

the Partisan

For Alumni and Friends of the Department of Political Science, University of Florida
Spring 2003

On the Tobacco Road

by Aida Hozic

Almost every night, over the past ten years, numerous speedboats have crisscrossed the Adriatic Sea, carrying loads of smuggled cigarettes between the coasts of Croatia, Montenegro and Albania and the Italian southern seashore. Cigarette smuggling has become a multi-billion dollar business in the Balkans, simultaneously sustaining many of the governments in the region as well as draining the newly formed states of their possible tax revenue. A few years ago, Richard Sclar, special envoy of President Bill Clinton, showed a pack of cigarettes to assembled members of Bosnian Presidency and said – “You are losing 500 million dollars because of cigarette smuggling. Sometimes politicians in this area only think about themselves, their families and few of their friends. In any other country in the world, they would have been thrown out of the government and forced to look for jobs elsewhere.”

As Mr. Sclar’s comment indicates, the growth of informal and illicit trade networks in the Balkans (where, aside from cigarettes, trafficking of drugs and people now fuels most of the legit economies) is usually explained by porous borders and weak post-communist institutions in Southeastern Europe, political and economic distortions caused by the Yugoslav wars, and implicit if not explicit cultural assumptions about the Balkan countries as the “sick children of the sick man in Europe,” aka Ottoman Empire. By contrast, my new research project on informal and illicit economies which is conducted in cooperation with colleagues at Brown University and Bogazici University in Istanbul-tries to suggest that informal and illicit trade in the Balkans represents an integral part of the world economy, a local response to the rise of global merchant networks over the past few decades, and a zone of sovereign exception which has affirmed and enabled the continued functioning of the international state system through the period of significant economic and political turbulence.

Cigarette smuggling is perhaps the most obvious example of the links between global and local merchant networks. Montenegro, Serbia, Croatia and Macedonia, and to a lesser degree Bosnian entities (particularly Republika Srpska), have been financing their activities with tobacco trade ever since the early 1990s and the beginning of the wars in former Yugoslavia. The most elaborate cigarette smuggling scheme has been devised by the Montenegrins. Cigarettes arrive into Montenegro either by planes from Rotterdam (some estimate that planes with 20-40 tons of cigarettes were flying into Podgorica, capital of Montenegro, every night for several years) or by boat through the ports of Bar and Ulcinj. From Montenegro, they are either sent onto the markets of former Yugoslavia (Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Bosnia), where they are sold without excise tax and label, or transported, as mentioned above, with speedboats into Italy, and then back into Western Europe.

Behind this complex passage of cigarettes through states such as Montenegro or Macedonia or Croatia often stand the world’s largest tobacco industries – British American Tobacco, Philip Morris, R.J. Reynolds. Faced with shrinking markets in Western Europe and the United States due to health regulations and extremely high taxes, tobacco majors are trying to recapture their share of customers by dumping cigarettes on states such as Montenegro, or Andorra, or Cyprus from which they can relatively easily re-enter western Europe – but this time without taxes or duties. The advantage of Balkan states – as opposed to, for instance Andorra -is that they also have large markets themselves, and that smuggling cigarettes through their borders is a win-win proposition.

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The Chair's Corner



Michael D. Martinez
Interim Chair

The Florida Model

A few political science departments around the country have an identity largely associated with their research traditions and graduate curricula. My alma mater, Michigan, has a long-established reputation for its emphasis on quantitative methods, sustained in part by its role as host of the Summer Program in Quantitative Methods and the National Election Studies. Rochester is known for its emphasis on formal models, and SUNY Stony Brook has an interesting “boutique” department specializing in experimental political psychology and political economy. Some reputations live for quite a while, as the Columbia school’s political sociology moniker dates to studies conducted in the 1940s. Not every department either deliberately or accidentally lends its name to an approach or a course of study. As in life, reputations in the academy are hard to come by, but they also die hard.

So, it’s been interesting for me in recent years to hear some of our distinguished visiting speakers from other departments comment on the “Florida” model. What is it about us that has impressed them, and what does it mean for our undergraduates, graduate students, alumni, and faculty? And what challenges and opportunities does that present for the growth of the department?

