POLITICAL SCIENCE / INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

NEWSLETTER

ACADEMIC YEAR 2024-2025



Grow Classroom 105 in Hasenstab Hall By Harry Pound

FEATURING



2025 Awards **OCS in Southeast Asia Faculty & Research Updates Alumni Updates Books Books Books**





THE FREEDOM TO THINK

By Mihaela Czobor-Lupp Department Chair

This summer my husband and I visited Turkey for three weeks. I wanted to go to Turkey for a very long time, for both personal and scholarly reasons. The history of Romania, my country of origin, is deeply intertwined with the history of the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, for the last years I spent a lot of time reading about Turkey while writing about the novelistic work of Orhan Pamuk. In short, I had to go and see with my own eyes.

One of our objectives was Istanbul, but also the Aegean coast of Turkey, a place where Greek ancient philosophy was born and where for many centuries Greeks, Turks, Armenians, and Jews peacefully coexisted, as in the old city of Izmir (Smyrna).

The Republic of Turkey proudly celebrated in 2023 a hundred years of existence. The signs of the celebration were still visible in Istanbul and in Izmir at the time of our visit. The face of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (the father of the Turks), the creator of modern Turkey, was everywhere, particularly in his native town of Izmir.

An event that cannot be dissociated from the birth of modern Turkey in 1923, happened in the cosmopolitan city of Smyrna. In the middle of the Greek-Turkish war, a few days after the Turks reoccupied Smyrna, a devastating fire destroyed the Greek, the Armenian, and Levantine neighborhoods. The city was almost completely destroyed. The Greeks and the Armenians who did not die in the fire, left the city. From the culturally diverse place that Smyrna was, a pure Turkish Izmir came into being. I wanted to see Izmir because I am fascinated by the power of nationalism to successfully invoke the purity of identities. I am very critical in my work of this ability, which I think is very damaging in the world of global migration that we live in today.

And still, there was more in store for me to learn in Izmir about what nationalism might mean and do. Visting Izmir I had to remember that nationalism is not simply driven by the dichotomic logic of 'us' versus 'them,' the logic of pure and antagonistic identities. Nationalism can also inspire the fight against an authoritarian political regime and for democracy. It has a tremendous emancipatory power and not only from imperial domination but also from tyranny, in the name of 'us, the people.' I learned during my trip that this is how the figure of Mustafa Kemal and his legacy of thick nationalism work today, at least for some people in Turkey, definitely for many in Izmir and on the Aegean coast of the country.

I am not telling this story so much for its content, but rather for the fact it is a story about an eye-opening experience, an experience where I was confronted with a reality that was much larger than my idea, a reality that surpassed my concept. The experience I had in Turkey with the idea of nationalism reminded me of what Hannah Arendt says, at the end of The Origins of Totalitarianism, about the power of thinking to resist tyranny. In Arendt's view, thinking can resist totalitarianism because it is fundamentally a form of freedom. It is the freedom to change our mind and to untie it from the tyranny of an idea, from the abstraction of a concept.

Arendt, who escaped Nazi Germany in 1933, had a lifetime interest in the study of totalitarianism. She analyzed not only totalitarian political regimes, but also some of the totalitarian features to which liberal-democracies themselves prove to be very vulnerable. One of these features, which she called image-making, is the inability to see reality because one's mind is totally framed and driven (tyrannically) by one idea or one theory.

As shown by her last, unfinished book, The Life of the Mind, Arendt tried, to the end of her life, in 1975, to understand the power the activity of thinking has to resist the tendency we (all) have to forget that a word, a concept, an idea is only an abbreviated way of evoking, of suggesting a cluster of diverse experiences and meanings. When this happens, our mind becomes unfree. It becomes unable to imagine differently, to see differently and thus incapable of beginning anew, of initiating a new line of action. This is when we become prone to being regimented by what Arendt calls ideology, the tyranny of one idea, the type of discourse that authoritarian and totalitarian rulers use to manipulate, divide, and conquer our minds, the result of an oversimplification of reality and of the way we see it.

Central to Arendt's conception of thinking is the idea of dialogue. Thinking occurs in the guise of dialogue. Even when it happens in solitude thinking requires plurality, the presence of interlocutors, the presence of other ideas and thoughts. After the Socratic model, Arendt sees thinking as a dialogue I have with myself, when I am solitary, not lonely. She also sees thinking as an anticipated dialogue with others and as a form of friendship, in which, by talking with each other about issues in the world or about ideas, we humanize both ourselves and the world. In all these forms, thinking is coterminous with freedom. It is the freedom to remain open to the examination of (even your most cherished) ideas and ideals, the freedom to expose these to revision and potential expansion of meaning by confronting them with new experiences and with new ideas.

I would like to propose that we start this new academic year, 2025-2026, with inspiration and energy that we can take from these reflections of Arendt on the nature of thinking and on its power to resist tyranny. I see, as Arendt also did, colleges and universities as environments where we can and should practice thinking. Colleges and universities are by definition places of freedom, the freedom to converse in friendship with one another and thus become able to resist the tyranny of one idea or theory. What they can do best is to resist the shrinking of our mental universe and the automatism of a thinking that regiments us instead of freeing our ability to see reality and our own theories from yet another angle.

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POSC/IR ANNUAL FALL PICNIC

Thursday, October 3, 2024, 5-7PM, Stewsie Island

Burgers and brats on the grill with fixin's, potato and macaroni salads, fruit salad, and s'mores.

BREAKFAST WITH CONVOCATION SPEAKER THEDA SKOCPOL

Friday, October 25, 2024, 8-9:30AM, Hase 002



Theda Skocpol is the Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology at Harvard University. An internationally recognized scholar, she has received multiple honorary degrees, and been elected to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the American Philosophical Society, and the National Academy of Sciences. Her work addresses a broad spectrum of questions about socio-political change, including health care reform, public policy, and civic engagement amid shifting inequalities in American democracy; currently, she is probing partisan polarization and Republican Party radicalization.

A MOVIE SCREENING OF "THE CAMPAIGN OF MINER BO" WITH DIRECTOR/PRODUCER TODD DREZNER '94

Monday, October 26, 2024, 7-9PM, Boliou 104



After his conversation with Hillary Clinton goes viral and makes him one of the faces of the 2016 election, unemployed West Virginia coal miner Bo Copley launches an unlikely campaign for the U.S. Senate. But without much money or experience, he quickly discovers that being a politician is harder than it looks. As his long-shot campaign continues, Copley fights not only to pull off a monumental upset, but also to validate his own sense of self-worth after two years of unemployment.

LET'S TALK: ELECTION '24 PROFESSORS PANEL, STUDENTS Q&AFriday, October 30, 2024, 4:30-6PM, Olin 141









A conversation on what you should know and what you want to know with Political Science Professors Barbara Allen, Ryan Dawkins, and Greg Marfleet, and American Studies Professor Christopher Elias.

THE WYNIA SPEAKER SERIES: RESISTING BACKSLIDING: OPPOSITION STRATEGIES AGAINST THE EROSION OF DEMOCRACY WITH LAURA GAMBOA Friday, November 1, 2024, 5-6:30PM, Anderson 121



In the past two decades, democratically elected executives across the world have used their popularity to push for legislation that, over time, destroys systems of checks and balances, hinders free and fair elections, and undermines political rights and civil liberties. Using and abusing institutions and institutional reform, some of them have transformed their countries' democracies into competitive authoritarian regimes. Others, however, have failed. What explains these different outcomes? In this talk, Dr. Gamboa discusses this question. Focusing on the cases of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela and Alvaro Uribe in Colombia, she proposes that the strategies the opposition uses and the goals it uses them for are key to understand why some executives successfully erode democracy and others do not.

ELECTION NIGHT WATCH PARTY

Tuesday, November 5, 2024, 7-9PM, Hasenstab Hall

Political Science professors on-hand to answer questions. Major media coverage on big screens. Food. Camaraderie.

BREAKFAST WITH CONVOCATION SPEAKER LARRY JACOBS Friday, January 17, 2025, 8-9:15AM, Hasenstab 2nd Floor Lounge



Lawrence R. Jacobs is an American political scientist and founder and director of the Center for the Study of Politics and Governance (CSPG) at the University of Minnesota. He was appointed the Walter F. and Joan Mondale Chair for Political Studies at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey School of Public Affairs in 2005 and holds the McKnight Presidential Chair. Jacobs has written or edited, alone or collaboratively, 17 books and over 100 scholarly articles in addition to numerous reports and media essays on American democracy, national and Minnesota elections, political communications, health care reform, and economic inequality. Recurring topics in Jacobs' research include American democracy, health care reform, political communications, and central banking.

LET'S TALK: WHAT TO EXPECT IN A SECOND TRUMP ADMINISTRATION A MODERATED DISCUSSION WITH LARRY JACOBS AND PROF RYAN DAWKINS

Friday, January 17, 2025, 1:15-2:15PM, Hasenstab 109

What you should know. What you want to know.

FRANK B. KELLOGG RESEARCH LECTURE POLITICAL POLARIZATION AND DEMOCRATIC RESILIENCE IN ARGENTINA, 2003-2023 WITH PROFESSOR ALFRED MONTERO Thursday, February 8, 2025, 5:15-6:45PM, Anderson 121



Néstor Kirchner and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner were presidents with hegemonic ambitions in an Argentina with conditions that scholars identify as correlating with the erosion of democracy: state crisis, populism, macroeconomic instability, and a party system in disarray following the 2001-02 economic crisis. They were divisive presidents who helped to make Argentina one of the most polarized political systems in Latin America at the time. But this case also confirms the comparative empirical finding that polarization does not necessarily correlate with democratic erosion. Prof. Montero argues that sustained polarization not only failed to undermine Argentine democracy, it helped to restructure and recreate the Argentine party system, making the country's democracy more resilient and anti-fragile.



