

# Mershon Center for International Security Studies

**2015-16 Annual Report**



**THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY**

MERSHON CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL  
SECURITY STUDIES

# About the Center



Ralph D. Mershon

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 civilian study of national security and principles of good citizenship.

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 was also 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 mission of the Mershon Center is to advance the scholarly study and intellectual understanding of national security in a global context. The center encourages collaborative, interdisciplinary research projects within the university and with other institutions around the world. It also hosts visiting scholars and supports student research.

The Mershon Center also sponsors numerous 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. Besides the Mershon endowment, the center is supported by community gifts and grant money.

## By the Numbers

### General

Number of faculty research projects supported:	<b>7</b>
Number of student travel and research grants awarded:	<b>22</b>
Number of study abroad scholarships awarded:	<b>12</b>
Number of departments whose faculty and students were supported:	<b>15</b>

### Events

Number of speaker/panel events held:	<b>50</b>
Number of conferences/workshops sponsored:	<b>10</b>
Total number of attendees:	<b>3615</b>
Average number of people per event:	<b>60</b>

Number of collaborating colleges, departments and units:	<b>40</b>
Number of collaborating outside organizations:	<b>22</b>
Number of colleges, departments and units reached:	<b>46</b>

### Faculty

Number of books published:	<b>23</b>
Number of articles published:	<b>373</b>
Number of journal issues edited:	<b>15</b>
Number of times quoted or cited in the media:	<b>305</b>
Number of times quoted or cited on social media:	<b>348</b>

### Students

Number of graduate students at events:	<b>755</b>
Number of undergraduates at events:	<b>765</b>
Number of undergraduate student employees:	<b>4</b>

### Website

Number of unique visitors:	<b>18,604</b>
Number of visits:	<b>30,806</b>
Number of page views:	<b>83,644</b>
Number of countries in which website was viewed:	<b>146</b>

# Highlights

## Schweller reappointed as editor of *Security Studies*



Randall Schweller

**Randall Schweller**, professor of political science, has been re-appointed for a second term as editor-in-chief of *Security Studies*, a top 25 journal in international relations. The journal's editorial office is at the Mershon Center.

*Security Studies* publishes innovative scholarly manuscripts that make a significant contribution – whether theoretical, empirical, or both – to our understanding of international security. The journal features articles that develop, test, and debate theories of international security – that is, articles

that address an important research question, display innovation in research, contribute in a novel way to a body of knowledge, and demonstrate theoretical development with state-of-the-art use of appropriate methodological tools.

Journal Citations Report ranks *Security Studies* 25th out of 85 in the International Relations (social science) category, with an Impact Factor of 1.094.

## Shapiro, Yarhi-Milo win Furniss Book Awards

Two winners of the Edgar S. Furniss Book Award visited the Mershon Center in 2015-16.

On October 13, 2015, **Jacob Shapiro** spoke about *The Terrorist's Dilemma: Managing Violent Covert Organizations* (Princeton, 2013).

Shapiro's book is the first to systematically examine the great variation in how terrorist groups are structured. Employing a broad range of agency theory, historical case studies, and terrorists' own internal documents, Shapiro discusses the core managerial challenges that terrorists face and illustrates how their political goals interact with the operational environment to push them to organize in particular ways.

On March 28, 2016, **Keren Yarhi-Milo** spoke about *Knowing The Adversary: Leaders, Intelligence Organizations, and Assessments of Intentions in International Relations* (Princeton, 2014).

In her book, Yarhi-Milo examines three cases in which states must determine whether adversaries pose a threat: Britain's assessments of Nazi Germany's intentions in the 1930s, America's assessments of the Soviet Union's intentions during the Carter administration, and the Reagan administration's assessments of Soviet intentions near the end of the Cold War.

She advances a new theoretical framework called selective attention that emphasizes organizational dynamics, personal diplomatic interactions, and cognitive and affective factors.

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

Jacob Shapiro

Keren Yarhi-Milo



## Mershon faculty honors

Mershon Center faculty received numerous honors and awards in 2015-16. Among them:

- **Bear Braumoeller**, associate professor of political science, was visiting fellow at the Nobel Institute in Oslo, Norway
- **Amy Cohen**, professor of law, was Sullivan and Cromwell Visiting Professor at Harvard Law School
- **Eun Bin Chung**, now assistant professor of political science at University of Utah, received the Best Dissertation award from the Political Psychology and Experimental Research sections of the American Political Science Association
- **Peter Mansoor**, Gen. Raymond E. Mason Jr. Chair in Military History, was named to the board of trustees for the Society for Military History and board of visitors for Marine Corps University
- **Jennifer Mitzen**, associate professor of political science, won the 2015 Best Book Award from the International Security Studies Section of the International Studies Association for *Power in Concert: The Nineteenth Century Origins of Global Governance* (Chicago, 2013)
- **Margaret Newell**, professor of history, received the 2016 James A. Rawley Prize from the Organization of American Historians for *Brethren By Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery* (Cornell, 2015)
- **Geoffrey Parker**, Andreas Dorpalen Professor of History, was elected corresponding fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh



Eun Bin Chung



Geoffrey Parker

## Putting Mershon faculty research to work

Mershon faculty research found direct application to issues of critical importance in 2015-16.

