



The 14th Congressional District's
Student Advisory Board

Foreign Policy

2006 Annual Report

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Introduction.....</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Foreign Aid to Africa.....</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>Humanitarian Aid and Genocide.....</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>The United States and Its Dependence on Foreign Oil.....</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>Human Trafficking.....</i>	<i>30</i>
<i>War in Iraq.....</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>Weapons of Mass Destruction/Nuclear Proliferation.....</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>AIDS/Global Health.....</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>Foreign Policy: Trade.....</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>War on Drugs.....</i>	<i>70</i>
<i>Conclusion.....</i>	<i>76</i>
<i>List of 2006 Student Advisory Board Members.....</i>	<i>77</i>

Introduction

John Williford, Student Advisory Board Chair

On behalf of the 2005-2006 Student Advisory Board, I would like to thank Congresswoman Eshoo for continuing to sponsor this great program. Over the last nine months, we have researched the over arching theme of United States Foreign Policy.

Our wonderful Student Advisory Board coordinators Rachel Arnow and Amanda Vaughn Rios noted there has never been a year like this one. Aside from being a very enjoyable and productive year, we faced the challenge of a large, broad, and relevant topic. Foreign policy is such an important issue today with the war on terror, the oil crisis, and the United States' global image. The biggest challenge for our group was to be able to manage the massive amount of pertinent and riveting material and to assemble a concise report that would help the Congresswoman.

The numerous facets of our report make it exciting and powerful. Our report includes insights on Foreign Aid to Africa, Humanitarian Aid and Genocide, Dependence on Foreign Oil, Human Trafficking, the War in Iraq, AIDS, Trade, and the War on Drugs. I am proud of the way the entire Student Advisory Board focused their research and stayed with our umbrella topic of Foreign Policy. The 2006 Student Advisory Board was an enriching experience that has taught each of us the excitement of making a difference, the rewards of diligence, and the content associated with doing something right. I can proudly say that I will look back on this year and this group of kids with respect and satisfaction.

Catharine Burhenne
Roman Gorpenko
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FOREIGN AID TO AFRICA

CONTENT SUMMARY:

- (1) **PROGRAMS and FAILURES:** What foreign aid is going to Africa, what the programs and funding are, what the goals are, and what has actually been accomplished; corruption and mismanagement.
- (2) **MCC, G-8 and PROSPECTS:** The Millennium Challenge, G-8, and current aid proposals meant to address these problems and their shortcomings.
- (3) **Dependence on Aid and What Kind of Aid is Necessary:** Do certain types of aid promote dependence on the aid? Should the *type* of aid change, and should resources be reallocated to avoid this?
- (4) **PROPOSALS and SUMMARY**

FOREIGN AID AND ITS FAILURES: SUMMARY

The Bush Administration has three “strategic pillars” when it comes to foreign aid: 1) economic growth, agriculture, and trade; 2) global health; and 3) democracy, conflict prevention, and humanitarian assistance. Foreign aid generally falls into one of five types, each of which addresses one or more specific strategic pillars. The five types are described in the following paragraphs.

Bilateral Development Assistance is the biggest component of foreign aid, with 34.7% of aid falling into this category in fiscal year 2005 and congress appropriating \$7.35 billion. The US Agency for International Development (USAID) manages most of the funds, and uses them for economic reform, private sector development, democracy promotion, environmental protection, population, and human health. Debt relief for poor African country has also increased in recent years. Bilateral development money also finds its way to Africa through the Peace Corps, African Development Foundation, and the new Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC). The MCC is supposed to increase significantly the amount of aid flowing into countries *that meet specific standards of good governance and free market economic reform.*

The second category of aid is **Economic Aid Supporting US Political and Security Objectives**, and while prominent with regards to Africa during the Cold War era when we tried to win over African dictators, very little aid money under this category goes to African nations, with the exception of Egypt, which has received aid of this kind since its peace with Israel.

The third category is **Humanitarian Assistance**, the programs of which are meant for immediate humanitarian emergencies, including refugees and natural and manmade disasters. Food assistance is a major component of all programs. The Food for

Peace program provides US agricultural products to developing countries, and funds are also used for a “farmer-to-farmer” program that sends hundreds of volunteers to provide advice and trainings to farmers in developing countries.

Multilateral Assistance is a small portion of US foreign aid—only 7%. This money goes to multilateral development projects and international organizations such as UNICEF and the World Bank. Much of this money does find its way to Africa.

Military Assistance, excluding the Iraq War, has gone down by about 10% over the past decade. Very little military assistance is provided to Africa, though peacekeeping funds do support training for an African crisis response force.

The three main types of aid of concern, therefore, are bilateral and multilateral development, and humanitarian. These three combined, which constituted 38.2% of aid in the year 1990, constitute 54.6% of aid in fiscal year 2005. The new Millennium Challenge Corporation and the Global AIDS Initiative pushed this percentage over 50.

The main goals of bilateral development are Bush’s strategic pillars. The first is global health, with \$2.5 billion flowing into programs for child survival, maternal health, HIV/AIDS, other infectious diseases, and reproductive health. Over \$1.4 billion of this money is going to AIDS (an increase from \$855 million in 2003). “Focus” countries for HIV/AIDS aid include Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Nigeria, Zambia, and South Africa. Sudan receives the most US aid of African countries, though there is much less focus on AIDS.

Economic growth is also a major goal, with \$4.4 billion of bilateral assistance in programs that focus on agriculture (which includes science and technology advances, trade-promotion), overall economic growth, the environment, basic education, and higher education. \$2.45 billion of the amount goes to overall growth, whereas only \$325 million was spent on basic education in 2003.

The third goal, which is part of the third pillar, is Democracy & Governance/Conflict. This is one of the biggest goals, because there is so much mismanagement and corruption in African governments, as this report will soon explore. However, only \$1.05 billion is spent on this goal. Whereas \$4.4 billion are spent on economic growth and \$2.5 billion on health issues, only \$1.05 billion are spent on this goal. Though funding for this pillar has risen in recent years, it needs more attention; it is logical that this goal should come first and more funding should be allocated, because without good management and governance, the 18.3% of US foreign aid that goes to Africa can easily be squandered.

Cash Transfers are examples of one way the US is supporting democracy and good governance. In exchange for undertaking difficult political and economic reforms, multiple African countries since the 1980s, and Ghana, Mozambique, and Zambia in fiscal year 2004, have received these cash transfers.

The HIPC Initiative, or Heavily Indebted Poor Country Initiative, has had much US support. The US, the World Bank, the IMF, and other financial institutions and countries are forgiving debts to heavily indebted poor countries, many of which are in Africa. The consensus is that adding more debt hinders development.

Implementation: government AND private sector; contractors, NGOs, universities, charitable private voluntary organizations, etc.

While foreign aid is intended with a good purpose to help the poor African countries, there are a plethora of problems concerning how the money is spent, who

spends it and if the money itself goes to help the African public or not. To a large degree, the aid sent by the U.S. is judged not by its accomplishments to help the African people and economy but rather by the fact that billions of dollars go to the third world countries. Much of the money sent to help the poverty stricken African public actually ends up in the hands of the African regimes, and the bureaucracies that support them. These oppressive governments are a major source of Africa's problems, because their socialist governments deny the spread of private businesses which would reshape the economy. Also, the large amount of food rations that go to Africa destroy competition of domestic farmers who simply cannot compete with the foreign aid, which is contradictory to the goal of aid itself.

Money that goes to the governments instead of the people is a large problem that makes foreign aid highly ineffective. With large amounts of aid money flowing into Africa, the rich leaders of the governments that oppress and even sometimes commit genocide (such as President Kagame of Rwanda) on their people actually become richer. Motubu Sese Seko, President of Zaire, has used much of his money to build 11 presidential palaces and for other luxuries. Former Central African Republic leader Jean-Bedel Bokassa summed it up by stating, "We ask the French for money. We get it, and then we waste it". If that is not enough, many of these leaders put aid money for "retirement" funds in Switzerland, rather than giving it to the people. Other money that is supposed to go to fight AIDS rather ends up in these bank accounts. When the African countries accuse the west of "racism," the west responds by giving money to the same Marxist governments that contradict the west's view of a free democratic society. This money that ends up in the hands of the leaders, increases the power of the African regimes, and all of this is known to the USAID and other organizations who choose not to stop, but rather to continue to give aid to the third world.

G-8 AND DEBT RELIEF

In 1996 The International Monetary Fund (IMF), The World Bank, and regional development banks met and formulated a plan to cancel debt through **the Debt Relief Initiative for Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC)**. More recently, in June 2005, the G8 nations came to an agreement to cancel all multilateral debt for countries who have completed the HIPC program. Though no appropriations are currently needed, additional funding may be needed to increase funding for HIPC debt relief and Congressional Acts including **Multilateral Debt Relief Act of 2005 S. 1320** and **The Jubilee Act of 2005 H.R. 1130** has been introduced as an effort to extend debt relief to a larger group of countries. The G8 proposal introduced four potential concerns: **Scope of Debt Cancellation, No Net Resource Gain, Funding is not guaranteed** and **Future Commitments Are Unspecified.**

The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Program: In order for countries to be eligible for The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Program they must fulfill three requirements: they must be a low income country eligible to borrow from World Bank or International Development Association, **they must have a strong record of policy performance (specifically economic reforms)**, and they must possess an unsustainable debt burden which is more than 150% debt service to exports ratio after bilateral relief has been applied. After a country qualifies they must complete two stages (Decision Point and Completion Point). In order to get to the Decision Point: A country must establish a

three year track record of good economic performance under existing IMF and World Bank Lending Arrangements. During this time HIPC countries receive 67% net or Naples Terms reduction from the Paris Club Creditors. Once a country completes decision point terms and they reach the completion point stage, they must establish a further track record of good economic policies and implement a poverty reduction strategy. During this stage countries receive bilateral debt reduction of 90-100% or Cologne terms. Once countries complete these two stages they receive full and irrevocable debt relief. Out of every continent, Africa has one of the highest concentrations of HIPC countries, According to the HIPC External Debt profile, out of 38 countries listed with a total debt of \$168,217,000,000, 32 of the countries were African and their debt totaled 138,028,000,000 approximately 83% of all HIPC debt in this profile.

Proposed Legislation: Many congressmen have already introduced legislation that would extend debt relief to more countries than are currently covered by HIPC. *The Multilateral Debt Relief Act of 2005(S. 1320)*, proposes to authorize the funding necessary to implement the June 2005 G8 debt relief plan in addition to allowing the Secretary of the Treasury to direct the U.S. director of each international financial institution to reach agreements among shareholder nations to permanently cancel 100% of HIPC countries debt. This bill also proposes to expand the number of eligible countries and requests that the Secretary of the Treasury pursue additional multilateral and bilateral debt relief for countries that qualify for World Bank grant assistance. *The Jubilee Act of 2005(H.R. 1130)* calls for an amendment to the International financial institutions act requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to act with the Paris Club, IMF and World bank to immediately cancel all debts owed by 50 poor eligible countries while at the same time limiting the waiting period to one month from the time a poor country files an application, this would prevent the IMF and World Bank from seeking economic reforms from creditor countries in exchange for debt relief. This would also encourage the governments of eligible countries to apportion 20% of its annual national budget which includes savings from debt cancellation towards programs that provide basic public health care, education and potable water.

Potential Concerns:

Scope of Debt Cancellation: The agreement specifies that only one regional bank, the African Development bank, is covered. Though many HIPC countries are African, many are not, so non-African countries and other sub-regional development banks to which funds are owed to are not covered.

No Net Resource Gain: The HIPC agreement specifies that HIPC countries whose debts are reduced will have their gross assistance flows reduced by the amount forgiven. It has been argued that by exchanging official aid for debt cancellation relief, economic growth is not impacted at all. Any possible growth will be cancelled out by a decrease in total assistance.

