The test of first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in mind at the same time and still retain the ability to function.

-F. Scott Fitzgerald
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The fourth edition of *Studium* has been compiled by an energetic and accomplished community of CSUC student editors whose main objective is to produce a journal that displays quality student writing on political issues. The types of papers selected include research papers, policy analysis articles, position pieces, and film and book reviews. The *Studium* staff is involved with every aspect of producing the journal, beginning with the call for papers and advertising the journal, to collaborating with the student authors and editing each paper, then choosing the cover design and formatting the journal, and finally, hosting a reception to present the finished journal.

*Studium* is not only made possible by a dedicated staff of students, but also by many other supportive individuals. We would like to thank Gregg Berryman of the Communication Design department, whose “Visual Communication” class came up with many outstanding cover designs. The prevailing design was submitted by Amber Cummings, whom we also thank. We are grateful for the efforts of Laura Kling in the Instructional Media Center and Davin Skonberg, the student who formatted the journal. We also greatly appreciate the Instructionally Related Activity board and Dean Jeanne Thomas of the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences, who provided the funding that made the publication of the journal possible. In addition, we would like to thank Joanna Ellis, an English graduate student, for conducting an editing workshop for us. Finally, we would like to thank all those members of the Political Science Department who assisted the journal staff in a wide variety of ways, and, most importantly, encouraged their own students to submit their papers for publication consideration.
Although they account for over half the population of the United States, American women traditionally have been underrepresented in government. Not only are government institutions dominated by men, but the issues which government addresses are often also dominated by a male perspective, to the extent that some issues which are important to women are marginalized and overlooked. However, in recent years—notably since the 1992 elections—the number of women who serve as senators has grown considerably. And although the work of some political scientists (Koch 2000) has predicted that Republican women should be more successful in attaining elective office than Democratic women, because of the ideological distance between liberally-perceived women candidates and the mainstream voting public, in actuality the majority of women who have served in the Senate are Democrats. This suggests that there is something particular to Democratic women candidates which makes them attractive to voters. Since women are more predisposed to vote for a female candidate than men are (Kahn 1994), it would seem to suggest that this element is particularly attractive to female voters.

Discussion of Research Problem and Thesis Statement

Because of this correlation between the female voter and the female candidate, I will restrict my research of the problem to females. What makes women vote for Democratic women candidates? I think that the phenomenon of Democratic women senators has its root in the underrepresentation, not necessarily of women elected officials, but more primarily of women’s issues in government. This underrepresentation is naturally of more concern to women voters than to male voters, who may not even notice the discrepancy. The advantage of Democratic women over Republican women suggests that Democratic women are, either naturally or by design, more successful at representing women’s issues and thus drawing female voters in as their supporters.
In this research problem, the independent variable is the vote of American females for female Democrats who run for the Senate. The dependent variable is the issues which the Senate candidates espouse. It is my contention that there is a direct causal relationship between these variables: if women’s issues are prominent in a candidate’s campaign, that candidate will garner a significant portion of the female vote. I think there is a high correlation between Democratic issues and women’s issues, and that this correlation explains the success of female Democratic senators.

This research proposal will consider other political science research in the area of gender, issue salience, and elections. It will then outline a hypothetical process for testing the relationship between women’s issues, the issues of Democratic female Senate candidates, and those candidates’ success at securing the female vote. Finally, it will consider the theoretical and policy implications of that relationship in order to suggest a more equitable representation of the views of American women in government institutions.

**Literature Review**

For some time now political scientists have been interested in gender as a factor in election outcomes. Much research has explored the advantages or disadvantages which candidates encounter, in everything from press coverage to election fortunes, because of their gender.

One important distinction in my study is that women voters are voting for female Democratic Senate candidates because of their gender, not because of their party. A previous study of the 1992 Senate elections offers important insight on this point. The 1998 *American Journal of Political Science* study by Kathleen Dolan found that women voters were attracted to women candidates in 1992 because of gender-related issues. Dolan found that women running for the Senate in that year made their gender a central part of their candidate identities and a main part of their campaigns. From her study, she concluded that voting for women was a phenomenon separate from voting for Democrats. Dolan cited demographic and issue variables, not party membership, as the important factors influencing the election of women.

Dolan’s research raises an interesting point. It seems to illustrate the fact that party identification is not a significant factor which influences the support for female candidates, and yet there is a clear advantage for Democratic over Republican women in Senate elections. The research does not address this advantage. Obviously, despite Dolan’s conclusions, party identification
is playing some kind of role in the election of women senators, and this is something for which an explanation is lacking.

Earlier research offers a partial explanation for why women voters are attracted to women candidates, again disregarding the candidates’ party. Voters employ stereotypes in deciding which candidates to support, and these stereotypes result in more favorable attitudes towards women candidates (Kahn 1994). According to Kahn, the stereotypes focus on and value “female” traits like compassion, and they lead both men and women to view women Senate candidates as more honest and capable of dealing with women’s issues—but Kahn points out that these issues, like education, health, and social programs, are not normally addressed by the Senate. Kahn concludes that although the stereotypes make women appear more favorable to voters, they do so by highlighting attractive qualities which are nevertheless relatively meaningless in senatorial campaigns, so women senatorial candidates remain at a disadvantage.

Kahn’s article begs the question, why are issues which are important to women so completely disregarded by the Senate? Perhaps if women candidates emphasize the qualities which voters appreciate in them at the same time as stressing the issues which require those qualities as assets, they can overcome the disadvantage which Kahn attributes to them.

Other research indicates that issues salient to women do indeed influence the support for women candidates. Both men and women believe that women are more competent to deal with these issues; but only women think this is something to consider when voting (Paolino 1995). This makes sense; men have less at stake if women’s issues are ignored by government. Paolino’s article offers a strong argument that the election of women to office depends largely on their ability to muster support among female voters. Again, this research fails to explain why Democratic women are more successful than Republican women. Since it presumes that gender is the key factor which controls the importance of these issues, why is the success rate in the Senate not more or less equal for both Democrats and Republicans?

Some research does attempt to tackle the party discrepancy. Plutzer and Zipp (Plutzer and Zipp 1996) found that identity politics—i.e., women making their gender an important element of their campaign—can erode party-line voting to some extent. It was their conclusion that most women candidates run as Democrats, and that because they stress women’s issues, they garner support from women voters. They predicted that if more women ran as Republicans, the gender gap (greater support from women for Democrats versus Republicans) would decrease. This research, like other examples, seems to underestimate the importance of the party. It assumes that women,
regardless of which party they identify with in an electoral race, will all espouse basically the same issues and thus have a relatively equal chance at winning the support of female voters.

**Hypothesis**

I disagree that party plays a negligible role in the phenomenon of women voting for women. If this were the case, Democratic women would not enjoy such a distinct advantage over Republican women in the ranks of the Senate. Previous research has made the mistake of assuming that women candidates of either party place importance on issues which are important to women en masse. Although basic issues can be said to be important to the large majority of women voters in the American public, this generalization cannot be extrapolated and applied to individual women candidates for Senate. Senate candidates are more politically educated than the average American woman, and so it follows that their opinions on important issues are more complex and diverse than the opinions of the aggregation of American women. Although it may be true that the vast majority of American women think the right of a woman to an abortion is an important issue, this is not necessarily the case for a Republican woman Senate candidate. Research of female support for female candidates must take this into account.

I hypothesize that the opinions held by the majority of women in the American voting public on issues of particular importance to women are best reflected by Democratic women Senate candidates, and, thus, those candidates garner the most support for their electoral bids from the female voting public.

**Discussion of Method/Research Design**

In order to test my hypothesis, I will devise a survey to test the views of women voters on several issues which are labeled as women’s issues and how that affects their vote for women Democrats running for the Senate. I will conduct my survey by randomly selecting 1500 women from the national registry of voters. I will mail my survey to these 1500 women in order for them to respond. The first part of the survey will present the subjects with a list of issues (abortion, military spending, social welfare spending, and public education). In the first case, the survey will ask whether the subject supports or opposes legal abortion. The following questions will ask whether the subject supports increased or decreased attention and budget-
ing for the other three issue areas. Four last questions will ask the subject to rank each issue’s importance from 1 (very important) to 5 (unimportant).

Next, the survey will present both a stereotypically liberal and a stereotypically conservative view of each issue (ex: Abortion should be available on demand; Abortion should be made illegal) and ask the subject to identify each statement as a view of either the Democratic or the Republican Party. The subject will then be asked, for each particular issue: Given the option, I feel my views on this matter would be best represented in the Senate by (1) a Democratic male, (2) a Democratic female, (3) a Republican male, (4) a Republican female, (5) any Democrat, or (6) any Republican. While these options are not necessarily realistic in a true election situation, the respondent’s choice when given these hypothetical options will be a good indicator of how she thinks she would be best represented in an ideal situation of government.

Data Collection and Interpretation of Expected Results

I expect that approximately 1000 of the surveys which I send out will be mailed back to me, allowing for a sufficient sample size. In analyzing my data, I expect to find that a majority (two-thirds) of women have liberal views on the four issue areas—they support legal abortion, oppose military spending, support social welfare spending, and support spending on education. I expect the majority of women to rank each issue as a 1 or 2 in importance, except for military spending, which I expect to be ranked as a 4 or 5. (Note: the typical views of women on military spending may be skewed if my survey is conducted too soon after September 11, 2001, when Americans are abnormally supportive of military action.) Additionally, I expect that the majority of subjects will equate the liberal view with the Democratic Party and will go on to indicate a preference for a female Democratic Senator to represent them. This scenario will offer proof for my hypothesis that women voters feel they are best represented by women Democrats.

Even if the support for women’s issues and a female Democratic Senator are only marginal (51 percent), my hypothesis will still carry some weight since candidates need only a simple majority to win office. If the support for women’s issues correlates to support for any Democrat rather than for a woman Democrat, then my hypothesis that there is something in particular about women Democrats which is attracting voters will have no support.

If the majority of respondents indicate views opposing abortion, supporting military spending, and opposing education and social spending, and indi-
cate that the most important issue to them is defense spending, my hypothesis will be difficult to prove. Undoubtedly, these same respondents would identify these views as Republican and would probably indicate a preference for either a Republican male or any Republican to represent them in the Senate. This finding would show no correlation between women's views and the views of Democratic women candidates, so my hypothesis would lack any kind of support.

The hypothesis would also lack support if there was such variation between views of different women as well as between a particular woman's view and the view of the party she supported that no firm conclusion could be drawn from the collected data. This scattering of responses would tend to indicate that something other than gender, salient issues, and even party identification is at work in influencing female voters.

**Implications**

If the results are what I expect, and a correlation is found between the issues women espouse, the issues they attribute to the Democratic Party, and their preference for female Democratic Senators, my hypothesis will be supported. If this is the case, more research into this question is required. The idea that the ideological distance between voters and Democratic women candidates is increased because of the stereotype of liberal women should be revisited; perhaps, more importantly, the corresponding idea that the ideological distance between voters and Republican women candidates is decreased because of that should be revisited as well. Obviously, something is hindering Republican women in their quest for public office. Further research should seek to find what that hindrance is.

Also, further research should more fully explore the question of gender. If the issues espoused by women Democrats are what draws female voters to them, then could male candidates garner the same support by espousing the same issues? Future studies should seek to determine whether this is actually a gender phenomenon or a phenomenon purely of issue representation.

At the policy level, this study has important implications for both major parties as well as for candidates. It demonstrates clearly that Democratic women are advantaged with female voters for the Senate. The Democratic Party should use this study to determine which issues it should prioritize and which candidates it should nominate in order to keep the support of underrepresented women in society. It can also use the study to help male
nominees win the support of the female voting block by guiding them in adapting their campaigns to include some key women's issues.

The Republican Party should use this study to better serve women in its own ranks who may be defecting to support Democratic women candidates because their own party has not paid attention to the issues about which they care. Or, the party could focus on the minority of women who want their conservative views to be represented and use the information in the study to build a conservative female coalition. Either way, the party can use this study as a marker of the importance of specific issues to the female voting public.

For both parties, the study is an important strategic tool to use in upcoming elections. For individual candidates, the study suggests that perhaps both men and women can benefit from the female vote if they espouse women's issues which have been marginalized. Independent or third party candidates could also learn from the study which issues are more or less apt to garner support or at least attention for their campaign efforts.

**Conclusion**

Although women are poorly represented in American government, of even greater concern is the underrepresentation of women's views in politics. Significant research has been done in the area of gender and politics, especially since the 1992 Senate elections when an unprecedented number of women joined the ranks of Congress. However, as my proposal suggests, perhaps political scientists would now be better served to look beyond the isolated variable of gender and focus instead on the ideas and opinions which it represents. If female voters are supporting women Democrats, as I suggest, because those Democrats emphasize the issues the voters prioritize, then it would seem that female voters would be equally willing to support male candidates or candidates of alternate parties as long as the issues remained at the forefront.

While the demographics of American government are certainly one area of some concern, the issues with which government deals are vastly more important. Thus, the motivation behind female voting support for female Democrats, rather than the mere fact that women are supporting women, should become of primary importance to political scientists as well as politicians.

**References**


**Vouchers And Ideology:**

**An Imperfect Fit**
academic Performance Index (API) rankings, Immediate Intervention for Underperforming Schools Programs (IIUSP), bonuses for teachers, failing schools, grades for schools, teacher shortages—for anyone reading newspapers in California during the past several years, these acronyms and phrases are disturbingly familiar. As California’s public schools appear to be deteriorating, and as the public’s confidence in public schools drop, political leaders are among the first to propose solutions to the problems. School reform movements abound, ranging from site-based management to bussing and school choice. It is this last alternative, school choice, that ignites an ideological debate.

School choice, also known as a voucher system, is simply what it sounds like—it gives parents a choice about which school their children attend. Reformers such as Terry Moe and John E. Chubb (1990) propose a market-model for education in which the government would give parents state money or vouchers to “spend” at any school of their choice, public or private. This type of system would drastically change the way in which the American public is educated, and an educated citizenry is vital to the functioning of a democracy. In California, two attempts have been made to pass an initiative creating a voucher system, once in 1993 and again in 2000. Both attempts failed in spite of television advertisements, endorsements, monetary backing, and well-run campaigns.

The role of ideology in support of vouchers is key. Initiative campaigns in California, Colorado, Washington State, and Michigan have failed (Moe 2001). The few successful public voucher programs in existence were created through normal political channels—the democratically elected legislature. Here, in the actions of ideological political elites (Converse 1964), is where vouchers will thrive or fail (Moe 2001). Since the actions of political elites and the policies they create are tied to public opinion, the study of who supports vouchers is important for both supporters and opponents of the movement (Glynn et. al. 1999; Moe 2001; Page and Shapiro 1993).

Public opinion surveys often list education as one of the public’s main concerns (Glynn et. al. 1999). There is a general perception that public schools need to be fixed (Moe and Chubb 1990; Smith and Meier 1995). Vouchers propose to do just that. It is here that the ideological battle lines are drawn. On one side are liberals, those who cherish the equality of opportunity embodied by the public school system. Vouchers would allow stu-
students to exit the public schools and enter private, mostly religious, schools that are free to pick and choose who can enroll and what is taught, thus weakening those social and democratic ideals associated with the public schools.

On the other side are conservatives, those who cherish the parent’s right to provide their child with the best education possible. Many parents already send their children to private schools, paying tuition, while their tax dollars support public schools. Those parents, conservatives argue, should be able to use their own tax dollars to send their students to those private schools, thereby circumventing the poor, government controlled schools.

Since California is an initiative state, this debate could affect the education of every schoolchild, and so it is critical for public opinion scholars to discover who supports vouchers. I hypothesize that a citizen’s ideology will influence his/her position on vouchers. Specifically, the more conservative a person is, the more likely he or she is to favor vouchers, and the more liberal a person, the less likely they are to favor vouchers.

The Influence of Ideology

One way to define a political ideology is as a mass belief system (Converse 1964). This system helps people organize their ideas, values, and beliefs in a coherent way. People then use this ideology to help them make decisions about various political and policy issues. Although not necessarily specific, an ideology is usually tied to domestic rather than foreign affairs (VanDyke 1995). Since vouchers are political, especially in initiative states such as California, and they are domestic, related to public schools, they are likely to be influenced by ideology.

Conventionally in the United States, ideology is shown on a spectrum from left/liberal to right/conservative. In general, people towards the left end of the spectrum value equality—people should have freedom of expression and no one is better suited to rule than any other person. Those at the opposite end, the right, are seen as not valuing equality—all people have natural talents and abilities and should be able to use these accordingly (Hoover 1994). Although this is generally adequate, Kenneth R. Hoover adds another dimension, freedom and authority (Hoover 1994). This dimension allows a person to examine the relationship between different types of liberals and conservatives. For example, Vernon Van Dyke (1995) identifies in the United States, five different types of conservatives: conservative conservatives, economic conservatives, social conservatives, progressive conser-
ervatives and neoconservatives. Although these many labels are informative, the basic definitions of liberal and conservative used in the United States political system are sufficient. In general a liberal favors creating equality of opportunity through government action and would like to help those in society who need it most. They see government as part of the solution to the ills of society and believe government should enhance the worth of liberty and promote a fair equality of opportunity for all people (Van Dyke 1995). Conservatives, in general, favor limiting the role of government and giving people the opportunities to make their own choices. Liberals often see government as part of the problem, although most recognize the necessity of government safety nets such as U.S. Social Security and some sort of welfare system. Often, conservatives are highly focused on the family and feel parents should be given greater control over their children in all aspects of life (Van Dyke 1995). From this brief overview, it appears both liberals and conservatives should favor vouchers—liberals because they would allow children to “escape” from bad schools, conservatives because they would allow parents to have more control over their children’s education.

Liberals should favor vouchers because they would allow children to “escape” failing public schools. Since liberals value creating equality of opportunity through government action, they should logically favor any government help for those languishing in poor schools. Often the people trapped in the lowest performing schools are poor and minority (see Moe 1995, 2001; Schneider et al. 2000). These are the people traditionally identified as those liberals would like to help. Providing these parents with the opportunity to send their children to better schools is consistent with liberal ideology.

Conservative ideology also supports vouchers. Many conservatives focus on the strength of the family and are especially concerned with providing parents the opportunity to regulate their child’s life. One important aspect of that child’s life is education and it is in precisely that area that parents have the least control. Vouchers would provide these parents with the opportunity to better control their child’s education by allowing them to select the school which best matches their wants and needs.

Unfortunately, both ideologies also conflict with the concept of vouchers. In the case of liberals, although rescuing underprivileged students from failing schools is an admirable goal, sending government money to religious schools is almost unthinkable. A true market-model voucher system would invariably funnel money into religious schools simply because 85 percent of private schools are religious (Kemerer 1995). On the other hand, conservatives fear the government regulations that would follow the public money
into private schools. Although both of these scenarios could be considered “worst case,” both are entirely plausible.

Some scholars, such as Philip Converse (1964), argue that very few members of the American public actually have, use, and can articulate a specific left/right ideology. Those citizens that do use a mass belief system are generally well educated. Converse and others propose the idea of “issue publics” (Converse 1964). Certain segments of the population have an intense interest in certain policies and so become the “informed” public for that issue. Converse would argue that since most people do not have an ideology and actually make policy decisions almost randomly, any attempt to use ideology to explain political phenomena is essentially an exercise in futility. However, other scholars have disagreed. Benjamin Page and Robert Y. Shapiro (1993) marshal evidence which proves the public does not simply make random decisions; they do in fact make rational, reasonable decisions based on the information available to them. It is this view of the public, that they are rational and reasonable, that both proponents and opponents of vouchers hold (Kemerer 1995; Moe 2001; Schneider et. al. 2000).

What Is School Choice?

The most common conception of school choice is the one proposed by Terry Moe and John E. Chubb in Politics, Markets and America’s Schools (1990). Through a study of over 400 American high schools and almost 20,000 students, teachers, and principals, they identified the institutions governing public schools as the root of poor public school performance. They advocate dismantling the current top-down system and replacing it with a market-model in which parents and students would select the schools that best fit their needs. This would create competition among schools and thus improve all of the schools. Moe and Chubb famously claim in this work that “choice is a panacea” (217 emphasis in original) and will solve all of the problems with schools. However, their market-model of competitive schooling has never been actually used; choice systems in the United States are limited in scope. Most involve choice within the public school district—students can attend magnet or charter schools; they can enroll in any school within the district; they can apply for inter-district transfers. One other popular option is the creation of private voucher systems. It is on those systems that most of the research has focused.

How Have Vouchers and School Choice Been Studied?
Past research on school choice deals with ideology either tangentially or not at all. Most of the research focuses on the success or failure of voucher systems themselves (i.e. Carnoy 2001; Moe 1995). However, the studies almost always include some demographic information, including income and race, as well as the educational level of the parents who exercise the choice options available to them. Research has linked a person's educational level to the development of an ideology. Scholars have found a strong correlation between a person's educational level and their development and use of an ideology (Converse 1964). Although there is no particular direction, left or right, attached to the ideology associated with higher educational levels, in general the more education a person has the more likely they are to have and use a specific, coherent belief system.

Most voucher programs are private—they are funded by private sources, not public funds (Moe 1995; Carnoy 2001; Greene 2000). One exception is in Milwaukee where a limited public voucher system exists alongside a private system. In “Private Vouchers in Milwaukee: the PAVE Program,” Janet R. Beales and Maureen Wahl (Moe 1995) examine, among other things, the characteristics of parents who tend to participate in these choice programs. Both voucher programs were designed to aid only low-income students; the family had to live below 175 percent of the poverty level. In order to study the programs, Beales and Wahl used data obtained from surveys of parents who participated in the programs, as well as data provided by the Milwaukee Public School System. Their analysis showed the parents who took advantage of the Partners Advancing Values in Education (PAVE) system tended to be more educated than the average low-income parent—46 percent of PAVE participants indicated they had some college while only 26% of those with low-income status in public schools indicated the same educational attainment. Choice parents were also more likely to have higher educational expectations for their children than non-choice parents. The study effectively provided detailed evidence about the relationship of parental characteristics to student success. Not surprisingly they found that the more involved and concerned the parent, the more the student improved. Due to a lack of data about ideology—not even political party membership was mentioned—no supported generalizations can be made in terms of specific ideological trends. However, one could speculate that ideology may have played a role in the parent’s decision to pursue the choice option because of the close correlation between educational level and the formation and use of an ideology.

These findings are essentially confirmed in the studies conducted by Valerie Martinez, Kenneth Godwin, and Frank R. Kemerer (Moe1995), and Michael Heise, Kenneth D. Colburn Jr., and Joseph F Lamberti (Moe1995).
Both studies found choice parents were more educated and had higher educational expectations for their children than did non-choice parents. The San Antonio study, however, looked specifically at who chooses. The researchers discovered that the single most important factor was the mother's educational level (Heise, et.al. in Moe 1995). While their analysis identified eight (8) variables that when combined, predicted choice with 90 percent accuracy, the one variable with the largest influence was the educational level of the mother. (The other seven indicators were gender of the student [female], parent’s educational expectations for child, race [Anglo], regularity of church attendance, parental dissatisfaction with previous public school, parental activity at school, and family on federal assistance.) Once again, these studies contained no information about specific ideologies, so directional left or right generalizations cannot be made. However, since the educational level of the parent again appears to strongly influence the motivation of that parent to demand choice, ideology could be at work.

Other research about private voucher systems (Greene 2000; Carnoy 2001) follows much the same patterns. Data is gathered through surveys and then analyzed to discover whether or not the choice systems are actually helping the recipients. No studies have focused on ideology. Also, all of these private programs are available to only low-income families, so any data collected is necessarily biased. The only public opinion research conducted about vouchers was done by Terry Moe in Schools, Vouchers, and the American Public (2001).

Moe gathered his data through a commercial polling organization which conducted random telephone surveys of 4,700 adults in the United States. Moe’s analysis yielded several important pieces of information. First, Americans appear to be on both sides of the voucher issue. They feel that private schools are better than public schools, but they also have strong attachments to the public school system and its social and democratic ideals. Moe calls this support of the public schools “public school ideology” and defines it as “a sympathy or attachment that has little to do with performance” (278). This is interesting because it supports the idea that people’s ideas about vouchers are strongly influenced by their underlying values and beliefs—their mass belief system or ideology. His research also supports the connection between educational level and ideology—he found that those with more education were more likely to think in ideological terms.

One aspect of his survey focused on how people process information about vouchers. He found that as the interview progressed, people began to structure their thinking about vouchers in stronger, more coherent ways. Again, this could indicate the influence of ideological reasoning—as they
gain more information, people fit that information into their belief systems, essentially checking how well the concept agrees with their values and beliefs. Unfortunately, Moe’s study does not directly address ideology except in terms of his “public school ideology”. His findings do note a wrong way shift among the least educated—when asked to associate vouchers with a political party, they tend to select the Democratic party when in reality it is the Republican party that supports vouchers. Overall, Moe’s results, while exploring opinion on vouchers, fall short of the mark in terms of ideology.

**Conclusions and Implications**

In terms of a person’s ideology influencing their position on vouchers, the research is mute. Ideology as a driving force has not been studied by any person or group. However, the link between educational level and the development and use of an ideology has been well established (Converse 1964). Interestingly, most of the literature reviewed concedes the debate over school choice “is driven by ideology, not facts,” (Smith and Meier 1995, 131) yet none of the research has focused on support for this basic assumption. Although the evidence is scanty, there is enough to discern some ideological influence. Again and again, those parents who select choice, who actively pursue other schooling options for their children, are shown to have attained higher levels of education, usually at least some college, than those parents who do not pursue alternatives to public schools. Therefore, one could conclude that these particular parents are driven by some basic values and beliefs.

