Letter from the Chair

To Friends of the Department of Political Science at Emory,

Hello from Tarbutton Hall! I want to inform you about an exciting gift-giving opportunity for the Department of Political Science’s undergraduate research fund. In a generous gesture of commitment to undergraduate education at Emory, the department’s own Associate Professor Larry Taulbee, has pledged to match all donations to the political science department, up to $5,000 per year, during each of the next four years.

So, your gift of $100 becomes a gift of $200, your gift of $1,000 becomes $2,000, and your gift of $5,000 becomes $10,000, helping twice as many students pursue their intellectual ambitions. The department, current students, and future students are all deeply grateful to Professor Taulbee. His commitment is very much in line with the extraordinary devotion to undergraduate education at Emory he has demonstrated for more than forty years. If you are interested in giving, please see www.polisci.emory.edu/donate.htm.

I hope you enjoy this issue of the department newsletter, especially the alumni news section which contains updates on alumni going back to the Class of 1939. If you have your own alumni news you wish to contribute to the next issue of the newsletter, please send them to polisci@emory.edu. We would be thrilled to hear from you.

We hope to see you on campus sometime soon!

Best,

Dan Reiter
Chair, Department of Political Science
Elliott Levitas S2C 55L is one of Emory University’s most accomplished alumni. A Rhodes Scholar, he has served in the Georgia State Legislature and as a member of the United States Congress. During the past fifty years, he has created, passed, and litigated to enforce critical laws in the state of Georgia and the nation more broadly. It was not a difficult decision for the Department of Political Science to name its annual award for its top graduating senior after him.

Rather than fade off into cozy retirement, Levitas has saved perhaps his greatest professional accomplishment for the coda of his career as an attorney. In 1999, as a partner at the Atlanta law firm Kilpatrick Townsend, he took on a new group of clients, a set of Native Americans led by Elouise Cobell, a member of the Blackfeet tribe in Montana. Levitas filed a suit against the federal government on behalf of his clients, claiming that the United States Departments of Treasury and Interior had reneged on the 1887 Dawes Act, which allowed for Native Americans to collect revenues from trusts created on their behalf. The suit claimed that the federal government had mishandled Native American lands and the associate trusts, due to “mismanagement, ineptness, dishonesty, and delay of federal officials.” These revenues denied to Native Americans came from sources such as oil, gas, mining, and others.

Little did Levitas or his clients know the long legal road that lay ahead. During more than a decade the case traveled throughout the American judicial system before landing in front of the Supreme Court. After Levitas’s clients had won dozens of decisions in lower courts across three presidential administrations, the Supreme Court finally upheld earlier judgments in favor of the litigants. These judgments required the payment of $3.4 billion, the largest class-action award in US history. Cobell claims this amount is a fraction of the $176 billion that Native Americans are actually owed. In November 2010, this settlement received approval from the United States Congress. When President Barack Obama signed the settlement agreement in January 2011, he remarked, “After years of delay, this bill will provide a small measure of justice to Native Americans whose funds were held in trust by a government charged with looking out for them.”

The settlement has been applauded by Native American leaders. “The passage of the Cobell settlement is a significant milestone in the history of American Indian relations with United States government,” said Jefferson Keel, president of the National Congress of American Indians, the oldest and largest American Indian and Alaska Native organization in the country. “Not only does Cobell settle historic injustices through legal means, it starts the US government on a course for meeting its obligations and making reservation lands more productive for future generations. We commend the bipartisan effort from members of the house and senate who worked tirelessly to pass this legislation.”

Because the settlement is for recompense for many trusts, it will benefit a large group of people. By one estimate, more than five hundred thousand people will receive payments from the settlement.

The Cobell settlement is a capstone for Levitas’s long and successful career in law and public service. Looking back, he gives great credit to his experience at Emory for setting him on the course his life took. “Emory was the springboard for everything I did in life after that,” he remarked. “It was multidimensional, it was not just the academics, but also the people I got to know, both as students and as mentors.” The political science department is privileged for its association with Elliott Levitas and proud to have its most prestigious award named in his honor.
Undergraduate Spotlight: Aaron H. Collett

Aaron Collett 11C was a citizen of the world before he arrived at Emory and decided to study the world. His schoolteacher parents lived in Christchurch, New Zealand, before relocating to Jakarta, Indonesia, where he was born. Growing up in East Asia, Collett became attuned to the political implications of major events such as the 1997 financial crisis, the Suharto regime’s fall from power in 1998, and the 2001 tsunami.

