
S T U D I U M

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Preface

Facts do not cease to exist because they are ignored.

-Aldous Huxley

Facts are the scaffolding that support our society. They inform our minds of truths and dissuade our instincts when they fail to serve us.

Fact is like energy, it's always there no matter how you slice it. Facts are power—they incite desire, provoke contemplation, inspire revolution. When a flowering mind is exposed to some stimulating piece of information, there follows an event of incendiary verve that only the most psychologically savvy of our society can fully comprehend. Held within that explosion of endorphins and neurotransmitters is an idea—something original and compelling. This idea is the pearl in the precious oyster of our academic institutions.

When people choose not to trust facts, or merely override their significance with motive, the scaffolding becomes undermined and society is compromised. To ignore the undeniable truths that govern our society only means that the future will be a time of repair, instead of a time of progress. This is why the bright minds that flock to our institutions of higher-learning are important to the future of our society. They are absorbing the pieces of our past that teach us the facts of the present and the solutions of tomorrow. They are paving the way for a progressive, optimistic future.

The mission of this journal is to provide an avenue for those minds—for the ideas that will help to shape our tomorrow. The fifth edition of “Stodium” is a product of hard work, dedication, and enthusiasm. These qualities define the student editors, designers, and advising staff at CSU, Chico, whose charge was to produce this collection of student writings. The study of politics at the university level is a process punctuated by research and position papers, policy analysis articles, even political poetry—products of creativity, rigorous study, and student-professor collaboration. These are the objects of this journal's attention and when presented together provide a portrait of what students at CSUC are discovering in their exploration of political science.

The Studium staff is involved with every aspect of the journal's production. Taking its cues from traditional academic journals, the process begins with a call for submissions from the student community at CSU, Chico.

Preface continued

Selection is the next step, when the student-editors truly show their dedication to their subject by each reading every manuscript submitted and giving it its fair consideration through group discussion. Collaborating with the student authors, whose papers are selected for publication, is the next and most crucial step, because it provides all the students involved with invaluable editing experience. The staff also chooses the cover design from a variety of options produced by a class in the graphic design department. Our task is finally complete when they host a reception to present the finished journal.

Our process is a labor of intensity, but beyond the headaches, blurry eyes and pencil smudges posing as editing marks there dwells a bolder aim. Through compiling this journal, the “Studium” staff acknowledges the substance of fact and, as such, has provided a means to ensure that the facts held here within are never ignored.

-Gary D. Podesto, Editor

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California Warmth
Solange Sari Ledwith

Day of the Regime Change

By Gary D. Podesto

The crash came in a tidal impression:
We watched time engulf our ways,
The rumble of slated egression
A harbinger to bygone days.

The end of days is now upon us,
As we recall the spiriting days of yore;
Penultimate dusk has flittered to dust,
A smoking match-head hits the floor.

A vacant sunset crowns the earth:
Yesteryear's penumbra holds its reign,
While broken pieces of mirth rain down
In fractured sheets of silver slate.

A numbing pain so persistent,
Its gnawing becomes constrained,
Eclipsing hopes of an existence
On the verge of being sustained.

Rain runs red down the sky, its hues
Announcing the fate of our replete;
The birth of our only hope imbued
In the motions of our feet.

Cassandra rolls over in her grave,
The sky expels our worst belief,
Its tumescence recalls a prophecy:
Our ignorance signaling our defeat.

S T U D I U M

We stand beneath a dangling noose
Thrown over some overhead rafter,
Yoked, embraced, in our silent excuse,
Death entering like laughter.

Our ensuing fate sounds its unring,
Rendering the present obsolete;
We bequeath the future nothing,
But a pair of dangling feet.

Are Mexico's Policies Creating Terrorists?

By Louise Baldiez-Pieper

For many Americans, stereotypes about Mexico and ignorance of its sociopolitical complexity prevent us from considering it an important player in international politics. Moreover, stereotypical concepts about Mexico color much of our thinking, making it easier to dismiss a seemingly backward system dominated by graft and government corruption, cheesy TV variety shows, and illiterate, impoverished masses that creep back and forth across the US borders with relative ease. Yet, a surprisingly diverse and sometimes appallingly violent political, economic, and social scene also characterizes modern Mexico. This is perhaps best illustrated by the situation in the state of Chiapas.

Located along the southern border, Chiapas has a population of about 4 million, with Indians representing about 25 percent of the population (Orlandi 2002). Importantly, this recent hotbed of discontent supplies about 40 percent of Mexico's fresh water (Zinn 2002), along with "a large chunk" of Mexico's electricity and natural gas (Oppenheimer 1996). And the Lacandon jungle in Chiapas offers Mexico's largest potential source of biodiversity, as well as oil, timber, hydroelectricity, and, of course, an attractive tourist destination owing to the large number of ruins in the area (Zinn 2002). Despite such abundance, Chiapas remains among Mexico's most destitute states (Suchlicki 1996).

It is also one of Mexico's most unsettled states. The region has experienced ongoing tension with and terrorist activity (or armed resistance, depending on your point of view) against the Mexican government. In this paper, I will assess the situation and argue that the Indian rebel activities in the state of Chiapas beginning in 1994 reflect a deep historical undercurrent of prejudice, exclusion, and oppression toward the region's Indian groups. I will also argue that recent and continued policies of the Mexican government toward the region, combined with the Indians' measures to resist them, are adding fuel to the forces of "jihad" in Mexico, and threatening not only stability and the democratizing processes there, but also posing a variety of problems in US dealings with its southern neighbor (Barber 1992).

The US and Mexico have long believed in the myth of the homogeneity of the mestizo population (a mixed Spanish/Indian nation), a false belief that is at the core of misguided policies developed by the Mexican

government to “fix” indigenous groups wherever they encountered them. In fact, since the Mexican revolution of September 1910, Mexican governments have aggressively promoted the “Mexicanization” of its people. As harsh and encompassing as any American policy to eliminate the culture of Native Americans and enforce assimilation, the Mexican government enacted policies beginning in 1917 that directed the Office of Anthropology and Regional Population of the Republic to prepare indigenous peoples “for racial fusion, for cultural integration, linguistic unification, and the economic balance of indigenous populations” (Castillo 2001). Their aim was to eliminate-by force, if necessary-Indian language, dress, and other cultural features, and replace them with Mexican “national” forms.

In combination with the policy of forced cultural assimilation, long-promised land reforms that would allow marginalized and impoverished Indians to reclaim lands seized by wealthy ranchers, were, decade after decade, either ignored, repressed by “state troops or private gunmen,” or circumvented with legal loopholes (Oppenheimer 1996). At the same time, millions of dollars flowed into Chiapas during the Salinas administration for public programs that introduced electricity to more than a thousand villages and the refurbishment of thousands of schools (Oppenheimer 1996). The money nearly always ended up either lining the pockets of PRI political cronies in the region or in the undertaking of bizarre projects, such as a large, state-of-the-art modern opera house in a town where most of the population live in wrenching poverty; a remote, largely unusable airport built in a fog way on land sold to the government by a former governor of Chiapas; and thirty-seven hundred American-sized basketball courts (a sport favored by yet another governor), where tiny inhabitants attempt to play a modified version of the game (Oppenheimer 1996). Much needed paved roads, drinking water, and sewage projects, meanwhile, were left undeveloped.

Waves of Christian missionaries, middle-class Marxists from Mexico City, who have sought to use the plight of Indians to achieve their own ends (Oppenheimer 1996), and now “radical Islamic” proselytizers and globalists/anti-globalists (McGirk 2002), have moved in to teach the Indians conflicting messages about what they should believe and what is worth fighting for (Notimex 2002). And, most recently, Indian coffee bean growers have worked hard to comply with foreign buyers’ organic standards though the same buyers are now unwilling even to cover the cost to grow the crop (Guzman 2002). This, along with depressed prices for coffee beans worldwide, has economically devastated those who had previously eked out a living growing such crops on tiny farms. And yet, amid these many efforts to culturally erase, dominate, or further impoverish the non-mestizo population,

the Indians in Chiapas have attempted to resist such efforts over time. They have used methods including passive as well as armed resistance. Today, one peaceful trend is to appeal to world opinion. Examples include the use of dedicated internet sites to keep the public informed of issues in Chiapas, a recent 2,000-mile march by Zapatista representatives to Mexico City in 2001 to “push passage of the indigenous rights law and other demands” (Orlandi 2002), and appeals to organizations such as the United Nations to help address Indian grievances (UN News Center 2002).

Commonly, however, armed resistance and more sophisticated guerilla methods comprise the other trend. For example, Zapatista rebels in January 1994 blew up more than twelve electricity towers throughout Mexico while car bombs exploded around Mexico City; the rebels also had “a ton and a half of dynamite with them-enough to blow up any major oil installation in the country” (Oppenheimer 1996). Recently, huge stockpiles of modern weapons have been uncovered in raids on Zapatista lairs. And today, technological forms of terrorism are becoming increasingly familiar to the rebels in Chiapas. Cyberwarfare, which by its nature allows for borderless terrorist actions, has been added to their arsenal with potentially devastating results, for “Without bombs, bullets, or missiles-without even setting foot on U. S. soil-cyberterrorists could disable the nation’s phone systems, plunge cities into blackout, sever water supplies, scramble military communications, steal classified files, clog emergency-response lines, cripple highways, and ground planes” (Martin 2002). The threat of cyberwarfare in this case is, therefore, not merely an internal concern between Mexico and the Indians in Chiapas, but to the extent that international players are perceived as part of the problem, an external threat as well.

To complicate power matters between the government and the Indians even more, Chiapas is, as mentioned above, ripe for modern plunder of its vast natural resources. A race is on to control the “black and green gold” (oil and biodiversity) both abundant in the Chiapas region (Zinn 2002), as well as the nation’s largest source of fresh water, which Coca-Cola-Fox’s former employer and Monsanto are hoping to control via privatization (Zinn 2002). To that end, at least five hydroelectric projects are being promoted by large French and Spanish construction and distribution companies. Others, including biotechnology companies on one end and environmentalists on the other, are competing over control of the rainforests with biotechnology and bioprospecting hoping to extract all it legally can, while large-scale resource plundering and “trafficking of endangered species” by the Mexican army is reportedly already taking place (Zinn 2002). Environmentalists and the ecotourist industry are among those seeking to preserve large areas of

the jungle, including ancient Mayan ruins, and to promote limited development in the area.

As important as Chiapas' many resources are, oil for international consumption is perhaps the most compelling reason the Mexican government has for continuing to pursue its own self-interest in the region at the expense of cooperative relations with the Indians of Chiapas. With Mexico becoming the major oil supplier to the US (overtaking Saudi Arabia), combined with America's insatiable appetite for "Texas tea," there is little doubt that Indians in Chiapas are likely to get even less, not more, legal access to local resources.

And the conflict over land rights continues. Since "NAFTA mandated the modification of the Mexican constitution in 1992," communal agricultural land in Mexico is being privatized (Zinn 2002). Recent laws to allow some degree of Indian autonomy have made it clear that Mexico does not intend to deal with broad Indian claims over land rights and control over natural resources, giving Indians in Chiapas a clear signal that "peaceful mobilization doesn't work" (CNN.com 2002). The Mexican government is unsurprisingly concerned with attempting to increase its wealth in what appear to be the most expedient ways possible, whether or not any of the wealth that is generated by aggressive extraction and development projects ever filters down to its impoverished citizens in Chiapas.

Whereas Mexico under president Salinas in the early '90s was moving in the direction of a more open economy with emphasis on attracting foreign investment and increasing privatization of formerly subsidized state-owned companies, while increasing funding of social programs for the poor, his government's reaction to rebel activities along Mexico's southern border was largely unproductive and ultimately served to increase the authority of Mexico's military (Oppenheimer 1996). If the United States has an abiding interest in the expansion of democracy around the world, as Barber contends in "Jihad versus McWorld Revisited," this trend in particular should be viewed as an unwelcome one (Barber 2002).

President Zedillo's term, following Salinas' term, was characterized by tremendous, ongoing financial problems including dramatic devaluation of the peso that served to scare away previously eager foreign investment in Mexico, and his uncertain responses to armed revolts in Chiapas during 1995 both alienated the military and, in attempting to placate them, encouraged their authority and influence (Suchlicki 1996). President Fox has promised to move the country again toward financial and social stability and modernization. Yet, his and his cabinet's strong pro-corporate, pro-international investment stance seems at odds with achieving a win-win solution,

with the Indians sure to lose out. Though he promised a quick resolution of the problem in Chiapas, more than six years have elapsed since the Mexican government suspended negotiations with Zapatista rebels (Schwartz 2002). Fox's government is said to have lost control of the paramilitaries in Chiapas, and he is reportedly avoiding focusing on the problems of the region in order to convince the world that the problems there have subsided, and that stability has returned: "The reason for this gap in Fox's policies is obvious—sell the idea of peace, the war long over, so that investors aren't scared off and support the Puebla-Panama Plan" (Schwartz 2002). On the US side, there is agreement that "the idea that trade with Mexico could be sustained amid such instability [as a failing government] is simply wrong" (Haass 2000).

It is said that areas around the Lancandon jungle in Chiapas have recently become highly militarized, with "dozens" of Mexican army bases poised to do battle with Indians. "The military's role has expanded to include enforcement of environmental law, reforestation and the pending violent 'resettlement' of communities" located within areas of the jungle (Zinn 2002), an unsettling development given the Mexican military's rather widespread reputation for dirty-dealings.

Beyond the "legitimate" actions of Mexico's military, paramilitary groups who are reportedly supplied with arms and money by the still formidable PRI party (Robinson 2002), have committed some of the worst violence in and around Chiapas, with massacres of Indian villagers, including children (Schwartz 2002), resulting in refugee crises in neighboring areas. Public outrage has caused large numbers of former paramilitary members to defect, and the government has tried to deflect the appearance of its support of the paramilitaries by arresting one of its leaders, including the mayor of a town in Chiapas (The News/Mexico 2002).

Displacement, neglect, poverty, and resistance to the replacement of indigenous cultural values with corporate, profit-driven ones are invigorating the forces of jihad worldwide (Barber 1992), and are poised to create serious internal problems within Mexico, and potentially tense and unstable relations between Mexico and the United States. Passive forms of protest, while still undertaken by the Indians, are increasingly viewed as futile, while even humanitarian efforts are now sometimes greeted with suspicion and hostility by rebels (as well as the Mexican government) who resent the United States and others "sticking their noses" into their business. The rise of military influence in Mexico and its potential dampening effect on democracy is yet another worry in relations between Mexico and the United States. And, importantly, environmental concern over the plans to aggressively develop and exploit resources in the Lancandon region may become a worldwide

issue, especially since it is likely that increased extraction of oil and natural gas would be supported on the one hand by an energy-hungry United States (which has run into no end of headaches in dealing with some of its other oil suppliers), and opposed on the other hand by American and international environmental groups. There are dangers to navigate as the US determines its involvement in the drive for resource extraction in this region; profitable trade must not be allowed to become the one guiding principle here. As Richard Haass observed, "A trade-only or trade-dominant [US] foreign policy simply is not viable in our relations with Mexico" (Haass 2000).

In view of the past and more recent history of the Mexican government's dealings with the Indians of Chiapas, the growing factions of dissatisfied Indian rebels may feel that they have nothing left to lose, and may increasingly resort to the terrorism in order to be heard. Despite former president Salinas' disingenuous claims that he was never made aware of the problems in Chiapas, president Zedillo's confused and contradictory approach to the region, and the current president Fox's campaign promise "to resolve the Chiapas problem 'in 15 minutes" (Schwartz 2002), the clock is still ticking. A more influential military does little to solve the core issues, and only temporarily quells the voices of discontent while at the same time curtailing the very process of democratization that Americans demand. The disgruntled, poor, and marginalized Indians of Chiapas and indeed, the poor everywhere in Mexico, may continue to pursue peaceful attempts to negotiate greater participation in the Mexican government's policies via the formation of community associations, networking with large labor groups in Mexico to create a potent lobby (Robinson 2003), involving themselves more in political parties outside of the PRI, and appealing to the court of international public opinion and organizations such as the United Nations to help arbitrate their compelling grievances. Or, as seems to be the trend in international relations today, they may turn more dedicatedly to armed resistance and terrorism to express their discontent and to seek a forum for airing their grievances. If the former is the case and it is supported by the United States, then we may yet sleep well at night bordered relatively comfortably by Canada to our north and Mexico to our south. If the latter is the path taken, however, then the large pile of fuel available to feed the fire of discontent will lead to, at the very least, a money drain and security distraction for us, and at the worst a hotbed of terrorism that is just a river away.

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Cocaine: Losing The War

By Devin Billingsley

One of the greatest threats to international security and stability today is the continuing production and distribution of illegal narcotics.

Beyond the obvious health risks, the criminal element involved with drug trafficking creates a sociopolitical environment prone to unrest and violence. With the encouragement of the United States in the early twentieth century, the international community first began to recognize the dangers of illicit narcotics, specifically cocaine. The international community also began to encourage a reduction in the growing of the coca bush in Latin American countries such as Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia. Unfortunately, the nine decades since then have witnessed an incredible explosion in the supply and demand of this illegal drug. The United Nations, with pressure from the United States, held successive Conventions in 1961 and 1972 where the international community officially committed itself to reducing and eventually eliminating the supply and demand of this and other illegal drugs.

Unfortunately, this reduction has not occurred. Despite the continuing efforts of the United Nations and the United States, both production and consumption levels of South American cocaine remain alarmingly high. The United Nations and United States seem to be fighting an uphill battle against narcotics producers who are increasingly adaptable to interdiction and eradication efforts. This ineffective campaign of law enforcement and military intervention is failing to reduce the revenue gained by narcotics traffickers and is simply exacerbating the deteriorating social, economic, and political environments of both producer and consumer nations. By analyzing current drug control strategies, this disturbing trend can be attributed to the fact that current international drug policy ignores the simple economic principles of supply and demand. International drug control policy places too much emphasis on supply reduction and interdiction, and too little emphasis on reducing demand through education and treatment. In doing so, this strategy presents little chance for success because as long as there exists a high demand for cocaine, there will be an adequate supply to match it. By looking at the failure of current supply side efforts employed by the United Nations

and United States, as well as the historic development of international drug control policy, the need for a shift to demand side drug control policy can clearly be seen.