The most notable feature of our undergraduate curriculum is its flexibility, allowing students to pursue the combination of upper division courses that most interests them. In developing a broad appreciation for the scope of political science, our students begin to understand the links between domestic politics and international relations, the similarities and differences in politics and policies across national boundaries, and how great theoretical questions shape today’s political discourse. In the last several years, we’ve tried to create new opportunities for our students to add even more diversity to their individual curriculum. Most notably, over 70% of students now participate in our internship program with local, state, and federal agencies and legislative offices, allowing these students to see theory put into practice.

Our several M.A. programs represent different strengths of the department, in International Relations, International Development, Public Affairs, and Political Campaigning. While the strength of the International Relations program is in its exposure to theory, the blend of theory and practice in the other programs provides students with multiple perspectives on their career options.

This pluralist perspective also dominates the Ph.D. program. While we expect our doctoral candidates to develop an expertise, our core curriculum introduces a variety of epistemological, methodological, and theoretical approaches to the study of politics. There isn’t a dogmatic single approach, except perhaps for the dogma of intellectual diversity. The Florida model, as it were, appreciates the extensive scope and variety of approaches that we as political scientists take in trying to better understand our political worlds. While none of us needs to apologize for the research traditions from which we started, our community of scholars recognizes that politics is indeed susceptible to many forms of knowledge.

The variety of opportunities and approaches that we offer our undergraduate and graduate students challenge the faculty to maintain our breadth and vibrant curricula that incorporate depth in each of our own areas of research. Those are challenges for our students as well, because appreciating different kinds of knowledge is difficult in itself.

There are other good departments in our College and U.F. that have large numbers of undergraduate majors, and other good departments that have innovative M.A. or nationally recognized Ph.D programs. But Political Science stands out for “doing it all.” Those multiple demands implicit in our own vision stretch the resources that we have, especially in these volatile budget years. But, with the continuing support of our Dean and the generous contributions of our many supporters, we will be able to maintain “the Florida model” for many years to come.

Hozic Continued...

Cigarette smuggling thus points at a strangely symbiotic relationship between global corporate entities and informal and illicit trade networks. Global corporate merchants have both stimulated the development of and thrived on contradictions between economic liberalization and sovereignty. As a result, zones of sovereign exception – tax havens, failed states, states of lawlessness – have proliferated. In such context, local merchants act as intermediaries not just between geographic locations otherwise inaccessible to global corporations- such as war zones - but also between different legal and cultural environments, capitalizing on danger associated with their trade. The Balkans – with its complex web of multiple forms of sovereignty, private protection forces, pirate states, and ethnified borders – may therefore be a necessity in contemporary international legal and economic system, rather than a manifestation of its utmost failure.

Pi Sigma Alpha

Pi Sigma Alpha, University of Florida's National Political Science Honor Society, has had a very active year. In late October, PSA held a straw poll for the Florida gubernatorial elections. The very successful poll attracted hundreds of students and provided an accurate gauge on how students would vote on many issues in the November 2002 election.

In November, PSA participated in "Literacy Day." Members went to local Lake Forest Elementary School to donate books to 1st graders and to promote reading through events, including making bookmarks and drawing pennants of their favorite books. In February, the organization hosted a month long film festival, featuring one movie each week presented by a different professor in the Political Science Department.

Our year will culminate with the annual Pi Sigma Alpha banquet, tentatively scheduled for early April. All political science students and professors will be welcome to attend. Membership in Pi Sigma Alpha has continued to thrive during 2002 with over 85 members. Our organization has been active in facilitating a forum for UF's political science students to come out and meet each other and learn about opportunities available to them both as undergraduate students and after college.