"Climate Change Challenges and Community Adaption in Coastal Bangladesh," by **J. Craig Jenkins**, professor emeritus of sociology, and C.K. Shum, professor in the School of Earth Sciences, studied the effects of flooding in coastal Bangladesh, home to 60 million people, a third of whom live in poverty.

**Kendra McSweeney**, professor of geography, published "The Impact of Drug Policy on the Environment" (Open Society Foundations, 2015) in response to calls by the U.N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs and the Global Commission on Drug Policy.

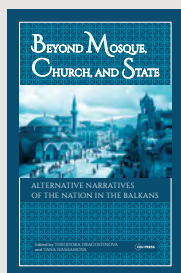
**Dakota Rudesill**, assistant professor of law, and Daniel Sui, professor of geography, published "The Deep Web and the Darknet: A Look Inside the Internet's Massive Black Box" (Wilson Center, 2015). The report outlines what the Deep Web and Darknet are, how they are accessed, and why we should care.

**Mandela Washington Fellows learned about U.S. politics and foreign policy from faculty at the Mershon Center in July 2016. The fellowship was part of President Obama's Young African Leaders Initiative.**



# Faculty Research

## Featured Books



### **Beyond Mosque, Church, and State: Alternative Narratives of the Nation in the Balkans**

(Central European University Press, 2016)

**Theodora Dragostinova and Yana Hashamova**

By exploring the religious, linguistic, and national dynamics throughout the Balkans, this volume demonstrates the challenges to nationalism. The authors analyze national, non-national, and anti-national encounters in four areas — Bosnia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania — traditionally seen as hot beds of nationalist tension. Based on a 2011 conference.



### **Risk Inequality and Welfare States. Social Policy Preferences, Development, and Dynamics**

(Cambridge University Press, 2016)

**Philipp Rehm**

In 1880, no country had a national social policy program. A few decades later, every rich democracy had programs covering old age, sickness, accident, and unemployment. This book offers a theory to explain this remarkable transition, and explores cross-national differences and the role of crises for social policy development.



### **Socialist Fun: Youth, Consumption, and State-Sponsored Popular Culture in the Soviet Union, 1945–1970**

(Pitt Russian East European, 2016)

**Gleb Tsipursky**

After World War II, the primary venues for Soviet culture were tens of thousands of clubs where young people found entertainment, leisure, social life, and romance. The Soviet way of life was presented and perceived as the most progressive and advanced, yet Western culture infiltrated at local levels, where Soviet modernity evolved as a complex and multivalent ideological device.



### **Grand Strategy and Military Alliances**

(Cambridge University Press, 2016)

**Peter Mansoor and Williamson Murray**

Alliances have shaped grand strategy and warfare from America's Revolutionary War alliance with France through the 21st century. A team of leading historians examine the problems inherent in alliance politics and relationships in the framework of grand strategy through the lens of history. Based on a 2013 conference.



### **Chasing Ghosts: The Policing of Terrorism**

(Oxford University Press 2016)

**John Mueller and Mark Stewart**

Since 2001, U.S. police and intelligence agencies have followed over 10 million tips about terrorism. Only one in 10,000 turns anything up, and even that is usually trivial. The rest are what the FBI calls "chasing ghosts." This volume evaluates U.S. counterterrorism efforts, asking if the chase is worth the cost.



## Featured Journals

### **Security Studies**

(Taylor & Francis)

**Randy Schweller, Editor-in-Chief**

*Security Studies* publishes innovative scholarly manuscripts that make a significant contribution to our understanding of international security. The journal features articles that develop, test, and debate theories of international security and challenge conventional wisdom.



### **Humble Theory: Folklore's Grasp on Social Life**

(Indiana University Press, 2016)

**Dorothy Noyes**

These 15 collected essays show how folklore studies is foundational and persistent. Chapter 10 pays homage to former Mershon affiliate Alexander Stephan's work on the politics of international cultural transfer. The final chapter examines how minority languages and cultural practices are sustained in plural societies.



### **International Theory**

(Cambridge University Press)

**Alexander Wendt, Co-Founder and Co-Editor**

*International Theory* promotes theoretical scholarship about the positive, legal, and normative aspects of world politics. The journal is open to theory from all disciplines, provided it addresses problems of politics, broadly defined, and pertains to the international.

