

*The*

# CITIZEN

Volume 1, Number 2, Fall 2007

SCHOOL OF PUBLIC & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS • THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA

THE NEW  
RED STATE  
OF GEORGIA

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## *message from the dean*

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**W**elcome to the School of Public and International Affairs, as seen through the pages of *The Citizen*. As readers of our inaugural issue last spring will recall, the title of this publication comes from our dual missions to prepare students for good citizenship and to serve the citizens of Georgia, the nation and the world through our teaching, research and public service.

Excellence in teaching is one of SPIA's hallmarks. One of the main reasons our School has such robust undergraduate enrollments in International Affairs and Political Science (fifth largest among the 15 schools and colleges of the University) is because of the quality of our teachers. The student grapevine is very effective in communicating the message that some of the best teachers on campus are in these

departments. As a result, every semester there is a waiting list of students seeking admission to our classes. Alumni reading this message will probably be remembering a favorite class or professor in our School.

Each year, the University recognizes four or five faculty members for their outstanding accomplishments in teaching, designating them as Josiah Meigs Distinguished Teaching Professors. Four faculty members from SPIA are Meigs Professors: Charles S. Bullock, III, John A. Maltese, Loch K. Johnson and the late Susette Talarico. Similarly, each year the University recognizes two or three junior faculty members for their accomplishments in teaching with the Richard B. Russell Undergraduate Teaching Award. Three faculty members from our School are recipients: Jeffrey D. Berejikian, Audrey A. Haynes and Jaroslav Tir. I doubt that any other college or school in the University has, in proportion to the size of its faculty, as many teaching award winners. In addition to these University-wide awards, the School of Public and International Affairs has recognized excellence in teaching through an annual Award for Excellence in Teaching: Charles S. Bullock, III (2003), Jeffrey D. Berejikian (2004), Hal G. Rainey (2005), and Christopher S. Allen (2006). This year's winner was Markus M.L. Crepaz.

Our award-winning teachers share a common characteristic in addition to their excellence in teaching. They are active researchers on subjects ranging from European politics to Southern politics, from national intelligence and security policy to environmental policy, from congress and elections to law and courts. In our School, students are taught by teacher-scholars who are creating knowledge through their research and transmitting new

information and insights to our students. Research informs our classrooms.

To learn more about our teacher-scholars and our students, I invite you to visit our website at [www.uga.edu/spia/home/](http://www.uga.edu/spia/home/), as well as the websites of each of our departments and centers. I hope you enjoy this issue of *The Citizen*. Please stay in touch with us and visit us the next time you are in Athens.

Warm regards,

Thomas P. Lauth  
Dean

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THE  
**CARTER**  
PRESIDENCY:

*Lessons for the 21st Century*



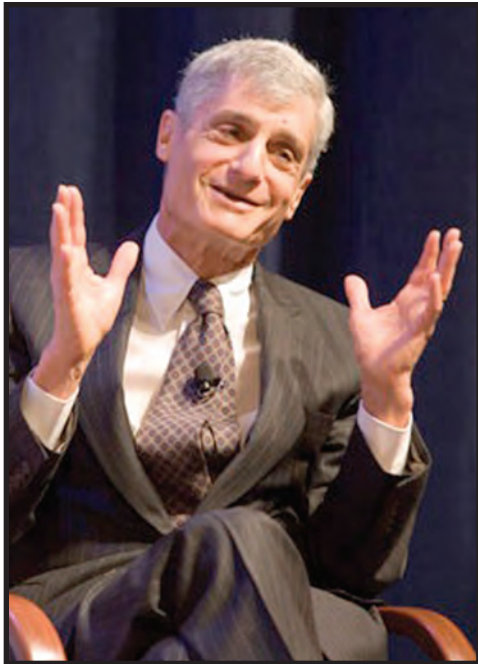
In January, UGA's School of Public and International Affairs and the Carl Vinson Institute of Government co-sponsored a conference commemorating the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of President Jimmy Carter's inauguration.

Moderated by NBC's Brian Williams, the conference brought together former administration officials, journalists, scholars, students and historians. In three days, the conferees dissected the workings of Carter's policies at home and overseas. Panelists from both political parties met and talked candidly about the major political challenges and dilemmas of the Carter presidency, debating how the experiences could be applied to the challenges our country—and the world—face today. For more photos from the conference, visit: <http://www.uga.edu/carterconference/album/index.html>.



*Clockwise from top:* President Jimmy Carter making introductory remarks at a reception honoring former Vice-President Walter Mondale. From left, President Carter, former Carter White House Communications Director Gerald Rafshoon, and former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. From left, Former Carter National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski and Stansfield Turner, former Carter Director of the CIA. From left, Anchor of MSNBC's *Hardball* Chris Matthews, former Chairman/CEO of CNN Tom Johnson, Editor of Newsweek Jon Meacham, PBS journalist Judy Woodruff, ABC news correspondent Jim Wooten, and former Carter White House Press Secretary Jody Powell speak on panel "The Press and the Presidency". Presidential Historian Michael Beschloss offering remarks at the introductory session of the conference.





*Clockwise from top:* From left, SPIA Dean Thomas P. Lauth, President Jimmy Carter, and UGA students Balaji Narain, Ben Cobb and Yannick Morgan participate in a panel on policy lessons from the Carter presidency. NBC Nightly News Anchor and Managing Editor Brian Williams and Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer. President and Mrs. Carter answer questions at a Town Hall Meeting (moderated by Brian Williams and open to the public). From left, Former Vice-President Walter Mondale and former Carter Chief Domestic Affairs Advisor Stuart Eizenstat. Former U.S. Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin speaks on a panel on domestic policy.