The formation of current international drug control policy, as implemented by the United Nations and United States, has undergone a gradual evolution since the turn of the twentieth century. Drug prohibition has existed for over nine decades, but official and international multilateral agreements were not made until the middle portion of the twentieth century. Before the 1960s and 1970s, international drug control policy consisted of loose agreements based on talks held at the Hague International Opium Convention in 1911-1912, the Geneva Convention for Limiting the Manufacture of and Regulating the Distribution of Illegal Narcotics of 1931, and the Lake Success Protocol of 1946 (Bogges 1992). These agreements consisted of no more than a mutual understanding of the definition of illegal narcotics (Bogges 1992). The policies and methodologies concerning the control of illegal narcotics did not truly come under international evaluation until the first UN Drug Convention of 1961. Under this "Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs," the United Nations officially recognized that "addiction to narcotic drugs constitutes a serious evil for the individual and is fraught with social and economic danger to mankind" (4). In addition, upon amendment in 1972, this convention provided a comprehensive list of narcotic substances that were considered dangerous to the modern world and specified the requirements of member nations in forming a cooperative campaign to reduce and eventually eliminate the production and consumption of these illegal narcotics (United Nations 1961). Inherent to this convention was the concept of sovereign responsibility-the fact that member nations were committed to controlling illegal substances only as far as their domestic policies could justify (United Nations 1961). This convention provided, and still provides, the politically accepted approach to drug control. However, this approach is ineffective in reducing cocaine production in the underdeveloped Latin American world and subsequent cocaine use in the developed world. Specifically, in response to the UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, the extent to which the coca producing Latin American countries of Peru, Bolivia, and Colombia initially agreed to control production was minimal at best (Bogges 1992).

This initial lack of cooperation from the Latin American countries stemmed from the fact that the production and consumption of the coca leaf was and still is considered a socially acceptable and cultural standard (Bagley and Walker 1994). This lack of cooperation also stemmed from the fact that by the 1960s and 1970s, when drug control policy was placed at

the forefront of international affairs, cocaine production had already become a cornerstone of the Latin American economy.

In its natural form, the coca leaf indeed constitutes no major threat to health. The coca leaf itself contains small amounts of stimulant, and only after adding alkaloids and processing it into a 70-to-80 percent pure form of coca hydrochloride does it exhibit strong addictive and detrimental characteristics. The Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs even mentions this by allowing the production of the coca bush. Article 26 of the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs specifically permits the production of coca leaf presuming it is not processed with alkaloid metals (United Nations 1961). In essence, the actual production of the coca bush is not prohibited under international law, only processing it into coca hydrochloride is prohibited.

When applied to the underdeveloped populations of Latin America, this international policy presents somewhat of a contradictory and biased perspective on coca production. The Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs provides a concept of drug control that does not infringe upon the sovereignty of these nations by allowing coca production, but in a pragmatic sense also does not provide for effective drug supply control at the rural level. Cocaine in its concentrated form never appealed to native Latin American populations in the first place except in isolated ceremonial circumstances (Bagley and Walker 1994). This form appealed primarily to foreign populations who in the nineteenth century established a highly lucrative market for the substance and sponsored the development of it into a cornerstone of the underdeveloped Latin American economy (Bagley and Walker 1994). Basically, as North America and Europe account for 95 percent of global cocaine consumption, the concern over cocaine trafficking and addiction is a problem created and sustained by these regions (United Nations 2002). Unfortunately, by the time the international community began to actively create and enforce drug control policy in the 1960s and 1970s, cocaine had already become an inextricable link in the Latin American economy (United Nations 2002).

Despite the obvious importance of coca production to the economic and cultural livelihood of Latin America, the United Nations chose to follow the lead of the United States and emphasize supply reduction efforts. The United Nations, under its subsidiary branch of the Office of Drug Control and Crime Prevention, actively favored and supported supply reduction efforts in Latin America. In fact, they continue to do this today. According to 2002-2003 estimates, the total budget (in American dollars) for the United Nations Office of Drug Control and Crime Prevention was \$146,482,500. Out of this total budget of nearly \$150 million dollars, 59

percent (\$87,491,800) was dedicated solely to the eradication of crops and interdiction of processed narcotics (United Nations 2001). The remainder of the budget was divided between legislation and advocacy programs and demand reduction and treatment programs. Specifically, the demand reduction and treatment programs were allotted \$39,221,900, or 27 percent of the entire budget (United Nations 2001). When applied to Latin America and the production of cocaine, the UNODCP allocated \$37,364,040 to coca bush elimination and interdiction, and a mere \$17,098,803 (54 percent less) to demand reduction and treatment programs (United Nations 2001).

These figures are dwarfed, however, by the drug control budget of the United States (the United Nation's active partner in drug control). Totaled, the United States annual drug control budget, as of 2001, surpassed \$18 billion (\$18,455,000,000), out of which only \$6 billion (\$5,953,200,000) was spent on demand reduction and treatment (Office of National Drug Control Policy 2001). The remaining 68 percent of the budget was spent on reducing the supply of illegal narcotics through law enforcement and military means. With regards to Latin America specifically, the United States recently approved Plan Colombia and allocated an additional \$1.2 billion toward the Andean Counter-Drug Initiative, which works to support the Columbian military in crop elimination and interdiction as well as counter-insurgency efforts (United States Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere 2002). By looking at the budgetary structure of international drug control, specifically cocaine, it is clear that both the United Nations and United States overwhelmingly favor a supply side approach.

With the combination of these two well-funded programs it would be logical to think that the international supply of cocaine and subsequent rates of usage have decreased. Unfortunately, this is not the case. According to the Office of National Drug Control Policy, Colombian cultivation of coca has more than tripled since 1992 (Office of National Drug Control Policy 2001 a). Additionally, the United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime Prevention reported that in 2002, the global cocaine consumption stabilized at the high level of 13.4 million users worldwide (.03 percent of the global population) (United Nations 2002). The levels in teenage usage have also reached dangerous levels. According to the same study, 5 percent of tenth graders in North America have used cocaine, 3 to 4 percent in Western Europe, 2 percent in Eastern Europe (United Nations 2002).

Beyond the social risks presented by cocaine use in consumer nations, the continuing production of cocaine also disrupts the social and political environment of producer nations. The revenue gained by growers and traffickers has been used to fund the budgets of guerillas and paramilitaries in

producer nations like Colombia, thus further inflaming the violence and instability. In 2001 alone, narcotic funded guerilla and paramilitary groups like FARC, AUC, and ELN killed more than 30,000 in terrorist attacks and kidnapped 2,856 people (United States Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere 2002).

Despite these disturbing facts, the proponents of the current control drug policy in the United Nations and United States argue for the success of eradication and interdiction efforts. Cocaine production in Peru and Bolivia has indeed decreased by 50 percent since 1987, but the “balloon effect” has countered this reduction by the previously mentioned three-fold increase in the production of Colombian cocaine (Philadelphia Daily News 2001). Additionally, U.S. narcotic authorities assert that the Caribbean route for cocaine trafficking has been largely disrupted, but this has been countered by a shift to trafficking through Mexico. It is now reported that 65 percent of cocaine available in the United States is trafficked through the Southwest (United States Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Western Hemisphere 2002). With all interdiction efforts combined, the United Nations estimates only 30 percent of cocaine is interdicted annually (United Nations 2002). Obviously, despite the best efforts of international authorities, cocaine continues to be supplied to meet the high demand.

Judging by the last three decades, the structure and strategy of international drug policy is clearly lacking. Not only has the cost of controlling cocaine production, trafficking, and consumption skyrocketed, but the gains made by these programs are either minimal or non-existent. A shift away from supply side cocaine control efforts is needed. A study conducted by the RAND corporation for the U.S. Army and the Office of National Drug Control Policy found that dollar for dollar, providing treatment to current cocaine users and prevention education to potential users is ten times more effective at reducing drug abuse than interdiction and twenty-three times more effective than trying to eradicate coca at its source (Everingham and Rydell 1994). This reality is even supported by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld as he told members of the United States Senate in early 2001 that the use of “illicit drugs is overwhelmingly a demand problem” (Will 2001). Unfortunately, leaders in both the United States and the United Nations do not agree. Resources continue to be spent on ineffective supply reduction efforts.

The need for an honest reevaluation of international drug control policy is quite clear. The United Nations’ and United States’ focus on law enforcement and military intervention in Latin American (with minimal attention given to education and treatment at home) is failing to reduce cocaine

production and use. The cultural and economic importance of cocaine in Latin America, especially as it has been created over the last fifty years, follows simple economic principles of supply and demand. As long as there is a demand for cocaine, there will always be a supply to match it. Unfortunately, the policymakers at the national and international level ignore this fact and continue to rely on expensive eradication and interdiction programs that do no more than deplete the budgets of their respective nations and organizations. If the leaders of both the United States and the United Nations could convince themselves to shift toward the more pragmatic approach of control by means prevention and treatment, the demand and subsequent supply of cocaine would most likely reach the desired levels. Until this occurs, however, both the consumer nations and producer nations will continue to experience political instability, violence, and addiction.

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The Sustaining of a Delicate Society
Alan M. Iwamura

Public Perception And Political Participation Of Asian Americans

By Maro Lee

Introduction

Although Asian Americans are one of the fastest growing minority groups in the United States, previous studies have shown that their political participation is lower than Latinos, whites, and blacks (Uhlener, Cain, and Kiewiet 1989, 195; Leighley and Vedlitz 1999, 1108). Even with their socioeconomic status, psychological resources, and acculturation factors controlled, Asian Americans are still less likely to participate in politics than any other group (Lien 1994; Uhlener, Cain, and Kiewiet 1989; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). While some scholars speculate that Asian Americans may have developed an apolitical cultural attitude as a result of their historical experiences, several studies have attributed Asian Americans' lack of political participation to ethnicity (Uhlener, Cain, and Kiewiet 1989; Leighley and Vedlitz 1999; Lien 1994). However, these studies, at best, have only accounted for the current status quo of Asian Americans' political participation without much insight and consideration given to the possible historical and social impetuses that contributed to Asian Americans' political participation. Namely, there have not been enough studies that explored the larger sociological and historical context, which may have shaped Asian Americans' sense of ethnic identity and their cultural attitude toward political participation. This paper hypothesizes that the historically rooted public perception of Asian Americans as "foreign" has discouraged the political participation of Asian Americans. This paper will explore a possible relationship between public perception, as a unique element that constitutes the ethnicity of Asian Americans, and their political participation.

Historical Experience of Asian Americans

Historically, various groups of Asian Americans faced discrimination that effectively prevented integration and participation of Asians into mainstream

American society. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which prohibited the immigration of Chinese, was the first and only immigration law that excluded a specific ethnic group. The act was finally repealed in 1943 when China allied with the United States in the Second World War. Anti-miscegenation laws were interpreted to specifically include all Asians of various racial and ethnic backgrounds. Land laws in the western states, particularly in California, prohibited Korean and Japanese farmers from owning land. The American Federation of Labor led by Samuel Gompers refused to cooperate and accept Asian Americans into their organization. Thus, Asian Americans were denied citizenship until the 1940s and were subjected to political, social, and economic discrimination. The general experience of discrimination does not necessarily make the historical experience of Asian Americans considerably different. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ignore the distinctive exclusionary aspects that shaped Asian Americans' experience.

The Japanese American internment during the Second World War can be regarded as the culmination of the various discriminatory practices against Asian Americans in which constitutional rights entitled with citizenship were denied. The Japanese American internment experience had an enduring effect not only on the Japanese, but also on all Asian Americans of different ethnic background. The experience continues to be a prime example and reminder of their racial identity vis-a-vis the U.S. government. For Asian Americans, the internment experience has attested to the fact that the American identity of Asians rested not upon citizenship, but rather on their race since the internment was justified on the grounds that Asians, by virtue of their race, were not Americans (Takaki 1989).

Thus, the historical experience of Asian Americans has contributed to the unique and distinctive cultural and ethnic attitude of Asian Americans, who perceive themselves as cultural outsiders and are discouraged to participate in various aspects of American society.

Public Perception of Asian Americans

While several studies have examined the political participation of Asian Americans, there have not been enough studies on the historically rooted social influences, such as public perception, on the ethnic identity and political incentives of Asian Americans. Therefore, this paper contends that the pattern of Asian Americans' political participation cannot be properly understood without considering the historical experiences that shaped Asians' identity as American and their role in American society. In the past, discrimination against Asian Americans was justified because of the perception

that Asian Americans are inherently “foreign” and incapable of assimilation (Takaki 1989). Since the civil rights movement, most discriminatory practices have been outlawed and there are no legal sanctions that prohibit Asian Americans from fully participating in the political process. However, there still persists a perception of Asian Americans as not part of the American mainstream society. An anecdotal example of this perception occurred during the 1998 Nagano winter Olympic Games when two Americans Tara Lipinski and Michelle Kwan vied for the gold medal in figure skating. Upon the victory of Tara Lipinski over Michelle Kwan, MSNBC featured an Internet headline that read: “American beats Kwan” (Pong 2002). Although the mistake was immediately recognized and rectified, it serves as a typical example of the tendency of perceiving Asian American as not truly American. This attitude and belief in Asian Americans as “perpetual foreigners” has shaped Asians’ identity as Americans and continues to challenge all aspects of their participation in American society.

The traditional understanding of American identity as “E Pluribus Unum,” one out of many, has not been accorded to Asian Americans as they are still treated with considerable distrust and suspicion. While one might disregard the MSNBC headline as an isolated incident, a landmark national survey conducted by Yankelovich Partners, Anti-Defamation League, and Marttila Communications Group in 2001 demonstrated the persistent refusal of the American public to accept Asian Americans as one of their own. According to the survey, 23 percent of respondents felt uncomfortable supporting an Asian American presidential candidate, while 32 percent of Americans felt that Chinese Americans were likely to be more loyal to China than to the United States (Yi and Kim 2001). The survey not only confirmed the public perception of Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners, but also suggested a significant political implication for Asian Americans, who may consider public perception as a distinctive and possible obstacle for meaningful participation in the American society.

What kind of impact can public perception have on a group’s identity and incentive for political participation? Does the notion of being a “perpetual foreigner,” manifest itself in public discourse and influence Asian Americans’ willingness to participate politically? If so, does it encourage or discourage mobilization and participation? While focusing on the pattern of Asian Americans’ political participation, previous studies on Asian Americans’ political participation have not addressed these questions. The literature reviewed in this paper does not explicitly address these questions but does offer various implications, pointing to the necessity for further research in this area.

Journal Articles: Socioeconomic Status and Asian Americans' Political Participation

A study conducted by Lien in 1994 reported that in spite of the huge socioeconomic gap between Mexican and Asian Americans, both groups displayed similar ethnicity and pattern of political participation. To observe how ethnicity influences political participation at the individual level, the study hypothesized that ethnic consciousness and acculturation led to more active political participation. The study relied on data drawn from a 1984 California statewide survey of individuals and telephone interviews with whites, African Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans. The study's analysis was based upon five variables that included ethnic ties, acculturation, alienation, group identification, and deprivation. The overall conclusion of the study revealed that ethnicity or ethnic consciousness had a different impact and implication for different groups. The study concluded that ethnicity is a factor that influenced political participation. According to the study, while perception of prejudices, discrimination, alienation, higher education, and income significantly contributed to Mexican Americans' political activities, the same factors had little impact on Asian Americans' political mobilization and participation. For Asian Americans, only acculturation increased Asian Americans' political participation.

In a similar study conducted in 1999, Cho shed a new light on the impact of acculturation to explain the apparent irrelevance of socioeconomic status on Asian Americans' political participation. Cho hypothesized that socialization rather than socioeconomic status influenced political participation. Namely, socioeconomic status did not directly affect political participation but rather offered the necessary skills for political activity. Cho's study examined a 1984 survey of California and concluded that mere increase in socioeconomic status did not necessarily increase voting turnout. Education had a positive effect only if it led to a better understanding of civic duty, political participation, and democratic ideals. Thus, Cho concluded that high socioeconomic status alone could not increase political participation in the absence of specific processes of socialization.

From Lien and Cho's studies emerge a picture of a group who is faring rather well in the economic sector but is not extending its influence and success into the political sector. Although both Lien and Cho predicted that as acculturation and socialization increases, Asian Americans' political participation would increase in the future, there are several compelling questions that emerge from their studies. Is the ethnicity of Asian Americans unique or different from other ethnic groups? If so, how does it impact the political

participation of Asian Americans? Most importantly, how did Asian Americans manage to achieve high socioeconomic status and yet fail to go through the socialization process, which enables political participation according to Cho? Thus, the irrelevance of socioeconomic status for the political participation of Asian Americans challenges the conventional understanding of political participation and demands an alternative explanation.

Journal Articles: Asian Americans' Participation Pattern and Ethnicity

The public perception of Asian Americans as “perpetual foreigners” has been a critical part of Asian Americans experience and ethnic identity. Therefore, this paper postulates that the notion of “perpetual foreigners” as an unexamined element of ethnicity influences Asian Americans’ political participation. Though public perception is not considered, the following studies have examined various participation models and variables in order to determine whether factors of ethnicity, reveal different participation levels among different ethnic groups.

A study conducted by Uhlaner, Cain, and Kiewiet in 1989 reported that Latinos and Asian Americans are less active in politics than non-Hispanic whites or blacks. The study attempted to examine the relationship between ethnicity and political participation using data collected from a California-wide survey and interviews from 574 Latinos, 335 blacks, 308 Asians, and 317 non-Hispanic whites. The study compared various ethnic groups to see if there were any differences in the amount and type of political participation, and if the differences reflected ethnicity. In the case of Latinos, ethnicity had little influence on participation. The study concluded that once demographic factors and determinants of political participation were controlled, Latinos participated on a similar level as whites and blacks. On the other hand, Asian Americans presented a different situation. The study concluded that despite controlling for all the demographic variables, Asians were still less active than Latinos, whites, and blacks. The case of Japanese Americans was particularly poignant as their high level of economic success and assimilation has not translated into active political participation. Since the study could not adequately account for Asian Americans lack of participation, it offered two speculations. First, the geographic dispersion of Asian Americans made political mobilization and leadership based on ethnicity difficult. Second, Asian Americans may have developed an apolitical cultural attitude as a result of its history of exclusion.