Collett applied to Emory, and was selected as an Emory Scholar. During his Emory Scholars visit, his encounters with faculty and students helped him recognize the unique opportunities Emory would be able to offer. Warm exchanges with students such as Rhodes Scholar and international studies major Zak Manfredi 07C helped persuade him that Emory was the right choice.

Once on campus, Collett soon settled on majoring in political science. His central intellectual interests, international development and political economy, were fostered in classes and research with Associate Professor Richard Doner in particular. After Doner learned that Collett shared his interests in Southeast Asia and economic development, he brought him on board to a research project on Asian rubber production. Collett also worked alongside Doner in helping Emory develop its new Development Studies Program. “It has been a joy to work with Aaron,” Doner reports. “He is very smart, totally responsible, intellectually curious, and creative.”

Emory has been able to help Collett learn about parts of the developing world beyond Southeast Asia. He broadened his horizons during an internship in the Democracy Program at The Carter Center. His duties as an intern included flying to Côte d’Ivoire in West Africa to monitor presidential elections there. He found it to be an “eye-opening experience,” providing “insight into a key aspect of the democratic process.”

Associate Professor Eric Reinhardt helped expand his understanding of the global economy beyond issues of development, encouraging him to secure an internship at Goldman Sachs in London in 2010. There, he worked alongside Emory International Studies alumna and Elliott Levitas award winner Romi Savoya 08C. While at Goldman Sachs, Collett found himself in the middle of the Euro debt crisis, wondering whether the financial collapse might spread beyond countries such as Ireland, Greece, and Portugal. Watching these events unfold gave him the idea for his senior honors thesis. In the thesis, he developed the idea that new international financial reporting and transparency standards can help insulate a country from panicked investor behavior, market volatility, and financial contagion. Reinhardt hails the idea as “an original one, really on the cutting edge of what we know in the field about the political economy of financial markets.”

Collett has also served as president of Emory’s Modern United Nations team, helping the team achieve great success. Assistant Professor Kyle Beardsley, who serves as Model UN team adviser, reports, “Aaron is extremely bright and articulate, which has helped him lead Emory’s Model UN team to an impressive number of conference awards. He has taken on a number of responsibilities as a student and leader yet always appears collected, energetic, and upbeat.”

Collett capped his Emory career by receiving the Elliott Levitas award, given to the department’s top graduating senior. After graduation, he will return to Goldman Sachs for two years, after which he may attend graduate school or work for a nonprofit en route to working for an international finance and development organization like the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. His combination of academic success, engagement with the corporate world, and personal commitment to improving the human condition is exactly the kind of path the political science department hopes many of its students will follow.
The Political Earthquake in Egypt: Spotlight on Carrie Wickham

The recent upheaval in Egypt culminating in President Hosni Mubarak being thrown from power is equally stunning both for its shocking suddenness and its occurrence after decades of glacial stasis. Like the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, a political thunderclap changed forever a part of the world that seemed politically frozen.

We are all far better informed about this turn of events because of the deep knowledge and insights provided by Associate Professor Carrie Rosefsky Wickham of the Emory Department of Political Science. Before Mubarak’s fall, Wickham had already established herself as a top expert on Egyptian politics and the Mubarak regime in particular. She wrote the definitive book on political opposition under the Mubarak regime, Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt. For years, she has been a vital resource for Emory faculty and students. Especially since 9/11, government agencies such as the State Department and the National Security Council have sought her out for her analysis of Arab politics and opposition movements. During the recent crisis, Wickham took a central role in explaining what was happening in Egypt and the region to the Emory community and the rest of the world. She gained on-the-ground knowledge during an April 2011 trip to Cairo with a Carter Center delegation in advance of the presidential and parliamentary elections.

According to Wickham, the crisis well demonstrated important generational cleavages within the Egyptian opposition. The more rigid and autocratic older generation, connected to older Arab nationalist and Islamist movements pushing solidarity against foreign adversaries rather than individual rights, was conspicuous by its absence from the uprising. The much younger set, usually politically unaffiliated and disaffected, poured into the streets, refusing to leave until Mubarak resigned. The youth collaborated with a middle generation that

Protesters in Tahrir Square, Cairo

Carrie Wickham
The Political Earthquake in Egypt: Carrie Wickham, continued

had emerged during the past two decades with a voice of its own, leading the prodemocracy Kefaya (Enough) movement in 2005. The boldness of the youth, combined with the skills, experience, and inclusive democratic vision of the middle generation, helped the opposition succeed.

One of Wickham’s most important contributions was to illuminate the role of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian politics. Many aspects of the Muslim Brotherhood make Americans nervous: the violence perpetrated by the group’s armed wing before 1952; its call for Sharia (governance guided by Islamic law); and its anti-Western, anti-Zionist, and anti-Semitic rhetoric. Some equate the Brotherhood with jihadist groups like al Qaeda. But Wickham counsels that today’s Brotherhood has changed significantly.