Photos by UGA Photographic Services

# The Present of Medicare Reform

*Andrew B. Whitford*

Americans are ambivalent about Medicare. On one hand, both politicians and policy analysts worry about the future of Medicare. The 2007 report of the Trustees of the Medicare trust fund argues that funds will be exhausted by 2019—and that balance can only be achieved by an immediate 122 percent increase in the payroll tax. On the other hand, only one percent of Americans surveyed in the latest Gallup poll reported that Medicare was the “most important problem” facing the country, and less than two percent reported that Medicare, senior care, or prescription drugs coverage would rank among the most important issues they would consider when deciding whom to vote for in 2008.

The 2003 Medicare Modernization Act (MMA) was supposed to fix this system, in part by encouraging greater involvement by preferred provider organizations and greater use of their services by Medicare enrollees. Where do those changes stand?

The basic problem the MMA was supposed to fix was the information problem the federal government faces in paying for the services that are provided by private doctors to enrollees. Even with the growth of information technology and other resources, the government does not have the resources to track cost changes in every U.S. local health care market in order to accurately set payments. As in other policy and administrative arenas, the speed of change in cost structures puts a premium on government gathering that information when setting payment rates.

Many analysts argued for a different way of setting payment rates: the use of a competitive bidding process, which is supposed to work like an auction. The idea was to no longer set payments by legislative or administrative fiat, but rather to use a market-like mechanism so that private providers reveal the private information they hold about the costs of health care delivery. They would reveal that information in the prices the providers bid for entry into the market, which the government would use to more accurately set payment rates.

The proposal was by no means new. The Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) had scheduled demonstration programs for competitive bidding during the 1990s in Baltimore, Denver, Kansas City, and Phoenix. In each case, Congress blocked the demonstrations, in part because of the pressure they faced from local beneficiaries, health plans and providers who feared that the experiment would cost them money or benefits.

Congress bought into bidding when it passed and President Bush signed the MMA in 2003. In turn, this put pressure on the HHS to design a bidding system that was fair and efficient without the experience of having run a demonstration program. As an example, HHS had to divide the

country so that plans could figure out the populations they served under a given contract. The result was imperfect: the single largest geographic region stretches from Iowa to Montana and includes seven states; eleven regions consist of exactly one state. Kansas City is split between two regions, and New York and New Jersey are also in separate regions. Several regions are small in terms of population of Medicare beneficiaries: Alaska has the fewest, with 55,058, Hawaii has only 189,271, and a few others have fewer than half a million Medicare beneficiaries. On the other end of the scale, five regions have more than 2.5 million Medicare beneficiaries, including California with 4.4 million and Florida with 3.1 million.

This forced health care providers to create new “regional preferred provider organizations” (PPOs) to serve the twenty-six new regions. In each region, HHS decided on a benchmark—a maximum amount they would pay a plan to serve a Medicare enrollee. A plan that bid above the benchmark would receive only that amount, with enrollees having to pay the difference; a plan that bid below the benchmark would get to keep some of the difference with the rest of the difference going back to the government—but the plan had to use what they kept of the difference to provide additional benefits to the enrollees. So the problem for the government was to pick the right benchmark in each of the twenty-six regions.

The potential consequences of getting the system design wrong are enormous. Whether the government is able to control costs—and thus whether Medicare remains solvent—depends on designing a system that gets plans to offer services to Medicare enrollees and gets enrollees to choose those plans instead of traditional Medicare. How has the system performed so far?

The first round of bidding, carried out for 2006, shows that in five of the 26 regions, the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services received no plan bids. As a result, in these regions, no beneficiaries have access to a regional PPO. Three of those regions were already served by many local Medicare plans that had existed before Congress passed the MMA, but two have very limited or no coverage by local plans. One region had an average plan bid exactly equal to the benchmark, down to the penny. This means that plans used the stated benchmark as a so-called “focal point” so that they could collude without having to communicate with one another.

Four regions had average plan bids above the benchmark: one had an average plan bid only slightly above the benchmark, but the other three regions have average bids from \$30 to \$51 (per enrollee, per month) above the benchmark. More importantly, in those three regions there were very few competing local Medicare plans, meaning that the new regional plans know that they can bid high

when Medicare enrollees do not have the choice of local plans. There is a consequence for the long-term performance of Medicare here: when plan bids are higher than the benchmark, HHS is likely to conclude it has to increase its benchmark in the future.

Perhaps more striking is the fact that in most regions only one provider made an offer. While 70 plans operated across the 26 regions, Humana operated 42 of those. The self-described “nation’s largest regional PPO plan offering with coverage in 23 states” offered “three plan designs in each region, with the prescription drug plan being the only difference between the plan options”, so the range of choice that Medicare enrollees actually enjoyed was fairly limited.

The “success cases” were the regions where the average bids were well below the benchmark, but those regions (which included New York, Florida, Nevada, and Hawaii) were places where most Medicare beneficiaries also had access to more than one local plan. Regional PPOs who face competition from local plans tend to bid below the benchmark in order to attract enrollees even when they face no competition in the regional bidding process. Clearly, the different “Medicare markets” are linked: Medicare beneficiaries see traditional Medicare, local plans and regional plans as substitutes to some extent. But in contrast, in the largest geographic region, which includes seven Great Plains states, the sole regional plan to bid offered five plans, and bid the benchmark on each.

Where does the government turn now? What is the future of Medicare reform? Clearly, the problem of reducing costs depends on how Congress, the president, and our federal agencies jointly formulate and implement policy. The first round of bidding did not provide much new information for HHS to set the payment rates in the future, because the law requires that HHS announce its benchmarks in advance of receiving bids and plans are smart enough to bid the benchmark when they can. So an agency that recognizes the need to reduce costs has to move one step further, by negotiating with plans to reduce those bids and gain savings.

This is exactly what the federal government does with its own Federal Employee Health Benefit plan (FEHB). Of course, opening up the FEHB so that businesses could also enroll their employees in the plan was part of the Kerry plan to reform American healthcare policy, and commentators from as unlikely a source as the Heritage Foundation agree that the FEHB is a well-run health insurance program. Isn’t it ironic that the model program was there all along?