THE FUTURE OF EUROPE: WHY SHOULD IT MATTER TO AMERICA? ESTONIA'S PERSPECTIVE WITH KRISTJAN PRIKK, AMBASSADOR OF ESTONIA

Friday, February 14, 2025, 3:30-5PM, Athenaeum @ Gould Library



Join us to discuss tackling transatlantic security challenges, Russia's war against Ukraine and the Western response, and freedom, innovation, and economic progress in Europe and America. [Cosponsored with The Alexander Hamilton Society, Carleton.]

AUTOCRACY AND PROTEST CULTURE IN ASIA: THE "MILK TEA ALLIANCE" WITH JEFFREY WASSERSTROM

Tuesday, April 15, 2025, 5:15-6:45PM, Alumni Guest House Meeting Room



Burma is in a state of civil war. Hong Kong has changed from a place with virtually no political prisoners to one with many in a few years. Thailand is a monarchy with lèse-majesté laws. While the political situations in Burma, Thailand, and Hong Kong are radically different, many young activists and exiles from these regions feel their struggles are connected. How do these activists, each facing unique situations, find common ground and sustain one another?

RACE, ISLAM, AND DILEMMAS OF BELONGING IN POST-MIGRATORY EUROPE WITH OSMAN BALKAN

Thursday, April 17, 2025, 6:30-7:00PM, Leighton 304



Dr. Osman Balkan is Associate Director and Program Director of Curriculum, Experiential Learning, and Innovation at the Huntsman Program in International Studies & Business. Balkan's research and teaching focus on the politics of global migration, race and ethnicity, identity and inequality, political violence, and collective memory with a transregional concentration on Western Europe and the Middle East.

THE PRESENT DAY: PEACEMAKING ALTERNATIVES FOR ISRAELI POLICY WITH NOA BALF

Friday, April 18, 2025, 4:30-6:30PM, Athenaeum at Gould Library



Dr. Balf will discuss the Forum for Regional Thinking's analytic paper on the context and lead up to October 7th as well as challenge Israel's prioritization of 'managing the conflict' over reconciliation and peacemaking. Utilizing intersectional analysis and familiarity with the region, Dr. Balf provides new and exciting insight for reevaluating the intractability of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

POSC/IR ANNUAL MAJOR DECLARATION LUNCH

Thursday, April 24, 2025, 12-1PM, Hasenstab 002

Enjoy lunch from learn more about the faculty and staff, take a box of goodies, and meet other new majors.



OPPORTUNITIES IN POLITICS AND POLICY: MAKE AN IMPACT NOW WITH ROBERT HEALY '25, ETTA HUMES '25, GABRIEL KAPLAN '25, ERIC YUAN '25 Thursday, April 24, 2025, 4:30-6:30PM, Anderson 121

Join us for this student-led panel and learn about what it's like to work in politics and policy, how to get started, and what important skills are needed. [Co-sponsors: Public Policy & Carleton Career Center.]









FORO LATINOAMERICANO 2025 WITH SANTIAGO ANRIA, SANDRA BOTERO, JENNIFER MCCOY, ALFRED MONTERO, KENNETH ROBERTS, AND ORCUN SELCUK

Friday, April 25 and Saturday, April 26, 2025, Weitz Center for Creativity, Room 236

The 2025 Foro Latinoamericano will examine the "new polarization" in Latin America, focusing on how democracies in the region are becoming more divisive and confrontational, threatening democratic institutions. Contemporary polarization differs from that of the 1960s and 70s, which was often between non-democratic actors, whereas now it typically occurs between rivals within the democratic arena. This new polarization is marked by a shift from primarily ideological conflicts to those with affective and cultural components, centered on "us versus them" identities, at both the elite and mass levels. Participants will present new research on the various factors contributing to its development, including elite strategies, social mobilization, and the role of anti-partisanship. They will also consider the ways in which the new polarization presents a threat to democracy, potentially leading to democratic backsliding and the use of undemocratic methods. [Co-sponsored by the Latin American Studies Program, The Office of the Provost, The Gary Wynia Memorial Lecture in Latin American Political Economy, and the Political Science/International Relations Department.]













LET'S TALK: THE NEW MIDDLE EAST
A MODERATED DISCUSSION WITH JUAN COLE
AND PROF SUMMER FORESTER

Thursday, May 8, 2025, Hasenstab 002

Juan Cole is the Richard P. Mitchell Collegiate Professor of History, University of Michigan. His fields of study include Middle East and Islamic History, Muslim South Asia, Transregional currents, and Social and cultural history. He earned his B.A. in History & Literature of Religions from Northwestern University, his M.A. in Arabic Studies from American University in Cairo, and his Ph.D. in Islamic Studies from University of California, Los Angeles.





THE BUKELE MODEL: AUTHORITARIANISM AND PUBLIC SECURITY IN EL SALVADOR A RESEARCH TALK WITH MANUEL MELÉNDEZ-SÁNCHEZ

Monday, May 19, 2025, Multicultural Center B019



Manuel Meléndez-Sánchez's research examines contemporary challenges to democratic institutions in Latin America, with a focus on Central America and Mexico. His dissertation explores the causes and consequences of efforts by criminal organizations to influence elections. He was a 2022-23 USIP and Minerva Peace and Security Scholar and a graduate of the University of Oxford and Harvard College. Manuel was born and raised in El Salvador.

A NECESSARY CHOICE? HOUSING CRISIS AND VAN DWELLING IN CORNWALL, UK WITH KAREN SCOTT, UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

Monday, May 19, 2025, Multicultural Center B019



In the last few years there has been a sharp increase in van dwelling in the UK. This led to a local planning crisis in a small sea-side town in Cornwall, UK in summer 2022. Due to austerity policies, Brexit, Covid 19, climate, cost of living and housing crises, most people are living in vehicles partly or wholly out of 'necessity'. This does not match how van dwelling is evaluated in relation to institutional duties of care where 'necessity' is a differently understood term. Many van dwellers are actively seeking to live more sustainably yet testimonial and hermeneutical injustice due to negative stereotyping and outdated development norms hinder democratic possibilities for re-imagining and actualizing sustainable living.

POSC/IR ANNUAL SENIOR DINNER

Wednesday, May 28, 2025, Great Hall

A semi-formal reception, dinner, and keynote address with student recognition, gifts, and group photo



POSC/IR ANNUAL ICE CREAM SOCIAL

Thursday, May 29, 2025, Hasenstab Terrace

Come enjoy an ice cream bar, get your POSC sticker, and t-shirts.



Meet Our '25-'26 Student Departmental Advisers

Student Departmental Advisers (SDAs) are a select group of students whose primary function is to provide fellow students with accurate information about courses, prerequisites, college requirements, registration procedures and other basic academic information, especially in their own departments. In addition, they provide information from their own experience which, presented as objectively as possible, can help students make appropriate choices for themselves.

These student advisers receive training to familiarize them with the academic information they need and ways of presenting this information. In some departments, SDAs also organize social events, host visitors, produce a department newsletter, design a department t-shirt, or do other tasks to strengthen the relationships among majors and/or between majors and departmental faculty.

SDAs are not assigned to specific students as advisers, but rather are available as a resource to all students, especially new students, who want to talk to a knowledgeable and experienced upperclass student about courses and registration. They supplement those formal advising systems already in effect. Faculty advisers, RAs, and OPLs have a list of the SDAs and may call upon them as needed.



Political Science & International Relations Major Public Policy Minor

Model United Nations Treasurer, Alexander Hamilton Society at Carleton President, Japanese Circle Writing Consultant, Speech Coach Mortar Board

"My experience in the Political Science and International Relations department has been one of the most enriching and defining aspects of my life at Carleton. As a student with a particular interest in foreign policy, I have found the department to be an incredible place for intellectual growth. The wide range of courses taught by caring and engaging professors with diverse expertise, as well as the department's events and Off-Campus Studies, has allowed me to explore my interests from both theoretical and realworld perspectives. Countless readings, conversations with professors, and class discussions have equipped me with tools to understand today's U.S. and international societies, as well as to navigate an increasingly complex world. As an SDA, I am excited to help other students discover the remarkable opportunities this department offers."



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Meet Our '25-'26 Student Departmental Advisers



Nicholas Nguyen '26



"From the curriculum in an American history classroom to the healthcare we provide for seniors, the implications of political decisions touch every aspect of our lives. For me personally, as a pre-medicine and political science student, I am especially interested in the ways in which government policies influence patient care and our nation's public health. I was fortunate enough to witness this firsthand as a healthcare and agriculture intern in Senator Tina Smith's office. At Carleton, through taking political science and politics-aligned courses, we can analyze and comprehend the ramifications of the choices that were made in offices like the one I was part of. By doing this, we can partake in the incredible art of sharing wisdom and knowledge while also knowing a little bit more about the place we inhabit. I am happy to talk about my experience as well as help my peers from within and outside of the political science department!"





Amelia Hidebrandt '27

Political Science & International Relations Major Chinese Major

Lacrosse Club (Women's) NOVA Ultimate Frisbee Team Special Events Planner, Student Activities Program'g Board

"Ever since I was a kid, I knew I wanted to pursue a career that would allow me to make a meaningful difference in the lives of others. While I quickly ruled out the medical field due to my fear of needles and blood, my interest in politics—and how decisions made at the highest levels directly impact communities—has only grown stronger over time. Choosing to major in Political Science was a natural step. Through this department, I've gained not only a deeper understanding of global systems and political theories, but also the practical tools to advocate for my community, promote civic engagement, and ensure that those around me stay informed and empowered. Political Science has shown me that creating change doesn't always happen from a podium—it can start in a classroom, a conversation, or a local initiative."



These Political Science majors earned honors across campus. Students here are Class of 2025 unless otherwise noted.