Multilateral Development Bank Compensation is not guaranteed. The proposed agreement only guarantees coverage for the coming three years. Future assistance to development Banks and compensating them for their assistance in debt relief is not guaranteed. The specifications that “donors will commit to cover the full costs for the duration of the cancelled loans by makings regular replenishments” creates a dilemma because donor nations meet every three years to decide on funding levels, so there is no *regular* level of assistance. This makes it difficult to ascertain if funding to the

multilateral development banks is increased from the regular level. In addition, loan agreements for most countries span 40 years. Donor nations have promised but are not yet contractually obligated to pay the first ten years of the loan period, which could hypothetically cost the World Bank 30 years of loan payments. The World Bank has requested donor nations to make contractual commitment to pay of the entirety of the debt.

Future Costs may Rise If countries are added to the current list of countries to receive debt relief, costs could potentially rise. Initially in 1996 a two year sunset clause was included to limit the number of countries that were receiving debt relief, the sunset clause has since been extended to 2006. According to projections based on 2004 data 47 countries will receive debt relief, and 42 of these countries debts will be completely cancelled. The 47 countries are comprised of 29 HIPC and 18 non-HIPC countries. Many estimate that the non-HIPC countries would qualify for HIPC debt relief increasing the cost of debt relief by an additional 31.8 billion dollars.

Ignoring all of those concerns, there is still one other: does debt relief promote the squandering of money? What is to stop countries from wasting the money and building up new debt? Debt relief is a good idea, but should be implemented *after* certain political and economic reforms take place, as is the goal of the Millennium Challenge (See below).

MILLENNIUM CHALLENGE CORPORATION:

The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) was established in January of 2004 by the Bush administration in order to manage the Millennium Challenge Account. The Millennium Challenge Account's main objective is to promote African countries to encourage economic freedom, rule justly, and invest in their people. Countries will be selected for aid in a competitive selection process where they will get a rating based on 16 "objective indicators" that will measure the country's performance on three criteria: investment in their citizens, economic freedom, and absence of corruption in their governments. In order to qualify, countries will have to have rankings that are above the median in at least eight of the sixteen indicators as well as be above the median in absence of corruption in the government. In essence, the only countries who will be selected to receive aid have to be, in the words of President George W. Bush, "ruling justly, investing in their people, and encouraging economic freedom." Through the Millennium Challenge Corporation, the administration aims to guide African countries onto a democratic and developmental path.

While the Millennium Challenge Corporation is a step above the current method of implementing aid to African governments, it still far from being a perfect solution. As it is set up now, the Millennium Challenge Corporation will award aid to the countries who are the least corrupt. However, a poor score on one of the indicators may not disqualify a country, and thus, countries only have to be a little bit less corrupt than other countries to receive aid.

Also, the MCC is based on the presumption that leaders will want to get aid to help their people. However, some dictators may not be motivated to eradicate corruption in their governments simply by foreign aid. The Millennium Challenge Account will punish people who do not have leaders who attempt reform.

The Millennium Challenge Account also does not have a system to make sure that aid is spent in ways that aid the people. Once awarded aid, the money goes straight into the hands of dictators, who may or may not choose to invest it in the people. Certain oversight is needed with this program.

“FOR GOD’S SAKE, PLEASE STOP THE AID”

Arguably, money that actually goes to help the African people ironically does more harm to the economy and to the people than good. Kenyan economics expert James Shikwati states, “Africans are taught to be beggars and not to be independent,” and for a couple of reasons. In Kenya, arrivals of corn either go directly into the hands of politicians to use for their own consolidation of power or on to the black market, where it is sold at low prices, making it extremely hard for farmers to compete. In this system of foreign aid, the farmers of Africa are the ones that get hurt the most. Although free U.S. food sometimes actually helps stop hunger (on a small scale), the large amounts of food sent to Africa actually hurt the local agricultural businesses and make it harder for Africans to feed themselves later on. “Local farmers may as well put down their hoes right away; no one can compete with the UN’s World Food Program,” Shikwati says. The dependency on a foreign supply of food stops the needed agricultural reforms and hurts the local markets that would help Africa function on its own. Shikwati says African nations can trade among themselves: “Kenyans, for a change, would be forced to initiate trade relations with Uganda and Tanzania, and buy their food there. This type of trade is vital for Africa. It would force us to improve our own infrastructure, while making national borders...more permeable. It would also force us to establish laws favoring market economy.”

Further, he argues that hunger should not be an issue at all in Sub-Saharan Africa, and that there are also “vast natural resources” including oil, gold, and diamonds. The AIDS pandemic is also vastly exaggerated, Shikwati says, arguing that “There’s nothing else that can generate as much aid money as shocking figures on AIDS. AIDS is a political disease here, and we should be very skeptical. He illustrates this with the fact that reports of AIDS in Kenya suggested that over three million Kenyans are infected, while after tests have been conducted, “it’s only about one million” who are infected. “Malaria is just as much of a problem, but people rarely talk about that,” he says. Regarding donated packages of clothing and such, Shikwati again says “they flood our markets” and “our tailors lose their livelihoods.” In sum, “No one in the low-wage world of Africa can be cost-efficient enough to keep pace with donated products.” As an example, the number of workers in Nigeria’s textile industry was 137,000 in 1997 and only 57,000 in 2003. In reality, this drop in textile workers was also due to increased imports of cheap Chinese fabrics. Nonetheless, the effect of outside products, free or just cheap, is clear. So the solution? Shikwati says: “There must be a change in mentality. We have to stop perceiving ourselves as beggars. These days, Africans only perceive themselves as victims. On the other hand, no one can really picture an African as a businessman. In order to change the current situation, it would be helpful if the aid organizations were to pull out.”

Shikwati simply demonstrates the current effect of the *types* of aid that go to Africa. He correctly points out that there needs to be an Enlightenment culture that is conducive to free markets, self-sufficiency, and entrepreneurship. After all, it was this

Enlightenment culture that made the reconstruction of Germany so successful. It was a reconstruction of a society that already had free markets and entrepreneurship and that had already been industrialized. Shikwati's solution to pull out all foreign aid to Africa, however, may be unnecessary. Foreign aid can be used to expedite progress toward such societies in Africa as well.

FINAL PROPOSALS:

Our solution to the problem of African poverty and the failure of Foreign Aid can be considered a "middle of the road" solution. What we want is to promote everything Economist Shikwati wants—more entrepreneurship, stronger local markets, and more self-sufficiency—but not by withdrawing foreign aid. If implemented and used correctly, foreign aid dollars can expedite such progress. Therefore, our plan is to completely reinvest all humanitarian and development aid money into new programs, as well as into expanding the Millennium Challenge Corporation.

First, we want to promote the most key ingredient to a market economy—entrepreneurship. From there stronger local markets and increased self-sufficiency will follow. Aid money can be used to increase entrepreneurship through microcrediting/microfinancing institutions and programs. Instead of money going directly to the government or to NGOs, and instead of the donation of food aid and the donation of other items, small loans (with very low interest if run by institutions, to no interest if run by the government) can be given to local farmers and businessman to expand production and increase investment in their local economies. Some have described microcrediting as "the extension of an extremely small unsecured, commercial-type loan at interest to a poverty stricken borrower. Loans are disbursed in a group setting to poor borrowers, with some amount of non-credit assistance also being made available. The non-credit assistance typically ranges from skills training to marketing assistance to lessons in social empowerment" (Khander, 1998).

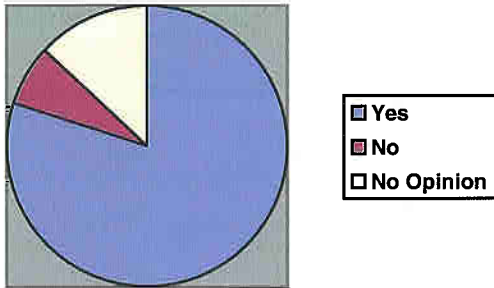
Secondly, the MCC should be expanded. The MCC ensures that corrupt governments do not get foreign aid, and helps identify political, economic, and social reforms that need to be accomplished in Africa. Furthermore, MCC aid should focus more on education, as to maximize the effect of local entrepreneurship and self-sufficiency. Education will further empower the people of Africa to help themselves. Money should be used to build schools and hire and train teachers. Furthermore, since oversight is needed, "randomized trials" or other measures of accountability can be used—nonetheless, someone needs to make sure the money is being spent correctly.

Lastly, the option of using the Peace Corps. as a means to finance college for those who participate should be explored. The person-to-person aid that the Peace Corps. provides can be critical to the education of poor Africans, and college financing will greatly increase incentives to join the Corps.

SURVEY RESULTS:

1. Do you believe the United States government should give foreign aid money to other countries?

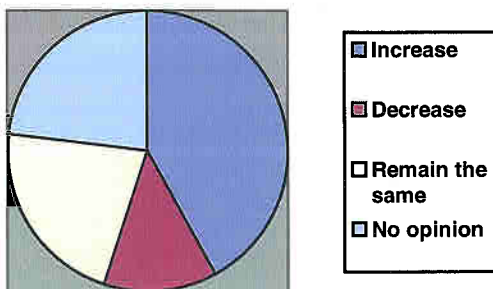
- a. Yes - 80%
- b. No - 7%
- c. No opinion - 13%



This question is simple enough—the majority of high school kids believe we should be giving out foreign aid and that we should be helping other countries.

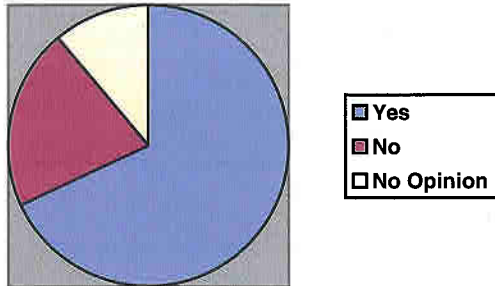
2. Do you believe the United States should increase or decrease foreign aid?

- a. Increase - 42%
- b. Decrease - 13%
- c. Remain the same - 22%
- d. No opinion - 23%



3. Do you think the United States should give food aid to countries whose leaders are corrupt, but whose people are poor?

- a. Yes - 68%
- b. No - 21%
- c. No opinion - 11%



These two questions show that most high school kids are ignorant of the current foreign aid situation. 42% of those polled believe we should increase the amount of foreign aid given, even though those results are not always positive. Unfortunately, this question did not distinguish between countries receiving aid, so while foreign aid is typically construed to mean to Africa and Latin America, it is not clear which types of foreign aid or recipients those polled had in mind. Remarkably, 68% of those polled believe that we should give food aid to countries whose leaders are corrupt, which shows ignorance at the fact that foreign aid simply is not effective under corrupt leadership.

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HUMANITARIAN AID & GENOCIDE

THE GENOCIDE IN DARFUR, SUDAN

“We will call genocide by its rightful name, and we will stand up for the innocent until the peace of Darfur is secured.” President Bush, May 8, 2006

Since early 2003, genocide has been taking place in the Darfur region of Sudan. The conflict involves two groups with different heritages and lifestyles. The first is composed of African tribes, or non-Arab tribes, that include the Fur, Masalit, and Saghwa tribes. The second group is Arab and includes the Baggara tribes. The African tribes traditionally use the land to farm while the Arab tribes are more nomadic and travel around the region. Since 1958 the Sudanese government has been led by various military dictatorships and has had Arab leaders since Sudan’s independence in 1965. The current regime of Sudan’s President Omar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir increased African-Arab tensions and, as a Council on Foreign Relations report states, caused it to transform “into a large-scale violent confrontation tinged with serious racial and ethnic overtones.”

Due to unsuccessful calls for the Sudanese government to focus on Darfur, rebel groups from the region attacked the government in February of 2003 and demanded autonomy. These rebels, led by the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army (SLM/A) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), forced the government to defend itself. Without sufficient strength to retaliate, the government resorted to supporting an Arab militia known as the Janjaweed. The Janjaweed has defended the government, but steered from its original purpose of keeping stability. The situation becomes increasingly unmanageable as the Janjaweed militia continues to fragment and many small rebel groups attempt to gain power.

Since the rebellion, the government is steadily losing direct control of the Janjaweed, yet continues to support the militia. The Janjaweed has been accused of looting villages, destroying crops, raping women, and killing innocent civilians. The victims of the attacks have been predominantly men, women, and children from the African tribes in Darfur. In the past three years, the violence has resulted in an estimated 2.5 million displaced persons and 400,000 deaths. With no help from the Sudanese government, Darfurian refugees are forced to reside in refugee camps. Over 200 camps have been established throughout Darfur in an attempt to provide a more secure area for the refugees, but with up to 100,000 people at each of the camps this is a crisis for humanitarian aid workers. Currently, more than half of the population of Darfur depends on humanitarian assistance as 3 million people have been affected by the genocide.

