

GVPT NEWS

October, 2003.

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MESSAGE FROM THE CHAIR

In addition to looking at the usual messages about our undergraduate and graduate programs, and in addition to perusing the usual announcements about our centers, faculty, and graduate students, I suggest that you read this month's columns. We feature three short essays on the connections between academic scholarship and public policy. Margaret Pearson observes that "When Research Meets Congress Strange Things Happen." Based on his summer's experience in Iraq, Bart Kaminski is optimistic about what "Central Europe's transition from communism to free-market democracy [can] teach Iraq." Finally, Shibley Telhami reflects on his rich experiences in "Transferring Scholarship into the Public Arena." Margaret, Bart, and Shibley are of course just the tip of our policy iceberg. Many GVPT faculty are involved in the policy world and we hope to hear from more of them in the future. In another column, Martin Heisler reports on his current work on transnational migration and his future work on history and memory. Finally, Fengshi Wu reports on his experiences working with Ken Conca

In response to university-wide budget cuts, the campus is conducting a planning exercise. Our new BSOS Dean, Dr. Ed Montgomery, has given us a purpose and a stake.

Purpose. We need to recognize the University's new financial or operating model and the concomitant budget trends: permanent resource cuts, long-run constraints on state support, increased efforts to seek external support, and the necessity of resource reallocation to maintain and build excellence.

What Is At Stake. The plan "will be the prism through which Departmental progress will be judged, requests for hiring authority given, and any subsequent budget cuts, reallocations or increases will be distributed."

Dean Montgomery has indicated that our plan must include the following.

Vision. Presumably, our vision should be similar to the Dean's: "BSOS should become one of the preeminent public institutions recognized both nationally and internationally for its excellence in both the production and dissemination of behavioral and social science research."

Goals. We must define excellence, quality, and success and indicate how they are to be measured for our specific organizational and operating structures, including all of our research and educational programs.

Benchmarks. We must identify our reference peers based on rankings of graduate programs. UMD's peers are UCLA, Berkeley, UNC, Michigan, and Illinois.

Obstacles and opportunities. We must also identify assets and barriers to achieving our goals. What are the efficiencies and inefficiencies in our current resource allocation? How can we fix or dump weak or failed experiments and investments?

Principles for decision-making. Dean Montgomery encourages "out of the box" thinking to share resources, combine/streamline operating procedures, and leverage educational offerings at the college, campus, and university. He also encourages resource reallocation – viewing our current expenditures as historical investments and past experiments that need reevaluation. We must match resources to priorities and determine how much of our resources will come from the different components of our budget and what tasks they will accomplish. Finally, he encourages us to address the tough questions: Should we eliminate programs? Should we stress breadth over depth? Do we need minimum teaching loads for non-research active faculty? Throughout the exercise, we must maintain and enhance diversity.

An important part of our planning process involves reaching out to the various constituencies in the department. Working with the Executive Committee, I have solicited input from our fields and our centers. Please feel free to contact me or members of the Executive Committee about our response to Dean Montgomery's requests.



MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR OF UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES

Undergraduate Program Notes

The Department's Undergraduate Program continues to be one of the largest, most diverse, and most successful undergraduate academic programs on campus. We currently have approximately 932 students actively enrolled in the major, and because we add an average of 1 new major each day, we can expect to be well above 1000 by the end of the fall semester. In addition, we have 135 new freshmen, one-third of whom have entered the university with an average of 10 credit hours in advance placement courses.

The Department will be hosting its annual GVPT Undergrad Open House, tentatively scheduled for October 9, 2003 in front of Tydings from 10:30am-2:00pm. Various student groups will be in attendance, and we're also asking for faculty to stop by and greet students as time permits during the day.

With regard to upcoming registration for Winter and Spring classes, we're requesting that Faculty provide in-depth course descriptions for our What's New & Interesting booklet. The course descriptions should include an overview of subjects that will be covered, a rough sense of what kind of work will be involved, and any prerequisites that will be expected of students. These course descriptions will help make sure that students know what they're registering for when they sign up for classes, and that you get the right students for your class. Descriptions should be e-mailed to Brad Morse at bmorse@gvpt.umd.edu.

Speaking of Registration, here are some dates and deadlines to keep in mind for this semester.

October 27, 2003: Registration for Winter & Spring 2004 begins.

Nov. 10, 2003: Last Day for Undergrads to Drop a course for Fall 2003 w/ a "W"

Nov. 27-30, 2003: Thanksgiving Break

December 12, 2003: Last Day of Fall 2003 Classes

January 16, 2004: Last Day to drop a Winter 2004 class w/ a "W"

February 6, 2004: Last Day of Schedule Adjustment for Spring 2004

The Department's Undergraduate Program offers a plethora of opportunities for scholarships, study abroad, and related programs. Students should check our departmental website at www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt for links to information and application materials for our scholarships, internship programs, and study abroad programs. Opportunities with February 2003 deadlines include Study Abroad programs to Oxford and Kent, the Gardner & Oppenheimer scholarships. Thinking ahead, we will soon be taking applications for Student Commencement Speaker at the GVPT Graduation Ceremony this May.