More research is needed about the influence of ideology on a citizen’s support of vouchers. Education is a critical component of democratic life in the United States. The theory is that a well-educated citizenry is necessary for a democracy to survive. Vouchers would create a fundamental change in the education of the American public. Another direction for research would be to study the likelihood of change through the initiative process versus change through normal political action. Moe (2001) discusses some of the weaknesses of change through initiative, using California as an example. A study focusing on the role of ideology in those unsuccessful initiative campaigns may be illuminating. In addition, since it has been established that public policy does respond to public opinion, the basis for those opinions needs to be explored. Education is especially well linked to public opinion because it is in California under not only local but also state control. The policies created by the political elites should reflect the opinions of the pub-
lic, but those opinions need to be informed. Researchers should look at the ideological elements that influence education policies. Clearly, educational issues and ideology are linked. The challenge now is to define that relationship.

References


he study of representative-constituent relationships is usually focused on Washington, D.C. and representatives’ behavior within Congress. Numerous studies have been conducted that have revealed important information on voting records, committee work, and influence within the institution of Congress. The difference between those studies and this one is that this study focuses on the representative-constituency relationship within the district. Richard Fenno’s pathbreaking book about representatives’ perceptions of constituencies was the basis for this paper. His achievements in the field of representatives' perceptions have opened up an entirely new area of research.

Fenno's book, *Home Style* (1978), set out to explain how and why members of Congress behave the way they do when they are back at home in their districts. He traveled to eighteen districts where he studied fifteen representatives who were already serving, two representatives-to-be, and one representative elect. He made thirty-six trips in all and spent 110 days conducting research. Through his research he developed typologies in which members of Congress differ on factors such as how much time they actually spend in the district (rather than in Washington), how they distribute their resources between the district and Washington offices, how members of Congress explain what they do in Washington to their constituents, and finally, their presentation of themselves to their constituents. Fenno found that there are an unlimited number of home styles in Congress. Each member of Congress has different personalities that will make each of their own home style unique to him or her.

A replication of Fenno’s original study would give great insight into the changes that have taken place over the past twenty-four years since the original research was done. New data gathered in the way Fenno collected them would allow new conclusions to be made about the validity of Fenno’s theories. This project in no such way replicates Fenno’s study on a large scale. Instead, it is a small attempt, through a case study conducted during an internship, to find out if Fenno’s assertions hold true today in one representative’s district office. Fenno himself asserted that the political conditions during the 1970's when he collected his data might have in fact caused his
subjects to act differently than they normally would. The members he studied during the 1970’s lived and worked in an environment that was marked by its cynicism of political figures and institutions. Furthermore, it was not known to Fenno whether aggregate change of home styles in Congress was due to the conversion of member's styles or if change occurred with an influx of new members who brought with them fresh ideas and new home styles. I explore the changes that have occurred related to home style since the 1970’s. The lapse in time between Fenno’s study and this one will reveal new information about the theories Fenno presented. I expect to find that Fenno’s method of studying members of Congress in their districts will still be a valuable tool in the twenty-first century. I predict that many of Fenno’s theories will be applicable in today’s congressional district.

Literature Review

Fenno’s research attempted to answer two main questions: What does a member of Congress see when looking at a constituency, and most important, what are the consequences of these perceptions? He noted that when researchers ask constituency questions to a member in Washington, D.C., the answers can be distorted because the member is removed from the constituency itself. Therefore, the study of members’ behaviors is incomplete without researching him or her while s/he is submerged in the constituency. Without understanding home style one cannot truly begin to understand what motivates members of Congress to behave the way they do.

No other scholar has attempted to replicate Fenno’s original research on home style in its entirety. His research spanned over the course of eight years and was extremely costly and time consuming. As a result, this paper will review studies that look at one small aspect of home style individually. In these studies more recent information would be helpful to make conclusions about home style in general. In addition, this study is limited in scope due to the fact that it is limited to one member. In his book, Fenno addressed a wide array of issues concerning home style—including personal attentiveness, constituency trust, the stages of constituency careers, and service to the district. Other scholars since then, like Diana Evans Yankis who studied communication styles of House members, Glenn R. Parker who studied constituent trust, John R. Johannes who studied congressional casework styles, and John R. Alford and John R. Hibbing who studied incumbency advantage affects, have addressed these issues (Yankis 1982, Parker 1989, Johannes 1983, Alford & Hibbing 1981). This paper will be confined to a single
aspect—district attentiveness.

Attention paid to a district by the representative is an important aspect of home style. Technically speaking, district attention is viewed as a part of the allocation of resources aspect of home style. During his research, Fenno found that the amount of time a representative spends in the district is weakly affected by the representative’s perception of his or her electoral safeness. On the contrary, John C. McAdams and John R. Johannes (1985) found that members of Congress do become more attentive to their districts when faced with electoral threats. These two researchers collected data from many sources such as questionnaires that were mailed to House offices both in Washington, D.C. and the district and personal and telephone interviews with Washington, D.C. staff members. They found evidence to support the notion that members do indeed establish and keep up particular home styles, yet their analysis suggests that there are clear period affects that make members of Congress more attentive to their districts or policy-making for a short period of time.

District attentiveness is also affected by seniority. Fenno felt it would be reasonable to assume that as House members stay in office longer, attention paid to the district suffers. Senior members travel less to the district because of the physical burdens of travel, institutional maintenance positions like becoming chair of a committee, and because they feel their seat is safe. During his research, Fenno found numerical evidence to support this hypothesis but the correlation was weak. Jon R. Bond (1984) used results from telephone interviews of congressional staff in the Washington, D.C. offices, travel records from the Report of the Clerk of the House, and the Congressional Staff Directory to measure district attentiveness. His results lead him to draw the conclusion that senior members are less attentive to their districts than their freshman counterparts, confirming what Fenno found in 1978.

Another factor that affects district attentiveness is the financial burden of travel. Fenno looked at regional influences on travel as a variable of district attentiveness. He grouped members into five different regional blocks. By analyzing representative travel in this way, Fenno found that members of Congress with districts in the regions furthest from Washington, D.C. had overall the lowest frequency of trips home. A study done by Glenn R. Parker (1980) produced the same results. In his analysis, Parker found that the increase in travel allotments was the number one motivating factor in increased district attentiveness. I now turn to my case study to test Fenno’s theories and the aforementioned studies.
Methodology and Data

For two and one-half months during the summer of 2002, I was an intern in a congressional district office. So that the identity of the representative I worked for remains anonymous, I will refer to him as “Congressman Howard” throughout this paper. His district is a very diverse district in California. The district is not only economically diverse but also ethnically and religiously diverse. Moreover, it is in a large metropolitan area bustling with activity.

The internship position allowed me to be a participant observer systematically collecting data about the district office and Congressman Howard. My duties in the office included but were not limited to the following: taking constituent phone calls and intakes, answering constituent mail, opening cases, contacting the proper government agency to work out a solution to a constituent problem, and catching up work on old cases. Each week, I would go through the file drawers of open cases and make further inquiries for cases that had not progressed for thirty days. I was able to gain access to every aspect of the district operation. When constituents came into the office with problems, one of the staff members would do an intake. I was able to sit in on these, which gave me firsthand knowledge and allowed me to observe the interactions between the staff member and the constituent. I also attended four of Congressman Howard’s town hall meetings. During these meetings I was able to interact with the constituents and observe the congressman’s interactions with his constituents.

In addition to my observations, I interviewed two staff members and Congressman Howard. I interviewed Congressman Howard during one three-hour period, and I conducted my interviews with the caseworkers on multiple occasions for thirty minute to one hour intervals. During the interviews I wrote down as much information as I could possibly write. I chose not to use a tape recorder; I felt it was too formal and intrusive. It was not necessary to use one in any case because the staff and the congressman were more than willing to answer all of my questions and offered to clarify any part of the interview at a later date if needed.

Throughout each day, I took notes in a journal about my experiences and observations. I found myself jotting down numerous facts and observations constantly throughout the day. If I had questions for the staff members, I would write their answers down in my notebook for future reference. Finally, I took home newsletters from the congressman and other literature offered to the public. I read and analyzed the information provided in these
Analysis and Findings

Perceptions of the Constituency

It is important to understand what members of Congress see when viewing their constituencies. These perceptions are the basis of all that they do in the district. Members of Congress' perceptions will affect how much time they spend in the district, what sort of district operation they have, what activities they engage in, their presentation styles, and even the types of Washington activity explanations they give. Fenno uses a “bull’s eye model,” where members’ views of constituencies are seen in a nest of concentric circles, to explain members of Congress' perceptions. This model is the most informative because in one way or another, each member of Congress shares this perception (Fenno 1978). I sought to find out whether or not this bull’s eye model of perception was how Congressman Howard saw his constituents. Through my interview with Congressman Howard, it became evident that he did see his district divided into distinct sub-groups of constituencies.

The largest and most outer ring of the constituencies is the geographic (Fenno 1978). The geographic constituency is made up of the entire district. Fenno found that the most common answer to the question, “What kind of district do you have?” was described in geographical terms. However, according to Fenno, descriptions of constituencies are not limited to geography. Some members also describe their district in terms of demographic and political variables. When Congressman Howard gave a description it was of the demographic and political type.

Over thirty years it has changed. It has always been a district with a high percentage of minorities. In the beginning there was thirty percent Black and ten to twelve percent Hispanic. Two-thirds of the Democrats were minorities. It’s moderate to low income. One-in-two households has a union member. There are a great number of senior citizens and blue-collar workers. Now 45 percent of the district is Asian, Pacific Islander, and Indian, and Caucasians are the minority. It is politically progressive if not liberal. One half are registered Democrats, one quarter are Republicans, and one quarter “decline to state.” This has stayed fairly constant.

The second ring of the constituency is the reelection constituency. This group consists of the people the representative thinks votes for him or her
in the general election. When members view their geographical constituency they make distinctions within the larger group between the people who vote for him or her and the people who do not (Fenno 1978). Congressman Howard knows that 50 percent of the district is registered Democrat. He also has a good idea of what ideological, demographic, and political groups vote for him. Congressman Howard recognized that he got most of his support from, “seniors, Democrats, minorities, unions, social liberals and activists, women with the exception of pro-lifers, gun control supporters, and environmentalists.” A district caseworker also thinks Congressman Howard gets liberal and moderate Republicans to vote for him. These are the groups he counts on to vote for him in the general election. At the same time, Congressman Howard thinks he knows what groups do not vote for him. “I spend very little time at the Mormon temple and Christian churches.” He also knows he is unlikely to get hard-line Republicans to vote for him.

Within the reelection constituency, there exists a smaller ring of support known as the primary constituency. These people are a member’s reelection constituents who would also be loyal to him or her in a primary contest. Every congressperson must have a primary constituency in order to stay in office. Even though each member of Congress has a primary constituency, it can be a difficult task to identify it. These constituents cannot be identified with voting data (Fenno 1978). Representative Howard sees his primary constituents in his district as made up of labor, seniors, environmentalists, and liberal Democratic activists.

The last ring is the most inner and personal constituency to a congressperson. The personal constituency, better known as the “intimates,” is made up of a member of Congress’ most trusted political allies and friends. Representatives have personal relationships with these people, which sets this group apart from any of the other constituencies (Fenno 1978). One of Congressman Howard’s caseworkers identified this group as his wife, the district director, his oldest son, a past administrative assistant, the new Washington, D.C. administrative assistant, one or two former members of Congress, and a couple of close friends.

Overall, members of Congress make it their business to try and understand, to the best of their capabilities, who does and does not vote for them. Their job depends on it. I found, just as Fenno did, that the bull’s eye model of constituency perception is applicable to today’s congressperson.
Personal Attentiveness

Time is a zero-sum game. A common complaint among House members is that there is not enough time to do everything the job demands. Doing something in Washington, D.C. takes time away from activities members of Congress could be participating in at home and vice versa.

There are many factors at play behind decisions about when and how often to come home. Fenno tested the relationship between the frequency of visits home and a member's electoral safeness. It would be reasonable to assume that if a member becomes electorally vulnerable he or she would decide to come home more often to shore up his or her reelection. Fenno's results showed that such a relationship is weak if anything (1978). When questioned as to whether he would consider coming home more often if faced with a serious challenger in an upcoming election, Congressman Howard recalled half a dozen times in the past where he faced more active opponents. Indeed, during these campaigns he traveled home more than normal. He was involved in debates and activities that demanded his attention. A more serious challenger requires more time, energy, and activity. He seemed to come home more during testing elections, not because he feared for his seat if not present enough, but more so due to the increased campaign activity caused by a serious challenger. Congressman Howard contradicts what Fenno's hypothesis predicts. Fenno admits it would be facetious to discount this relationship due to a lack of quantitative evidence because, “our conventional indicators of electoral marginality are inadequate” (1978, 35).

Family and personal situations have been proposed as another motivating factor behind allocative decisions about time and travel. If a representative’s family lived in Washington, we would expect the representative to stay in Washington more often. In turn, if the family lived in the district, we could expect the representative to return home more often. Fenno’s findings supported this supposition as do mine. In the beginning of Congressman Howard’s career as a representative, his family lived in the district. He recalls that he did travel home more often back then. Now his wife and three young children live in Washington. He finds that with his family now in Washington he travels home less than before.

One might also expect to find a relationship between the number of trips home a representative makes and seniority (Fenno 1978). It can be argued that the longer a member is in Congress the more influence
and responsibility s/he gains. Therefore, the need to spend more time in Washington increases. A second argument that supports the existence of this relationship is the incumbency advantage theory. The longer the representative is in office, the more secure his or her seat becomes due to electoral advantages enjoyed by incumbents, therefore not requiring as much time spent in the district for reelection purposes. Fenno also proposed a third possibility that supported the connection between seniority and number of trips home. He asserted that his data supported the fact that as members get older it becomes more troublesome and difficult for them to travel home as much as they used to in their early years. Fenno, considering all these factors of seniority, found that there is a clear difference in number of trips home between the most senior members (eight plus terms) and the most freshman members (three or less terms). Congressman Howard said that as long as he has been in office (fifteen terms), he has tried to come home once every month. With his increased influence and responsibility in the House, he does not think that it has affected the number of trips he makes to the district each year. On the surface, once again, Congressman Howard seems to contradict Fenno’s findings. At the same time, the fact that coming home once a month is not all that often compared to other members, must be factored into the equation. Members who start out coming home once a week might have to cut back on trips if it becomes physically tiring or if committee assignments keep him or her busy in Washington.

Another reasonable expectation is that the region the district is in determines how far away from Washington the members of Congress will have to travel, and how much it costs to get home to the district. Depending on these variables, certain representatives have an advantage over some in getting home. Fenno studied regional influences on the number of trips home made by House members. He divided the country into five regions: east, south, border, midwest, and far west (1978). He found that region has a substantial effect on the number of trips home made by a representative. In 1973 and 1974, House members were given a thirty-six trip allotment. Fenno felt that as the distance between the district and Washington increases, fewer trips were made. Fenno’s assessments show that members who have districts close to Washington come home far more often than members whose districts are further away. Congressman Howard's district is in the far west region, thus a low frequency is expected according to Fenno’s calculations. Congressman Howard likes to think that if his district was closer, he would be able to travel home more often to attend events and hold more meetings.

The region of a district also affects a House member’s decision on district operation staff size. Two theories are commonly presented in an
attempt to explain why members allocate their staff resources the way they
do. The complementary relationship theory suggests that a House member
places a large staff in the district to compliment his or her frequent trips
home. The second theory asserts that a large district staff is set up to make
up for the lack of presence in the district on the part of the House member.
Fenno found that both theories have minor support. Fenno’s measure of dis-
trict staff strength was the total of staff expenditures allocated to the district
staff. What he found was distinctive differences in terms of regional district
office staff allocation. Fenno concluded that the region in which the district
office is located will directly affect the size of the district staff. However, the
relationship is not linear. When examining Fenno’s results in the table below
it becomes apparent that the far Western United States had fewer members
in the lowest third percentile than did the Southern United States, thus sug-
uggesting that regional differences in district staff expenditures are not caused
by distance.

Table 1: Regional and Staff Expenditures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>East</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>Midwest</th>
<th>Border</th>
<th>Far West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lowest Third Percentile</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Third Percentile</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest Third Percentile</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Fenno 1978, 42

A fifth factor is now evident in today’s Congress that was not affect-
ing the number of trips home made in 1973. In 1995, when the Republicans
took control of the House, Friday votes were reinstated. This is poten-
tially problematic for some members of the House who live far away and
took advantage of three-day weekends to travel to the district. In my time
spent in the district office, I found this to be true, at least for Congressman
Howard. He was only able to spend two days each month in the district
once his presence in Washington, D.C. was required on Fridays, whereas
before, he was able to spend a three-day weekend in his district.
Conclusion

Although I did not examine every aspect of home style that Fenno studied, new conclusions can be drawn from this case study. Many of Fenno’s theories about home style are still applicable today. I found that the House member I researched viewed his constituency as a nest of concentric circles just as many other members did in the 1970’s. Congressman Howard and the way his district operation was set up, supported Fenno’s theories behind travel in regards to variables of electoral vulnerability, family influences, and region. At the same time, Congressman Howard did not fit Fenno’s theories about travel when looking at the variable of seniority.

A congressperson in both time periods has the same time constraints and job requirements. A representative today has to foster support within his/her district, go through reelection, and continue to take care of his/her constituency just as the representatives Fenno studied in the 1970’s did. Because the world of reelection in the district has stayed much the same, the home styles of representatives have not changed substantially. Each member of Congress has to allocate the resources given to him or her, present him or herself to his or her constituency, and explain his or her activities in Washington, D.C. This study shows that Fenno’s method of studying House members is still a valuable tool in the twenty-first century.

References

The media regularly reports that America’s public schools have some of the lowest test scores in the world; however, the test scores of American students are not necessarily comparable to the test scores of other students (Berliner 1995). “In the first International Assessment of Education Achievement, from which we learned how ‘awful’ the U.S. was doing, the average performance of 75 percent of the American group was compared with the average scores of the top 9 percent of students in West Germany, the top 13 percent in the Netherlands, and the top 45 percent in Sweden” (Berliner 1995). In other words, the average American student was being compared to the best students from West Germany, Netherlands, and Sweden. If the top American students had been compared with the top students from around the world, the results would have been different. In Susan Ohanian’s article discussing President Clinton’s “Goals 2000” education reform plan, she suggests another reason why the results are not comparable. She states that we are “comparing our 17-year-olds with their 21-year-olds” (2000). And finally, another factor not accounted for in these comparisons is the length of the school year. Some foreign countries, such as Korea and Taiwan, have much longer school years than the U.S. Therefore, when students of the same age take the tests, the students from Korea and Taiwan have actually had more time in the classroom than the American students. According to a study by David Berliner, sometimes these students have even up to a year more schooling than American students (1995).

In addition to the faulty comparisons between American and other countries’ test scores, there are other reasons to suspect the validity of standardized tests. For example, these tests are not necessarily an effective way of testing students’ knowledge. They may not be testing students’ complex thinking skills; they may merely test how well students can memorize and regurgitate facts (Schafer 2001). This paper examines this charge, as well as others, which call the effectiveness and accuracy of standardized tests into question. It also examines at least one reason why, despite these problems, standardized tests are so widely used throughout the U.S. And finally, this paper looks at the impact that parent involvement has on standardized test scores.

Problems with Standardized Tests
As already discussed, various studies offer reasons to suspect the validity of test score comparisons between U.S. and other countries'. In addition to pointing out the weaknesses in these comparisons, these studies also indicate some weaknesses in the particular approach to standardized testing used by some states in the U.S. For example, one factor not fully addressed in U.S. standardized tests is the role of student motivation (Berliner 1995). One way some states have attempted to increase student motivation is by making the tests “high stakes” tests. North Carolina uses these “high stakes” tests on eighth graders; the students have to pass the test in order to move on to the next grade (Clayton 1999). However, many states still do not use “high stakes” tests, meaning the tests will not affect the students' grades. Therefore, many students may not even try on these tests. In other countries these tests are considered to be an honor (Berliner 1995). In America, students perceive these tests not as an honor but as an inconvenience (Berliner 1995). Not only do students not take the tests seriously, many of the parents don’t understand the tests. In a national survey of parents’ views on standardized tests conducted by the Sylvan Learning Center, a majority of the parents surveyed did not believe that the tests were accurate measures of their children’s ability (Moore 2000). Nearly half of the parents in this study found inconsistencies between their child’s test scores and their grades (Moore 2000).

If students are doing really well in school, although they earn low test scores, this would naturally raise questions about the tests. A teacher who works individually with a student every day should have a much better idea of a student’s abilities and knowledge than any one test could reveal. The teacher’s grades are based on many tests and other projects throughout the year. A standardized test does not take into account all the other work that is done. It merely asks students to memorize facts that they can forget as soon as the test is over. In some states, one test can determine if a student will graduate, while totally disregarding the rest of the student’s high school accomplishments.

Furthermore, standardized tests do not encourage or test the students’ complex thinking skills (Schafer 2001). “The typical standardized exam reduces the assessment process to multiple guess and stunts development of comprehension skills” (Schafer 2001). As a result, teachers are “abandoning time-honored assignments” in order to spend more and more hours on test preparation (Schafer 2001). Students who in their day to day class work, have problems handling complex thinking problems, score within the normal level for their age on standardized tests (Waber 2000). These are the same students who are struggling so much in their classes that teachers and parents are having them tested for learning disability problems (Waber...
And because these students score within the normal limits on these standardized tests, they are often not eligible for any special services that other students with learning disabilities are eligible to receive (Waber 2000). Relying on standardized tests is going to lead to students who are not life long learners (McAdie 2001).

The tests are also poor measures of the effectiveness of the teachers and school. According to one study, only 15 percent of the differences in test scores are due to teacher and school quality (Sacks 2000). This means the other 85 percent is related to other factors such as family income, poverty rate, educational attainment of parents, and other non-school related variables (Sacks 2000). It does not seem fair to fire teachers and take money away from schools that are not performing on standardized tests when they only influence 15 percent of the test score. Even if these teachers were perfect, and the school was perfect, some students would still receive failing grades on the standardized tests. In addition, these tests cause stressful working conditions for many teachers. For example, one fourteen-year veteran teacher was under so much pressure from the standardized tests, that she wanted to switch the grade she taught because in the other grades they didn’t have to participate in the standardized tests (Clayton 1999). In Japan, teachers just simply refused to administer the tests (Kohn 2001).

One last problem with the standardized tests is that many believe the tests are biased against minorities, females, students with disabilities, and students from low-income families (McAdie 2001, Sacks 2000). In one school, students who did well on the standardized tests received scholarships (Schafer 2001). This seems like a good idea, however, the students who were receiving the scholarships were the students from rich families who did not need them (Schafer 2001). In a study on how SAT scores are influenced by family income, it was found that for every $10,000 decrease in family income, the SAT score also decreases 15 points (Schafer 2001). Assuming this applies similarly to kindergarten through twelfth-grade students, the tests discriminate against low-income families.

**Politicians’ Views of Standardized Tests**

Despite all of the drawbacks to standardized tests, the number of states who use them has increased from only two states in 1973 to thirty-four states in 1983 (Linn 2000). This dramatic increase in the use of standardized testing is because politicians see them as a great opportunity—not an opportunity for the children, but an opportunity for the politician. Politicians use education
as a way to get people interested in the elections. Politicians often mention the poor test scores at some point in their campaign and have some type of reform plan. Their plans range from reducing class sizes, to spending more money on public education, to testing students more often. For example, in 1989, President George Bush, Sr. introduced six national goals for public education known as “America 2000” (Ohanian 2000). This was later incorporated into President Clinton’s education reform plan known as “Goals 2000: Educate America Act” (Ohanian 2000). And in 1994, Congress passed a public school reform plan called “Goals 2000.” While “Goals 2000” sounded like a good plan, the goals it listed were subjective and hard to measure. For example, the first goal was “All children in America will start school ready to learn” (Ohanian 2000). Of course this is very subjective, since everybody has a different definition of “ready to learn.” The plan also neglected to mention how to make them “ready to learn” (Ohanian 2000).

Politicians like standardized testing because it is something that can be implemented during their time in office (Linn 2000). Typically, test results will improve in the first few years, even with no real improvement in the school or the teaching (Linn 2000). Test scores are very visible and easy for politicians to point to as a measure of how they have “improved” our public schools.

Another reason standardized tests are popular with politicians and policy makers is that they are relatively inexpensive to administer compared to reducing class sizes and other methods of improving student achievement (Linn 2000). This way the politician does not have to spend a great deal of money on the public education system, but he is able to point to some improvement, and most people just believe the statistics. They think numbers can’t be wrong, although the numbers are very misleading.

**Parental Involvement**

One factor that is often forgotten when discussing the effectiveness of standardized tests is the effect of parental involvement. Studies continue to show that parental involvement is associated with stronger academic achievement and improved attendance and behavior (Hoover-Dempsey 2001). According to a study by Andrew Beveridge and Sophia Catsambis, “Parental involvement is one of the major ways by which families influence the educational achievement of children” (2001). The importance of parental involvement was also addressed in the public school reform plan, “Goals 2000.” The plan notes that if children are to “start school ready to learn,” then parents must be responsible for preparing or enrolling them in some type of pre-school
program. The eighth goal of the plan specifically states, “Every school will promote partnerships that will increase parental involvement and participation in promoting the social, emotional, and academic growth of children” (Ohanian 2000). Unfortunately, most parents don’t feel equipped to help their children prepare for the standardized tests that were implemented partly as a result of “Goals 2000” (Moore 2000). However, this fear has not stopped many private schools; they require that in order for the child to attend, the parents must volunteer a certain number of hours at the school.