European Union Studies Program

The European Union Studies Program (EUSP) will conclude its inaugural year in June 2003. Although not all of our initial goals have been achieved, overall the program has been a success, receiving a high level of faculty and student interest and support from across the campus. The European Union (EU) Studies Certificate program was initiated formally and four new or enhanced courses in History, Film, Romance Languages, and Law were introduced along with four new related one unit Foreign Language Across the Curriculum (FLAC) units in German, French and Italian. This summer will be the first year of our Summer Abroad Program in Brussels at Vesalius College in the Vrije Universiteit Brussel and student interest has been high (we are expecting to select 10-12 students to participate). In addition, our first guest speaker, Jeff Frieden from Harvard University, visited in January and gave two excellent talks on the Euro and Currency Exchange Regimes in Europe and Latin America. Our second speaker this semester will be Jim Caporaso, from the University of Washington, on March 17th and 18th. Dr. Caporaso will be speaking on civil rights in the European Union, including an analysis of the changes being suggested in the ongoing Constitutional Convention. Finally, as part of our faculty development program, ten of the core EUSP affiliated faculty will be taking a one-week trip to Brussels in May to visit the main political institutions of the European Union (including the Council of Ministers, the Court of Justice, The European Parliament and the Committee of the Regions) and meet with representatives of the US-EU Mission to learn more about the changing nature of the transatlantic alliance.

Next year we will continue to build the program with an additional six new/enhanced courses (Political Science, History, Sociology, Anthropology and Germanic and Slavic Studies) as well as four new FLACs (Italian, German, Spanish and French). To continue with outreach and faculty development, we will have four guest speakers. Additionally, we will introduce the EU-related internship resource on-line database as a critical resource for students across the campus interested in gaining practical experience related to the EU. The database will include opportunities in Florida, Washington DC and Brussels and in government organizations, multinational businesses and NGOs.

Anyone interested in learning more about any of the activities of the EUSP should visit our website at: <http://www.clas.ufl.edu/eustudies/> or send an e-mail to the Director, Amie Kreppel at: kreppel@polisci.ufl.edu.

The Black Political Science Association

The Black Political Science Association is a relatively new campus organization with approximately 100 members. Its main goals are to mentor African American students as they complete their undergraduate and graduate courses at UF to prepare them for careers in academia, government, law, and politics, and to discuss local and national political issues which are relevant to the black community. Mac Arthur Pierre- Louis is the current president of B.P.S.A. Drs. Harry Shaw and Sharon Wright serve as faculty advisers and Ms. Kelli Moore is the graduate student adviser.

The group was founded because the small number of African American political science majors at U.F. wanted to develop an organization so that they could come together and discuss political and other issues which affected them on campus, in Gainesville, and in the nation. Many felt a sense of isolation because they were the only black student, or one of few, in their classes and at other places on campus. Also, many group members already belonged to Pi Sigma Alpha, the pre-law society, and other campus groups for students with interests in politics and law, but formed a separate group after noticing that the “mainstream” groups ignored issues of concern to people of color.

Although all of the B.P.S.A.’s current members are African American, it does not restrict its membership to African American students. Anyone with an interest in black political issues can join the group, attend its meetings, and participate in its activities. Currently, the organization is developing a web page that will list internships, scholarships, job opportunities, and educational opportunities for African Americans. They are also becoming involved in more community development activities in order to assist the lifelong residents of Gainesville who have oftentimes felt ignored by the African American professionals on campus.

In addition, they are planning to take a field trip to the 2003 Florida Political Science Association, National Conference of Black Political Scientists, or the Southern Political Science Association meetings so that they can learn more about the research activities that professors do outside of the classroom. Lastly, they want to work with other campus groups to recruit and retain black students, staff, and faculty members. The group meets once a month on Wednesdays at 7:30pm in Anderson 216. To contact any of the group’s members, please send an email to BPSA@yahoo.com.

Alumni News

Jamie Kiderman completed her legal studies and has accepted a position at White & Case in New York City.

Richard R. Marcus, Ph.D., has recently accepted a post at Yale University as Postdoctoral Associate with Environmental Studies Program and Center of the Study of Globalization, and Lecturer in the Department of Political Science.

Campaigning Students Attend D. C. Conference

Last November, Professor Stephen Craig and fourteen students from the department’s Graduate Program in Political Campaigning traveled to Washington, D.C. for the 3rd Annual Academic Outreach Conference sponsored by the American Association of Political Consultants and The Center for Congressional and Presidential Studies at American University. This event provides students who are interested in practical politics with an opportunity to meet and interact with consultants from both parties, interest group and media representatives, and academics who are involved with similar programs at other universities.