The second speculation of Uhlaner, Cain, and Kiewiet is very significant, since it indicates the apolitical “cultural attitude” to be a unique element of ethnicity for Asian Americans. Moreover, the study implies that if ethnicity influences political participation then different ethnicity will result in different levels of political participation.

In 1999, Leighley and Vedlitz evaluated five different participation models to determine whether the same factors that explained African Americans’ and whites’ levels of political participation can be applied to different ethnic groups. The five models under examination were socioeconomic status, psychological resources, social connectedness, group identity or consciousness, and group conflict. These five participatory models each constituted a hypothesis and were tested individually across racial and ethnic lines. The socioeconomic model hypothesized that higher education and income increased political participation. The psychological resource model hypothesized that higher political interest led to more political participation. The social connectedness model assumed that the greater social ties with the community, the greater the participation. The group consciousness model hypothesized that the closer to one’s ethnic groups, the greater the participation, and the greater the distance one feels from other groups, the greater the participation. The group conflict model hypothesized that a perceived threat from an outside group led to counter political mobilization and participation. The study concluded that socioeconomic status, psychological resource, and social connectedness models were valid indicators and predictors of overall participation of all the ethnic/racial groups, whereas the group consciousness and the group conflict model were mixed in their results.

Leighley and Vedlitz concluded that the overall findings of their study presented a challenge to the belief in the existence of clear differences in participation levels across ethnic groups and the significance of group consciousness as a stimulus for political participation. Hence, the study dismissed the cultural or attitudinal explanations for Asian Americans’ lack of political participation, as well as the tie between ethnicity and political participation. Nevertheless, there are two significant facts that Leighley and Vedlitz’s study was unable to ignore. The first is that the lowest voter turnout was for Asian Americans. The second is that African Americans and Asian Americans who feel distant from other ethnic groups were less likely to participate politically. Both of these facts imply a possible relationship between low political participation and a unique group consciousness of Asian Americans. Considering the historical experience of Asian Americans, which produced the notion of “perpetual foreigner,” the findings from the group consciousness model may

implicate a unique ethnic and cultural attitude of Asian Americans who perceive themselves as distant from mainstream American society. If this apolitical cultural attitude has possibly resulted from a historically rooted public perception, then a strong case can be made that the public perception of Asian Americans as “perpetual foreigners” must be regarded as a unique element of Asian Americans’ ethnicity, which influences political participation.

Conclusion and Future Implications

The question still remains; does the public perception encourage or discourage political participation? Summarily, in order to answer this question, two critical facts must be considered. The first fact is the existence of a historically rooted public perception towards Asian Americans, namely, the notion of “perpetual foreigner.” The second fact is the irrelevance of socioeconomic status as a critical factor to political participation of Asian Americans which represents a tendency of Asian Americans. This self-perception is an integral part of their political consciousness. While the first fact can be considered in historical context, the second fact can be regarded as a response of Asian Americans who sought to secure their place in the American society economically at the cost of political integration. There is little doubt that in the past overt racism and belief in Asian Americans as “perpetual foreigners” prevented full participation of Asian Americans in the mainstream American society. That is to say, it has discouraged political participation and the irrelevance of socioeconomic status as a contributing factor to political participation in the case of Asian Americans can be regarded as its historical legacy. The notion of the “perpetual foreigner” still exists in the public perception. Moreover, the notion has transformed into a dominant political discourse and currently serves to represent the political status and experience of contemporary Asian Americans (Espiritu 1992). In effect, it has become a powerful political instrument and a cause calling for political solidarity and mobilization among Asian Americans.

In general, research on Asian Americans as a racial minority with its own unique historical experience is sorely lacking, and studies in Asian Americans’ political participation have been largely underdeveloped. Consequently, the hypothesis of this paper remains untested and inconclusive. However, there are studies that have developed relations between ethnicity and political participation to offer sufficient incentive to consider Asian Americans as a unique ethnic group (Lien 1994; Uhlaner, Cain, and Kiewiet 1989). Since enough evidence suggests that public perception has shaped

Asian Americans' sense of ethnicity, and ethnicity does influence political participation, it is reasonable to conclude that the public's perception of Asian Americans influences their political participation.

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The New Energy Bill: A Case Study Of The Legislative Process

By Jay Berkowitz

We are truly living in a new age. The Republicans have taken control of every branch and chamber of the government, the “Terminator” is now the governor of California, popular musicians such as Marilyn Manson and Eminem are more articulate and insightful than our commander in chief, and “the three top shareholders of Microsoft own more wealth than do all six hundred million people living in Africa” (Derber 2003, 47). But despite these startling developments, we can still find comfort in our legislative process. We can still predict, with amazing accuracy, how our public servants will behave. All one needs to do is identify their parties, and then look to which interests have contributed most to their campaigns and wields the most power at home. What we find, therefore, is a well-defined and easily quantifiable persistence of constituent advocacy within the legislative process. More than predictability, a critical analysis of the patterns in decision making reveal a consistent presence of pork barrel advocacy within the legislative process, manifest in the new Republican energy bill, that not only lies at the root of most legislative efforts, but will no doubt outlive the particular issues of the day. The new energy bill, H.R. 4, illustrates this point, and will serve as a case study for an analysis of the legislative process. The analysis will pay particular attention to the effect “pork” has on decision making.

The new energy bill, H.R. 4, is an eleven hundred page document that is supposed to be a comprehensive strategy to combat blackouts and the unsustainability of relying on fossil fuels. The measure was co-authored by George W. Bush and Louisiana Representative Billy Tauzin, and introduced and supported by Tauzin, who is also the chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee. It was easily passed with a “solid House vote of 246 to 180, with 46 Democrats joining 200 Republicans in support” (Hulse 2003, A14). Even though it was easily passed in the House, “it fell two votes short in the Senate” (Alpert and Walsh 2003, 10).

Critics of the Tauzin energy measure complain that a close look at the contents of the bill reveal “a hodgepodge of regional pork projects and industry giveaways” (Milligan 2003, A4). Republican Senator John S. McCain even went so far as to say, “The energy bill is the worst case of pork-barreling and vote-buying I’ve seen” (Milligan 2003, A4). Anna Aurilio, legislative director for the United States Public Interest Research Group, said “[t]he big

winner is big oil. The big loser is anyone who breathes, pays a utility bill or drinks water” (Hulse 2003, 27). David Johnston of the New York Times says that the “energy companies would receive three-fourths of the incentives, or \$17 Billion” (2003). The new energy bill is controversial, to say the least. It has been argued that the George W. Bush/Billy Tauzin coalition has created a proposal for energy that forces efforts at progressive reform, environmental regulation, and corporate accountability out the window. On the other hand, Tauzin, Bush, House Majority Leader Tom DeLay, and other prominent Republican supporters of the bill, claim that “the legislation will help meet the nation’s escalating energy needs, sparing Americans from the threat of blackouts or high gasoline prices by encouraging production of oil, gas, nuclear energy, and alternative fuels, such as wind power” (Milligan 2003, A4). Like all other aspects of politics, the truth is sometimes unattainable, being overshadowed by the promotion of special interests, the powerful forces of partisanship, and narrowly conceived pork barreling.

The actual contents of the measure, however, received heavy criticism from a surprising diversity of opinions. For example, Charlie Coon, an energy specialist with the conservative Heritage Foundation in Washington, said “[t]here are a lot of subsidies and a lot of corporate welfare in this bill, and a lot of people are going to be very happy. But I don’t see how it will end our energy problem” (Milligan 2003, A4). And when the well-known conservative Heritage Foundation speaks out against other prominent high-level Republicans, citing charges of “corporate welfare,” it should give us pause. For when one looks at the millions of dollars in proposed corporate tax breaks this measure attempts, along with its environmental deregulation package, it is an obvious case of delegate pork barreling for Tauzin’s and Bush’s oil constituents in Texas and Louisiana. In one of Davidson’s and Oleszek’s (2004) more candid moments, they claim “[t]here is no reason, however, to think that pork has vanished from the congressional diet. Even when budgets are lean, pork barrel advocacy will survive” (128). There is a clear connection, for example, between the constituency demographics of Texas and Louisiana, namely being home to the ever powerful oil production industry, the PACs that contributed to Tauzin’s campaign, and the types of legislation Tauzin supports. This energy bill is just one example. Davidson and Oleszek (2004) explicate this situation for us with, “[f]our of five House members interviewed in 1977 saw themselves as constituency servants...the role most often expressed was called the tribune: the discoverer, reflector, or advocate of popular needs and wants” (133). In this light, it is more likely that delegate representation rather than trustee lawmaking was the guiding force behind the Tauzin energy bill. Davidson and Oleszek (2004) go further

in their explanation of pork barreling and say “constituents expect their representatives to understand and express their views in Washington” (128). Tausin’s spokesman was quoted as saying “[c]learly it was important from a Louisiana perspective to have Billy negotiating the bill, Texas and Louisiana continue to be the biggest producers of natural gas in the country. Of course they were going to benefit more than other states” (Walsh 2003, 10). This quote, ironically, was one of the more revealing statements, and one that illustrates the unabashed intentions of pork barreling this bill provided.

Furthermore, according to Milligan (2003), “A [Boston] Globe survey of energy specialists revealed a widespread belief that the bill will do little to diminish the nation’s reliance on foreign oil or to prevent blackouts” (A4). Despite its apparent destructive exterior, outlandish corporate tax breaks, environmental set backs, and lopsided benefits to Texas and Louisiana, it was passed easily in the House. “Environmental factors influence [Congress] in [that] they shape the content of public policies and thus the likelihood that these policies will be accepted by the full House or Senate” (Davidson and Oleszek 2004, 218). The timing of this bill was no coincidence. The political climate was just right, taking advantage of a Republican dominated House, executive branch, the judicial branch (at least to some degree), and both chambers of the Congress. It also helped that this legislation is riding on the coattails of the Enron scandal, blackouts, and a public distracted by problems in the Middle East. In fact, New York Times journalist Carl Hulse (2003) put it this way, “The measure has been almost three years in the making but gained new momentum with last summer’s blackout” (25).

House Republicans simply recognized the high stakes nature of this omnibus bill, took advantage of the political climate, and got the measure passed. Even though “pork” seems to have been the primary motivating factor for House Republicans, there are some other interesting reasons for their success in getting the measure passed in the House. First, we have to look at who authored, supported, and promoted this bill. It was co-authored by Billy Tausin with recognized input by George W. Bush, and is being supported and promoted by Texas Republican and House Majority Leader Tom DeLay. Again, Davidson and Oleszek (2004) point out that “Majority Whip DeLay established himself as perhaps the most effective party whip in the House’s history and the chamber’s most influential Republican, except for Gingrich” (165). Having powerful people such as DeLay, Tausin, and the president lobbying hard for support for the bill, goes a long way.

Positions of power not only allow the majority party to exert influence through the insistence of party line voting, but they also serve as another point of access for interest groups. Davidson and Oleszek (2004) say that

“[t]he proliferation of committees also multiplies the points of access for outside interests...[t]hey are likely to advocate policies espoused by agencies and outside groups interested in their work” (226). The Tauzin energy bill is a shining example of this statement. Tauzin is the chairman of the Energy and Commerce committee, one of the most powerful committees in Congress, and a perfect match for his district interests. The third district of Louisiana, home to much of the U.S. oil production, is literally full of energy interests. Also, with health care, energy, resources, and communication technology leading the way as the three top PAC’s, each contributing between \$200,000 and \$300,000 to Tauzin’s 2002 election campaign (National Journal 2004), it is not surprising to see Tauzin sponsor a measure such as this one.

Davidson and Oleszek (2004) contend that Congress, especially the House, is more partisan in recent years. They say that “[g]ood indicators of heightened partisanship are the large numbers of party line votes” (173). Furthermore, “Party affiliation is the strongest single correlate of members... In the 107th Congress, Republicans won three-fourths of all party unity votes (63 percent in the Senate, 81 percent in the more disciplined House)” (272). One reason for the heightened partisanship could be the emergence of safe districts, due to gerrymandering, and the success of the majority whip leader such as Tom DeLay. If representatives are more inclined to vote on party lines (the result is strong leadership, incumbency advantage, and a lack of competition), this could help to explain the hard headed insistence of supporting such a devastating measure.

Strong Republican leadership helps to explain some of the party line voting in the House, but as Davidson and Oleszek (2004) point out “[o]ver the past generation the incumbency factor has strengthened to the point that it rivals and sometimes eclipses partisanship” (105). As Tauzin is now a well established incumbent holding a prominent committee chair position, the incumbency advantage may go further to explain the behavior of representatives such as Tauzin. If representatives are in safe districts and enjoy an incumbency advantage there is a tendency for them to become more extreme in their views and voting behavior. The simple reason is that incumbents do not have to worry themselves with moderate voters, the target of campaigns in competitive districts. If Tauzin was in a competitive district, he might have to worry about marginalizing a large group of moderate voters. Therefore, due to the insurgence of uncompetitive districts throughout the country, “Today most Democrats are far left; most Republicans are to the right; and there are very few in between” (Davidson and Oleszek 2004, 173). I think it is safe to say that Tauzin’s partisanship manifests in his support of this measure.

One of the more fascinating aspects of H.R. 4 is the fact that it passed in the House yet failed in the Senate. There are many reasons for this, but probably most important are the fundamental differences between the two chambers. Because of the very nature of districts and the high incidence of gerrymandering, the House is inherently more partisan. Constituency interests are much narrower and homogeneous in the House, and terms are only two years. The result is that House members often behave as representative delegates rather than lawmaking trustees. In other words, House members have to worry about preparing for elections more often than their Senate counterparts and, therefore, behave in a way that ensures their constituents satisfaction. All of this is done in an effort to ensure reelection. The specific majority biased rules of the House, combined with the larger number of House members, also leads to an extra emphasis on the majority, in which the controlling party wields enormous power. This is not the case in the Senate.

Davidson and Oleszek (2004) contend that “[i]ndividual rights are stressed in the Senate, majority rule in the house” (259). The narrow defeat of the Tauzin energy measure in the Senate is a quintessential illustration of the power of the minority in the Senate. With only a hundred members, the Senate is an environment of cooperation and compromise rather than the House version of majority dominance. There are also two other main differences that sets the Senate apart from the House-unanimous consent and the filibuster.

One of the reasons I chose the Tauzin energy bill was because of the discussion leading up to the vote in the Senate. Minority senators threatened to use a filibuster as a way to prevent the measure from passing the Senate. Even though actual filibusters are rarely used,

[t]he threat of a filibuster can encourage accommodations or compromises between proponents and opponents of legislation. Defenders of the filibuster say it protects minority rights, permits thorough consideration of bills, and dramatizes issues. ‘In many ways,’ noted Senator Robert Byrd, ‘the filibuster is the single most important device ever employed to ensure that the Senate remains truly the unique protector of the rights of our people’ (Davidson and Oleszek 2004, 254).

I could not agree more. The threat of the filibuster seems to have swayed opinion just enough for the measure to go down in defeat. On its face, experts agree that H.R. 4 would be devastating both economically and environmentally, but the attraction of bringing home serious bacon for the House Republicans was too powerful to overcome for the minority

Democrats. The Senate's emphasis on the minority, and its exclusive tools such as the filibuster not only defeated the powerful interests of Republicans such as Tauzin and DeLay, but has also restored some of my faith in the political process. Although Tauzin has stated that he will no doubt return to "Capital Hill next year pushing to get the energy bill enacted" (Alpert and Walsh 2003, 10), he will have to be willing to give in on certain key issues in order to get his measure through the Senate.

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Participation In Local Interest Groups And Community Groups Compared

By Kristen Petersen

Introduction

The number of people moving to the suburbs since the 1940s has increased dramatically. Today, more than 60 percent of the population lives in the suburbs while the remaining population lives in cities or rural areas (Orfield 2002). Though the number of housing tracts, strip malls, and freeways is forecast to increase, several community, state, and local groups have formed to stop or curb growth in their regions. In Penryn, California (pop. 3,333), local, state, and national groups converged to stop or drastically downsize the Bickford Ranch Project, a multi-home tract scheduled to be built on farmland. In this rural community, the project appeared to galvanize strong opposition from current community residents. Residents of the small community formed an organization, published a newsletter, and later joined larger organizations in the hope of stopping the project.

Hypothesis

I hypothesize that people who participate in community organizations are more likely to participate in local Bickford Ranch interest group issues. At the same time, those who do not participate in community organizations are less likely to participate in local Bickford Ranch interest group issues. The independent variable in this hypothesis is, "Do you participate in community organizations?" The dependent variable is, "Do you participate in supporting/opposing Bickford Ranch?" These variables help explain if the group of respondents who are active in community organizations are also active in the local interest groups that formed to oppose and support the project.

Literature Review

Groups who oppose sprawl appear to converge on city council or planning commission meetings somewhat unorganized, unprepared, and generally frustrated with any measure that will change their neighborhoods. Sometimes the groups succeed in changing policy while, other times their attempts fail when competing against an organized and knowledgeable developer. In their noteworthy text, Piven and Cloward (1977) argue that such spontaneity is useful and necessary in fighting for or against an issue. Though Piven and Cloward (1977) wrote about welfare reform, civil rights, and the labor movement, their argument could apply here. These authors argued that when a movement becomes more organized and structured, it loses its ability to attract new members.