## Featured Articles



Robert Bond

### “Quantifying Social Media’s Political Space: Estimating Ideology from Publicly Revealed Preferences on Facebook”

*American Political Science Review*, 2015

**Robert Bond and Solomon Messing**

Bond and Messing use social media data from politicians and 6 million citizens who follow them to test models of legislative and individual political behavior and ideology.



Jennifer Mitzen

### “Illusion or Intention?: Talking Grand Strategy into Existence”

*Security Studies*, 2015

**Jennifer Mitzen**

Mitzen argues that grand strategy is collective intentionality expressed through state behavior, predicated on legitimation through forums. She explores the Concert of Europe to develop a causal mechanism from the forum, to ways of talking, to commitment-consistent behavior.



Sarah Brooks

### “Oil and Democracy: Endogenous Natural Resources and the Political ‘Resource Curse’

*International Organization*, 2016

**Sarah Brooks and Marcus Kurtz**

Brooks and Kurtz challenge the conventional wisdom that oil wealth fuels authoritarian regimes by modeling both resources and regional diffusion. Their analysis of global data from 1960-2009 finds that oil may be a blessing for democratic development.



Hollie Nyseth Brehm

### “Subnational Determinants of Genocide in Rwanda”

*Criminology*, 2016

**Hollie Nyseth Brehm**

Nearly 1 million people were killed in the Rwandan genocide in 1994. Nyseth Brehm assesses the determinants of subnational levels of killing in 142 Rwandan communities to introduce a unique model that integrates state conflict theories and social control theories of crime.



Christopher Gelpi

### “Democracies at Risk? A Forecasting Analysis of Regime Type and the Risk of Terrorist Attack”

*Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 2016

**Christopher Gelpi and Nazli Avdan**

Gelpi and Avdan analyze transnational terrorist incidents from 1968 to 2007 to identify the role of democratic political systems. They find that distance and prior history of terrorism are better predictors of terrorist attacks than democracy.



Dakota Rudesill

### “Coming to Terms with Secret Law”

*Harvard National Security Journal*, 2015

**Dakota Rudesill**

Rudesill examines evidence of secret law in all three branches of government, finding the allegation is well founded. He then explores three options to deal with secret law: live with it, abolish it, or reform it. He concludes by proposing rules for governing secret law.



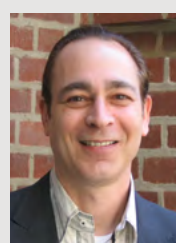
Peter Mansoor

### “U.S. Grand Strategy in the 21st Century: The Case for a Continental Commitment”

*Orbis*, 2015

**Peter Mansoor and Williamson Murray**

Mansoor and Murray argue that the United States should establish a series of alliances in Europe and Asia to provide deterrence in the near term and hedge against future great power conflict.



Randall Schweller

### “Domestic Politics and Nationalism in East Asian Security”

*In Strategic Adjustment and the China Factor: Power and Politics in East Asia* (Cornell University Press, forthcoming), ed. by Robert Ross and Øystein Tunsjø

**Randall Schweller**

Schweller examines how domestic politics in China, Japan, the United States and North Korea shape their foreign policies, arguing that nationalism generates interstate conflict while trade has a pacifying effect. East Asian security politics are described as a “clash of nationalisms.”



Benjamin McKean

### “What Makes a Utopia Inconvenient? The Advantages and Disadvantages of a Realist Orientation to Politics”

*American Political Science Review*, 2016

McKean analyzes the utopian claims of Michel Foucault, Malcolm X, and John Rawls to argue that utopias disrupt entrenched forms of legitimation, foster new forms of political identity, and reveal new possibilities within existing institutions.



Inés Valdez

### “Nondomination or Practices of Freedom? French Muslim Women, Foucault, and The Full Veil Ban”

*American Political Science Review*, 2016

**Inés Valdez**

Based on Michel Foucault's work on the ethics of the self, Valdez examines the recent French ban on full veils in public spaces. She shows how Muslim women contest discourses of secularism and liberation that construct them as inherently passive and in need of tutelage.

# EVENTS

## Conferences

### **Conversations on Morality, Politics, and Society** **Sustainability: Visions and Values**

October 1-2, 2015

### **Realizing Sustainability**

January 28-29, 2016

### **Don Hubin**

Perhaps the greatest cultural, economic, and technological challenge facing modern democracies and global development groups is how to respond to the depletion of natural resources and effects of climate change. These conferences focused on the moral and political questions raised by environmental degradation.

### **Responsibility, Morality, and the Costs of War: PTSD, Moral Injury, and Beyond**

November 12-14, 2015

### **Kevin McClatchy and Janet Parrott**

This symposium blended performing and visual arts with leading research to explore the costs of war. Keynote lecture on "Communalization of War Trauma Through the Arts" by Jonathan Shay, author of *Achilles in Vietnam* and *Odysseus in America*. Kevin McClatchy performed his solo play, "Scrap Heap," about a Special Forces veteran with PTSD.