The program for the 2002 conference included several roundtable discussions (on campaigning via the internet, campaign finance reform, campaign ethics, and others), a panel devoted to providing career advice for young people hoping to break into the industry, small group mentoring sessions, and a dinner at which the guest speaker was Kenneth Mehlman, Deputy Assistant to the President and White House Director of Political Affairs. This conference allowed the campaign students to interact with the industry’s leading professionals. The conference began with introductory remarks and then broke into groups allowing students to talk to their assigned mentors. Some of the campaigners had a great time talking to their mentors and still keep touch with them. Following the conference, the entire UF contingent went to a live taping of Crossfire. The interaction between Paul Begala and Tucker Carlson was entertaining and showed the polarization between the Democrats and Republicans in American politics today.

Finally, on Saturday evening after the conference ended, there was a dinner attended not only by current students, but by a number of Political Campaigning graduates who live in the Washington area. The dinner gave the campaigners an opportunity to see what a degree from UF can lead to, and also to hear all the horror stories the former students had about Dr. Craig.

Presidency, Congress, and the War on Terrorism: Scholarly Perspectives Conference

On February 7 the Department hosted the “Presidency, Congress, and the War on Terrorism: Scholarly Perspectives” Conference, organized by Assistant Professor Richard Conley. The one-day conference was co-sponsored by the Department, Lawrence C. Dodd (Manning J. Dauer Eminent Scholar in Political Science), the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and the UF International Center. The conference brought together nine distinguished scholars of the Presidency and Congress from around the country to discuss the impact of the war on terrorism on American national institutions and civil liberties. Participants included Andrew Busch (University of Denver), Roger Davidson (University of Maryland), George Edwards (Texas A&M University), Louis Fisher (Congressional Research Service), Michael Genovese (Loyola Marymount University), Martha Joynt Kumar (Towson University), James Pfiffner (George Mason University), Barbara Sinclair (UCLA), and Shirley Anne Warshaw (Gettysburg College). Professor Lawrence Dodd and Dennis Jett, Dean of the UF International Center, also participated in the conference. The papers presented at the conference span the transformation of Bush’s presidency after 9/11, the congressional response to 9/11, public opinion and the presidency, Bush’s war cabinet and decisionmaking, presidential and congressional politics surrounding the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, civil liberties, and the 2002 mid-term elections. Richard Conley plans to publish the conference papers as part of an edited collection this fall. The papers are currently available on-line at <http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/rconley/conferenceinfo.htm>

Department Banquet

The Department hosted the annual banquet on Thursday, February 20. The banquet is sponsored by the Department and Lawrence C. Dodd, Manning J. Dauer Chair. Speakers Committee Chair Richard Conley organized the banquet at the Sweetwater Branch Inn in downtown Gainesville for this year’s festivities. The banquet speaker was Dr. Theda Skocpol, Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology, and Director of the Center for American Political Studies, at Harvard University. Skocpol serves on the Editorial Board of the American Political Science Review and co-edits a book series on American politics for Princeton University Press. She has been elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the National Academy of Social Insurance, and has held fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. During 1996, Skocpol was the President of the Social Science History Association; and in August 2002, was named President of the American Political Science Association. Skocpol’s books include *States and Social Revolutions: A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia, and China* (Cambridge University Press, 1979), *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Harvard University Press, 1992), *Boomerang: Clinton’s Health Reform and the Turn Against Government* (W.W. Norton, 1997), *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*, coedited with Morris P. Fiorina (Brookings Institution Press and Russell Sage Foundation, 1999), and *The Missing Middle: Working Families and the Future of American Social Policy* (W. W. Norton and The Century Foundation, 2000). The title of Professor Skocpol’s banquet talk was “War and Civic Engagement in America.” At Harvard she is currently coordinating a major research project on civic engagement in American democracy, considering the rise and development of voluntary associations from 1790 to the present.

International Relations News

The annual meeting of the International Studies Association-Southern Region will take place on campus October 17-18, 2003. The International Studies Association is a thriving professional association of international studies’ scholars. The meeting is expected to bring to Gainesville 100-120 professors and graduate students from a variety of schools. For more information please contact the program chair and organizer, Ido Oren, at oren@polisci.ufl.edu

Congratulations to our new Phi Beta Kappas!

