From the Chair

At about this time last year, most departments of political science in Ontario universities were fretting about the arrival of the “double cohort” – the double class of graduating high school students created by the abolition of Grade 13. Actually, our department is used to significant increases in undergraduate enrolment; indeed, over the past five years the number of undergraduate students taking political science courses at U of T has increased by an astonishing 98%. So for us another year of double-digit enrolment increases was not really new; rather, our challenge now is to introduce students to the excitement, frustration, discovery and hard work of individual research.

As I think back to my own undergraduate days here in the 1970s, what strikes me as qualitatively different is not so much the size of classes (they were pretty big back then too), nor the attention paid to students by professors (we still have incredibly devoted teachers), but the opportunities for our best, highly motivated students to engage in research under the direction of a professor. For several years now, Professor Ron Deibert has run his Citizen’s Lab, an offshoot of his popular first-year course on globalization that specializes in probing the interaction of activism and research. Professor John Kirton has created the G8 Research Group, in which students undertake research projects connected to the next G8 Summit, then travel to observe the Summit in action. And Professor Stephen Clarkson, named one of this year’s outstanding teachers in the Faculty of Arts and Science, has built a significant research component into his third-year course on continental integration, which includes a trip to Washington to interview key officials. But these initiatives, exciting though they may be, are not enough. The Department has decided to introduce a “senior thesis” option to provide some of our very finest fourth-year students – many of whom go on to the best graduate schools all over the world – with an opportunity to undertake a sustained piece of research and writing. We’re very excited about this new program, which we will fine tune over the course of the next academic year and introduce in 2005-06. Though we will start small, we expect that this undergraduate thesis option will become a popular and integral part of the political science program.

As those of you who have undertaken research know all too well, the one thing that often stands between a great idea and the research necessary to undertake it is adequate funding. The Department continues to invest as much of its discretionary budget as it possibly can in student research – whether by underwriting the cost of undergraduate students to participate in the special research programs noted above or by funding graduate students to travel to conferences to present findings from their dissertation research. One way or another, however, we depend on the Department’s Trust Fund to improve the educational experience of our students. Yet these student programs can only grow if the Trust Fund grows, and the Trust Fund can only grow if friends and graduates like you help out. Please help to make it possible for our students to develop the skills and taste for critical research in politics. If only research were as easy as completing the pledge form on the back of this newsletter!

Robert Vipond
What’s New at UTM

This past year saw a major advance for Political Science at the University of Toronto at Mississauga (UTM) – ‘Erindale’. Previously a unit of the Faculty of Arts and Science, UTM became a separate faculty with stand-alone departments enjoying substantially more control over their affairs than under the previous structure.

With 13 permanent faculty, the UTM Political Science Department already ranks in size with several well-known Canadian departments. Several hirings are expected in the next few years to cope with burgeoning enrolment growth and to replace retiring faculty. Added to the three new hires last year (Ana Maria Bejarano, Wambui Mwangi and David Pond) and the imminent arrival of Mark Lippincott, the faculty who will join the Department in the next while will bring about a thoroughgoing revitalization of political science at UTM.

Of course UTM faculty continue to be integral members of the University-wide Department, teaching in the Graduate Program at the St. George Campus and enjoying office facilities there.

Investing in our Students

Devoted readers of this newsletter will recall that, for the past two years, we have been busy attempting to endow Ontario Graduate Scholarships to benefit – in perpetuity – students pursuing graduate education in political science. Thanks to the generosity of friends, alumni, and indeed our own faculty, we now have endowed 10 awards. The most recently endowed award will be called the Professors and Alumni Ontario Graduate Scholarship in Political Science, to acknowledge the generosity both of our own teaching staff and several alumni to the Department. Great credit is due Professor Emeritus Steve Dupré, who has always excelled in persuading his colleagues to give their all to the Department!