Call for Student Applications for December 2003 BSOS Commencement Speaker:

The College of Behavioral and Social Sciences invites graduating seniors who have excelled in some way while studying at UMCP to apply for Commencement Speaker. The applicant must have a 3.50 or better GPA and have completed at least 60 UMCP credits.

Applications may be picked up from the Dean's Office (2141 Tydings Hall) and returned to Beth Workman, Assistant to the Dean. Deadline for all applications is October 17, 2003.

**MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

Ann Marie and I still need the names of the graders for the January and May comprehensive exams for several fields. Field coordinators, please submit these names as soon as possible.

The new comprehensive examination procedure will begin in August 2004. Graduate students planning to take one or more comprehensive exams at that time should provide Ann Marie with a list of the members on your mentorship team by February 1, 2004.

Field descriptions (for the new comprehensive examination procedure) should be submitted to Ann Marie by December 1, 2003. These descriptions should include whatever reading or question lists the fields plan to use as a basis for their exams. Field coordinators that have questions about the structure and/or content of the new field descriptions should see me.

The department is prepared to provide funding for one graduate student to attend the Third Annual Training Institute on Qualitative Research Methods at Arizona State University (January 5-16, 2004). The application deadline for the institute is October 17, 2003 (see <http://asu.edu/clas/polisci/cqrm/institute%202004%20announcement.html> for institute application materials and information). Students who are selected for the program may apply for this funding opportunity. Students interested in this funding opportunity should submit a duplicate of the institute application and a copy of their letter of acceptance to Ann Marie. Good luck to all interested parties!

Finally, if you have yet to submit your course schedule for Spring 2004, please do so ASAP.

Thanks

**MESSAGE FROM THE PLACEMENT DIRECTOR**

The job hunting season is now in full swing, and we have a strong set of candidates on the market. I encourage all faculty to review the entire placement file of their students to assure that the students are making the best possible presentation of their accomplishments. I review the files myself, but it is very helpful to have a student's mentor examine them too.

I am pleased to announce that, with the assistance of Kimberly Porter, we now have a better-functioning Placement Website. It can be reached through the GVPT site under Graduates. I have posted a number of documents about the placement process and interviewing, and welcome suggestions for other pieces of helpful information. There is also a list of students who are on the market, with links to their c.v. or personal website.

Finally, I want to once again encourage all students considering going on the market sometime this year to come talk to me about your plans, the process of getting a job, and how to put together a placement file. Any student--wherever they are in the program--should feel free to drop by to chat about career issues.



MESSAGE FROM THE GVPT GRADUATE STUDENT ASSOCIATION

The 2003-2004 school year is off to a great start for the GSA. We are working on some exciting things: there will be some informative professional development opportunities this year, as well as some fun social events. We enjoyed pizza and pop at our first meeting of the year, September 24th. We also did some work, discussing plans for an academic integrity workshop, a brown-bag focusing on the transition to candidacy, a department-wide community service day this spring, and a second-annual corn maze adventure, to name a few. Additionally, we discussed the new changes to the graduate program, particularly the new field requirements and comprehensive exam format. We would like to thank everyone who participated. Anyone wishing for more information about the meeting may contact Annie Leonetti or Juliana Menasce Horowitz. Finally, we welcome Joanne Manrique, who has joined our forces as the new First-Year Representative. Congratulations Joanne.

Your GSA Co-Chairs,
Juliana Menasce Horowitz (jmenasce@capc.umd.edu)
Annie Leonetti (aleonetti@gvpt.umd.edu)



STAFF AND ADMINISTRATION

CHANGE IN STAFF

Due to the departure of David Del Marr, we have had to reorganize functions in the front office. Beth Klein, who has been an academic advisor in the department, will be joining us upstairs to manage front office functions, including supervision of hourly students and delegation of work load related to phones, keys, parking, and procurement. She will continue to be involved in undergraduate programs: scheduling, textbook orders, and supervising the advising process. We have hired a part-time advisor, Dwain Cherry, to cover the day-to-day advising that Beth will be relinquishing. Because of budget constraints, we will not be replacing David Del Marr.

Below is a list of functions previously handled by David and the person who has assumed the new responsibilities:

Supervision of Front Office Hourly Students: Beth Klein

Front Office Management Issues: Beth Klein

Keys: Elizabeth Crowell

Parking: Elizabeth Crowell (Parking passes only. **Letters regarding parking tickets need to be handled by individuals who receive tickets.**)

Phones: Elizabeth Crowell

Facilities/Moves: Cissy Abu Rumman/Karen Bond

Computers: Work orders need to be placed directly with OACS www.oacs.umd.edu



ALUMNI NEWS

2nd Annual GVPT Tailgate

The GVPT Alumni Council hosted its annual tailgate on Saturday, September 20. The tailgate was hosted by GVPT Alumni Council President, Paul Mandell, and allowed a group of GVPT alumni to visit before Maryland's big win over West Virginia.

GVPT Annual Alumni/Student Mixer

The department will host the annual Alumni Career Networking Event on Nov. 6, 2003 at the University of Maryland student union. Please save this date on your calendars! The event is a wonderful opportunity for alumni, faculty and to network. The event details will soon be posted on the GVPT alumni webpage at: www.bsos.umd.edu/gvpt/alumni or call 301-405-4142 for more information.