Of course not all the factors that influence a child’s success in school or on tests will be under the parents’ control. For example, one study discusses how the neighborhood in which people live can depress a parent’s ability to engage in effective parental practices (Beveridge 2001). When parents are trying to influence their children to do their school work, and the children are being influenced by their friends in the neighborhood, often the peer pressure of their friends will win out. The negative influence of the child’s friends can override the positive influence of the parents (Beveridge 2001). Although, most people believe that money, class size, and frequency of testing are the primary reasons for American public schools’ poor test scores, parental involvement and the format of the standardized tests actually have a greater impact on the test scores.

Conclusion

Based on the studies and literature on standardized testing, many people feel these tests are not an accurate way of measuring how our students and schools are doing. The literature reviewed in this paper indicates that standardized tests are not an accurate measure of students’ academic abilities, and that there are many other factors that influence the test results much more than the school itself. There is a hidden agenda behind the politician who so proudly points out that his or her district’s public schools have improved over the first few years of the tests. Although as argued in this paper, this does not mean that the quality of the school has actually improved.

References


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**For Indeed We Have Been Thorns In The Sides Of Each Other**

*By Kathleen Moore*
Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony met each other passing on a street corner in Seneca Falls, New York, 1851. Although they could not visit with each other that day, the meeting marked the beginning of the most powerful friendship of the women’s movement. Together they openly questioned the Constitution and the roles women were meant to play in society and politics. In doing so, they angered and inspired thousands of women to fight for women’s equality. The differences in their personalities and their ideologies caused tension in their relationship but they remained close allies and never let their disagreements go public. Stanton’s writing skills and Anthony’s lobbying abilities allowed them to write some of the most celebrated documents of the women’s suffrage movement. Unfortunately, they did not live long enough to see their goal achieved. Before her death Stanton wrote, “we are sowing winter wheat which the coming spring will see sprout and which other hands than ours will reap and enjoy” (Ward and Burns 1999, 188). Although they never lived to see women fully enfranchised under the Constitution, they never gave up hope that women all over the United States would have the right to vote. Stanton and Anthony’s differences complimented each other and often caused disagreements, but their loyalty to each other remained strong throughout the women’s suffrage movement.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony’s differences and values can be traced to their childhoods. Stanton was born November 12, 1815. Her mother was a member of one of the oldest aristocratic families in New York State. Her father was a judge and a former shoemaker’s apprentice. Because of the marriage laws, Cady took control of his wife’s inheritance the moment they became husband and wife. Because her father was a judge, Stanton witnessed firsthand the differences between how men and women were treated under the law. Even when she was young, she noticed the “petty tyranny” faced by women. Even her father, who she greatly admired, once told her, “Oh, my daughter, I wish you were a boy” (Ward and Burns 1999, 14). Throughout her childhood, she made it her goal to make her father proud and to have him tell her “well, a girl is as good as a boy after all” (Wards and Burns 1999, 14). The first step of being “as good as a boy” meant getting an education. Her father was less than thrilled with the thought of his daughter going to college. Stanton’s brother-in-law had to talk Cady into letting his daughter receive an education. Her first choice, Union College, would not let women take classes. So beginning in 1831, she spent three years at the Troy Female Seminary to receive her education. At that time, no college in America allowed women to attend classes. The Troy Female Seminary offered
her the best opportunity to receive a secondary education. The headmistress, Emma Willard, taught her students that women who studied algebra, history, and music would become better wives and mothers. It was here that Stanton developed her writing style and became skeptical about Christianity.

After she graduated in 1833, she lived with her family in Rochester. Because her father had such conservative beliefs, she loved traveling to Peterboro, New York to visit her cousin Gerrit Smith. Smith and his family were members of the Underground Railroad. Stanton loved visiting because “the constant, rousing debates about reform and abolition made social life seem dull and unrewarding elsewhere” (Banner 1980, 17). She was energetic and playful. She loved dancing, singing, flirting, and beating law students at chess in her family’s parlor. In 1839, she met Henry Brewster Stanton, a full-time agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. She considered him to be “the most eloquent and impassioned orator on the anti-slavery platform” (Ward and Burns 1999, 18). Less than a year later, they were married. Instead of becoming Mrs. Henry Stanton, she chose to keep her name; she would choose to be known as Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

Stanton began her career as a reformer in the anti-slavery movement. After traveling to England to attend The London Anti-Slavery Convention and watching the women delegates be turned away, she, along with delegate Lucretia Mott, decided to organize a meeting to discuss the issue of inequality among men and women. The meeting was held in Seneca Falls, New York, during the summer of 1848.

With the help of several other women, Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions. The document, modeled after the Declaration of Independence, boldly stated that, “all men and women are created equal.” The speech focused on the same issues the authors of the Declaration of Independence had focused on over seventy years earlier. This time it was the women whose rights were being discriminated against. Women could not vote, had no legal voice, had no representation, were denied an education, and were denied equal opportunity in employment. Although these were the basic rights of male citizens, women should have been entitled to share them. In her speech, Stanton said that “women are man’s equal…. the women in this country ought to be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live… the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social state, should also be required of man” (Dolbeare 1998, 246).

Unlike Stanton, Susan B. Anthony grew up in a family that did not have a lot of money. Anthony was the daughter of a Quaker farmer and a Baptist mother. She was raised as a Quaker and her father, Daniel, was so devout
that he did not allow his children to play with toys, game, or sing because it would distract them from the “Inner Light.” Her parents were abolitionists and temperance advocates. Her parents taught her that men and women should be treated with equality. They also taught her that it was one of her responsibilities to make a better world. She attended public school until her teacher refused to teach her long division. Daniel Anthony then started his own school for his children and for the women who worked in his mills.

When Anthony was fifteen, she was sent away to boarding school with her sister. While at school, she became very critical of herself. She was shy and self-conscious about her writing abilities. In fact, she later told her biographer, “whenever I take my pen in hand I always seem to be mounted on stilts” (Ward and Burns 1999, 21). Her teacher only made things worse. The head mistress, who was suffering from Tuberculosis, told her students “‘the distress she had [herself] undergone in mind and body’ was entirely due to her students’ shortcomings” (Ward and Burns 1999; 26). She returned home from school the next year when her father became bankrupt.

At age nineteen, she left home to become a teacher at a boarding school in Rochester, New York. She had several suitors but none of them met her standards. Inspired by her father’s reform-minded visitors, Anthony set her sights on becoming a full-time reformer. In 1848, she quit teaching school to work on her father’s farm and concentrate on the temperance movement. She was determined to see if she could become a reformer despite the fact that she was a single woman.

Anthony became a suffragist in the early 1850s. Most of her lobbying skills were learned after she shifted her focus to women’s rights. Throughout the last half of the 1850s, women’s rights advocates traveled to Saratoga Springs, New York to discuss the inequalities faced by women. The activists spent most of their time lecturing and fundraising. It was here that “Anthony honed her fundraising and networking skills…. In 1855 alone, Anthony sold 20,000 pamphlets on women’s rights” (Weatherford 1998, 70).

It was not until three years after the Seneca Falls Convention that Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony met face to face for the first time. Women’s rights activist Amelia May Bloomer introduced the two women to each other. At the time of the meeting, Anthony had not yet begun her pursuit for equal rights. She was appreciative of women’s rights and the movement, but her focus was on temperance reform and the anti-slavery movement. Stanton, who had already begun working towards women’s suffrage, was able to convince Anthony to join the suffrage movement.

As a temperance advocate and teacher, Anthony had experienced her share of discrimination. In 1852, she was denied the opportunity to speak
at a temperance rally, and in 1853 she was denied the opportunity to participate as a temperance delegate at the World's Temperance Conference in New York City. As a teacher, her salary was only a fraction of what the men she replaced were paid. All these factors were influential in shifting her focus to fighting the discrimination faced by women.

Not much is known about how the early friendship grew between Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Their early lives had very little in common. But they did share the belief that inequalities between men and women were unacceptable. According to Stanton, they “were at once fast friends. In the thought of sympathy we were one.” (Lerner 1971, 88)

Their different backgrounds and personalities made their friendship unique. Stanton was high-spirited and had a sense of humor, but confrontation was her weakness. Her need to please people was, at times, overwhelming. Because she wanted to be hospitable to everybody, she would not ask people to leave her home. On occasion, her home would be filled with so many visitors she would go away with her family to Johnstown. But after the Seneca Falls Convention, “she adopted the approach of making her position so public that no one could be unclear about her stance and of utilizing her substantial ability at formal debate to avoid informal confrontation” (Banner 1980, 59).

Stanton was radical and sometimes went to extremes when expressing her views. To show her support for a change in women’s attire, she wore bloomers. She wore them for several years but went back to wearing dresses in 1853 after receiving continuous criticism from her family in Johnstown and her sons going to school in New Jersey. Bloomers, according to Stanton, signified the need for reform in the way women dressed. In an 1852 letter to Susan B. Anthony, she wrote, “the present artificial form of woman is an offense to my eyes” (Gordon 1997, 195). Stanton found the bloomers to be practical and was optimistic about them becoming the new style in female attire. But even Stanton could not stand up to the public criticism. She “was vain about her appearance and loved fine clothes…. Too little was gained, she found, by trumpeting feminism in her attire and alienating strangers before she could get on with more important issues” (Banner 1980, 57). With this experience, Stanton learned two valuable lessons—first, credibility must be maintained at all times; second, trying to radicalize a conservative public does not generally work.

Susan B. Anthony was a serious woman with almost no sense of humor. She was shy and very critical of herself. She spent little time examining her childhood to find out how such a shy girl turned into such a radical political leader. She was an unmarried Quaker schoolteacher who valued her
independence while becoming a leader in the women’s rights movement. Anthony would later tell a biographer, “I never felt I could give up my life of freedom to become a man’s housekeeper” (Ward and Burns 1999, 38). She would often criticize the marriages and pregnancies of her friends because once children entered the picture, she would watch her friends grow conservative and retire from the movement.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony’s friendship was typical of many friendships between women during the nineteenth century. It was deeply emotional and was based on a foundation of trust and respect. Anthony was like a member of the family to the Stantons. Anthony always referred to Stanton as Mrs. Stanton while Stanton just called her Susan. All of the Stanton children would refer to Anthony as “Aunt Susan.” Anthony would visit the Stanton home after the seven children had gone to bed so she and Stanton could discuss the movement. The Stanton children, however, did not always welcome the friendship because it would sometimes be a higher priority for their mother. According to daughter Harriot Stanton, when they were together the children would be put “out of sight and out of mind” as she helped Anthony prepare a speech (Ward and Burns 1999, 85). Stanton even put Anthony in charge of weaning her daughter Margaret. “Aunt Susan,” a son would write, was “the only other person besides my mother who had ever spanked me” (Ward and Burns 1999, 85).

Their friendship was influential because the two women were opposites. Their differences complimented each other and provided strength to the other’s weaknesses. Elizabeth Cady Stanton had strong conversational and writing skills. Susan B. Anthony, on the other hand, was self-conscious about her speaking and writing abilities. Stanton often avoided administrative duties such as “organizing committees, arranging for halls, soliciting funds, and doing research” (Banner 1980, 59). She also hated having to pay attention to factual details. Anthony excelled at administrative duties and research; she found the factual details to be extremely important. When Stanton was preparing a speech, Anthony would show up at her home with books to fill in the factual details. Their differences allowed Stanton to fulfill both her domestic and reform obligations. Together, they would spend countless hours discussing and planning strategy, although because Stanton was preoccupied with child rearing, Anthony actually carried out the strategy. Clearly, each woman was a driving force behind the other. Stanton had often thought about retiring from the women’s movement to focus her attention on her family but Anthony’s pressure and encouragement motivated her to continue. She would mostly attend meetings close to Seneca Falls because she felt guilty about leaving her children.
In 1852, Anthony played an important role in Stanton’s election as president of New York State Women’s Temperance Society. According to Stanton, she “forged the thunderbolts and (Anthony) threw them” (Weatherford 1998, 71). Throughout the course of their friendship Stanton wrote most of Anthony’s speeches. Even after Stanton had become increasingly controversial and unpopular during the 1890s, Anthony frequently sought the advice of her closest friend. As Henry Stanton once told his wife, “well, my dear… you stir up Susan and she stirs up the world” (Lerner 1971, 90).

Together they would collaborate on many speeches. Stanton once said, “Our speeches may be considered the united product of our two brains” (Lerner 1971, 90). In 1854, Stanton and Anthony worked on an address to the New York State Legislature. The address called for a change in New York’s Constitution and demanded “the full recognition of all our rights as citizens of the Empire State” (Gordon 1997, 241). Stanton wrote the address while Anthony gathered “5,931 petition signatures for the ‘just and equal rights of women’” (Weatherford 1998, 71). The petition effort did not end until the end of that year due to Anthony’s hard work and determination. While getting petition signatures she held conventions in fifty-four counties discussing the suffrage movement. Their collaboration on this address became a model for how they would work together in the future.

In 1860, Stanton and Anthony worked together on another address to the New York State Legislature. The address compared the treatment of women with the treatment of slaves. They argued that both slaves and women had no identity. “He is Cuffy Douglas or Cuffy Brooks, just whose Cuffy he may chance be. She is Mrs. Richard Roe or Mrs. John Doe, just whose Mrs. she may chance to be” (Dolbeare 1998, 247). The address also touched on the fact that neither slaves nor women had a right to their earnings or their children. Nor did either group have any legal existence. “Cuffy has no legal existence; he is subject to restraint and moderate chastisement. Mrs. Roe has no legal existence; she has not the best right to her own person. The husband has the power to restrain, and administer moderate chastisement” (Dolbeare 1998, 247). They even went so far as to suggest that the treatment of women was worse than the treatment of black men. “…By just so far as women, from her social position, refinement, and education, is on a more equal ground with the oppressor” (Dolbeare 1998, 247). In New York, black men could vote, hold property, and become ministers in the church. Women could not vote, could not own property if they were married, and could not become ministers in the church.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony started out more radical than the other women in the movement. The two women opposed the
Fifteenth Amendment because it only extended the right to vote to black men. Most of their allies wanted the amendment to be ratified, but Stanton and Anthony adamantly opposed it. At a meeting of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA) the two friends were disheartened to watch the organization express its approval of the amendment.

The two women were becoming too radical and ambitious for the rest of their allies. So in 1869, Stanton and Anthony broke away from the AERA to form their own organization. They wanted their new organization, the National Woman Suffrage Association, to focus on women’s rights rather than focusing only on the right to vote. Among their goals were a sixteenth amendment that called for women’s suffrage, an eight-hour workday, equal pay for women, and divorce reform. In response to Stanton and Anthony, those in favor of the Fifteenth Amendment formed the American Women’s Suffrage Association (AWSA). Lucy Stone, its founder, said the AWSA was an organization for “those who cannot use the methods which Mrs. Stanton and Susan use” (Ward and Burns 1999, 123).

Although they believed in the same issues and had their own women’s rights organization, conflict between the two women was inevitable. For more than fifty years their friendship was surrounded in conflict, but their support for one another was never questioned. Anthony would often criticize Stanton “for having so many children, for disliking conventions, and for paying so little heed for details” (Banner 1980, 60). Marriage, according to Anthony, was just another barrier to the women’s movement. She was not opposed to marriage in general, she once told journalist/suffragist Ida B. Wells; she was opposed to the marriage of women who had a “special call for special work” (Ward and Burns 1999, 83). For this reason, Anthony often encouraged Stanton to leave behind her domestic duties to focus on reform. Early in their friendship Anthony wrote Stanton, “So, for the love of me, and for the saving of the reputation of womanhood, with one baby on your knee and another at your feet and four boys whistling, buzzing, hallooing ‘Ma, Ma,’ set your self about the work” (Evans 1997, 103).

Their frustrations with each other grew with time. After the Civil War, Stanton became less willing to engage in the politics of suffrage. She believed in women’s suffrage and in the movement but she was growing tired of the criticism against her radical beliefs. “Don’t speak to me of conventions. I can’t bear holding my tongue for fear of offending someone,” she told her friend (Ward and Burns 1999, 134). Often times she would not even attend meetings of the National Women’s Suffrage Association—the very organization she and Anthony founded. In 1871, Anthony became especially irritated when Stanton backed out of attending the NWSA convention. How
you can excuse yourself is more than I can understand," wrote Anthony (Ward and Burns 1999, 134). Stanton’s excuse was that she and her husband needed money to pay for their children’s college education and giving lectures was the perfect way to raise money.

The friendship was strained even further just six months later. After stopping in San Francisco after a train trip from Chicago, Stanton and Anthony visited Laura Fair, a prostitute charged with the murder of her lover. At a lecture after the meeting, Anthony told the San Francisco crowd that, “if all men had protected all women as they would have their own wives and daughters protected, you would have no Laura Fair in your jail tonight” (Ward and Burns 1999, 135). The San Francisco papers the next day accused her of condoning prostitution and murder. It was the worst criticism she had experienced as a suffragist. The worst of it, she felt, was when Elizabeth Cady Stanton, her best friend, did not speak up to defend her. Anthony was always more than willing to defend Stanton after she had offended people. She was hurt that Stanton was not willing to return the support. Wrote Anthony, “she could do so much to put editors right to what I say and do” (Ward and Burns 1999, 135).

As they grew old, ideological changes also tested the friendship of the two women, but their support of each other remained strong. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was growing more radical and Susan B. Anthony was growing more conservative. In 1884, Stanton wrote a congratulatory letter to Fredrick Douglass on his marriage to a white woman. In the letter Stanton invited Douglass to speak at the upcoming NWSA convention and then sent the letter to Susan B. Anthony to sign. Anthony’s reply to Stanton was more of a scolding than a letter of support. Anthony strongly believed the topic of interracial marriage “has no place on our platform, anymore than the question of marriage at all….The convention,” she wrote, was intended “to make everyone who hears or reads believe in the grand principle of equality of rights and chances for women” (Ward and Burns 1999, 178). A debate about interracial marriage would only take attention away from that purpose.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton was much more controversial and radical compared to most members of the suffrage movement. She complained to a friend that, “Lucy (Stone) and Susan alike see suffrage only. They do not see woman’s religious and social bondage” (Ward and Burns 1999, 179). Stanton lost support to Anthony from the conservative suffragists because she would not focus her energy on the ultimate goal of women’s suffrage. She wanted to focus on equal rights for everybody.

By 1890, the NWSA and AWSA had made peace with each other and became the National American Women’s Suffrage Association. Although she
had lost a lot of her supporters, Elizabeth Cady Stanton was elected president of the new organization. Most delegates wanted Susan B. Anthony to be president but Anthony withdrew her nomination in favor of her friend. Even after the endorsement, Anthony had to lobby the delegates to elect Stanton president. The delegates chose Anthony to be vice president. Stanton believed that the goals of the NAWSA were too narrow. She wanted “the membership to include all types, classes, races and creeds” (United States v. Anthony 2002). Anthony privately agreed with Stanton but believed the right to vote should remain NAWSA’s priority.

Even after Anthony lobbied the NAWSA to elect Stanton as their first president, Stanton refused to change her position on the issues of women’s rights. Conservative delegates were irritated with Stanton’s radical platform. During her acceptance speech she called for equality for women in America’s churches and the NAWSA’s opposition to “all union of church and state” (Ward and Burns 1999, 183). The NAWSA, she said, should also oppose the introduction of “the name of God into the Constitution” (Ward and Burns 1999, 183). She proposed for legislators to not create any more divorce laws while women remain disenfranchised. Finally, Stanton told the delegates “We do not want to limit our platform to bare suffrage and nothing more…. Wherever a woman is wronged her voice should be heard” (Ward and Burns 1999, 183).

In 1891, Stanton disappointed Anthony when she declined an offer to live with her. Without a permanent home for almost fifty years, Anthony moved in with her sister in Rochester. She believed it was the perfect opportunity “to work steadily in tandem” with her life-long friend of over forty years. She wanted Stanton, who had been widowed earlier that year, to live and work with her. Anthony expressed her disappointment telling Stanton, “my constant thought was that you would come here, where the documents are necessary to our work, and stay for as long… as we must be together to put your writings in systematic shape to go down to posterity” (Ward and Burns 1999, 186). But Stanton, who truly loved and admired her friend, did not want to be “the subject to her every call for help” (Ward and Burns 1999, 186).

Stanton stepped down as president of the NAWSA in 1892. In her farewell speech *The Solitude of Self*, which she considered the best thing she had ever written, she talked about how most time is spent alone with our inner most thoughts and feelings and that all people are responsible for protecting themselves. Because of this, she argued that women should enjoy all the rights and privileges that men were able to enjoy. She spoke of individualism and how individual responsibilities brought dignity. To keep a
person from completing his or her education, she said, was "like putting out eyes;" to deny property rights was "like cutting off the hands." She ended her speech with a final question: "Who, I ask you, can take, dare take on himself the rights, the duties, the responsibilities of another human soul" (Ward and Burns 1999, 197). Susan B. Anthony originally was disappointed in the speech because it focused too much on the general issue of women's equality instead of the right to vote. She later changed her mind calling it "the strongest and most unanswerable argument and appeal ever made by the mortal pen or tongue for the full freedom and franchise of women" (Ward and Burns 1999, 189).

Stanton's radical views eventually alienated her from the suffrage movement. In 1895, Stanton published The Women's Bible. It was supposed to challenge the "religious doctrine that woman was 'an inferior being, subject to man'" (Ward and Burns 1999, 199). In the first chapter, she questioned the biblical origins of man. She believed that the fact that Eve had been created out of the rib of Adam was an idea put into the Bible by a "wily writer" that was designed to create the foundation for a male dominated society. The accusations made in The Women's Bible outraged the clergy and increased suffrage opposition. Anthony, whose religious upbringing taught her The Bible was not literally true, refused to help write the book fearing it would alienate their followers. As it turned out, Anthony's assumptions were correct.

At the convention of the NAWSA, a resolution was proposed to disassociate the organization from Stanton and her ideas. The resolution said "This association is non-sectarian being composed of persons from all shades of religious opinions, and has no official connection with the so-called Women's Bible, or any other theological publication" (Ward and Burns 1999, 203). Despite her opposition to The Women's Bible, Anthony, who was also president, stepped down from her chair to defend her friend. The efforts were not persuasive enough. The delegates voted fifty-three to forty-one in favor of the resolution. Stanton was furious. She wrote, "Much as I desire the suffrage, I would rather never vote than to see the policy of our government at the mercy of the religious bigotry of such women" (Ward and Burns 1999, 204). Stanton expected Anthony to resign her presidency from the organization but in the end Anthony could not give up her seat. "Instead of my resigning and leaving those half-fledged chickens without a mother, I think it my duty, and the duty of yourself and all the liberals to be at the next convention and try to reverse this miserable narrow action" (Ward and Burns 1999, 204).

Meanwhile, Susan B. Anthony was publicly becoming more conservative.
Although she publicly spoke out against lynching in the South she did not want black people to be a part of the movement. Anthony agreed with the younger, more conservative delegates to not allow blacks into the NAWSA. In 1895, she asked Fredrick Douglass not to attend a suffrage convention because she believed he might push away Southern supporters. And in 1899 she voted to have the NAWSA publicly denounce segregation of the railroads.

As Elizabeth Cady Stanton became more and more controversial and received more criticism, she grew envious of the praise her friend was receiving. She also grew increasingly impatient with Anthony’s requests for help. She did not consider herself a person with an endless amount of ideas. Although their friendship was strained they never let their feelings go public. The closest they came to a public disagreement was when they disagreed over their endorsements of who should become president over the NAWSA after Anthony’s retirement. At Anthony’s seventieth birthday, Stanton described their friendship as being one of “hard work and self-denial” and said they were “thorns in the side of each other” (Banner 1980, 171). Despite their conflicts and disagreement, Stanton and Anthony valued their friendship and understood each other’s importance to achieving women’s suffrage.

At the time of Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s death on October 26, 1902, women had not yet achieved the right to vote. Anthony was devastated about the loss of her friend. “I cannot express myself at all as I feel. If I had died first she would have found beautiful phrases to describe our friendship, but I cannot put it into words,” she told a reporter (Ward and Burns 1999, 208). At the Stanton home to attend the funeral, she wrote to a friend that Stanton’s death was “an awful hush; it seems impossible—that the voice is hushed that I longed to hear for fifty years” (Ward and Burn 1999, 208). Stanton had planned her own funeral. She wanted to be buried in her regular clothes and the service to be conducted by a woman. At the head of her casket was the table on which she had written the Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions. On the casket was a framed picture, not of Stanton, but of Anthony—her loyal friend and ally throughout the women’s movement.

Although there was conflict and differences between Stanton and Anthony, they mobilized a generation of women to champion the cause of women’s rights. Stanton perhaps described their friendship best.

If there is one part of my life, which gives me more intense satisfac-
tion than another, it is my friendship of more than forty years standing with Susan B. Anthony... Emerson says, 'It is better to be a thorn in the side of your friend than his echo.' If this adds weight and stability to friendship, then ours will endure forever, for we have indeed been thorns in the side of each other... I have had no peace for forty years, since the day we started together on the suffrage expedition in search of woman's place in the National Constitution. (United States v. Anthony 2002).

Susan B. Anthony died four years after Stanton on March 13, 1906. Ten thousand people came to Rochester to pay their respects at her funeral. She had told a friend a few years earlier that at her funeral she wanted no tears. She wanted people to “pass on, and go on with the work.” (Ward and Burns 1999, 212). It would be fourteen more years until women were granted the right to vote.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were the two most important members of the women's suffrage movement. They disagreed often, but their friendship was strong enough to overcome conflict. Their differences made their friendship unique and their contributions so powerful. As Elizabeth Cady Stanton once wrote, “I am the better writer, she the better critic… and together we have made arguments that have been unshaken by the storms of thirty long years; arguments that no man has answered” (Lerner 1971, 88).