At the same time, the Department continues to benefit from the truly extraordinary generosity of Professor Emeritus Frank Peers who has created an award for students pursuing research on pressing matters of national and international concern, especially in the areas of conflict resolution, Canadian-American relations, and international cooperation. Thanks to Frank Peers, graduate students will be able to undertake travel and research in these areas with Departmental support that simply would have been impossible even a few years ago. This gift comes in addition to earlier donations that allowed us to create five Ontario Graduate Scholarships. The Department is deeply, deeply grateful to Frank for his vision, commitment, and generosity.
Honouring Outstanding Undergraduates

Shown here (along with the Director of Undergraduate Studies, Melissa Williams, and Undergraduate Administrator, Elizabeth Jagdeo) at a reception held in the autumn are some of the winners of this year’s undergraduate student awards. Here is the complete list of winners:

**For Outstanding Performance in a Single Piece of Work:** Thineishan Ramanathan (Pollara Book Prize); Katherine Hallemeier (J. Michael Kyne Award); Bryony Lau and Jake Hirsch-Allen (Canadian Institute of International Affairs Book Prize); Ernest Manning and Matthew Boulos (Ruth Robinson Leberg Book Prize); Tony Navaneelan (J. Stefan Dupré Book Prize); Nikolai Roudev (Brian Mulroney Award).

**For Outstanding Performance in a Year:** Omolara Adekanye (The Monte Kwinter Political Science Award); Honor Brabazon (Andrew Nigrini Sr. Memorial Scholarship); Sarah Arti Mohan (The Alexander MacKenzie Scholarship in Political Science); Andrew Furgiuele (Paul L. Nathanson Scholarship in Political Science); Juelle Gomes and Alexei Volsky (Mary Keenan Award in Political Science); Jennifer Donville (Jules and Elaine James Scholarship).

**For Outstanding Performance Over Their Entire Academic Year:** Sarah Davidson Ladly (Suzanne and Edwin Goodman Prize). Congratulations!

**Leanne Thomas**

Late in the summer of 2002, just as the annual flood of invoices and bills of a new academic term was about to hit, the Department found itself without a financial assistant. Fortunately, Leanne Thomas stepped into the breach on short notice to keep the paycheques and other payments rolling. Although the assignment was only temporary at first, the fit was obviously a good one for she brought just the right combination of good cheer and ruthless efficiency required to keep tabs on the expenditures of a large department. Six months later she joined the Department as a permanent member of the staff.

In addition to payroll and reimbursements, Thomas is also responsible for the budget and financial reporting for the operating budget, research grants, endowed grants and departmental awards as part of her regular duties. And for faculty she also handles the otherwise aggravating budget information and reconciliation procedures required for most grants. She also assists department manager Rita O’Brien and in a pinch fills in at the reception desk.
While most of her work for the Department entails processing invoices and paying bills, Thomas also maintains extensive paper files for the past three years on virtually all aspects of the Department’s budgetary life. While many might find this daunting, her only complaint is of the paper cuts. Indeed, she enjoys the wide range of learning her job entails and she appreciates the routine delegation of responsibility in the Department that offers opportunities to broaden her experience. She clearly enjoys the work and the people that come along with it, commenting drolly that compared with her experience in the corporate world, people in the Department are generally easy-going and “somewhat normal”.

Prior to joining the University she worked as a manager at Data Vaults, a firm specializing in co-located Internet infrastructure services for companies that rely on the Internet as a critical part of their business. And before that she served for five years as a facility specialist at AT&T, managing office space/workspace and contracting out building services. Originally from Hamilton, Ontario, Thomas moved to Toronto at the age of nineteen to attend George Brown College for graphic design.

Born and raised in an athletic family, she grew up playing sports with her brother and father, both of whom she describes as “real jocks”. In primary school she scored a provincial bronze medal in the 400 metre run. Later she turned to cross-country, soccer and gymnastics. Today, she describes herself as “outdoorsy,” enjoying frequent camping and hiking trips to provincial parks, with Bon Echo being her current favourite. The cold weather generally brings tobogganing too, though last season she smashed beyond repair her GT racer on the ice hill at Christie Pitts. On a perhaps more placid note, she confesses to so love interior decorating that she has essentially run out of rooms to redecorate at home.

