

Fellowship Programs

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program

Named in honor of NED's principal founders, former president Ronald Reagan and the late U.S. congressman Dante Fascell (D-FL), the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program is funded by the U.S. Congress to enable democratic activists, practitioners, scholars, and journalists from around the world to deepen their understanding of democracy and enhance their ability to promote democratic change. Based at the International Forum for Democratic Studies, in Washington, D.C., Reagan-Fascell fellowships are typically five months in duration and focus on the political, social, economic, legal, or cultural aspects of democratic development.

The Reagan-Fascell program seeks to deepen the knowledge, enrich the skills, broaden the perspectives, and strengthen the morale of some of the world's most committed and courageous democratic practitioners, journalists, and scholars. The International Forum for Democratic Studies offers fellows a collegial environment in which to conduct research and writing; develop contacts and exchange ideas with counterparts in Washington's policy, academic, media, and nongovernmental communities; and build ties that contribute to the development of a global network of democracy advocates.

In 2007–2008, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program hosted leading democratic activists, journalists, and scholars from a wide range of countries, including **Azerbaijan, Chechnya, Croatia, China, Egypt, Georgia, Iraq, Liberia, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan, Uganda, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Zimbabwe.**

Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows in 2007–2008

Dr. Leila Alieva (Azerbaijan)

“The Impact of Oil in Azerbaijan: From Parliamentarism to Super-Presidentialism” October 2007–February 2008



Leila Alieva

Dr. Leila Alieva is founding director of the Center for National and International Studies, a Baku-based think tank that provides independent research and policy analysis on a wide range of national and international issues. One of Azerbaijan's most renowned social scientists, she has held research fellowships

at a number of universities and research institutions and has worked as a consultant to the United Nations, OSCE, and the U.S. government. In 2003 and 2005, she was a national observer of both the presidential and parliamentary elections in Azerbaijan. Her articles have appeared in numerous books and journals, including the *Journal of Democracy* and the NATO Defense College's Occasional Paper Series. During her fellowship, Dr. Alieva worked on a monograph concerning oil development, democracy, and state-building in Azerbaijan. On February 20, 2008, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “A Tale of Two Regimes: Oil and Politics in Azerbaijan.”

Mr. Atef Al-Saadawy (Egypt)

“The Role of the United States in the Transition to Democracy in the Arab World” June–September 2008



Atef Al-Saadawy

Mr. Atef Al-Saadawy is managing editor of the *Democracy Review*, a quarterly publication of the Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies

in Cairo. He is also a researcher with the Arab Reform Forum at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina and a contributor to Oxford University's Project for Democracy Studies in the Arab Countries. A prolific writer and expert on Egyptian politics, Mr. Al-Saadawy has authored numerous books, articles, and reports concerning democratization in the Arab world, including *Enhancing Democracy in Egypt: Toward a Common View Among Political Powers* (2007). During his fellowship, Mr. Al-Saadawy studied U.S. approaches toward democracy promotion in the Arab world, comparing rhetoric, strategies, obstacles, and outcomes. On September 19, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Promoting Democracy in the Arab World: New Ideas for U.S. Policy.”

Dr. Gia Areshidze (Georgia)

“The Business Community and the Color Revolutions of Georgia and Ukraine” March–July 2008



Gia Areshidze

Dr. Gia Areshidze is director and senior fellow at the Partnership for Social Initiatives (PSI), a Tbilisi-based

NGO devoted to developing ideas and policies for the consolidation of liberal democracy in Georgia. He is also director of the Orbeliani Center for Advanced Strategic and National Security Policy, which conducts analyses of demographic trends and publishes the annual *Demographic Yearbook of Georgia*. During his fellowship, Dr. Arshidze examined the role of the business community in the recent color revolutions of Georgia and Ukraine. He also analyzed the business sector as an engine of democratic change in transitional societies. On June 4, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED, cosponsored with CIPE, entitled "State Building versus Democracy in Georgia: Origins and Outcomes of the Rose Revolution." His article "Georgia's Year of Turmoil" (co-authored with Dr. Miriam Lansky) appeared in the October 2008 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*.