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*Andrew B. Whitford is an associate professor of public administration and policy in UGA’s School of Public and International Affairs.*





# BELOVED PROFESSOR LOSES STRUGGLE WITH CANCER

*By Joy R. Holloway*

**T**he University of Georgia and the School of Public and International Affairs mourns the passing of Dr. Susette Talarico, a UGA faculty member for three decades. Beloved by scores of students and colleagues, Susette died on Wednesday, May 23, following a 17-year bout with breast cancer.

Susette Talarico was *Albert Berry Saye Professor of American Government and Constitutional Law, Emerita* and *Josiah Meigs Distinguished Teaching Professor* at the School of Public and International Affairs. A charter member of UGA's Teaching Academy, Susette was known for her innovative approach to teaching and mentoring, and for her contributions to curriculum development at the university—serving as the driving force in the creation of the interdisciplinary undergraduate degree program in Criminal Justice.

Talarico's résumé sparkled with teaching and research awards. Not only was she a two-time winner of the coveted Josiah Meigs Award, Talarico was also named the Franklin College of Arts and Sciences General Sandy Beaver Teaching Professor for three years and was a Danforth Teaching Fellow for six years, among many other awards and honors.

In addition to her success in the classroom, Dr. Talarico was an accomplished scholar with over 50 published articles and books focused on the study of sentencing, criminal courts, and civil litigation. She served as editor-in-chief of *Justice System Journal* for six years. Throughout her professional career, Susette was devoted to advancing the socialization of women into the academy. As the only tenured female professor in the Department of Political Science for years, she played a pivotal role in mentoring junior women in the field, often times helping them with the submission of their first papers for publications. In creating a coffee hour for the women of the School of Public and International Affairs, she informally brought together female graduate students to meet and interact with female faculty members.

In May, she was awarded the 2007 American Political Science Association's Law and Courts' Teaching and Mentoring Award, a

well-deserved honor that reflected her devotion to students.

One former student put it this way, "I graduated from UGA more than 25 years ago; I live 1700 miles from Athens; I have no political or professional clout to speak of, yet she still sent my family a holiday card every year with a personal note. What did a card have to do with Dr. Talarico's success as a mentor and instructor? It illustrated her true genius as an educator; she cared for you as a student, but more importantly, she cared about your development as a person."

Born on May 10, 1946, in Danbury, Connecticut to Ella and Nathaniel Talarico, Susette had two siblings, Robert Nathaniel Talarico and her twin sister Annette Talarico Adams.

After graduating as the valedictorian of her high school class, she joined the Sisters of Mercy for six years, during which she earned her bachelor's degree at Diocesan Sisters' College (St. Joseph's College). Upon reflection, she chose to leave the convent to pursue a joint master's and doctoral program in political science at the University of Connecticut, which she completed in 1976.

Following a brief teaching stint at St. Michael's College in Vermont, Susette joined the political science faculty at the University of Georgia in 1977 where she pursued her passion for teaching until retiring in 2006.

While known as a brilliant scholar and a dedicated teacher, Susette will also be remembered as a loving wife and mother, a devoted sister and daughter, and a magnificently caring friend.

On December 29, 1982, Susette married Rodger Taylor Carroll and on March 15, 1984, they had a son, Robert David Carroll: a great joy for both of them.

Susette is survived by her mother, her two siblings, her husband and son, 19 nieces and nephews, and 14 great nieces and nephews.

Memorial gifts may be made to the Susette M. Talarico Fund, which supports students and faculty in criminal justice and political science. Contributions can be made to The Arch Foundation, specifying the Susette M. Talarico Fund, and mailed to the School of Public and International Affairs, 217 Candler Hall, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602.

# THE NEW RED STATE OF GEORGIA

By Charles S. Bullock, III

Democrats went to extraordinary lengths and were extraordinarily successful in retaining control of Georgia government for generations. They gerrymandered districts and changed election laws. They succeeded in forestalling Republican growth longer in the Peach State than elsewhere in the Southeast. Democrats' efforts paid repeated dividends as they still held every statewide office as recently as 1992, enjoyed a 130-year run in the governor's office, and won majorities in both legislative chambers throughout the 1990s even as Republicans attracted most of the votes cast for legislators. But eventually the force of partisan change, like Hurricane Katrina, overwhelmed the defensive barriers and swamped the Democrats.

The rise of the Republican Party from obscurity to dominance came in little more than a decade. The turnaround in partisan fortunes began in the runoff following the 1992 presidential election when Paul Coverdell overcame a 32,000-vote deficit to unseat Senator Wyche Fowler. That same runoff saw Bobby Baker secure a seat on the Public Service Commission to become the first Republican statewide state official in more than a century. Three weeks before the runoff, Republicans had won four congressional seats, twice as many as they had managed at any time since the first "modern" Republican congressional victory—Bo Callaway's 1964 triumph in the Columbus area.

Since Baker's victory, Republicans have advanced to the point that they now fill 12 of 15 partisan posts elected statewide. In 2006 the only Democrats to survive the Republican tsunami ran as incumbents. Agriculture Commissioner Tommy Irvin, who led the Democratic ticket, has announced that he will not run again in 2010. If present trends persist, Republicans seem poised to add Ag Commissioner to their portfolio.

In 2006 Sonny Perdue won reelection with the largest vote share of any governor in 20 years. His Democratic opponent, Mark Taylor, with 38% of the vote, performed worse than John Kerry (41%) and even Denise Majette (40%), who was widely perceived to be a very weak candidate when she ran for the Senate in 2004. Although the courts long ago invalidated Georgia's county units system, it is notable that Perdue carried 130 counties against Taylor.

The reversal of fortunes in the General Assembly came about even more rapidly than the shift in statewide officers. A decade ago Democrats held 106 seats in the state House and 34 in the Senate. Today Republicans have majorities of 106 in the House and 34 senators.

A minority party with poor prospects for winning control of the government struggles to raise the money needed to be competitive. As important as money has become, presenting attractive candidates poses an even greater challenge for today's Democrats. Getting their supporters to the polls poses a third problem that Georgia Democrats have yet to overcome.