References


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The criminal justice system in the United States is concerned with one purpose—the act of distributing justice. The opinions of citizens differ in regards to the effectiveness of the criminal justice system in its proper distribution of justice. Some may believe that in certain cases justice was served or preserved, while others would believe the contrary. What remains true is that there is an overall idea of justice that the U.S. criminal justice system tries to create and protect. However, there are some instances where the legal system fails to deliver justice—the most obvious and perhaps most con-
troversial is when the victim is a child.

There is a major problem when dealing with cases in which children are victims of sexual assault. The *Los Angeles Times* conducted the largest poll to date regarding child sexual assault and found that 22 percent of Americans (27 percent of women and 16 percent of men) were sexually victimized during childhood. Experts went on to conclude from this report that child sexual abuse is one of the most underreported of all crimes. Fewer than half of the respondents to the *Los Angeles Times* poll told a close friend or relative about their victimization within a year and only about 3 percent reported the incident to some type of legal authority (Dziech and Schudson 1991).

Even when these crimes do get reported, the criminal justice system is ill equipped to handle the problems that arise when children, especially very young children, testify in court. The scope of the problem, when children testify, is deplorable and unforgivable when it becomes obvious that a child’s capacity of right and wrong skews their perception of reality, which causes the child to create falsehoods and fallacies. It is in human’s nature to believe children because of the innocence they represent, but to allow that veil of blind adoration to keep one from the truth would and will continue to deny justice to the deserving. Some years ago the Supreme Court of the United States noted “that it is far worse to convict an innocent man than to let a guilty man go free” (Dziech and Schudson 1991, 75). The U.S. as a nation should strive to keep this fundamental value intact. Though as Judge Charles B. Schudson stated, “Deep down, many of us worry that our legal system is at its very roots unable to grapple with this horror for which it was not designed” (Dziech and Schudson 1991, 74).

Children’s testimony is a difficult issue to handle, especially that of very young children between the ages of three and five. This is due to the fact that many children at this age lack the necessary mental capacities that the legal system requires for a competent witness. There are specific issues and problems where most research on the subject of child testimony lies: memory development, competency, memory capacity, hearsay, as well as a few other special problems to be discussed. When the facts of these issues become clear, it will be easy to see that indeed the legal system is not well enough equipped to handle and allow for children’s testimony.

**Memory Capacity**

A child’s ability to provide accurate information during interviews (i.e. court-
room testimony) depends on the child's capacity to remember. Memories of specific events are reconstructed through complicated cognitive processes that mature with age (Myers 1998). There are only a few ways in which memories can be recalled, and psychologists have discovered that with young children, the recall process is not as developed as it is with older children.

The most frequent type of memory recall is known as “free recall,” whereby a child recalls an event without assistance from external cues or stimuli to trigger memory. With free recall, the child relies on internal memory strategies to recall the recollection (Myers 1998). This is probably the way in which most courtroom testimony is given, using this type of recall, where the lawyer asks an open question like “what happened then?”, giving the witness no clues or hints as to what to say. As reported by psychologists, when young children are asked open-ended questions, which require free recall, they spontaneously recall less information than older children and adults. This leaves the lawyer to have to ask leading questions, whereby the lawyer/interviewer is prompting a certain response to a question that should be considered inadmissible. Another type of recall that court testimony faces is “cued recall,” and the problem it promotes is the same as free recall. Cued recall is the process of recalling a memory by use of a stimulus or “memory jogging.” This method of recall requires the interviewer to ask more specific questions like “Did he have a beard?” or “Was the color of the car blue?” This type of questioning flirts with the act of leading questioning, which is an obvious objection in court (Meyers 1998). Already it seems clear that when children are testifying it begs the court to change the rules, and any judgment that is reached after leading questions have been allowed, is subject to appeal and perhaps an overturned conviction.

Memory Development

It has recently been shown that young children can retain and recall events that occur over twenty-four hours before and some children can remember events for a few weeks or longer after they occur. However, as time passes, there remains a possibility that experiences become inaccessible to recall or are forgotten. There are two reasons why: (1) Immaturity of the neural substrate necessary for retention/remembrance over a long term, and (2) the lack of means, in children, by which early memories can later become available for verbal expression (Cowen 1997). Therefore, children run the risk of forgetting what has happened, and with the length of court proceedings, the legal system may take too long, allowing the child to forget some necessary...
There are other theories that psychologists have developed that have cast doubt on the reliability of children’s memory development. One such theory is known as the Diagetian theory, “which conceptualizes cognitive development as the acquisition of general cognitive competencies” (Cowan 1997, 303). According to this view, children must acquire a general cognitive ability before they can apply it to a specific situation. Based on this, pre-school and even elementary aged children are thought to be incompetent witnesses, because of illogical thinking and insufficient understanding of the moral implications of testimony (Cowan 1997).

Another theory, known as the Neo-Paigetian theory, paints an even more complex picture of children’s eyewitness abilities. According to this theory, children’s cognitive ability can be significantly more advanced in certain “domains” than in others. This theory also dictates that children’s memory performance may depend on the “nature of the to-be-remembered event” and the context of the situation. Therefore, one must infer from this theory that if the “to-be-remembered” event is familiar, meaningful, and significant to the child, then the child may be able to give accurate memory testimony. This applies, however, only if the questions asked are simple and understandable, if the child is not too upset or scared, and if the interviewers are supportive (Cowan 1997). Furthermore, these variables are not guaranteed to be present in the courtroom. If the child is upset, perhaps at the sight of the defendant, or feels uncomfortable being asked questions by strangers, then this theory states that a child may not give accurate testimony.

It is clear that a child may encounter some type of stress from the legal system. Not to mention, in cases of sexual assault especially, the child is most likely already dealing with a terrible amount of stress and trauma. This concept of stress does, in fact, affect children’s eyewitness capabilities, memory, and therefore testimony. There are three theories that explain this concept and provide new problems with children testifying (Cowan 1997).

The first theory is repression, which was originally created by Sigmund Freud as one of several defense mechanisms that serve to protect a person’s ego from unacceptable memories or information. More specifically, Freud states that when a person encounters a trauma, s/he may engage in an automatic, unconscious process of forcing the traumatic information out of conscious awareness, or in other words forgetting it. This means that if the trauma is too stressful, which in sexual abuse cases it certainly may be, the child can not remember it.

The second theory is the disassociation theory, and is very similar to repression theories in asserting that a traumatic childhood event can
become lost to consciousness; only the mechanism differs. Disassociative responses are believed to arise as a coping mechanism for trauma. This view believes that a separate memory can be created for the event, that is not as traumatic, and that new memory is then believed instead (Cowan 1997). It is obvious that the new memory is not completely accurate, and if the child testified to it, the testimony would be invalid.

The third theory is known as “flash bulb” memory and is contrary to the first two, stating that stress actually aids in the detail of memory and retention. The idea behind this theory is that highly charged emotional events form picture like representations in the memory. For example, if a child was sexually assaulted then the theory would suggest that the child’s memory would create images of the event detailing different aspects of the crime—like what color things were and specific details about the assailant. The theory states that not only are significant details remembered quite vividly, but also that the memories are also quite resistant to being forgotten. However, skeptics of this notion, point out that it is often impossible to determine whether a flashbulb memory is accurate or not. Furthermore, not everyone agrees that flashbulb memories are impervious to forgetting (Cowan 1997). Regardless of the debate, in a legal sense, we should assume that there is a strong possibility that children may forget the incident due to reasons described by one of the previously mentioned theories.

Another important pair of psychologists, Ceci and Bruck (1995), discovered another possibility for the phenomenon of children’s lack of memory. Their theory is known as delayed recall; it is created by the fact that it takes many months for sexual abuse cases to reach trial. By this time it becomes difficult for young children to recall memories in their entirety. Sometimes the child will not remember the incident at all, and the more time that is allowed to pass, the more likely it is that the child will forget the incident. According to Ceci and Bruck (1995), perhaps it is likely that children just sometimes forget because of time delay caused by the overworked judicial system.

Putting the theories aside, the remembered events that a child may possess are not without questions of validity themselves. Children are subject to an unintended phenomenon of suggestibility in their memory formation. According to many psychologists, children are suggestible due to the way our memories operate (Gopnik 1999). Ample evidence has shown that in general, young children tend to be less complete in their reports of experienced events and more suggestible than older children and adults (Cowan 1997). As human’s age, we gain a better ability to encode experiences into our memory, and in the case of an older child it is more likely, than in the
case of a young child, that memories will be reliable (McGough 1994). Reliable testimony is the cornerstone of the legal system, it speaks to the validity and overall truthfulness of a case, and without truthfulness justice would certainly be denied.

To help explain why suggestibility exists, psychologists have created the term “misinformation effect.” This misinformation effect refers to the phenomenon that introducing misleading information after the event may reduce subjects’ performance on a test of the original memory (i.e. witness stand). One explanation for the misinformation effect is the memory impairment hypothesis: post event misleading information and original event information either “blends” together in memory, or misleading post event information “over-writes” or replaces the memory for the original event, so that the memory for the original event is irrevocably lost (Cowan 1997, 304).

It becomes clear that the suggestibility of children can be very damaging to the legal system. With so much emphasis being placed on eyewitness testimony, especially that of the victim, in criminal cases there can be no room for error; the testimony must be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Due to the problems that arise during children’s mental development, there are situations where the truth is not always available, to the detriment of the defendant and the legal system as a whole.

**Competency**

Despite the problems that children face when communicating event-memory, the legal system still allows for children to testify; it would be safe to say that the system wants the child to testify. In order to allow for this, the child must be deemed competent, which requires specific guidelines that have been created to justify children’s testimony. Daniel Blinka, a professor of law at Marquette University was quoted as saying, “…procedure should be used rarely, since jurors are readily capable of assessing the veracity of the child witness. The evidence code is in favor of allowing the child to testify. All doubts should be resolved in favor of permitting the child to take the witness stand” (Dziech and Schudson 1991, 135). However virtuous this may sound, the evidence shows that the regulations for deeming a child competent fall short of accounting for all necessary problems.

Determining the competency of child witnesses has not been a universal principle among states, which is apparent when looking at the striking differences in their guidelines, thanks to the decision handed down by the
Supreme Court in *Wheeler v. United States* (159 U.S. 523, 1985) This decision allows for deferment to states. According to the National Institute of Justice, fifteen states dictate that every person is competent, with no specific requirements (Whitcomb 1997). Fourteen states assert that anyone is competent, regardless of age, providing minimum requirements are met. These requirements commonly include capability of expression and an understanding of the duty to tell the truth.

One state merely asserts that age cannot be the sole reason for precluding a child from testifying, much like the decision in *Wheeler v. United States*. Twenty states provide much more specific guidelines for child witnesses. In four states, children are required to demonstrate their competency before they are allowed to testify. Nine states specifically exempt child sexual abuse victims from the competency requirements. Four states essentially waive the need for children to understand the nature of the oath. Obviously, some states question children’s competency much more than others, and rightfully so. Though, the states that have only minimal requirements are sometimes allowing for unfit witnesses to testify.

Overall, there are four dimensions of guidelines that the courts have set forth over the years to measure and “ensure” a child’s competency: “(1) Capacity for truthfulness: a child must understand the difference between truth and fantasy and appreciate the obligation to speak the truth. (2) Mental capacity: the child must have sufficient mental capacity at the time of the occurrence in question to be able to recall ‘truthful’ testimony. (3) Memory: A child must have memory sufficient to retain an independent recollection of the observations. (4) Communication: a child must have the capacity to communicate or translate into words the memory of such observations and understand simple questions about the incident” (Whitcomb 1997, 56).

Each of these dimensions are not only ambiguous in nature, they also do not account or refute any of the problems stated prior. The legal system is trying too hard to allow for testimony from young children by creating these guidelines that require only minimal understanding (if any at all) of the dimensions. The first dimension, truthfulness, requires an administrator (i.e. judge, council) to ask simple questions to the child to ascertain his/her truthfulness. Questions like, “Do you know what it is to tell a lie?” or “If I said that it was Christmas today, would that be a lie or the truth?”.

The findings of a study to test the validity of these questions as to their predictability of children’s truthfulness were not surprising; the researchers found only limited support for the belief that correct answers to questions like these will predict accuracy during memory tests (Whitcomb 1997). This relationship held true for five and six-year-old children but not for younger
With the concept of memory, the courts have designed many different types of tests to ascertain sufficient memory in children. For example, there is the “prong” test, which requires the judge to pose any reasonable question to the child requested by counsel to determine if the child is capable of understanding the facts in question and relating them accurately. This is required in some states such as Idaho, according to the state law (Idaho Code 1985). However, these simple questions can neglect to investigate fully into the validity of the child’s memory itself.

Communication allows for many problems to be introduced. Many states, like Florida, have state laws that aid a child in communication. A Florida state law states that “Children who cannot be reasonably understood or who cannot understand questioning may be aided by an interpreter” (Florida Statutes Annotated 1985, 90.606). An interpreter can be guilty of fallibility (Ceci et al. 2000). Sometimes the use of tools such as anatomically correct dolls is needed, which has created much controversy (Whitcomb 1997). Anatomically correct dolls are scrutinized since the dolls are used as diagnostic tools to determine sexual abuse, the very nature of the dolls are suggestive. The details of the dolls may in many cases cause the child to “play” with the genitalia, which infers sexual touching and abuse, all because the child is curious of the new “toy” (Ceci and Bruck 1995).

It seems clear that the standards required at present are not enough to deem a child competent. Perhaps, in some cases, they may suffice to administer justice by allowing truthful testimony, though certainly not in others. Therefore, stricter guidelines should be created and universally enforced because it is not right to allow for one state to have more lenient rules that would not account for the foresaid problems, while the other states do not account for the problems.

**Hearsay**

It is interesting to note that just because a child cannot testify in court, because s/he is either unavailable or declared incompetent, does not mean that the child’s statements cannot be admitted as evidence. This issue is known as a statutory exception to hearsay, or the admittance of out-of-court statements made by a child/victim. According to the National Institute of Justice, there are only a few narrow exceptions for admitting hearsay statements, and many of them carry with them serious questions of validity. It is clear that sometimes these exceptions can in fact deny justice to a not-guilty defendant.
The first hearsay exception is a “statement made for the purpose of medical diagnosis or treatment” (Whitcomb 1997, 86). According to this exception, statements made relating to bodily feelings or conditions are admissible to prove their truth. There is an underlying assumption that people do not fabricate such information because they believe the effectiveness of treatment will rely largely on the accuracy of the information they provide. This exception has been stretched to accommodate problems that arise in sexual abuse cases of children. In Wisconsin v. Nelson the court permitted a psychologist to testify about a three year-old child’s statements that identified the defendant (138 Wis. 2d 418, 406 NW. 2d 385 [1987]).

This assumed that the child knew that the person she told was going to help her, and if the assumption was wrong then the statements are inadmissible. There were also assumptions as to the intentions of the psychologist; the psychologist would have to prove that obtaining the statements was for the basis of a diagnosis. This appears to be a cheap trick invented by prosecutors to place fact where there may be none, a way of sneaking around the legal system.

Another category of exception is “excited utterances,” which are most applicable to child sexual abuse cases (Whitcomb 1997, 87). This exception has been relaxed by the courts to allow for more exceptions to be made for children, which once again crosses the line of validity, by using assumptions as facts. Many courts have even allowed in, as excited utterances, statements made in response to limited questioning. In Commonwealth v. Fuller, statements made by a child to her mother in response to questions on the way to the doctor’s were found admissible (22 Mass.App. Ct. 152, 491 NE. 2d [1986]). In Iowa v. Mateer, statements made in response to questioning by a police officer were admitted because they were “impulsive”, rather than “reflective” (383 NW. 2d 533 [1986]). And, in Ohio v. Wagner, the court allowed the child’s demonstration with anatomically correct dolls, conducted for an investigator (30 Ohio Ap. 3d 261, 508 NE. 2d 164 [1986]).

Many critics of this exception have argued that cases like those cited above stretch the excited utterances hearsay exception beyond reasonable limits. Unless the courts are willing to be very liberal in applying this exception to children’s out of court statements, there are still many cases in which the exception will not apply (Whitcomb 1997), though, there is one more exception that warrants examination.

This “residual hearsay exception” creates a safety net, giving the cases that are not covered by the first two exceptions a chance to be admissible in court. All the out-of-court statement needs is an “equivalent circumstantial
guarantee of trustworthiness” (Whitcomb 1997, 88). Yet this residual exception has its limitations in child sexual abuse cases. Many states will not even adopt it, because they fear it is too broad and because it lacks specific guidelines, and therefore could be applied inappropriately.

Cases
Over the years there have been many cases in which child witnesses that the court allowed, at least at some stage, have caused problems that tainted the public’s confidence in the legal system to disperse justice. There have been a few celebrated cases over the last few decades that received huge media attention and that serve as proof that children are not perfect. One of the largest in history was the New Jersey v. Michaels (625 A 2d 13 [1994]). In this case Kelly Michaels was accused of sexually abusing children at a preschool facility she had previously worked at (Ceci and Bruck 1995). She was sentenced to forty-seven years in prison after being found guilty of 115 counts of sexual abuse of twenty three-to-five year old children. Michaels served five years in prison before her conviction was overturned in an appellate court, after the children’s testimony was found to be invalid.

Another famous case was North Carolina v. Robert Fulton Kelly, Jr. (456 SE. 2d 861 [1995]). Robert Fulton was sentenced to twelve consecutive life sentences after a jury found him guilty of ninety-nine counts of sexual abuse of children who had attended a daycare center he worked at. In 1995, Fulton was released after the Court of Appeals of North Carolina unanimously overturned the decision for problems with children’s testimony. These cases are scars on our legal system and taint the confidence of the public. It is interesting to note that these cases not only had serious implications toward the defendant, but each was found guilty of a huge number of sexual abuse charges; how can a jury be so easily convinced of such acts? The answer is due to the problems discussed in this paper.

Conclusion
The issue of children as witnesses is a very touchy subject due to the fact that these cases deal with unspeakable crimes. To victimize a child is to hurt the very fabric of the future and is something that must never go unpunished. However, it is necessary for U.S. society to have a strong and dependable legal system, which is fair and just for both sides of a crime. Without this, the legal system will further the victimization of the child, the defendant, and even society as a whole. This is why I must state clearly, again,
that the current legal system is ill equipped to handle the cases in which children are witnesses, and have and will continue to dispense justice in an unfair and unethical manner. It has been proven to have happened before, as we can clearly see in the cases of Michaels and Fulton, one could only guess how many more are still in jail that are innocent, and it must also be clear that a verdict of not-guilty does not necessarily mean innocent.

References


Florida Statutes Annotated, 90.606 (1985).


n 1965, President Sukarno of Indonesia played a volatile game with the lives of his countrymen as the nation’s two major factions—the Communists and the Muslim army—grew increasingly powerful and bargained for his cooperation. Sukarno himself deemed it “the year of living dangerously,” and in 1982 that dangerous situation was brought to the big screen by Australian director Peter Weir. Adapted from a novel, Weir’s film deals not only with the dicey political situation, but more importantly with its human context as well. *The Year of Living Dangerously* follows an Australian journalist, Guy Hamilton and photographer Billy Kwan as they attempt to chronicle Indonesia for the daily news. When the two begin their partnership, Billy tells the reporter, “You worry about the words. I’ll take care of the pictures.” This is what Billy, who is the conscience of the film, undertakes to do through the entire film.
Amidst the flurry of politics, the distraction of rhetoric, and the temptation of elitism, Billy forces Guy and other characters in the film to open their own blinded eyes to the eyes of the poor and struggling around them. He sees the human condition of Indonesia, and true to his word, he takes care of the pictures, relentlessly guiding others to see it as well.

The early scenes of the film are filled with eyes. As Guy Hamilton arrives in the Indonesian city of Jakarta, he is shielded with sunglasses, but in order to pass by security, he must reveal himself. For a tense moment, the camera captures Guy and an Indonesian official staring at each other, eyes locked, one pair an intense blue, the other a resolute brown. In Guy’s eyes is defiance, and in his adversary’s, a latent hostility. Neither man sees the other for what he is. Neither sees beyond the exterior identity—reporter, guard—to any of the complexity of a human being.

The beginning of the film continues to deal with the exteriors of the characters, of the political situation, and of the human situation in Indonesia. Each character is introduced through his or her eyes, with the camera focusing on them for long seconds. Guy first notices Jill Bryant, with whom he will fall in love, when he is staring at her eyes in a photograph Billy has taken. The camera rests often on Billy’s eyes, but his thoughtful dialogue soon gives the impression that he is a character whose eyes are already opened. “I can be your eyes,” he tells Guy. “The unseen is all around us.” Billy introduces the concept of seeing, but still the film eases along with surface concerns.

The political situation is described in Guy’s journalistic words as Billy guides the reporter around to see the key political figures. Sukarno is shown just once or twice in person, but the city is crowded with banners bearing the president’s face. Interestingly, Sukarno always wears sunglasses; in the final scenes of the film, this becomes significant. Early on, Billy does not force Guy to really see what is going on in Indonesia. Guy watches the country with the aloof eye of any journalist; interested chiefly in his story, he can afford the luxury of ignoring human consequences and ramifications.

It becomes more difficult to confine the human condition to a surface issue. Billy takes Guy on a walking tour of Jakarta’s slums after nightfall, and Guy is confronted with the poverty of the city. Starving children, bodies emaciated and deformed, throng the streets. For the first time, Guy has the chance to see the eyes of the poor—eyes he will later describe as “hollow, lifeless…dull, listless, imploring.” But that first night in the slums, Guy cannot yet see the poverty behind the eyes, their struggles and pains. He maintains his journalistic distance. He might as well still have his sunglasses on.

As the film progresses, Billy gains ground in making Guy truly see the
world around them. When describing the Indonesian shadow play to his friend, Billy tells him to “watch their shadows, not the puppets.” If in the first part of the film Guy was distracted by the puppets—the official pronouncements of the government, the comfortable hierarchy of position which separated him from the people of Jakarta, the ambitious focus on self that allowed him to treat others as strangers—he now begins to pay attention to the shadows—the subtle interplay of human relationships, the ethical considerations behind everyday actions. His neat world begins to get complicated, and he cannot fail to see it.

One complication is personal. Guy falls in love with Jill, and this real emotion forces him to see the woman she is, rather than just the beautiful image she projects. He must move beyond staring at Jill’s eyes to understanding her. At this point, Guy must deal with conflict. An employee of the British embassy, Jill is about to leave Jakarta and everyone in it, but in spite of this, Guy charges ahead and forges their relationship. Instead of being able to revel in the pleasures of new-found love, he must accept the consequences of Jill’s impending departure, and then decide how to react to it. He falls back on his self-centered ambition, telling her to stay because he will not go. Although he has been able to see that he loves her, he cannot see the significance of that bond, nor can he see any need for personal sacrifice.

In the political situation, Guy evolves similarly. Billy has taught him to see the situation, with Sukarno poised precariously in the middle while the PKI (Communist Party) and the Muslim generals scheme and prepare for a fight. But Guy persists in seeing politics in the context of a news story rather than the context of life. When Jill mentions a potentially important political development, which is as yet unknown to the public, Guy ignores her wishes, her safety, and his own safety, and begins a relentless search for a big scoop. Blind to the character of his assistants, Guy takes along one of them, whom he does not realize is a Communist, as he attempts to uncover a Communist plot. When he finally realizes the identity of his assistant, the man admits that he is a highly-placed member of the PKI and warns Guy off the story, saying the PKI has a list of people to kill. “You are on it,” he tells Guy. Still, the ambitions of a reporter are paramount, and Guy again charges recklessly forward, failing to see the implications his actions will have for himself or anyone else.

The human situation becomes less remote for Guy when he realizes Billy’s personal connection to it. The walls of Billy’s home bear pictures of an impoverished Indonesian woman and her deathly ill son. Billy, moved by the horrible situation all around him because his eyes are constantly open to it, has adopted the woman and her child and attempted to tackle the problem
of poverty by helping these people. Here again, Billy comes up against the struggle of blinded eyes. “I cannot make her see,” he says, “that the water she uses is contaminated.” Eventually, it causes the death of her son. While Billy is immersed in the pain of loss, Guy manages to keep up a shield. He sees the loss and the pain, but unlike Billy he cannot see his way to any attempted solution. He only sees continued, monotonous tragedy that has become so ordinary it is not even news. Guy continues to seek out his big story, turning away from the tragedy all around him.

It is Billy’s ultimate sacrificial act that makes Guy finally see the need for reprioritization and action. After the death of the boy, as the film is running to its close, Billy stares at a banner of Sukarno, whom he once thought was a great man. Billy realizes that Sukarno, in his sunglasses, has blinded his own eyes to the agonies of his people. He has chosen to overlook them rather than to see them, to ignore their problems rather than to try to solve them. At this moment, Billy sees the pointlessness of his support for Sukarno and, moreover, sees the need to make an important sacrifice, an example of love and principle that the people in Jakarta will not be able to ignore.