DISTINCTION IN INTEGRATIVE EXERCISES (COMPS)



Patrick Assali
Evaluating Identity-Based
Federalism in Lebanon and
Ethiopia



Servon Hinton
A Theoretical and Qualitative Analysis
of the Carceral State & Second-Class
Citizenship (i.e Being a Felon) in
America



Theo BorowskiA Lack of Pluralism: How
Christian Nationalism Imminently
Threatens Democracy



Semera Kimbel-Sannit
Bridging the Trust Gap: The Role of
Partisanship, Identity, and Localism in
the Decline of Faith in American
Government



Meredith Caldwell
An Eye for an Eye: How Weber's
Protestant Work Ethic and ZeroSum Losses Influence Racial
Resentment



George Lefkowicz
A Pinballing Political Force: An
Analysis of the Causal Pathways of
Populist Recurrence



Julia Dunn
In Need of Transformational
Women: Theorizing the Substantive
Representation of Women's Issues
by Female Parliamentarians in
Anglophone Caribbean



Anouushka Mallik Hindu Nationalism of the BJP: How a Party Captured the Nation



Dylan Fox-ArnoldWho Defines the Truth? Populists'
Post-Electoral Challenges to Media
Independence



Garrett Pauly
Analyzing Populist Appeals to the
Working Class: On Fox News in 2016,
2020, and 2024



Scott GevurtzAristotle's Nicomachean Ethics and the Journey to Self-Knowledge



Max Serota
Autocratic Radicalization: The
Strategic Choices of Autocratic
Executives and the Death of
Democracy



Robert Healy
The American Prosperity Fund:
How Sovereign Wealth Funds
Impact Inequality



Mia Strubel Iram
"My Feminism Can't Be Divided":
Advocating for Feminist Peace in
Kosovo and Palestine-Israel



MORTAR BOARD

NATIONAL COLLEGE SENIOR HONOR SOCIETY

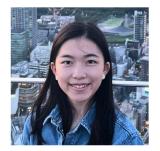
MORTAR BOARD is a national honor society that recognizes students who have combined distinguished scholarship, leadership, and service to their colleagues and College Community.



Julia Nicole Dunn



Anoushka Mallik



Manoka Kozaki '26



Ruth Matondo '26



U.S. Student Program

The **FULBRIGHT U.S. STUDENT PROGRAM** awards fellowships to college seniors and recent graduates to pursue independent research, graduate study, or English teaching in over 160 different countries around the world.



Samantha Ulicny



The PHI BETA KAPPA Society

PHI BETA KAPPA is a national honorary scholastic fraternity founded in 1776. The Carleton chapter was established in 1913 and elects its membership from students who rank in the highest 15 percent of their graduating class and meet other prescribed criteria.



Julia Nicole Dunn



Dylan Fox-Arnold



Robert Healy



Maxwell Serota



Samantha Ulicny



Eric Yuan

SCOTT TYLER BERGNER PRIZE

This prize recognizes members of the senior class who have outstanding academic records and who have demonstrated excellence of thought and character. This prize was established in 1978 to honor the memory of Scott Tyler Bergner, son of Jeffrey T. Bergner '69 and Susan D. Bergner '69.



Julia Nicole Dunn

DACIE MOSES AWARD

Established by the Alumni Association to celebrate the warmth, generosity, and hospitality of Candace K. "Dacie" Moses, who contributed so much to the lives of Carleton students, this award is given each year to the senior or seniors who most exemplify the characteristics of Dacie Moses.



Victoria L. Kindall

SECOND CENTURY STUDENT AWARD

This award was established to honor Carleton students who have made an outstanding contribution to the College through significant service to others. The award is not intended to recognize academic or political success, but rather to honor service on or off campus that enriches and strengthens the institution and the lives of its members.



Graci Mae Huff



Maxwell Serota

STIMSON PRIZE

This prize was founded in 1873 by Carleton trustee Reverend Henry A. Stimson to encourage public speech. It is awarded to students who contribute most to the quality of debate or public speaking at the College.



Anoushka Mallik

MARY WIESE ENDOWED PRIZE

Established in 1992 to honor the memory of Carleton employee and parent Maria "Mary" Eugenia Wiese, this prize honors Wiese's respect for education, her profound love for students, and her understanding of the place of education in our futures. Qualities Wiese valued in others and that formed the core of her own character were cultural pride, kindness, perseverance, self-reliance, discipline, and respect and care for other people. This prize is awarded to graduating seniors who embody the above qualities and who have demonstrated perseverance in overcoming challenging circumstances. To honor the pride Wiese had in her Latino culture, preference is given to Latino students.



Theo Borowski

HONORS IN MUSIC PERFORMANCE

This award celebrates music students, both majors and nonmajors, for excellence in performance and significant contributions as performers.



Elsa Snowbeck

LEE SIGELMAN PRIZE

The Lee Sigelman Prize honors Professor of Political Science Lee Sigelman, who graduated from Carleton in 1967 and served as the editor-in-chief of the American Political Science Review from 2001-2007. The prize recognizes the best paper written by a junior political science major.



Bea Culligan '26

DALE AND ELIZABETH HANSON FELLOWSHIP IN ETHICS

This fellowship, made possible through the generosity of Dale Hanson '60 and Elizabeth Hanson, supports student research in the field of ethics. Hanson Fellows partner closely with faculty members, and are expected to produce an academic paper, public presentation, or other product based on their research at the conclusion of the fellowship.



David Fulguera '26

PAUL AND LYNN KELLEY INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP

The **Kelley Fellowship** was created to honor Paul and Lynn Kelley, who have done a great deal to support and promote cultural understanding, including medical travels to Central America, years-long service to indigenous and tribal peoples, AIDS work, and much more. The fund is intended to support students with financial need who are doing research fellowships abroad.



Julia Nicole Dunn

EMILY T. MONTGOMERY '00 MEMORIAL FELLOWSHIP

This fellowship was established in memory of Emily T. Montgomery '00, an English major and an active member of the campus community. Emily's trip to Honduras on a Carleton fellowship was a pivotal one in her academic career. This fellowship will support students wishing to pursue fellowships in Latin or South America.



Trinity Hanif '26

WEITZ FELLOWSHIP

The Weitz Fellows Program, established by Wally Weitz '70 and Barbara Weitz '70, provides one-year opportunities for Carleton graduates at nonprofit organizations in Omaha and Lincoln, Nebraska. The fellowship positions offer holistic, well-rounded experiences in operations through hands-on, practical learning experiences in arts management, community engagement, non-profit management, and/or social change.



Julia Nicole Dunn



Michaela Strubel Iram

PROFESSOR ROY F. GROW FELLOWSHIP FUND

Established in 2014, the Professor Roy F. Grow Fellowship Fund celebrates the career and life of Roy F. Grow, the Frank B. Kellogg Professor of International Relations. Created by Michael Hasenstab '95 and Mary Ann Hasenstab, and contributed to by many students, colleagues, family, and friends of Roy, the fund supports student fellowship and research opportunities in Asia.



Professor Roy Grow

Benjamin Garcia '26 - Political Science/International Relations

Adriel J. Barham '26 - Studio Art
George Donald Conlan - History
Gabriel M. Kaplan - Geology
Angelina Gao Ia Kong '26 - Mathematics
Joshua Yun-Ming Lee '26 - Computer Science, Music
Nathaniel Li - Computer Science
Ryosuke Mega '26 - Statistics
Jose Ortega - Biology
Allen Perales - Biology
Edith Reyes Contreras - Biology
Danielle Aries Reynoso - American Studies
Yixuan Shen - Computer Science and Statistics
Lizzet Solache Salgado - Chemistry
Bennet Chianoh Tefu - Cinema and Media Studies
Noelle Tian Wang - Phyics
Changwoo Yu '26 - Computer Science



Benjamin Garcia '26

OFF CAMPUS STUDY: SOUTHEAST ASIA

By Will Clausman '26

Although my flight from Suvarnabhumi International Airport touched down at MSP (after a layover in Seoul-Incheon) seven months ago now, I feel like I *just* had my first breakfast in Bangkok. My time in Southeast Asia was part of Dr. Tun Myint's Political Ecology and Economy of Southeast Asia, a Carleton-sponsored Off-Campus Study ('OCS') program. While this OCS was done through the political science department, it departed from many of the traditionally quantitative aspects of political science, and was largely grounded in qualitative methodology and observation rather than strict reliance on graphs and csy files.



Near Vang Vieng; Lao PDR in the background

This OCS focused in part on the relationship, contradictions, and interplay between marketization and rural Southeast Asia, seeking to understand the relationship of the market to wider society. Of course, these issues are not solely present in Southeast Asia, they manifest here in the United States, too. This program allowed me to create a framework to analyze marketization's impact on various facets of life here, including organized labor and technological displacement, which has allowed me to better understand the current political and social moment.

However, It would be a disservice to my experience to solely talk about "frameworks" and "relationships" as while discussions about capitalism and markets were an important aspect of the program, it was less than five percent of the learning and experience that I had while in Southeast Asia. The other 95% came from activities such as working on a farm, spreading concrete to help repair a temple, cooking food, or going fishing. I do not think that I will ever eat food as fresh and filling as the food that I had in Ban Naxay, the small village in Laos that I called home for the better part of two weeks. It would be the experience of living in a broader community that still largely looked out for one another, and that was deliberately working towards a better future for all that is what still sticks with me.



Meals such as stews, spiced meats, soups, fish and fresh vegetables were all mainstays of our time in the villages, like this dinner from Ban Naxay, Lao PDR.



Tea is a staple of agriculture in upland Southeast Asia. This house cat in Ban Samakhikao, a small Akha village in Northern Thailand, sits at a table drinking tea out of a traditionally made bamboo cup.