In April, 1994 a similar situation occurred in Rwanda. The genocide lasted an estimated 100 days and was an attempt of Hutu rebels to kill Tutsis and moderate Hutu politicians. Two tribes, Hutu and Tutsi, had lived together in the region of Rwanda until 1916 when Belgian troops established a colony. Although the two tribes were similar in

language and culture, Belgians saw the Tutsis superior to the Hutus and provided them with better education and resources. Being forced to carry identification cards, which stated whether or not they were Hutu or Tutsi, the Hutus started to see themselves as different from the Tutsi. Growing sentiment of the Hutus led to riots in 1959 that resulted in the deaths of 20,000 and the fleeing of many more Tutsis to neighboring Burundi, Tanzania and Uganda. The Tutsi refugees in Uganda later formed the Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) to overthrow the new Hutu President Habyarimana. However, when the President's plane crashed on April 6, 1994 it triggered a violent aggressive as Hutu guards in Kigali started using Interahamwe troops and the radio as a communication tool to carry out the attacks against the Tutsis. Although there is no definite count of the number of deaths that resulted from the killings, sources estimate that between 300,000 and 800,000 lost their lives. In mid-July the RPF was able to take control of Kigali and declare a ceasefire. It formed an interim government and ended the 100-day genocide.

The Rwanda genocide is similar to Darfur in that the government lost control of the country, causing a systematic killing, rape, and starvation of people. The form in which the genocide took place results in only estimates of the number of people displaced and killed rather than a definite number. This has a strong resemblance to the current situation in Darfur where killings are sporadic and not uniform.

In a speech in Kigali, Rwanda on March 25, 1998, President Clinton said, "we (the international community) did not act quickly enough after the killing began. We should not have allowed the refugee camps to become safe havens for the killers..." The international community must learn from the Rwandan genocide and not allow such instances to repeat in regions like Darfur in which similar situations are occurring today.

During the 1990's the people of Somalia were suffering from similar violence. Since the mid twentieth century, Somalia had been devastated by the lack of a strong centralized government. Colonization had left the country with no stable government which resulted in fighting among many of the clans in Somalia. The clans used food as their major source of power by limiting the supply of food to civilians. As a result, over 300,000 Somalis died of starvation. After the United Nations failed an attempt to intervene and provide humanitarian relief in 1992, President Bush proposed a US led international UN force into Somalia to end the violence. This operation, known as "Operation Restore Hope", was intended to be temporary but almost a year later the troops were still in Somalia. In October of 1993, during the "Battle of Mogadishu" eighteen US soldiers were killed and brutalized in the streets of Mogadishu. When the American public learned of the incident, they were outraged. President Clinton quickly deserted the mission and pulled the US troops out of Somalia.

These events contributed to President Clinton's hesitation to interfere in Rwanda. With the memories of the abused American soldiers fresh in his mind, President Clinton wanted to avoid the risk that comes with intervening in a foreign country. In Darfur, however, the aid the US can provide far outweighs the risk of intervening. It was also clear that the longer US troops stayed in Somalia, the larger the military goals had become. President Bush had planned to quickly secure trade routes in Somalia and then depart, but the goals gradually expanded. Another obstacle was that the Somali faction leaders were very unwilling to cooperate with the UN and US forces. If the United States creates concrete goals and a realistic plan to work with the UN and the AU, and if it creates good relations with the Darfur leaders, the US can help end the genocide.

Many people argue that the situation in Darfur is not genocide. Regardless of its label, an estimated 400,000 people have been murdered and millions more are in dire need of humanitarian aid. Until the summer of 2004, though, the Sudanese government restricted and delayed humanitarian aid, allowing only three-dozen aid workers to be in the region. These numbers are continually increasing, yet still the government is using various tactics to keep humanitarian aid groups out of the area. The few aid workers that are permitted in the region have been harassed, attacked, and had their stations looted. Security settings for the area are set at the highest level, level four, which means that it cannot guarantee the safety of anyone in the Darfur region.

In the middle of 2004, the situation in Darfur was at its worst. Based on a UN Security Council Report it was estimated that 10,000 of the one million Darfurians affected died per month as a result of Janjaweed attacks, lack of food and water, and disease in the refugee camps. In 2005, however, this number decreased to a third of that mortality rate due to increased donations of money and resources. Unfortunately, the current situation in Darfur has regressed to the appalling state of 2004 and due to the fact that there are now three million people affected by the violence, it is possible that there could be up to 30,000 deaths per month. For this reason funding for humanitarian aid in Darfur is more than necessary to prevent unnecessary deaths.

Although the UN and the United States could send troops to accomplish this task, such a military force is not plausible. US troops are spread too thin, which makes US military involvement very difficult and would not be a strong enough force to end the violence. Instead, it would be better for the United States to support the already stationed African Union by providing financial assistance to them. There are currently about 7,000 African Union (AU) soldiers stationed in Darfur. They provide a small amount of protection, yet patrol Darfur unarmed because they do not have sufficient resources to do more than merely observe and monitor the violence, rather than protect the people. With increased financial assistance, the AU would be stronger and could therefore keep the situation under control until it is possible for a stronger and more robust UN peacekeeping force to be deployed to Darfur. Due to the fact that the process of deploying a UN force would be slow, it necessary that the AU is strong enough to keep Darfur safe until the UN peacekeepers can help resolve the situation.

The instability in the region and the lack of a centralized government contributes to the region's high potential for housing terrorists. Due to the proximity of the Middle East and the presence of terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda to the Darfur region it could potentially harm the US fight against terror. Furthermore, the lack of leadership in Darfur could easily lead to the uprising of groups each controlling their own section of the country. The people of Darfur are in desperate need of help and this desperation could make them vulnerable to the radical ideas of a terrorist organization. A failure on the behalf of the international community to act now could result in another nation led by terrorists.

According to the Genocide Convention, signed by the United Nation's General Assembly in 1948, genocide is punishable by international law. The convention was formed after the Holocaust of World War II as a means of preventing such occurrences in the future. Its goal is both to prevent genocide from happening and to punish those involved in such crimes. The document states that "the Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in

force.” Every participating member in the agreement is hereby required to act in the presence of genocide and try to prevent the continuity of violence. As presented by Article II in the document, which the United States has signed, genocide is defined as a series of “acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group,” by killing or intending to kill members of a group, harming physically or emotionally members of a group, preventing births in a group or “transferring children of the group to another group.” The United States has identified the killings in Darfur as genocide. Although not all countries and international organizations used the term “genocide” for the situation, the United States has stated that the severity of the conflict is genocide. The United States is therefore responsible for interfering as a result of agreements set forth by the convention due to its voluntary membership.

An estimated 220,000 Darfurians have fled to neighboring Chad to seek safety from the Janjaweed. The Chad-Sudan border is 1,360 kilometers long and many of the refugee camps are built in urban areas or next to small towns along that border. Currently, however, the Janjaweed has crossed the border and began staging raids, attacking both the Darfurian refugees and Chadian villagers, seizing their livestock, and killing those who defy them. There have also been reports of tensions between local Chadians and Darfurian refugees over the scarce availability of food and water. Most of the refugees are unable to find jobs and fully rely on aid provided by the refugee camps. The situation will only become worse if the refugees remain in Chad and they must therefore be returned to a stable home quickly.

In early 2005, a five-person UN commission traveled to Sudan to investigate the situation in Darfur. They could not determine whether or not this was genocide because, at the time, there was not enough evidence to prove that there was intent to destroy or annihilate a group of people. However, the UN has since recognized the dire situation in this area, regardless of whether or not it can be classified as genocide or not. The UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan has reported that conditions in Darfur are deteriorating, and that many people are still dying, being raped and displaced.

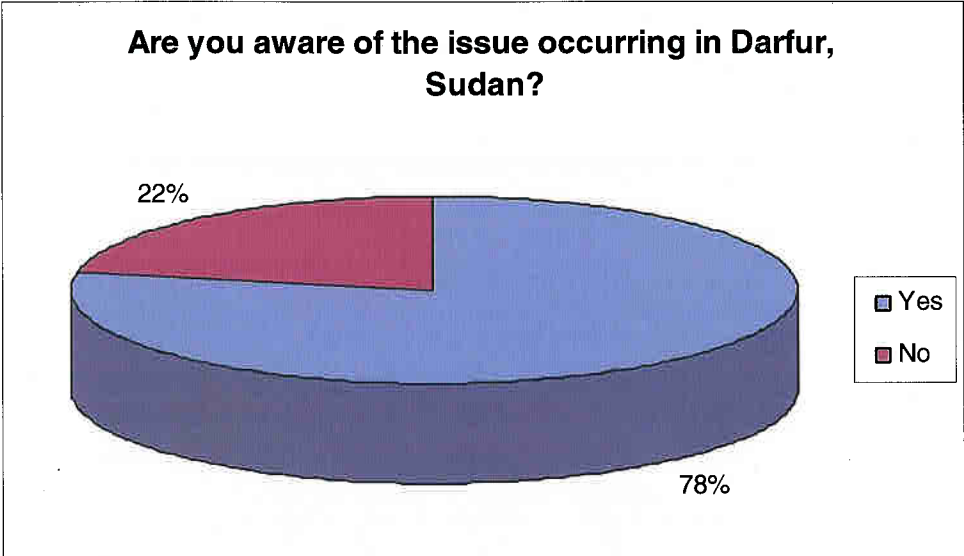
Due to the lack of aid from foreign countries, the World Food Bank was recently forced to cut the amount of food given to each person from 2,100 to 1,050 calories per day. The US is the major provider of humanitarian aid in the region, but the recent reduction of food rations has shown that the US cannot afford to be the leading provider of aid. The US must also influence other countries to send aid to Darfur in order to give the refugees a chance of survival.

The Rwandan genocide and the conflict in Somalia have shown that a speedy and well planned intervention is necessary. If the US and the international community act quickly to influence the government of Sudan to reach a fair peace agreement, further conflict in the region of Darfur can be avoided. Our late interference, however, has left the Darfurians in desperate need of help. The US must therefore use its influence to urge the UN to send a peacekeeping force and to reinforce the AU troops that are already on the ground. The recent agreement between the Sudanese government and major rebel groups has created hope that both sides will disarm. This recent event has brought more media attention to the situation and could encourage more Americans to get involved in the effort to stop the violence.

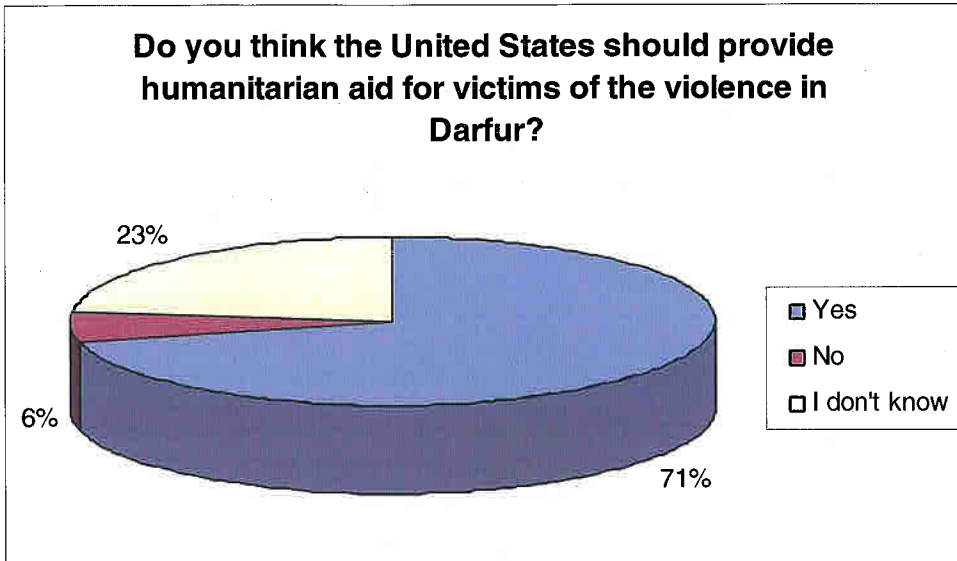
In order to educate the American people, we urge President Bush to mention the topic in his speeches in order to gain public attention that will spark a relief effort such as

those that we have made in response to such disasters as Hurricane Katrina and the tsunami in Southeast Asia. We urge members of Congress to discuss the current situation in Darfur in their town hall meetings and urge the American public to get involved. Furthermore, we support laws passed by Congress that would provide humanitarian assistance to the civilian population in the region of Darfur. The American people have the power to stop this genocide before it becomes even worse, but they need a strong voice, such as that of our government, to raise awareness of the atrocities that are occurring in Darfur, Sudan. With the support of the American public, US leaders will have the political will and the responsibility to lead to international community in an effort to stop the genocide in Darfur and prevent the suffering of innocent civilians in the region.