During the past few decades, it has become increasingly involved in—and habituated to—the give and take of democratic politics. The Brotherhood has looked less like a radical Islamist group committed to violence and monopolizing power and more like an opposition movement seeking to participate in a democratic system alongside others. As Wickham explains, this evolution reflects the Brotherhood’s dawning understanding that it will benefit from democracy, as well as the new participatory, not dominate” in the coming era. But, Wickham notes, the Brotherhood has not yet reconciled its call for Sharia with the principles of equality, pluralism, and liberty embraced by Western democracies.

The future for the “Arab Spring” of 2011 is at this writing uncertain. Events in Libya, Yemen, Iran, Bahrain, Jordan, and Syria demonstrate that the widespread and largely peaceful democratization in East Europe in 1989 is unlikely. However, events in Tunisia and Egypt indicate that at least some of these movements cannot be comprehensively and violently crushed, as happened in China in 1989. Emory is privileged to have deeply knowledgeable and engaged scholars like Wickham to help our students and faculty, the policy community, and the general public understand the historic changes now sweeping the Arab world. 

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Department News

Since last summer the Program in Democracy and Citizenship, directed by Professor Harvey Klehr, has received grants from the Marcus Foundation and the Jack Miller Center.

**Assistant Professor Drew Linzer** is the coauthor of *Electoral Systems and the Balance of Consumer Producer Power* (Cambridge, 2010).

**Professor Dan Reiter** won the 2010 Conflict Processes Best Book Award, given by the American Political Science Association, for his book, *How Wars End* (Princeton, 2009). The award is given for “the best book making outstanding contributions to the study of any and all forms of political conflict, either within or between nation-states, published in the two calendar years prior to the year in which the award is given.” *How Wars End* also was selected in 2011 as an Outstanding Academic Title of the year by *Choice* magazine. It was shortlisted for the Arthur Ross Book Award given by the Council on Foreign Relations and was Honorable Mention for the Best Book Award in Security Studies, given by the International Studies Association.

**Claire Wofford**, a graduate student, received a Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation in August 2010. In January 2012, she will take a position as assistant professor of political science at the College of Charleston.


**Professor Micheal Giles** was named the Fuller E. Callaway Professor of Political Science. Supported by the Callaway Foundation, the chair recognizes extraordinary faculty at colleges and universities in the state of Georgia. An Emory faculty member last held the Callaway chair in the early 1990s.

**Assistant Professor Tom Clark** published *The Limits of Judicial Independence* (Cambridge, 2011).

**Associate Professor Jeff Staton** published *Judicial Power and Strategic Communication in Mexico* (Cambridge, 2010).

**Professor Alan Abramowitz** published *The Disappearing Center: Engaged Citizens, Polarization, and American Democracy* (Yale, 2010).

**Rylee Sommers-Flanagan 11C** received the Robert T. Jones fellowship for graduate study at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland.

**Stephen Weil 11C** and his debate partner won the Rex Copeland Award for the second consecutive year. This award is given to the top-ranked intercollegiate debate team in the nation at the end of the regular debate season. It is the first time in the twenty-one-year history of the award that a team has won the award in two consecutive years. At the March 2011 National Debate Tournament, Weil and his partner placed second. This fall, Weil will be an intern at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C.

**Aaron Collett 11C** was named the Elliott Levitas Award winner for 2011. This award is given annually to the best graduating senior majoring in political science or international studies.

**Jacob Ricks**, a doctoral student, received a Critical Language Scholarship for the study of Indonesian, and a Fulbright Institute of International Education grant for dissertation research.

**Simon Mettler 12C** received the 2011 Woodruff Library Undergraduate Research Award for his paper, “The Effects of Ballistic Missiles on International Crises.”
Alumni News

1930s

John W. Rozier 39C passed away in January 2011 at the age of ninety-two. He was a political science major when the department had two faculty members and a half-dozen majors, and he was a student of the legendary Cullin Gosnell. After graduating from Emory Phi Beta Kappa, Rozier joined the US Navy, commanding a landing craft in four World War II amphibious operations in the Mediterranean, including the 1943 invasion of Sicily. After the war, he received an MA (1947) in journalism from Emory and edited the Wheel. He then served in the Foreign Service before working for newspapers, as executive and editor. In 1959, he returned to Emory to run the Emory News Bureau, Emory’s public relations office. Retiring from Emory in 1979, he went on to author award-winning books on Southern history. Rozier received Emory’s Alumni Award of Honor in 1978 and Emory’s Distinguished Emeritus Award in 2007.