On closer review, however, one finds that this may not be the case in most neighborhood opposition groups. Instead, local opposition groups often follow a model advocated by authors such as Morris (1984), which is one of structure and organization. Members who comprise the active wing of these groups generally have lived in the community for more than ten years and feel their way of life is being threatened (Orfield 2002). The anti-sprawl movement is taken most seriously when it is highly organized and funded (Sobin 1971). People with organizational skills and a background in planning meetings appear to be the most likely type of person to participate in local issues (Clemens 1997). People who participate in community organizations can take skills learned in one organization and apply them to a new community group, thereby enhancing the new group.

Putnam (2000) argues that though the number of groups has increased nationally, the number of participants per group has decreased substantially. Americans appear to attend fewer group meetings than they did thirty years ago. The amount of social capital decreases when people cease to belong to civic or political organizations where networking and community involvement are most important. As Clemens (1997) argues, resources are the most important aspect of interest groups or any organization. Resources are defined as money, time, advertising, printing, access to decision makers, and other types of contributions made by individuals. With fewer resources, it may be difficult to oppose an organized, resource-rich interest.

Once people decide to join an interest group or organization, maintaining support may be difficult. Material incentives to join national and state organizations seem to abound. Some organizations provide members with tote bags, stickers, or magazines. This is far less likely in local interest groups that generally rely on only one or two (or possibly no) paid staff members.

In his landmark work, Olsen (1965) argues that there is an economic base for group membership. If this were the case, one would expect to find few people joining or participating in community organizations that oppose subdivisions because most of these organizations offer few material benefits.

Interestingly, it is discovered that while many disagree with a project, few will actively oppose it (Sharp 1982). People cite a lack of time, understanding of the issue, and understanding of local government or family obligations as reasons why they do not participate. If people are not involved, the social capital they could offer the organization is lost.

Some scholars disagree with Olson's theory that material benefits are needed for an organization to thrive (Moe 1980; Salisbury 1969). They cite numerous organizations that offer no material benefits to members, yet maintain high membership rolls. Moe and Lowi (1980 & 1969) both agree with Olson, but do change his theory slightly. They argue that while a smaller group may be sustained without material benefits, a larger group requires them. This is because interaction among members is generally limited in a larger group to "checkbook memberships." This style of membership requires only a contribution to join. No active participation is necessary.

While "checkbook memberships" are greeted with enthusiasm by local interest groups, many organizers say instead that they would like people to attend meetings, write letters to representatives, and get involved (Sharp 1982). It is important for local interest groups and organizations to have active members if they are to be a force in community political life. If community organizations have participants and offer few material benefits for membership, it seems likely that these members would generally be more amenable to joining local interest groups that also offer few material rewards.

Data and Measures

To test my hypothesis, I used data I collected by a mail survey entitled "Participation Study 2002." The study was sent to 150 randomly selected registered voters in Penryn, California the first week of May 2002. Respondents had until June 30, 2002 to send the letter back in a postage-paid return envelope enclosed with the survey. After the initial mailing, those who did not return surveys were again mailed a survey for a final opportunity to participate. This gained approximately fifteen more surveys for a total of ninety-two respondents.

Penryn and the Bickford Ranch Project were chosen to study for several reasons. First, the Bickford Ranch Project proposal had just been approved by the planning commission only months before the survey was mailed. As a

result, community members who may have participated or knew about the project would have a clear recollection of it. Second, the project is of great importance to the community and caused much debate in the county over a period of years. The Bickford Ranch Project is one of two California projects the Sierra Club has chosen for its “worst environmental projects” list. Penryn, a rural community in Placer County, is next to two of the fastest growing areas in California: Lincoln and Rocklin. The community formed the first opposition group to the Bickford Ranch Project known as the Opposition to Bickford Ranch, and later helped other state and national organizations get involved, including the Oak Tree Coalition and the Sierra Club. Such a community was ripe for study.

Registered voters were chosen because the literature supports the belief that registered voters are more likely to be active in organizations or community events (Brehm and Rahn 1997). Given a relatively small research budget, this seemed the most effective way to address people who are more likely to participate in organizations as a whole, and who might be in opposition to Bickford Ranch activities. However, I do recognize the constraints this caused in the research. Instead of measuring all people in Penryn, the survey measured those who are already more likely to participate in organizations. This may increase the sampling error of the survey. Those who are registered to vote are generally more educated and affluent than those who are not, and the survey confirmed that respondents were generally more educated than the population of Placer County as a whole. Many responded that they graduated from college with a bachelors degree or higher, and the income categories showed a higher than expected mean.

In the survey, respondents were asked numerous questions first relating to their participation in community and religious groups. The questions then asked about their knowledge of Bickford Ranch and their participation in activities to support or oppose the project. Respondents’ concerns about the project were also assessed in a series of multiple choice and short answer questions.

Results

For this research question, I completed a crosstabulation on the dependent variable, “Do you currently participate in activities to support or oppose Bickford Ranch?” and the independent variable, “Do you currently participate in a community group?” I recoded both variables to reduce the number of categories from which respondents could choose. Previously, the “Do you currently participate in activities to support or oppose Bickford

Ranch?” had answers such as “do not participate,” “hand out literature,” “organize meetings,” “write letters,” “attend meetings,” etc. Originally, the independent variable had seven categories.

The independent variable, “Do you participate in a community group?”, also was recoded as it, too, had multiple categories similar to those listed for the “Do you participate in activities to support or oppose Bickford Ranch?” The variables were changed from ordinal level data to nominal level data for two reasons. First, the original crosstabulation was seven categories by seven categories. Because of this, it was difficult to read and interpret the data for my hypothesis. Second, sixty-three total respondents answered both questions. If these sixty-three respondents were spread over multiple categories, it would be difficult to determine percentages that would tell what is actually happening in group participation of those who do/do not participate in community groups or the Bickford Ranch Project.

Table 1 is the frequency distribution for the question, “Do you currently participate in activities to support or oppose Bickford Ranch?” There were seventy-eight respondents who answered this question. Of those, 60.3 percent answered “no,” they do not participate, while 39.7 percent answered yes. The mode was 1, or the code for “no.” This means that more respondents answered no, they do not participate than answered yes, they do participate.

Table 1. Do You Currently Participate in Activities to Support or Oppose Bickford Ranch?

No	60.3%	47
Yes	39.7%	31
TOTAL	100%	78

Table 2 is the frequency distribution for the question, “Do you presently participate in a community group?”. There were sixty-eight respondents who answered this question. Of those, 44.1 percent answered “no,” they do not participate in community groups while, 55.9 percent answered “yes,” they do participate in community groups. The mode on this is 1, which corresponded to yes for this question.

Table 2. Do You Presently Participate in a Community Group?

No	44.1%	30
Yes	55.9%	38
TOTAL	100%	68

We do not look at the mean (or average) or the median (the middle response) because the data has been recoded as nominal level data. It is not necessary to look at the standard deviation, either, because this is a measure of dispersion used for interval or ordinal level data.

To evaluate the hypothesis that those who participate in community groups are more likely to participate in local interest groups, a crosstabulation on these two variables is provided. Table 3 indicates that 70.6 percent of respondents say they participate in community groups, but do not participate in the Bickford Ranch Project. Only 44.8 percent said they do not participate in either community groups or the Bickford Ranch Project.

In the same crosstabulation, it is interesting to see that only 29.4 percent of respondents participate in a community group and participate in the Bickford Ranch Project, while 55.2 percent who do not participate in community groups said they participated in the Bickford Ranch Project.

Table 3. Do/Do Not Participate in Community Groups and Do/Do Not Participate in Bickford Ranch Activities.

	DO NOT participate in community groups	Participate in community groups	TOTAL
Currently DO NOT participate in activities to support or oppose Bickford Ranch	13 44.8%	24 70.6%	37 58.7%
Currently participate in activities to support Bickford Ranch	16 55.2%	10 29.4%	26 41.3%
Total	29 100%	34 100%	63 100%

The chi-square helps explain the strength of the relationship of the variables in the crosstabulation. For these variables, the chi-square is 4.28 with one degree of freedom, and the chi-square's level of significance is .03, indicating that the relationship is statistically significant. Generally, .05 or smaller is the level of significance that researchers strive to achieve.

After looking at the data, it appears that the hypothesis is not supported by this dataset. Those who participate in community organizations are actually significantly less likely to participate in local interest groups based on this dataset. In fact, the data supports a hypothesis that might say that those who do not participate in community groups participate in local interest groups more often. This would be no surprise to pluralists such as Dahl (1961), who indicated that when a person's interests are threatened, they are more likely to participate than when the threat is removed. Since different people perceive different threats, participants in policy are always changing, and this change allows for a larger base of participants in government.

Participants in community groups may have different motivations than those who participate in local interest groups. While community group participants may seek belonging or tangible benefits, participants in local interest groups may be reacting to a threat instead of joining for benefits. To look more closely at this issue, a third variable, such as proximity to the project, could be added. If people do enter interest groups when they feel threatened and exit when they are not threatened, one would hypothesize that those who live closer to the project would have a higher rate of participation in the Bickford Ranch Project groups, while those who live farther from the project would have a lower level of participation.

A variable often discussed in the literature is income. Generally those with higher incomes are more likely to participate in interest groups than those with lower incomes (Sharp 1982). In the case of community members in Penryn, there is a higher level of income. From this, one might complete a three-way crosstabulation with income as the control. It is likely that one may see a change in who participates based on income. One caution to this, however, is that the number of respondents in this dataset is relatively small. When a third factor is added, the number of respondents for all three questions may also get smaller, which could affect the generalizability of the results.

Conclusion

California's rapid growth rate makes the study of development an interesting endeavor. According to the data from the 2002 Participation Study, community members who participate in community organizations are actually less likely to participate in local interest groups. At the same time, those who participate in local interest groups are less likely to participate in community groups. Only 29.4 percent of respondents said they participated in both community groups and local interest groups, while 44.8 percent of respondents answered that they participated in neither.

Several factors could lead to this outcome. Proximity to the project could account for the difference in those who participate in the local interest groups. However, much of the literature relies on income to help explain who participates in organizations. In this research, those with a higher income were likely to participate in both community organizations and the Bickford Ranch Project. However, the lower income brackets were inconclusive in this area.

More research should be completed at the local level to better understand interest group participation in communities. It is believed that theories of national interest group participation can be applied to local interest group participation, but, as this project illustrates, this not always the case.

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**Applicability Of Regime Theory To State Governance:
Can The Dominant Theory In Urban Governance Illuminate The
Study Of State Governance?**

By Kenn Vance

Literature Review

According to Imbroscio (1998, 2003) urban regime theory has “rightfully reigned” as the dominant paradigm in the study of urban cities since the mid-1990s. Urban regime theory is generally considered as having been founded by Stephen Elkin and Clarence Stone in their influential books: *City and Regime in the American Republic* (1987) and *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988* (1989) respectively. Both books sought to resolve the conflict within a locality between public control of government and the private control of the economy. Government presumably works for the best interests of the community it governs, yet with control of jobs, wages, production and supply completely in private hands and left to the market under the American capitalist system, the public sphere lacks the wherewithal to finance, plan, or execute most policies at the local level without support of the business community. Elkin and Stone were working during the 1980s to respond to Peterson’s *City Limits* (1981), which argued that local governance in the United States was completely outside the scope of local political control and was instead at the whims of larger economic conditions imposed by business and the federal government. In many ways Elkin and Stone’s works can be seen as extensions of arguments offered by Lindblom (1977). However, they established a new conceptualization of the division of labor between state and market, that was nuanced and sophisticated, yet generalizable enough to form the foundation of the theory that would quiet a roughly 40-year old debate on local governance between elitists and pluralists.

Urban regime theory was a new paradigm within a debate on American urban regimes that had been primarily composed of elitist and pluralist arguments built off of two seminal works from the mid-twentieth century. Floyd Hunter wrote *Community Power Structure* about “Regional City,” now known to be Atlanta. Through a series of interviews, investigations, and research of people of repute and power, he was able delineate levels of power and

influence, and discovered a hierarchy with powerful business leaders controlling the social, political and economic aspects of Atlanta (Hunter 1953)*. *Who Governs* by Robert Dahl (1961) is seen as a response to Hunter's elitism model. By examining the important decisions made in New Haven, Connecticut he found that because decision-makers had to worry about electoral accountability they responded to the various interests within the community. He called this regime a pluralistic society (1961). A large reason why regime theory is the preferred model today is because it seems to solve the problem between these two competing theories, while also addressing community power through a political economic framework. Essentially, regime theory addresses elites' role in urban governance; it addresses electoral and demographic power, and it addresses the economic challenge to local politics proposed by Peterson (1981), through use of a historical analytical approach (Stone 1987, 254-260). However, while elitism and pluralism have corollaries at all levels of governance, regime theory, with the added moniker of "urban," has been primarily limited to the city and community level. How did this concept that has become "dominant" in one field fail to spread to the study of other strata of governance? This paper will attempt to show how regime theory may be applicable to states and proposes how one might go about researching the existence of a state-level regime.

Layout of Paper

How can one possibly apply a city level model, such as urban regime theory, to state-level governance? First, this paper will return to the key aspect of regime theory as laid down by Elkin (1987) and Stone (1987, 1993) and restated by Mossberger and Stoker (2001). Then the paper will look at some of the ways urban regime theory has already been stretched to include new policies, geographic areas, and actors. What follows is a discussion on the dearth of competing theories of state-level governance. The focus of the paper will then shift from a discussion of regime theory literature to a brief proposal for the discovery of a regime at the state level, including a brief discussion on maintaining the economic aspect of the political economic approach. Before drawing final conclusions, likely outcomes from the search for state-level regimes will be hypothesized.

Basic Concepts

Urban regime theory has several key aspects stemming from its perspectives on political and economic power relations. Chief amongst them is the division

of labor between state and market over the political economy. Elkin (1987) lays down the fundamental problem of local governance when he writes:

The way in which popular control operates in contemporary cities is largely a consequence of the division of labor between state and market as that is manifest in cities. This division, which stems from the corresponding arrangement of the national political economy, means that ownership of productive assets in the city is largely placed in private hands. Public officials share responsibility for the level of well-being with these private controllers, yet these officials cannot command economic performance, only induce it. (18)

Public officials are held accountable for “the economy” by the electorate, yet their sphere of command does not extend into the economic realm. This is the consequence of the liberal capitalist arrangement of the political economy within the United States. This arrangement is taken as a given condition by urban regime theory (Stone 1993, 2). The division of labor between state and market leads to the inadequacy of government authority to implement policy outcomes, which is why regime theory conceptualizes a governing coalition that requires nongovernmental actors to produce policy outcomes (Elkin 1987; Stone 1989; 1993, 17). Two other foundational concepts allow for the completion of the governing coalition model, the productive model of power, and a Tillian model of low social coherence.

The Social-Productive Model of Power: The “Power To”

The social-productive model of power focuses on the “power to,” the power to create and sustain policy goals. It is a view in opposition to the pluralist conception of the social-control model of power or “power over” (Dahl 1961). The social-control model of power supposes that energy must be exerted by the dominating faction to maintain its dominance. Stone writes that this is a “power depleting model (1993, 9),” as the dominator must constantly use up his power in order to maintain control. Conversely, productive power is a “power generating model” (Stone 1993, 9) where the governing coalition is strengthened by producing visible policy outcomes, and the cost of power exertion is on the outsider who must seek to supplant the governing coalition (Stone 1987, 1993). The governing coalition is further strengthened by its appeal due to its ability to “get things done.” In other words, people outside of the coalition seek to team or join with the coalition as a means of accomplishing their goals and for the psychic comfort of being

involved in a larger or more meaningful cause (Stone 1987, 1993). The governing coalition's attractive quality leading to more power through numbers of participants draws from Arendt's (1996) communicative theory of power which proposes that power stems from buy-in and groups of people rather than violence or coercive control (1986).

Tilly's Social Model: Uneven and Widespread Disbursement of Power

Urban regime theory is also founded in a Tillian model of low social coherence (Davies 2002, 6; Stone 1987, 226; Stone 1993, 9). In the Tillian model no single group can dominate, instead a coalition seeking to govern must bring together divergent power points (Stone 1987, Tilly 1984). These points consist of uneven levels of political, economic, social, civic and institutional power. Even if a group can dominate politically, it cannot dominate ideologically, and, as pointed out above, a government dominated by a single political faction is likely to still be unable to govern without nongovernmental buy-in because it lacks authority over the economic aspects of a community. It is upon the Tillian conception of divergent power points that Stone crafts the productive model of power and what gives a governing coalition its inertial and gravitational dimensions (Stone 1987). Once a governing coalition has formed by uniting needed power points from the community, which in the Atlanta example were the mayor's office, downtown businesses, newspapers, Coca-Cola and the electoral influence of middle-class blacks, the coalition is likely to stick together because it has shown results; (Stone 1987) this is the inertial dimension. A governing coalition's "gravitational" appeal lies in its productive appeal, which gives the coalition the ability to co-opt challengers with policy outcomes or slack resources (Stone 1987). In Atlanta this was exemplified by a neighborhood movement in the late 1970s, and later by challenges from middle class art communities where the governing coalition satisfied favored neighborhoods or galleries, which fractured the startup challenger coalitions before enough power points could unite to supplant the exiting governing coalition (Stone 1987).

Regime Maintenance and Formation

The inertial and gravitational aspects of governing coalitions do not mean that coalitions do not require ongoing maintenance. As Stone (1993) puts it, "I will emphasize that a governing capacity has to be created and maintained.

It is not just ‘there’ for the taking, by electoral or other means (17).” Policies, including the policy of inaction and caretaking, are passed and implemented all the time, but this does not mean a regime coalition exists. A coalition is also marked by a stable set of actors with a coherent policy objective. Also, the governing coalition must be able to mobilize resources, that is, secure implementation and political and economic buy-in, for the policy objectives of the coalition (Stone 1993, 17). This was closely tied to the abilities of the downtown business elite and middle-class blacks’ ability to call forth “slack resources” of investment and votes respectively, in the Atlanta case (Stone 1987). Hence, the final key aspect to regime theory is a stable and effective governing coalition.