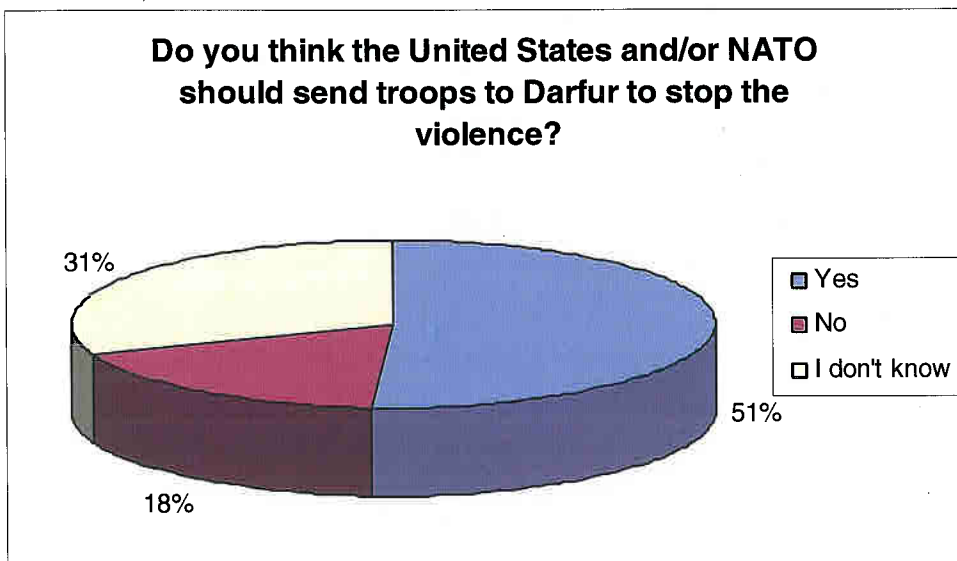
SURVEY RESULTS:



It is clear that most youth are aware of the conflict in Darfur, Sudan. Less than a quarter of the students surveyed said they have never heard about the situation. This proves that although a surprising number have not heard of the situation that has been occurring since early 2003, the majority of students are aware of the conflict and have heard that violence has been occurring in the region.



Almost three quarters of the students surveyed believe that the United States should provide humanitarian aid to the victims of the violence in Darfur. Less than ten percent said that the United States should not intervene in the conflict by providing aid to victims. However, almost a quarter of students said that they have no opinion on the matter. We believe that those students who did not know whether or not the United States should provide aid are either not aware of the situation in the region, or do not have enough information to have a clear opinion of the United States' reaction to the conflict.



A little over half of the students surveyed believe that the United States and/or NATO should send troops into Darfur to stop the violence that has been occurring since early 2003. 31% said that they do not know whether sending troops would be a successful solution to the problem. This was followed by 18% of which said that they believe the United States and NATO should not have a military involvement in the situation.

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THE UNITED STATES AND ITS DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL

INTRODUCTION

What powers life? What powers the miraculous machines that we humans use every single day? What powers our refrigerators, our automobiles, and the remote in your hand? One word: energy. It is energy that drives American society today. It allows us to live at a faster pace and accomplish more than we ever have in the past. However, valuable energy resources in our own backyard are gradually depleting. The amount of energy resources that we consume requires us to import energy supplies. Some people would like to believe that foreign energy is the solution to all of our energy problems. But as we enter the 21st century, another new age of technology, we are faced with an ever-mounting pile of questions. Are foreign energy sources truly the right way to go? Will Saudi Arabia and South America maintain trade with the United States? Should we maintain trade with them? And what exactly are we going to do if the oil wells of other nations run dry? So many questions, so few answers. And all the while, foreign supplies of energy continue to dwindle, drop by drop...

SAUDI ARABIA AND OIL

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia contains one fourth of the worlds proven oil reserves. Our desire for their high quantity of natural energy is one of the main reasons that the United States has had such a friendly relationship with them. But recently, the Saudi people's involvement in the 9/11 attacks, the war on terror and the recent interest in saving gas after the price hike has left some Americans cautious of this continued relationship. Our relationship with the Middle Eastern kingdom of Saudi Arabia is based on their wealth of oil that will soon run out and comes with a Faustian bargain that could compromise national security.

The United States gets 11.9% of their oil from Saudi Arabia, a big chunk out of a big pie. Saudi Arabia used to be the number one supplier of oil to the United States, but recently they have been overtaken by Canada and South America. Saudi Arabia produces 9.5 million barrels per day (bpd) of oil and is increasing that to 12.5 million bpd by the end of the decade and 15 million bpd over time. (CRS Report) This could help Saudi Arabia regain its control over the U.S oil market and tighten their grip on the United States oil supply. If all of this oil lasted forever, it wouldn't be a bad situation. But, according to the National Center For Policy Analysis, "If world oil consumption continues to increase at an average rate of 1.4 percent a year, and no further resources are discovered, the world's oil supply will not be exhausted until the year 2056." The year 2056 might not worry the average middle age man or woman, but a seventeen year old girl/boy would be sixty-seven and in the prime of life. Not having any gas to fuel their cars, planes and houses will be a very big problem for them. No matter how much oil the

Saudi Government has, if we don't wean ourselves off this dangerous addiction, we will not be in a very good state once it all runs out.

But the oil situation is not the only reason why we might need to rethink our relationship with the Middle Eastern country. Fifteen of the nineteen hijackers of September eleventh attacks were Saudi Arabian and there appears to be a growing anti-Americanism in some parts of the Saudi population. (CRS Report) While the 9/11 Report cleared Saudi Arabia of wrong doing, it called it a 'problematic ally in combating Islamic extremism'. The government may be supportive of the U.S. but it appears that their people may be less willing to cooperate. Some critics claim that Saudi domestic and foreign policies have created a climate that may have contributed to terrorist acts by Islamic radicals. (CRS Report) The most wanted terrorist in the world, Osama Bin Laden, was actually a Saudi national until they revoked his citizenship in 1994.

There have also been financial accusations about Saudi money, 'Islamic schools run by the Saudi Arabia-based non-government organization Umm al-Qura (was) a front for channeling terrorist money into Cambodia from Saudi Arabia.' (Department of State Country Reports on Terrorism.) And in 2005, senior members of the Saudi official religious establishment had to rebut a November "fatwa" issued by 26 radical Saudi clerics, who called on Iraqis to resist Coalition forces in Iraq by force.

After the collapse of the Dubai ports deal, it has become apparent that the United States citizens are becoming more critical of the countries we deal with. Saudi Arabia is certainly a country that should do and will come under closer inspection during this time of international uncertainty and paranoia.

SOUTH AMERICAN OIL POLICY

Venezuela's president, Hugo Chavez, is determined to gain complete governmental control over Venezuelan oil fields, eliminating the privatization that has taken place over the past few decades. He sees oil as a geopolitical weapon that can be used to damage or fight the "neoliberalism" of the United States. Chavez is working to put together a coalition of likeminded oil producing nations to consolidate power. He considers the United States an imperialist power and wants them eliminated. He is also forming strong ties with Fidel Castro in order to diversify Venezuela's market because he knows he is dependent on the U.S. buying his oil. The U.S. is geographically the closest nation to Venezuela and have the technology to refine its oil. That makes us the easiest and most profitable importer. Chavez is also reaching out to Asia, which needs fast, large shipments of oil, but Asia has many logistical and infrastructural problems making it too expensive to be a practical trade partner. The U.S. currently imports 60% of Venezuelan oil. Cutting off the pipeline to the United States would be severely detrimental to both countries, economically and otherwise. Chavez is such an extremist that he is considered a dangerous national security risk, making it necessary for the U.S. to look for alternative energy sources.

When initially elected in 1998, Chavez gave radical speeches about his hatred of the United States and breaking off ties with the U.S. government. His rhetoric has softened somewhat recently, but the current administration is not buying it and views him as an abusive dictator with illusions of grandeur. As with most countries that are large oil producers, including those in the Middle East, money and greed have created egomaniacal leaders with no concern for their people. These difficult political situations

and power struggles have made the U.S. vulnerable to blackmail and economic dependence. We need to become less oil dependant as a society. It's impossible for the United States to negotiate with a leader who wants to interfere with our economy or blackmail our country to further his goals for his own country. The United States must find new energy sources or learn to create new types of energy that can be produced within our own country so we will not be subject to this type of international sabotage. Energy has become a valuable resource often held in the hands of unstable, greedy dictators or religious extremists.

IMPACT ON FOREIGN NATIONS

Does energy trade with South America and Saudi Arabia help or hinder foreign relations with these countries? The United States has fallen out of favor with a few nations since the invasion of Iraq. America desperately needs to save its reputation and present a respectable image to the international community. However, energy trade can be a controversial topic in diplomatic discussions. Should the United States continue to rely on other countries for its energy sources, or should it search for an alternative route?

One of America's major suppliers of energy is Colombia, with whom the United States frequently trades with for crude oil and petroleum. Currently, Colombia ranks tenth in energy exports, providing the U.S. with approximately 157,000 barrels of oil per day in 2005 (Crude Oil 1). The two nations have been on relatively good terms since America first recognized Colombian independence in 1822. Relations between the two countries have continued to steadily improve under the current Uribe administration in Colombia, as the South American leader has repeatedly stressed the need to work with the United States in combating terrorism and illicit narcotics trade (Colombia 9). It appears to be a friendly, dependable source for America's energy needs.

Venezuela is a different story. One major roadblock obstructs America's path: Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez. Once upon a time, the two countries got along just fine, but everything quickly turned upside-down when Chavez rose to prominence in 1998 and nettled the United States by frequently calling for the Americans to keep out of Venezuela's business. Some of Chavez's more outrageous acts include trying to redirect oil exports to China and using the country's oil influence to gain foreign allies in Latin America. Chavez firmly believes the United States secretly wants to sabotage Venezuela's oil supply (U.S.-Venezuelan Relations 1-2). Clearly, the two nations are currently at a crossroad.

Perhaps the most important energy provider of all is Saudi Arabia. It accounts for 20% of total U.S. crude imports and 10% of U.S. consumption. Clearly, Saudi Arabia is a key component to the success of American industry. But how are foreign relations between these two countries? Surprisingly, they are decent at this point. Peace between them hit an all-time low after the September 11 attacks because Saudi Arabia was believed to be involved in the hijackings. However, after several suicide bombings in the Middle Eastern nation in 2003, relations significantly improved as the two countries began working together to counter terrorism. Though human rights issues in Saudi Arabia may concern the United States from time to time, each country seems to feed off one another admirably, making profitable trades and maintaining solid relations.

Seeing how much the United States relies on Colombia for resources and how the two countries are amicable with one another, America should attempt to maintain the

good feelings by continuing energy trade. On the other hand, due to the animosity between America and Venezuela, it is probably a better idea for the U.S. to look elsewhere for energy. After all, Venezuela has already begun trying to exclude America from its foreign markets. America should lean more heavily on friendlier South American countries, such as Brazil or the aforementioned Colombia. Finally, examining all the foreign trade that occurs between the United States and Saudi Arabia, it is evident the two nations need one another in order to survive. Therefore, the U.S. should continue to purchase oil from the Middle Eastern country and hope that their old wounds will keep on healing.