GVPT/BSOS Mentorship Program

Under the guidance of GVPT Alumni Council Member Randy Katz, the GVPT mentorship program was created and launched in 2002. He drew up press releases, e-mail students and mentors, matched mentors and mentees, and oversaw the entire program. The program was enthusiastically received by students (who had the opportunity to connect with people in their aspiring fields) and mentors (who had a chance to give back to the University and connect with students). In fact, it was so successful that this year the College of Behavioral & Social Sciences is instituting a college-wide mentor program, and the GVPT Mentor Program will be merged into that program. Randy was asked to provide introductory remarks at the inauguration of the college-wide program and he will be helping with the program.

Randy has now begun the process of creating a database of GVPT Alumni and their corresponding graduate/professional schools so that current GVPT students can contact GVPT Alumni and discuss their chosen graduate/professional school.

GVPT Alumni in the News

Rep. Dennis Cardoza, Class of 1982

Dennis Cardoza departed his home in California's Central Valley in the summer of 1979 after having spent his entire life in the heart of the state's most fertile agricultural land. For the grandson of Portuguese farmer immigrants, enrolling at the University of Maryland would bring experiences far removed from those he had growing up in the small Valley town of Atwater.

Now a first-term congressman representing the area in which he was born and raised, Cardoza looks back fondly at his Maryland years as a Government and Politics major, noting that his time at the university inspired him ultimately to pursue a career in public service.

“Coming from small town into a large urban setting gave me a breadth of experiences and exposed me to diversity that I had never seen,” Cardoza said. “I had a fabulous time and I’m really proud of where it led me.”

Cardoza has since played a prominent role in representing the people of California’s Central Valley. Prior to his election to Congress in 2002, Cardoza served three effective terms in the State Assembly, where he chaired the powerful Rules Committee and helped forge the Moderate Democratic Caucus. He was lauded for his efforts to cut taxes, help family farms, and promote education and children’s safety.

After just nine months in Congress, Cardoza is having a noticeable impact on Capitol Hill and developing a reputation as an effective legislator who works well with both Republicans and fellow Democrats. He has taken bold steps to end the death tax and support Valley farmers and a new University of California in Merced.

In addition, he has launched widely praised legislation that would directly benefit the Valley, including a bill that enhances federal nutrition programs by providing greater access to fruits and vegetables grown by California farmers.

One of the largest newspapers in Cardoza’s district, *The Stockton Record*, observed in July that he has “learned quickly how to work with the majority party – and be effective.”

Cardoza’s interest in public service began just before entering the University of Maryland when he interned for Congressman Martin Frost, D-Texas. The first college graduate in his family, Cardoza focused on developing a successful small business. His belief that government and business can and should work together as partners led him to run for and win a seat on the Atwater City Council in 1984. In 1994, Cardoza was appointed to the nearby Merced City Council.

In 1996, Cardoza was elected to the State Assembly, where he was relentless in his efforts to establish a University of California campus in the Central Valley. UC Merced, once a dream of Valley educators, students, and parents is now slated to open its campus doors in 2005.

Cardoza has never forgotten his agricultural roots. His grandparents emigrated from Portugal in the early 20th century to farm the rich Merced County soil. The Cardoza family raised dairy cattle and grew sweet potatoes, almonds, watermelons, wheat, oats and alfalfa. While serving as chairman of the Assembly Agriculture Committee, Cardoza distinguished himself by helping urban legislative colleagues to understand the importance of the farming communities to the people of the entire state.

The 18th Congressional District that Cardoza represents includes Merced County and portions of San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Madera and Fresno Counties. He serves on the House Committee on

Resources and the House Committee on Agriculture, arguably the two most critical committees for the Central Valley. He also is a member of the Committee on Science.

After a recent visit to College Park, Cardoza is pleased with the direction in which the university is heading. “The national stature of the university keeps growing,” Cardoza said. “More important, it provides experiences that are truly worth bragging about.”



COLUMNS

Academic Scholarship and Public Policy

When Research Meets Congress Strange Things Happen

By Margaret Pearson

Our chair asked me to write a column for this newsletter about my recent experience testifying on Capital Hill. Our hope is that, by recounting the tale, it can help illustrate how – for a number of the faculty in our department – our academic concerns and research can feed into very real policy debates.

My testimony took place before an unusual body, the Congressional-Executive Commission on China (CECC). The testimony was to cover China’s compliance with its WTO commitments, particularly the rule of law related commitments.

As the name of the Commission suggests, its members are from both the House and Senate, as well as some from the administration (such as from Dept. of Commerce). It is a highly political commission, in that it was founded in 2000 in the wake of granting Permanent Normal Trade status to China. It is one pillar in our government’s attempt to monitor a number of Chinese domestic issues, primarily human rights and the development of rule of law. The congressional membership on the committee consists of some moderates (e.g., Sen. Hagel, who co-chairs the Commission, and the Levin brothers, Sandy and Carl, of Michigan), and conservatives (notably Frank Wolf of Virginia).