#### Campaign Finance

In 2006 Sonny Perdue raised almost \$14 million compared with Mark Taylor's \$10.25 million. Perdue amassed far more than needed to secure 58% of the vote. In contrast, the unsuccessful Barnes reelection campaign in 2002 went through more than \$20 million.

With the balance of power tilting increasingly in the GOP direction, Republicans find it easier to raise campaign dollars. In 2004, Johnny Isakson outspent Denise Majette by \$5.6 million in the race for an open Senate seat. Four years earlier, Zell Miller had two- and-a-half times as much money as Mack Mattingly.



## Candidate Experience

Republicans are now fielding the more credentialed candidates. Isakson had three terms in the U.S. House, 14 years in the state house and four in the state senate. Majette had served a single House term and as a state court judge but although we elect our judges, those contests do not hone electoral skills.

Casey Cagle became lieutenant governor after 12 years in the senate; his Democratic opponent, Jim Martin, had an even longer tenure in the state house but had been out of elective office for years prior to his 2006 run.

Before running for secretary of state Karen Handel had chaired the fractious Fulton County Commission, a job that involves administrative experience. Her opponent, Gail Buckner, had 16 years service in the state House. While Buckner had long tenure, state representatives have virtually no staff and have few administrative responsibilities. Perhaps more relevant to winning a statewide office, Handel's constituency consisted of 10% of the state's population; Buckner had represented 1/180<sup>th</sup> of the state. Handel began with what proved to be an insurmountable advantage in name recognition.

Democrats have yet to adjust to their minority status. During the decades of Democratic dominance they did not need to worry about candidate recruitment. When a position came vacant, many attractive Democrats would vie in the primary. But now with the Democratic nomination no longer being the guarantee of holding office, Democrats increasingly lack even one candidate able to go toe-to-toe with the Republican nominee. Democrats need to do what the GOP began doing almost a generation ago. To be competitive, Democrats need to begin identifying attractive candidates for lower offices, getting these neophytes elected and in so doing ultimately develop a farm team that will produce contestants for statewide and congressional offices.

## Partisanship

A couple of generations ago, Democrats claimed the loyalty of virtually all Georgia voters. Support for the Democratic Party has declined to the point that a plurality of the contemporary electorate now identifies with the GOP. Exit polls from 2006 show Republicans with the support of 44% of those who turned out on Election Day while Democrats could claim only 32%. Fourteen years earlier the numbers were just about reversed with 42% Democrats compared with 34% Republicans.

With the current distribution, neither party can win if it simply mobilizes its members. Victory goes to the party that can mobilize its own but also appeal to a share of the Independents. In that effort, the advantage now belongs to the GOP.

Karl Rove field-tested his vaunted 72-hour campaign in Georgia in 2002. Identifying likely Republican voters, getting relevant information into their hands and then getting these individuals to the polls has helped the GOP both in Georgia and nationwide.

The ideological distribution of Georgians also advantages the GOP. The 2006 exit poll showed the following: 42% conservatives, 45% moderates and only 13% liberals. White conservatives have migrated to the

GOP in overwhelming numbers, meaning that the GOP needs relatively little of the moderate vote.

Republicans try to paint their Democratic opponents as liberals and to the extent that these efforts succeed, Democrats face a huge disadvantage. To be competitive, Democrats must convince voters that they are moderates and not liberals. In this effort Democrats are struggling as moderate white voters increasingly support Republican candidates.

In trying to fashion appeals to the decisive moderates, each party has to struggle against its core constituency. African Americans serve as the core constituency for the Democratic Party usually casting at least 90% of their votes for the party in general elections. In recent years, African Americans have accounted for more than 45% of the Democratic primary turnout prompting nominees to be attentive to the policy concerns of this constituency.

With monolithic African American support, Democrats could win statewide in Georgia with just under 40% of the white vote. In recent elections, that modest goal of white support has proven unattainable for non-incumbent Democrats. In 2006 Perdue attracted 68% of the white vote. Two years earlier Johnny Isakson did even better with three-fourths of the white vote and a majority among Latinos.

Christian conservatives have become the core Republican Party constituency. While less monolithic than the black vote, 70% or more of those who identify themselves as born again Christians vote Republican in general elections. This group accounts for about one-third of the GOP primary participants.

Potentially damaging for either party is that its core constituency may determine the identity of its nominees or the policy positions taken by party leaders. The result may be the GOP positioning itself too far to the right with the Democratic Party being too far to the left to appeal to the critical swing voters.

The Democrats have fallen and it is unclear when they will be able to get up again. Democrats are experiencing the same problems that plagued Republicans during their underdog years. If Democrats fail to win the governorship in 2010, they will confront another problem that stymied GOP advancement until the current decade. Absent a shift

in power toward the Democratic Party, Republicans will be in charge of redistricting following the 2010 census. Georgia is expected to gain a 14<sup>th</sup> congressional seat. With the GOP in charge of redistricting, that seat will be drawn for a Republican. Federal judges drew the current maps for the state house and senate. If Republicans draw the maps in 2011, expect to see the GOP make further gains in the General Assembly.

More immediately, Georgia seems unlikely to be a competitive state in the 2008 presidential election. While it will be several months before we know the identity of the two parties' standard bearers, it is unlikely that Hillary Clinton, Barak Obama or John Edwards could carry Georgia against whomever the Republicans nominate.



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*Charles S. Bullock, III is the Richard B. Russell Professor of Political Science at UGA's School of Public and International Affairs. He is the author of "The New Politics of the Old South."*

# A Legacy of Peace and Prosperity

By Sarah S. Baines

**O**n a summer day in 2006, Ed and Robin Benson walked through the UGA Arch, into the offices of the Center for International Trade and Security (CITS) in the Holmes-Hunter Academic Building on North Campus, and changed the Center's future forever.

The Bensons, who met CITS director and founder, Professor Gary Bertsch, at a UGA Alumni Seminar program over 15 years ago, had come to tell Gary that they had decided to designate a significant portion of their charitable trust to the Center for International Trade and Security.