In one dramatic, final gesture of conscience in action, Billy makes his way to the seventh floor of a major hotel. He hangs a banner from the window that implores: “Sukarno, feed your people.” Billy’s demand is seen by the people below as well as by the brutal police. The tension mounts as they knock down his door, and Billy looks them in the eyes as the force of their bullets in his body sends him sprawling backwards, screaming, out the window and crashing to the pavement below. In death, Billy smiles. He has seen his way to the end. Guy is left behind to ponder his betrayal of Billy—Billy who confronted him and said, “I made you see things”—and Guy realizes he misunderstood these things, took them for less than they were, and hustled forward with nothing but a story in his sight. Finally, Guy understands the horrible futility of his blindness. As Billy dies in his arms, Guy mourns the loss of his friend, noting the irony that Sukarno did not even see the banner. At this point, Guy begins to admit to himself that he, too, has been as blind as Sukarno.

Guy’s vision becomes complete, in another twist of irony, only after he is accosted by an army officer and bashed in the face with the butt of a gun. The doctor warns him that if he moves, he may well lose his vision because of the injuries to his eyes. But finally Guy has been able to see what Billy saw all along—not the physical world, not the puppets, but the significant things in life, the shadows—and he knows he must get to the airport or lose Jill forever. With the nation in turmoil and his own safety in jeopardy, Guy is at last able to see beyond the fleeting importance of a good story. He now sees
the importance of people—of Billy, whom he has lost, and of Jill, whom he might still win. Disregarding the possible dangers, Guy makes his way to the airport. In one final scene, which proves that he has seen beyond his own ambitions, he surrenders his reporting equipment to the Indonesian officials so that he can reach Jill in time.

*The Year of Living Dangerously* is, fundamentally, a story of people finding meaning. As it begins, Billy Kwan is struggling to envision the solution to the problems he sees in Jakarta. Over and over again he asks himself, “What then must we do?” Billy’s vision requires nothing less than the ultimate sacrifice, his life for the people and the principles he loves. For Guy Hamilton, who comes into the film blinded by his professional ambitions, the struggle is to see beyond himself to the significance of the world and people around him. Unlike Billy, his struggle is to envision leading a life of real human concerns and rewards rather than to envision an ending to a noble life and a noble struggle. Billy’s perseverance in taking care of the pictures—confronting Guy with human sights—leads Guy through this redefining process. Throughout the film, the emphasis on eyes and seeing reveals both their struggles, even amidst the backdrop of enduring chaos that was Indonesia in 1965.
What for Eichmann was a job, with its daily routine, its ups and downs, was for the Jews quite literally the end of the world (153).

The purpose of Hannah Arendt’s book, Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil, is to focus on the trial of Adolph Eichmann in Jerusalem in 1961 and, specifically, the crimes he is charged with, his deeds under Hitler’s regime, and the extent to which justice is served by the trial. Arendt’s account of the proceedings appears to be more complex than a simple focus on the trial would seem to imply. What Arendt reveals in her book is both a complicated defendant whose character and motives must be studied in an attempt to understand human behavior, especially obedience and deference to authority, and also the interesting nature of the trial that were the grounds for bringing Eichmann to justice.

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Arendt’s discussion of the trial of Adolph Eichmann is rather difficult to grasp because she is dealing with a very complex subject matter. Not only is Arendt attempting to provide the reader with a background on the defendant standing trial, she is also attempting to reveal the intricacies associated with bringing Eichmann to trial, holding the trial in Jerusalem, and trying him on the charges of which he is accused. Arendt begins her story of the trial proceedings discussing the grounds on which Eichmann was charged and the potential controversies surrounding the issue of justice. On trial were Eichmann’s deeds when he served as a member of the Nazi bureaucracy and was responsible for the forced emigration of Jews and transporting countless Jews to their deaths in concentration camps.

Very early in her book, Arendt proposes the possibility that the prosecution is focusing its case not just on Eichmann’s actual deeds, but on the suffering of millions of Jews during the 1930s and 1940s. The prosecution seemed to be following the tone of Israeli Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, who wanted the Eichmann trial to be more than just a trial concerning one individual’s deeds; he wanted Eichmann to serve as an historic reminder of the anti-Semitism that has permeated history. Indeed, the rhetoric of the prosecutors made it seem that perhaps Arendt is correct, and the prosecutors, like
Ben-Gurion, “did not care what verdict is delivered against Eichmann” as long as stories of suffering were told and victims had their day in court (20). In Arendt’s opinion, however, in order for the trial to be legitimate and justice to be served, the case against Eichmann had to be focused on his deeds. On a broader scale, there were objections surrounding the Eichmann trial that went beyond the goal of the trial which was to “weigh the charges brought against the accused, to render judgment, and to mete out punishment” (253). Also at issue, was trying Eichmann under a retroactive law, recognizing or ignoring the act of kidnapping that took place to bring Eichmann to Jerusalem, and trying Eichmann under the idea of crimes committed against Jewish people versus crimes committed against humanity.

While Arendt addresses these issues associated with the objections and controversies surrounding the Eichmann trial, the majority of her book focuses on Adolph Eichmann himself and his duties as a Nazi bureaucrat. Arendt offers a complete portrait of Eichmann’s personal life and professional duties as a member of the Nazi bureaucracy to show that he was a rational man who did not hate Jews and did not necessarily have strong loyalty to the Nazi party itself. Arendt also discusses Eichmann’s educational and occupational background to indicate that Eichmann was a rather thoughtless bureaucrat who would sooner follow orders than deviate from authority. Arendt’s succinct discussion of Eichmann’s personality, educational, occupational background, and duties as a bureaucrat, presents him as a man who does not think on his own, nor recognize the consequences of his actions. As such, this portrait of Eichmann serves as an interesting, not to mention disturbing, study on human behavior and the apparent inherent need to be obedient and defer to authority.

Arendt offers several different insights into Eichmann’s character to reveal his motivations and to support Eichmann’s own contention that he was not anti-Semitic. For example, observations by psychologists found him to be a normal man, free of “insane hatred of Jews, of fanatical anti-Semitism or indoctrination of any kind. He personally never had anything whatever against Jews; he had plenty of ‘private reasons’ for not being a Jew hater” (26). In another example, Arendt explains that one of Eichmann’s first endeavors within the Nazi bureaucracy required him to read a classic book on Zionism, “which converted Eichmann promptly and forever to Zionism” (40). Thus, when Eichmann was sent to Vienna in 1938 to organize the forced emigration of Jews out of Austria, any support he held for the program could arguably be based on his support of Zionism and the relocation of Jews to a land of their own, rather than a personal hatred of Jews. He favored the solution to the Jewish question to be the provision of firm
soil under their feet. And in still another example, Arendt notes that when Eichmann was informed in August, 1941 that the “Final Solution” was a plan for the extermination of Jews, he is reported to have said that he had never thought of such a solution, and that its implementation would take the joy, initiative, and interest out of his work (31). Clearly, such a drastic solution to the Jewish question seemed disturbing to Eichmann. This seems to indicate that he did not hate Jews and was not motivated through his work to destroy them because of hatred.

Arendt offers additional examples about Eichmann’s experiences within the Nazi bureaucracy to reveal he did not hate Jews. For instance, Eichmann was sent to inspect the concentration camps that were to serve as killing centers. He observed the operations of a mobile killing unit that dumped corpses into open-air ditches. Eichmann found these activities and sights to be upsetting, and told his superiors he was not “tough enough” to handle seeing such atrocities, even through Arendt writes that in actuality, “Eichmann did not see much” (89).

In order to support a complex point, Arendt seems to feel that it is important to illustrate that it was not hatred of Jews that kept Eichmann working at his job. If Eichmann had been driven by Anti-Semitism, the role he played in sending so many Jews to their deaths over so many years, would make more sense. What is less understandable, and, thus even more disturbing, is that despite his apparent lack of anti-Semitism, and regardless of his alleged disturbance at the thought of the Final Solution, he still continued to perform the tasks that resulted in the death of millions of Jews.

Another insight Arendt reveals that adds to the puzzle of Eichmann’s actions and motivations, is that he did not originally have strong party loyalty toward the National Socialist Party, even though he eventually joined the ranks of the S.S. and served a 13-plus career under Hitler’s regime. Indeed, Eichmann entered the S.S. in 1932 at the suggestion of a friend. His reasons for joining the organization were certainly not based on loyalty to or even much knowledge about, the Nazi party. Eichmann did not know the party program nor had he read Mein Kampf. Rather, he saw joining the party as a chance to leave a job he detested, as a traveling vacuum salesman, and embark on a career as a bureaucrat.

After serving in the S.S. in Germany, in 1934, Eichmann applied to work for the S.D., the Intelligence Service operated by Himmler. Arendt tells us that he applied for the S.D. because he was bored with the day-to-day routines of the S.S. Eichmann, “seems to have known nothing . . . of the nature of the S.D. when he entered it because the operations of the S.D. had always been top secret” (36). Thus, getting involved with the S.D. for its intelligence
and spying functions was not part of Eichmann’s intentions; he was just looking for something else to do. The fact that Eichmann had no party loyalty that led him to join (and perhaps) continue service with the Nazi party, is another complex issue in understanding why he continued at a job that led to the death of so many Jews.

In addition to portraying Eichmann as neither anti-Semitic nor as a Nazi party loyalist, Arendt reveals that Eichmann considered himself nothing more than a law-abiding citizen who followed the orders assigned to him by his superiors in the hierarchy of the Nazi bureaucracy. Arendt clearly wants to stress that Eichmann’s motivations as a bureaucrat were to complete his tasks. In doing so, he slowly advanced his career within the bureaucracy and realized some professional success. In working on “the Jewish question,” Eichmann discovered that “there were two things he could do well, better than others: he could organize and he could negotiate” (45). Having strengths in these two areas helped him to be efficient when it came to the task of relocating Jews. For instance, his task to relocate Jews from Vienna in 1938 resulted in the forced emigration of 45,000 Jews over an eight-month period. Under Eichmann’s supervision, “in less than eighteen months, Austria was cleansed of close to a hundred and fifty thousand people, roughly sixty percent of the Jewish population” (44). Eichmann was not responsible for the plan to force Jews out of their countries of residence; however, he was responsible for carrying out the orders of forced emigration. Eichmann was effective and efficient at his tasks because they were tasks he could do well, and tasks that he was ordered to do.

The forced emigration of Jews, as mentioned above, were what Eichmann considered his duties within the bureaucracy. Furthermore, in carrying out his duties, he was not just following the orders handed down to him by his superiors, he was obeying the law, because the orders of the Fuhrer were equivalent to law.

Although the above descriptions of Eichmann’s actions and motivations are a significant part of Arendt’s book, her project also brings up questions about the actual case against Eichmann. She notes that there is some question about the fact that Eichmann was brought to trial in Jerusalem, that he was charged with committing crimes against the Jewish people, and that he was hanged as a result of his deeds. The judgment in the Eichmann case was that he had committed crimes against Jews with the intent to destroy people, based on four counts. Arendt questions, though, why he was charged with crimes against Jewish people, and not also crimes against humanity. She questions whether justice would have been better served had Eichmann been charged with and found guilty of crimes against humanity by an inter-
national tribunal. Additionally, the basis on which Eichmann was kidnapped and brought to the land of the victims to be tried offers another controversy to the case because such actions were unprecedented. Regardless of these controversies surrounding the case, Arendt makes clear that her task, as stated earlier, is to cover the trial of Adolph Eichmann in order to determine if justice was fulfilled. Even though the court “was confronted with a crime it could not find in the lawbooks and with a criminal whose like was unknown in any court, at least prior to the Nuremberg Trials,” her story of Eichmann and the trial supports that justice was indeed served to a defendant who was found guilty on the basis for which he was tried (298).

While Arendt said her task in this book was to report on the Eichmann trial, the end result of the book is a very important case study on human behavior, specifically obedience and deference to authority, and the impact such behavior can have on organizations in general. As was presented previously in this review, Eichmann did not seem to be a man whose motivations to carry out the orders of his superiors were due to a severe hatred of Jews or a complete adherence to the National Socialist party ideology. Instead, Eichmann’s motivations appear to be selfishness: performing the tasks assigned to him as a member of the Nazi bureaucracy were the only things in his life it appeared he could do well, and as such, he was eager to proceed with those tasks. Saying that he was selfish and enjoyed his work, however, is not enough to explain Eichmann’s actions and why he was charged as one of many persons responsible for the murder of millions of Jews. Eichmann was one of many bureaucrats responsible for the death of Jews because he carried out orders from his superiors that he clearly knew would lead to their deaths. It seems that whether or not he knew there would be a “Final Solution” or how many dead bodies he actually saw is irrelevant because he did know that the orders he gave for transportation of Jews to killing facilities would lead them to death.

If Eichmann knew following orders would be so destructive to so many people, then why did he obey? This question can attempt to be answered by looking at human motivations and ideas relating to organization theory. Regarding human motivations, Stanley Milgram found that when put in a situation of subordination where there is a clear authority figure giving orders, even if those orders might be to inflict harm or pain on another person, the subordinate person tends to follow the direction and orders of the authority figure. The reasons Milgram gives for such deference to authority are several: people follow the narrow task assigned to them and do not consider its overall consequences, and people give up their sense of responsibility for their own actions to the person giving orders. Following the orders of the
narrow tasks and eliminating a sense of personal responsibility, could arguably apply to Eichmann’s situation in carrying out the orders of his superiors that lead to the death of millions of Jews. Understanding this concept of human behavior in no way justifies Eichmann’s actions, but it does serve as a means to explain why a person might comply with orders that result in such horrific acts.

While human behavior in deference to authority is perhaps one way to analyze Eichmann’s actions, another means is through the structure of bureaucracy and certain tenets upon which classic organization theory is based, such as specialization of tasks and division of labor. Analyzing Eichmann’s actions in such a manner actually points to some of the negative effects bureaucracy, division of labor, specialization of tasks and efficiency can have, as they did in the case of the systematic, administrative massacre of millions of people.

According to Max Weber, the ideal-type bureaucracy operates within a system of rational authority because such a system is based on rules and law, such as those found in a constitution. The bureaucracy in which Eichmann operated was clearly a system of rational authority; it was the bureaucracy of the German government, of which the Nazi party was in power. This bureaucracy contained elements of what Weber’s “ideal-type bureaucracy,” by which he meant an organization that is ordered by rules, has a strict system of hierarchy and authority, is managed through written documents, and selects qualified workers. Weber believed that an organization ordered in this way would be tremendously efficient. However, he also cautioned that the very same principles of organization that would produce such efficiency, could also produce some very negative behaviors. As already noted, Milgram found in his studies of human behavior that division of labor allows people to ignore responsibility for their own actions. The system of bureaucracy under the Nazi regime was based on a system of specialized tasks and divided labor. Arendt’s description of Eichmann’s position in the bureaucracy points to this division of labor: “Eichmann’s position was that of the most important conveyor belt in the whole operation, because it was always up to him and his men how many Jews could or should be transported from a given area, and it was through his office that the ultimate destination of the shipment was cleared” (153). While division of labor meant that Eichmann was responsible for the shipping of Jews, and not the actual killing of them, he must still be held accountable for his actions because they did, in the end, contribute to the deaths of a multitude of people. As Arendt puts it: “the extent to which any one of the many criminals was close to or remote from the actual killer of the victim means nothing, as far as the measure of his responsibility is
concerned. The degree of responsibility increases as we draw further away from the man who uses the fatal instrument with his own hands” (247).

This discussion of division of labor, combined with ideas of bureaucracy and specialization of tasks, shows the dangers associated with an efficient bureaucracy. It also shows how, in the case of administrative actions that resulted in the massacre of millions, individual behavior that makes up only one small piece of the organization actually holds a lot greater responsibility for the organization’s overall actions than might usually be thought.

I am of the opinion that the ideas presented in Arendt’s book are very difficult to grasp because she portrays such a complex character who does not hate, but has no conscience, and simply performs his job based on the orders he is given. Trying to understand Eichmann through studying his behavior and recognizing that he is like so many people who defer to authority and follow orders of superiors in no way excuses his behavior, nor does it serve as a way to justify what he did. Rather, it serves as a call to all persons to recognize how dangerous it can actually be to follow orders without thinking, and thus charges them to be aware of their own actions and, most importantly, the responsibility they must take for their actions. Arendt’s book is a mandatory read for students of organization theory because it points to some of the negative aspects associated with bureaucracy and tenets of organization theory. It is also a mandatory read for all persons to learn about the destruction we can inflict on one another in order to see that it never happens again.

References


Book Review:  
Christopher Browning’s *Ordinary Men*  
*By Meredith Reynolds*
Throughout the Holocaust there were select groups within the German military that were involved in the mass murder of the Jewish population in Europe. The Einsatzgruppen were waves of ordinary police troops that descended from Germany to vacate and liquidate Jews in order to achieve *judenfrei*, a Europe free of Jews (183). Christopher Browning’s book *Ordinary Men* examines one of these ordinary police troops, Police Battalion 101, and explores how the men of Battalion 101 became systematic murders of thousands of Poland’s Jews during the Holocaust.

There are a lot of reasons that are cited as to why the Holocaust took place. Certain circumstances like economic shortfall and the rise of a charismatic dictator are considered important to the history of German involvement in their goal of establishing a racially pure Germany. However, these two circumstances do not go far enough to explain how ordinary men could be turned into brutally effective killing machines that assisted with the “final solution” to the “Jewish question.” Christopher Browning argues that in order to understand how and why ordinary men can transform into murderers, one has to consider a collection of factors. These factors, when appearing together in the right situation, could lead any “ordinary” person to act in ways that would cause great harm to others.

According to Browning, the men of Police Battalion 101 were just that—ordinary. They were five hundred middle-aged, working-class men of German descent. A majority of these men were neither Nazi party members nor members of the S.S. They were also from Hamburg, which was a town that was one of the least occupied Nazi areas of Germany and, thus, were not as exposed to the Nazi regime. These men were not self-selected to be part of the order police, nor were they specially selected because of violent characteristics. These men were plucked from their normal lives and put into squads and given the mission to kill Jews because they were the only people available for the task. Surprisingly, these ordinary men proved to be completely capable of killing tens of thousands of people. In fact, their capacity to murder was so great, they overwhelmingly surpassed the expectations of even the Nazi leaders.

In showing how ordinary men can become killers under certain circumstances, Browning describes a variety of factors attributed to Police Battalion 101’s willingness to participate in the mass murder of Jews. Browning first recognizes that, “War, and especially race war, leads to brutalization, which leads to atrocity” (160). The men of Police Battalion 101 were ordered to exterminate the Jews of Poland, which led to the brutality perpetrated by these men. Once the killing began however, the men became increasingly brutal, and after the horrors of the initial encounter became routine, the kill-
ing became easier. Browning points out that although war may lead to brutality, one should not accept this as the only factor as to why ordinary men commit mass murder.

Another atrocity in the brutal context of war is the “atrocity by policy.” Men in the government methodically executed the systematic extermination of the Jews. The orders were strategic, down to pairing off an order policeman and a Jew, with the Jew being shot with the rifle’s bayonets resting on the backbone above the shoulder blades to ensure their immediate death. This systemization led the men in Police Battalion 101 to become increasingly brutal in their tactics, because it made the killing easier. In short, war is the most conducive environment in which government can adopt “atrocity by policy” and get away with it.

Moreover, the men of Police Battalion 101 were doing their duty and obeying authority without a conscious thought of what was right or wrong, which Stanley Milgram (1969) detailed extensively in his book, *Obedience to Authority*. It was evident that the ordinary policemen had reached an “agentic state,” which is defined by Milgram as the condition a person is in when they are carrying out someone else’s wishes, especially when the orders that are given are contrary to one’s own beliefs. The agentic state can occur when one refuses to think critically for one’s self. The absence of conscious thought and the presence of a legitimate authority lead to obedience, while the acceptance of authority disconnects a person from morality. The men of Police Battalion 101 had obviously not exercised critical thinking when the orders to eradicate a specific group of people were handed down to them. Most of the men rationalized their behavior by thinking that they were just following orders from the Nazi authority. Once the policemen started shooting Jews, killing became so repetitive, and the men became so desensitized that they behaved systematically.

The hierarchical structure of the order police also influenced obedience because these hierarchies have a strict system of authority in which one is taught the order of command in relation to how the system works. For the ordinary policemen, people like Major Trapp, Captain Wohlauf, and Lieutenant Gnade represented legitimate authority figures, and it was the job of Police Battalion 101 to obey their direction because of the hierarchy of the Nazi regime. Max Weber (1922) studied bureaucracy and he believed it existed to complete large and complicated tasks. However, Weber saw the evil inherent in the bureaucratic structure; he recognized that this structure could foster mindless bureaucrats who would do anything they were told. The Nazi order police encountered the “mindless bureaucrat” in officials like Eichmann (see Arendt 1994) who was merely doing his job without critically
thinking about the repercussions of his actions. These mindless bureaucrats were merely relaying orders to the order police who had become “agentic” and “mindless” themselves.

In the book, the story of the atrocities are underscored by the Jozefow massacre, where the policemen marched Jews into the forest, had them lie down and shot them point-blank in the back of the neck. During the descent on Lomazy, a group of Jews were rounded up and sent into the forest to dig a mass grave. After the digging had ceased, the rest of the captured Jews were led to the mass grave where their clothes were stripped and their belongings taken from them. It was then, when they were naked and possessionless that the Jews were herded into the grave while officers took shots from all sides. The shootings in late September in Serokomla were also done directly by Battalion 101. Over time, the routine went from mass shootings, which were inefficient, to the deportation of Jews to gas chambers. The gas chambers were the most efficient, because hundreds of Jews could be poisoned with deadly gas at one time and then be fed into the crematoria, where the evidence of the atrocity could be burned away. Even the deportation of the Jews to the gas chambers was an example of efficiency. For example, 120 to 140 Jews were packed in a single train car.

This systematic pattern continues as the book progresses. Each time Battalion 101 has the assignment of resettlement, the process by which they operate becomes a little more organized and refined. The division of labor among the men becomes more fine-tuned, and the specialization of tasks becomes more efficient. The men have experience shooting so many Jews that they become experts in the killing as indirect and removed as possible, while still remaining efficient. Men are at first in close proximity to their victim, with immediate interaction, but after they become specialized, the men realize that if they just shoot them into mass graves, the Jews become faceless and the men are not as intimately involved with their victims. This allows the men of Battalion 101 to be more efficient killers because the more removed a man was from the killing, the more methodical that man can become when committing murder. The less a man was directly involved with the killing of Jews, the faster the Jews could be killed, therefore killing a larger quantity of Jews overall. In the case of the Holocaust, Police Battalion 101 truly became experts in slaughtering Jews.

Another factor, as pointed out by Browning, that motivated the men in Police Battalion 101, was conformity of the group. First, Stanley Milgram (1969) points out that legitimate authority influences obedience and under group circumstances, the members obey more as a group than as individuals. This can lead to the most serious type of peer and psychological pressure
and ultimate conformity within a group. Second, Irving Janis (1982) points out that when in a group, the members may exhibit “groupthink,” which occurs when a group makes a bad decision because the group does not assess the decision critically as well as other alternatives. Browning states that the pressure for conformity was so strong that the basic identification of men in uniform with their comrades and the strong urge not to separate themselves from the group prevented policemen from refusing orders. A driver assigned to take Jews into the forest made only one trip before he asked to be relieved, and the man who took over the truck disdainfully commented that “presumably his nerves were not strong enough” (63). Men in Police Battalion 101 did not want to appear too weak or cowardly and they certainly did not want to be an outsider, so they did not dare lose face in front of their comrades.

Overall, Browning exemplifies how truly ordinary the policemen in Battalion 101 were. Moreover, the book leaves the reader to place him or herself in much the same situation. The book has a resounding negative and ghastly tone, which is continued throughout its entirety. To effectively relay this tone, Browning continuously reiterates the concept of systematic, calculated murder of the Jews in Poland with example after example, town after town, and Jew after Jew. This style sets the reader up to experience a similar feeling of repetition, and by the end of the book, the reader is desensitized just as the ordinary men have become, but on a less severe scale.

I believe that Browning is suggesting in his book *Ordinary Men* that factors like war and group conformity fostered high levels of obedience to authority, which led to the mass murder of thousands of Jews. Browning also suggests that mass murder of the Jews by the Nazis during World War II was not a once in a lifetime event or situation, and this is why the Holocaust is so dangerous and why the lessons taught by the Holocaust are so important. If the Nazis can create a system of genocide that is so calculated and systematic through the use of killing squads made up of ordinary men, then what is to stop this kind of system from ever occurring again? This concept of the obedience of an entire group of ordinary people without any consideration of morality and without thinking critically is dangerous. If the Holocaust was so easy to execute, this means that millions of ordinary people are capable of murder, even today. Moreover, Browning shows how people are capable of influencing and condoning a group’s action, even if it is as extreme as killing another human being because it is socially accepted to follow the hierarchical structure of an organization.

One thing that I found astonishing about the book was the way in which men in Police Battalion 101 were told that they could be reassigned
if they did not wish to take part in the mass shootings. I was previously under the impression that under the Nazi regime fear was one of the main factors in why so many men took part in the extermination of Jews. It was my belief, implicitly touched upon by secondary school teachers over the years, that the Nazi’s rise to power and manipulation of the German population was the way the Third Reich enlisted the help of an entire population in eradicating another. This book depicted an extremely different situation. Major Trapp was documented quite a few times as regretting his duty as an officer to deliver the orders to commit mass murder. He, along with many other order police leaders routinely excused those men who did not want to partake in the killings for whatever reason. Very few times were the leaders documented as being strict or heartless when it came to allowing their men to be reassigned.

In conclusion, I believe that this book was very informative and compelling because it engulfed the reader in the blatant and mindless actions of Police Battalion 101, and it showed a believable depiction of the atrocities of genocide throughout the Holocaust. The book revealed truths that were previously unknown to me, such as these policemen were given many opportunities to get out of killing Jews. However, many did not take the opportunity to walk away and instead committed themselves to becoming specialized experts in the “resettlement” of Jews. Finally, and most important, the book exhibited the “banality of evil” (Arendt 1994) in which normal everyday people can act in evil ways. Realistically, any ordinary person has the capability to become a calculated and systematic murderer.