Unlike the other two “China watchdog” commissions formed around the same time (one to focus on security matters and the other to monitor religious activity), members and staff of this commission are not barred by the PRC from traveling there on commission business. Like the other two commissions, however, its activities are watched very closely by the Chinese government. The first time I traveled to the PRC subsequent to testifying last year at the security-related commission, a number of academic friends told me they had seen a translation of my testimony. Indeed, the work of the commission seems to get more attention in the PRC than here.

It is exciting to sit at the witness table in one of the Senate Foreign Relations hearing rooms, and to speak to various members of Congress. That same day, Paul Bremer (chief civilian officer of the US forces in Iraq) and Donald Rumsfeld were giving testimony in nearby hearing rooms. The members of the CECC were, understandably, quite distracted by the competition, as well as by a number of votes on the floor that interrupted our hearings.

The topic of whether China “manipulates” its currency is extremely hot in Washington now, and so even though this is out of the mandate of the Commission, most attention at our hearing was focused on this issue. My own oral testimony on China’s adherence to its rule of law commitments was couched between testimony by an economist from Stanford and a fellow political scientist from MIT. The hearings ran way over schedule, and as the last panel (after a grilling of administration representatives, chastised for being too soft on China, and testimony by industry representatives), everyone was very tired by the time we poor academics straggled to the table. The gist of all three of our arguments was to suggest that the China is not doing as badly as the rhetoric flying around Washington indicates. Both because of the contrary nature of the argument, and the typical academic plea to understand the complexity of the situation, we had reason to expect hostility. I must admit, though, that the members of Congress who were engaged did appear to pay quite a lot of attention (simultaneously listening and skimming the prepared written testimony). But in the end we recognize that their job is not to understand (or be understanding of) the complexity of China that fascinates we academics, but to protect U.S. interests as currently defined – and also to provide ammunition for their re-election. (One senator brought in his own video camera to record his very lively monologue – the camerawoman left when he did.) In the end, the academic-policy divide remained. But we were asked there *for* our academic expertise, and could leave feeling that we had done what was expected.

What can Central Europe’s transition from communism to free-market democracy teach Iraq?

By Bartłomiej Kaminski

This was the question asked by Ambassador Bremer and his policy team that took me to Iraq last July. After a twenty-four hour trip, with the last leg from Amman on a 12-seat Beechcraft, I was in Baghdad. The purpose of the trip was to get a better understanding of Saddam Hussein’s economic regime and provide suggestions for the an institutional redesign. During my stay there I met with Iraqi officials, businessmen and journalists, participated in a seminar discussing the experience of post-communist transition, and outlined my recommendations at a meeting with Ambassador Bremer and his economic council.

Indeed, post-communist transition is relevant for building new order in Iraq. Notwithstanding differences, Saddam built a system that was reminiscent of Stalin’s in its total subordination of society to a totalitarian state. While unlike communism, Iraq’s state system did not collapse in response to its own evolution, the similarities between the economic regimes dominated by the omnipresent state are striking.

Montesquieu’s famous observation that at the outset of a new order people shape institutions, whereas subsequently institutions shape people captures the essence of the current unique “‘constitutional moment’ moment” facing Iraq. Many post-communist countries lost this moment and subsequently went through a bumpy transition that often failed to create a democracy. How can Iraq avoid this path?

Drawing on the experience of post-communist societies, success hinges critically on addressing two issues: the ‘resource curse’ and the menu of political and economic reforms. Huge oil revenues (the resource curse) create an environment that is conducive to authoritarianism and graft. The way to avoid creating such an environment again is to transfer a significant portion of oil revenue directly to citizens without the state’s intermediation. The Alaskan oil fund is an example. This may not be a panacea, but it forces the government to work hard to create a business-friendly

environment, as non-oil activities become an important source of tax revenues. With the emergence of a buoyant middle class, prospects for democratic consolidation increase.

The choice and timing of economic reforms has been crucial to the success of the post-communist transition. Piece-meal reforms created opportunities for rent-seeking and created groups that had a vested interest in blocking further liberalization. The result was to foster widespread corruption and stunt the development of democracy. Translating these broad lessons into practical recommendations for economic reforms in Iraq would suggest several immediate steps. The provisional authority should, first, at “stroke of the pen” monetize the “Oil-for-Food Program,” i.e., remove price controls and replace direct rationing with vouchers. It should establish a free foreign trade regime, with minimal hurdles to the movement of goods. It should aim to create a low “hassle cost” business environment open to foreign and domestic firms, and implement rigorous bankruptcy procedures to state-owned enterprises. This radical approach has worked well in post-communist countries. There is no reason that—leaving aside the provision of a secure and stable environment, which remains a huge challenge to the occupying coalition—those transparent and administratively simple reforms would fail in Iraq.

It would seem that the presence of Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) might shield the reform process from capture by narrow interest groups. But that’s not necessarily true. The CPA is neither a homogenous body nor does it operate in a vacuum. Some groups in CPA, Iraqi businessmen and employees of Ministry of Trade and international organizations, have resisted the idea of freeing up trade. The prospect of a speedy privatization of run-down and largely noncompetitive state-owned enterprises has elicited similar responses. The shift from administrative rationing under the “oil-for-food” program has been resisted, not unsurprisingly, by thousands of UN employees in charge of administering that program. Full liberalization of prices would also undercut smuggling—for instance, with the price of oil at a fraction of the price in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, some have been making quite a lot of money from “market arbitrage.” So have traders selling gas in plastic cans in streets charging a higher price. They are likely to support social protest against higher prices of energy. Last but not least, Iraq’s neighbors, whose economic regime are anything but liberal, are not enthusiastic about the whole reform package.