### **Nature of War: American Environments and World War II**

February 26-27, 2016

### **Nicholas Breyfogle and Peter Mansoor**

World War II was a global conflict across two continents and two oceans that drew resources from around the world. This workshop examined U.S. involvement in World War II through an environmental lens, focusing on how the war reshaped American landscapes, institutions, and environmental thinking.

### **Iron Curtain Crossings: The Global Cold War and the Second World**

### **Theodora Dragostinova**

March 4-5, 2016

This workshop examined the global Cold War between Eastern Europe and the outside world. Participants challenged the notion of Soviet "satellites" and "nation-states," instead using transnational and comparative methods to analyze Eastern Europe in historical perspective.

### **Risk and Security**

### **Ellen Peters, Allan Silverman and Christopher Gelpi**

April 8-9, 2016

The Mershon Center and Decision Sciences Collaborative collaborated to present the first annual conference on Risk and Security. The goal was to explore qualitative and quantitative issues in risk and security, especially issues concerning decision making under uncertainty.

### **Water, Culture and Society in Global Historical Perspective**

### **Philip Brown and Nicholas Breyfogle**

May 13-14, 2016

This conference was the first of two focused on the provision, management, use, and cultural meanings of water and its relationship to patterns of human culture, politics, technology, and socio-economic organization across geographies and chronologies.

### **International Conference on Conflict Resolution Education**

### **"Building Stronger Communities Through Peace, Justice, and Security"**

June 8-13, 2016

### **Jennifer Batton, Conference Organizer**

This annual conference brings together university educators and students, K-12 educators, prevention specialists, and state, local, national and international policy makers to share best practices, policy structures, training, resources and technology in peace and conflict resolution.

The Mershon Center panel on "Just War and the Emotional Factors in Leadership Decision-Making" included (left to right) Mershon Center Director Richard Herrmann, Peace Studies Coordinator John Carlarne, LTC Jim Bunyak of Army ROTC, and Peter Mansoor, Mason Chair in Military History

Presenters at the Risk and Security conference included (back row, left to right) Christopher Gelpi, Scott de Marchi, Baruch Fischhoff, Mark Stewart, Paul Slovic, and James Baker, and (front row, left to right) Ellen Peters, Robert Jervis, Vicki Bier, Lara Buchak (with baby), Allan Silverman, and Rose McDermott.



## Featured Speakers

**Charles Mills**, Northwestern University  
**“Racial Equality”**  
 September 10, 2015

**Scott Snyder**, Council on Foreign Relations  
**“The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash: East Asian Security and the United States”**  
 September 29, 2015

**Gary King**, Harvard University  
**“Reverse-Engineering Censorship in China”**  
 October 22, 2015

**Olga Kamenchuk**, Russian Public Opinion Research Center  
**“What Russians Think about the United States and Which Foreign Policies They Support”**  
 October 27, 2015

**Raymond “Bud” Duvall**, University of Minnesota  
**“War Without Humans: From Liberal War to the Constitution of Global Imperial Sovereignty”**  
 October 29, 2015

**Cardinal Peter Turkson**, Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace  
**“Reflections on Laudato Si, Pope Francis' Encyclical on Ecology”**  
 November 2, 2015

**David Edelstein**, Georgetown University  
**“What Theory and History Teach Us about the Rise of China”**  
 November 18, 2015

**Will Reno**, Northwestern University  
**“The Challenges of Armed Group Organization in Socially Fragmented Environments”**  
 February 4, 2016

**Mike Chinoy**, former Beijing Bureau Chief, CNN  
**“Going Critical: North Korea's Bomb and Asian Security”**  
 February 18, 2016

**Kelly Greenhill**, Tufts University  
**“Better than the Truth: Extra-factual Sources of Threat Conception and Proliferation”**  
 February 25, 2016

**Vipin Narang**, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
**“Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation: How States Learned to Love Getting the Bomb”**  
 March 3, 2016

**Patricia Owens**, University of Sussex  
**“When War is Oikonomia by Other Means”**  
 March 21, 2016

**Ed Mansfield**, University of Pennsylvania  
**“The Political Economy of Financial Reform: de Jure Liberalization vs. de Facto Implementation”**  
 April 12, 2016

**Michael Barnett**, George Washington University  
**“The Star and the Stripes: A History of the Foreign Policies of American Jews”**  
 April 15, 2016

**Julia Gray**, University of Pennsylvania  
**“Patronage Explanations for the Survival of International Organizations”**  
 April 20, 2016

Gary King is the Albert J. Weatherhead III  
 University Professor at Harvard University.

Cardinal Peter Turkson spoke at Ohio State as part of the  
 campus-wide conversation on sustainability.



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