These experiences, which were referred to collectively as "learning while doing", reflect the necessity of getting dirt underneath your fingernails (often literally) to fully and concretely understand the current sociopolitical moment. While we had no shortage of great secondary scholarship to draw from to help contextualize the moment and locale (James C. Scott and Janet C. Sturgeon's works come to mind), we truly could not learn without investigating or living in rural villages in Southeast Asia. Of course, we didn't navigate these experiences alone or solely with other group members. Many translators, from our program assistant, to local translators, workers, and people eager to extend a hand to help. I could not have understood 1% of our time in Southeast Asia without their help, and for that I would like to extend a sincere thank you. In a way, it is these relationships that were the most important thing gained from this experience.

To anyone reading these words who is considering visiting Southeast Asia, or going on an OCS, I would state that my experience of learning while doing made me a better scholar, thinker, and human being, though that process was not given to me. Rather, that process was earned through hard work, relationships, and truly keeping my mind open to what was going on. The experience was well worth the difficulty of thought that was required to get the most out of it. If you are prepared for hard work and critical thinking, and want to learn more about the world outside of our Carleton bubble, then both of these experiences are absolutely worth considering.



Although much of our work centered around life in rural Southeast Asia, we also visited places across the region known for their beauty and awe, such as Angkor Wat in Cambodia.



The mountains surrounding Ban Naxay village, in the Vang Vieng District, Laos. During the wet season, these fields are used for sticky rice production.

BARBARA ALLEN

James Woodward Strong Professor of Political Science and the Liberal Arts

This year Barbara traveled to Tokyo with Carls Alec Coy-Bjork '27 (Cinema and Media Studies, Music) and Karin Grevstad-Nordbrock '27 (Religion) to attend events of Technos International Week, a Carleton collaboration with Technos College and seven sister schools from the US, UK, and New Zealand. Barbara also gave lectures on political communication at the University of Luxembourg and the University of Leuven, Belgium.

She published "Some Truths about Lies—Misinformation and Inequality in Policy Making and Politics" with co-author Lindsay Flynn in Securing Democracies: Defending Against Cyber Attacks and Disinformation in the Digital Age, Scott J. Shackelford, Frédérick Douzet, and Christopher Ankersen, eds. Cambridge University Press. Barbara and co-author Dan Stevens (University of Exeter) are working with current majors and alumni on an edited volume, *America's Window on the World – How Local Television News Covers Politics and Elections* to be published by Springer Nature in fall 2026. The book covers the local election news coverage that Barbara and many Carleton students have studied from Election 2000 to Election 2024.

In the past year she and Bjorn Holtey '23 presented papers from this study co-authored with other students and alumni at several conferences including the American Political Science Association, the Midwest Political Science Association, the International Communication Association, and the International Society of Political Psychology.



Prof Allen with the statue of elephant Hanako at Kichijoji Station in Tokyo



And, in the Good Nature Hotel, Kyoto, Japan

LAURENCE COOPER Professor of Political Science

Last summer Laurence Cooper published an essay called "Freedom Well Understood" in the journal, National Affairs. In the spring of this year he published a chapter called "The Philosopher as Natural Man" in an edited volume, Natural Man, Citizen, Philosopher: The Political Philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (ed. Will Jordan, Mercer University Press). He has also begun work on a new book aimed at restoring the idea of Nature as a source of standards and guidance for our lives.

On the personal side, it was a year full of family weddings, including his son Abe's (who a few of you alumni babysat), plus an engagement -- his own, to the lovely Jessica Keating, (Chair and Associate Professor of Art History at Carleton).



Newly engaged Profs Jessica Keating and Laurence Cooper

AL MONTERO Director of Public Policy Frank B. Kellogg Professor of Political Science

Prof Montero continues his research on political polarization in Argentina and Brazil. He developed a new working paper that employs events data to show patterns of elite-level polarization in Argentina from 2003 to 2023, up to the election of Javier Milei. He presented the work at the International Political Science Association (IPSA) meeting in Seoul, South Korea in July 2025.



Prof Montero at the Gyeongbokgung Palace in Seoul

Prof. Montero continues work with new data derived from journalistic sources in Brazil and Argentina to show distinct expectations among elites concerning the threats to democracy posed by Jair Bolsonaro (Brazil) and Javier Milei (Argentina) leading up to their elections to the presidency.

During the summer, he learned a new software package, WordStat, to analyze thousands of articles in Spanish and Portuguese. Finally, he will return to Asia in early December for a study trip in Shanghai as part of his preparations for teaching comparative public policy and political economy in the winter term.

GREG MARFLEET

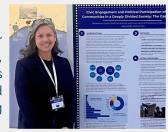
Dorothy H. and Edward C. Congdon Professor of Political Science

Prof Marfleet continued work on a project using the natural language processing power of AI to explore the emergence and spread of non-traditional security priorities in the foreign policy and national security strategy documents of countries around the world. He presented this research, focused on the US NSS documents series, last fall at the joint International Studies - International Security Studies conference in Pittsburg. He also enlisted the aid of his students in the Foreign Policy Analysis seminar to expand this data and conduct reliability tests using alternative units of analysis.

DEV GUPTA

Professor of Political Science

Professor Gupta spent the past year in Cyprus as a Fulbright Scholar where she worked with organizations representing marginalized groups, including domestic workers, asylum seekers, and Turkish Cypriots denied citizenship rights, to better understand how they mobilize and engage in advocacy in a divided society. In addition to conducting interviews, news analysis, and direct observations, she gave talks about



her research at several workshops, including at the University of Cyprus, Eastern Mediterranean University, Near East University, and the University of Essex. She also presented at a Fulbright-sponsored conference on politics of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Mobilization Conference on Social Movements at San Diego State University. In addition, she spent several weeks in Northern Ireland in the summer to continue data collection on her project investigating how political party manifestos have started to address non-sectarian issues over time.

TUN MYINT Professor of Political Science

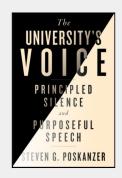
Tun Myint directed Political Economy and Ecology of Southeast Asia Off-Campus Study program in the Winter 2025 term (see page 22 for more). He edited two issues of the *Independent Journal of Burmese Scholarship*, www.ijbs.org last year, and is the lead issue editor of the special edition on the collapse of Sit Tat, https://ijbs.online/journal-issues/2025-vol-5-300/-9/, which will be published this fall 2025. Prof Myint was invited by the Princeton University Press to write a forward for the paperback edition of James C. Scott's *Two Cheers for Anarchism* that was published in July.

He will be on sabbatical through Winter term 2026 conducting research on Mississippi River governance focusing on the removals of the Lower St. Anthony Falls Lock and Dam (LSAF) and Lock and Dam No. 1 (Ford Dam) in Minneapolis.

STEVE POSKANZER

Professor of Political Science & President Emeritus

Steve Poskamzer's book, *The University's Voice: Principled Silence and Purposeful Speech*, is being published by Johns Hopkins University Press this fall. It is the first book-length treatment of the question of whether (and, if so, when) it is appropriate for colleges and universities to take formal institutional stances on political, economic, moral and social disputes. This topic has become very prominent and even more important in light of the internal pressures and external attacks on American higher education.



Steve has also just completed an article on "Stances in Defense of Institutional Academic Freedom" for inclusion in a collection of essays on *Academic Freedom in the Age of Trump*, which is expected to be published next year by Oxford University Press.

MIHAELA CZOBOR-LUPP

Chair of Political Science and International Relations Professor of Political Science

Mihaela Czobor-Lupp published: "The Role of the Senses in the Education of the Whole Person: Herder's Holistic Humanism," The European Legacy: Toward New Paradigms, special issue dedicated to Johann Gottfried Herder, published online, July 16 2025; "Undoing 'East' and 'West' in Orhan Pamuk's Novels: 'A Novelist's Politics' and the Idea of Europe," College Literature, 52.2, Spring 2025, and "Art and Humanism in the Work of Tzvetan Todorov," Dialogue and Universalism, 35 (2), 2024.



Prof Czobor-Lupp at the Art Nouveau train station in Instanbul, Turkey

This summer, Mihaela and her husband spent several weeks in Turkey. (See more on Page 5.)

CHRISTINA FARHART

Associate Professor of Political Science

Christina Farhart spent a large portion of the summer co-chairing the 2025 annual meeting of the International Society of Political Psychology in Prague, where she was inspired by the conversations and scholarship revolving politics globally and in the U.S. She continues to study the relationship between misinformed beliefs, conspiracy theories, and other consequential political beliefs and behaviors. Two of her most recent publications have been in partnership with the global Many Labs study "Trust in Science and Science-Related Populism" published with Nature Human Behavior and Scientific Data. Moreover, she published an article in Political Behavior, "Losers' Conspiracy: Elections and Conspiracism" and recently shared her work in the American Politics Colloquium at the University of Minnesota. She has enjoyed her guest appearances on radio and podcast programs over the last year, such as MPR News with Angela Davis, and looks forward to upcoming conversations. In conjunction with Professor Ethan Struby in Economics, their work on misinformed beliefs of the economy and perceptions of inflation will serve as a basis for their upcoming co-taught course in Winter 2026. She looks forward to the 2025-2026 academic year!

SUMMER FORESTER

Associate Professor of Political Science

Summer Forester continues to research how feminist movements affect state action on women's rights. Most recently, Professor Forester – along with colleagues at Simon Fraser University – received a partnership award from UN Women to update the Feminist Mobilization Index. This Index, the most robust and comprehensive quantitative dataset on feminist movements, measures three dimensions of activism – presence, autonomy and strength— and combines them into a single indicator of feminist mobilization covering 126 countries from 1975 to 2015. The UN Women partnership will support Professor Forester and her colleagues in updating the index to 2025 and then analyzing how feminist movements affect a range of issues including violence against women and economic inequality.

Beyond this project, Professor Forester continues to research gender equality machinery in the global south, especially Jordan, and will present new research at the 2025 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

Earlier in 2025, Professor Forester co-authored and presented a paper, "Conflict & Feminist Mobilization: Lessons from Kosovo," with Mia Strubel Iram '25 and George Lefkowicz '25 at the annual meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.