"Gary Bertsch and Tom Lauth (dean of the School of Public and International Affairs) are two very distinctive people. They are effective administrators and leaders, who spend a great deal of their time with *students*—that is what impressed us most," said Ed when asked what led to his and Robin's decision to make this gift.

Preparing young people to become the next generation of public servants and leaders is of great importance to the Bensons, and over the past five years, they have helped make this happen through annual gifts to the Center. CITS has used these gifts to enrich their student programs and training—with great results. Former CITS students are now working around the globe in places such as the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Center for Global Development, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, just to name a few. In addition to continuing to support CITS student programs, the Benson's estate gift will also provide funding for CITS faculty and staff in their efforts to contribute to a world of understanding, goodwill, peace and prosperity.

"We wanted to provide the Center with as much flexibility as possible in using the funds," explained Robin. "Our gifts can help serve the greatest needs of the Center—now and in the future."

Both born in Georgia, Ed and Robin have always felt that the University was a part of their lives. "The University has given to me all my life and I have always enjoyed what they gave me and my association with them," said Ed.

Ed was raised in Athens, while Robin, the daughter of an Army officer, moved often during her childhood, finishing high school in France. Ed graduated from UGA with a degree in business administration, and Robin completed her UGA degree in journalism. She



Nancy Evelyn

*"As a result of CITS student programs and career placement support, I have been able to become directly involved in initiatives to increase nuclear and radioactive security around the world by contributing to analytical assessments and presenting this information to front-line officers at international training courses on illicit trafficking in various countries."*

— Jessica Satterfield (ABJ '04)  
International Atomic Energy Agency  
Vienna, Austria

*"The CITS student programs gave me in-depth experience in research, analysis, and briefing, all cornerstones of my current job. I feel indebted to the Center to this day for all the support they gave me while at UGA."*

— Peter Courtney (AB '05)  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

*"My time working with CITS on agro- and bio-terrorism security issues sparked an interest in health policy that I have continued to pursue. I am deeply grateful for the support and guidance the many professors and researchers affiliated with CITS gave me."*

— Matt Crim (AB and BS '05)  
Student, Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine  
Baltimore, MD

*"The Center's student ambassador program, in which I gave interactive presentations on current issues in South Africa and Zimbabwe to local high school classes, was my first real experience with public speaking and engaging an audience. It was a chance to engage in real research and public speaking—two skills that have proven to be invaluable."*

— Kate Vyborny (AB '05),  
Center for Global Development  
Washington, D.C.

*"My experiences with CITS allowed me to travel abroad and become involved with serious academic and policy research. The Bensons' generosity helped spark an academic interest that ultimately has developed into the beginnings of a career for me. I am very aware of and grateful for this."*

— Joe Wolpin (AB '05)  
Student, Harvard Law School  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

went on to have a career in higher education administration first at UGA, then later as the associate dean of students at Valdosta State and the dean of students at Agnes Scott.

Growing up, Ed's family was in the baking business. They owned and operated Benson's Bakery on the corner of Washington and Thomas Streets in Athens. Today that corner is the site of what evolved from Ed's business savvy as a young man—the Hilton Garden Inn. Despite the fact that Ed's foresight and business acumen brought to Athens the Holiday Inn, Holiday Inn Express, and Hilton Garden Inn, Ed still considers himself a baker at heart, and attributes his success in business to the foundation given to him by his father: optimism, good management, and an entrepreneurial spirit.

"I don't think you'll find finer people than Robin and Ed Benson," said Gary Bertsch, reflecting on his association with the Bensons over the last 15 years.

"They're genuine people who are caring, thoughtful, and willing to help others. To have our Center associated with people of their caliber makes me feel very good."

Throughout the years the Bensons have always had some connection to UGA. Robin's work in the UGA Office of the Dean of Women with mentors Edith Stallings and Louise McBee had a significant impact on her decision to continue a career in higher education. Ed remembers fondly his many visits to campus to speak about "real world" business management as a guest practitioner in the classroom. Both he and Robin continue to enjoy attending programs and events at the Center and all across the University.

Through their estate gift, they have created a perpetual connection to UGA that will forever benefit our state, nation, and world.

"Ed and Robin Benson are exemplars of philanthropy. Their generosity and foresight will support the Center's faculty and students well into the future and will contribute in important ways to making our world a less dangerous place," said Dean Thomas P. Lauth.

Sarah S. Baines is director of development for UGA's School of Public and International Affairs. For information on how you can make a difference through a current or estate gift to the School, please contact Sarah at [sbaines@uga.edu](mailto:sbaines@uga.edu) or 706-542-9661.



# PREPARING TO LEAD: SPIA's Young Alumni

Photos by Robert Newcomb

Reports in the media would have you believe that today's young adults are ambivalent when it comes to civic responsibility—more interested in updating their Facebook pages than they are in engaging in public service.

Students at UGA's School of Public and International Affairs contradict those reports. The alumni profiled in this piece serve as a small sample of those who graduated in May 2007.

**Kaylyn Kvochak (B.A. and M.P.A. '07)** came to UGA because of the strength of the international affairs program, not realizing just how international her education would be.

Not only did Kvochak major in international affairs, but she also pursued a minor in French and through the Honors program, a master's degree in public administration—completing these three degrees in just four years.

"The combined master's and bachelor's program is such a unique opportunity and gave me the chance to study in a public administration program that is currently ranked the third best in the United States," said Kvochak. "Going into the job market having already earned my master's degree will be an enormous benefit."

In pursuit of these degrees, Kvochak completed a five month study abroad at an international university in Nantes, France. There, she took international affairs courses and lived with a French family. She also spent a Maymester in Budapest, Hungary and later traveled to Serbia, as a State Department intern working in the U.S. Embassy in Serbia.