**Focus on Faculty**

**Simone Chambers**, born and raised in Montreal, joined the Department after more than a dozen years on the faculty at the University of Colorado at Boulder. After completing a Bachelor of Arts at McGill, she took graduate training at the University of Frankfurt and Columbia University. She has also held visiting appointments at Harvard, Princeton and Munich universities. She is currently teaching Modern Political Thought and a course entitled Reason, Deliberation and the Public Sphere.

Her scholarly work is at the intersection of political theory and public law, so her concerns extend to how ideas actually play out in institutional spheres such as legislatures, media and the courts. She is particularly interested in the ways in which citizens can participate in making and amending constitutions. In addition to a score of scholarly articles, her books include *Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society; Deliberation, Democracy and the Media; and Reasonable Democracy: Jürgen Habermas and the Politics of Discourse.*
Presently she is working toward a new book on public reason and deliberation. Its inspiration grows from her concern over how liberalism can best deal with pluralism. Liberal societies require new methods of participation because diversity poses new challenges to democratic legitimacy. Chambers argues that while we need public participation, some forms of participation are better than others. Often-used forms of participation such as referenda are perhaps the worst in that they create adversarial, zero-sum conditions as she has argued in an oft-cited paper. Better, she contends, are grassroots approaches. Good examples include those practiced in South Africa in the 1990s because they entail a sense of involvement and ownership on the part of citizens. She notes particularly their well-designed institutions, good use of radio, and effective constitutional assembly. The result is a citizenry proud of their constitutional process. More mixed results followed by contrast upon Canada’s experiences with the Meech and Charlottetown rounds of constitutionalism. On the day we spoke, she was reflecting and writing about negotiations behind closed doors versus those in public. Her aim is to identify what goes wrong in public deliberation so we can limit it in the interest of public reason; her focus on the 1787 secret deliberations in the US and the public deliberations in France in 1789.

An avid skier, Chambers has also run since graduate school. As the mother of two young children, she particularly appreciates the flexibility of running. Nevertheless, she doesn’t much like taking to the roads, particularly when it entails stopping at corners. So when time is short or the weather foul she heads to one of the University’s indoor tracks. When conditions permit, she prefers to run at Mount Pleasant Cemetery, which feels to her much like being in an arboretum.

After many years at Boulder, Chambers enjoys living in Toronto, not only because the restaurants are better here, but it also is such a great kid city with the ROM, the Science Centre and the AGO, as well as so many neighbourhoods to explore. And though her favourite restaurant may be North 44, she can more often be seen eating with her family on Sunday evenings in Chinatown.

Honours and Awards

This has been another “awarding” year for the Department. A few of the highlights: Janice Stein was awarded the Molson Prize in the social sciences and humanities. Awarded annually to a scholar who has made a distinguished contribution to the intellectual life of the country, the prize recognizes Janice’s pioneering research in international studies and her tireless work with non-governmental organizations and others in the voluntary sector to build capacity and share knowledge. A truly inspired choice!

Still on the national scene, Richard Simeon and Stephen Clarkson have been elected Fellows of the Royal Society of Canada. Duncan Ivison won the C.B.
Macpherson Prize for Postcolonial Liberalism. And one of our undergraduate students, Shawn Friele, wrote what the Canada Study of Parliament Group considered to be the best essay on Canadian political institutions. (The essay was originally written for the introductory course in Canadian Politics, POL 214, taught by Linda White.)

Meantime, back at U of T, Stephen Bernstein was granted tenure. Stephen Clarkson was chosen one of the outstanding teachers in the Faculty of Arts and Science, the second year in a row that a political scientist has been so honoured. Our incomparable Undergraduate Administrator, Elizabeth (Liz) Jagdeo, won the Faculty’s Student Life Award for the many ways in which she has served undergraduate students. And speaking of students, undergraduate student Greg Vermeulen won a Gordon Cressy Student Leadership Award and graduate student Nisha Shah won a University of Toronto Alumni Association Award of Excellence. Congratulations all!