This fall, Professor Forester is participating in a teaching exchange with Exeter University and will serve as a visiting professor at the Penryn Campus in Cornwall, UK.



Mia Strubel Iram '25, George Lefkowicz '25, and Prof Forester MPSA, Chicago IL



Profs Forester & Allen at the Old Cedar Bridge Trailhead, Bloomington, MN

HUAN GAO

Assistant Professor of Political Science

Next year, Prof Gao will be on sabbatical. She'll be based at Shandong University in China and traveling across the country to conclude work for her book project, *State Power in Disaster-stricken Cities*. She's also looking ahead to 2026, when she will organize the Politics of China section at the Midwest Political Science Association (MPSA) conference.



Prof Gao at Peyto Lake in the Canadian Rockies

RYAN DAWKINS

Assistant Professor of Political Science

Ryan Dawkins spent the summer feverishly advancing a research agenda he started during his first term at Carleton. He has an R&R at Political Behavior on a co-authored paper on affective representation in Congress, a paper that bridges the divide between behavioral research in emotions in politics and congressional representation. The paper offers a 'vibes' theory of politics. He also submitted a paper for peer review that explores the social boundaries between race, partisanship, and rural resentment.



Prof Dawkins and Adrianna enjoying dinner in Denver, CO.

However, his most significant achievement from this summer is that he finished a complete draft of his book, tentatively titled "Identity and Asymmetrical Party Politics in America". There is some initial interest from the University of Chicago Press, but plan to shop it at Princeton, Oxford, and Cambridge, as well.

Beyond that, Ryan made progress on several projects with undergraduate co-authors, including a paper on Christian nationalism that he will present at conferences this coming academic year.

JON OLSON SIT Investment Chair

Jon Olson remains engaged in teaching, writing, and supporting numerous causes. His eleventh novel with co-author David Bruns, *Line of Succession*, was released in September 2025. Jon and David are already putting the finishing touches on the twelfth novel, *Weapons Free*, and have begun writing the thirteenth novel, *Alpha Strike*. Both *Weapons Free* and *Alpha Strike* will launch in 2026.



He returns to the Humphrey School of Public Affairs to lead the International Strategic Crisis Negotiation Exercise in fall 2025, and he'll be teaching the US Intelligence Community course at the graduate level in spring 2026. Jon often provides lectures on national security topics as part of Global Minnesota's "Great Decisions Speaker Series," and he remains active in politics.

Jon and his wife, Melissa, continue to donate monthly to all manner of animal rescue groups, doing their part to put dogs into good, forever homes.

EMERITI FACULTY UPDATE

NORMAN VIG '61

Winifred and Atherton Bean Professor of Science, Technology, and Society, Emeritus

"I'm still doing well at 86, living in Roseville, CA, just north of Sacramento. I made a trip to NYC in June for my brother's memorial service and spent several days in Minnesota, including Northfield. Sorry I didn't get to see any of my old colleagues, but hope to be back next summer.

Needless to say I am dismayed at the political situation of this country!



But I'm so glad that the ENTS program I started at Carleton is still going strong and has expanded to the whole college."

POLISCI SWAG AVAILABLE



T-SHIRTS \$15 S, M, gray only avail



T-SHIRTS - \$15 S-2XL, blue, green, pink & yellow avail



SWEATSHIRTS \$30 S-XXL, gray hoodies & crewnecks available

We have a surplus of the items shown including t-shirts and sweatshirts. All proceeds will go to the PoliSci Gift Fund. Please email jbuchwald@carleton.edu for order information.

In mid-July, we asked alumni to update us on their lives. Here is what they had to say.



Marjorie Parker'60

I am a retired organizational consultant who has lived and worked in Norway since 1966. During the last few years I have co-authored two books: Creating Futures that Matter Today - Facilitating Change through Shared Vision by Anna Pool and myself. (See Amazon.com) This book has recently been translated to Norwegian. The previous book is only in Norwegian: Dialog - en praktisk veileder (Dialogue- a practical guide).

Richard Zorn '65

Retired Foreign Service Officer

Bill Craig '66

Retired this year after ten years as a Senior Advisor (volunteer job) with the International City/County Mgmt Assoc. (ICMA). My career included working as a city manager and county administrator. Still have ten other things I volunteer for, although at my age I don't know how much good I do!

Dennis Johnson'66

I retired, as professor emeritus, from George Washington University in 2014. At GW, I was associate dean and director of the Master of Arts in Legislative Affairs program. I was also a Fulbright professor in China during the 2010-2011 academic year, and earlier, in 2000-2002 was the recipient of a major grant from the Pew Charitable Trust to examine how members of Congress could utilize the new communication tool, websites. (How far we've come since then!) One of my books, Congress Online: Bridging the Gap Between Citizens and Their Representatives (Routledge, 2004), was a product of that two-year Pew grant.

Since "retirement," I've managed to write three new books: Democracy for Hire: A History of American Political Consulting (Oxford, 2017); Campaigns, Elections and the Threat to Democracy: What Everyone Needs to Know (Oxford, 2019 and second edition 2022); and American Public Policy: Federal Domestic Policy Achievements and Failures, 1901 to 2022 (Routledge, 2023). I've also written a third edition of Political Consultants and American Elections (Routledge, 2015), a second edition of Campaigning in the Twenty-First Century (Routledge, 2016), and co-edited Campaigning for President, 2016 (Routledge, 2017).

I've also published a novel, The Branson Constitution (Gilpin Street Scribes, 2023), using the nom de plume, D.W. Johnson. This book pokes fun at the effort to have a second Constitutional Convention, held in Branson, Missouri.

Most exciting is my latest effort! Two weeks from now, my new book We're Number One!? America's Uncertain Place in the World (Routledge) will be published. Along with the book is a website, www.werenumber.one, which updates all the critical domestic policy activities during the new administration.

Both the book and the website demonstrate where the US ranks in its domestic public policy when compared to other industrialized democratic countries. The evidence is not pretty: in so many critical areas—like healthcare, eliminating poverty, taking care of the homeless, education, combating addiction, and so forth—the US is embarrassingly behind its peers. I've drawn upon studies conducted by over 30 international agencies and institutions. All the rankings featured in the book come from recent years and, most importantly, were published before the wrecking ball of the second Trump administration. The website gives a thumbnail account of each of these rankings and provides a running account of Trump's erratic and destructive actions. When the time comes for new annual rankings, they will be featured in this website. The website also gives us information about which countries are doing better and gives examples of what other countries have done. Further, I have provided a PowerPoint presentation and a suggested script that readers can download and share with their friends and colleagues.

Clayton (Clay) Russell '66

I was on Carleton's last Midwest Conference championship basketball team (1965-66). Periodically, I still like to shoot 3-pointers (which they didn't have back then). Anyway, several months ago, I learned that the National Senior Games were to be held in Des Moines, IA, the last week of July. I contacted someone I had played with eight years ago and he got me on his team once I registered. Anyway, the good news:

- 1. Our team won a silver medal in the age 80 to 84 bracket
- 2. I averaged 5 three-pointers per game over the five games we played and was the high scorer on our team.
- 3. While I disappointed myself, I did win a bronze medal in 3-point shooting from five different spots.

John Mollenkopf '67

Carleton was not exactly the right launching pad to study urban politics, but that is what I have been doing for the last almost 60 years. It has been tremendously stimulating and fulfilling -- and now we get to see what happens with a socialist Democratic nominee for mayor.

John Williams '68

Retired Captain/USN

Joanne 'Joanie' Henjum '69

I'm again a grandparent: Myles was born in Seattle one year ago!

Tangentially related to my government/IR degree: Some time ago... I spent 7 years working in community development in the Marshall Islands, in an aboriginal community in the outback of Western Australia and in South Korea way back in 1977. We supported people to envision what they'd like to create in and for their community, and then worked side by side to make it happen. Sometimes it looked like accessing regional services, other times training in basic things like bookkeeping or preschool/elementary educational methods or training in machine repair. Key to our way of working was giving the message that local people are capable of transforming their own communities.

1970-1979

Ken Ehrman '73

In 2020 I retired from the faculty of Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary in Evanston, Illinois (where I taught leadership and was Director of Field Education) and moved to Napa, California. Here I volunteer with a group that is in the process of building a 46 unit workforce housing project in downtown Napa.

Heidi Schmidt '77

After over 45 years of work to explore and advance the policies, technologies, deployment and financing of low-carbon strategies through a variety of jobs primarily in the public and NGO sectors, I retired at the beginning of June. While I am much enjoying some time off that includes increased playtime with grandchildren, I am thinking about what re-engagement in the climate fight will be for me in 2026. Paul Wellstone was a seminal teacher, mentor and friend for me whose voice runs through my brain daily as I ponder what, where, how and when successful intergenerational organizing can and should be at this most distinct moment in history. Paul would much applaud the work of Carleton alums Leah Greenberg and Ezra Levin and their group *Indivisible*, to be sure. Perhaps the architecture needed is already in place for scaled mobilization.

David B. Hunt, J.D. '78

David Hunt is the Senior Director for Health Equity for BCT Partners and leads the firm's national health care consulting practice. BCT Partners is a Black-owned, management consulting and training firm that specializes in diversity, equity, and inclusion. Prior to joining BCT, David served as the President and CEO of Critical Measures, a national management consulting and training firm that specialized in health equity matters. A former employment law and civil rights attorney, David is nationally known for his expertise in:

Racial and Ethnic Disparities and Other Health Equity Issues: In 2017, David was selected by the American Hospital Association as its national consultant for the #123forEquity Program. Over 1,800 American hospitals are now participating in this program to reduce racial and ethnic disparities. In 2019 and again in 2020, David was selected by America's Essential Hospitals to train hospital leaders from over 50 leading urban hospitals on health equity issues. David was also twice selected by the National Blue Cross Blue Shield Association as its national consultant on health equity matters.