It's quite simple, really. The U.S. needs oil. Other countries have it. Perfect match – well, almost. All told, America should maintain energy trade with Colombia and Saudi Arabia, but avoid Venezuela for the time being. However, the U.S. should still research alternative energy sources. After all, oil isn't going to last forever. And that's a fact.

WHAT CAN CONGRESS DO TO HELP REDUCE AMERICA'S DEPENDENCY ON FOREIGN OIL?

Most Americans agree with President Bush over the fact that America's dependence on Middle Eastern oil needs to be a thing of the past. Although it is clear that America needs to reduce its addiction to foreign sources of oil, many Americans disagree with the president over the effectiveness of America's current foreign energy legislation. Unfortunately, our foreign problems are unable to be resolved as a result of domestic debate. At the present time, energy legislation in the United States is being delayed by a variety of political arguments, issues, and disagreements. Due to an ineffective presidential plan, a deadlocked Congress, and a general lack of concern over the consequences of America's oil addiction, the United States is basically getting nowhere in its attempts to eliminate America's foreign dependence on oil. Since this is the case, America must get itself together in order to resolve these issues and pave the way for reasonable yet effective reforms in reducing its addiction on foreign oil.

The first major issue regarding legislation over a reduction in foreign oil is President Bush and his executive administration. President Bush suggests that Congress is currently to blame for America's unchanged reforms on foreign energy, as mentioned by one of his senior aides: "If the Congress had acted three years ago, some of the [energy] policies we put forward could have had an impact today." Although the President blames Congress for America's inability to cut its foreign energy addiction, the President actually shares some of the blame because he has not outlined an effective energy plan for America's future. Instead of focusing on sustainable long-term policies for America's future, President Bush's energy legislation only focuses on ineffective short-term policies. By attempting to tap into more domestic sources, and by attempting to establish tax credits for high-mileage vehicles, the President only appears to escape from the problem by focusing on short-lived temporary solutions that will not change our appetite for oil. As a result of the President's stubbornness in dealing with the problem, both of his energy bills have been never been approved by a majority in Congress in the years of 2003 and 2005. Due to these current issues, it is certainly obvious that the president needs to reform his energy policies and plans in order to reduce America's addiction on foreign sources of oil.

In addition to President Bush's ineffective energy policies, aggravating partisan deadlock in Congress is also a major source of ineffective energy legislation in the United

States today. A lack of bipartisan support in both the Senate and the House of Representatives is preventing the passage of any new piece of energy legislation. During the past couple of years, energy legislation has been especially divided over the controversial Republican plan to drill for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Although a coalition of Democrats and moderate Republicans has repeatedly blocked the GOP's proposal to develop oil refineries in the untouched Alaskan wilderness, Republican leaders in both houses say that they will continue to attach the ANWR drilling proposal into future legislation. Unfortunately, this will continue to sharpen partisan division, because the Democrats are also refusing to back down on their environmental opposition to the ANWR proposal. As Senate Representative Tom Allen (D-Maine) stated to the *Washington Post*, "We need an opportunity to develop real solutions, to offer amendments and to vote on new ideas that improve [outdated energy bills]." Because the Republicans and Democrats each have their own idea about reducing America's dependency on foreign oil, it is true that a strong bipartisan agreement must be achieved in Congress before Americans can expect the United States to reduce its dependency on foreign energy sources.

While partisan conflicts might be the bothersome barrier to future energy legislation, it is highly likely that many government officials are simply unaware of the negative consequences of America's destructive addiction to foreign oil. In recent times, environmental groups have been criticizing President Bush for his environmentally-destructive energy plans, and one prime source of this presidential disapproval is coming from the Sierra Club. Carl Pope, the executive director of the Sierra Club, has been criticizing the President's refusal to raise fuel economy standards in American cars. He stated in a press release that President Bush's current energy plan "doesn't save fuel, doesn't cut pollution, and merely walks in place." Because President Bush's energy plan does not consider major environmental factors, it only seems like the President is sacrificing America's environment in order to sustain America's addiction on foreign oil.

In addition to a lack of environmental attention, many energy bills are simply being disputed and rejected at the Congressional bargaining table because the US has not yet realized another economic panic as previously seen by the OPEC oil crisis of 1973. During the oil crisis, Congress reacted to America's economic peril at the gas pump by successfully passing the Energy Policy and Conservation Act of 1975, which established the Federal Corporate Average Fuel Economy Standards for new passenger cars and trucks. This was a drastic and dramatic piece of energy legislation passed by Congress, and such an act was only passed by the government in reaction to the tight fuel supplies and rising energy prices that American consumers faced at the time. Unfortunately, because the United States has not yet experienced another major oil crisis in the 21st Century, Congress is once again hesitant on swiftly passing new energy legislation. Useful energy bills such as H.R.4409 and S.2025 have simply been referred to their assigned committees, and no major action has been taken to promote them. Since this is the case, Congress must take higher levels of consideration about the consequences of America's dependence on foreign sources of oil in order to promote the passage of new energy legislation.

With so many different issues about America's addiction on foreign energy sources, it is necessary for the President and Congress to think twice about energy reform. Because President Bush's energy policies do not outline effective long-term plans

for the future of America's energy, it is hopeless to see Congress approve his projected energy proposals. In addition, because of partisan deadlock between Republicans and Democrats, it is unpromising to expect bills to make it past the Congressional bargaining table. Finally, because both President Bush and Congress do not fully realize the environmental and economic consequences of America's dependence on oil from politically-unstable nations, it is doubtful and dubious to expect dramatic legislation which will effectively reduce America's desire for foreign oil. In order for the United States to drastically solve its problematic addiction to international sources of oil, it is necessary for the President and Congress to work together in order to create acceptable and useful reforms in the future.

WHAT WOULD WE DO IF FOREIGN ENERGY SUPPLIES WERE CUT?

The United States contains five percent of the world's population and an insignificant two percent of the world's oil reserves. Despite these modest numbers, the U.S. consumes a massive 25 percent of the world's crude oil. There is no denying that the U.S. seems incredibly greedy when it comes to oil usage. The U.S. also seems to be progressing towards running out of oil. With the high importance of foreign oil to the U.S.'s economy, global diplomacy, and political agendas, the question is: what would we do if the foreign energy supply went dry?

To get a sense for what might happen now if our foreign energy sources were cut, we will look at the Mideast Oil Crisis from the 1970's. This crisis occurred because of U.S. intervention in and Arab-Israeli conflict. Since many Middle Eastern oil-rich countries stopped exporting crude oil to the U.S. the rules of supply and demand took a firm grasp on the economy. Prices started to rise rapidly and people would wait in long lines at the gas pump to fill up their vehicle. We needed to find more usable crude oil and petroleum. The U.S. looked for oil reserves in Alaska. U.S. oil prices rose from 5 dollars a barrel in 1973 to 34 dollars a barrel in 1979. Gas was rationed in order to conserve the amount that Americans consumed. A large emphasis was put on fuel economy in the auto-industry. These setbacks to our modern way of life are just a small glimpse of what could potentially happen if our foreign oil supplies were decreased or stopped altogether.

If all of our foreign oil suppliers suddenly decided to stop providing us with oil, we would encounter some very serious problems. Just think about all the every day events that require energy. We take for granted everything from the hot water in our shower to the cooked food we have for dinner to the fuel in our car. If major resources for energy were taken away, almost everything would be changed. The government would have to start regulating energy usage or start rationing our energy. There would only be a short time at night when we would be allowed to turn on the lights. We would have to use "burst showers" where we would rinse ourselves with a quick spurt of water, then soap up, then rinse off with another quick burst of water. We would have to have more blankets by our bed and more coats in our closet because we wouldn't be able to turn on the heater. We would only be allowed to drive 10 miles per day and if we wanted to travel far away, we would have to save up our miles. All of our freedoms and personal comforts would be strictly violated and our lifestyles would change catastrophically.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONGRESS

We believe that Congress should place a greater emphasis on funding research for alternative fuels, such as ethanol or biodiesel. Although energy trade with foreign countries is a viable option in the short-term, we need to develop a solid solution for the long-term as well. This can be accomplished by gradually shifting away from oil and more toward the aforementioned resources. If we were to simply maintain the status quo, the world's supply of energy will soon be nonexistent. Therefore, it is imperative we begin researching alternative fuels with the hopes of introducing them into the U.S. market sometime in the near future.

There are ways that we can fight against this horrible dream. There are 220 million cars in the United States right now. Something as small as inflating our tire pressure can result in 52 billion lbs decrease of CO2 emitted into the atmosphere. Americans could also save 7 billion dollars annually from more effectively inflated tires. This would stimulate the economy because Americans would have more money in their pockets and more gas in their tanks. Alternative energy sources like solar power, wind power, hydroelectric power, and nuclear power can be very effective ways to generate power without harmful emissions. The new Ethanol Industry will have a large impact on our economy, will take a lot of emissions out of the air, and will help diminish our dependency on foreign energy sources. This new industry is projected to create over 153,000 jobs, reduce our oil imports costs by \$8.7 billion, and reduce greenhouse emissions by 8 million tons. That is the equivalent of taking one million vehicles off the road. The problem is that alternative energies haven't been implemented on a large scale system. This problem has persisted since the 1970's. Now the adolescents and young adults have to face the consequences of their lack of action. If we don't take care of our dependency on foreign energy sources now, my generation will encounter the same problem, but our challenges will be even more complex.

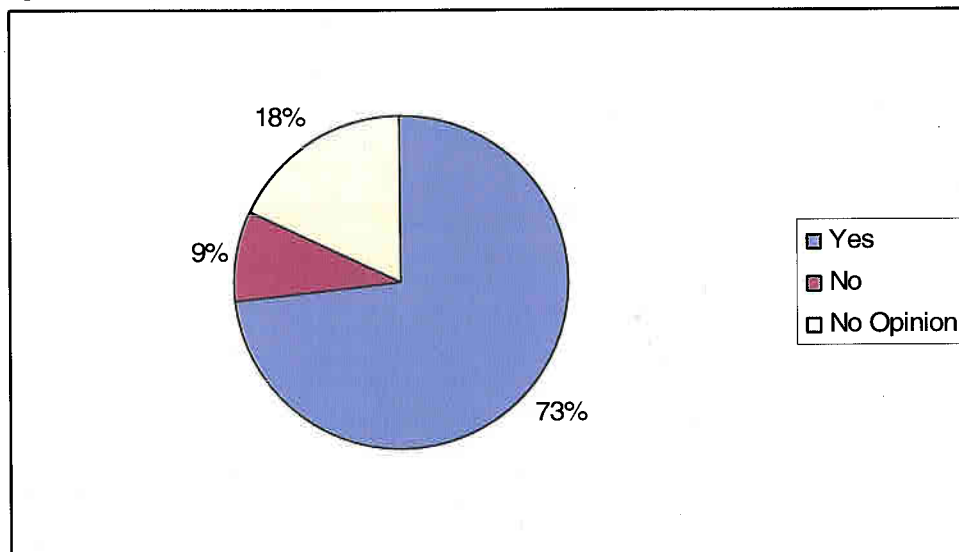
The world has become a very dangerous environment with oil resources being controlled by extreme religious fanatics and power hungry dictators. The United States can not afford to be subject to their blackmail and threats of oil stoppages. Our economy is very dependent on energy resources and shortages could result in devastating recessions or even a major depression. The government needs to get involved before this happens. Legislators need to use tax credits, research grants and any other motivations to encourage industry to expand research into alternative energy resources and individuals to become more energy efficient. We must approve oil development in Alaska and elsewhere in the United States. There are other sources of energy available in California such as solar, wind and hydroelectric power but they have not been developed or made economically feasible. Instead of reducing budgets on research, we need expand investment and think of the future. We all need to get involved to keep our economy strong and our country free of international blackmail.