1940s

After graduating from Emory in 1943, John Folger 43C served for three years in the US Navy before earning a PhD in sociology and statistics from the University of North Carolina. He was for several years a faculty member and administrator at Florida State University and Vanderbilt University, retiring in 1996.

1950s

Eugene Miller 57C 62G died in June 2010 at the age of seventy-four. After graduating from Emory, Miller received a PhD in political science from the University of Chicago in 1965 before teaching at Davidson College and Furman University. In 1967, he moved to the University of Georgia, where he taught for some thirty-six years before retiring. Over the course of his career, he published widely on a variety of topics in political theory and philosophy, receiving numerous teaching awards for his outstanding performance in the classroom.

1960s

Susan Pharr 66C is the Edwin O. Reischauer Professor of Japanese Politics at Harvard University. She is the author or editor of five books and dozens of scholarly articles, mostly on Japanese politics and women and politics.

1970s

John P. Rozier 73C worked for the 2010 South Carolina Senate campaign of Tom Clements 73C, a Green Party candidate who is himself a history major from Emory. Clements received more than 9 percent of the popular vote, the best showing for a progressive statewide candidate in the history of South Carolina, and the best showing for a third party candidate in South Carolina since Strom Thurmond’s 1954 senate campaign.

1980s

Sharon Semmens 80C 80G, the 1980 Department of Political Science Elliott Levitas award winner and a member of the Alumni Board and the vice provost’s Office of Community and Diversity, was awarded a Distinguished Alumni award by Emory College in spring 2010.

Robert Appleton 85C is the director of investigations and legal counsel to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria, based in Geneva, Switzerland. His responsibilities include combating government corruption, especially in African and East Asian nations.

1990s

Charles Lindsey (Lynn) Usher 76PhD has retired as the Wallace H. Kuralt Sr. Professor of Public Welfare Police, School of Social Work, at the University of North Carolina (UNC). He now holds an emeritus affiliation with the UNC faculty.

Charles Stewart III 79C was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (AAAS) in 2011. Stewart is the Kenan Sahin Distinguished Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He joins fellow Emory political science alumna Lee Epstein 80C 83PhD, who was elected to the AAAS in 2006.

Beth Schapiro 79PhD is founder of the Schapiro Group, a public opinion and political consulting firm. She teaches on research and strategy and is called on for appearances and commentary by CNN, Fox News, USA Today, the Los Angeles Times, Roll Call, Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Georgia Week In Review, and Southern Political Report.
**1990s**

David Morgenstern 92C, having worked on the staffs of Senators Paul Coverdell, Lincoln Chafee, and Lamar Alexander, has joined the Podesta Group, a bipartisan governmental relations firm in Washington.

Kevin Morrison 95C is assistant professor of government at Cornell University. In 2010, he received the Robert O. Keohane award for the best article of the year published by a nontenured faculty member in International Organization, the leading international relations journal in political science.

April Rinne 96C has been named a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum. She will join nearly two hundred other Young Global Leaders, including heads of state, corporate executives, Olympians, actors, entrepreneurs, and others. Perhaps the most well-known World Economic Forum activity is the annual meeting at Davos, Switzerland.

Sue Davis 97PhD is associate professor and chair of the political science department at Denison University.

**Svetlana Savranskaya 98PhD** is research fellow at the National Security Archive. She is coauthor of Masterpieces in History: The Peaceful End of the Cold War in Europe, 1989 (Central European University Press, 2010), which won the 2009/2010 Arthur S. Link-Warren F. Kuehl Prize for Documentary Editing. The Link-Kuehl Prize is awarded by the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

Michael Horowitz 99C published The Diffusion of Military Power: Causes and Consequences for International Politics (Princeton, 2010). He is assistant professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania.

**2000s**

H. Gibbs Knotts 00PhD is associate professor and department head of political science and public affairs at Western Carolina University. He was recently named the 2009–2010 Board of Governors Teaching Award winner and the 2009–2010 University Scholar Award winner. His research on Southern politics, political participation, and public administration appears in a variety of outlets. He recently coedited The New Politics of North Carolina (University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

Ryan Rudominer 00C is on the staff of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee.

Bradley Murg 00C, currently in the PhD program in political science at the University of Washington, has been awarded a Social Sciences Research Council SSRC dissertation fellowship and an International Research and Exchanges Board fellowship to complete his doctoral research in China, Russia, and Kazakhstan on the political economy of legal reform in post-socialist states.

