference</i> Peace Matters: A Forum on the Discipline and Practice of Peace and Conflict Studies | 12 <i>Conference</i> Peace Matters: A Forum on the Discipline and Practice of Peace and Conflict Studies |
| 13 | 14 | 15 Anita Bucknam <i>"Inside the CIA"</i> | 16 | 17 | 18 Michael Hiscox <i>"The Demand for Labor Standards: New Evidence from Online Experiments in Social Labeling of Imported Products"</i> | 19 |
| 20 | 21 Jennifer Foster <i>"Can Positive Group Experiences Shift Attitudes Toward Group Work?"</i> | 22 | 23 | 24 Gregory Gause <i>"Oil and Democratic Prospects in the Persian Gulf States"</i> | 25 | 26 |
| 27 | 28 Memorial Day | 29 | 30 | 31 | 1 Last day of classes | |

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Spring 2007 Pullout Calendar of Events



Wednesday, March 28, 2007

Anne Davies
Fellow and Tutor in Law
Brasenose College, Oxford University

"The Role of the International Labor Organization in a Globalizing World"

Davies
12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120
Co-sponsored by Moritz College of Law



Friday, April 13, 2007

Paul Kennedy
Dilworth Professor of History, Yale University

"Engaging Rudyard Kipling"
12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120

Kennedy



Thursday, March 29, 2007

Xinbo Wu
Associate Dean, School of International Relations
and Public Affairs, Fudan University

"New Thinking and Practice in China's Diplomacy"
12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120

Wu



Wednesday, April 18, 2007

Nicholas Bamforth
Fellow in Law, Queen's College, Oxford University

*"Public Law and the Emergence of a Multi-Layered
Constitution in Europe"*

12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120
Co-sponsored by Moritz College of Law

Bamforth



Wednesday, April 4, 2007

Taehyun Kim
Visiting Scholar
Mershon Center for International Security Studies

*"National Identity and Foreign Policy Attitudes of the
South Korean Public"*

12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120

Kim



Friday-Saturday, April 20-21, 2007

**The United States and Public Diplomacy:
Toward an International History**
A Mershon Center Conference
Robert McMahon, Peter Hahn, Kenneth Osgood,
and Brian Etheridge, Organizers

9 a.m. - 5 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120

Hahn



Friday, April 6, 2007

Nathan Jensen
Assistant Professor of Political Science
Washington University in St. Louis

"Firm Responses to Politics"
3:30 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120

Jensen



In light of prevalent anti-American sentiment in the Middle East and the world, policymakers, scholars, and others have become increasingly interested in "public diplomacy." Also known as propaganda, informational policy, public relations, psychological warfare, and cultural diplomacy, public diplomacy has been an important part of foreign policy in the past century. This conference will bring together the latest scholarship on public diplomacy from a variety of disciplines.

McMahon



Monday, April 9, 2007

Nadjie Al-Ali
Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology, Institute
of Arab and Islamic Studies, University of Exeter

*"Iraqi Women Between Dictatorships, Wars, Sanctions
and Occupation"*

12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120
Co-sponsored by OSU Women in Development

Al-Ali



Tuesday, April 24, 2007

Daniel Brumberg
Associate Professor of Government
Georgetown University

*"Islamists and Non-Islamists: Prospects for Coalition
Building"*

12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120

Brumberg



Thursday, April 12, 2007

Paul Kennedy
Dilworth Professor of History, Yale University

"How the War Was Won"
12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120

"Reforming the United Nations: Mission Impossible?"
4 p.m., Wexner Center Film and Video Theater

Kennedy



Wednesday, April 25, 2007

Jeffrey Taliaferro
Associate Professor of Political Science
Tufts University

"Realism and U.S. Foreign Policy: The Primacy of Power"
12 p.m., Mershon Center Room 120

Taliaferro

For more information and to reserve your spot, please see the Mershon Center website at mershoncenter.osu.edu
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Davis

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Navy and Air Force troops, multiplied these by the cost to maintain each, then added the amounts to get a total of \$17.81 billion per year. Finally, Davis averaged these two numbers to place the baseline cost of containment at \$14.54 billion per year.

In calculating how long containment would be necessary, Davis assigned Saddam's regime a rate of change from malign to benign of 3 percent a year. Thus, it would last 57 years from the time Saddam took over in 1979, or 33 years from 2003, when the Iraq war began.

After giving the United States a 2 percent discount for the return on bonds, Davis put the total cost of containment at \$300 billion.

War costs

In calculating the cost of war in Iraq, Davis included:

- Military resources for the war and occupation.
- Injuries and fatalities suffered by U.S. personnel.
- Lifetime medical costs for veterans.
- Humanitarian aid and reconstruction in Iraq.

Because costs would vary depending on how well the war went, Davis considered a series of seven scenarios.

Of these, the most realistic was three to four months of war, five to 10 years of occupation, a major insurgency, 5,000 to 7,000 U.S. fatalities, and \$36 to \$60 billion in aid. Using figures from

the Congressional Budget Office, the military, and other sources, Davis placed the cost of war in Iraq as \$414 billion to \$633 billion.