Ms. Tihana Bartulac-Blanc (Croatia)

"Minorities and Elections: Case Studies from the former Yugoslavia" October 2007–February 2008



Tihana Bartulac-Blanc

Ms. Tihana Bartulac-Blanc is currently associate director of American University's Center for Democracy and Election Management. Formerly

affiliated with IFES's Center for Transitional and Post-Conflict Governance, she advised the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq in the run-up to the country's first post-war elections in 2004–2006. She has extensive experience working with the OSCE's election missions in Kosovo, Bosnia, and Georgia, where she has provided training and technical assistance, man-

aged voting operations, and facilitated voter registration for refugees and other displaced persons. Ms. Bartulac-Blanc devoted her fellowship to studying how ethnic minorities are protected through electoral processes, focusing on the countries of the former Yugoslavia as case studies. On November 14 and December 11, 2007, she led two roundtables at NED entitled "New Borders and Anomalies in the Balkans: Croatia's Diaspora Constituency." During her fellowship, she also wrote a Special Report by the same title.

Mr. Usam Baysaev (Chechnya)

"The War in Chechnya: Reflections of a Human Rights Activist" October 2007–February 2008



Usam Baysaev

Mr. Usam Baysaev is a journalist and human rights worker who has reported on the crisis in Chechnya from the onset of the second Chechen

war. As a member of the Human Rights Center Memorial, he documents human rights violations and compiles the center's "Chronicle of Violence," a daily account of human rights violations perpetrated in the republic. Mr. Baysaev also serves as a freelance publicist and Chechen desk correspondent for Radio Free Europe. During his fellowship, Mr. Baysaev wrote a book manuscript on social and political developments in Chechnya since 1996. On January 15, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled "Putin's Campaign Against Chechen Society." On February 6, 2008, he was featured in an article by Nora Boustany in the *Washington Post*, entitled "Chechen Warns of Islamic Extremism:

Appeal of Militant Ideology Is Spreading in North Caucasus, Rights Activist Says."

Dr. Tom Gallagher (United Kingdom)

"The Alienation of British-Born Muslims from Democratic Processes" March–August 2008



Tom Gallagher

Dr. Tom Gallagher is chair in ethnic conflict and peace studies at the University of Bradford, where he has taught courses on European history,

comparative politics, and ethnic identity for over twenty-five years. His research has centered on inter-ethnic relations in twentieth-century Europe, the impact of identity conflicts on representative government, and the role of ethnicity in shaping politics, notably in Scotland, Portugal, Italy, Romania, and the Balkans. He is the author of numerous articles and six books, including *Theft of a Nation: Romania Since Communism* (2005) and *The Balkans Since the Cold War* (2003). During his fellowship, Dr. Gallagher explored the origins and implications of British-born Muslims' alienation from the British state and society. On June 5, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled "The Missing British Dream? A Fractured Democracy Faces Muslim Discontent."

Mr. David Hawk
(United States)

“Leveraging Human Rights and Democratic Openings in North Korea”
March–July 2008



David Hawk

Mr. David Hawk is a former executive director of Amnesty International USA (AIUSA) who has also served on the board of directors of Human Rights

Watch–Asia. A prominent human rights investigator and advocate, he directed the Cambodia Documentation Commission in the early 1990s, seeking the establishment of an international tribunal for the Khmer Rouge leadership as well as the inclusion of human rights provisions in the 1991 Cambodia peace treaty and subsequent UN peacekeeping operation. In the mid-to-late 1990s, he directed the Cambodia Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights. His recent publications include *Hidden Gulag: Exposing North Korea’s Prison Camps—Prisoner Testimonies and Satellite Photographs* (published by the U.S. Committee for Human Rights in North Korea). During his fellowship, Mr. Hawk researched human rights and governance conditionalities in bilateral and multilateral aid programs to North Korea. On July 15, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Economic Aid to the DPRK: The Human Rights Dimension.”