Kvochak's journeys abroad include: Spain, Hungary, Bosnia, Sweden and Croatia. "I was certainly hesitant before taking my first trip abroad. It took me out of my comfort zone, but after three weeks in Budapest, I was hooked on international travel. If you want a career in the Foreign Service, study abroad is an opportunity you can't afford to pass up," Kvochak said.

These experiences have encouraged her to continue her international experiences with a career in public service. Upon completion of her master's, Kvochak moved to Paris to acquire fluency in French, while studying for the Foreign Service exam.

**Katie Eubanks (B.A. '07)** earned degrees in Political Science and Telecommunications Arts. Eubanks spent her time at UGA working to combine her two passions, documentary filmmaking and the U.S. legal system. A highlight of her undergraduate experience was working as an intern for Georgia Public Broadcasting's "Lawmakers" series, a live nightly newscast that covers the daily activities of the Georgia legislature.

Her interest led her to focus much of her coursework at the University on the court system and enabled her to take a course on Constitutional law with Dr. John Maltese. "Dr. Maltese brought a real passion to the study of constitutional law, which inspired me and my classmates. His classroom reenactments of cases, like *Marbury v.*



*Madison*, really brought the cases to life," said Eubanks.

Eubanks (pictured above) was selected as the student speaker for the spring 2007 undergraduate commencement ceremony at UGA. During her speech Eubanks reminisced about the experiences she had at UGA and urged her fellow students to "... fight back against inaction and complacency, the natural response to our innate fear of failure."

Eubanks started her first year at Harvard Law School this past September. Though she has a passion for the law, Eubanks plans to take a non-traditional route after law school. She hopes to pursue a career as a documentary filmmaker, focusing her efforts on the Supreme Court and its impact on the legal system.

**Bobby Akines (B.A. '07)** takes his interest in global culture to the next level. Akines originally began his career at UGA as an English major, but after taking an introductory course in International Affairs, he discovered his passion for politics. Akines changed his major and set a goal of "making a difference on an international level."

As an international affairs student, Akines experienced a variety of programs and classes. In addition to taking English and International Affairs classes, Akines took a few courses in Spanish and Swahili language studies. "UGA has so many great learning opportunities and amazing faculty members, I couldn't help but take classes in as many departments as possible," Akines said.

An honor student and graduate with a degree in

International Affairs, Akines will spend the next year teaching English in China. Although he doesn't have extensive international experience, Akines is eager to journey into an unfamiliar culture across the world. "If I can make it in China, I can make it anywhere," he stated.

Once Akines returns to the United States, he hopes to enter SPIA's top-ranked graduate program in public administration to prepare for a career addressing poverty issues through organizations like USAID.

From the moment he set foot on the UGA campus, **Alec Watts (B.A. '07)** was active in organizations tackling issues such as poverty and civil rights.

Outside the classroom, Watts became involved with the National Issues Forum through the Honors Civic Leaders program. Trained as a forum leader, Watts led community discussions on public policy issues involving University students and faculty, local politicians and concerned citizens. His research on the issue of poverty in Athens-Clarke County was later included in a publication by the Southern Growth Policy Institute.

In addition to his work with the National Issues Forum, Watts served as the legislative coordinator for Georgia Amnesty International and spearheaded a campaign for *Georgians for Alternatives to the Death Penalty*.

Watts has made it his mission to make a difference through civic action. "I loved getting involved in the Athens community. Leading National Issues Forums let me interact with local government officials and observe what it really takes to make changes in policy," said Watts.

Watts (pictured below) is now pursuing a Ph.D. in Sociology at Stanford University.



*Student interviews conducted by Victoria Salegna. Salegna graduated from UGA in May 2007 with bachelor's degrees in political science and public relations. Salegna lives in Washington D.C. where she is pursuing her interest in international security policy.*

# Jaroslav TIR

By Joy R. Holloway

Jaroslav Tir was finishing his last term of high school in the United States when war broke out in Croatia and Bosnia. As a foreign exchange student, he knew the terms of his visa would require him to return to Croatia after completing his high school degree. With the situation in Croatia rapidly deteriorating, however, Tir made the decision that he would return to Croatia only long enough to complete the paperwork necessary for coming back to the United States to pursue a college degree.

Three weeks after returning to Croatia, the paperwork was complete and he was on the train bound for the airport.

The train began to slow, then came to a grinding stop. The airport was nowhere in sight.

“Evidently, the train’s engineer had received word that the track was mined and had stopped the train just in time to escape danger,” said Tir. “We were just starting to breathe normally when gunfire rang out.”

“We took cover on the floor of the train until the Croatian police force arrived. We learned later that the Serb paramilitary was waiting nearby in an attempt to storm the train.”

Eventually, the bullet-riddled train was allowed to continue on its way. The passengers had escaped injury.

Today, as an associate professor of international relations at the School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA), Tir has made a name for himself researching the underlying causes of war and opportunities for conflict management.

With more than 2,000 years of history to support the notion that territorial disputes are the leading cause of conflict and war, Tir set out to examine whether and how borders can be adjusted to prevent future conflicts over land.

“While history tells us that the use of military force is the most common approach to addressing territorial disputes, the fact that these wars have rarely achieved long-lasting peace would suggest that this approach is not ultimately effective,” explained Tir.

In his book, *Redrawing the Map to Promote Peace*, Tir examined the management of territorial disputes and how outcomes differ as a result of the way in which disputes are settled. Tir’s findings showed that a peaceful, non-military approach to the movement of borders greatly reduced the probability of future disputes and increased the chance for peace. At first blush, Tir’s findings may seem obvious. He is, however, the first researcher to provide the evidence necessary to show that this is a systematic pattern that works.

When he’s not studying territorial disputes, Tir’s other recent research interests include the politics of international freshwater disputes, diversionary theory of war, as well as the linkage between ethnic conflict and the media.

Tir is not only building a reputation as an accomplished scholar, he is receiving accolades as an excellent teacher, as well.

Last spring he was named as a recipient of the 2007 Russell Teaching Award, an award at UGA that recognizes outstanding teaching by profes-



Dot Paul

sors in the first 10 years of their career.