References


Legal Brief:
531 U.S 98 (2000)

By Jessica Zeidman

Abstract: This legal brief is on the case of Bush v. Gore (531 U.S. 98 [2000]). It includes the facts of the case and the reasoning of the justices who submitted opinions. All opinions and information came directly from the text of the case. The writer provides no additional analysis or personal opinions. The case is 36 pages long and has been summarized to bring the most important facts of the case to this brief. It is available online at: http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/00-949.ZD3.html.

Facts of the Case

On November 8, 2000, the day after the presidential election, the Florida Division of Elections reported that Governor George W. Bush had received 2,909,135 votes and Vice President Albert Gore Jr. received 2,907,351 votes for president, with a margin of 1,784 in favor of Bush. Since Bush’s margin was less than one-half of one percent of votes cast, an automatic recount was conducted under Florida Statute 102.141 of the election code. The results of this recount gave Bush a narrow lead. Gore sought manual recounts in four Florida counties, pursuant to Florida’s election protest provisions of Florida Statute 102.166. A dispute then arose over the deadline for local counties to submit their election results to Secretary of State Kathleen Harris. She refused to waive the November 14 deadline. On November 26, 2000, the Florida Election Canvassing Commission certified the results of the election and declared Bush the winner of Florida’s 25 electoral votes, giving him the Presidency (Bush v. Gore, 531 U.S. 98 [2000]).

The following facts leading to this case are detailed in Bush v. Palm Beach County Canvassing Board (531 U.S. 70 [2000]). On November 27, Gore filed a complaint in Leon County Circuit Court contesting the certification. He sought relief based on Florida Statute 102.168, which provides that “receipt of a number of illegal votes or rejection of a number of legal votes sufficient to change or place in doubt the result of the election” is grounds for contest. The circuit court denied relief, stating Gore failed to meet his burden of proof. He appealed to the First District Court of Appeals, which
sent the matter to the Florida Supreme Court.

The Florida Supreme Court granted judicial review and affirmed in part and reversed in part the case of Gore v. Harris (772 S. 2d 1243 [2000]). On December 8, 2000, the Supreme Court of Florida held that Gore satisfied his burden of proof under Florida Statutes 102.165 and 102.168 with respect to his electoral challenge, and that Miami-Dade County failed to tabulate by hand 9,000 ballots on which the machines had failed to detect a vote for president (under-votes). However, they rejected Gore's challenge that 3,300 ballots in other counties were not “legal votes.” The Florida Supreme Court also stipulated that the circuit courts could order counties to conduct manual recounts for all under-votes. These are ballots that did not clearly indicate a vote for president on the counting machine employed at various precincts. The court further stipulated that a “legal vote” is “one in which there is a clear indication of the intent of the voter” (Gore v. Harris, 772 So. 2d 1273 [2000]). The recounting of all 9,000 under-votes was to begin immediately in Miami-Dade County. On December 9, 2000, Bush and his vice-presidential candidate, Richard Cheney, filed an emergency application for a stay on the mandated recounts with the United States Supreme Court. On December 9, the Court granted certiorari and issued a stay of the recounting. On December 11, the U.S Supreme Court heard oral arguments and issued their decision the following day.

**Constitutional Issues**

1. Whether the Florida Supreme Court established new standards for resolving presidential election contests, thereby violating Article 2 section 1 clause 2 of the United States Constitution and failing to comply with 3 U.S.C. 5.
2. Whether the use of standardless manual recounts violates the equal protection clause and due process clause of the Constitution.

**Decision**

1. The Court found that the Florida legislature intended to “participate fully in the federal election process,” as provided in 3 U.S.C. 5, which requires that any controversy or contest that is designed to lead to a conclusive selection of electors be completed by December 12, the “safe-harbor” deadline. Therefore, since there were no consistent recount procedures in place, the judgment of the Florida Supreme Court is reversed. Since it is unconstitutional for the recounts to pro-
ceed without violating 3 U.S.C. 5 and the will of the Florida legislature, the certification of votes on November 26 is consistent with this opinion.

2. With regards to the equal protection clause, the per curiam opinion held 7-2 that the Florida Supreme Court adopted recount procedures that placed “arbitrary and disparate treatment on members of its electorate,” which is in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and Harper v. Virginia Board of Election (383 U.S. 663, 665 [1966]).

Reasoning—per curiam decision by Justice Kennedy, joined by Chief Justice Rehnquist, Justice’s Scalia, Thomas, and O’Connor.

This per curiam decision is limited to the present case and does not create any broad precedent. Therefore, the following only applies to Bush v. Gore (531 U.S. 98, [2000]).

Once the franchise is granted to the electorate, the state may not, by arbitrary and disparate treatment, value one person’s vote over that of another (Harper v. Virginia Board of Election, 383 U.S. 663, 665 [1966]). When the Florida Supreme Court ordered the recounting to begin, it thus mandated that varying counties use inconsistent counting standards that “do not satisfy the minimum requirement for non-arbitrary treatment of voters necessary to secure the fundamental right.” The search for the intent of the voter can only be confined by specific rules and procedures that are designed to ensure uniform treatment of votes. The Florida Supreme Court gave no assurance of how and which votes would be counted or who would conduct the recounting of ballots. Justice Kennedy further states that, “The county canvassing boards were forced to pull together ad hoc teams comprised of judges from various circuits who had no previous training in handling and interpreting ballots.”

This Court assessed the recounting being performed was unconstitutional, and stayed the recounting so it could hear arguments. The Court concluded that the recounts being performed could not be conducted as mandated by the Florida Supreme Court because they were inconsistent with the requirements of equal protection and due process without substantial additional work. However, the Florida legislature intended to seek the “safe-harbor” benefits in 3 U.S.C. 5 which provides that the selection of electors be completed by December 12. Since that date was upon the Court, as in the following day after hearing oral arguments, it is evident that no fair recounts can take place before that date. Seven justices of the Court agreed
that there are major constitutional problems with the recounts mandated by the Florida Supreme Court that demand a solution (see Souter, J. and Breyer, J., dissenting). However, they cannot be implemented without violating Florida Election Statute 102.168(8). This Court reversed the judgment of the Florida Supreme Court, thus declaring George W. Bush, president of the United States.

Concurrence by Chief Justice Rehnquist, with whom Justice Scalia and Justice Thomas joins.

This concurrence noted the importance of this case; specifically, the Court is not dealing with an ordinary election, but with the election for the president of the United States (see *Burroughs v. United States*, 290 U.S. 534, 545 [1934] and *Anderson v. Celebrezze*, 460 U.S. 780, 794-795 [1983] and *McPherson v. Blacker*, 146 U.S. 1 [1892]). These justices noted that the Florida legislature has delegated the authority to run elections and to oversee election disputes to the Secretary of State, Kathleen Harris, and to state circuit courts (Florida Statute 97.012(1) and 102.168(1)). These statutes explain that the general coherence of the legislative scheme may not be altered by judicial interpretation, except in Presidential elections. As prescribed by Article 2 of the U.S Constitution, the courts must respect the legislature’s wishes of appointing electors and obtaining “safe-harbor” benefits in 3 U.S.C. 5.

Additionally, the Florida Supreme Court’s interpretation of a “legal-vote” clearly went against the legislative scheme. According to Justice Rehnquist, “Florida’s statutory law cannot reasonably be thought to require the counting of improperly marked ballots.” Voters have been properly and clearly given voting instructions, through the use of sample ballots, working models of the voting machines employed at their precinct, and instructions to cleanly use punch-card ballots, as to ensure no chads are hanging on the back of the card. Therefore, there is no basis for reading the Florida statute as requiring the counting of improperly marked ballots, as the Florida Supreme Court instructed.

The Florida legislature has proscribed mechanisms for protesting election returns and for contesting certified election results. Florida Election Statutes 102.166 and 102.168 governs such protests. However, it mandates that all protests in a presidential election terminate on the date set by 3 U.S.C. 5 for concluding that state’s “final determination” of election controversies. This date, as indicated in 3 U.S.C. 5, is December 12, 2000. Yet, on December 8, four days before this deadline, the Florida Supreme
Count ordered recounts of numerous under-votes. It is obvious that the entire recounting process could not possibly be completed by the safe-harbor deadline. Attempting to mandate the recounts of thousands of ballots four days before they were due is a significant departure from the statutory framework that was in place November 7, thus writing new election law.

**Dissent by Justice Stevens, with whom Justice Ginsburg and Justice Breyer join.**

The Constitution assigns to the states the primary responsibility for determining the manner of selecting the Presidential electors. (Article 2, section 1, clause 2). When questions arise about the meaning of state laws, including election laws, it is our settled practice to accept the opinions of the highest courts of the States as providing the final answers. On rare occasions, however, either federal statutes or the Federal Constitution may require federal judicial intervention in state elections. This is not such an occasion.

The above dissenters argue that the Florida Supreme Court has all judicial authority and jurisdiction to review the laws implemented by the legislature, pursuant to Article 5 of the Florida Constitution. No federal intervention was required and judicial review should only be given to the Florida Supreme Court. This Court was wrong when it asserted that the Florida Supreme Court failed to provide in detail the manner in which the “intent of the voter” is to be determined as to rise to the level of a constitutional violation. While this Court has found it unconstitutional to weigh votes unequally (see *Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 568 [1964]), they have never questioned the substantive standards by which an individual state determines that a vote has been legally cast. County canvassing boards and other fact finders can be provided with the guidance to sufficiently determine the “intent of the voter.” This guidance and power is no less arbitrary than what ordinary citizens do everyday in courtrooms across the country when they participate in the jury process.

The majority in this case found an equal protection violation, but Justice Stevens disagrees with that position:

As the majority explicitly holds, once a state legislature determines to select electors through a popular vote, the right to have one’s vote counted is of constitutional stature. As the majority further acknowledges, Florida law holds that all ballots that reveal the intent of the voter constitute valid votes.
Recognizing these principles, the majority nonetheless orders the termination of the contest proceeding before all such votes have been tabulated. Under their own reasoning, the appropriate course of action would be to remand to Florida to allow more specific procedures for implementing the legislature’s uniform general standard to be established.

He argues that the majority in this case were interested in finality, and not the disenfranchisements of an unknown number of voters whose ballots reveal their intentions for president. The Court acts hastily because of the deadline set in 3 U.S.C. 5, yet those rules do not prohibit a state from counting what the majority concedes to be a legal vote until a bona fide winner is determined. Such was the case in 1960, when Hawaii appointed two slates of electors and Congress chose to count the one appointed on January 4, 1961, well after the “safe-harbor” deadline to which they prescribed. Therefore, nothing prevents the majority from remedying such equal protection violations they identified in the per curiam decision, to eventually determine the intent of the voters. Additionally, Justice Stevens argues that the Florida Supreme Court did not make any substantive changes in Florida election law. It employed long established precedents that were consistent with relevant statutory provisions. “It did what courts do…it decided the case before it, in light of the legislature’s intent to leave no legally cast vote uncounted.”

Dissent by Justice Souter, with whom Justice Breyer, Justice Stevens, and Justice Ginsburg join.

These justices feel that the U.S Supreme Court should not have reviewed any cases from Florida’s electoral process:

If this Court had allowed the state to follow the course indicated by the opinions of its own Supreme Court, it is entirely possible that there would ultimately have been no issue requiring our review, and political tension could have worked itself out in the Congress following the procedure provided in 3 U.S.C. 15. The case being before us, however, its resolution by the majority is another erroneous decision.

Justice Souter believes there are three central issues of this case:

1. Whether the state’s supreme court interpretation of the statute providing for a contest of the state election results somehow violates 3 U.S.C. 5.

2. Whether that Court’s construction of the state statutory provisions
governing contests impermissibly changes a state law from what the state’s legislature has provided, in violation of Article 2, section 1, clause 2, of the U.S. Constitution.

3. Whether the manner of interpreting markings on disputed ballots failing to cause machines to register votes for president (the under-vote ballots) violates the equal protection or due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.

For the first question, Justice Souter believes that 3 U.S.C. 5 should not be an issue. No state is required to conform to section five if it cannot do so, for any reason. If a dispute is to arise over which electors to use, it should be resolved only in Congress under 3 U.S.C. 15. With regards to the second issue present, the state supreme court acted within its bounds in interpreting its state’s legislation. The statutes being relied upon, Florida Statute 102.168 does not define what exactly a “legal vote” is. Thus, the Florida Supreme Court was required to do so and they looked to another election statute, 101.5614(5). This statute deals with damaged or defective ballots, which contains a provision stating that no vote shall be disregarded “if there is a clear indication of the intent of the voter as determined by a canvassing board.” The Florida Supreme Court read a “legal vote” to mean a vote recorded on a ballot indicating what the voter intended. Therefore, the Florida Supreme Court did not change state law; rather they interpreted it as they do with any other Florida law.

Justice Breyer only joins Justice Souter on his final issue. It deals with those ballots that have been termed “under-votes,” where different counties have varying rules for determining the intent of the voter. He feels that this alone is the only issue, and if left to the Florida courts without being interpreted, it would eventually come to Congress, as would any electoral vote dispute. However, since this did not happen, it is sensible for this Court to address it. Justice Souter claims that this case should be “remanded to the courts of Florida with instructions to establish uniform standards for evaluating the several types of ballots that have prompted differing treatment.” Justice Souter’s position is that Florida has until December 18, the date set for the electoral votes to be cast, to deal with this problem. He feels that the state has enough time to count all under-votes and over-votes. While there are disagreements over the exact number of contested ballots, “There is no justification for denying the State the opportunity to try to count all disputed ballots now.”

Dissent by Justice Ginsburg, with whom Justice Stevens joins,
and with whom Justice Souter and Justice Breyer join in part.

In Justice Ginsburg’s opinion she addressed the ongoing problem for the Court in attempting to interpret state law. She asserts, along with Justice Breyer, Justice Stevens, and Justice Souter, that this matter is for the Florida Supreme Court to determine. It is their duty to practice judicial review of laws that their legislature has enacted. She cites the case of *Fiore v. White* (528 U.S 23 [1999]) whereas, “instead of resolving the state-law question on which the federal claim depended, we certified the question to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court for that court to help determine the proper state-law predicate for our determination of the federal constitutional questions raised.” This principle is at the absolute core of federalism, which the framers of the Constitution sought to protect. The federal courts defer to state high courts interpretations of their state’s own law. If the other five members of this court were as attentive to the dual sovereign system, they would agree this case is for the Florida Supreme Court to decide, not the highest federal court.

She agrees with Justice Stevens that Bush has not presented a substantial equal protections claim. However, she doubts that the recount ordered by the Florida Supreme Court could yield a precise and final recount. She strongly agrees with Justice Breyer in that the December 12 deadline for bringing Florida’s electoral votes into compatibility with 3 U.S.C. 5 safe harbors lacks the significance the court assigns it. Justice Ginsburg states, “that if that date were to pass, Florida would still be entitled to deliver electoral votes Congress must count unless both houses find the votes had not been regularly given as allowed in 3 U.S.C. 15.” This statute identifies other significant dates, such that Congress has until the January 6, to determine the validity of electoral votes. This Court is placing all of its authority in protecting the “safe-harbor” deadline and using time to constrain the intent and will of the voters of Florida to decide who will be President of the United States.

**Dissent by Justice Breyer, with whom Justice Stevens and Justice Ginsburg join in part, and with whom Justice Souter joins in part.**

In the exact words of Justice Breyer, “The Court was wrong to take this case. It was wrong to grant a stay. It should now vacate that stay and permit the Florida Supreme Court to decide whether the recount should resume. The political implications of this case for the country are momentous. But the federal legal questions presented, with one exception, are insubstantial.”
Justice Breyer does concede the fact that since there was no uniform standard to determine the “intent of the voter,” the constraints of normal judicial review are impossible at this late date. However, this does not justify the majority’s ruling to halt the recount entirely. “An appropriate remedy would be, instead, to remand this case with instructions that, even at this late date, would permit the Florida Supreme Court to require recounting all undercounted votes in Florida.” On the “safe-harbor” deadline of December 12, this case should be remanded to the Florida courts to determine whether there is time to conduct a recount prior to December 18, the date set for Florida’s electors to meet.

Justice Breyer brings the point regarding halting the manual recounts to ensure that the uncounted legal votes will not be counted under arbitrary standards. “The manual recount would itself redress a problem of unequal treatment of ballots. But, in a system that allows counties to use different types of voting systems, voters already arrive at the polls with an unequal chance that their votes will be counted.” Much of the controversy over the ballots are those done by punch-card systems, which are consistently disqualified because votes are not easily registered on counting machines. However, those counties that use computer systems are at an advantage because their votes are less likely to be disqualified, just based on the voting machines employed at their precinct.

Justice Breyer also notes that the selection of the president is of fundamental national importance, with a political and ideological emphasis, rather than a legal one. He argues that state courts are responsible for resolving electoral disputes (3 U.S.C. 5). However, this contradicts the Twelfth Amendment, which grants to Congress the authority to count electoral votes. According to Justice Breyer:

A federal statute, the Electoral Count Act, enacted after the close 1876 Hayes-Tilden Presidential election, specifies that, after states have tried to resolve disputes (through “judicial” or other means), Congress is the body primarily authorized to resolve remaining disputes. See Electoral Count Act of 1887, 3 U.S.C. 5, 6, and 15. The legislative history of the Act makes clear its intent to commit the power to resolve such disputes to Congress, rather than the courts.

Justice Breyer’s opinion recalls a similar election in 1876 where the state submitted two slates of electors, and then Congress determined which slate to admit. If, as it did also in 1876, there is controversy about “which of two or more of such state authorities . . . is the lawful tribunal” authorized to appoint electors, then each house shall determine separately which votes are
“supported by the decision of such State so authorized by its law.” If the two houses of Congress agree, the votes they have approved will be counted. If they disagree, then, “the votes of the electors whose appointment shall have been certified by the executive of the state, under the seal thereof, shall be counted.”

The framers of the Constitution and the 1886 Congress provided a detailed and comprehensive scheme for counting electoral votes and there is no reason for this Court to determine the outcome of a Presidential election. However difficult it would be for Congress to resolve electoral disputes, unlike judges, they are elected by the will of the people. This is the direct precedent for this case that has been ignored by the majority. In his closing arguments, Justice Breyer says, “Above all, in this highly politicized matter, the appearance of a split decision runs the risk of undermining the public’s confidence in the Court itself. That confidence is a public treasure.”

References


U.S. Code, Title 3, sec. 6 (2001).


The Model United Nations Position Papers
The 2003 National Model United Nations Conference in New York City will mark the culmination of months of preparation as students from around the world meet at the world’s largest collegiate conference. Two hundred universities, represented by more than twenty-six hundred students and faculty members 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 the background of a topic, in addition to staying current with daily developments that 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 United States’ Permanent Mission to the United Nations. Position papers are the cornerstone for performance and preparation in the national conference.

The following position papers are a representation of the 2002-2003 Chico State delegation. For three years running, Chico State has received outstanding achievement awards for its position papers. This delegation takes great pride in these awards, as they reflect the dedication and discipline practiced by its members. 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. This year the Chico State delegation represented two separate countries, the Palestinian National Authority and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Please note that the views expressed within the following papers do not necessarily represent those of the authors.
Delegation Of The Palestinian National Authority
Represented By California State University, Chico

By Bob Ray and Rhonda Pearson

Position Paper For The Group Of 77

The topics before the Group of 77 are: Access to Fresh Water, The Terrorist Threat in the Developing World, and South-South Cooperation. The Palestinian National Authority considers these topics of great importance and concern. The Palestinian National Authority speaks on behalf of the occupied, displaced, and oppressed people of Palestine. We look forward to joining the Group of 77 and addressing these important issues.

I. Access to Fresh Water

The Palestinian National Authority (PA) recognizes and applauds the ongoing work of the United Nations to promote and protect access to precious water resources throughout the world and in Palestine. We realize that water must serve as an element in the construction of universal peace. The People of Palestine call on Israel to negotiate a lasting peace agreement that includes Palestinian access to fresh water and other resources. Access to water resources is a serious element in resolving the question of Palestine because water directly affects the ultimate survival of every Palestinian family. The Palestinian Authority recognizes that our access to secure water resources are a fundamental basic human right guaranteed in the Declaration of Human Rights, Article 17, Section (2), which clearly states that “no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property,” as the Palestinian people have been since 1948. Currently, under the internationally recognized illegal occupation of Palestine, thousands of Palestinian families are suffering from severe water shortages as the Israeli government continues to inhumanely prohibit reasonable amounts of water from being transported to Palestinian cities and refugee camps. The current illegal occupation of the Palestinian territories has left the people of Palestine beholden to Israeli water interests and further prohibits the Palestinians participation in the decision-making process concerning the question of our water. The Israeli government uses
water as a tool for oppression and has clearly violated A/RES/56/204 which, “calls upon Israel, the occupying power, not to exploit, to cause loss or depletion of or to endanger the natural resources in the occupied Palestinian territory, including Jerusalem, and in the occupied Syrian Golan.” The Israeli government is in violation of A/RES/48/212 that, “reaffirms the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and the population of the occupied Syrian Golan over their natural resources, including land and water.” We desperately call attention to A/RES/17/1803 which grants the, “right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural wealth and resources.” We call attention to Israel’s violation of A/RES/17/1803 through the taking by force of our right and access to these resources. Israel’s continued violations of S/RES/242 and S/RES/338 clearly demonstrate these resources have been taken by force and not returned as called for the international community. The Palestinian Authority calls on the United Nations to support the Palestinian people by helping establish and secure our rightful statehood including access to water resources that have been taken by force. We urge the international community to participate in the peace process by sending an international peace-keeping force into Palestine. The Palestinian Authority acknowledges the work done in the Second World Water Forum and looks forward to working with the international community on the 2003 Third Water Forum held in Japan. We recognize that water is a scarce resource all around the world and nations must cooperate to preserve peace through sustainable uses of water. We applaud the work done by the United Nations’ Millennium Summit Article IV, and declare our resolve “to stop the unsustainable exploitation of water resources by developing water management strategies at the regional, national and local levels.” The people of Palestine recognize the importance of the World Summit on Sustainable Development and call attention to the plan of implementation in Article II, Section(c) involving poverty eradication. We acknowledge the need for programs to help with implementing sustainable development by increasing access to productive resources, and the protection of those resources. The Palestinian Authority calls attention to Agenda 21, Chapter 18, and calls for regional cooperation and the implementation of strategic water management plans to meet sustainable water goals for 2025.

II. The Terrorist Threat in the Developing World

The people of Palestine fully reject terrorism in all its forms and stand firmly against terrorism whether committed by a single person, occupation, state, or country. Our democratically elected chairman, Yasser Arafat, said at the
Arab Summit in 2002, “We are against killing civilians on both sides.” He further points out that, “Israeli occupation of our land, collective punishment, and the military escalation adopted as an official policy against our people is the worse kind of terrorism.” We recognize the position of our friend Mr. Wehbe (Syria) and join him in calling for an international conference under the auspice of the United Nations to define terrorism and to distinguish between terrorism and a people’s struggle for freedom. The PA calls attention to the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense as recognized by Article 51 in the Charter of the United Nations and reiterated in S/RES/1368 which created the international Counter Terrorism Committee. The Palestinian Authority firmly believes that the roots of terrorism are embedded in poverty, oppression, and injustice. We call on the developed world to support Agenda 21 and all major international agreements with regard to sustainable development with particular attention to implementing commitments to education, good governance, and natural resources. The Palestinian Authority observes that the best way to fight terrorism is by accomplishing the goals listed. In agreement with our friend in peace Mr. Kasuri (Pakistan) when he says that a “greater effort is necessary to identify those acts of terrorism which are the consequence of incorrigible fanaticism or criminal intent, and others which arise from a sense of political or economic injustice.” The Palestinian people are highly concerned that some nation-states have misused the campaign against terror to suppress peoples’ right to self-determination. We applaud our partner in peace; Mr. Tang Jiaxuan (China) for noting that, “it is imperative to foster a new security concept that emphasizes mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and cooperation toward solving hot-spot issues in places such as the Middle East that will promote international cooperation in the fight against terrorism.” The Palestinian people are subjected to the harsh realities of terrorist threats, acts, and occupation daily. We recognize the good work and just intentions of the Counter Terrorism Committee and call attention to the fact that occupation has been a terrorist weapon of mass destruction. We support the work of the quartet (Russia, United States, E.U. and the UN), and appeal to them to send international peace-keepers in the effort to enforce current and past UN resolutions with regard to Palestine. This important step will initiate peace through the securing of our borders and the alleviation of the burden of poverty through the Palestinians involvement in their economic restructuring, which is the greatest weapon in combating terrorism. We must work internationally to combat terrorism and secure a just and lasting peace for all men, women, and children in the world. We wish to see an end to the deaths of innocent people, whether it is a Christian, a Jew, or a Muslim. We recognize The
Madrid Conference as a successful attempt at bringing peace to the Arab world. We call attention to A/RES/57/515 Operative (7), which “encourages Mediterranean countries to further strengthen their cooperation in combating terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.” The Palestinian Authority also calls attention to clearly stated UN resolutions such as: S/RES/242 and S/RES/338 which outline the United Nations’ demands and vision for settling the question of Palestine. Israel must adhere to international law and the United Nations overwhelming vision for justice in the Palestinian Territories by reverting to the 1967 borders. We call on the Security Council to send in UN peace-keepers and monitors to help resolve the ongoing conflict between Palestine and Israel and to ensure the return of occupied lands and refugees following an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Palestinian territory. The proud, steadfast Palestinian people urge the Security Council and the UN to enforce their resolutions in order to secure peace and success for the people of Palestine and Israel. We will continue to work for peace and justice while securing our ties with the United Nations, the Arab League, and Group 77.