Mr. Angelo Izama
(Uganda)

“Peace versus Justice: Negotiating an End to the Northern Uganda Conflict”
October 2007–February 2008



Angelo Izama

Mr. Angelo Izama is director of special projects at the *Daily Monitor*, Uganda’s only independent daily newspaper, and a frequent contributor

to various other news media, including the *Nation*, Radio Botswana, Voice of America, and Radio Channel Africa. He has also served as producer and host of top-rated political talk shows at the radio station 933 KFM. A respected journalist, Mr. Izama is known for his insightful analyses of the political situation in Uganda. During his fellowship, he worked on a Special Report entitled “From Competition to Cooperation: Two Cases for Fostering Peace in the Great Lakes Region,” in which he evaluated demands for international justice and options for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in northern Uganda. On February 11, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Regional Options for Peace in the Great Lakes: The Case of Uganda’s Lord’s Resistance Army.”

Mr. Eddie Jarwolo
(Liberia)

“Civic Education and Democracy Building: The Case of Post-War Liberia”
March–July 2008



Eddie Jarwolo

Mr. Eddie Jarwolo is founding director of the National Youth Movement for Transparent Elections–Partners for Democratic

Development (NAYMOTE), an organization that provides young Liberians with the opportunity to participate in decision-making, governance, leadership, and community service. In the run-up to Liberia’s 2005 elections, he spearheaded NAYMOTE’s campaign to improve electoral laws for disabled voters and increase the participation of young Liberians in the voting process. During his fellowship, he examined how civic education can be used effectively to promote democratic growth, particularly in African countries emerging from civil strife. Based on his findings, he worked on a training manual on teaching democracy in schools and communities in post-conflict settings, with an emphasis on promoting the participation of women and youth. On July 10, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “A New Liberia: Educating for Democracy as a Way of Life.”

Mr. Tapera Kapuya
(Zimbabwe)

“Mobilizing Youth in the Struggle for Democracy in Zimbabwe”
October 2007–February 2008



Tapera Kapuya

Mr. Tapera Kapuya is the coordinator of the South African office of the National Constitutional Assembly, a civic movement that campaigns

for a new constitution in Zimbabwe. He is a former Africa region secretary for the International Union of Students, an umbrella organization representing 125 national student unions across the globe. An original working-group member of the World Youth Movement for Democracy (WYMD), he is helping to establish an African chapter of the WYMD. During his fellowship, Mr. Kapuya developed strategies and explored opportunities for involving youth in the struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe. In anticipation of Zimbabwe’s March 2008 elections, he led two working group meetings at NED, on December 18, 2007 and February 14, 2008, on the theme of “Reinvigorating Zimbabwe’s Democratic Wave.” His article “The Situation in Kenya and the Struggle for a Democratic Constitution in Zimbabwe: The Cautionary Tale of Kenya” appeared in the January 2008 issue of the *International Journal of Civil Society Law*.

Mr. Prem Khanal
(Nepal)

“Political Resistance to Economic Reform and Its Impact on Democracy in Nepal”
October 2007–February 2008



Prem Khanal

Mr. Prem Khanal is chief of the business bureau at the *Kathmandu Post*, where he has published numerous articles on politics, business,

corruption, and economic reform in Nepal. An economist by training, he previously served as research officer for the Institute for Development Studies in Kathmandu. He has authored two books, *An Analysis of Public Expenditure in Nepal* (2005) and *A Study on Government Plans, Programs, and Budget Affecting Children in Nepal* (2002), and has co-authored *Problems and Prospects of Reforms in Nepal* (2003). In 2004, his numerous expository pieces on corruption and the misuse of public funds earned him an Outstanding Performance Award from Kantipur Publications in Kathmandu. During his fellowship, Mr. Khanal studied political resistance to economic reforms in Nepal since 1990 and the impact of this resistance on democratization. On February 1, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Political Resistance to Economic Reform in Nepal: Conflict and Consequences for Democracy.”