Cultural Competence in Health Care – In 2022, under Mr. Hunt's leadership, BCT Partners was selected by the Department of Health and Human Services' (DHHS) Office of Minority Health to manage and create new educational content for its Think Cultural Health website, which has enrolled more than a million learners to date. (Formerly, David partnered with physicians from the Harvard Medical School to create, license and sell the nation's first CME accredited elearning program on cultural competence for doctors and nurses. Over 350,000 providers have now been trained on this program.) Together with physician experts from the CDC and WHO, David created BCT's industry-leading Provider Cross-Cultural Medical Assessment. This tool has now been administered to over 8,000 providers across nine states and can be used to benchmark the clinical performance of hospital systems and physicians when treating a wide variety of non-traditional patient populations.

The Law of Language Access – David is one of the nation's leading experts on the law of language access in healthcare. He has delivered national webinars on this topic for both the ABA and the AMA, published articles in leading medical journals and textbooks and regularly conducts language access audits for leading hospital systems. In 2024, Hunt delivered two national webinars for GLOBO on the new Biden Administration ACA Section 1557 regulations.

Global Medicine - In the aftermath of the Ebola epidemic, David collaborated with Anthem and leading medical experts to create the nation's first CME accredited e-learning program on global medicine. Over 2,000 physicians have improved their clinical skills after taking this program. In 2019-20, Hunt worked with the University of Minnesota's Global Health Pathways Program to examine whether physicians who have received graduate medical training in global medicine are demonstrably better prepared than other physicians to treat immigrants, refugees, Limited English Proficient patients, and international travelers than conventionally trained physicians. The fruits of this research were published in a leading medical journal in the fall of 2021.

Lisa A. Robinson '79

Ms. Robinson serves as Deputy Director of the Center for Health Decision Science and as core faculty of the Center for Climate, Health, and the Global Environment (C-CHANGE), and is also affiliated with the Harvard Center for Risk Analysis and the Department of Environmental Health, at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health. She was previously a Senior Fellow at the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government as well as an Affiliate Fellow of its Regulatory Policy Program at the Harvard Kennedy School. She is a past President of the Society for Benefit-Cost Analysis and served as a Councilor of the Society for Risk Analysis as well as Chair of its Economics and Benefits Analysis Specialty Group. She is on the Editorial Boards of Risk Analysis and the Journal of Benefit-Cost Analysis. (More at https://hsph.harvard.edu/profile/lisa-robinson/)

Drew S. Backstrand '79

I retired from the private equity company with a lower middle market focus I have called home for about 25 years on March 31, 2023 and moved from Eagan, MN to Las Vegas, Nevada. Before that I worked as General Counsel with a company that built phone companies in the U. S,, Europe and Australia. I started my law career as a corporate lawyer for Dorsey Law in Minneapolis, and I was at Green Tree Financial Corporation, a large manufactured home finance company headquartered in St. Paul.

I was contacted by a high school friend of mine that is very entrepreneurial to come out of retirement to join a group of Pulmonary doctors and scientists to take a pulmonary drug (ThyrOxy) developed at the University of Minnesota out to a private start up company. I was their general counsel for a couple of years and now their Chief Executive Officer. Something completely different for me bringing a new drug in clinical trials into the commercial markets with FDA and equivalent approvals by the European equivalent of the FDA. We are now going into a Phase 2b clinical trial for the drug sometime later this year.

My wife Carol and I just got back in May from our first cruise on Virgin Voyages to Greece and Turkey. Life is good.



Dave Johnson '80

Recently completed my 20th year of teaching at Stanford Law School, and 10th year teaching at the d.school (p/k/a The Hasso Plattner Institute of Design at Stanford). Did a hitch last winter term at the National University of Singapore Law School. Otherwise, working with a few startups, foundations and writing about AI in law and education.

L. Jeffrey Blodgett '83

I continue to work in Minnesota politics, helping to elect good statewide leaders who will both push back on and protect our state from the radical and dangerous agenda coming out of the White House.

Jon Darby '83

Retired in 2022 after a 39-year career in the US Intelligence Community, mostly with NSA. Since retirement I became a grandpa, continued to play adult baseball (yes, hardball), and learned to play pickleball. I eased off my work schedule to do part-time consulting and volunteer work (namely as Chairman of the Board for the Defense Intelligence Memorial Foundation, a Foundation that pays post-secondary education expenses for children of fallen intelligence officers in the Department of Defense).

Tim Godfrey '83

After 31 years of practicing law in insurance defense and as a sole practitioner, I just completed my 7th year working with Wolters Kluwer and LegalVIEW BillAnalyzer (LBA). I am an Operations Manager in our Insurance Center of Excellence where we audit electronic legal bills submitted to our insurance clients. I'm enjoying working in this "legal adjacent" role.

Lisa Rasmussen '83

I recently appeared on the television program *Wall Street Week*, talking about the potential for external/private equity investment in the legal industry.

Darryl Magree '86

Living in a bilingual household in Tokyo with an Asia-Pacific role at Abbott is pretty much International Relations every day. The only puzzle is how I ended up in the medical device field; along with serendipity I suppose I should credit Carleton for helping me learn how to learn.

Cindy Kierscht '87

Living in East Africa serving as the U.S. Ambassador to Djibouti for the last ten months exploring the desert and the Red Sea. I previously served in West Africa as U.S. Ambassador to Mauritania for three years. Have a home with an ocean view open for visitors. Stop by if you are in the neighborhood!

Jeff Levy '87

I'm practicing business law in Rhode Island after stints in Minnesota, Massachusetts, and inhouse in Chicago. Politically, I mostly live vicariously through my wife, who was a Rhode Island state senator for 9 years, served in the Biden administration, and is now a senior fellow at The Century Foundation. My two sons have no interest in politics whatsoever; the oldest graduated from Sewanee and lives in Chattanooga, and the youngest is still living at home. No plans to retire but I frequently ask ChatGPT if it's time yet.

Elissa McBride '87

Two recent work projects have direct connections to political science, so I'll share them here. I continue to serve as Secretary-Treasurer of AFSCME, an elected leadership role in the union. Last month I published a blog post about our efforts to achieve heat standard regulations for outdoor workers, using the life-saving results of California legislation as a model: https://www.afscme.org/blog/its-getting-hotter-workers-need-protection-from-the-heat. My interest in state legislation began at Carleton in the 1980s, when I studied the Minnesota Pay Equity bills for my comps. This past weekend I spoke to a group of current and future candidates for elected office about why and how to work with the labor movement. I frequently have the opportunity to connect with candidates through training programs such as Emerge, Emily's List, and New American Leaders. It is one of the great pleasures of my job. I appreciate the foundation I got in the poli sci department!

Heidi Welsh '88

I retired (almost entirely) as of January. Happy to leave the policy world, which has become incredibly messed up.

Kimberlee Bell '89

I am part of the thousands of federal employees who were terminated in the first few months of this Administration. Unfortunately, this ends almost 20 years of public service managing development and humanitarian assistance programming (up to \$1B a year) for 5 administrations in South Africa, Yemen, Syria/Turkey, Liberia, Sri Lanka, West Bank and Gaza, Pakistan, and Washington DC. I am currently finishing up my employment as the USAID Senior Development Advisor to US Central Command in Tampa.



Andy Iseminger '91

Looking forward to first Carleton Reunion in 10 years! So much has happened since 2016. Lots going on, not much to report yet. In the final stages of a Hard Restart. Bugs gone, New Version and Features. It's looking very promising. When you see me, I can update you.

Aaron Dorfman '92

I've been doing my best to help ensure that the philanthropic and nonprofit sectors play a meaningful role in preventing a full-on authoritarian takeover of the United States. I'm still President and CEO of the National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy, a position I've held since early 2007.

Bill McGeveran '92

After serving in an interim role, and being on the faculty since 2006, I was appointed the Dean of the University of Minnesota Law School in 2024. We always have a good number of very talented Carleton grads in our student body, and obviously they are always the best ones. I live in Saint Paul with my wife, Elizabeth (Schuster) McGeveran '92 (Soc/Anthro) and two sons. Nick is at Pomona College -- which tries its best to be Carleton with palm trees -- and Thomas is headed into sophomore year of high school.

Doug Kennedy '95

I am a professor at the University of Minnesota doing community-engaged research on pain management and health disparities (I also teach Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction and Advanced Meditation courses on campus). My team and I are regular volunteers at NorthPoint (they are a named partner on our grant and across the street from where we work--the U of M's University Research and Outreach-Engagement Center--on Minneapolis's North Side). I'm married to Carleton alum Kerry Leigh Bellingham Kennedy (Carleton, 1994; married since 1996) and our 20 year-old is studying epidemiological mathematics. We spend our downtime snowboarding and attending theater performances at American Players Theatre. We just got back from visiting friends and doing wildfire abatement work up in Ely. I'm playing metal guitar as part of a music performance school and will be playing an AC/DC set at a festival this Saturday.

Jeanne Briggs '96

2025 has already been quite a year so far for so many of us. For me as career staff at USAID, it began in January with the news that the new Administration was freezing all U.S. foreign assistance and development aid. One week later, my husband and I had to leave our posting in Kinshasa, DR Congo on ordered departure due to a sudden outbreak of civil unrest and violence targeting the U.S. and other western Embassies. Arriving back in Washington DC, I learned that we were all shut out of our headquarters offices at USAID and that the agency would be abruptly terminated. Fortunately for me, in January I also passed the mark to qualify for a retirement pension. So, in September when the Agency is fully closed, I will unexpectedly pass into a new phase of life that will look very different than what I had planned. Nonetheless we are healthy and safe and thankful to be closer to family now. We're staying in my hometown of Rockville, Maryland to be near my aging parents and help them as needed. I'm not sure yet what my next chapter will look like, but I know that it will continue to involve engagement in democracy and peace-building abroad and now more so at home as well.