**Onward and Upward**

What is it that draws political scientists to academic administration and the administration to political scientists? We’re not entirely sure, but recent evidence suggests that the Department continues to provide extraordinary leadership to the University of Toronto. Carolyn Tuohy, formerly Vice President for Policy Development, has shifted portfolios and is now Vice President, Government and Institutional Relations. Patricia McCarney, long associated with efforts to “internationalize” the University’s activities, has become Associate Vice President for International Research and Development. One of Patricia’s key partners in this exercise will be Jeff Kopstein, who succeeds Susan Solomon as Academic Co-ordinator of the Joint Initiative in German-European Studies (JIGES for short). And Sylvia Bashevkin has agreed to serve as the Vice Principal of University College.

Speaking of UC, two ambitious new ventures have political scientists at their head: David Rayside (already the Department’s Grad Director) will become the Director of the newly created Centre for Sexual Diversity Studies. And Thomas (Tad) Homer-Dixon is heading up the recently named Trudeau Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies.

Meantime, back on the home front, Ran Hirschl takes over from Melissa Williams as Associate Chair and Director of Undergraduate Studies; Simone Chambers succeeds Don Forbes as Director of the MA programs; and Linda White will be in charge of allocating Teaching Assistants, taking over from Patricia McCarney.
Op-Ed: To Russia with the Governor General

by Franklyn Griffiths

As many will know, Governor General Adrienne Clarkson last fall travelled on a state visit to the Russian Federation, thence to Finland and Iceland. The aim was to encourage an exchange of ideas and experience among northern countries who govern, utilize, study, enjoy, and also cooperate in a shared Arctic region, one that’s inhabited by indigenous peoples with a special claim on the awareness and respect of their fellows to the south. In making these visits, the Governor General lends support to the "Northern Dimension" of Canadian foreign policy that the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade has been pursuing for some years now. Knowing something about the circumpolar North as well as Russia, I had the good fortune to be invited to take part in the visit to Russia.

Some thirty of us made up a delegation that included Aboriginal leaders, parliamentarians, writers, filmmakers, and persons with special knowledge in matters of the environment, development, governance, children and youth, and language policy. The visit took us to Moscow, up to Salekhard, which is on the Arctic Circle near where the Ob opens onto salt water, and then over to St. Petersburg, all over a period of ten days.

Contrary to the nay-saying in Canada which I observed before, during and after, this trip was entirely justified. A state visit offers a marvellous opportunity to capture the attention of influentials in the host country, especially when one has a bit more to talk about than exports and the bottom line. My sense of what happened is that we got their attention. Not merely was there a spike in press coverage during the visit, but leaders from President Putin on down to pace-setters in a wide range of endeavours found themselves conversing with Canadian counterparts on matters of common concern. New awareness was created. Some of it will be more than momentary. Some of it may inform and enrich future cooperation between our two countries. Governor General Clarkson’s originality is to turn the honour and the prestige that are associated with the state visit into instruments for heightened foreign recognition of Canada and a full spectrum of Canadian ambitions. I say more power to her.

My impressions were too many and diverse to be rendered with any great coherence in a short note such as this. Protocol officers shepherded us constantly from ceremonial to substantive events, and then back again to ceremony including receptions to the point of receptionitis. The substantive events in which we took part included panel and round table sessions on everything from the modern novel to dismantling of derelict Russian nuclear submarines. As to receptions, they could be lavish. During the Brezhnev era it used to be said that Soviet Russia ran
on alcohol, protocol, and Geritol. If what happened on this visit is any guide, Russia has got it down to protocol and alcohol in that order.

Otherwise, two main impressions stand out: a state dinner in the Kremlin and a helicopter visit to the now long-abandoned, forced labour camp 501 in the Yamalo-Nenets autonomous okrug west of Salekhard.

A couple hundred of us dined in St. Alexander’s Hall. The space is vast and the mania for gilding is unrestrained. Near the entrance was the head table to which their various excellencies and other dignitaries came and sat once the main body of guests had taken their places. The whole scene was quite splendid. And when dinner was over President and Mrs. Putin escorted the Governor General and John Ralston Saul down the length of the hall and out through two immense doors into yet another cavernous hall lit this time in radiant blue and suggesting elevation to heaven.

As was to be expected, placement for the dinner was in Russian hands. I found they had seated me at the head of a small table up at the front. On my left was Sergei Lebedev, the head of Russia’s foreign intelligence service. To my right was Yuri Gagarin’s daughter, who is in charge of Kremlin antiquities. Interesting and agreeable conversation ensued, conversation, be it noted, with amiable *siloviki* (the term today for people in the Russian security and defence apparatus).