This fall, Tir was awarded a Fulbright Scholar grant by the U.S. Department of State and the J. William Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board to conduct research and lecture at The University of Zagreb, Croatia in spring 2008.

“Professor Tir has impressive credentials,” said Howard J. Wiarda, Dean Rusk Professor of International Relations and head of the Department of International Affairs. “Not only is he an award-winning teacher, he is among the most and best published professors in the department.”

“The Fulbright award is a highly prestigious fellowship,” continued Wiarda. “It reflects Professor Tir’s significant accomplishments.”

These awards are punctuated by the many students who rush to register for his courses on subjects such as *Modern Warfare*, *International Political Economy and International Conflict*. A noted trend at the School of Public and International Affairs is the striking number of students who take multiple classes taught by Professor Tir—often taking four or five of his courses by graduation.

“Rarely does one find a professor so dedicated to his students’ success and thorough understanding of topics studied,” one student remarked. “Dr. Tir’s devotion to engaging students in the classroom is incredible.”

“At the risk of sounding like a contestant in the Miss America pageant, I am motivated by personal experience not only to identify policies that improve the chances of peaceful outcomes, but to inspire students to ultimately become a part of the solution instead of being mere bystanders,” said Tir.

“The first step in this process is teaching students how to investigate the complex causes of armed conflicts,” explained Tir.

“That is my primary objective in the classroom.”

Joy R. Holloway is the director of public relations for UGA’s School of Public and International Affairs. For more information on Professor Tir and his research or other questions about the School, contact the public relations office at 706/542-7849.



# *The* Competitive Nature *of Admissions*

*By Jerome S. Legge*

**I**t is a familiar scene—high school seniors and their parents waiting anxiously to hear from admissions offices at their chosen colleges and universities.

As associate dean, I am frequently asked about the University of Georgia's (UGA) highly competitive admissions process. Each summer during SPIA's orientation, parents of first-year students inquire about criteria and standards for admission to UGA. Despite their son or daughter being admitted, most know of at least one applicant, who despite having exceptional credentials was denied admission.

We have often commented in the pages of our newsletter and elsewhere about the increasing quality of students who are enrolled in the School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA). The rise in quality of our undergraduate students is a reflection of the general increase in quality in admissions standards for all UGA undergraduates, as individual schools and colleges do not control admissions directly. In fact, field of interest or desired major are not listed as criteria in the admissions decision.

The primary factors considered include the following: grades in academic coursework; rigor of curriculum attempted; and performance on standardized examinations.

In addition to these three criteria, an admissions committee will consider other factors to include activities and honors in the secondary school experience. Also, awards essays, and recommendation letters from teachers are closely examined. Finally, intellectual curiosity and creativity, commitment to citizenship and service, integrity, respect for cultural differences, and evidence of personal maturity are factored in the admissions decision.

There are no minimum qualifications in order to be considered other than completing a secondary school curriculum, but admission has become increasingly competitive over the past ten to fifteen years. For example, for the 2007-08 academic year, 4,750 applicants composed the first year class from a total of approximately 17,000 applications. At the time of writing this article, official data for 2007-08 are not available. But the following preliminary information, illustrating the qualifications of the middle 50 percent is instructive:

*Middle 50 percent*

*GPA: 3.6—4.0*

*SAT: 1160—1310*

*ACT: 25—29*

Many of the strongest first year students compete for positions in the Honors program where grade point averages are typically in the 3.99 to 4.18 range and 50 percent of these students have a SAT score between 1410-1480.

The recruitment of minority students continues to be a strong priority for the University, and in recent years the percentage of students who have identified with an under-represented group is around 20 percent of the first year class. Approximately seven percent of this class identifies as African-American while slightly more than two percent are Latino. Students of Asian descent comprise about eight percent of the first year class and 2.5 percent state that they are multiracial. Some 83 percent of the first-year class are in-state students. Applications of students from out of state are evaluated identically to the Georgia residents.

The rising qualifications of undergraduates have benefited SPIA greatly as the School has more than earned its fair share of outstanding undergraduates.

For more information on the admissions process at the University of Georgia, visit: <http://www.admissions.uga.edu/>.

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*Dr. Jerome S. Legge is the Associate Dean of the School of Public and International Affairs.*





## DYING TO KILL

THE ALLURE OF SUICIDE TERROR  
With a new preface by the author

Mia Bloom

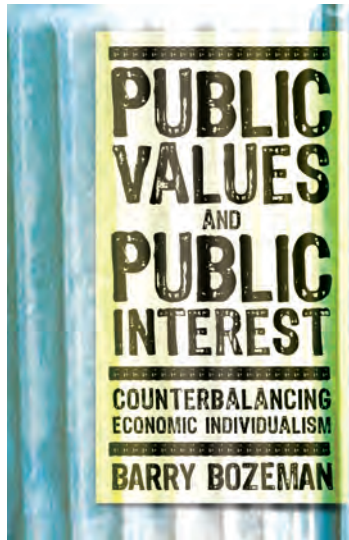
### Mia Bloom

Assistant Professor  
of International Affairs

“Dying to Kill” (Columbia University Press, 2007).

What motivates suicide bombers in Iraq and around the world? Can winning the hearts and minds of local populations stop them? Will the phenomenon spread to the United States? These vital questions are at the heart of this important book. Mia Bloom examines the use, strategies, successes, and failures of suicide bombing in Asia, the Middle East, and Europe and assesses the effectiveness of government responses. She argues that in many instances the efforts of Israel, Russia, and the United States in Iraq have failed to deter terrorism and suicide bombings. Bloom also considers how terrorist groups learn from one another, how they respond to counter-terror tactics, the financing of terrorism, and the role of suicide attacks against the backdrop of larger ethnic and political conflicts.

Bloom boldly contends that social and political motivations inspire suicide bombers, and she develops a theory explaining why terrorist tactics work in some instances and fail in others.