Stone’s Typology of Four Regime Types

After developing the urban regime theory in relation to the activist urban-redevelopment regime of Atlanta, Stone (1993) refined urban regime theory by developing a typology of four types of urban regimes. All of the regimes operate in the political economic framework outlined above, but require different amounts of resources to maintain viability. The regimes (in order from least amount of resources required to most) are: maintenance regimes concerned with routine service delivery; development regimes concerned with the coordination of institutional elites; middle class progressive regimes concerned with government protections through complex regulation; and regimes devoted to lower class opportunity expansion through mass mobilization. Regimes devoted to lower class opportunity expansion are exceedingly hard to maintain to the point that they may always be hypothetical, having never met the stability requirement for a governing coalition regime (Stone 1993, 18-23).

The Challenge of Conceptualization

Mossberger and Stoker (2001) propose a series of core criteria that need to be observed in the application of the urban regime concept, through an examination of Stone’s original conceptualization in *Regime Politics* (1989). This is in response to efforts to modify urban regime theory in often problematic ways by researchers who sought to extend the theory past important aspects of the concept. They offer a simple and concise restatement of

urban regime theory, without getting too deep into discussions on power and society. On the nature of governing regimes they write:

Urban regimes are coalitions based on informal networks as well as formal relationships, and they have the following core principles:

- Partners drawn from government and nongovernmental sources, requiring but not limited to business participation;
- Collaboration based on social production - the need to bring together fragmented resources for the power to accomplish tasks;
- Identifiable policy agendas that can be related to the composition of the participants in the coalition;
- a longstanding pattern of cooperation rather than a temporary coalition. (Mossberger and Stoker 2001, 829)

In other words, in order to qualify as a regime, a coalition must meet all the above criteria. Furthermore, they think it is important to note that “regimes are also capable of fading or deteriorating (830). And they take care to point out that urban regime theory employs a political economic framework. If one removes the nongovernmental economic actors then one is simply looking at a governing coalition, not a governing regime coalition (830).

Application of the Urban Regime Theory to Larger Contexts

Regime theory has not been solely applied to city governments. In his study of a potential region-level regime in the greater Chicago area, Hamilton reviewed a few past attempts to extend application of urban regime theory concepts (2002, 406). Leo (1998) examined the potentiality of a regime in the Portland region and Ferman (1996) investigated a Pittsburgh area special district. Stone, in his study of Atlanta includes actors from outside of the city limits and government, and seems to suggest the possibility that regime theory could be applicable to a wide spectrum where democratic governance and power is set in a fractured Tillian space (1987, 234-235). Stone and others have also narrowed and redirected the concept of urban regimes into urban policy issues aside from urban development, such as education. Additionally, Lauria (1997) has criticized the narrow focus of the application of regime theory on central cities studies, which has left out suburban political and economic influences (1997). Mossberger and Stoker (2001) caution the use of regime theory at different and new scales, writing: “careful application is needed to avoid generating conceptual muddle or concept stretching”. However, they conclude that regime theory appears applicable to the

regional level (2001, 827). Mossberger and Stoker add that application of old theories to new situations raises concerns of measurement cohesion that can stress reliability and validity. Any study of regime theory must take care to preserve the political economic framework of the division of labour between state and market, the Tillian social model, and the social-productive model of power. After all if terms are stretched to include all governing arrangements and “If regimes are everywhere, we will never be able to explain why they form in some places rather than others, and we have no guide as to what similarities or differences are significant” (2001, 816). This also reminds a potential researcher that he or she should be prepared to find a null-hypothesis: that there is not a governing regime where he or she is looking.

A Closer Look at an Example of the Application of Regime Theory to a Region

I chose to closely outline one such study of regional governance, by Hamilton (2002), in order to point out some of the lessons one might glean from his conclusions for use in a state-level study. Hamilton (2002) concludes that the viability of a regional governing regime in the Chicago area is hampered by the lack of involvement in the governance of the region by actors outside of the Chicago city limits. While resources for a regime existed, a well-funded civic agency and the involvement of business leaders provided slack resources and an active civic sector promoted networks and action. Those resources tended to end where the suburbs began, and leaders and agencies from the suburbs were a minority in the patterns of collaboration. Hamilton (2002) points to the lack of a single umbrella government jurisdiction for the suburban and urban actors to partner with (420). Evidence seems to suggest that not enough stable power points were gathered from the suburban areas to spread either a coherent pattern of policy production into the region. A government actor seems to be missing from Tillian’s model. One could presume that the state governor, elected officials, and agencies could serve as such Tillian actors in a study of state-level governance.

Participation of State Officials in Urban Governing Regimes

There is some indication from research that state officials participate in regimes. Peter Burns (2003) has found that state actors can play a role in an urban governing regime in the policy area of education (2003). In his study

of Atlanta, Stone (1987) often found that state legislators or the governor would become involved in the running of Atlanta's development regime. Finally, I presume that some elected officials who moved up the ladder from local government to state government, have participated in urban governing regimes and have sought to reconstruct similar structures at the state level in order to get things done. They certainly wouldn't abandon coalition partners who could continue to help them produce and implement policy.

The State of State Governance Theory

Finally, before this paper moves into a discussion on the methodology to be used in the study of state-level governing regimes, I would like to review some literature that attempts to explain state-level governance, but I can not. I was unable to find a theory analogous to urban regime theory, or even pluralism or elite theory, for analyzing state political economic structuring. Certainly pluralism, elite theory, and Marxism or structuralism have aspects that can be applied to state-level governance, but they lack a body of research that purports one of them as the dominant perspective. Gray (1999) explains the context of state-level study as guided by conceptions of modernization and careful understandings of how the states vary greatly in political, economic, historic and cultural contexts and how those contexts can create political trajectories.

Methods

Thoughts and Hypotheses

Perhaps those political economic and cultural trajectories have led some states into developing a governing regime that could be analogous to an urban regime such as Stone (1987) found in Atlanta. It certainly appears to me that state government suffers from the same political economic division of labor between state and market and its corresponding symptom of impotent policies. But one should not be too hasty to discover a state-level governing regime, especially if such efforts would result in concept stretching that would reduce the cohesive, explanatory, and predictive qualities of regime theory (Mossberger and Stoker 2001). So while this paper hypothesizes that one can find state-level governing regimes, it also proposes the null-hypothesis that one may not find a state-level governing regime, because they may simply not exist.

Requirements for a Governing Regime and How to Look for Them

This paper will accept the stipulation that a state is functioning under a governing regime only if the basic and specific needs of regime theory are met. Foremost, borrowing from Mossberger and Stoker (2001), the governing coalition must: (1) include nongovernmental actors, some of whom represent the economic side of the liberal division of labour; (2) a coalition formed around the concept of social production; (3) an identifiable policy agenda; (4) and a stable pattern of collaboration amongst the actors towards the policy agenda (2001, 829). Of these, the first three are absolutely necessary, without them one is merely observing governance and/or coalitions, but not an attempt to structure government by a cohesive group of factions. The last requirement of a stable pattern, if found lacking, could still indicate that a governing regime is forming, stunted or dying (830).

One looks for these criteria by examining the components of a potential governing regime. This examination is not simple or easily testable. It requires careful examination of a culture but is of a nature that can not rely on survey data or media analysis. Instead the political scientist must become a historian on the political and economic makeup of her target government. For instance, Burns (2003), when looking for state actors in an urban governing regime focused on education policy, and relied on “several sources” including:

State reports, legislative hearings, and official New Jersey Department of Education documents provide insight into how state government reshaped the alliance that governed Newark’s schools. I also use newspaper accounts and interviews with school administrators, policymakers, business leaders, and other education stakeholders to describe the alliance-forming actions of the state players and business leaders who made up Newark’s new education regime (2003, 291).

Such a wide breadth of sources is the norm in regime theory study, the researcher attempts to recreate from whence policy came, with what purpose it arose. That allows the researcher to get at the first and third necessary components of a regime.

In addition to the wide variety of sources that need to be looked at, the timeframe is important to consider, as regime theory is a theory of structuring, the ongoing cycle of stimuli and organism-guided reactions. Stone (1987) proposes that urban regimes are best studied over time, because governance

requires the creation and readjusting of the informal arrangements that tie the political and economic actors, all in a context of past events and current paradigms (Stone 1987(6-11; and 219). He has labeled his method the “historical approach” (254-260). The arrangement of informal agreements by a regime is what he refers to as the structuring or restructuring of the governing coalition. But a single series of events will not serve the purposes of the historical approach, instead one needs to form a conception of “structuring”, or as he explains:

Events are the arena in which the struggle between change and continuity are played out, but they are neither self-defining nor free-formed phenomena. They become events in our minds because they have some bearing on structures that help shape future occurrences. It is the interplay of event and structure that is especially worthy of study. To identify events one therefore needs to have some conception of structure. In this way, the researcher can focus attention, relieved of the impossible task of studying everything (Stone 1987, 10).

For this reason, Stone (1987) studied regime in Atlanta by examining events over a very long period of time, 1946-1988. This long timeframe allowed him to ask the questions “who, how, and with what consequences?” (6). Finding the answer to these questions, verifies or disproves the second mandatory condition of governing regime; that it is a coalition formed around the concept of social production. Long-term observance of the actors within the regime also indicates whether the fourth criteria, coherence and stability, is present or not.

Of course, there are different scopes and amounts of research that went into the above mentioned articles and books. Hamilton (2002) interviewed eighteen policymakers and elites (409), while Stone (1987) interviewed ninety-seven people, including mayors and corporate heads as well as journalists and local scholars, in addition to “extensive use” of the Atlanta Constitution, and a “plethora” of secondary sources on Atlanta (259-260). While both are taking a historical approach to regime analysis, the amount of research conducted is very different. That is because the aims of the two papers’ are very different. Stone was seeking to create and defend a new paradigm in the study of urban governance, while Hamilton sought to apply a “dominant” theory to a slightly different context. Attempting to apply regime theory to state governance strains the limits of the historical approach. The population, geographical area, and number of policy areas are increased to the point that to study they may not only require a shift in the amount of research conducted. A state may have too many competing political and eco-

conomic factions, and too many Tillian points of power, to ever form the conditions necessary for the formation of a governing regime. Still, these concerns could be ameliorated by limiting the study.

Self-imposed boundaries to the claims and scope of the application of regime theory to the state level, lower concerns that state governance is too complicated, diverse and fractionalized to possess principles of urban regime theory. First, the researcher may want to look for a state that operates the most like a city, in terms of population and area, by simply limiting the study to a small state with a small population. Second, he may want to focus on economic developmental policies at the state level, for that is where economic and political realms most closely meet. He could observe planning, environmental, promotional, and pork-barrel projects and budget disbursements and taxation. Still, while an article with a ten year time span and twenty-four interviews could merely suggest a state-level governing regime, only a full fledged book could adequately defend its position through a long dialogue provided through a political economic historical perspective.

A Reminder: Examine the Economics

Any future study of regime theory would be served in noting the critique that an economic understanding has to be reinserted into the theory (Davies 2002; Imbroscio 2003). According to Imbroscio (2003), regime theory was founded as a response to Peterson’s City Limits’ thesis that local politics is made irrelevant by the tides of larger economic trends, but has since neglected the economic side of its political economic framework, by focusing too much on politics and policies and not enough on economics. He argues that regime theorists need to examine the cost and benefits to the community in terms of an economic spreadsheet that would measure social costs and benefits, social capital additions and subtractions, and anything that affects the wealth accumulation ability of a community (Imbroscio 2003). Davies (2002) argues that urban regime theory is a theory of structuring that suffers because it does not fully appreciate the causes and consequences of the capitalist market system, but would be well served by reexamining its claims regarding structuring, and re-engaging critically with Marxism and its perspective on the ills of the market economy.

Likely Outcomes

The hypothesis of this paper is that one could find a governing regime at the state level. Some factors that may encourage regimes to form at the state

level include the increased mobility of capital which would increase inter-state competition for mobile capital, term-limits, and the associated rotation of elected officials from local to state-level governance, and the coalescence of lobbying power within larger issue-based coalitions and consolidating economic unions, i.e. merging corporations. Such factors increase the likelihood that elected leaders would seek out business and other non-governmental partners for the state-level development programs that would characterize a state-level development regime. While it might be hard to find a stable or coherent regime in overall policy, by focusing on economic development committees, associated agencies and blue ribbon commissions consisting of business leaders, a regime might be more apparent and stable.

Finding the Four Types of Governing Regimes

Governing regimes that require lower levels of resources and fewer people are more likely to form generally, and one could presume the same would be true for state level governing regimes. Caretaker and developmental regimes are “less challenging” to form and maintain than middle class progressive and lower class opportunity expansion regimes. I can conceive of finding caretaker regimes that teamed labour, industry, and politicians to preserve an industrial base of a state, possibly teaming with agricultural or mining industries to bring elements from the rural parts of the state into the coalition. A developmental regime at the state level would function very similarly to an urban level, by uniting politicians and business leaders with a focus on development and low taxation. The other two types of regimes, middle class progressive regimes and regimes devoted to lower class opportunity expansion, likely require too many resources to adequately mobilize enough participants to form a stable coalition.

Suggesting States

Some states are likely to be more facilitative demographically, politically, economically and culturally to regime formation than others. A reading of Burbank’s *Olympic Dreams* (2001), suggests that while Los Angeles and Atlanta can be conceived as separate entities from the state they are in, the same cannot be said for Salt Lake City and Utah, which appears to be a prime candidate for a governing regime. Utah has several conditions that seem favorable for regime formation: an apparent regime in the Salt Lake

City area which also happens to contain 75 percent of the state's population (Burbank 2001, 122); an independent and powerful nongovernmental actor, the Church of Jesus Christ and Latter-day Saints; and important and powerful economic forces outside of Salt Lake City, such as ski resorts. These are long term and stable actors in the state's political economy that suggest the potential for a stable state level regime. Similarly, Minnesota has 80 percent of its electorate in the Twin Cities area, an existing regional governmental relationship between St. Paul and Minneapolis, and a homogeneous and relatively politically active electorate (Lentz 2002). While many may think that California is too big and diverse to maintain a governing regime, when Artie Samish proclaimed himself the secret boss of California, he was convincing because he sat atop a combination of business and electoral power and was part of a wide and strong network of elected officials and business leaders that had proven their ability to produce favorable policy outcomes for his coalition (Samish and Thomas 1971). I do not argue that Samish was a single person regime, but just that he may have been a key player in a stable governing relationship between political and business interests, possibly a regime which spanned decades in the first half of the twentieth century in what is now the nation's largest state.

Conclusion

Regardless of where or if one finds a governing regime at the state level, one must stay true to the concepts of urban regime theory if one wishes the application of regime theory to continue to be a valuable tool. Right now it is the dominant theory in urban governance, and it may have useful things to show political science about state level governance, but to dilute it for the sake of wider applicability or generalizability would decrease its usefulness and theoretical appeal. However, even if extensive research shows that urban regime theory does not hold at the state level, time has not been wasted, for it should at least form the foundation for some sort of state level governance theory that takes into account the social-production theory of power, the Tillian model of low social coherence, and the division of labour between state and market. These concepts are appealing, even when separated from urban regime theory, especially in liberal market society that is increasingly diverse and focused on governmental output.

*Stone returned to Atlanta in *Regime Politics* aware of Hunter's study and acknowledges a "kinship" between the two studies, but he focuses on

the “flow of events” to demonstrate his conclusions regarding Atlanta, urban regimes and power structures generally (Stone 1989).

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Evolution

Alan M. Iwamura

Paradox And Paradigm: Discovering A New Way*By Nathan Davis*

Upon reading *The Iron Triangle* by Dan Briody, I have decided to define two of the concepts that play an integral role in his book: political economy and strategic trade theory. Upon completion of this task, I will then connect the contents of his book to these two concepts and explain the significance of this to our understanding of the machinations of international political economy. It is the understanding of this convergence of concepts within the international political economy that is a pressing concern in regards to the questionably unethical business practices demonstrated by the awarding of defense contracts. Ultimately, I will illustrate that within this convergence of power and money not only exists a precarious paradox our public governance has become lost in, but also that it is a clear representation of the necessity for a new approach to our understanding of the political economy, and hence the further need for a new, more stable paradigm.

The concept of political economy is viewed as a paradox in our liberal *laissez-faire* economy. Adam Smith, one of the fathers of free market systems, proposed in his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, that an unfettered market will provide the best rewards for a government and its people. His theory was centered on the concept of the individual and also focused on the necessity of reducing government intervention (barriers to trade) and promoting cooperation and competition-recognized as the integral elements in a healthy, functioning, self-regulating economy. Thus, for an economic liberalist, the term political economy sends a dangerous signal symptomatic of the interconnectedness of politics and economics. The interdependent nature of both of these elements of governance in the others' realm of influence can provide an unethical avenue for some to further their own political and economic prospects, sometimes both concurrently.

The concept of strategic trade theory in relation to the international political economy (IPE) has matured while the IPE has been traversing the globalization pathway. As mentioned previously, Adam Smith proposed that an unfettered market would function properly and freely; however, if the experience of globalization has taught us anything, it has taught us that the competitive nature of nationalism is a pervasive and insatiable phenomenon. Nationalism fosters protectionist trade policies within the global market,

which without question are precisely the barriers to trade that lead to furthering conflictual relations among nations. Therefore, in observing this inevitability, strategic trade theory makes concessions in regard to the necessity of limited government intervention in the economic realm in order to further preclude more dramatic conflictual relations. Through this intervention a government assumes the role of governance over competing factors of production, thereby limiting the occurrence of trade wars and, most importantly, encouraging further communication and cooperation.

Upon evaluation of *The Iron Triangle*, and when considering the interdependent nature and prevalence of the two elements of governance previously stated, which combine to form political economy, Briody further confirms my thesis. From the outset, he establishes a firm foundation from which to assault the near impenetrable triangle he seeks to bring into the light of public awareness. This triangle is a combination of U.S. politics, our national defense, and private sector economics, aptly portrayed in the book by the Carlyle Group. First and foremost, Briody begins with the political manipulations perpetrated by the founders of The Carlyle Group: Stephen Norris, David Rubenstein, Dan D'Aniello, and some of the most recognized of the political elite, incorporated into the group by William Conway. These men are the board members and private contractors of their firm. Then he progresses to how the Carlyle Group's manipulative approach to business translates into conflict and resolution, prosperity and defeat, and losses that were only outweighed by the Carlyle Group's vast monetary gains. The interconnectedness of their business practices and the potential inefficiency of governmental regulations continue to play a major role throughout the book. This is especially apparent when Briody ties the Carlyle Group's economic motivations to their political connections and the relevance this has to the third element, national defense.