Lebedev told me, twice, that he had very good working relations with Ward Elcock, the head of CSIS. Since CSIS reads everything and since Lebedev apparently wanted a message to get through to him, I hereby relay it via this newsletter. For my part, I told Lebedev that people around the Canadian security intelligence establishment claimed Russia spied on Canada. He had an excellent reply that he delivered with an air of feigned confidentiality: "They exaggerate Canada’s significance."

At camp 501 we saw remains of the work of earlier *siloviki* who would not have been all that good as dinner companions. On Stalin’s order, they had brought prisoners in to construct a trans-Arctic railway on discontinuous permafrost; this was in 1947 and in response to the demonstrated vulnerability of the Northern Sea Route to German submarines during World War II. Camps were set up every ten or so kilometres along the proposed line. 501 was one of them. All in all, some 40,000 persons are said to have died before the entire undertaking came to an abrupt end following the dictator’s death in 1953. So it was to a scene of previous horror that we descended in ancient helicopters on a late September morning in 2003.

Relics of horror there were, but great natural beauty as well. To anyone with the faintest idea of the cruelty that went on in places like this, there was plenty to ponder: roofs fallen in and chimneys toppled, barbed wire all but rusted away and a watchtower now in serious decline, and at the heart of it all long sleeping
platforms one above the other on both sides of a few decrepit structures in the middle of nowhere. And yet there was more.

We were in a shallow valley, so there was a bit of protection. Birch trees had grown, as had larch now with golden needles. The moss was springy underfoot. Lichens abounded. Cloudberries were to be had, as was wild cranberry and the odd snowflake in air of extraordinary freshness. The physical handiwork of Stalin’s siloviki was and is being undone by nature, indeed by northern nature. Before too long, camp 501 will be obliterated. This is both an excellent prospect and a fitting note on which to end these impressions. Or is it?

Surely we are all better off remembering what occurred in this and so many other remote locations in the archipelago. Surely it would be best for the local authorities to repair and maintain camp 501, if only for visiting VIPs. Indeed, why shouldn't we offer to assist them in this? In my view Russia should maintain more accessible sites of remembrance elsewhere in the country. Let nature prevail over camp 501.
Two long-time friends of the Department of Political Science from opposite ends of the political spectrum met in spirited debate last fall before a capacity audience at Victoria College. Bob Rae, former NDP Premier of Ontario and Preston Manning, former leader of the Reform Party of Canada held *A Public Conversation on the Future of Canadian Democracy*. In addition to the verbal jousting of the speakers, a wide-ranging question and answer session enabled students to engage the two former leaders on a variety of topics. The event was co-sponsored by the Department of Political Science and the Association of Political Science Students.
Words of Tribute

Celebratory receptions were held last term to honour Ron Manzer and Bob Matthews on the occasion of their retirements from the University of Toronto. Among the many heartfelt words spoken on those days were the following:

“There is much to say about the impact Ron Manzer has had and continues to have over important aspects of what defines me, my work and approach to vocation—so much, these cannot be captured meaningfully on the page. I offer this poem as a proxy for what can only be articulated as heartfelt thanks and gratitude.”

Teacher to a student, first we met,
Confidence, certainty, and clarity in abeyance,
Craving direction, purpose, assurance,
For better, potential yet to be seen, or realized.

Advisor to candidate, relationship growing,
Lights flickering, focus is beginning to take shape,
Patience defines the teacher, gentle and encouraging,
More seeds sown, wisely, ideas being put to page.

Facilitator to wanderer, spirits being tested,
How complex, tumultuous, tasks seem ahead,
Perseverant, quiet, purposeful remains the guide.
Pushing forward, steadfast, the ends become possible.

Mentor to respectful friend, forever thankful,
Fortunate, humbled, always learning observant,
So rare, true gentleman, his lessons have not been lost,
No one has compared, his example will endure.

Friend to mentor, assurance transposed,
What you have loved remains, the rest is insignificant,
What you leave behind cannot be wrested away,
Your students and friends, your mark, indelible,
deliberate, true legacy.