The package of reforms unveiled on September 21 (CPA Orders 37, 38, 39) appears to have taken into account our recommendations drawn from post-communist economic transitions. It has laid the legal framework for a simple and transparent tax code and foreign trade regime. Their implementation does not require sophisticated administrative capacities. Furthermore, its provisions leave little room for administrative discretion and corruption.

Whether reforms will turn Iraq into a viable market-based stable society remains to be seen. But I returned from Baghdad much more optimistic. Even the August bombing of UN headquarters in Canal Hotel, which I frequently visited, did not change my optimistic outlook. The willingness of the CPA economic team to listen to and take into account accumulated knowledge about transition augurs well for the future of Iraq.

Transferring Scholarship into the Public Arena **by Shibley Telhami**

In my inaugural speech as the holder of the Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development, I reflected on the relationship between scholarship and public policy. I put it this way, “I have always believed that good scholarship can be relevant and consequential for public policy. It is possible to affect public policy without being an advocate; to be passionate about peace without losing analytical rigor; to be moved by what is just while conceding that no one has a monopoly on justice.”

Many of us in the social sciences enter our field not only because of the intellectually challenging questions it poses, but also because of a sense of mission about our scholarship having an impact on society. This may help explain, in my own mind, my intellectual evolution from mathematics to philosophy and religion, to political science. Certainly one of the attractions of the Chair that I hold is that it was designed to bridge scholarship and public policy. Simultaneous with my scholarly work on negotiations and my research on political identities in the Middle East, and on the role of the media in affecting identity and opinion, I have sought to transfer this expertise into public policy by communicating with broad audiences through writings in newspapers and appearances on radio and television; through participation in NGO efforts in second-track negotiation projects, such as mediating in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict; by sitting on such boards as that of a foundation to establish better education in the Middle East; and by serving as vice-chair of Human Rights Watch/Middle East.

In recent weeks I have spent much time as a member of an advisory group on public diplomacy and of its drafting committee. The group was mandated by Congress and appointed, on a bipartisan basis, by the Administration. It examined ways to improve US public diplomacy in Arab and Muslim countries to win friends and builds bridges and submitted its report to the President, the Secretary of State, and Congress on October 1st. Here, my research on public opinion in the region, and my familiarity with the culture and with the programs that the US has carried out in the past, have been assets. While each one of the thirteen members brought different assets, and while there were differences, it was clear that one's input matters. Many of us on the group suggested ideas that were ultimately adopted unanimously as group recommendations.

One should have no illusion about the difficulty in selling ideas and transferring knowledge to the public arena. In our purely scholarly debates there are often genuine disagreements--let alone in the political arena. One should thus be modest about the measures of success and failure. At some level, pushing one's ideas into the center of public discourse is a success.

While some of us are more involved than others in affecting public policy, this is merely a matter of individual choice. There are many social scientists who have little interest in public policy and who make major contributions in our field. Those contributions are often carried into the realm of policy by others, or they affect generations of students in a way that could ultimately carry into the policy world. At least, that's what one hopes.

Faculty Update

Old wine in new bottles?

By Martin Heisler

Martin Heisler is continuing research and publication on his long-standing interest in the nexus of transnational migration and comparative and international politics and has begun work in his next major project-area: the influences of the politics of history and memory on the evolution of norms in modern societies.

In the first subject-area, Heisler has a chapter entitled "The Construction of insiders and outsiders: who is an immigrant in a security framework?" in *Controlling Frontiers: free movement into and within Europe*, ed. D. Bigo and E. Guild (Ashgate, forthcoming). He will submit his book manuscript, *Migrants, Refugees and the Future of World Politics* to Lynne Rienner Publishers in January 2004; and he has responded favorably to an invitation by a not yet prominent university press for a volume collecting some of his published and unpublished papers on the subject, integrated by original material.

On the second theme, he has a chapter, "From Berlin to Brussels: Framing Memories and Identities in Postwar Europe," forthcoming in *The Politics of Memory in Postwar Europe*, ed. C. Fogu, W. Kansteiner and R. N. Lebow; and will present a theoretical and comparative case study-based paper on the politics of rewriting secondary school history books at the International Conference on Civic Education Research in New Orleans in November.

Work in both subject-areas aims to shed light on the relationships between the constructions and reconstructions of history and memory and the transformation of societal and international norms.

Heisler is also a recurring guest on various public affairs radio and television programs, including most recently, a French-language broadcast of the Voice of America dealing with French-European relations in the contexts of the United Nations and the war in Iraq.

Mentorship

Some Reflections on the Global Water Regime Project

By Fengshi Wu

Dr. Ken Conca first had the idea of surveying international water laws and treaties when he was writing of a book on the emerging principles of global governance of water resources. I joined his team to operationalize this initiative in March 2001. My own main interest was to learn, however, more about the method than the content of the research. The doctrine of "scientific inquiry" in current political science discipline still seemed vague to me at that time, and I was eager to find out how King, Keohane and Verba's idea that social science research is "a public enterprise" can be put into practice.