## PUBLIC VALUES AND PUBLIC INTEREST

COUNTERBALANCING ECONOMIC INDIVIDUALISM

BARRY BOZEMAN

### Barry Bozeman

Ander Crenshaw Professor  
of Public Policy and Regents'  
Professor of Public Policy

“Public Values and Public Interest: Counterbalancing Economic Individualism” (Georgetown University Press, 2007).

Economic individualism and market-based values dominate today’s policymaking and public management circles—often at the expense of the common good. In his new book, Barry Bozeman demonstrates the continuing need for public interest theory in government.

In constructing the case for adopting a new governmental paradigm based on what he terms “managing publicness,” Bozeman demonstrates why economic indices alone fail to adequately value social choice in many cases. He explores the implications of privatization of a wide array of governmental services—among them Social Security, defense, prisons, and water supplies.

This publication offers a direct theoretical challenge to the “utility of economic individualism,” the prevailing political theory in the western world.



## Politics in Georgia

SECOND EDITION  
ARNOLD FLEISCHMANN  
CAROL PIERANNUNZI  
REVISED AND UPDATED

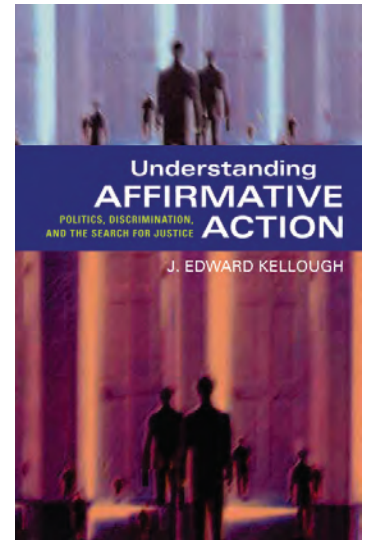
### Arnold Fleischmann

Associate Professor  
of Political Science

“Politics in Georgia” (University of Georgia Press, 2007, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed). Co-authored with Carol Pierannunzi.

The essential guide to Georgia government and politics—updated and expanded. In keeping with the state’s major demographic upheavals of recent decades, Georgia politics is an interesting—and sometimes volatile—mix of tradition and change. In contrast to the state’s rural past, most Georgians now live in cities or suburbs, and more than 40 percent of the population was born outside the state. However, religion and race remain issues that politicians ignore at great peril, and the state still fares poorly in measures of poverty, education, and voter turnout.

The book examines four major topics: the foundations of contemporary Georgia politics, political participation, major political institutions, and selected public policies.



## Understanding AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

POLITICS, DISCRIMINATION, AND THE SEARCH FOR JUSTICE  
J. EDWARD KELLOUGH

### J. Edward Kellough

MPA and Ph.D.  
Program Director/Professor,  
Department of Public  
Administration and Policy

“Understanding Affirmative Action: Politics, Discrimination, and the Search for Justice” (Georgetown University Press, 2006).

The U.S. has been engaged in a national debate over affirmative action policy for some time. A policy that began with the idea of creating a level playing field for minorities has sparked controversy in the workplace, in higher education, and elsewhere. After forty years, the debate still continues and the issues are as complex as ever.

This book brings together historical, philosophical, and legal analyses to fully inform participants and observers of this debate. Aiming to promote a more thorough knowledge of the issues involved, this book covers the history, legal status, controversies, and impact of affirmative action in both the private and public sectors—and in education as well as employment.



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# CITS Founder and Director Testifies Before Congress

By Victoria Salegna and Rachel Turner

On July 12, 2007, Gary K. Bertsch, founder and director of UGA's Center for International Trade and Security, offered testimony on Capitol Hill in a hearing entitled *China's Proliferation and the Impact of Trade Policy on Defense Industries in the United States and China*. Bertsch focused on the national security effects of China's proliferation, as well as strategies for encouraging China to increase its commitment to nonproliferation.

Held by the United States China Review Commission, the hearing brought together Congressmen and experts to review and assess China's military might. It also considered the threat its proliferation could pose and the U.S. response to China as a rising nation.

"China understands the significance of proliferation, what it means to them and their security, and what it means to the U.S. and international security," said Bertsch. He also noted the most significant threat is the potential for China's old weapons technology and the technology the U.S. sells them (relating to military and defense issues) to be transferred to other countries.

Bertsch also added, "It is not in China's interest to allow more countries to have nuclear technology and systems." This issue of security is one the U.S. and Chinese governments have been working on; in fact, Bertsch believes the U.S. government has an incredible opportunity to influence both the Chinese government and Chinese companies in doing the "right thing." He said, "In my 25 years of working in this area, our recent experience with the Chinese is



Dot Paul

the most promising and most meaningful in terms of having an impact." The U.S. government has placed great hopes in what it is able to accomplish and has been following it very carefully.

In regard to government interactions between the U.S. and China, Bertsch acknowledges that the U.S. government should have more direct engagement

with their Chinese counterparts. Although he is a great believer in international relations, Bertsch discussed the legitimate concerns with doing more business with China. He said, "I don't think that we should be naïve about the intent or ability of another country to do bad things in the world, but we are more likely to serve our own interests if we are willing to talk with and work with others on issues like this."

Bertsch predicted that in coming years, government officials from diverse political backgrounds will recognize the need to be more involved in government interactions between the U.S. and China.

According to Bertsch, the rise of China will be a major defense concern in the next five to ten years. He said, "We hope that it will be a peaceful rise. It will be good for China to continue to develop its economy and ensure that all of the people of China are well-fed, well-clothed and well-educated. I think that if China and the United States can work together that it will be a very powerful force."

For more information on the Center's ongoing efforts to address the dangers posed by the trade and theft of weapons of mass destruction and weapons components, visit: <http://www.uga.edu/cits/home/index.html>.

*Co-author Rachel Turner is a senior majoring in public relations at UGA's Grady School of Journalism and Mass Communication. Interview with Gary Bertsch conducted by Victoria Salegna (B.A. '07).*



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