III. South-South Cooperation

The Palestinian Authority fully recognizes the need for developing countries to cooperate and achieve common goals for development and betterment. The Palestinian Authority recognizes that regional South-South cooperation must continue and succeed for the question of Palestine to be answered. We call on the South to support an economic boycott of Israel as a response to Israel placing itself above international law, reneging on resolutions S/RES/242, S/RES/338, and S/RES/425, the Declaration of Human Rights, and the Fourth Geneva Conventions. We call attention to Paragraph 62 of the Ministerial Declaration of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77, which expressed deep concern at the stalled peace process in the Middle East, the persistence of Israeli occupation of the Palestinian Territory, and the negative affect occupation has on the regional efforts to achieve sustained economic growth and sustainable development. We call on all southern nation-states to work collectively to end the occupation in Palestine by participating in the deployment of a South-South peacekeeping force in Palestine. Palestine supports peace-keeping forces and international monitors with the goal of establishing a lasting peace and independent Palestinian statehood. The PA calls for attention and urges support for the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). We call on African countries to unify and imple-
ment the *Abuja Treaty* (AEC Treaty) toward establishing an African Common Market (ACF), tariff and non-tariff systems that increase harmonization among Regional Economic Communities (RECs), the stabilization of tariff and other barriers to regional trade, and the establishment of a free trade area and a customs union. The Palestinian people support and call desperate attention to the goal of protecting the vulnerable presented in the *Section VI* of the *Millennium Declaration* (26). It is urgent that the international community take immediate steps “to strengthen international cooperation, including burden sharing in, and the coordination of humanitarian assistance to, countries hosting refugees and to help all refugees and displaced persons to return voluntarily to their homes, in safety and dignity and to be smoothly reintegrated into their societies.” The Palestinian people are profoundly grateful for the support of the *Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)* and Paragraph 102 of the *Final Document of the XII Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)*, which occurred on the Second and Third of September in 1998 at Durban, South Africa. The Heads of State or Government “strongly condemned ongoing brutal suppression of the legitimate aspirations for self-determination of peoples under colonial, alien domination and foreign occupation in various regions of the world.” The PA stresses the need for developing countries to cooperate in partnership to insure environmental, economic, and humanitarian priorities are met and incorporated into international trade development and agreements. The Palestinian people are highly concerned with the continued problem of HIV/AIDS and call on regional cooperation toward the implementation of the Nairobi forward-looking *Strategies for the Advancement of Women, the Beijing Platform for Action*, and the special session of the General Assembly entitled "*Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century.*" As called for in CN.6/2002/L.2, on behalf of the Group of 77, the PA recognizes the *Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries (TCDC)* and supports the objectives, action to be taken, and recommendations contained in the plan. The Palestinian Authority fully supports the Group of 77 *Tehran Consensus - South-South Cooperation: A Common Imperative* and urgently calls for “consolidating of a South-South platform, the building stronger south institutions at the global level, bridging the knowledge and information gap, the building of broad-based partnerships, and mobilizing global support for South-South cooperation.” The Palestinian people recognize the important steps made at the Group of 77 *2000 South Summit in Havana* and the adoption of the Havana Programme of Action and look forward to “shaping the future through the establishment of a world order that will reflect our
needs and interests while also laying the foundations for a more effective system of international development cooperation.”
Delegation Of The Palestinian National Authority
Represented By California State University, Chico

By Nathan Davis and Beth Wenbourne

Position Paper For The Organization Of Islamic Conference

The issues before the Organization of Islamic Conference are: The Role of the Islamic Community in the Protection of Al-Aqsa and the Palestinian People; Promotion of Trade amongst the member-states of the OIC; and Conflict Resolution among the OIC member-states. The Palestinian National Authority (PA), as the ongoing victim of violence and occupation by the Israeli government, is eager to discuss these topics with the hope of moving toward a workable and lasting state of peace and prosperity among Member-States.

I. The Role of the Islamic Community in the Protection of Al-Aqsa and the Palestinian People

Currently, the government of Israel occupies seventy-seven percent of historically Palestinian land. This occupation is in direct violation of S/RES/181 and S/RES/242. S/RES/181 makes reference to establishing, “the future government of Palestine,” and urges “all Governments and all peoples to refrain from taking any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these actions.” S/RES/242 also calls for “Withdrawal of Israel armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict.” These resolutions, dating back to 1947 and 1967, respectively, not only expressly state the necessity of a sovereign Palestinian state by calling for the removal of Israeli troops from occupied territory, but also show the duration of time this flagrant abuse by an occupying power has morally and politically defied international law and integrity. This prolonged period of occupation and abuse is condemned by the United Nations and the international community in S/RES/1397 and S/RES/1402, which demand for an immediate cessation of all acts of violence, terror, provocation, incitement, and destruction. The current occupation of the Al-Aqsa region is part of one of the most sinister tactics that the present Israeli government engages in. Their determination to seize Islamic holy places is only a small part of Israeli machinations to
disintegrate any tangible image of a Palestinian State. These practices are in direct violation of United Nations demands expressly stated in Resolution 1/29-PAL, adopted by the 29th Session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, Operative 11, wherein it calls for the world to recognize the State of Palestine with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital. These practices also are in direct violation of OIC Resolution 2/25-P which condemns all illegal Israeli measures carried out by Israeli occupation authorities in Al-Quds Al-Sharif. This resolution “reaffirms that a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without an Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Palestinian and Arab territories foremost of which is Al Quds Al-Sharif.” Furthermore, Resolution 5/29-PAL reaffirms the inalienable national rights, including the right to return, self-determination, and the establishment of a Palestinian independent state on Palestinian national territory with Al-Quds Al-Sharif as its capital. It is the belief of this delegation, along with the belief of the Arabic community, that this holy region belongs only to the people of Palestine and that, as such, should be cleared of all Israeli occupation immediately. In addition to the political and moral violations Israeli occupation inflicts upon the Palestinian people, grave humanitarian crises arise due to the Israeli government’s non-compliance with United Nations resolutions. This delegation commends the efforts of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), however, due to Israel’s refusal to respect the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, laid out in the preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, “the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small,” their relief work has been seriously hindered, and, in many instances, completely prohibited. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Article 2, provides for all people, without distinction, “the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration, without distinction of any kind.” Any further procurement of a peaceful and sustainable future still remains elusive. A/RES/2535 calls international attention to the repeated acts of collective punishment and destruction of homes and property inflicted on the Palestinian people by the Israeli government, while reaffirming the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. A/RES/56/59 states that the international community deplores those policies and practices of Israel which violate the human rights of the Palestinian people, and calls for the investigation of the treatment of prisoners in the occupied Palestinian territory. Furthermore, A/RES/55/133 calls upon Israel to release all remaining Palestinians arbitrarily detained or imprisoned. It is the belief of this delegation that the repeated abuses by the Israeli government upon Palestinian people is a direct violation of the international agreement entered into by Israel in the Fourth Geneva Convention. A/RES/55/131 reaf-
firms that the *Geneva Convention* is applicable to the occupied Palestinian territory, and in addition, demands that Israel accept the applicability of the *Convention in the Occupied Palestinian Territory*, and that it comply forthwith with the provisions of the convention. A/RES/55/131 also calls upon the states party to the Convention to exert all efforts in order to ensure compliance by Israel of provisions of the convention. It is the belief of this delegation that Israel’s prolonged systematic campaign of occupation and terror prohibits the realization of A/RES/56/142, which expresses hope that the people of Palestine will soon be exercising their right to self-determination granted by Allah. A/RES/2535 requests the Security Council take effective measures to secure provisions of the *Charter of the United Nations* and the *UDHR*, and to ensure the implementation of United Nations S/RES/242, S/RES/338, and all other applicable resolutions aimed to secure a peaceful negotiation between Palestine and Israel.

II. Promotion of Trade Amongst the Member-States of the OIC

While this delegation recognizes the need for member-states of the OIC to begin moving towards mutually prosperous trading practices, it is the belief of this delegation that this kind of cooperation between states can only be achieved after a strong and lasting peace is settled within the Middle East, particularly with regard to the question of Palestine. The Palestinian National Authority calls attention to OIC Resolution 33/25-E (1) which “emphasizes the importance of implementation of the *Strategy and Plan of Action of COMCEC; Agreement on Promotion, Protection and Guarantee of Investments among Member-States; General Agreement on Economic, Technical and Commercial Cooperation among Member-States; Framework Agreement on the Establishment of the Trade Preferential System among Member-States*; and *Agreement on Islamic Corporation for Insurance of Investment and Export Credit*, for strengthening economic and commercial cooperation among member-states for realization of the ultimate objective of establishment of an Islamic common market.” Our delegation recognizes that trafficking and consumption of illicit drugs; environmental sustainability; energy sources including water, oil, and solar power; and conventional and nuclear weapons of mass destruction must be considered priorities among the many important international and regional challenges. The PA stresses the need for developing countries, within the OIC and Group of 77, to cooperate in partnership to insure environmental, economic, and humanitarian priorities are met and incorporated into international trade development and agreements. The Palestinian Authority fully supports
the Group of 77 Tehran Consensus-South-South Cooperation: A Common Imperative and urgently calls for the “consolidating of a South-South platform, the building stronger South institutions at the global level, bridging the knowledge and information gap, the building of broad-based partnerships, and mobilizing global support for South-South cooperation.” Currently, the people of Palestine are subjected to an illegal occupation by the Israeli government, leaving the Palestinian people with little ability to contribute to a regional or globalized market. E/RES/1998/32 clearly states that Israeli settlements in occupied Palestinian territory are illegal and an obstacle to economic and social development. We call attention to OIC Resolution 9/27-E, which urges OIC member-states to undertake the execution of the economic, industrial, agricultural, and housing programs in the territories of the PA to strengthen the Palestinian economy. The Millennium Declaration, Article 1, Point (6), states, “no individual and no nation must be denied the opportunity to benefit from development.” Furthermore, E/RES/1994/29 calls upon “the donor community to expedite the delivery of pledged assistance to the Palestinian people to meet their urgent needs.” Additionally, the Israeli occupation has contributed to the depletion of Palestinian natural resources which is in direct violation of A/RES/56/204, which expresses concern at the exploitation by Israel of the natural resources of the occupied Palestinian territory, and calls upon Israel not to exploit, to cause loss or depletion of, or to endanger the natural resources in the occupied Palestinian territory. A/RES/56/204 also recognizes the right of the Palestinian people to claim restitution as a result of any aforementioned exploitation. Furthermore, as a result of the prolonged and oppressive Israeli policies of road closures and military imposed curfews within the occupied territories, the people of Palestine are unable to move freely among lands or to transport goods, further restricting their ability to participate in any kind of trade, regional, global, or even sustainable. These restrictions by the Israeli government upon the people of Palestine are a flagrant abuse of A/RES/56/56, wherein the United Nations calls upon Israel to cease its policies of closure and of placing restrictions on the movement of persons and goods, which have had a grave and inhumane impact on the socio-economic condition of the Palestinian population. This delegation calls further attention to E/RES/1993/78, which “calls for the immediate lifting of Israeli restrictions and obstacles hindering the implementation of assistance projects by the UN.” Furthermore, the practice restricting the movement of the people of Palestine by the Israeli government is in direct violation of The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of Section 1, Article (13), which states that, “everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.”
Recognizing the *Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development*, this delegation condemns the current and ongoing occupation of Palestine, which violates *Point D of Article 4* which states that the UN will “ensure the protection and full integration into the economy and society of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and persons.” Therefore, it is the position of this delegation that, in the efforts to promote trade and development within OIC Member-States, the people of Palestine have little hope of assisting in globalized or regional trade, until the government of Israel begins to work towards a peaceful agreement and ends its occupation of the Palestinian territory.

### III. Conflict Resolution Among OIC Member-States

In the history of conflict in the Middle East, none has been as pronounced or tragic as that conflict between the Israeli and Palestinian people. The Palestinian Authority fully supports the principals and objectives outlined in Chapter 2 of the *OIC Charter* and calls particular attention to the “endeavor to eliminate racial segregation, discrimination and to eradicate colonialism in all its forms.” Our delegation recognizes that the United Nations must take a more active role in peacekeeping operations, and calls on the Security Council to enforce S/RES/242, S/RES/338, S/RES/1403, S/RES/1435, and all relevant resolutions through international peace-keeping. The Palestinian Authority considers the primary objective for solving the conflict in Palestine to be regional and international cooperation to facilitate safe humanitarian assistance and protection. We call on the Security Council to enforce the framework for peace laid out by the quartet (Russia, U.S.A., E.U., and the U.N.). Continued Israeli non-compliance and a continued state of occupation and violence will continue unless the international community takes action to enforce it’s resolutions with regard to this matter. It is the position of this delegation that Israel’s current occupation and resistance to negotiation is in direct violation of *Article XV* of the *Declaration and Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements* which states that disputes shall be resolved by negotiations through the Joint Liaison Committee in the interim before peace is achieved. Also, by continuing to evade negotiations, Israel violates *OIC Resolution 6/25-P*, which “strongly denounces the Israeli government’s policy and practices which are hostile to peace and are designed to undermine the peace process.” Therefore, while the people of Palestine recognize the concern that the OIC places on other areas of conflict within OIC regional territory, this delegation emphasizes the need to take immediate and effective action against Israel. It is the belief of this delegation that by resolving the prolonged and violent conflict between the peo-
ple of Palestine and the Israeli government, the OIC member-states will provide a framework for future conflict resolution. Fearing that, as stated in OIC Resolution 1/29-PAL, Operative Clause 8, the international community and the United Nations, particularly the United States, the Russian Federation, and the European Union will not intervene so to end the Israeli aggression, which is undermining and sabotaging the very foundations of the peace process, we recognize the necessity of establishing an Arab peacekeeping body. Additionally, OIC Resolution 1/25-P holds Israel responsible for halting the Middle East peace process and “calls on Member-States to further strengthen their solidarity with the Palestinian people, and continue to support their just and legitimate struggle for ending Israeli occupation.” It is clear to this delegation that OIC member-states support the Palestinian struggle for independence; therefore this delegation calls upon member-states to take part in active political policies condemning the Israeli government. In the Final Communiqué of the 9th Summit, the Member-States expressed resolve to protect and enhance Islamic values, especially values concerning solidarity and mutual respect, and also stressed the need for coordination to control the phenomenon of terrorism in all its shapes.

Delegation from the Palestinian National Authority
Represented by California State University, Chico

By Natalie Metzger and Eddy Carey
Delegation From The Palestinian National Authority
Represented By California State University, Chico

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Position Paper for the General Assembly First Committee

The Topics before the General Assembly First Committee are: Weapons of Mass Destruction and Non-State Actors, Regional Disarmament Measures, and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space. The Palestinian National Authority is committed to upholding the fundamental goal of this committee to provide and ensure international security and disarmament. Our delegation looks forward to opening dialogue on these important issues and seeks a renewed commitment to counteract future threats of terror both domestically and abroad.

I. Weapons of Mass Destruction and Non-State Actors

The Palestinian National Authority (PA) is greatly encouraged by the diligent efforts of the General Assembly (GA) First Committee to effectively deter and disarm those who possess and seek to possess chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons of mass destruction (WMD). In today’s political realm, new political threats are continually evolving, and in the aftermath of September 11, 2001, important treaties such as the Treaty of the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (A/RES/50/245) express the broad relevance of multilateral non-proliferation, disarmament, and arms control measures in the face of narrow self interests and the continuing changing dynamics of international peace and security. Unilateral and subjective efforts towards disarmament foster implications of aggression and disregard for international law and justice. Accordingly, the Palestinian Authority endorses A/RES/57/510 and its attempt to promote multilateralism in the area of disarmament and non-proliferation. Commissions such as the Conference on Disarmament, the Disarmament Commission, and the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons have successfully created various agencies and commissions composed of multilateral means. Together, they have addressed the complex challenges of international proliferation by creating sustainable initiatives to protect international
peace and security. While the Palestinian Authority applauds the collective interests of these entities, this delegation also stresses the importance of the continued implementation and evolution of these treaties according to the changing dynamics of the international community. This delegation notes the successful outcome of the 2000 Review Conference on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the continued revitalization of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, and the continuing effective implementation of the Biological Weapons Convention are concrete steps to ensure the continuing cooperative actions ensuring the stability of the international community. In addition, a nuclear strategic framework is necessary in order to develop a credible alternative to nuclear deterrence. There is no region under as large a threat of nuclear proliferation as the Middle East; this delegation recalls A/RES/57/507 and its efforts to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone within the Middle East. Additionally, this delegation also recognizes the importance of concluding further Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone treaties, as stated in A/RES/54/5. Today, the ability of non-state actors to obtain nuclear materials for the production of WMD is not as great of a threat as non-state actors acquiring biological and chemical weapons. Thus, treaties such as the 1980 Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Materials are outdated and are not equipped to safeguard facilities as targets from non-state actors, a prevalent threat within the region. It is the position of this delegation that strengthening a state’s access to technical assistance, while also creating various barriers for non-state actors to overcome, will help to provide the first line of defense against attainment of chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction. Conventions such as the 7th Conference of the States Parties and, most recently, the 2002 Treaty on Offensive Strategic Reductions recognize these methods. Furthermore, it is the belief of this delegation that the promotion of universal adherence to the non-proliferation regime by all non-nuclear states, and the creation of equal access to all peaceful uses of nuclear technology, coupled with state cooperation and sensible policies regarding a sustainable security system rooted in economic and social development, will facilitate the ultimate security goal of total elimination of nuclear threat.

II. Regional Disarmament

The occupied Palestinian territories are an overwhelming example of the desecration caused by an unjust war—a war that has been the primary cause of the destruction of the Palestinian economy and the ultimate promotion of deplorable living standards. Today, upwards of 70 percent of all Palestinians
live below the United Nations poverty line, living on less than two American dollars per day. Malnutrition in Gaza and all over the Occupied Territories is at desperate levels. With grave regard to this crisis, the Palestinian Authority reiterates the basic foundations of human rights found in *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article I* which states, "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights…" Additionally, *Article 1 Chapter 3 of the United Nations Charter* which states the goal of "achieving international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic social, cultural, humanitarian character…" Sustainable regional disarmament is critical for international security and for the promotion of peace for future generations. The Palestinian Authority notes that, for the successful implementation of regional disarmament, it is imperative that multilateral and bilateral resources join together and create various policy frameworks such as *The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)* to tackle the current challenges that the international community faces in the twenty-first century. Our delegation applauds the continuing work by such member states as Egypt, Great Britain, and Russia and their efforts to disarm Israel. Noting this, the Palestinian Authority wishes to reiterate S/RES/242 and S/RES/425 which calls for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Palestinian territories. Territorial integrity, political independence, and respect for Palestinian sovereignty are critical mechanisms for the assurance of regional stability. Recognizing this, the Palestinian Authority continues to emphasize the importance of and support of regional and sub-regional organizations such as the *UN Commission of Human Rights (UNHCR)*, the *UN Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA)*, and *The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)* which are actively engaged in maintaining stability. Larger organizations such as the Committee on Disarmament and the Disarmament Commission provide complex interpretations of goals, creating a lack of political will among member-states. This, coupled with political conflict, equates to a relapse of dissention among member states regarding the proper course of action for disarmament. Noting this, the Palestinian Authority wishes to emphasize regional confidence-building measures and wishes to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of regional and larger scale organizations. Disarmament measures, with particular emphasis on nuclear weapons, are unlikely without appropriate mechanisms to oversee and supervise this disarmament. Having stated this position, this delegation applauds A/RES/53/74 and its prohibition on the use of nuclear weapons, and A/RES/32/40, which states that a violation of international agreements would be a violation of the *Charter of the United Nations* and is a crime against humanity. Our delegation also recognizes the importance of conclud-
ing further nuclear-weapons-free zone treaties, as stated in A/RES/54/51, and supports the establishment of nuclear-weapons-free zones in the Middle East and South Asia. General and complete disarmament as stated in A/RES/46/36, coupled with accordance to past agreements such as the Oslo Accords, are the only appropriate and necessary means for providing sustainable security and disarmament in the Middle East. By securing and recognizing boundaries in the region, a secure and lasting peace will be established free from threats and acts of force. Conferences such as the recent United Nations Conference on International Organizations are important tools in recognizing and establishing concrete resources to establish peace and stability in the Middle East. Our delegation applauds measures such as these to integrate local, regional, and national organizations to establish not just stability, but sustainable security built upon post-conflict economic development. International cooperation and adequate resources are critical to reaching a goal of total disarmament with the ultimate objective of the elimination of nuclear weapons in the framework of general and complete disarmament. The Palestinian Authority calls upon all states to implement fully their commitments in the field of disarmament and non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. With the current trends determining the future of Palestinian Statehood, it is feared that if no additional action is taken, the possibility of a viable Palestinian state would be eroded. Our delegation calls upon the international community to support reforms of the Palestinian Authority in order to serve the interests of the Palestinian people. In addition, through the auspices of the United Nations, the Palestinian Authority wishes to extend its complete cooperation in working with the international community in establishing total regional disarmament in the Middle East. Our delegation will continue to promote and work toward the total elimination of weapons, so that one day peace and security will be a glorious reality for the Palestinian people.

III. Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

The Palestinian Authority recognizes and notes the common interest of mankind in promoting the exploration and use of outer space, as noted in A/RES/56/51, which reaffirms the necessity of the peaceful uses of outer space and reaffirmation of the importance of international cooperation within that capacity. May the lives lost in the tragic event of February 1, 2003, when space shuttle Columbia exploded not be in vain. Continued cooperation in outer space exploration for peaceful purposes and technological advances will reinforce the sacrifice that each of these brave men and women gave
to their country. Palestine wishes to extend to the United States of America its condolences in this difficult time, and, in their memory, we continue to encourage all states to maximize their resources and to direct them accordingly towards peaceful uses as declared in the 1967 Outer Space Treaty.

However, the Palestinian Authority is concerned that this non-armament treaty leaves out critical elements including rising biological and chemical weapons uses. Recognizing this, we encourage everyone to affirm the Outer Space Treaty and its established mechanisms to not only provide safety from nuclear weapons, but chemical and biological weapons also. International cooperation is critical, and A/RES/55/122 successfully promotes and establishes continued good will and international cooperation regarding peaceful uses of outer space through various multilateral and bi-lateral agreements including the United Nations Programme on Space Applications and the Third United Nations Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (UNISPACE III), established and upheld by A/RES/54/68. Recent events continue to alter the path of our future, and organizations such as the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space must align its priorities to the times. Questions of satellite usage (Anti-Satellite System) and amending and strengthening international legal instruments, such as the outdated 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, are important topics appropriately undertaken by the international auspices of the United Nations. The Palestinian Authority wishes to do its part to provide for an appropriate exchange of information with other states to provide vital information and aide critical for international security and safeguarding.
Position Paper For United Nations Congress On The Prevention Of Crime And The Treatment Of Offenders

The topics before the United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, hereafter known as the Crime Congress, are: Juvenile Justice Reform in Criminal Proceedings or The Restoration of Standards and Norms; Cybercrime; and The Environment: Preventing its Victimization through Adherence to Protective Measures. All topics on the agenda are of great importance to Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our delegation holds these topics as high priority and will continue to work with the international community in order to ensure our goals of peace and prosperity.