Zachary Beck
Christopher Carmody
Jennifer Chamagua
Julia Chansen

Alicia Dorman
Allyson Hendryx
Lara Hopkins
Bradley Perry

Caleb Kizelewicz
Valerie Lynch
Jennifer McLoone
David Janaro

Melisa Rich
Mary Robbins
Rachael Shenkman
John Turner

Faculty Notes

Samuel Barkin's book, *Social Construction and the Logic of Money*, was published by SUNY Press in January. He also participated in a workshop entitled 'Canada-U.S. Environmental Relations: from bilateral conflicts to a global alliance?' in Montreal, Canada.

James Button has been appointed the "Magid Term Professor" in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences for the Academic Year 2002-2003. He and Barbara Rienzo also recently published their book, *The Politics of Youth, Sex and Health Care in American Schools* with Haworth Press. The book reveals the history and political dynamic involved in building and sustaining an important innovation in the way health care services are delivered to America's youth. It is the results of their longitudinal national study of school-based health centers begun in 1991.

Michael Chege's article "Sierra Leone: The State That Came Back From the Dead," appeared in a special issue of *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2002) on failed states and contemporary terrorism.

Peggy Conway received the Manning J. Dauer Award of the Southern Political Science Association. The award is given every two years to a person epitomizing lifetime service within our discipline.

Lawrence Dodd has been elected to a three-year term on the Executive Council of the Southern Political Science Association. Dodd is currently completing his second year on the Council of the American Political Science Association, and will serve this year on the three-person "Elections Committee" that oversees the selection of association officers and council members for 2004. Dodd's essay "Making Sense Out of Our Exceptional Senate: Perspectives and Commentary," appeared this fall in *U.S. Senate Exceptionalism*, edited by Bruce I. Oppenheimer and published by Ohio State University Press.

Ido Oren's book, *Our Enemies and US: America's Rivalries and the Making of Political Science*, was published by Cornell University Press in January 2003. The book was discussed in a roundtable panel at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association in Portland, February 2003. Oren has been awarded one of the UF College of Liberal Arts and Sciences teaching awards for 2002-2003. Oren had recently been elected as Vice President of the Southern region of the International Studies Association (ISA-South). He is the program chair and organizer of the upcoming annual meeting of the ISA-South, which will be held in Gainesville on October 17-18, 2003.

Beth Rosenson recently had an article accepted for publication at *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* in the Spring 2003 issue. The article is entitled "Against Their Apparent Self-Interest: The Authorization of Independent Legislative Ethics Commissions, 1973-1976."

Ken Wald was pleased that Princeton University Press has published his co-authored book, *The Politics of Cultural Differences: Social Change and Voter Mobilization in the Post-New Deal Era*. In his capacity as director of UF's Center for Jewish Studies, he coordinated the first Summer Holocaust Institute for Florida's Teachers in June of 2002. This annual workshop assists teachers to fulfill the state mandate to incorporate Holocaust-related materials and themes in the curriculum.

Philip Williams spent the fall semester as a Fulbright Visiting Lecturer/Researcher at the Catholic University in Lima, Peru. In addition to carrying out research, he taught a graduate seminar in the Master's program in Political Science. In October, Williams participated in a conference sponsored by the U.S. Institute of Peace's Rule of Law Program. He presented a paper (co-authored with Lee Walker) on constitution-making in Nicaragua. During his Spring 2003 sabbatical, he will be directing a research project on religion and transnational migration in Florida and Latin America.

Patricia Woods has an article in the February 2003 issue of *Field Methods*, "Prayer, Contentious Politics, and the Women of the Wall: The Benefits of Collaboration in Participant Observation at Intense, Multi-Focal Events" co-authored with Steven V. Mazie; and received an appointment as a Visiting Scholar at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University for the Spring 2003 semester.

Congratulations!

Congratulations to Karen Harmel! Karen is currently an undergraduate in the honors program and was awarded one of only two internships in Senator Kennedy's Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee office in Washington, D.C.

Congratulations to our International Relations field! Our enormously popular International Relations Certificate Program hit a record for Fall 2002 with a total of 17 certificates to be awarded.



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