Robert P. Shepherd (Ph.D. Candidate)

“One of my most memorable moments was during an early evening at the UN office in Baghdad, in December 1998. The weapons inspectors had mysteriously disappeared from the building that morning, and we had just received confirmation that the Americans would begin bombing the city within hours and that we would be obliged to sleep in our offices pending evacuation. We had all been busy taping down the windows and
positioning food rations and sleeping mattresses around the building, nervously hoping that ‘smart weapons’ would not stray.

At dusk the Iraqis decided to put on a show of strength, and began firing their anti-aircraft guns harmlessly into an empty sky. The tracers were beautiful to watch, and the thundering of guns was dramatic. I was taking all of this in from the window of my darkened room. The world had become very small and immediate. I remember worrying about running out of cigarettes and then the phone rang.

It was Bob.

Calling from his cottage in the woods of Ontario.

He told me the first snowflakes were falling, and then went on to enquire how I was doing with my dissertation on Mozambique, and would I be interested in attending a conference in the spring?

It was like a call from another galaxy, a call back to basics. And indeed, before I knew it I was back in Montreal East, merrily tapping away at my thesis. Bob had successfully coaxed me out of the front line and back to my desk to finish the work I had started. He was interested to see me through. I will always be grateful to him for that. And so will my mother.

But there’s nothing like the front line. And so it is from dusty, frenzied, trigger-happy Kabul that I raise my glass (of tea!) to Bob on the occasion of his retirement. Wishing him the very best and hoping to see him one of these days in Cephalonia."

Alex Costy (Ph.D. 2000)

(photograph of new seminar room)

CAPTION:
Construction is now complete on the Sidney Smith In-fill project. In addition to several new faculty and graduate student offices, the Department has also gained a new seminar room.

Grad Tidings

Michelle Bonner begins a tenure-track position at the University of Ottawa.

Jordi Diez-Mendez is at Queen’s University where he is a post-doc at the School of Policy Studies and, as of July 1, he will be taking up a tenure-track position in the Department of Political Science, University of Guelph.
Oded Haklai caps off a busy year; he defended his thesis, completed a post-doc and taught a couple of courses. Now he is about to begin a tenure-track position at Queen’s.

Jonathan Malloy’s book *Between Colliding Worlds* has been published by University of Toronto Press as part of the IPAC Series in Public Management.

Anthony Perl has returned to the University of Calgary were he was promoted to the rank of Professor of Political Science. His most recent book, co-edited with U of T Political Science Ph.D. classmate, Eugene Lee, is *The Integrity Gap: Canada’s Environmental Policy and Institutions* (UBC Press 2003).

David Romano is spending the current academic year in Iraq, conducting research on a Department of National Defence post-doctoral fellowship.

Annis Mae Timpson has received two further honours for her book *Driven Apart: Women’s Employment Equity and Child Care in Canadian Public Policy*. It has been designated an “outstanding academic title” by *Choice* as well as receiving the Canadian Women’s Studies Association Book Award.

Tamara Weinstein is now a senior producer with CBC television’s *The Fifth Estate*.

**Newly-Minted Ph.D.s**

Congratulations to our newly-minted Ph.D.s and their supervisors: Antoine Bilodeau (Neil Nevitte); Michelle Bonner (Judith Teichman); Jordi Diez-Mendez (Judith Teichman); Oded Haklai (Richard Sandbrook); Louie Joseph Hebert Jr. (Clifford Orwin); Hormoz Khakpour (Franklyn Griffiths); Terry Maley (Ed Andrew); Valerie McNabb (Judith Teichman); Nandita Biswas Mellamphy (Ed Andrew); Fiona Miller (Clifford Orwin); Paul Rasmussen (Tom Pangle) and Mitu Sengupta (Richard Sandbrook).

**Faculty Books**


*Discourse* is published twice a year by the Department of Political Science at the University of Toronto. Correspondence should be directed to: The Editors, Discourse, Department of Political Science, University of Toronto, 100 St. George Street, Toronto, ON M5S 3G3 Canada. This issue was edited by Joe Fletcher.