I. Juvenile Justice Reform in Criminal Proceedings

For Bosnia and Herzegovina, the last decade of the twentieth century was marked by war and devastation that resulted in widespread suffering, ranging from poverty and displacement to the destruction of the family unit. It is clear that children are the most vulnerable group in any society and suffer the most from such tragedies. As our nation is afflicted by these residual issues, as well the tumultuous transition from communism to a free market democracy, it is clear that the process of reforming the justice system for juveniles must be handled appropriately. Article 40 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) advocates the rights of all children alleged as, accused of, or recognized as having infringed upon the penal law. Bosnia and Herzegovina, having ratified the CRC promotes the interest of the child in criminal proceedings by not allowing children under the age of fourteen to be incarcerated. Furthermore, children under the age of eighteen will not be tried as adults under any circumstances, and in accordance with both Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Article 37(a) of the CRC, will not face capital punishment. The
International Standards for the Administration of Juvenile Justice and Examples of Good Practice alludes to the fact that the concept of juvenile justice not only includes the treatment of children when they come into conflict with the law, but also the root of the causes of why children come into conflict with law in the first place. A/RES/S-27/2, entitled A World Fit for Children, addresses the disadvantages of children and how these factors can lead to criminal actions. We believe that problems afflicting children in many regions of the world such as trafficking, smuggling, physical and sexual exploitation, and abduction, as well as economic exploitation, are all precursors to the existence of criminality in the underage population. Bosnia and Herzegovina recognizes that of the 520,000 internally displaced refugees resultant from the war in Bosnia, according to the United Nations Children’s Education Fund (UNICEF), one-third are under fifteen years of age. We view this reality to be a major contributor to high-risk behavior among young people, making this an increasingly important issue for us. As can be found in several regions of the world, illegal activity is sometimes the only option for survival. In light of this, we support A/RES/40/33, The Beijing Rules, which states that governments shall develop conditions which will ensure for the juvenile a meaningful life in the community by fostering a process of personal development and education that is free from crime and delinquency. In order to help counter criminal behavior among juveniles, the governments of Bosnia and Herzegovina guarantee free access to primary education for all children, despite gender or ethnicity. As prevention is often the best technique for solving any problem, we support The Riyadh Guidelines, A/RES/45/112, which addresses the issue of the prevention of juvenile criminal behavior. Bosnia and Herzegovina is currently engaged in a number of cooperative projects with international organizations to help stifle the domestic trends of juvenile delinquency. The Centre for International Crime Prevention, in cooperation with UNICEF and the European Union, is currently working with and in Bosnia and Herzegovina on the reformation of the penal code and restorative justice. We strongly support resolution E/CN.15/2000/5, which recognizes that the United Nations plays an important role in coordinating and monitoring the implementation of international juvenile justice standards and ensuring implementation at a national level. The United Nations Juvenile Justice Guide to International Standards and Best Practice calls for relevant United Nations’ entities and non-governmental organizations to observe states’ juvenile justice systems and provide advisory services and technical assistance. In accordance with this guide and others, Bosnia-Herzegovina will continue to work towards providing a fair and just world for juveniles.
II. Cybercrime

Bosnia and Herzegovina is firmly opposed to all forms of cybercrime and criminal misuse of internet technologies. New information and communication technologies have a revolutionary and fundamental impact on the economies and societies of the international community. Although they have brought numerous positive benefits, computer systems offer new and highly sophisticated opportunities for law-breaking, and they create the potential to commit traditional types of crimes in nontraditional ways. Bosnia and Herzegovina believes that the first step in deterring the negative behavior that is cybercrime is for the international community to create a workable and concrete definition of cybercrime. More than in any other transnational crime, the speed, mobility, flexibility, significance, and value of electronic transactions profoundly challenge the existing rules of international crime law. Bosnia and Herzegovina supports the concept of a global partnership aimed at launching worldwide criminalization of cybercrime. Concerning international legislation, Bosnia and Herzegovina is in the process of ratifying the Convention on Cybercrime, and fully supports A/RES/56/121, entitled Combating the Criminal Misuse of Information Technologies. Of particular concern for Bosnia and Herzegovina is the use of the internet as a means of communicating in the process of trafficking human beings, especially for the industries of prostitution and child pornography. Women and children are regularly forced into these industries and subjected to conditions in which countless human rights are violated. The women in these brothels are frequently bought and sold to other operations or individuals, many of which are foreign, leading to the assumption that the internet has played a role in these actions in some way, shape, or form. In order to help put an end to this atrocious practice, Bosnia and Herzegovina will continue to support and promote the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, through traditional avenues as well as those aimed at targeting cybercrime. We call upon those who have not already done so to ratify the optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child entitled the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography. Recalling the Stockholm Agenda for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Towards Women, and Article 35 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, it is the responsibility of all nations who adhere to these agreements to act unilaterally, bilaterally, and multilaterally to prevent this criminal treatment of woman and children from occurring. We believe that this also means putting an end to the use of the internet as a platform for such behavior. Bosnia and
Herzegovina will continue to oppose and work at preventing all criminal misuse of the internet and anticipate working with the international community on this issue.

III. The Environment: Preventing its Victimization through Adherence to Protective Measures

Protecting the environment from victimization and degradation, both nationally and internationally, is a major priority for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We recognize that allowing the ill-treatment of the environment does, in fact, cause major repercussions in nearly all aspects of human society. We have recently suffered through a decade of civil war and regional conflict, and are now just beginning to recover from the collective environmental devastation that ensued. In order to promote environmental stability and recovery on a national level, the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina created the Environmental Steering Committee in 1998 with help from the Regional Environmental Center for Central and Eastern Europe (REC). The Committee consists of members from the Office of the High Representative (OHC), the United State’s Agency for International Development (USAID), the World Bank, and the European Commission. The committee is responsible for harmonization of environmental legislation and regulation, action programs, international treaties concerning the environment and their implementation, involvement in international processes such as Environment for Europe, cooperation with international organizations such as United Nations Environment Program (UNEP) and the European Environmental Agency (EEA), physical planning concerning the environment, and coordination of all environmental activities incident to the admission of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a member of the European Union (EU). We believe that war is a leading deteriorating factor for much of the world’s environment. War in our country has damaged irrigation systems and farm machinery, reduced livestock, contaminated the soil, and reduced arable land. A large proportion of this damage, particularly in the area of agriculture, has been caused by remaining landmines, which are a by-product of war. Bosnia and Herzegovina firmly supports A/RES/56/4 and the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production, and Transfer of Anti-personal Mines and on their Destruction, which clearly specify how, not just landmines, but war, in general, damage the environment. Bosnia and Herzegovina also stands behind A/RES/56/219, which condemns the use of landmines and promotes greater international cooperation in their clearance. Unsustainable agricultural practices have had an extremely negative impact on the environment,
such as: very high losses of water through poor irrigation systems, pollution of soil and groundwater due to the use of chemicals and pesticides, and air pollution from crops and livestock. Agriculture is the largest consumer of water, and almost half of the water produced worldwide has been lost due to damaged and inefficient irrigation systems. For these reasons, Bosnia and Herzegovina has chosen to continue to adhere to the Water Law, which was adopted before the war. Bosnia and Herzegovina encourages the international community to promote and regulate sustainable agricultural practices in an effort to conserve the use of water. In order to deter pollution and promote such positive actions as recycling, the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina has both developed plans and passed several vital pieces of legislation. More recently, we have developed a Law on Physical Planning and a Physical Plan of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which together helped introduce the Polluters Pay Principle. Under this principle, the polluter must pay charges, fees, taxes or other retributions for pollution or use of nature or natural resources in any damaging manner. Furthermore, in order to encourage environmentally conscientious behavior, the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina has established a deposit-refund system for bottles made of glass. There is currently a seventy percent return rate reached by the Bosnian people. Other environmental legislation has been prepared through a European Community project named “Preparation of Environmental Law and Policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina.” Our government is in the process of passing the following legislation: Law on the Protection of the Environment, Law on the Protection of the Waters, Law on the Protection of Nature, Law on Waste Management, and Law on Protection of the Air. After our secession from what was formerly Yugoslavia, we have continued to uphold the following environmental conventions: Convention on Fishing and Conservation of the Living Resources on the High Sea, Convention for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea against Pollution, Protocol concerning Co-operation in combating Pollution of the Mediterranean Sea by Oil and other Harmful Substances, Protocol for the Prevention of Pollution of the Mediterranean Sea by Dumping from Ships and Aircrafts, Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution, Protocol for the Protection of the Mediterranean Specially Protected Areas, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, Protocol to the Convention on Long-Range Transboundary Air Pollution On Long-Term Financing of Co-operative Programme for Monitoring and Evaluation of the Transmissions of Air Pollutants in Europe, Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer, Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer, Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Materials.
Wastes and Their Disposal, the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands, and the Convention on the Prevention of Marine Pollution by Dumping of Wastes and Other Matter. Due to the violent conflict taking place in our nation at the time, Bosnia and Herzegovina was not able to attend the United Nations Conference on the Environment and Development, held in Rio. Bosnia and Herzegovina did however enthusiastically attend the World Summit which took place in Johannesburg, and we are currently in the process of ratifying the Kyoto Protocol. We remain resolutely in support of future domestic and international environmental legislation.
Delegation From Bosnia And Herzegovina
Represented By California State University, Chico

By Daniel Oliver and Sarah Lawson

Position Paper For General Assembly First Committee

The topics before the General Assembly First Committee are: Weapons of Mass Destruction and Non-State Actors, Regional Disarmament, and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

Bosnia and Herzegovina is proud to be participating in the General Assembly First Committee as an active participant in the stabilization and expansion of the rule of law, emerging and flourishing democracies, and the protection and the alleviation of civilian suffering throughout the world. Our nation is a firm believer in the establishment of peace, security, and stability throughout the world, and we dedicate our hearts and minds to the achievement of this goal.

I. Weapons of Mass Destruction and Non-State Actors

Bosnia and Herzegovina affirms the need for full observance of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in hopes that practical and realistic measures will be taken to ensure the prevention of a world in which non-state actors possess weapons of mass destruction. Bosnia and Herzegovina is in full concurrence with a statement issued by United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan: “We must strengthen the global norm against the use or proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.” Bosnia and Herzegovina reaffirms our dedication to A/RES/57/27, which “reiterates its call upon states to refrain from financing, encouraging, providing training for or other wise supporting terrorist activities.” Our state recognizes the tremendous importance of taking necessary steps to frustrate and impede the goals of those plotting to execute large-scale atrocities. Accordingly, Bosnia and Herzegovina fully supports A/RES/56/88, calling special attention to operative clause 11, which calls upon all states to enhance and intensify “the exchange of information on facts related to terrorism” and “to avoid the dissemination of inaccurate or unverified information.” Bosnia and Herzegovina stresses the importance of A/RES/51/210, which calls upon all states to “take steps to prevent and counteract, through appropriate
domestic measures, the financing of terrorists and terrorist organizations." As we are currently in the process of ratifying the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism, our delegation calls upon all member-states to do the same, and to take particular consideration of Article 4, which states, "Each state party shall adopt such measures as may be necessary: (a) To establish as criminal offences under its domestic law the offences set forth in Article 2; (b) To make those offences punishable by appropriate penalties which take into account the grave nature of the offences." Bosnia and Herzegovina draws special attention to A/RES/53/108, specifically operative clause 1, which "Strongly condemns all acts, methods and practices of terrorism as criminal and unjustifiable, wherever and by whomsoever committed." Intentional actions taken in the war on terrorism are both essential and indispensable. Bosnia and Herzegovina continues to see the tangibility of non-state actors moving in a dire direction, which could prove fatal for innocent civilians. Therefore, we call on the international community to take all necessary precautions domestically, regionally, and worldwide to prevent any further unneeded heartlessness. To further this goal Bosnia and Herzegovina, in accordance with S/RES/1333, has begun checking all the accounts and deposits that could belong to individuals and groups linked with international terrorist organizations, and if such accounts exist, to freeze them immediately. The government and peoples of Bosnia and Herzegovina are indispensable allies in the global campaign against terrorism, and as a result, authorities in Sarajevo have investigated and shut down terrorist networks. While the world has split into a modern civilization and one of barbarism and terrorism, Bosnia and Herzegovina has rightly chosen to ally with the civilized world, and has decided to be a part of the solution. Bosnia and Herzegovina is deeply concerned by the increase of acts of terrorism based on intolerance or extremism, as expressed in A/RES/49/60. Nevertheless, the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina will work meticulously to promote a world of ethnic tolerance, religious pluralism, and the imperative defense of human rights and dignity. We fully support the principles outlined in the Sea-Bed Treaty, the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, the Certain Chemical Weapons Convention, Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on Their Destruction, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Partial Test Ban Treaty, and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Bosnia and Herzegovina calls upon all member states to sign and ratify the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Only through our dedication for this treaty and cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), can we build a
wall between terrorists and nuclear weapons, and keep chemical and biological weapons too distant and expensive for any non-state actor to obtain. We praise the work and diligence of IAEA. In order to aggravate the ability of non-state actors to obtain weapons of mass destruction, we reiterate A/RES/57/50 in reaffirming that, “effective measures should be taken to prevent the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction.” We are even more convinced now than ever that all problems can only be solved through a dialogue based on good political will. From this exact position, we joined the fight against all kinds of terrorism and organized crime.

II. Regional Disarmament

As Bosnia and Herzegovina sees regional disarmament as a fundamental necessity for peace and security, our state reaffirms our dedication to the Agreement on Regional Stabilization, and reiterates the need for full compliance of its general obligations, namely that the establishment of progressive measures for regional stability and arms control is essential to creating a stable peace. Disarmament efforts should be set forth and implemented by all member states to the United Nations, in order to promote a more stable and peaceful global community. Eliminating arms and arms expenditures to competing countries is an obvious requisite in attaining a harmonious community. Bosnia and Herzegovina believes that with the recent acts of terrorism, long term actions and measures must be taken to prevent possible future attacks. Our state praises the efforts of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and commends the Document on Small Arms and Light Weapons of 24 November 2000, which promotes transparency and accountability by exchanging relevant and available information regarding “national legislation and current practice on export policy, procedures, documentation, and on control over international brokering in small arms” with participating states. Bosnia and Herzegovina recalls A/RES/53/73, drawing attention to operative clause 2, which invites states to apply advancements of science and technology for disarmament-related purposes, and to make those advancements available to requesting states. It is of great importance to improve security, and to improve protection of the human lives and goods of Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as all members of the global community, as outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Disarmament plays a crucial role in post-conflict situations. As online in A/RES/57/75, we invite the Conference on Disarmament (CD) to continue its work in the field of transparency in arms. As Bosnia
and Herzegovina is a country ravaged by war and in current stages of reconstion and building of infrastructure, it is of utmost importance to our country to implement resolutions and establish conferences which strive for regional and sub-regional disarmament. Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), are working in partnership in the post conflict situation in the Balkans to assure the international community security and peace. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration have been a project NATO has been successful with. As a participant to the 2000 Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, we support any and all means to reducing the number of nuclear weapons. As participants in the CD, Bosnia and Herzegovina fully supports A/RES/57/76, calling for regional disarmament, and A/RES/57/81, which iterates the Consolidation of Peace through Practical Disarmament Measures in which disarmament and arms reduction are called for, as well as A/RES/56/24H, A/RES/56/25C, and A/RES/57/76. Bosnia and Herzegovina supports measures taken by such groups as the Centre for Peace and Disarmament, which offers support for regional disarmament measures upon request of any member-state, and through this apparatus, our state encourages all nations to take advantage of this opportunity. Bosnia and Herzegovina, along with NATO and the OSCE have made drastic and groundbreaking regional disarmament policies. Bosnia and Herzegovina realizes the problem with substantial resources and funding for such disarmament programs, and is in full support of encouraging those programs already set into action. Bosnia and Herzegovina expresses a favorable attitude towards the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world, recognizing them as complimentary instruments to the Non-Proliferation Treaty. To that effect, we welcome the treaties concluded on those zones. At the same time, however, Bosnia and Herzegovina holds fast to the position that the establishment of any such zone must not interfere with existing or evolving security arrangements, to the detriment of regional and international security. It is our steadfast belief that such zones should not adversely affect the inalienable rights to individual or collective self-defense guaranteed by the Charter of the United Nations. Against the background of currently proposed ideas, Bosnia and Herzegovina considers the concept of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Central and Eastern Europe to be incompatible with the sovereign resolve to contribute to, and benefit from, the new European security architecture, including cooperation with NATO. Internationally recognized nuclear-weapon-free zones should be established only on the basis of arrangements freely arrived at among the states of the region concerned. In the absence of such an arrangement
among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, continuously proposed initiatives do not meet the principal criterion which would allow for those countries consideration. Bosnia and Herzegovina whole-heartedly reaffirms our commitment to the NPT and the international non-proliferation regime. However, we recognize and appreciate the sovereign equality inherent in all States, and call attention to the Helsinki Final Act, which states that all members of the OCSE will “take effective measures which by their scope and by their nature constitute steps towards the ultimate achievement of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.” Accordingly, our State calls upon our specific region, south-eastern Europe, to implement that which is set down in A/RES/57/52, specifically operative clause 16, which states that all, “States are urged to take effective measures against the illicit trade in small arms and light weapons in all its aspects and to help programs and projects aimed at the collection and safe destruction of surplus stocks of small arms and light weapons, and stress the importance of closer cooperation among states, inter alia, in crime prevention, combating terrorism, trafficking in human beings, organized crime, drug trafficking and money-laundering.” All member states are obligated to find an adequate balance between disarming regionally and possessing the necessary requirements for the sole purpose of protection.

III. Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

Bosnia and Herzegovina reaffirms that the prevention of an arms race in outer space would avert grave danger for international peace and security. Participation by the international community as a whole, in the legal regime applicable to outer space could contribute to enhancing the effectiveness of peaceful uses of outer space. Bosnia and Herzegovina observe the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations regarding the use or threat of use of force in their space activities. A/RES/55/32 reaffirms the importance of and urgency of preventing an arms race in outer space, and it reaffirms the states party to the global community to contribute to the common objective of finding peaceful uses of outer space in regards to directed-energy weapons and mass-to-target weapons. The Space Millennium: Vienna Declaration on Space and Human Development (UNISPACE 3) of July 1999 outlines a path towards expanding the peaceful uses of outer space. Notable is Section (f), subsection (3) that encourages innovative private sector financing. Bosnia and Herzegovina are committed to utilizing the technology and human resources available in a manner that is consistent with the Charter of the United Nations. It is of utmost importance for the GA First commit-
tee to come to conclusions on how to use outer space peacefully, but Bosnia and Herzegovina find it crucial to start by defining what the international community sees as a “peaceful uses.” A/RES/56/23 reaffirms all states commitment to the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space. In accordance to the provisions of A/RES/57/57, Bosnia and Herzegovina recognizes that the prevention of an arms race will lead to greater international security and peace. Only through peaceful dialogue, cultural tolerance, and nonviolent conflict resolution can the international community progress toward a world where all humankind can live and flourish in a peaceful sanctuary.

About The Authors

Stefanie Brearley is a graduate student at California State University, Chico. She will complete her Masters of Public Administration in May 2003. Her
undergraduate degrees are in journalism and political science from the University of Nevada. Her book review was written for Dr. Sharon Barrios' Organization Theory course.

**Kiana Buss** is a twenty-one year old graduating senior at California State University, Chico. She is majoring in political science with a minor in international relations. Her research and subsequent paper was based on Richard Fenno’s path breaking book *Home Style*. She received a $2000 research and creativity grant in the summer of 2002 to conduct her study. Dr. Diana Dwyre was the faculty advisor for her project. She is currently participating in the Sacramento Semester program where she is an intern for Assembly member Wilma Chan. She eventually wants to get her Ph.D. in political science.

**Leslie Anne Lee** is a graduate student working towards her Masters in Political Science. She currently resides in Yuba City, California, where she teaches English at Yuba City High School. A professional educator for twelve years, teaching both social science and English, she returned to school in order to continue her education. “Vouchers and Ideology: An Imperfect Fit” was written for Dr. Lori Weber’s Seminar on Public Opinion. Her interest in the project stems from her work as an educator and her experience with both public and private schools. Although her masters degree will provide other employment opportunities, Leslie plans to continue teaching high school students for the remainder of her career.

**Kathleen Moore** is a twenty-two year old political science major from Folsom, California. She will be graduating in May 2003. Her paper was written for Dr. Alan Gibson’s American Political Thought course in spring 2002.

**Krista Pollock** is a twenty-four year old senior at California State University, Chico. Her paper was written for Dr. Lori Weber's Introduction to Political Inquiry course in fall 2002. She is a public administration major and will also be receiving a paralegal certificate. She hopes to use her education to work in the judicial system or go on to law school.

**Meredith Reynolds** is a twenty-one year old senior majoring in public administration with a minor in organizational communication. Her career goal is to become a city manager and eventually teach government at the high school or college level. Currently, she is employed as a coach at Chico High School. She is also a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political
science honor society, the project director of the Chico Youth Shadow City Council, an intern in the city manager’s office at the City of Chico, a Dean’s List recipient, a presenter at the Behavior and Social Sciences Symposium, and last of all, the coordinating editor of Studium. This summer Meredith was a congressional intern for Congressman Cal Dooley in Washington, D.C., which has continued to kindle her flame for public service.

Brian Rich is a twenty-two year old senior at California State University, Chico. Brian is majoring in public administration with an option in criminal justice and also minoring in ethics. He plans to graduate in the spring of 2004 and to pursue a career in law enforcement as a sheriff in his home town of Sacramento, California. He is also interested in pursuing a career in federal law enforcement, perhaps, with the Federal Bureau of Investigation or with the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms. Brian is also a member of the Chico State men’s rugby team.

Bonnie Roy wrote her papers while studying Political Film and Introduction to Political Inquiry with Chico State Professors Rick Ostrom and Charlie Turner, respectively. She is completing her special major in political communication this spring. In the next several years she plans to work toward a doctoral degree in political science and continue with scholarly and creative writing.

Jessica C. Zeidman is a twenty-two year old graduating senior majoring in criminal justice with a minor in public administration. She is in the first graduating class at Chico State to receive a Bachelor of Arts in Criminal Justice and wishes to thanks Dr. Lori Beth Way for making the degree possible and for her incredible patience and guidance. Eventually, Jessica plans to pursue a Ph.D. in Justice, Law, and Society after some “real-world” experience and lots of traveling. She chose Bush v. Gore not because it was her favorite case or she agreed with the outcome, rather she wants to encourage other students to realize the important ramification of the decision. It was written for Civil Rights and Civil Liberties taught by Dr. Artemus Ward, who taught her that the Supreme Court is not an impartial, non-political entity.

About The Editors

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.

**Kiana Buss** is a graduating senior majoring in political science with a minor in international relations. In fall 2002, she was the president of Pi Sigma Alpha and a delegate for the Chico State Model United Nations team. Kiana plans on moving to Washington, D.C. after graduation and getting a job in a congressional office. After that she would like to get her Ph.D. in political science and teach at the university level.

**Jeff Friedman** is a graduating senior studying journalism with a minor in international relations. Currently, he is a copy editor for the California State University, Chico student newspaper, the *Orion*. He spent one semester as an appointee to the Council of Community Affairs for the Associated Students Government. In the international arena, Jeff served two years on Chico State’s award-winning Model United Nations team, as a governor in the Inter-American Development Bank. In fall of 2001, he began his semester long studies at the Beijing Language and Cultural University in Beijing, China. After graduation in May he hopes to return to China for three years and work at an English-print newspaper, covering economic and cultural affairs.

**Autumn Havens** is a graduating senior majoring in public administration with an option in criminal justice. In her spare time, when she is not studying or working with youth in the community at the Boys and Girls Club of Chico, she enjoys listening to music and hanging out with friends. She is also a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honor society. Autumn is from a small town called “Cool” located in the Sierra Nevada foothills. After graduation, Autumn plans on attending law school and living happily ever after.

**Art Jannicelli** is a graduating senior, majoring in political science. He has made the Dean’s list every semester. He is a member of the national political science honors society Pi Sigma Alpha. His primary academic interest is global political economy and hopes to continue to pursue this interest as a graduate student. He also has an Internet domain [www. WhatTheHellAmIDoingHere.com](http://www. WhatTheHellAmIDoingHere.com), which hosts some of his own political and philosophical writing.

**Natalie Metzger** is a graduating senior with a double major in international relations and public administration. When she is not dwelling in the base-
ment of 3rd and Normal, you will often find her in the Community Action Volunteers (CAVE) office, working with the Model United Nations team, sitting in a meeting with the Associated Students Legislative Affairs, or working with developmentally disabled adults. After graduating, Natalie plans to obtain her masters degree and continue to work and study in the field of public policy and international affairs.

**Gary Podesto** is a twenty-one year old senior majoring in English with a minor in creative writing. He is also pursuing a certificate in literary editing and publishing through the English department, which he hopes will aid him in becoming an editor for an established publishing house sometime in the near future. This is Gary’s second semester as a news copyeditor for Chico State’s weekly newspaper, the *Orion*. His experience with the *Orion* has spurred an interest in news writing and prompted him to pursue another minor in journalism. His future academic plans include traveling abroad to study English literature and writing at a university in the United Kingdom. He also plans, though more tentatively, to attend graduate school at Emerson College in Boston, Massachusetts. He hails from a rapidly growing town south of Sacramento called Elk Grove where the cows used to outnumber the people, but who are now outnumbered by all the franchise coffee bars. His interests include various outdoor activities, reading and writing poetry, playing Frisbee golf, and listening to whichever type of music is his favorite that week. He is ecstatic to be involved with Studium and hopes that his contributions will serve to maintain the high level of quality and academic honesty that this publication has sustained during its tenure at Chico State.

**Meredith Reynolds** is a twenty-one year old senior majoring in public administration with a minor in organizational communication. Her career goal is to become a city manager and eventually teach government at the high school or college level. Currently, she is employed as a coach at Chico High School. She is also a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honor society, the project director of the Chico Youth Shadow City Council, an intern in the city manager's office at the City of Chico, a Dean’s List recipient, a presenter at the Behavior and Social Sciences Symposium, and last of all, the coordinating editor of *Studium*. This summer Meredith was a congressional intern for Congressman Cal Dooley in Washington D.C., which has continued to kindle her flame for public service. As a second year member of *Studium*, Meredith is excited to work with the new staff and is confident that this year’s journal will be outstanding!
Peter Spangler is a senior at Chico State studying political science and international relations. Peter has interned for the City of Chico under City Manager Tom Lando in the Community Development Department, played in Chico State’s Jazz Express, and has consistently earned Dean’s List recognition in the college of Behavioral and Social Sciences. Peter’s interests within the discipline are comparative government and political philosophy; he enjoys studying history and plans to attend graduate school where he will study political science. Peter loves to read, spend time with family and friends, and escape on trips as they make themselves available. Peter grew up in Chico and later Durham, graduating from Durham Senior High School in 1999, where he credits his instructors for preparing him so well for future study.

Wilanie R. Yapching is a graduating senior majoring in public administration with a criminal justice option. She is a member of Pi Sigma Alpha, the national political science honor society. Her future plans include attending the police academy and pursuing a career in law enforcement. She would like to eventually pursue graduate work in the field of political science.
Submission Guidelines

*Studium* accepts submissions with a political content from students of all disciplines. Submissions should include a cover sheet with the author’s name, current address, phone, and e-mail. 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 starting May 2003 until the final deadline in winter 2003. (The actual deadline will be announced.) 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 [www.csuchico.edu/~lw33/studium.html](http://www.csuchico.edu/~lw33/studium.html). 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 until after the final papers are selected.