The project is meant to bridge the scholarship on norm formation from both the international relations and international law disciplines, by using transboundary fresh water governance as an example. To do so, the first phase is to map some of the knowledge gaps in the basic survey of international water treaties passed in the past two decade. For example, the question that how many treaties have confirmed the principle of equitable use of water among riparian countries. The second phase is to analyze the associations among some important principles – highlighted in the 1997 U.N. Watercourses Convention – seen as potentially controversial. This convention marked the climax of a top-down advocacy of a global water regime started by international legal experts in early 1960s. Therefore, one immediate empirical contribution of this research is to improve our understanding of whether and how sets of conflicting principles have co-existed in international practices.

Our research team has innovated many tactics for the project suitable to the nature of the research materials. A major difficulty was to identify and code the language of a core set of principles in each of the 62 relevant treaties. In some cases, we coded by a straightforward dichotomous indicator – presence/absence of a specific principle. In other cases, we developed an ordinal rank score to indicate the “deepening” of principles over time (for example, the shift from a general obligation of peaceful dispute resolution to a specific mandated mechanism such as arbitration or international tribunal). Each agreement in the dataset was coded by two coders working independently. Many of the indicators required little or no coder judgment (for example, determining the number of parties to an agreement or identifying the presence or absence of a specific dispute resolution mechanism). Other indicators required substantially more coder judgment. Rates of inter-coder reliability varied across variables. In those cases where satisfactory reliability was attained (80% or greater), isolated discrepancies in coding were then reconciled. Variables attaining unsatisfactory levels of coding consistency was recoded according to a refined set of indicators or excluded from the analysis. To, the two coders (including myself) each met with the project leader, Dr. Conca, separately to justify their coding results. Dr. Conca then summarized the discrepancies and re-defined the coding standards. Meetings were held again to further clarify and specify the new standards before the reconciliation phase started. It was indeed a long and rigid process. Every detail of the coding results had to be checked, re-checked, and triple-checked. We debated concepts and interpretations through hours of telephone calls as well as group meetings.

A report of some preliminary findings was completed in August this year. Follow-up writings and analysis are to be continued. Even though our original hypotheses were not all proved, we are generally happy with what we have accomplished. The principle source of our satisfaction with the progress project emanates from our vigilant procedural conduct: We have been careful to record and report the limits and shortcomings of our observations and investigations at every step of the research. This is one of the important things that I have personally learned and benefited from these two years’ work.



CENTER ANNOUNCEMENTS

Center for American Politics and Citizenship (CAPC)

Announcement:

Undergraduate Research Opportunity for Academic Credit – Spring 2004

Paul Herrnson seeks undergraduate research assistants to participate in the development of *A Guide to Political Campaigns*, to be published by CQ Press. The Guide will cover the laws, rules, and norms governing election campaigns; candidate recruitment and emergence; political parties; interest groups; the mass media; campaign finance and fundraising; campaign organization, strategy, and communications; political debates; presidential, Senate, House, and gubernatorial campaigns; and other topics. Students will be involved with many aspects of the manuscript, including reviewing drafts and fact-checking. Students will be eligible for 3.0 credit hours to be awarded as BSOS 388 or BSOS 399, GVPT 388, or HONRS 388. Pre-requisites: GVPT 170, at least sophomore status, excellent writing skills, and permission of the instructor.

If interested, students should send a cover letter, resume, unofficial transcript, two writing samples, and a list of references via campus mail to Randy Roberson, CAPC Center Coordinator, 1108 Tawes Hall. The deadline for applications is Friday, October 10, 2003.

Books/Chapters Published:

War Stories from Capitol Hill, Paul S. Herrnson and Colton Campbell, eds. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 2003).

“With Limits Raised, Who Will Give More? The Impact of BCRA on Individual Donors,” by Paul S. Herrnson, Peter L. Francia, Alexandra Cooper, John C. Green, Michael Munger, Lynda Powell, Jason Reifler, Mark J. Rozell, Benjamin A. Webster, and Clyde Wilcox in *Life After Reform: When the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Meets Politics*, edited by Michael J. Malbin, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003.

Articles in Print:

“The Impact of Public Finance Laws on Fundraising in State Legislative Elections,” by Peter L. Francia and Paul S. Herrnson in *American Politics Research*, volume 35, number 5, September 2003.

“Campaign Professionalism in State Legislative Elections,” by Owen G. Abbe and Paul S. Herrnson in *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, volume 3, number 3, Fall 2003.

Grants:

The Center for American Politics and Citizenship’s Debate Advisory Standards Project, a \$1.3 million project funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts, is having an impact on American political debates. The Debates Advisory Standards Project seeks to research candidate debates with a goal of developing nonpartisan standards for debates at all levels. Besides promoting academic knowledge about political debates, the project seeks to encourage more candidates to participate in substantive debates with fair formats and large audiences. The *Debate Book*, published last spring, was distributed to more than 4,000 members of the media, interest groups, and candidates. It has been used in debate preparations across the nation, including California’s recall debate hosted on September 24. That it is being translated into Armenian suggests it will have some impact abroad.