Anna Manasco Dionne 02C is an associate at the firm of Bradley, Arant, Boult, and Cummings in Birmingham, Alabama. She is the author of Women, Men and the Representation of Women in the British Parliaments: Magic Numbers? (Manchester University Press, 2010).


Charles Hankla 05PhD was promoted to associate professor with tenure at Georgia State University.

Dan Slater 05PhD was promoted to associate professor with tenure at the University of Chicago. He is the author of Ordering Power: Contentious Politics and Authoritarian Leviathans in Southeast Asia (Cambridge, 2010).

William Cossen 08C is in the doctoral program in history at Pennsylvania State University.

Romina Savova 08C is currently enrolled in Harvard Business School.

Nadya Parks 08PhD has accepted a position in fall 2011 as an assistant professor in political science at Wellesley College.

Elizabeth Livengood 09C was one of four recipients of the 2010 Howard Penniman Graduate Scholarships given by Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honors society. She is in the master’s degree program in European policy at the BMW Center for German and European Studies at Georgetown University.
Following the American-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq, the ousted Taliban and Sunni factions promptly initiated low-level insurgencies in an attempt to convince the United States and other nations to withdraw their troops. Since then, the United States and its allies have tried to stem the tide of the two insurgencies with at best mixed success, leading to endless and inconclusive arguments about what counterinsurgency (COIN) policies US forces should adopt and, indeed, whether the conflicts are actually winnable.

The US predicaments in Iraq and Afghanistan and the associated public debates highlight a peculiar gap in our knowledge as political scientists as to what makes some COIN efforts succeed while others fail. My dissertation tries to fill this gap. It argues that the deployment of a certain type of paramilitary unit called civilian defense forces (CDFs) helps states suppress rebel movements such as the Taliban. CDF units are native to the regions in which they are stationed and primarily engage in simple self-defense tasks such as patrol and guard duty. They have been emerged all over the world, ranging from the Rondas Campesinas of Peru to the Citizen Armed Force Geographical Units of the Philippines.

CDFs are attractive alternatives to regular troops for use in COIN campaigns. They are far less expensive to recruit, train, and equip than regular troops. They tend to have better knowledge of the local terrain, language, and customs—that help governments track down and defeat the often elusive insurgents, while at the same time reducing the risk of alienating the local civilian population.

For my dissertation, I am collecting data back to 1945 on whether CDFs help counterinsurgents win. Thus far, the data indicate that governments are more frequently victorious when they deploy CDFs. Statistical analysis demonstrates the strength of this relationship even when accounting for other factors, such as the nation’s level of economic development and the strength of the government’s conventional forces.

As revealing as these results may be, they also introduce a puzzle. If CDFs really are as beneficial to COIN success as my analyses...
suggest, one would expect most counterinsurgents to use them. Yet CDFs are used in only about one-third of all COIN campaigns between 1945 and 2006. To solve this puzzle of the nonuse of CDFs, I develop a theoretical explanation that suggests that governments are willing to arm civilians only if they are reasonably certain that the weapons will not end up in rebel hands. Unfortunately, finding sufficiently trustworthy locals often proves to be an exceedingly difficult task due to the unnerving tendency of rebellions to spring up in regions where popular support for the incumbent government is particularly low. This problem of ensuring citizens’ loyalty may be more easily overcome in tribal regions, where civilians are often locked in bitter intertribal feuds and therefore more willing to serve as dependable auxiliaries as a way of securing the government’s support for their particular tribe. In the next phase of my dissertation research, I will conduct empirical tests of these arguments about conditions that make CDF employment more likely, examining COIN campaigns in Turkey and the Philippines.

The war in Iraq is a nice illustration of the role CDFs can play in counterinsurgency campaigns. First deployed among Sunni tribes in Anbar province, US CDFs in Iraq (called Awakening Councils) have been credited for much of the reduction in sectarian violence observed in recent years. Encouraged by the success of its CDF strategy there, the United States is currently attempting to establish a similar self-defense force in Afghanistan. Likewise, governments in other notoriously unstable countries such as Somalia are beginning to consider CDF deployment as well. While counterinsurgency surely has no silver bullet, my dissertation research nevertheless indicates CDFs may well be part of the solution.

“Civilian defense forces are attractive alternatives for use in counterinsurgency campaigns. They tend to have better knowledge of the local terrain, language, and customs—assets that help governments track down and defeat the often elusive insurgents, while at the same time reducing the risk of alienating the local civilian population.”

Goran Peic

Graduate Student Spotlight: Goran Peic, continued

Political Science News is a publication of the Department of Political Science. For more information, please call 404.727.6572 or email polisci@emory.edu.

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Graphic Designer Gordon Boice

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