The political connections established by the founders of the Carlyle Group run wide and deep. The incorporation of these powerful governmental figures into the fabric of their plans, Briody denotes, is not only instrumental in their success, it is the explanation for their success. He begins in Chapter 4, "Carlucci's Connections," by touching on federal restrictions that prohibit a Pentagon official from working with a private defense contractor for a one year period upon conclusion of his/her duties for the state. This is known as a "cooling off period" (Briody 31). While the need to have such a prohibition clearly points to the tenuous relationship that defense contractors and officials have in dealing with lucrative contracts, Briody reveals the ineptitude of this regulation. In the case of Frank Carlucci, Briody points out that only eighteen months after resignation of his post as defense sec-

retary he was appointed to an official defense contractor position within the Carlyle family. While he officially was not appointed until he had fully “cooled off,” he was still involved with the Carlyle Group much earlier. Using his connections at the Pentagon, Carlucci worked feverishly, wheeling and dealing; and in the end it was his friend Earle Williams that helped bring them their first lucrative deal through Carlucci in the early 1990s. Following, appropriately, a scandal within the Pentagon, the Carlyle Group was able to purchase a defense contracting firm, Braddock, Dunn, and McDonald, at a reasonable US \$130 million from Ford Aerospace who had previously purchased it only two years prior for the staggering sum of US \$425 million, according to Briody. Evidence of this sort certainly proved to the Carlyle Group that their investment in Carlucci had paid off.

While the relevance to the interconnectedness of politics and economics is clearly present in the above example, even more poignant are the ramifications of September 11, and the flurry of defense spending that ensued after George W. Bush’s election. Briody does a remarkable job of establishing the connections between these two entities and the precipitous event. While he makes mention of this remarkable coincidence and the amount of money the Carlyle Group is set to make, Briody relegates the conspiracies that Bush may have had a hand in the planning of the attacks as just that, conspiracies. Even though the president is closely aligned to the group, given that his father and the other man who aided him in attaining the most powerful seat in the world, James Baker III, are employed by the group. However, the “Bush Bonanza” (Briody 91), would spell out successes beyond the groups wildest dreams. In one day of business the Carlyle Group reaped rewards—upwards of US\$ 237 million—by taking one of their companies, United Defense, public.

Clearly the connection has been made here in this paper, as in *The Iron Triangle*, between politics and economics and the use of national defense as a proponent for the two. As I see it, the concept of political economy continues to be a paradox of unequaled proportion in the context of our liberal, laissez-faire international political economy. Briody has cut through the obscurity that has existed concerning this paradox given his relentless pursuit to piece together the linkages and connections that run from the White House to the Pentagon, and then back to the very doorstep of the Carlyle Group just down the road from the White House.

The concept of strategic trade theory then, after having addressed the issue pertaining to political economy and having gained a better understanding of its significance to the international political economy, only further encourages some limited government intervention to prevent this brand of blatant abuse by capitalists all-consumed with the prospect of making

money. I have already mentioned the regulations concerning the economic practices of former public officials, and how this is clearly an attempt by the government to initiate a barrier to those said officials' ability to directly garner profits from their involvement in the decision making apparatuses of the Pentagon and the White House.

The question that must arise in a person's mind when confronted with the realization of the regulations' inefficiency in fulfilling their task, then, is how to exploit this weakness or inability, or how to strengthen it to close the loophole that is being exploited. Extrapolating from the direction and content of Briody's book, I would surmise that he is a person in favor of more government regulation, or at the least in favor of enforcing existing regulations. Strategic trade theory holds high the estimation that the free market, if left unfettered, will invariably fall into conflict, due to the base nature of competition negating further cooperation among nations. In light of the defense spending and contracts doled out for this conflict-driven motive, it would seem that the Carlyle Group would be highly invested in promoting further competition and still more conflict.

I have also already made mention of the Carlyle Group's financial strategies following the destruction of the World Trade Center, and the bursting bubble of security felt by many Americans; but as Briody quotes, "although war is a tragedy for all, the policymakers are in no way situated to make a profit from wartime dealings," he says. "Right?" he asks rhetorically— "Wrong" comes his ready reply (Briody 122). He continues to quote a Carlyle lobbyist who makes a comment on a gun law they sought to push through Congress, "they have been able to reach into Congress," and there was a lot of contact with the Pentagon, "they definitely influenced the decision-making process" (Briody 131). It was precisely this influence that raised concerns and thus actions by the organization Judicial Watch, whose interests are intent upon keeping corruption out of the government. According to Briody, their main concern with the Carlyle Group was the strong ties they held to the president through their employment of former President George H. Bush. They cite the innumerable trips and appearances that the former president engaged in around the world in representing the Carlyle Group's interests, and the confusion of those foreign nationals as to whose interests were really being promoted, the Carlyle Group's or the United States government's? This practice by the Carlyle Group facilitates the assumption that the international political economy would thus become a ready target for abuse and corruption. What is more important, however, is the tenuous relationship between conflict and the resulting corruption of the system through the Carlyle Group's incorporation of former officials of the state, as argued earlier.

I have illustrated that within this convergence of power and money there not only exists a precarious paradox that our public governance has become lost in, but also that the precarious nature of this convergence is a clear signal that calls for a new approach to our understanding of the political economy, and hence the further need for a new, more stable paradigm. Whether or not one believes that competition in a liberal market will lead to conflict, as Lenin proposed in the text *International Political Economy* by Frederick S. Pearson, it is clear that there is a necessity to further increase or enforce the restrictions that are already in place, as provided for by a new strategic trade theory approach to international relations among nations. The example displayed by the Carlyle Group and their manipulations of the decision makers in the book, *The Iron Triangle*, begets questions concerning the ethical approach to business that our companies are taking to turn their profits, at literally any cost. The book furthermore raises questions as to the ability of our government to self-regulation, and inquires as to the lengths, we, as a people of this nation, must go to protect the world and ourselves from the abusive motivations of man in his endeavor to acquire material profit.

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Critical Article Review

By Kenn Vance

Abstract: This paper was prepared for a graduate seminar on public opinion. The class was assigned the article "Political and Social Relevancy of Malcolm X: The Stability of African American Political Attitudes," by Darren Davis and Christian Davenport. The authors sought to find support as to whether movies and pop culture events generally have an affect on political culture and attitudes. They used the release of Spike Lee's movie, Malcolm X, in addition to the surrounding media blitz and a documentary on the life and times of Malcolm X as the pop culture event to test their hypothesis. What follows is a critical review of their published article, cited below.

Davis, Darren W. and Christian Davenport. (2000). *Political and Social Relevancy of Malcolm X: The Stability of African American Political Attitudes. The Journal of Politics.* 59 (2): 550-564.

I n their article, "Political and Social Relevancy of Malcolm X" (1997), Darren Davis and Christian Davenport attempt to show how a major media event can have affects on political attitudes. The authors propose a hypothesis where the independent variable is the media event, here the release of the film Malcolm X, along with its associated press coverage and an independently produced documentary that aired on CBS. The dependent variable is the political attitudes of African Americans. The authors decide they can consider the film and documentary as a single testable variable, because to the extent that they "present consistent information, each can reinforce the other, depending on which was seen first" (552). The two can be thought of as exposure to Malcolm X's message and history; the authors write that "the more channels carrying the same message the greater the probability of acceptance. Repetition should strengthen the effects of the film" (552). The authors test for several considerations of the dependent variable, political attitudes and beliefs, which they differentiate into three evaluative dimensions: attitude, saliency, and cognition (or knowledge). Attitude

they further divide and test in three subcategories: political efficacy, political trust, and racial consciousness.

To test their hypothesis, the authors conducted a series of surveys of African Americans in Houston, Texas. The first survey consisted of 500 African Americans and was conducted before the release of the film. The second wave was conducted about two months later, and was successful in empanelling 75 percent of the original survey participants (555-556). The authors use a statistical procedure, two stage least squares, to control for potential two-way causality (554). While dependence on a statistical procedure is not preferable to a simple mechanic of causality, political attitudes and cognition are difficult concepts to measure, so a complex statistical procedure is forgivable in this study. However, the survey is rather limited in scope. In the end 375 Houstonian African Americans participated in both survey waves, but the authors attempt to generalize the results to all African Americans. This study is best identified as a case study of the effects of Malcom X on Houstonian African Americans' political attitudes. Perhaps deliberative discussion panels or an experimental model could better isolate a media event's influence on political attitudes and belief changes. Given the costs of either discussion groups or of increasing the range of the survey participants, the methods used by this study are adequate for the conclusions made by the authors, which will be discussed next.

Davis and Davenport report their findings from the surveys on two tables; the first table shows attitudinal changes and the second introduces a history effect (having lived through the heyday of the civil rights movement) (557, 560). They initially found that the film and the documentary together had a statistically significant effect on saliency, knowledge of Malcolm X (a cognitive effect), and racial consciousness (an attitudinal effect), while political trust and efficacy appeared unaffected. After dividing the sample into those born before and after 1954, the authors find that the younger generations were influenced by the media event while the older generations were not. They suggest two reasons to explain their findings. Attitudes on political efficacy and trust have been low and strongly held since the mid to late 1960s. Therefore, the effects of a single media event, is unlikely to shift these attitudes, while attitudes towards racial consciousness are more moderate and therefore more malleable. Second, those who lived through racial segregation and the heyday of the civil rights era are more imbued with "assimilationist strategies of nonviolence (559)," and tend to identify with Martin Luther King Jr. and perceive of Malcolm X as his violent "antithesis."

I think the authors raise a couple issues that they do not fully address. First, they find that men find Malcolm X more relevant than women do and

label this difference as “not surprising,” but then decide the difference is “inconsequential” (558). How is it inconsequential? Second, whether they expect Malcolm X to affect attitudes of political efficacy and trust positively or negatively is unclear. The story of Malcolm X is one of personal empowerment and civil rights victories, but at great personal cost; his story is ambivalent towards both efficacy and trust, but not racial consciousness. So in this case, while the messages of his biography are strong and flow through many channels, in regards to certain attitudinal responses the overall message could be construed differently by different viewers.

The authors convincingly describe and show how a media event could affect political attitudes. They use a method that categorizes public opinion as an aggregate to show how media elites can affect and mold public opinion. To suggest that the media has the ability to affect not only political knowledge, but also such basic and important aspects of social norms as racial consciousness, political efficacy, and political trust, also suggests that the media has an obligation to promote and reflect positive democratic norms. The authors’ findings also pose a challenge to attitude formation, arguing that only a strong and clear media event can influence political attitudes. But, does that suggest that ongoing media coverage is unimportant as long as it is not strong and clear? If attitudes, salience, and cognition are only raised by large media events, then one might expect a cycle of increasing and decreasing effects on political attitudes. I suggest that the long term effect of media coverage of the African American community (its politicians, comedians, musicians, actors, leaders, neighborhoods and members) is a more important influence on the norms that guide public opinion, yet much more difficult to measure. This is similar to other attempts to analyze what guides long term public opinion trends. This study is hampered by the same problem of general murkiness that other attempts to find political attitudes have found: the difficulty of isolating political attitude changes through survey responses. Independently, the film and the documentary were not statistically significant variables, and only when they were joined as a single event was it an important or powerful enough stimuli to have a visible impact on political attitudes.



Baby Bomb
Alexander Hawk Johnson

A Political Conversation

By Howli Ledbetter, Elizabeth McAllister, Peter Spangler, and Michael Witherow

Studium aims to give students a forum to showcase their coursework and to provide other students with insight into what their peers are creating. Typically, publication in Studium presents students' opinions and ideas in a very formal way. This year the editorial board decided to introduce an informal element as well; we sought to bring our readers a free flowing conversation on political opinions from students at Chico State.

The ground rules were simple. Six strangers, with differing ideologies and fields of study, would gather for a round table discussion about the political issues of the day. We met on a cold day in December 2003, and the conversation began to flow.

Participants

Adam Araneo was a journalism major with a minor in political science. He obtained his degree in December 2003. Araneo spent last summer as an intern with the California Democratic Party working vigorously against the recall.

Alyssa Flagler is a senior majoring in philosophy. She is a financial conservative who votes moderate on most issues.

Tony MacFarlane graduated with a sociology degree in May 2003. MacFarlane is a registered Republican who tends to vote party lines.

Bob Ray is currently a political science graduate student. Ray strongly supports the Democratic Party and is committed to registering hundreds of other Democrats to vote.

Nick Spangler is a senior at CSU, Chico. Nick is a student of psychology with a particular interest in clinical psychology, especially in eating and personality disorders. Nick enjoys studying philosophy and film, and is also a votary of the more uncommon bar cultures.

Jeremy Tarr has an undergraduate degree in psychology and obtained his Masters of Business Administration in December 2003. Tarr is a Republican who values a free market and self-reliance.

First Topic of Discussion: Voting

In the United States, students exhibit low levels of political participation. As a fundamental element of the participation process, voting continues to appear largely unimportant to America's youth. Hence, a contradiction presents itself as America's youth are often vigorously critical of politics, but absent at the process of decision making. The students who participated in our discussion voiced both the expected and, at times, thoughtful responses to whether they vote in elections in the United States.

The following is an edited transcript of a video recording.

Question: Do you vote?

Spangler: I don't vote a great deal. I vote on local elections because that's what affects my life. I don't find that [national elections] affect my life a great deal.

Araneo: What do you think about the idea that voting doesn't matter?

Flagler: If you're trying to influence politics by voting for president, you're not going to do anything at all. What you need to do is be active on a local scale, and that's how you're going to make a difference in government.

MacFarlane: This [voting] is something that people fight for all over the world. This is something people don't have an opinion on whatsoever, and we take it for granted.

Ray: I believe the main reason on average that people don't vote is that they're happy with the way things are. The average American standard of living is better than anywhere else in the world.

Spangler: I think the majority of people don't vote because they're disillusioned and they feel like they're not being represented.

Tarr: People don't vote because they feel separated. They don't necessarily feel their vote will count or make a difference.

MacFarlane: I think people didn't vote until this last election [2000 national election]... It showed people that every vote does matter.

Flagler: I don't think people are happy. I think people are apathetic. My life does not change a great deal depending on the president.

Second Topic of Discussion: The Iraq War

This conversation took place nine months after the U.S. invasion of Iraq. At this time, the president and his administration were still insisting that it was just a matter of time before weapons of mass destruction were uncovered in Iraq, but public uncertainty was growing.

The following is an edited transcript of a video recording.

Question: The first U.S. invasion of Iraq uncovered weapons of mass destruction; but didn't the international community already know they were there?

Ray: We know they had chemicals and biological weapons in their country because we sent them. At that time we were supporting Iran versus Iraq, Iraq versus Iran for oil. Our country provided logistical support for some of the chemical weapons strikes that were made. We knew this was going on during the Reagan administration. There is not now... maybe there is... put it this way: the capability of them bombing us is not there.

MacFarlane: So there is not a possibility for a dirty bomb or a bomb on the back of a truck?

Flagler: Honestly, I am not sure what is going on or whom we can trust. Obviously, something is going on. I do not know why we did not go in after the war in 1992. I find the manslaughter a far bigger problem than any link to Al Qaeda.

Ray: If we are going to base our whole attack on the fact that Sadaam Hussein is a tyrant, which he is, then why didn't we go in earlier? We haven't helped any other countries that have tyrannical leaders such as any African countries. Turkey has displaced a million Kurds but they are our ally.

MacFarlane: The reason is resources.

Ray: So our soldiers are at risk and dying for resources?

MacFarlane: No, not at all.

Ray: You just said it.

MacFarlane: I am just saying that it is an underlying issue.

Spangler: You probably cannot trust anything that you are reading right now. For example, the attack in the Gulf of Tonkin was a reason that was used to get the U.S. involved in the Vietnam War, and there was no attack in the Gulf of Tonkin. [That] there is no evidence of weapons of mass destruction, is very illusory. However, it has been discussed so often. Once something is discussed so often, it will become a reality to you.

MacFarlane: This has been going on for eight years. If there is a threat to the United States we have to think of ourselves.

Question: Why did we go to war in Iraq? Does everyone agree it was resources?

MacFarlane: We wanted to move on the war on terrorism.

Ray: I think that we went to war in Iraq to make money for special interest groups. Soldiers are dying so that Halliburton can make money.

Spangler: I think that we went to war in Iraq partially to gain resources, partially to gain money and benefit major corporations, and partially because of the international theory that if you control the Middle East you will inherently control the rest of the world.

Araneo: It's a repeat of the George senior method that every ten years we have a war with recessions and the economy ebbs and flows. History repeats itself. Obviously the oil makes money for the rich corporations in America.

Question: What would you want for Iraq, what outcome?

Tarr: I want us to stay there long enough for them to get stabilized then we can pull our troops out.

MacFarlane: Secure the area and handle the situation. I understand the police force is quitting on us. We need to stay there until the job is done.

Flagler: It is our obligation to at least keep up the local infrastructure. I honestly think that Iraq needs to be split up into three countries, one to accommodate each ethnic group. The area seems to have such bad racial tension.

Ray: We need to elect a president that can get along with the rest of the world and work with the UN to come in there and replace our troops and put someone in there with some credibility. Let's face it; the goal is not democracy, because if the goal was to increase democracy they would join Iraq with Iran.

Spangler: Places like this are a lot like South America where you have an unstable country for 100 years, problems for a long time. Hopefully, they can find a legitimate leader who can make people fairly happy.

Araneo: This is a tough question. It doesn't seem like any government works like the U.S. I hope that it works itself out.