While this figure is more than the \$300 billion for containment, Davis also pointed out that the actual cost of containment could be much higher. This is because historically Saddam often raised a threat, forcing the United States to respond.

Iraqi side

Davis also examined whether war or containment was better for Iraqis. Economically, he said, war will be better in the long run. Under Saddam, per capital income fell up to 87 percent.

Although Iraqis have also suffered under war, Davis expects that once the war is over, income will rebound 50 percent within a generation.

More difficult is the question of Iraqi lives. At a rate of 10,000 to 30,000 premature deaths a year, Davis calculated that 200,000 to 600,000 Iraqis would have died over the course of containment.

War has also killed many Iraqis -- 35,000 in 2006 alone. What is unclear is whether a full-scale civil war will break out. If this happens, Davis said, hundreds of thousands could be killed in just a few months, making war a worse option for Iraqis than containment.

Davis's paper "War in Iraq vs. Containment" is available online at <http://mer-shoncenter.osu.edu/events/february/daviss.htm>

Soliya

Continued from Page 1

identity and culture, the U.S. role in Iraq, and governance in the Middle East.

But conversation could also turn quite personal, as students shared events that shaped their understanding of other cultures, and their ideas about the root of the conflict between the United States and the Muslim world.

Of particular importance in the course is the role of the media in shaping young adults' perceptions of other cultures. To explore this, students were asked to create their own video news report using raw footage supplied by the BBC, Reuters and Al Jazeera.

This experience empowers students to express their own perceptions and develop a personal connection with the issues. It also gives them insights into the video production process, demystifying television journalism and providing media literacy and production skills.

Student experience

McDonnell, a senior international studies major from Cleveland, found her experience with Soliya inspiring.

"It was by far my favorite class at Ohio State, the one where I learned the most," she said, adding that she is still in touch with some members of her group.

The assignment on identity influenced the topic for McDonnell's joint article with a Kuwaiti exchange student

at Virginia Commonwealth. The two wrote about how religious identity is important in both the United States and the Middle East.

"The point of the program is to see how much we have in common," McDonnell said. "Even with personal things, we found that we are a lot alike. It really helped to open the dialogue."

The experience has inspired McDonnell to take part in Ohio State's Spring Break Study Program in Egypt.

Will Brintzenhoff, a senior international relations major



Will Brintzenhoff

from Cincinnati, agreed the program was worthwhile. But he wishes he had pushed his group to examine the issues more frankly.

"Discussion tended to be polite. It was hard to know how hard you could push without offending someone," he said.

Religion often came up, Brintzenhoff said, citing a Kuwaiti student who saw the West as very secular and didn't want that to happen in his society.

This led Brintzenhoff to write a joint article with a student from Dubai on the cultural and historical differences between the United States and Middle East.

Brintzenhoff continues to be involved with Soliya by writing a blog. His first entry was about *Good Morning America's* broadcast from Syria in February.

Mershon Center website updates continue

The Mershon Center for International Security Studies launched a new website last fall. Yet the website is an ever-evolving project.

Besides constant updates to the Events pages, two major projects are under way.

First, we plan to add biographies for all faculty, staff and visitors. These will be available by clicking on the People tab, then on Faculty, Fellows and Visitors, or Staff, and finally on the name of the person you want to know about.

Our goal is to have faculty biographies available in Spring 2007.

The second major project is making archives of previous events and projects available. To do this, we are working with the Knowledge Bank, a joint initiative of University Libraries and the Office of the Chief Information Officer.

The Knowledge Bank will allow the Mershon Center to make materials from events, conferences, research projects, and more available online.

Items will be organized into categories

such as Events, News, and Publications, and then into sub-categories such as speakers, conferences, press releases, and annual reports.

Archived materials are held in perpetuity by the library, and can be picked up by search engines such as Google.

We hope to have the Mershon Center archives, including events previously available on the old website, completed by Fall 2007.

For more about the Knowledge Bank, please visit <http://kb.osu.edu>.

Faculty and Student Achievements

Chad Alger published *The United Nations System: A Reference Manual* (ABC-CLIO, 2006).

Marilynn Brewer won the 2007 Distinguished Scientific Contribution Award from the American Psychological Association.

Carole Fink won the 2007 University Distinguished Scholar Award.

Richard Gunther published two co-edited books, *Democracy, Intermediation, and Voting on Four Continents*, and *Democracy and the State in the New Southern Europe* (both Oxford University Press, 2007).

Peter Hahn published *Historical Dictionary of United States-Middle East Relations* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).

Richard Herrmann was selected as a Joan N. Huber Faculty Fellow in recognition of outstanding scholarship by the College of Social and Behavioral Sciences.

Rajiv Khanna has accepted a tenure-track position with the History Department at San Jose State University.

Geoffrey Parker won the 2006 Hatcher Memorial Award for Excellence from the Colleges of the Arts and Sciences.

Cathy Rakowski won an Excellence in Teaching Award from the Rural Sociological Society for 2007.

Randy Schweller's book *Unanswered Threats: Political Constraints on the Balance of Power* (Princeton University Press, 2006) was nominated for the Grawemeyer Award for Global Order.