Furthermore, I also think that the country should wean itself off of a resource that relies upon other nations, who have important and vocal minorities who wish America destroyed. America needs to try and become as independent as possible, so we can make foreign policy decisions, unbiased by our addiction to their products and become less vulnerable. The problem that America is facing due to its dependence on foreign oil is almost inevitable: President Bush must make dramatic legislation that will significantly decrease the United States' dependence on foreign energy sources. The President's

legislation should focus on the future of America's energy by favoring alternative fuels instead of an increased output of domestic oil, and it should not break any environmental laws that are currently established under both American and international civil law. Additionally, the Bush Administration must also cooperate with America's minority groups in order to guarantee a plan that will continue to be favored by a majority of Congress in the upcoming years for smooth sailing in energy reform. Congresswomen Eshoo could try to push for tax breaks for citizens using hybrid cars or alt energy sources, get tax breaks if households show a decrease in energy consumption or use of alternative energy methods, give a bigger part of the federal budget to agencies researching alt energy sources and support or introduce legislation that would give tax breaks to industries that cut down oil use or use alternative energy resources.

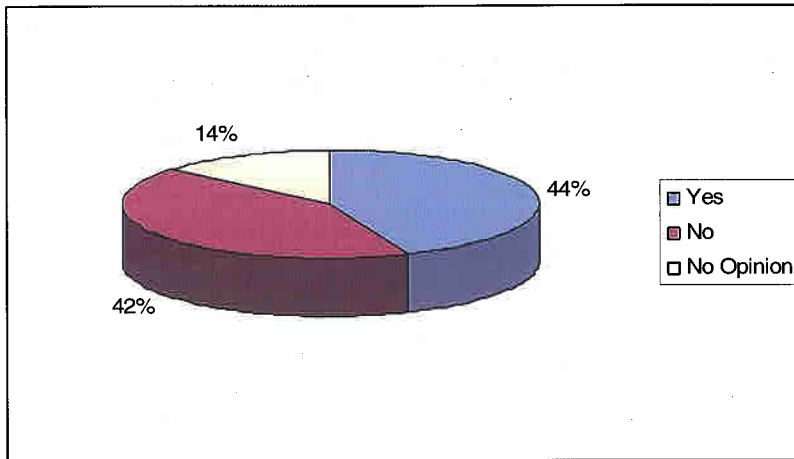
SURVEY RESULTS

Is Foreign Oil Dependency Important to You?



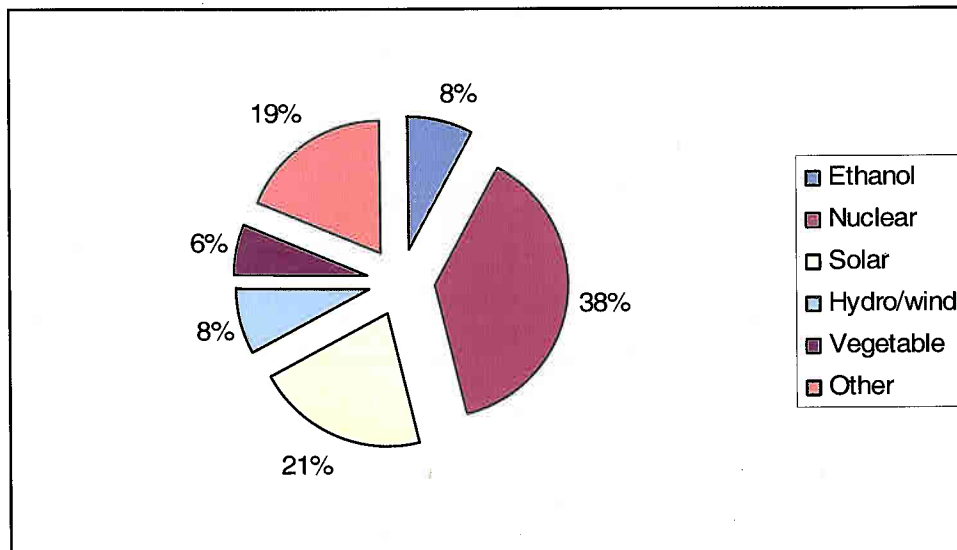
The graph above shows that 73% of our peers think that foreign oil dependency is important to them. The majority of yes answers could be the result of many current events related to oil prices. We see higher gas prices at the pump. We encounter frequent news reports from journalists like Thomas Friedman that convey the apparent dangers of dependency on foreign oil. These are some reasons why over two thirds of our peers feel that oil dependency is important to their lives.

Do you think it is possible for the United States to rely only on Domestic Energy Sources?



This graph shows a very even split among those who believe that it is impossible for the U.S. to rely on Domestic Energy Sources and those who believe that it is possible. This may be a result of two possible interpretations of the question. One could argue that our extreme dependence on foreign oil today is concrete evidence that we can't possibly lose foreign oil altogether. Another might argue that the question has a hopeful intention and is asking about possibilities that could take place in the near or distant future. In other words, the data suggests that our peers believe we can't stop our dependency on foreign oil in the near future, but we can eventually stop it.

What is the most realistic alternative energy source?



The data from this graph shows that our peers believe that all of these alternative energy schemes are plausible. However, nuclear and solar received the highest votes. These are the two alternative energy sources that have received the most publicity. Perhaps other alternatives weren't selected because our peers might not have known much about them. This idea is also reinforced by the fact that "other" received the third highest vote.

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HUMAN TRAFFICKING

Human trafficking has become the one of largest forms of illegal income in the world, second only in rank to drug trafficking. Coming in many shapes and forms, the various occupations of those who are forced to undergo such tortures include slave laborers, children sold as prostitutes, sweatshop workers, and other forms of labor. This problem reaches most countries in Asia, the Far East, some of the Middle Eastern countries, Slavic countries, and South America. The majority of those subjected to this malevolent practice are women and children. These people are recruited by false advertising, lured to the prospect of well-paying jobs, only to find upon arrival that they have been deceived. Once the person arrives at their 'destination,' they are forced to stay either physically (being confined and having identity documents taken away from them) or are brainwashed and threatened. Dealers play off of the fearful emotions felt by their victims, and actually use this as one of their key tactics. The main cause for this vulgar practice is the lack of money that occurs in countries that have a low GDP (gross domestic product) and income level. Nearly one million people were trafficked over international borders last year- 20,000 of them were brought into the United States. The protection of all citizens' rights, including the prevention of exploitation, is a fundamental facet of our Constitution. Subsequently, Congress must dedicate the full resources necessary to eradicate the barbaric practice of trafficking humans.

There have been some local cases closer to "home" than anyone would have imagined. San Mateo, located in the South Bay, does not seem the place to harbor illegal brothels, but sure enough, in October of 2005, five Chinese men were arrested for having an underground prostitution house and for housing illegal immigrants (the women). Specifically, they were charged by the US State Department of Northern California of "conceal, harbor, and shield from detection illegal aliens for the purpose of commercial advantage and private financial gain." Apparently the men threatened to turn the women over to the police and reveal them as illegal aliens if they did not participate in the prostitution. Threatening worked very well for the men apparently, because they had over thirty women held hostage in their building. This type of abuse clearly goes on more often than anyone could imagine: if it happens in the Bay Area, imagine what must be going on in much more destitute areas all over the United States. It was lucky that a policeman who was undercover got a tip about this brothel: it was discovered by total coincidence. Imagine what must be going on in countries where the government has little or no respect for its people and could care less what happens to them. This leads us to conclude that there are more instances of human trafficking going on that have not been discovered, but the question remains: who will find and help these people? It takes more than a lucky undercover policeman to find crimes like these. It takes a great amount of effort to search for victims of this practice. It takes great amount of time to search for their "owners". And it takes a great amount of money to search. Therefore, because of the enormity of this task, and because it is necessary that the government spend money on the welfare of the people, by allocating more funds to committees or organizations that

have a direct impact on the well-being of human lives, the United States can save millions of people every year from a torturous life that few can even bear to imagine.

Quite clearly, the trade of human beings exacerbates social, economic, and political issues worldwide. Most troubling, global human trafficking issues are often put secondhand to drug traffickers even though the US population has demonstrated strong concern. According to a recent poll, nearly half of Americans believe that human trafficking is happening in their own backyards and 53% want harsher penalties for human trafficking, more than gun and drug traffickers combined. Congress, concerned with other issues, has been slow to enact reform. Sadly, until the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 appeared, there was no comprehensive federal law existing to protect victims of trafficking or to prosecute their traffickers. Just a few days ago, George W. Bush joined other lawmakers in making the Trafficking Victims Reauthorization Protection Act (TVRPA) of 2005 become law. Unfortunately, this recent legislation has not been sufficient. According to estimates by the Congressional Budget Office (CBO), the TVRPA bill will provide \$361 million over the next two years to combat trafficking. In contrast to the funds given to combat terrorism, which has cost over \$2.8 billion to date (approximately \$177 million per day), the drug trade, and arms trade, the funds provided to combat trafficking are inadequate and unacceptable. Congress, the United States government, and the United Nations must either make a full commitment to combating human trafficking and dedicate adequate resources, or simply acknowledge that they cannot afford to use their time for the betterment of human lives, which is supposed to be their ultimate goal: protection for those in need of help.

Currently in the United Nations, there is the resolution "Protocol to Prevent Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons" which states that there will be assistance given to those who are being trafficked. Unfortunately this document does not support the victims of international trafficking and only supports domestic cases. The resolution requires that the participating countries give their consent to being monitored by the United Nations and its subsidiaries in order to enforce this resolution, but if a country is restricted by its economy and lack of income, then its government is far less likely to close the door on an industry which brings in revenue. If a country does not find an alternative method to make money, or its citizens do not find alternate sources of income, there is no chance that the country will be willing to combat human trafficking.

Should the government wish to take alternative action, such as using the help of an organization that deals with these issues, International Justice Mission's goal is "Victim Relief- relieve the victim of the abuse currently being committed. Perpetrator accountability- Bring accountability and just consequences under the law to the specific perpetrator(s) of abuse. Structural Prevention-Prevent the abuse from being committed against others who are also at risk by strengthening community factors that are likely to deter potential oppressors, reduce the vulnerability of at-risk populations and empower local authorities to stop such abuses." In conjunction with this organization, the government will have the potential to save hundreds of thousands of victims each year. The flow of victims across international borders could slow to a trickle, a possibility that will hopefully soon become a reality.

The people who are subjected to the horrors of human trafficking do not have the power to speak on their own behalf: therefore, it would be of utmost importance (and impact) if the United States take further actions to stop this process. Congress can look

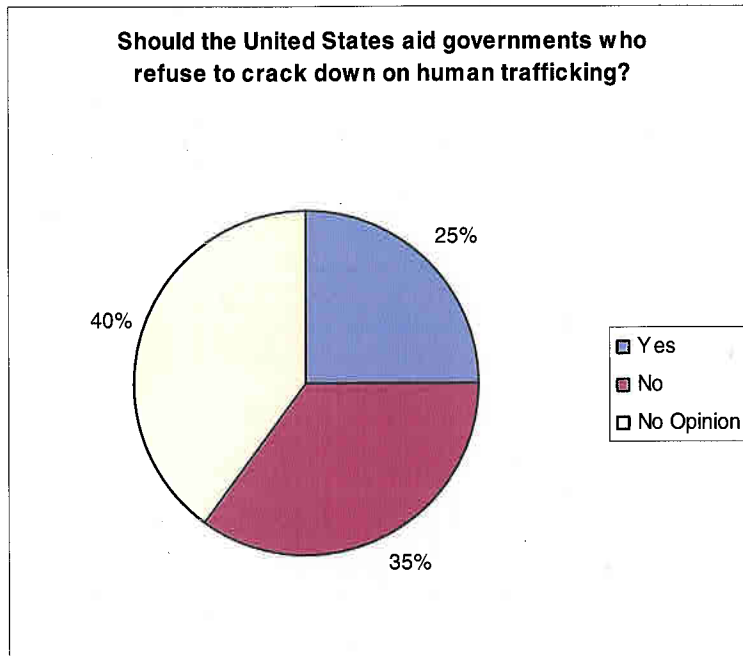
further to its International Relations Committee to assure the safety of the people around the world. In another “rare” case of trafficking that occurred in the United States, one woman (the article did not specify the full name of this woman for confidentiality, but her first name was Maria) who had been freed by an FBI raid on the brothel she had been held in said: “We need the law to protect us from this horror.” This woman was working as a maid in Mexico when an acquaintance approached her and told her of a job she could get as a waitress in Texas. Soon following, she traveled to get the job, but was unexpectedly forced into prostitution. She related her experience for the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee:

“There were up to four girls kept at each brothel. We were constantly guarded and abused. If anyone refused to be with a customer, we were beaten. If we adamantly refused, the Bosses would show us a lesson by raping us brutally. They told us if we refused again, it would be even worse the next time. We were transported every fifteen days to another trailer in a nearby city. This was to give the customers a variety of girls and so we never knew where we were in case we tried to escape. I could not believe this was happening to me.”