Staff Announcements:

Five new undergraduate research assistants were hired at CAPC this fall. They are Tatyana Delgado, Gola Javadi, Nick Rabonik, Lucas Radzinski, and Tope Yusuf.

The Center for International Development and Conflict Management

Two new versions of the Polity IV data series (in addition to the annual time-series) are now available. All three Polity versions contain identical polity information and are updated through 2002:

The Polity IVd version provides regime authority information in the "polity-case" format. Please see <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity/index.htm#polity4d> for additional information.

The Polity IVe version is specifically formatted for EUGene users. Please see <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity/index.htm#polity4de> for additional information.

The Polity IV data series has been updated through 2002, including minor changes. Please see <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/inscr/polity/index.htm#update> for additional information.

The Democracy Collaborative

Fall 2003 Civil Society Lecture

The College of Behavioral and Social Sciences and The Democracy Collaborative announce the upcoming Fall 2003 Civil Society Lecture at the University of Maryland. Dr. Kumi Naidoo, who is Secretary General and Chief Executive Officer of CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation, will be speaking on "*The Democratic Promise and Power of Global Civil Society.*" Please join us for this exciting lecture on Thursday, October 9th, 2003 from 4:00 PM to 5:45 PM in the Memorial Chapel at the University of Maryland, College Park.

Since 1998, Dr. Kumi Naidoo has led CIVICUS, the world's largest alliance of over 500 civil society organizations and networks in more than 100 countries, which is dedicated to strengthening citizen and civil society action throughout the world. A native of South Africa and a former Rhodes Scholar, Dr. Naidoo is an articulate advocate for civil society's critical role in globalizing democracy and democratizing globalization. Give his deep knowledge of and experience in global civil society, Dr. Naidoo was recently appointed by United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan to the Eminent Persons Group on United Nations-Civil Society Relations chaired by former Brazilian President Fernando Cardoso.

The Civil Society Lecture Series was launched in 1999 as part of the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences' Civil Society Initiative. The lecture series is designed to explore the state of civil society in the United States and globally, to understand the causes and consequences of civic decline, and to identify concrete ways to rekindle, improve and sustain civil society and civic life.

Previous keynote speakers in the Civil Society Lecture series have included: Benjamin R. Barber, Gershon and Carol Kekst Professor of Civil Society at the University of Maryland and a principal of The Democracy Collaborative; Danny Glover, noted Hollywood actor and activist; and Harris Wofford, former U.S. Senator and Chair of America's Promise and now a Professor of Practice with The Democracy Collaborative.

For more information about this event, please contact the Democracy Collaborative at 301-405-9266 or e-mail: jriker@democracycollaborative.org

The Harrison Program

WORKSHOP:

The Harrison Program and CIDCM will be conducting a one-day workshop on environmental peacemaking on November 17. The workshop will bring together specialists and practitioners in environmental policy and conflict resolution to examine possibilities of using environmental initiatives as peacemaking mechanisms. For more information or to help with workshop planning, contact Ken Conca of the Harrison Program or Christos Kyrou of CIDCM.

TRAVELS:

- Miranda Schreurs has been invited to serve as a senior advisor to a workshop to formulate a Biodiversity Complexity interdisciplinary Ph.D. program. The goal of this workshop is to craft a Capstone Program for recent PhD recipients engaged in interdisciplinary research on global environmental change that spans the physical and natural as well as social sciences. The program is funded by the National Science Foundation and will be held in Cancun, October 3-6.
- Ken Cousins will give a talk on the history of environmental policy to the Ecological Economics Student Group (EESG), School of Public Affairs, on October 17, 12-1:30pm in Van Munching Hall 1113. For more information on EESG see <http://www.puaf.umd.edu/students/ecolecon/>

HARRISON SYMPOSIUM:

The Harrison Program provides a regular symposium on topics linking world politics and the life sciences for the journal *Politics and the Life Sciences*. We are currently identifying topics for future symposia. GVPT faculty and graduate students interested in contributing to or guest-editing a symposium should contact symposium editors Ken Conca and Dennis Pirages.

HARRISON FELLOWS:

Each year the Harrison Program sponsors two Ph.D. students as Harrison Fellows. Fellows are subsidized for dissertation research while also working on various Harrison Program projects. The 2003-04 Harrison Fellows are Bidisha Biswas and Phillip Roessler. Bidisha's research interests center on South Asia, intergroup violent conflict and conflict resolution processes, including natural resource linkages. Phil's research interests focus on Africa, globalization, governance, and the privatization of violence. (An announcement about 2004-05 Fellowship opportunities will be made in the spring.)



FACULTY ACHIEVEMENTS

Books out or in press

Dennis Pirages' *Ecological Security: An Evolutionary Approach to Globalization*, was published by Rowman-Littlefield. It is co-authored with graduate student Theresa DeGeest.

Miranda A. Schreurs indicates that Iwanami Shoten is concluding an agreement with Cambridge University Press to produce a Japanese language edition of her *Environmental Politics in Japan, Germany, and the United States*.

Vladimir Tismaneanu's book *Reinventing Politics: Eastern Europe from Stalin to Havel* was published in Ukrainian translation.