Mr. Okechukwu Nwanguma
(Nigeria)

“Toward Police Reform in Nigeria”
March–July 2008



Okechukwu Nwanguma

Mr. Okechukwu Nwanguma is currently program coordinator at the Lagos-based Network on Police Reform in Nigeria (NOPRIN). Previously,

he served as project head for campaign operations and periodic reports at the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) in Lagos, where he documented cases of human rights abuses in Nigeria. As a student activist at the University of Nigeria (1988–1992), he helped form a youth group in support of the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. Since that time, Mr. Nwanguma has emerged as an advocate of civil liberties in Nigeria and beyond, risking his personal safety as he speaks out against police brutality throughout the country. During his fellowship, Mr. Nwanguma developed a model for police reform in Nigeria. On June 18, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Toward Police Reform in Nigeria: The Role of Civil Society.”

Mr. Safwat Rashid Sidqi
(Iraq)

“National Reconciliation Through Democratization in Iraq”
October 2007–February 2008



Safwat Rashid Sidqi

Mr. Safwat Rashid Sidqi is a former election commissioner with the Independent Electoral Commission of Iraq, a government body established to

oversee elections throughout Iraq. As co-founder of the Kurdistan Human Rights Organization (KHRO), Mr. Sidqi has helped to document human rights violations in Iraqi Kurdistan and mediate conflicts between the region’s two former rival political parties. A lawyer by training, he has dedicated more than forty years to a career in public administration and private practice. He has also worked with the Bar Association, the Jurists Union, and the KHRO to reverse gender discriminatory articles in Iraq’s legal code and promote the rule of law in post-Saddam Iraq. During his fellowship, Mr. Sidqi undertook a study of Iraq’s prospects for national reconciliation through democracy. On February 7, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Prospects for Iraqi National Reconciliation: Searching for a Plan.”

Ms. Alice Verghese
(Malaysia)

“Documenting Torture in Asia: Methods of Data Collection, Analysis, and Distribution”
March–July 2008



Alice Verghese

Ms. Alice Verghese is program coordinator for Asia and the Pacific at the International Rehabilitation

Council for Victims of Torture in Copenhagen, where she provides guidance and training for a network of nearly twenty-five independent torture rehabilitation centers in Asia. She has previously worked with the World Conservation Union in Pakistan and with Doctors Without Borders in Kenya, where she specialized in the delivery of humanitarian assistance to women and communities with special needs. During her fellowship, Ms. Verghese studied methods of data collection on torture in Sri Lanka and the Philippines and worked on a comparative report on best practices for preventing torture in the two countries. On June 25, 2008, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Torture, Justice, and Democracy: Myths and Misconceptions.”

Mr. S. Akbar Zaidi
(Pakistan)

“The Democracy Deficit in Pakistan: Is Civil Society Responsible?”
March–July 2008



S. Akbar Zaidi

Mr. S. Akbar Zaidi is an independent researcher who has served as visiting professor of South Asian Studies at Johns Hopkins University–SAIS

(2004–2005), as visiting scholar at the University of Oxford (1998), and as associate professor of economics at the University of Karachi (1983–96). One of Pakistan’s most respected analysts, he has written numerous books and articles on economic and political issues, including regular columns in leading Pakistani publications such as *Dawn* and the *Economic and Political Weekly*. A member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Women’s Studies* (Islamabad), Mr. Zaidi has served as co-editor of the

Pakistan Journal of Applied Economics and as review editor of *Global Security Policy*. During his fellowship, he researched the role of civil society in Pakistan’s democratization process; he plans to publish his findings in the form of a book. On July 17, 2008, he gave a presentation at NED entitled “Why Is Pakistan Not a Democracy?”