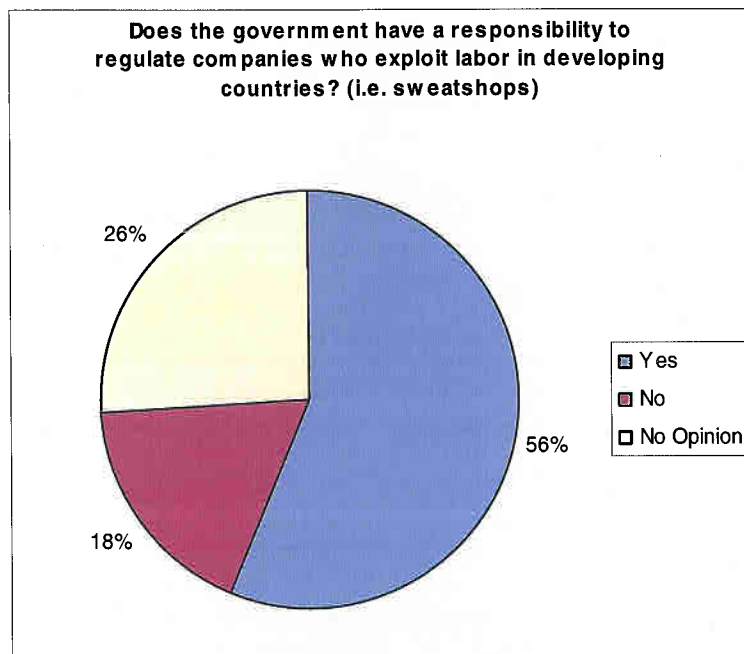
People like this do not have the many others looking out for them. Not yet, anyway. It is up to the most powerful country in the world to stand up for human rights and to help those in need. In recommendation, we believe that more time and funding should be given to improving the Trafficking Victims Reauthorization Protection Act, which while expanding the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000, is by no means a perfect solution to a deadly problem. We suggest also that the United States government prove its support for the efforts of organizations such as International Justice Mission and contribute further to the work of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee or the House International Relations Committee. In addition, we feel that one of the best ways to raise awareness is through education: as such, we propose that Congress recommend that states make their school systems aware of the amount of human trafficking which still exists today and of the ways students can help to stop human trafficking.

Human trafficking does not bear any mercy on the weak and feeble: in fact those are the very victims it preys and thrives upon. These individuals are in danger but so few people feel they have the potential to intervene and help by getting involved. It is something that takes time, effort, emotion, and care. But we must bear in mind what the victims are going through and remember that it was not their choice to be kept by force, brainwashed, or abused. We must bear in mind that although there are many who need our help, there are more of those who can help than those who cannot help. Luckily, most people have not been through such torture and are able to sleep well at night. But for those unlucky ones who can do nothing without help, those people haven't slept well at night for a long time- and without aide, they maybe never will.

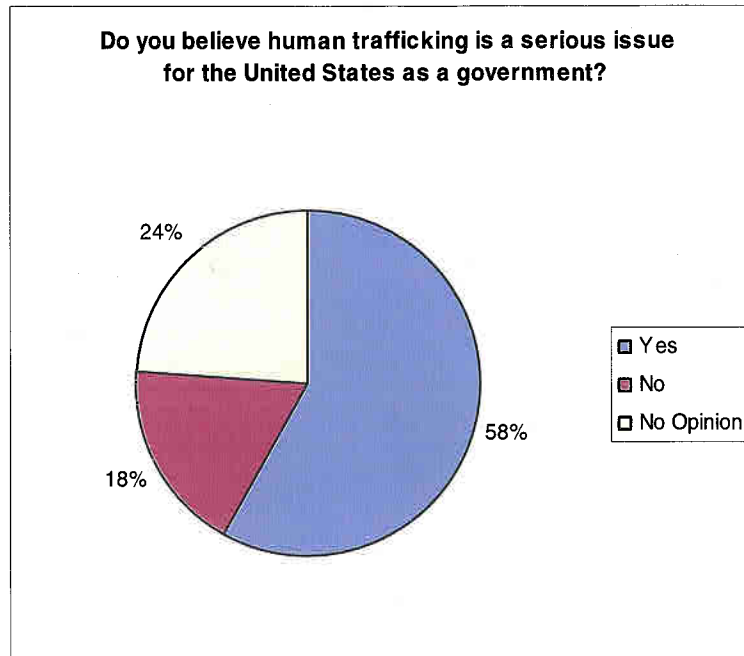
SURVEY RESULTS



The data shows a fairly even distribution 'yes' or 'no' responses but the most alarming thing is the no-opinion results. The question itself is an interesting one because it is seemingly basic but when considered, people seem to be less able to decide the issue. Perhaps this is due to the need for a distinction between an 'evil' government and a government who does not have the resources or ability to control the human trafficking industry.



Among the people polled, there was consensus which is an improvement from the former 40% no opinion poll. This consensus, however, was only 56% and those who voted 'no opinion' outnumbered those who chose the dissenting opinion. This indicates reluctance to take a negative stance on the controversial issue at hand.



This question resulted in our highest affirmative response. This issue seems more clear-cut because those polled did not have to decide what action the government should take and merely whether or not it should take interest. The results may have been skewed due to the wording of the question and the variation of each individual's definition of a 'serious issue'.

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WAR IN IRAQ

WAR IN IRAQ: JUSTIFIED?

When the thought of foreign policy comes to mind, the most prominent issue in world affairs that arises is the Iraq War. Being such a controversial subject, it is always under debate, however, in order to fully assess the situation, one must only look at the facts and set aside all partisan beliefs.

Unbiased information from the Congressional Research Service states that Operation Iraqi Freedom succeeded in overthrowing Saddam Hussein, but Iraq remains violent and unstable. The Bush Administration believes that the U.S. policy in Iraq is showing success because of the two elections, the adoption of a constitution, the building of Iraq's security force, and the economic growth. However, one surprising fact is that before the war, Iraq had a GDP per capita of 3,000, however, right now, that GDP has shrunk to 500 dollars. Iraq's GDP has fallen to one-sixth its previous size. Iraq's key commodity, oil, has also withered to dangerous proportions. Iraq's oil production before the war was 2.5 million barrels per day while now it is only 1.43 million barrels per day. Oil exports have fallen to half their size from 2.2 billion barrels per day to 0.92 billion barrels per day. As for oil revenue, although it was steady in 2004 and 2005 with \$17 billion and \$23.5 billion respectively, it has a projected income of \$13 billion this year. Iraq's GDP, however, has been under a rise of 10.6% while under U.S. control, but doubt creeps into one's mind when the full governmental authority is given back to the Iraqis.

Up to the Iraq War, Iraq previously had no experience with a democratic form of government. In 1992, the two main Kurdish parties and several Shiite Islamist groups created the Iraqi National Congress with plans promoting human rights, democracy, and federalism (Kurdish autonomy). Most observers, however, doubted its commitment to democracy because of its group's authoritarian leaderships. The Iraq National Accord, another leadership group, was founded in 1990, and earned the support of the Central Intelligence Agency, despite the fact that it was led by Dr. Iyad al-Allawi, who helped Saddam Hussein silence Iraqi dissidents. The closest Iraq ever came to democracy was in institutions with authoritarian roots. Today, Iraqis are becoming more "democratic" despite having a theocratic leader elected into office (Iyad al-Allawi). Iraq formed a governing council that was anti-Saddam, however, since perceived as an arm of U.S. decision-making, it was dissolved once al-Allawi's interim government was named. From these proceedings in Iraq, it seems as if the U.S. has only been trying to vest in Iraq a puppet democracy, with the intent to have some control in the Middle-Eastern region. It can be reasonable to infer that this could be due to the Middle-East's rich oil reserves since there are so many other dictatorships that are in much more need of liberation than Iraq (Republic of Congo, Darfur region, Sudan, Libya, etc). When World War II ended, the United States commenced the Marshall Plan in order to restart the world economy and flooded the world with U.S. dollars. At this time, U.S. dollars were backed with gold, however, in 1971, when the United States abandoned the gold standard, America no longer had anything to back the dollar with. To summarize, the U.S. made an agreement to protect the feudalist government of Saudi Arabia from insurgency if they agreed to only sell their oil (which was then in midst of an economic boom) in dollars. Under this,

the rest of the Middle-Eastern countries followed suit (after all, the U.S. was tied with USSR as the most powerful nation with the strongest currency). However, on November 6, 2000, Iraq switched to the Euro, which was much more stable and not losing value due to inflation and high interest rates. With billions of dollars across the globe, trillions in trade and budget deficits, America was facing a collapse of its currency which made it crucial to keep Iraq in check before other OPEC countries switched to the Euro, thus destroying the value of the dollar (since oil is the only thing that can back the dollar).

The primary theme in the Bush Administration's case for Iraq was the grave and gathering threat that should be blunted. The Administration also added that a regime change would liberate the Iraqi people from the brutal dictator, Saddam Hussein, and promote democracy. The "grave and gathering" threat perceived by the Bush Administration was the belief that Iraq had worked to rebuild its weapons of mass destruction program, was using chemical weapons against the Kurds and Iran, and that it would transfer its WMD to terrorists, particularly Al Qaeda, for a catastrophic attack on the America or elsewhere. Also, the Bush Administration established that Iraq had links to Al Qaeda. However, this claim was refuted by the 9/11 commission's report. A U.S.-led Iraq Survey Group also found that Iraq did not possess active WMD programs. Under these two findings alone, the American war against Iraq is not justifiable. Although Saddam Hussein was a cruel dictator, that alone is the only acceptable reason for an invasion. However, by invading Iraq, America has also broken international law by starting a war that is not in its own self-defense. Also, America clearly does not have the position of a "World-police" figure as established by the incident in Somalia. Even pre-war WMD inspections showed that Iraq could be disarmed peacefully or contained without war. War should be a last resort after all other measures are exhausted.

The origins of the War in Iraq were to find the alleged weapons of mass destruction however according to a report released by Charles Duelfer on October 6 of 2004, the Iraq Survey Group (ISG) investigation "uncovered no indication that Iraq had resumed fissile material or nuclear weapons research and development activities since 1991." In other words, Iraq had no active weapons program. However, according to the Washington Post, on November 10th, Bush still fired back at critics and insisted the U.S. intelligence had compiled a strong case the Saddam Hussein war harboring weapons of mass destruction. While Bush's justification over the weapons remain in controversy with liberals alleging that Bush had planned the war before he received the intelligence of weapons of mass destruction and conservatives intend on convincing the people that Bush relied on good faith on intelligence that proved wrong.

Another justification frequently cited by the Bush administration is that Saddam Hussein had ties to Al-Qaeda. President Bush even stated in his State of the Union address from 2003 that "Evidence from intelligence sources, secret communications and statements by people now in custody reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of Al Qaeda." However, on June 16, the independent commission investigating the attacks on September 11th concluded that there was no credible evidence linking Al-Qaeda to Saddam Hussein. Although it acknowledged that Osama bin Laden asked for help from Iraq, Hussein's government never responded.

The third justification the Bush Administration used for the War on Iraq is the call for the liberation of Iraqis from oppression and tyranny. This is the most credible cause as there is testimony of Saddam's torture techniques. Although Saddam Hussein was a cruel

dictator, that itself is not able to rationalize our war, since, as noted above, there are many dictators in other parts of Asia, Africa, and South America that pose a much higher threat to their people than Saddam Hussein did.

However, under the following grounds for a war on Iraq, it cannot be justifiable as two out of three foundations are faulty. Whether due to faulty intelligence or premeditation, the war in Iraq has not been fully justified therefore it is not warranted. The facts speak for themselves, Iraq was not the cakewalk promised and with a half-trillion dollar trade deficit each year, the U.S. has gone to the place that earths 55% of the world's oil. It seems like the high casualty rates are just an addition to the fact that no weapons of mass destruction were found, Iraq still lies in an unstable and violent state, and no ties to al-Qaeda were found.