Thomas Nelson '98

Married with two kids (and two four-legged kiddos). In my fourth term as county executive (Outagamie County; Appleton-Fox Valley, Wisc). I published my second book this summer, "Wrecked: The Edmund Fitzgerald and the Sinking of the American Economy" (Michigan State University), on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the ship's sinking. (https://msupress.org/9781611865417/wrecked/)

2000-2009

Megan (Clymer) Haddock '01

As of January, I am the new Executive Director of the International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR), an international, interdisciplinary association of people interested in research on civil society, philanthropy, volunteering, the nonprofit sector, social economy, social movements, etc. I love my job because I get to hear about the latest research in the field from around the world, and work sends me on cool international trips every year. I was inspired to pursue this career in Al Montero's comparative politics class, and then in Barbara Allen's class on Alexis de Tocqueville, so thanks Carleton! Outside of work, I single parent my two boys and our new dog, Ricky, and I'm also on the board of directors for our local Little League. Basically, I go to work and to a lot of baseball games:)

Tyler Rogstad '01

In December, Jie (Christina) and I got married. You'll get to meet her at reunion. In July, I started working as a Foreign Policy Advisor at the Pentagon, on loan from the State Department. We'll be living in DC for the next two years.

Chris Heurlin '02

I'll be on leave this year from my position as associate professor of Government and Asian Studies at Bowdoin College and will be joining Carleton as Visiting Sit Investment Chair in the Political Science department for the Fall term! I also recently completed writing my second book, The Enduring Power of Communism: The International Origins of Authoritarian Consolidation, which is forthcoming from Oxford University Press.

P. Daniel O'Hara '05

Dan O'Hara moved to Solomon Islands in June 2025 to serve as deputy chief of mission and chargé d'affaires of U.S. Embassy Honiara. Dan has been a member of the U.S. Foreign Service since 2010, serving postings in Laos, Somalia, China (twice), Pakistan, and Washington, DC (twice). Follow his team's activities at https://sb.usembassy.gov/ or on Facebook at U.S. Embassy Honiara (https://www.facebook.com/share/IBKvqUq2Jw/?mibextid=wwXIfr).

Morgan Weiland '06

Cameron Nordholm ('06) and I moved to Boston in July with our two kids, River (5) and Poppy (2). I started a new role as an Assistant Professor of Communication Law at Boston University College of Communication, with a courtesy appointment at Boston University School of Law. In June, I earned my PhD from Stanford University's Department of Communication, completing the university's first joint JD/PhD with my department. I plan to turn my dissertation, Making Internet Law: How Cyberspace Was Socially Constructed as a First Amendment Speech System, into a book.

Paul Sanderson-Cimino '06

I'm a legal aid lawyer in San Francisco, helping low-income people sue horrible government agencies and witnessing all kinds of horrible POSC theories about corruption and other forms of institutional dysfunction play out in practice.

Cary Tiernan '07

I recently started a new role as Head of Product Marketing, North America, at Xero. Xero is a small business accounting app that is the market leader in Australia (essentially Australia's QuickBooks), but is trying to grow in the US market. I'm tasked with helping my Australian colleagues understand the US consumer so we can build and market to them better, and learning what would make us successful within the US market overall.

Brian Klaas '08

At the risk of very un-Carleton-like immodesty: I was recently promoted to full professor - Professor of Global Politics - at University College London and was also recently named "one of the 25 'Top Thinkers' globally" by Prospect Magazine in the UK. My most recent book, *Fluke*: *Chance, Chaos, and Why Everything We Do Matters*, was named a book of the year by Amazon and by Waterstones in the UK, and was a finalist for an Audie Award (sometimes described as "the Oscars of audiobooks"). I'm also volunteering twice a week as a tour guide at Winchester Cathedral and am taking a group of Carleton alumni around the cathedral this autumn as part of their Jane Austen trip (she's buried in the cathedral).

David Schraub '08 and Jill Rodde '09

David and I welcomed Nathaniel Carl in January (Carl for Carleton, obviously) and are enjoying getting to know our cheerful, independent, determined little guy. Also, David's book, *Deliberation, Dismissal and Democracy* (Oxford University Press) will be released this fall. David's teaching constitutional law at Lewis and Clark Law School while I work in HR strategy at UC Berkeley and maintain a consulting practice on the side.



Chai Lee '09

I work at a nonprofit where I train BIPOC leaders who seek to serve on government boards, committees and commissions. The cohort is called the Boards & Commissions Leadership Institute and the org is Nexus Community Partners. I mark 10 years at this organization this fall. I am also one of the governor's 17 appointees to the Metropolitan Council, serving in my second term. The Met Council is the regional planning body of the Twin Cities that is also responsible for public transit, wastewater treatment, and has its own Housing and Redevelopment Authority (HRA), among other things. I am proud to say there is a small Carleton caucus on the Met Council! I serve on the Met Council with Anjuli Mishra Cameron '07, Toni Carter '75, and Gail Cederberg '77. So proud to serve the state of Minnesota and our region with three other Carleton alumni!

Ellen Tighe '09 and Pablo Kenney '09

Our family (Pablo, Ellen, Gustavo (6 years), Luisa (3 years), Tiny the Cat (12 years) moved from San Francisco, our home of 10 years, to Carlisle, PA (20 miles from Gettysburg, 30 minutes from Harrisburg, and home of Dickinson College). We'll miss SF but are excited for new adventures and to be closer to family. Please reach out if you're ever in our part of the world!



Samir S. Bhala, '12

Aparna and I became engaged on 15 September 2023. The engagement did not last because of my two cancer diagnoses -sarcoma and leukemia - in the ensuing six months. Although I used to work at ALDI CORPORATE (great company and greatest job ever), I left the company to focus on my health.

Clay Dewey-Valentine, 12

I'm entering my 9th year as an elementary school teacher and my 3rd year as a dad. Our family just completed a lovely summer break of hiking, camping, potty training, and more. Sending love to you all!

Julian Wyss, '13

After eight years doing international humanitarian assistance for USAID, I started with the City of Minneapolis Department of Emergency Management in February 2025.

Michael Happ '17

I work at the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy and lead our policy analysis and advocacy around U.S. farm conservation, the Farm Bill, and climate change. Always up to talk to Carls about ag politics in the U.S. We recently released a report on conservation adoption among farmers, and how the Inflation Reduction Act increased access to these federal funds: https://www.iatp.org/keep-the-door-open.

Zizi Li '17

I got married in 2023. We finally went on our delayed honeymoon in Japan in June 2025 for 2 weeks. I also completed my PhD (in film, tv, and digital media) in 2024, and have since been a lecturer at California State University, Long Beach.

Nick Cohen '18

I've recently started a new role as Director of Global Content and Editorial at General Catalyst, a global investment and transformation company with \$36B in assets under management. This comes after four years running a global fellowship program founded by ex-Google CEO Eric Schmidt that convenes emerging leaders in geopolitics and emerging technologies. I'm still based in NYC and always keen to support current students / recent grads!

Matt Thibodeau '18

I am currently finishing the Master in Urban Planning program at the Harvard Graduate School of Design! I've spent this past summer exploring public housing policy, development, and design at the Boston Housing Authority and am excited to continue my involvement in a social housing research project with the Joint Center for Housing Studies throughout the coming year.

Miko Zeldes-Roth '18

I am working on my PhD in political theory at the University of Toronto, and will be at Carleton in February presenting my research, *Jewish Politics After Sovereignty*, to students and faculty.



Jonas Lindholm-Uzzi '20

Working as a Fulbright ETA in Timor-Leste. Teaching English at UNDIL, a university in Timor's capital, Dili. Currently vacationing in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh.

Andrew Dominguez Farias '21

I just finished up my first year as a student at the University of Nebraska College of Law, and completed a clerkship with the ACLU of Nebraska. I also just wrapped up a successful year as the Board President of Star City Pride, where I helped organize Lincoln's LGBTQ+ Pride Parade and Festival for over 4,000 attendees. Lastly, I was recently honored to be nominated by the Mayor of the City of Lincoln and appointed by the Lincoln City Council to serve on the Commission on Women and Gender.

Nate Bauer '24

After graduating in June 2024, I jumped on a congressional campaign in a swing district in upstate New York. I'm happy to say we won by about 8,000 votes. Josh Riley represents New York's 19th Congressional District in the 119th United States Congress, and hopefully serves for many years to come. Congressman Riley is one of just a handful of federal elected officials who doesn't accept corporate PAC money — a campaign promise that I'm sure you'll see become increasingly popular in 2026 and beyond!

I moved to New York City in January, where I joined Brad Hoylman-Sigal's campaign for Manhattan Borough President as his Director of Operations. We won June's Democratic primary by nearly 10%, and have a nominal Republican challenger in the general election. I'm looking forward to sticking around in New York's political world, either on the local or statewide level.

Any current students/recent graduates interested in campaigns should absolutely get in touch with me! My email is natewbauer@gmail.com

Tori Gray'24

I'm in Grad school at School of Global Policy and Strategy at UC San Diego studying international affairs with concentrations in international development and non-profit management and international politics. This summer I'm at the International Rescue Committee as a workforce and integration intern helping new arrivals to the US find jobs. I also competed in the u24 world championships for ultimate frisbee in Spain and won gold with the team USA mixed team!

Aleia Johnson'24

I finished up my Service term with AmeriCorps VISTA, and entered law school in August 2025 at the University of St. Thomas Law. I also adopted a new rescue dog named Sammy!







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Fall 2025 Page 43



COMMENCEMENT June 14, 2025



Carleton College graduated 528 students, including 40 POSC/IR majors, from the Class of 2025 featuring remarks by President Alison Byerly, College Chaplain Schuyler Vogel '07, Julia Dunn '25 (POSC/IR major), Annanya Sinha '25, and Pulitzer Prizewinning journalist Isabel Wilkerson.during its 151st Commencement ceremony, held Saturday, June 14, 2025 on the Bald Spot.