Articles or Chapters in Print

Vladimir Tismaneanu's article "Fallen Hero" about Georgi Dimitrov's Diary (Yale UP, 2003) came out on September 5, 2003 in *Times Literary Supplement*. On September 23, his essay "The Pedagogy of Dogma: Politics and Philosophy and Stalinist Romania" came out in Romania's leading cultural-political weekly, *Revista 22*.

Charles Butterworth's "Revelation over Rationalism, The Thought of Seyyed Hossein Nasr," Review Essay on *The Philosophy of Seyyed Hossein Nasr*, edited by Lewis Edwin Hahn, Randall E. Auxier, and Lucian W. Stone, Jr., in *Humanitas*, XV/2 (2002), pp. 101-104.

Miranda A. Schreurs, "The Divergent Approaches to Environmental Protection of Germany, Japan, and the United States," *Environment*, October 2003.

Grants and Awards

Jillian Schwedler was elected to a second two-year term as Chair of the Board of Directors of *Middle East Report*, a quarterly journal.

Vladimir Tismaneanu starts his 10-months stage as a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow with the International Forum for Democratic Studies/National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, DC on October 1.

Lectures and Presentations

Virginia Hafler will be giving two talks in October: the keynote speech, "Should I Stay or Should I Go?: The Global Politics of Foreign Investment in Unstable Regions" for the Corporate Governance and Sustainable Peace workshop at the University of Michigan School of Business, October 4; and a paper presentation, "Pushing the Limits: The Political Environment for Industry Self-Regulation," for a workshop on the "Potential and Limits of Self-Regulatory Arrangements," Zurich October 10-11.

Margaret Pearson testified at the U.S. Congress's Congressional-Executive Commission on China in late September. Her testimony considered China's compliance with the WTO's rule-of-

law requirements, as well as China's behavior in the WTO- Geneva and the recent Cancun ministerial. Pearson also gave a presentation at Bolling Air Force base on "Economic Analysis in China - the Art of Field Work on China's Political Economy."

Miranda Schreurs will give a talk on "Trans-Atlantic Strategies for Environmental Cooperation," at a conference "A Trans-Atlantic Co-operative Research Conference on Climate Change and New Energy Technologies: Policies, Agreements and Processes to Protect the Global Climate," Norwegian Embassy, Washington, D.C. October 7, 2003.

Jillian Schwedler was featured speaker at a seminar on "Political Activism in Jordan" sponsored by the Arab Archives Institute, Amman on September 29, 2003. The title of her talk was "Political Protest since the Launching of the 'Jordan First' Campaign."

Vladimir Tismaneanu participated in a public briefing entitled "Romania: Moving Toward NATO and EU" organized by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the Helsinki Commission) of US Congress on October 1, 2003. On October 20 a book launch will be held at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars for Vladimir's book "Stalinism for All Seasons: A Political History of Romanian Communism" (University of California Press, 2003). Commentators: Charles King (Georgetown University) and Charles Gati (Johns Hopkins-SAIS). The event will be sponsored by the Cold War International History Project and the Wilson center's East European Studies Program. And on October 23 Vladimir will deliver his Distinguished Scholar Teacher lecture on "The Devil in History: Communism, Fascism, and the Lessons of the Twentieth Century."

Ric Uslaner was an invited keynote speaker, "Tax Evasion, Trust, and the Strong Arm of the Law," Conference on "Tax Evasion, Trust, and State Capacities," St. Gallen University, St. Gallen, Switzerland, October 17-19, 2003. Ric Uslaner will present a talk, "The Moral Foundations of Trust," to the Research in Practice Seminar of INDEPENDENT SECTOR, Washington, DC, October 10.



EMERITUS FACULTY UPDATES

Professor Emeritus Ted Robert Gurr: Ted Gurr and Barbara Harff are among the seven members of the planning committee that is advising the Swedish government on the program for the Stockholm Forum 2004 on the Prevention of Genocide. The Forum, to be held in late January, will highlight risk assessment and early warning, the international responsibility to protect, and means of prevention. Invitations have been extended to heads of state and foreign ministers of 58 democratic governments.



GRADUATE STUDENT ACHIEVEMENTS

Articles and Chapters Published

Laurence O'Rourke. "Impact of Differential Pricing on Barge Freight Transportation." Transportation Research Record. No. 1820, 2003



SCHEDULE**OCTOBER 2003**

SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
			1	2	3	4
5	6 Yom Kippur	7 Faculty/Staff Convocation (Memorial Chapel at 3pm) Tismaneanu to be acknowledge as Distinguished Scholar Teacher	8 Executive Com. 11-12:15 Perestroika Mtg w/Graber & Heisler, 12pm, rm 1111 TYD.	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22 Executive Com. 11-12:15	23 DST Lecture w/Vladimir Tismaneanu	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

** For more details on calendar events you first need to set your Groupwise to access my calendar. Go to the little person in the lower left hand corner of your email, click Proxy, type under Name: Abu and my name should automatically come up. Click OK. Now you can use that little person to go back and forth between your email and my Calendar.

Now to access the calendar, click on the little person and select my name. Click on the Calendar, Select the Month of February, right click on the tab Month, click properties and select Month, then move up to place tab for the Month first. Click OK.

Should you see an event that you want more information on, right click on the event, click open. Should you require further information, follow instructions.