Third Topic of Discussion: The California Recall

The recall of Governor Gray Davis held Californians captive for months. Newspapers and television news was dominated by the debate to recall or to not recall Governor Davis. Some called it the most democratic act in Californian's history and others believed that it was a right wing coup bankrolled by a Republican congressman to undo a democratic election. Almost everyone agreed it was a circus. After it was all said and done, we found ourselves pondering the following question.

The following is an edited transcript of a video recording.

Question: Was the recall important to our state? Does it matter?

MacFarlane: There's seven million Californians who voted yes on the recall. That's a majority of the Californians with authority.

Ray: It's 52 percent that voted in the recall.

Tarr: My grandmother was a clerk recorder in Yuba County; it was the highest turnout since 1980.

Spangler: Just because a lot of people like one thing doesn't make it valid.

Araneo: You're a bodybuilder, and then you're a star, then you get to be governor of California?

Ray: So, are we going to amend the constitution to make him president or what are we going to do?

Araneo: It cost like \$80 million to do that.

MacFarlane: Yeah, but how much would it have cost us if we stuck with Gray Davis? Look at his policies, look at what he was going for.

Araneo: He's been in government for eighteen years, and a guy born in Austria, who's a bodybuilder, is going to be better?

Ray: First off, let's not pretend that the deficit is Davis's fault. I think there's two states in the nation that aren't running a huge deficit... We're not the worst in the nation. Should we recall everyone?

Ray: What this election boiled down to was not the car tax and all that [stuff], it was do we trust Gray Davis, or do we trust Arnold Schwarzenegger?

Conclusion

The conversation was a first attempt by the Studium editors to gather students' uninhibited opinions. It proved lively and relevant to the political issues of the day. Overall, this event exceeded our hopes. All participants were interested in the proposed topics and these topics sparked lively meaningful political discussion among the participants.

Introduction: The Model United Nations Position Papers

Much like its namesake, the National Model United Nations found its roots in the League of Nations as the Model League of Nations formed in 1923. As the world emerged from World War II, the United Nations was formed in 1946 and this youth oriented simulation followed suit. Currently a non-governmental organization of the UN, the NMUN formally incorporated as a 501c3 nonprofit of the United States under the name National Collegiate Conference Association in 1968.

The 2004 National Model United Nations Conference in New York City will mark the culmination of months and often times years of preparation as students from around the world meet at the world's largest collegiate conference. Two hundred universities, represented by more than 2,600 students and faculty will research, debate, compromise and deliberate during this annual five-day event. Conducted only blocks from the headquarters of the United Nations, this simulation mirrors the form of the United Nations, requiring participants to function within the rules of diplomacy. Each delegate is asked to research the foreign policy of a given country, and then in turn, apply it to a variety of specialized topics. In addition delegates are required to give formal and informal speeches, work in small and large groups, draft technical documents, and finally vote on policy as prescribed by the foreign policy of their particular country or organization.

The Model United Nations delegation at California State University, Chico, is a student based academic organization that studies many aspects of the United Nations as well as other significant international organizations. This multi-discipline approach to the teaching of international relations educates students on the goals and functions of the UN often times propelling students into a lifetime of involvement in world affairs. To accurately represent the assigned countries, this delegation prides itself on thoroughly researching both the background of a topic, in addition to staying current with daily developments which affect the substance of the assigned issues for discussion. Students work diligently to complete these tasks; understanding that these documents serve not only as a guide for our delegates in their respective committees, but are passed along to the conference organizers, as well as to members of the permanent missions of the United Nations.

The following position papers are a representation of the 2003-2004 Chico State delegation. For four years running Chico State has been awarded outstanding achievement award for position papers. This delegation takes

S T U D I U M

great pride in these awards as it reflects the dedication and discipline practiced by the members at Chico State. Citing both long-standing policy as well as adaptation to the ever changing geo-political climate, each country's foreign policy objectives are clearly outlined and the prospective solutions to these important problems are discussed in detail.

**Delegation From The Russian Federation
Represented By California State University, Chico**

By Kristin Matulonis and Mark Bourgeois

Position Paper For The General Assembly Plenary

The issues before the General Assembly Plenary are: International Migration and Development, Establishment of Nuclear-Free Zones and Financing for Development.

I. International Migration and Development

The Russian Federation is highly cognizant of the interrelated and complementary nature of migration and development, in that the causes and realization, the push and pull, of migration can hinder the development process in all aspects, whether it is social, economical, political, or cultural. Russia works closely with the International Organization of Migration (IOM) and shares the IOM goal of “strengthening cooperative measures between governments to comprehensively and effectively address migration issues.” In this regard, Russia fully supports the realization of the Right to Develop as declared in the Declaration on the Right to Development placing emphasis on Article 1, which states that all persons have the right to participate and benefit from development. We participated in the United Nations Millennium Summit and are committed to human rights, good governance, and democracy as outlined in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Russia is supportive of a future without borders. Russia is working with the European Union and we have suggested a plan of systematic movement toward the introduction of a visa-free regime. At the same time, we are cognizant of the need for national security, and are proudly working regionally and globally in combating illegal trafficking and other migration and security related issues. Russia sympathizes with those states whose development has been affected by international migration, since Russia has also experienced this hindrance to fulfill the realization of development. In accordance with A/RES/57/274, Russia affirms that the United Nations has a central role in promoting international cooperation for

development and in promoting policy coherence on global development issues. Subsequently, we are fully committed to the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UNDHR) in all aspects. We adhere to Article 14 of the UDHR, stating that everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy, in other countries, asylum from persecution. Russia, without prejudice, agrees to granting asylum in accordance to each state's ability and in accordance with A/Res/40/144, emphasizing Article Two, that no entry of any person or provision of any declaration be interpreted as restricting the right of any state to promulgate laws and regulations concerning the entry of aliens, and Article Five in connection with the freedom to security, to family, to thought, to retain one's own language, culture, traditions, to fair and equal employment and the right to participate in the development process of the host country or if in accordance with both international law and without hindering the rights of the host state. Russia further emphasizes Article Five of the Declaration on the Right to Development, which declares that states should take resolute steps to eliminate the massive and flagrant violations of human rights of peoples affected by situations such as war, oppressive regimes, as well as discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion, and class. Further, we seek to take measures, as outlined in A/RES/57/218, to "ensure respect for and protection of the human rights of migrants, migrant workers and their families." At the same time, we are tackling the necessary precursors, including close cooperation with other countries in the struggle against illegal migration, organized crime and the trafficking of human beings. In this vein, Russia is working closely with its Eurasian Economic Community (EURASEC) partners in "working for a common space for the free movement of goods, capital, services and people," while developing "capacity building in migration and border management and counter smuggling and trafficking, including prevention, protection and prosecution/legislation, within the framework of the Follow-up to the 1996 Geneva Conference." Russia firmly believes that in accepting and exercising these universal declarations all other states will likewise participate in accordance with international law as defined by the UN Charter and all relevant resolutions and treaties relating to international migration.

II. Establishment of Nuclear-Free Zones

The Russian Federation strongly believes in order for international peace and security there is the need for regulation and cooperation in connection to the development and handling of weapons of mass destruction. Rapid global changes make it imperative to adopt new approaches to fulfill the disarmament

ment agenda, especially in today's completely changed political environment. On that note, Russia believes that multilateralism is the only way to regulate disarmament. We call for the universalization of treaties and agreements underlying such, particularly the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty. In alliance with these treaties and START I, Russia boasts thirty-two stations and labs throughout the Federation whose purpose is to regulate the destruction of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, Russia strongly believes in the endeavors of the United Nations and its Specialized Agency, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and has not only worked completely and cooperatively with the IAEA to allow inspections at any place on any nuclear sites, but continues to aid financially and technologically. In the strengthening of inspections we have started to eliminate our stock of chemical weapons at the Gorny facility in 2003. Russia continues to broaden opportunities for partnership-based approaches in the area of disarmament through examples such as the Strategic Offensive Reduction Treaty (SORT) and the Moscow Treaty, which along with the United States, has agreed to the reduction in nuclear warheads from 1700 to 2200 by the year 2012. With the Democratic Republic of China, Russia has produced the first treaty that will establish the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS). Russia has accepted the obligation to provide the international community with information concerning forthcoming launches of outer space objects and their purpose and urges other countries with space launching capabilities to undertake all the necessary measures for building confidence in outer space activities. Additionally, multilateralism is important in dealing with the emergence of conflict potential in various regions. With Germany and France, Russia is working toward the introduction of the Russian Initiative (General Assembly Resolution 57/145) to deal with the increasing proliferation of arms in response to conflicts in the Middle East and in Central Asia. In the latter, Russia has aided in bringing together the countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan to agree on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central Asia. We are highly involved with the recent Havana conference of the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean (OPANAL). Russia favors a nuclear-free Korea and hopes that through the continual upholding of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, questions concerning North Korea and Iran's nuclear programmes can be clarified. We strongly endorse GC(47)/RES/12 which strongly encourages North Korea's cooperation with the IAEA and adherence to the NPT. In connection to missiles, Russia remained committed to instituting a Global Control System for the Non-Proliferation of Missiles and Missile Technologies, which is aimed

at creating a global regime of missile non-proliferation. We are disconcerted with the increasing use of military force in international relations and fully support the institutions of the United Nations and the sections of the UN Charter referring to peaceful resolution of conflicts. Russia is concerned that too much reliance on military force could lead to new arms races. The establishment of Nuclear-Free Zones has been and will remain at the forefront of Russian diplomacy.

III. Financing for Development

The Russian Federation believes that the time has come for conscious and concerted actions of the world community to form a more secure, equitable and democratic world order. We must work to ensure that as many countries as possible can reap the benefits of globalization and avoid the pitfalls. Russia firmly stands behind A/RES/41/128, which states that all people have the right to development without discrimination, with the ability to participate, and the right to an adequate standard of living as outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We must ensure that countries have access to the world system and Russia believes that globalization must be regulated. In accordance with this view, Russia welcomes the continuing international efforts to reform the international financial architecture with greater transparency and with the effective participation of developing countries and countries with economies in transition, as called for in A/RES/57/241. Underdevelopment is a universal problem and therefore, a solution through multilateral initiatives and regional and state alliances is imperative. Russia boasts success in contributing to eradicating global poverty, particularly in areas where the problem is rampant. In alliance with official development assistance (ODA) programs, Russia has participated in debt relief for “heavily indebted poor countries” (HIPC’s), and as a result, in Africa alone has forgiven \$572 million of the debt of the poorest countries in 2000 and \$904 million in 2001. Overall in the last three years, Russia has cancelled 27.2 billion of developing-country debt, bringing its average annual contribution of development assistance to 1.7 percent gross domestic product (GDP). Russia has also slashed tariffs for many developing countries. Further, we support A/58/494, operative clause 3, in calling for “comprehensive, coherent and fair debt workout mechanisms to address debt and its development dimensions.” Russia is a donor to the World Food Programme and is exceedingly committed to the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. Russia has also slashed tariffs for many developing countries and is a supporter of the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR),

especially in its endeavors to create additional economic opportunities for women and protect the rights of children. Although there has been more cooperation in terms of agreement, recently other issues such as the war against terrorism have foreshadowed development. Although terrorism is a problem, it must not be overlooked that this problem and many more are the direct repercussions of underdevelopment. On this note, Russia urges the global community to accelerate the Doha Development Agenda, Qatar and the Johannesburg and Monterrey Consensus. Russia is firmly committed to the Doha Conference's goals to provide adequate shelter for all and sustainable human settlements development in an urbanizing world. Additionally, Russia supports the Moscow Conference and the City Summit, Istanbul on urban development. Recognizing that cities are crucial for the advancement of the arts and sciences, provide economic and political opportunities and that urbanization is occurring rapidly with no signs of slowing, Russia is highly committed to the development of urban areas, including financial support for the advancement of communications, human services, and education. Furthermore, it is essential to promote and aid rural development, which is crucial for its contributions of resources, such as food. Consequently, Russia has worked with the United Nations Habitat (HABITAT) and has given financially to this project to promote pro-poor investments in services and infrastructure, practically water and sanitation. Russia also supports the initiative of rural investments in communications for the purposes of economic development, education, and services. We have witnessed dramatic improvement in its own rural centers because of these investments. On this note, regional and state cooperation is necessary in the development of nations. In stimulating growth in developing countries, we encourage these countries to finance their own programs and projects being implemented with the support of United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), under the "debt in exchange for development" arrangements of the Paris and London Clubs. As a member of the United Nations and citizens of the world, Russia stands committed to aiding the development of all nations.

**Delegation From The Russian Federation
Represented By California State University, Chico**

By Robin Smith and Nathan Davis

**Position Paper For The International Criminal Police Organization
(Interpol)**

The issues before the International Criminal Police Organization (ICPO/ Interpol) are: 1. The Protection of Priceless Works of Art; 2. The Dismantling of International Terrorist Networks; and 3. Combating Illicit Transactions and Crimes of Information Technology.

I. The Protection of Priceless Works of Art

The Russian Federation is eager to delve into the protection of priceless works of art within the international community. Russia considers itself a unique example of cultural diversity with regard to the realm of art and cultural heritage. Our President, Vladimir Putin, recently stated that dialog among cultures has become a “tradition of state and public life.” Russia regards and reflects dialogue among cultures as a definitive advantage, a strong point, and an inseparable element to be woven into the fabric of state policy. Russia believes that special attention must be given to the protection of cultural heritage and priceless works of art. We recognize the United Nations Charter, Chapter I, Article 1, which states: “To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems.” Our nation state recognizes that cultural relationships to art promote respect for human rights without distinction and allows generations of the world to fully enjoy the cultural heritage represented by every nation. Furthermore, Russia firmly believes that works of art are an integral element as discussed in the Declaration of Human Rights, Article 27, which states, “Everyone has the right to the protection of moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.” Russia is highly concerned with the protection of national treasures and calls attention to losses suffered under the context of conflict in Iraq this past year, Afghanistan in

2002 and the tragic losses incurred by all of Eurasia during World War II. The Russian Federation has benefited from our partnership and support of ICPO/Interpol and calls for the international community to invest in our common future by promoting strong ties and support with ICPO/Interpol. It is this organization and their lifeblood, the National Central Bureaus (NCBs), stationed in the respective member states (MS) that make this system effective and expedient. Russia strongly advocates for the continued use of “Interpol’s Most Wanted Works of Art,” and further cooperation with the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and ObjectID. Russia determinedly calls upon all Member States who have not signed or ratified the Convention and Protocol for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (CCP) of 1954, to do so promptly. Our nation state believes this voluntary step is necessary to cease senseless destruction, theft and illicit trade of a patrimony’s collection of art and natural heritage. Of special note under the CCP, Occupation heading, Section 2, is the assumption of responsibility by the occupying forces in times of conflict. Furthermore, Russia is a proud signatory to the Charter of Courmayeur adopted in 1992 by the Crimes Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations. This Charter calls upon ICPO/Interpol, UNESCO and other interested organizations in Article XI to make immediate and long-term working arrangements of an efficient, intensified, and effective nature to track and return art and artifacts which have been illicitly traded. Russia’s own Presidential Council for Culture and the Arts in collaboration with UNESCO, has fostered a partnership between UNESCO and Russia that has lasted 50 years. It is with a new revolutionary approach that we are working together for the creation of a global network to combat contraband trade. Russia calls for a new international agreement, under the auspices of ICPO/Interpol, to be enacted concerning the extradition of guilty persons in the illicit trade of priceless works of art and objects of cultural patrimony. If the international community is sincere in their desire to protect cultural heritage, this commitment must be made. With conviction, Russia believes priceless works link us to our past and our future. Together we can provide for their adequate protection in times of peace and conflict.

II. The Dismantling of International Terrorist Networks

The Russian Federation expresses its strong commitment to all issues and measures for the prevention and suppression of terrorism. The Russian Federation will continue to resolutely confront the virulent challenges posed

by terrorism. Russia believes terrorism must be immediately addressed by all Member States by a unified effort. Russia commits itself and calls on Member States to adopt anti-terrorist measures in the pursuit of peace and security. Russia supports the League of Nations Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorists of 1937. Russian Federation strongly supports S/RES/1269, and class attention to operative clause 4 which calls on states to “deny those who plan, finance or commit terrorist acts safe havens by ensuring their apprehension and prosecution or extradition.” Each Nation State plays an indispensable role in protecting their nation’s security while considering the fundamental principles of the UN Charter which calls for peaceful negotiations, human rights and effective rule of law as Russia has done with the 1998 Federal Act on the Suppression of Terrorism. Efforts outlined herein are Decision no.1040, “Measures to suppress terrorism,” Decision no.1223, “Measures to prevent the infiltration into the territory of the Russian Federation of members of foreign terrorist organizations and the import of weapons and means of sabotage at established border crossing points in the northern Caucasus region of the Russian Federation,” and Decision no.112, “To strengthen measures to combat crime which deal with the organization of the fight against terrorism.” Rule of law is a priority and must be utilized to effectively ensure internal security, well-being and posterity. Our nation state recognizes the growing threat and proliferation of extremism and terrorism provoking beliefs directly correlated with increased terrorist activities in the Chechen Republic of the Russian Federation. Russia pledges to achieve security, stability and economic progress for her people. Russia is renewed by the process of dismantlement and elimination as a means of combating terrorism, which has already begun both independently and cooperatively. Russia stands firmly behind the methods taken by the international community in their support of Agn/68/rap/18 recognizing the need to suppress the financing of terrorism and calls upon all regional National Central Bureaus of ICPO/Interpol within and in concordance with their respective Member States to commit themselves to fight terror financing. Russia calls attention to A/RES/52/22, and stresses the need for the international community to strengthen rule of law to combat terrorism. Russia points to S/RES/1373 which declares terrorism as contrary to the purposes of the UN and grants the establishment of the Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC). The work of the CTC is essential for the suppression of terrorism and Russia commits itself both financially and politically to all of the committee’s multilateral efforts. The Russian Federation served on the drafting committee for The Rome Statue of the International Criminal Court

A/Conf.183/10, and is in support of The Cairo Declaration Against Terrorism, AGN/67/res/12 from the ICPO 67th session, as well as serving as a signatory on The International Convention of The Suppression of Terrorist Bombings and The International Convention for the Suppression of The Financing of Terrorism. Russia believes that unabated terror will reign unless the international community cooperates with the suppression of terrorist financing. We are also currently ratifying The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Maritime Navigation and The Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Fixed Platforms Located on the Continental Shelf, in order to expand our range of anti-terrorist measures. The Russian Federation is in strong support of and continuing to work with ICPO/Interpols Fusion Task Force and supports the creation of multi-disciplinary methodology to combat terrorism. The strengthening of international instruments to combat terrorism is of great importance to the Russian Federation and we are committed to the actions of the Fusion Task Force as well as the Financial Action Task Force. We are finalizing our nation states' internal procedures for legislative improvements which are designed to counter the financing of terrorism as described in Decision No.487 Financial Action Task Force (FATF) Self Assessments on Terrorist Financing. We also support the 2000 Vienna Declaration, which serves as a guiding statement and establishes UN headquarters that legislate and implement anti-terrorist measures. Our support of these measures, such as the seizing of funds and control of identity theft, in combination with local efforts reflects our desire to strengthen internal and external security through a unification of efforts with all members of the international community in the fight against terrorism in our motherland and abroad. In addition, the attainment of guaranteed security as well as posterity for all Russian citizens will never be fulfilled until terrorism and it's continued financing and proliferated propaganda is suppressed both internally and on the global spectrum.