Julia Dunn '25



Annanya Sinha '25



Chaplain Schuyler Vogel '07

"Unexpected Journeys"

"My dear Class of 2025, this road has certainly been a long one, so give yourselves the biggest round of applause for this momentous achievement! Only you know what it took to get to this point, and I hope you feel the deepest pride in your accomplishments. I hope that as we step beyond the Carleton bubble we've cultivated and enter the world, you will also think about the moments where a helping hand or kind gesture made this journey easier. I won't say now more than ever, because I firmly believe we have and will always need community. But I hope that this will animate you to also recognize the role you can play in supporting communities beyond your own [...]."

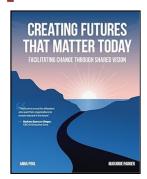
A Love Letter to My Professors

"Despite our differing ideologies, upbringings, social positions, or lived experiences, we share one common thread - a commitment to learning. Whether you learn through loud late-night talks with chicken tenders in Sayles Café, on 4th Libe with friends, in the Anderson Atrium, or at the Japanese Garden by Watson, often at odd hours and in even odder weather, I have felt the power of that shared commitment everywhere at Carleton. I recognize it in each of you sitting here today. I recognize you as changemakers. As students who fight for the freedom to think. And most importantly, as kind people who listen and learn."

Valedictory

"Do not waste this education on yourself alone. It is not meant to be selfishly hoarded, for wealth, ambition, ego. It is meant to serve the world. To alleviate suffering. To bring about justice. It is, in the words of Fredrich Buecher, "to find where your deep gladness and the world's deep hunger meet." It is to apply the life of the mind, the academic rigor of this place, to a world that is longing for your thoughtfulness, kindness, justice, and hope. So remember the words of George Eliot: "What do we live for, if not to make life less difficult for each other?"

the BOOKS, BOOKS, BOOKS we are reading, writing, recommending



Creating Futures that Matter Today - Facilitating Change through Shared Vision

By Marjorie Parker '60 and Anna Pool

Executive Savvy

This book fundamentally reframes the possibilities for how visionary thinking and the creation of shared visions can positively impact an organization's ability to facilitate change.

Whatever kind of change facilitator you are, be it business or NGO leader, internal or external organizational development consultant, coach, or educator, you already know the importance of inspiring change around critical organizational challenges. But you may be tired of investing energy, time and money into change initiatives that are difficult, if not impossible to implement due to a lack of organizational focus and alignment.

This practical step-by-step guide will arm you with tools and strategies for facilitating change through engaging your teams and stakeholders in creating, communicating and implementing shared vision, whether the changes are large, medium or small. It enables you to access a team's innate creative capacity to envision meaningful solutions to critical challenges facing the organization - solutions clear and motivating enough to provide a framework for making decisions today.

There are many books that explain the "whys and how's" of creating and formulating a vision statement. What's missing, however, is a deeper understanding of the real possibilities and broader impacts of visionary thinking as an approach to proactively addressing change. This book is about accessing the collective intelligence of a team to identify challenges and discover new opportunities critical to the future of your organization.



We're Number One!?: America's Uncertain Standing in the World By Dennis W. Johnson '66

Routledge

We're Number One!?: America's Uncertain Standing in the World compares the domestic policies of the United States to other countries across a wide variety of social, political, and economic metrics.

This book demonstrates conclusively that despite America's wealth, its strong economy, its military might, and its soft power dominance, we have far to go in comparison with other democratic, industrialized nations. We may think we're Number One, but in too many key areas—health care, education, combating poverty, protecting the family, and so forth—we fall embarrassingly short. The shock to most readers won't be on one or more specific policy shortcomings, but on the cumulative rankings, chapter after chapter, showing where the United States has come up short. This book presents the facts and leaves to policymakers the challenge: how do we fix our broken health care system, how do we mitigate climate disasters, or how do we rein in gun violence. One answer is to look at the successful policies created in other countries.

A refreshingly frank and thorough analysis of the United States' relative position in the world, this book will appeal to students, scholars, and practitioners of comparative politics, comparative sociology, public policy, social justice, and American government.

the BOOKS, BOOKS, BOOKS we are reading, writing, recommending



Yet Here I Am: Lessons from a Black Man's Search for Home By Jonathan Capehart '89

Grand Central Publishing

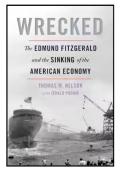
Pulitzer Prize winning writer, editor and TV host Jonathan Capehart recounts powerful stories from his life about embracing identity, picking battles, seizing opportunity and finding his voice.

MSNBC anchor Jonathan Capehart is one of the most recognizable faces in cable news. But long before that success, Capehart spent his boyhood growing up

without his father, shuttling back and forth between New Jersey and rural Severn, North Carolina, and contemplating the complexities of race and identity as they shifted around him. It was never easy bridging two worlds; whether being told he was too smart or not smart enough, too Black or not Black enough, Capehart struggled to find his place. Then, an internship at The Today Show altered the course of his life, bringing him one step closer to his dream. From there, Capehart embarks on a journey of self-discovery.

Yet Here I Am takes us along that journey, from his years at Carleton College, where he learns to embrace his identity as a gay Black man surrounded by a likeminded community; to his decision to come out to his family, risking rejection; and finally to his move to New York City, where time and again he stumbles and picks himself up as he blazes a path to become the familiar face in news we know today.

Honest and endearing, *Yet Here I Am* is an inspirational memoir of identity, opportunity, and finding one's voice and purpose along the way.



Wrecked: The Edmund Fitzgerald and the Sinking of the American Economy By Therese Nales (02)

By Thomas Nelson '98

Michigan State University

Wrecked links the story of America's most infamous shipwreck to the story of an even larger disaster—the wreck of the American industrial economy. When the Edmund Fitzgerald went down in a Lake Superior storm on November 10, 1975, more was lost than the ship and the twenty-nine lives on board. The disaster was a

human tragedy as well as an indictment of the American industrial policies that eventually cost the nation thousands of jobs and marooned hundreds of communities. Written with a passionate yet factually grounded intensity, *Wrecked* shows that the reasons for the decline of industrial manufacturing in the upper Midwest are linked to why the Edmund Fitzgerald sank, and to the legal turmoil that followed for the victims' families. The book conveys the sense of loss that still is felt by those affected, along with the outrage over the disappearance of manufacturing jobs and the inadequate maintenance and legal maneuvering over liability for the sinking of the ship. What follows is a fascinating critique of what went wrong and why.

the BOOKS, BOOKS, BOOKS we are reading, writing, recommending

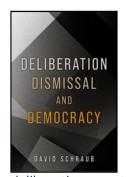
The Enduring Power of Communism: The International Origins of Authoritarian Consolidation By Christopoher Heurlin '02

Oxford University Press

The Enduring Power of Communism explores why communist dictatorships in Asia and Latin America have been so durable, despite being relatively weak when they came to power. The book encompasses a comparative historical analysis of all seven non-European communist regimes: China, Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba, Laos, Cambodia, and Mongolia. Drawing on research in the East German archives, Christopher Heurlin argues the origins of communist durability lay in an extraordinary campaign by the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc to promote communism abroad. Moscow sent tens of thousands of advisors to fledgling communist regimes in the developing world, helping them to establish powerful state bureaucracies that could plan and direct economic development. Soviet economic aid financed the construction of scores of state-owned enterprises (SOEs) that granted communist rulers tremendous control of the economy. SOEs channelled tax revenues to rulers, while also serving as sites of social domination, granting communist parties tremendous authority over society. These increases in state power were made possible because of the similarities in institutions between communist donors and communist aid recipients.

Once they embarked on these state-building strategies, their paths diverged markedly. Cambodia failed to consolidate its authoritarian institutions, in stark contrast to the experiences in neighbouring Vietnam and Laos. Authoritarian consolidation occurred in North Korea and China, only to be disrupted by radical campaigns like the Great Leap Forward that attacked the very state bureaucracies they had just built. Elsewhere in Mongolia and Cuba the process of authoritarian consolidation was protracted and delayed for over a decade. Most notably, communism collapsed in Mongolia and Cambodia at the end of the Cold War as ruling parties renounced their monopoly on power and initiated democratic elections. The Enduring Power of Communism explains why these divergent pathways emerged.

Outside of the communist camp the results of Soviet aid were less impressive. Soviet efforts in Ghana ended in spectacular failure: the economy cratered and its ruler, Kwame Nkrumah, was overthrown by a military coup. Far from an outlier, this marked a pattern: while Soviet aid strengthened communist regimes, it made non-communist regimes more vulnerable to military coups.



Deliberation, Dismissal and Democracy By David Schraub '08

Oxford University Press

In civil litigation, dismissal offers the opportunity, early in a controversy, to preemptively dispose of a claim that does not present a legally judiciable case. Everyday talk, of course, is not bound by such procedural rules. Yet in conversation we often engage in a form of discursive dismissal: when faced with discomforting claims, our frequent instinct is not to engage in reasoned

deliberation over them, but to brush them aside without considering their merits. How does dismissal fit within a broader ecosystem of deliberation? What is deliberative dismissal? When (if ever) is it justified?

In *Deliberation, Dismissal, and Democracy*, David Schraub analyzes our tendency toward dismissal and the problems that flow from it. Schraub focuses on dismissal as a social, rather than legal, phenomenon. Drawing on academic work both historical and contemporary, as well as examples drawn from everyday discourse and controversy, he creates a framework explicating why dismissal is a significant problem that defies easy resolution. While a state can be held to an anti-censorship commitment, private actors cannot and should not avoid "discriminating" on basis of viewpoint. What they can do, however, is cultivate certain deliberative virtues--dispositions towards consideration and open-mindedness--that orient them towards deliberating, rather than dismissing, the hard thoughts that any healthy democracy must be willing to tackle.





Political Science and International Relations, Class of 2025, Faculty and Staff



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