Dr. Kate Zhou
(China/United States)

“China’s Long March to Freedom: Grassroots Liberalization through Individual Action”
March–July 2008



Kate Zhou

Dr. Kate Zhou is associate professor of political science at the University of Hawaii, where she teaches courses on Asian politics, women and

development, and political economy. An accomplished academic, she has devoted over twenty years to studying Chinese politics and grassroots movements, and is the author of more than twenty articles and book chapters, as well as the book *How the Farmers Changed China: Power of the People* (1996). Dr. Zhou also founded the Educational Advancement Fund International, the U.S.-Asian Entrepreneurs Association, and several NGOs in China; in recognition of these initiatives, she was awarded the Templeton Freedom Award for Social Entrepreneurship in 2006. During her fellowship, Dr. Zhou completed her book *China’s Long March to Freedom: Grassroots Liberalization through Individual Action*. On May 15, 2008, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Liberalization and Authoritarianism in Contemporary China: From the Growth of Grassroots Liberty to Nationalist Furor over Tibet.”

Visiting Fellows Program

In addition to the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program, the International Forum for Democratic Studies hosts a small Visiting Fellows Program for scholars and practitioners with outside funding who wish to be affiliated with the Forum. During the 2007–2008 fellowship year, the Forum hosted Visiting Fellows from Oman, Russia, and the United States.

Dr. Susan Alberts (United States)

“Subjecting Power to Rules: Constitutionalism and Democratic Survival”
Visiting Fellow, October 2007–June 2008



Susan Alberts

Dr. Susan Alberts is a former U.S. Foreign Service officer whose career has included postings in Bombay, India and Washington, D.C. An emerging expert in constitutionalism who recently obtained her Ph.D. in government from Georgetown University, Dr. Alberts presented her paper, “Subjecting Power to Rules:

Constitutionalism in New Democracies in Latin America,” at the 2006 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Philadelphia. During her fellowship, Dr. Alberts worked on a book project examining constitutionalism and democratic survival. On May 29, 2008, she gave a presentation at NED entitled “Why Play by the Rules? Constitutionalism and Democracy in Ecuador and Uruguay.” Her article of the same title was published in the December 2008 issue of *Democratization*.

Ms. Rafiah Al-Talei (Oman)

“Promoting Women’s Political Participation in Oman”
Visiting Fellow (nonresidential),
February 2007–October 2008



Rafiah Al-Talei

Ms. Rafiah Al-Talei is a news writer for the Middle East Broadcasting Networks (MBN), a nonprofit corporation based in Springfield, Virginia, that operates the Arabic-language Alhurra TV and Radio Sawa networks. An experienced journalist specializing in media and women’s rights, she has served as editor-in-chief of *Al Mar’ah*,

Oman’s only Arabic and English-language women’s magazine, and as editor of Oman’s leading daily newspaper, *Oman*. As a candidate in 2003 for a seat on Oman’s Consultative Council, which she lost by 102 votes, she educated people in her local district about the democratic process. During her fellowship, Ms. Al-Talei examined the political challenges confronting Omani women and identified ways to promote their participation in the political process.

Dr. Andrei Piontkovsky (Russia)

“Russian Political Elites and the Challenge of the 21st Century”
Visiting Fellow (nonresidential), March 2006–present



Andrei Piontkovsky

Dr. Andrei Piontkovsky is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute in Washington, D.C. From 1994 to 2005, he served as director of the Center for Strategic Research in Moscow, a Russian think tank that endeavors to support Russia’s political development through research and consultation on a wide range of reform

issues, from the rule of law to economic policy. One of Russia’s foremost political commentators, he has faced prosecution under the country’s newly expanded “extremism” legislation for his published criticism of the Putin regime’s consolidation of executive power. During his fellowship, he is exploring U.S. policy toward Russia and its implications for democracy promotion in Russia.

International Forum for Democratic Studies Research Council

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East-West Center

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