III. Combating Illicit Transactions & Crimes in Information Technology

Russia takes very seriously the combating of illicit transactions and crimes in Information Technology (IT). Since our emergence in the world market in the early nineties, Russia has taken many steps to protect, cultivate and develop a strong IT base from which our communications and technology sphere may flourish. The Constitution of the Russian Federation, Article 29, ratified on December 12 1993, prescribes the right of our citizens to infor-

mation, stating “Everyone has the right to freely seek, receive, transfer, produce and distribute information by any legal means.” It is in respect of this fundamental human right that Russia has taken strong steps to protect both ourselves as well as all other nations against illicit activities and crimes in information technology. Our Chief of the Interior Ministry’s department for Special Technical Measures, Boris Miroshnikov, has taken great steps to fight crimes through the establishment of special departments at a regional level. Their priority is the prevention of unauthorized access to internet crediting and banking systems, in order to stem the illicit misappropriation of resources. Russia has also, with the creation of an overarching law, the Law on Operational-Search Activities (LOSA) passed in 1992, has sent a bold message out to the world as well as to the abusers of IT, stating our strong support of legislation to curb the rising tide of crimes in IT. The System for Conduct of Investigations and Field Operations (SORM), part of the LOSA legislation is powerful and necessary legislation that has put the power of policing the internet and communication technologies in the hands of the state, where access and privacy can be protected for the innocent user, while also combating cyber crime of many varying forms. Russia firmly believes that it is within the domain of Member States, as the actors upon which the responsibility must rest, in battling IT crime jointly and independently. Thus among other efforts, we are currently allocating US \$1 million to develop a system to combat terrorist funding for the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) akin to the Financial Action Task Force, designed to operate within the region to suppress transnational IT criminality. This group will primarily work to track illegal money used to fund and support terrorism, one of the primary concerns for the Russian Federation. The Russian Federation as a member of the Justice and Interior Ministers of The Eight (formerly known as the G-7 plus Russia), on December 9 and 10, 1997 convened to discuss cyber crime. They adopted 10 Principles and a 10 Point Action Plan called the Principles and Action Plan to Combat High-Tech Crime (Principles and Plans). This was the first time a group of states agreed to fight cyber crime jointly. Among these, the G-8 outlined the protection of “confidentiality, integrity, and availability of data and systems from unauthorized impairment and ensure that serious abuse is penalized” in addition to the coordination of international efforts to pursue and penalize criminals regardless of “where harm has occurred.” One other important aspect of these Principles and Plans is the continued modification of approach due to the rapidly shifting IT sphere, lest MS fail to keep pace with their criminal counterparts. One

continuing obstacle in achieving the suppression of IT crime is the ability of criminals to duplicate personal identity, thus enabling them their easy access to the realm of IT. Hence, Russia is convinced that the pursuit of new technologies is imperative to create computerized records and information databases of past and currently issued passports in effort to stem identity theft and thus encourages all MS to begin such documentation and to share access among police organizations such as ICPO/Interpol. It will be through these cooperative and communicative efforts in an atmosphere of transparency that Russia believes the battle against illicit transactions and crimes of IT will result in a positive outcome for all nations and peoples of the world.

About The Authors

Louise Baldiez-Pieper is a reentry student who determined that a career change from corporate marketing to social work was somehow sensible. Then along came her first baby, Miranda, nine months ago, and her career prospects have suddenly shifted to mother-trainee for the foreseeable future. Originally from Los Angeles, Louise, her commuting husband of seventeen years, Evan, and her sweet daughter make their home on a lovely piece of property near Mount Shasta. A distance education student, Louise plans to complete her final three courses in her major, sociology, before the distance program is eliminated in 2005.

Jay Berkowitz is a twenty-seven year old history major with a Bachelor of Arts in Social Welfare from the University of California, Berkeley. He is currently applying to the Chico State Masters in History program for fall 2004. His paper was written for Professor Diana Dwyre's Congress course in fall 2003.

Devin Billingsley is a twenty year old junior at California State University, Chico. He is currently working towards a Bachelor of Arts in Social Science with a minor in economics. He plans to graduate in spring 2005. His paper was written for Dr. Jim Jacob's International Politics course in fall 2003.

Nathan Davis, after having passed six and a half months in Europe on three trips, two and a half months traveling through Mexico, living in San Francisco for five years and New York City for one year, returned to Chico in 2000 to pursue a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations and a minor in Spanish. Nathan is native to Northern California, having been born in Paradise and attended Chico Junior and Senior high schools. He is presently of senior standing, and given his early introduction to the Chico State Model United Nations Team, has been active with them in many faculties for the past three years. He has previously represented the United States and Palestine in the National Model United Nations Conference in New York, and for spring 2004 assumed the role of "head delegate" in the preparation of the team's portrayal of the Russian Federation in New York. He will also be representing Russia in the Interpol Committee.

Maro Lee is a graduate student in the Department of Political Science at California State University, Chico. The paper was submitted to Dr. Lori

Weber's Public Opinion seminar and reflects his desire to understand the newly emerging social and political dynamics in the American society. In the future, he plans to pursue a doctorate degree in the field of ethnic studies and contribute to the collective enterprise of political science.

Kristin Matulonis is a graduating senior with a double major in history and international relations. She is originally from Chester, and this is her first year working with the Model United Nations team. After graduation, she plans on attending graduate school back East and studying either the history of U.S. foreign relations or Arab studies.

Kristen Petersen is earning her Masters in Political Science and has a Bachelor of Arts in Journalism from California State University, Chico. She worked as a graduate teaching assistant during the 2003-2004 school year and as the accreditation advising assistant in the Department of Journalism. Previously, Kristen worked as an outreach coordinator for the Access for Infants and Mothers Program, a healthcare program for pregnant women. Kristen has received several journalism awards, including 2001 Public Relations Student of the Year, a Student Merit award from the International Association of Business Communicators, and the Manager of the Semester Award for her work in Tehama Group Communications, a public relations agency at Chico State. She was a 1996 delegate to the National Youth Leadership Council in Washington, D.C. She is a member of Phi Kappa Phi National Honor Society, Golden Key International Honor Society, is a leader in the Order of the Eastern Star and a member of Trinity United Methodist Church, Chico. She enjoys dining out, movies, the arts, and having a good time with friends.

Gary D. Podesto is a twenty-two year old who hails from a small, yet constantly expanding, town south of Sacramento called Elk Grove where the cows used to out-number the people, but who are now outnumbered by the franchise coffee shops. He has attended Chico State since 1999 and is on his way to graduating with a degree in English, a minor in creative writing and a certificate in literary editing and publishing. This is his second semester working with Studium. Recently returned from studying abroad, Gary's attention is focused on gaining experience in the editing and publishing field, which Studium provides him in spades. He has produced a style guide and conducted an editing workshop to better acquaint his fellow student-editors with the standards and practices of a professional academic journal, which Studium most defiantly aspires to be. He is honored to work with the many

bright minds and enthusiastic personalities that make up Studium's advising and editing staff; and he hopes that his contributions to Studium will serve to maintain the high level of quality and academic honesty that Studium has sustained during its tenure at Chico State.

Robin Smith is a twenty-one year old graduating senior at Chico State. She is a social science major with an emphasis in international relations and psychology and a minor in recreation administration. Working on the Model United Nations team was a great experience for her. She is excited about traveling after she finishes school and is thinking about possibly joining the Peace Corps. In the future she would like to do additional work in international relations and investigate global gender equality.

Kenn Vance was born to happy proud parents, Ralph and Sue, in San Jose, California. In 1980, Kenn rode the rip tide of the technology tsunami until fall of 1999, when he bailed for the cold shores of political science. After finishing his first tour of duty at Chico State in 2001, he worked in Sacramento for two years as a proud legislative assistant to State Assembly Member Jackie Goldberg. Changing the world proved too much of an emotional rollercoaster for this laidback dude, who in spring of 2003 decided returning to Chico State for a Masters in Political Science, a second baccalaureate in German, and reading about chill topics like globalization, political economy, and urban regimes would be more laid back. Happily, his parents are still proud (or so they say, and he hopes).

About The Artists And The Art*California Warmth***By Solange Sari Ledwith**

I have been working in glass for two years at CSU, Chico. I enjoy using the medium in my art because it lends such a fragile, yet dangerous quality to the conceptual and aesthetic perspectives of what I am seeking in my work. I am drawn to its beauty, delicacy, luminosity, its deadly and enthralling characteristics.

“California Warmth” is a welcome mat made of cut plate glass and Ultra Violet glue. This was a long tedious process involving individual cut shards glued to another sheet of plate glass. The word “welcome” is spelled in negative space (the space around the shards). The dimensions are roughly twenty four inches by eighteen inches by six inches. This is my commentary on the facade of kindness that is expressed in the passive aggressive personalities that I find common in California. In a culture encompassed in the fantasy world of Hollywood, I notice we are surrounded by more false than genuine kindness and warmth of the heart. A perfect example of these personalities using ‘Hollywood’ persuasion today, involve our present “governator,” Arnold Schwarznager.

*The Sustaining of a Delicate Society
Evolution***By Alan M. Iwamura**

I have always been intrigued with the arts. Growing up, I began as a student drawing during my classes. This would later lead me to enroll in actual art studio courses. Living in an urban yet agricultural area, I began elaborating on my surroundings through my artwork. Manifesting visual representations of my life, my interests turned from drawing to painting. Perhaps my artwork served as an escape from the mundane. Soon after, I became aware of other various processes including print making, ceramics, and metal work. It wasn't until discovering glass, however, that I truly found my footing as a creator of art. The fragile nature of this medium, along with the various processes involved in its manipulation continues to fascinate me.

“The Sustaining of a Delicate Society” was made from casted lead crystal, hot glass, and pine wood. Our society is based on creation. We create to sustain our way of life. We invent tools that are necessary to bring other creations in to existence. These in turn work toward the benefit of our cultural identity. We have come to the point where we rely on our tools as well as

the objects that they aid us in creating. The hammer has always been a symbol of strength in our culture, as well as in many others. Creating such a symbol from the medium of glass shows us just how fragile our society is. With one drop of these hammers, the tools we depend on are shattered.

“Evolution” was made from sand casted hot glass and pine wood. We are a people comprised from various backgrounds and cultures. Together we make up a diverse, yet cohesive whole. Just as we are different in our unique and significant ways, we are also much alike and dependent upon one another. We try to maintain this individuality while also attempting to merge and blend with those surrounding us. We are transparent in many ways. Separated from ourselves, we can only reach our true identity through an evolution specific to the individual. This is a process of growth and maturity. As we begin putting the various pieces of our identities together, we may begin to understand who we truly are and where we belong. The puzzle of our inner selves begins to make sense and we are able to identify with who we are and with those around us.

Baby Bomb

By Alexander Hawk Johnson

I am a maker of things. As an artist I find my comfort in the creative process. Currently in my artistic career, I am fascinated by glass. I have been working with blown glass for about four years. As a glass artist, my capabilities with the medium have only recently allowed me to make the shapes I want. Glass is my first love; my second love is steel. I have a deep respect for both of these mediums. My goal in art is to create beautiful sculpture out of these two materials. I think that my last major project came really close to achieving this goal.

The construction of the baby bomb was a combination of my skill at both glass and steel. The first and most important element of the baby bomb was a two-foot tall glass bubble. This blown glass element was extremely difficult for my crew and I to make. This difficulty was mostly because of the sheer size of the piece. I had to gather glass out of our 2300 degree furnace eight times to be able to make a bomb big enough to fit a baby inside. To put this in perspective, an average vase is about three gathers. The size and weight of this piece pushed both my assistants and me to exhaustion. Thankfully, with a lot of luck, we pulled it off after two hours of working in temperatures of over 140 degrees. In retrospect this exhaustion was nothing compared to the lives being lost in America’s conquests abroad. I made the

S T U D I U M

baby bomb in response to our country's military involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq in the past couple of years. Our genocidal military conquest of those countries makes me sick. I feel our bombing was a totally unjust and inexcusable waste of human life. I think we are proving that, as Americans, we squander all the resources on this small planet.

About The Editors

Sarah Beckman is a graduating senior pursuing a major in political science with a strong interest in the fields of international relations and women's studies. She is a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honors society, as well as an intern at the Community Legal Information Center. Sarah has been recognized for academic achievement on the Dean's List and will be graduating with departmental honors. Her future goals include working in state government and advocating legislation for non-profit organizations.

Laura Blumenstein is a graduating senior majoring in political science with an option in legal studies. She is a director at the Chico Community Legal Information Center, president of Pi Sigma Alpha the national political science honor society, and a delegate for the Chico State Model United Nations team. Her future plans entail going to law school with a focus on international law and human rights.

Howli Ledbetter is in her fourth year at Chico State pursuing a double major in political science and journalism with an emphasis in public relations. Studium has provided the perfect opportunity to combine both fields of study. Howli is also currently an account executive for Tehama Group Communications, a student run public relations agency.

Elizabeth McAllister grew up in Marin County and moved to Chico in August 2000 to begin her undergraduate education. As an undergraduate at Chico State she volunteered for Community Action Volunteers in Education, worked for the Community Legal Information Center as director of the Chico Consumer Protection Agency and intern in both the Disabled and the Law and Workers Rights programs. She was treasurer of Pi Sigma Alpha political science honor society and a member of Gamma Phi Beta international sorority. She is a graduating senior, pursuing a major in political science with an emphasis in legal studies. She is also pursuing a minor in philosophy. She is currently applying to law school as an aspiring attorney.

Jason S. Plume is in his second year of the Masters in Political Science program at Chico State. His primary field of research and study is American Politics with an emphasis on African American and Urban Politics. He believes the ability to understand governing mechanisms is an impetus for political, social and economical activity and change. Jason earned his

Bachelor of Arts in History with minors in political science and geography at California State University, Bakersfield in 2002. The next stop for Jason will be Syracuse University's Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs in the fall of 2004 where he will begin his doctoral studies in political science. Jason's interests outside of academics include mountain biking, golfing, and blown-glass art, as well as reading the works of Kurt Vonnegut and William Vollman.

Gary D. Podesto is a twenty-two year old who hails from a small, yet constantly expanding, town south of Sacramento called Elk Grove where the cows used to out-number the people, but who are now outnumbered by the franchise coffee shops. He has attended Chico State since 1999 and is on his way to graduating with a degree in English, a minor in creative writing and a certificate in literary editing and publishing. This is his second semester working with Studium. Recently returned from studying abroad, Gary's attention is focused on gaining experience in the editing and publishing field, which Studium provides him in spades. He has produced a style guide and conducted an editing workshop to better acquaint his fellow student-editors with the standards and practices of a professional academic journal, which Studium most defiantly aspires to be. He is honored to work with the many bright minds and enthusiastic personalities that make up Studium's advising and editing staff; and he hopes that his contributions to Studium will serve to maintain the high level of quality and academic honesty that Studium has sustained during its tenure at Chico State.

Pete Spangler is a graduating senior at Chico State where he has completed the entirety of his undergraduate study in political science. In the fall of 2004 Pete plans to enroll in a Ph.D. program with a primary field in political theory. Of those things most cherished to Pete are family, friends, and community. With equal regard Pete would like to extend his most sincere appreciation to professors William S. Stewart and Alan Gibson for their remarkable wisdom, dedication and patience in working with him.

Kristin Tarr is a twenty-one year old junior at Chico State. She is graduating in May 2005 with a major in political science and a minor in public relations. After graduation her goal is to intern in Washington D.C. where she would like to continue studying journalism and politics.

Michael Witherow is a senior from Placerville with a major in journalism and a minor in political science. His interests lie in the realm of online communication, and he has worked to put Studium online in addition to working for the online version of the campus newspaper, The Orion, and The Sacramento Bee.

About The Cover Artist

Gabriel Crown designed the cover. He is a senior majoring in communication design with an option in graphic design. He currently works as a draftsman for a local architect in Chico and is planning to pursue a career in the software entertainment industry.

Submission Guidelines

Studium accepts submissions of work with a political content from students of all disciplines. Submissions should include a cover sheet with the author's name, phone, and e-mail address. Papers should be formatted in accordance with the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Submissions should be sent to Studium, c/o Sharon Barrios, Department of Political Science, Butte Hall 741, Chico, CA 95929-0455. Papers will be accepted for review May 2004 until the final deadline in December 2004. If you have any questions, contact Professor Sharon Barrios at sbarrios@csuchico.edu or Professor Lori Weber at lweber@csuchico.edu, or go to our website at <http://www.csuchico.edu/pols/studium/>.

Please note that the selection process is a blind review, so names of authors will be unknown to the members of the student editorial staff.