OUR 3-STEP PLAN TOWARD A SOLUTION IN IRAQ

Step 1: Public Education on Democracy- First of all, we need to discover whether Iraqis want a democratic form of government or not, and if so, the U.S. needs to create a vision so as to motivate Iraqis to move forward by stating why a democratic form of government is best needed.

Step 2: Establish Stability, Security, and Law & Order by training Iraqi nationals to prevent missionaries from neighboring countries such as Iran and Syria to interfere with the internal affairs of Iraq.

Step 3: We need to encourage a positive partnership with the progressive neighboring countries that have similar cultural, religious, and political ties with Iraq. For example, Turkey and Jordan. The U.S. also needs to work with moderate Iranians to turn Iran into a democracy since Iran is the biggest influence in Iraq's affair. Since currently, most of the insurgents in Iraq are funded by the Iranian government, one of them being Ayatolla Sistani, a top figure in Iraq politics, who is under the payroll of Iran's clergymen and represents nearly 80% of Iraq's population as a Shiite leader. Another way to remedy this is to lower the price of oil in the U.S. to almost nothing, as the U.S. is currently funding the Iranian fundamentalists through our ongoing purchase of oil, (as that portion of Iran's money would be spent to terminate Iraq's mission of establishing a democracy).

The U.S. needs to accomplish all of this in partnership with the United Nations. This should be part of our exit strategy, as we see it.

So now, we are at a crossing point. If we want a democracy in Iraq, we need to promote a democracy in Iran. Unfortunately, until now, our actions do not support our talks. For example, we claim that Iran is a part of the "access of evil", and yet, we continuously go against our word by selling arms to Iran 'under the table' as discovered under the Reagan administration, and through current economic trades. Therefore, the U.S. needs to have clear goals and missions regarding international relations with Iran-do we want Iran to become a progressive democratic ally, or do we want to maintain the status quo and continue to allow Iran to promote terrorism? If we decide to do the former, then, our recommendation to Anna is to establish an Iraqi-American focus group amongst her constituents that can evaluate all the issues and collaborate with the local Iraqi media

within the 14th Congressional District, in broadcasting locally as well as internationally in Iraq, via satellite, so as to educate the Iraqi people of the current situation and promote a democracy. Secondly, pass laws which handicap Iran's economic revenue opportunities, through economic embargos and U.N. collaboration, so as to cut the funds available to Iran used to promote terrorism and terrorist-related activities in Iraq. At the same time, we must educate the people of Iran of the added values of them having a democracy as well, and the potential benefits of an Iranian-American partnership for now and for generations to come to preserve and maintain the establishment of democracy and peace within Iraq.

SURVEY RESULTS

1. Do you see a successful outcome in the War in Iraq?
 - a. Yes - 12%
 - b. No - 74%

2. Do you believe the War in Iraq is justified?
 - a. Yes - 11%
 - b. No - 75%

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WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION & NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION

COMBATING TERRORISM

Arjun Shenoy

One of the major foreign policy issues which currently is under heavy argumentation within the US government is the containment as well as prevention of future terrorist attacks on American soil. After the 9/11 attacks, the US policy objectives shifted to the finding and destruction of various terrorist cells across the world. If America is to be successful in its global War on Terror, it must take certain steps to stop terrorism at its foundation.

The first step would be to engage in a less active military policy within the Middle East. Robert A. Pape, an associate professor of political science at the University of Chicago asserted that Al-Qaeda's primary reason for attacking the US and its allies is to drive "infidels" out of Muslim lands.¹ In short, the anti-American sentiment is created because of what America does rather than what it stands for. Motives for potential terrorists include the US presence in the Persian Gulf as well as the more than \$3 billion given in aid to the wealthy state of Israel. Terrorists have the ability to recruit and ally individuals to their cause because authoritative interference in Middle Eastern affairs by the US has given America a negative image in the eyes of the Islamic youth. By adopting a policy that champions limited intervention in other areas of the world, the US would, in effect, destroy the greatest motivation terrorists have. As Ivan Eland, senior fellow and director of the Center on Peace and Liberty at the Independence Institute put it: "Costs in U.S. lives and money would be reduced dramatically, the US military would not be in its current overstretched condition, and it would reduce the likelihood of American decline as a great power."²

The second step would be to use diplomacy as a tool to increase global cooperation through law enforcement officials on the extradition of captured terrorists and the sharing of intelligence. International cooperation is essential if a sustainable anti-terrorism policy is to be established. The FBI has stationed covert agents in over 50 countries to facilitate investigations dealing with intelligence on terrorist groups and membership. US diplomacy on the matter of shared intelligence with countries bordering terrorist strongholds is key if plans for another attack are to be foiled. In addition, the extradition of caught suspects in terrorist schemes has become subject to severe limitations, including the refusal of some countries to extradite citizens for political or extraterritorial offenses. Raphael Perl, an expert on international affairs states, "The US application of

the death penalty for certain crimes can impede on extradition in terrorism related cases.”³ The US must take further action in establishing universal reform for extradition law to include fewer limitations. Terrorism is many times politically motivated violence and therefore the State Department must limit use of political offense exceptions.

Finally, a fairly new step of creating international courts for terrorists would be a solid way to avoid political conflicts between nations. Establishing an open, global system for the punishment of terrorists would limit accusations of inhumane treatment of detainees by the Federal Government. A vessel such as the United Nations could be used to pass resolutions to require abiding countries to turn over suspected terrorists for trial on the international level. Boundaries and cooperation in the justice system allows for more fair and less politically biased handling of terrorists while at the same time insures the US aid in the prosecution of potential and accused criminals.

Another major issue in homeland security is the foreign threat of Weapons of Mass Destruction in the hands of rogue countries. These countries, including North Korea and Iran pose the possibility of a nuclear standoff with the United States. The next briefs will cover the imminent and growing threat of nuclear weapons in the hands of American antagonists.

¹ Pape, Robert. “The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism.” *American Political Science Review*. 14 July 2003

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³ Perl, Raphael. “Terrorism and National Security: Issues and Trends.” *Library of Congress*. 2 Nov. 2005

NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN NORTH KOREA

Katerina Borghi

The continuous, significant nuclear threats posed by North Korea have convinced U.S. officials to continue six-party talks with the country in an attempt to come to a settlement. Despite the country's claim that the alleged secret highly enriched Uranium program (HEU) fails to exist, overwhelming evidence provided by satellite photos of buildings capable of producing the plutonium and other materials need to create WMDs, North Korea's refusal of inspection by various security counsels, the country's acquisition of "centrifuge-related materials in large quantities to support a uranium enrichment program," and even Pyongyang's own public admittance that it had nuclear "weapons," illustrates that North Korea is most certainly a nuclear threat.

There is overwhelming evidence that North Korea indeed has the capability of producing nuclear bombs and, most likely, has already produced and tested multiple nuclear weapons within the country. The 1994 U.S.-North Korean Agreed Framework, which provided for the delivery of light water nuclear reactors (LWRs), oil at no cost, diplomatic representation, the lifting of U.S. Economic sanctions, and a Nuclear Security guarantee, in return for North Korea's absolute suspension of the infrastructure development and operations of its nuclear weapons program, has, since the year 2000, been in jeopardy. Now that it is clear that North Korea is engaged in actions to not only enhance their own nuclear weapons program but also to benefit from the exportation of these weapons, the Bush administration has decided to revoke the promises of the framework. The Administration has, since the allegedly "public" admittance to nuclear proliferation, also attempted to isolate North Korea diplomatically by refusing to negotiate directly with North Korea, and holding six-party talks along with Japan, China, Russia, South Korea, in an attempt to create a block of governments that will demand North Korea accepts the U.S.'s plan of "complete, verifiable, irreversible dismantlement," or CVID. The president has also proposed a Proliferation Security Initiative, in order to put more extreme economic sanctions on North Korea's exports in order to prevent any possible proliferation of nuclear weapons and illegal drugs.

Since the failed meeting of the six parties in Beijing of November 2005, North Korea has continued its effort to put the United States in a diplomatic stalemate. North Korea has demanded that the U.S. remove its government from the list of those who support terrorism, that the U.S. provide "substantial evidence" for the claim it is developing a secret enriched uranium program, that the threat of U.S. troops and the U.S.'s "nuclear threat" be removed from the Korean Peninsula as well as from Japan. The country still demands the continued construction and completion of the Light Water Reactors as promised by the 1994 Framework before it takes any steps whatsoever in dismantling its nuclear program.

The diplomatic isolation and current stalemate between the U.S. and North Korea will be difficult to resolve. While under President Clinton arrangements were being made to recognize North Korea diplomatically as well as resolving nuclear issues under the 1994 Framework, the Bush administration has alienated the country, putting it on a list of "the axes of evil." In order to avoid the ensuing nuclear arms race, it is necessary to take immediate action that will have immediate, palpable results.

On July 12, 2005 at a six-party talk, the minister of South Korea proposed supplying two gigawatts of power to North Korea in exchange for the dismantlement of nuclear programs. This electric power would be a substitute in lieu of the LWRs originally guaranteed before North Korea rejected the 1994 Framework. Although this solution seems realistic, estimated costs of 3.4 billion (more than South Korea spends on its own energy alone) that would be needed to convert mismatched and decaying power grids makes the expenditure required astronomically high and risky. Constructing power lines that reached from North to South Korea would cost about 1.5 to 1.7 billion dollars to install, and transporting even more than one-half a gigawatt of power to the North would require the construction of other special plants. Finally, not only does South Korea not have the financial resources to fully support such a large project, but also giving South Korea sole control over North Korea's power would create an acute political problem, allowing South Korea to simply "flip a switch" whenever an argument ensued, leaving North Korea all the more irate and likely to seek other means of defense through nuclear weapons.

The use of electric power as leverage is a realistic idea. Because millions of North Koreans are currently experiencing a shortage of electrical power that is necessary for both the function of power plants and the quality of daily life for its inhabitants, a supply of steady electrical power would be a tempting alternative to LWRs. However, if one of these projects is to be pursued, it must be rapidly implemented, small-scale, and take less than a year. The 1994 Agreed Framework originally failed because North Koreans did not see results until nearly five years after construction. In order to be aware that the United States, South Korea, and its allies are serious about exchanging electrical power for Nuclear Non-Proliferation, they need to demonstrate that the projects will actually come to completion and allow for the country's economy and quality of life to improve in the near future. Finally, in order to receive the cooperation of the North Korean government, the Bush Administration must recognize them as a legitimate country and appeal to their priorities in order to construct another agreement similar to the 1994 Framework (along with the other four parties of the summit), implementing within that new agreement projects that will take place immediately to achieve immediate results and gratification.

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INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Rahul Hirani

Since the end of the Cold War, the United States has accepted India, the world's largest democracy, as partner in both economic and military cooperation; this cooperation has substantially strengthened since the attacks of September 11th 2001. As India slowly but steadily rises up from its status as an undeveloped country, the Bush Administration becomes increasingly interested in further strengthening this alliance as a key economic tool and as a counterbalance for a rapidly developing China. The New York Times reports that "since Sept. 11, the priority has been terrorism. The United States is hoping its deeper military and political ties with India will give it some measure of leverage to prevent a war between India and Pakistan that could lead to a nuclear holocaust and would play havoc with the hunt for Al Qaeda in Pakistan" (New York Times).

Violence and instability have been a problem in India since its independence in 1947, but recent years have magnified these problems. Certainly there are people who disagree with India's politics and level of political corruption, but for the most part Indians are content with their democratic government's responsiveness. The country's economy has grown in size and vitality in recent years. However the ethnic and religious tensions seem to polarize the country into Hindu and Muslim followers; each group violently displays their hatred of the other group. With the continuing globalization and both groups increased participation in global affairs, a predominantly Hindu India has shifted its hatred to what it believes to be the cause of its internal and external strife: Pakistan.

Although India has been a nuclear power since it first tested its nuclear weapons in 1998, it is unfortunately not one of the signatories to the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT). Though India has pledged only to use nuclear weapons in defense, with fluctuating tensions with Pakistan, particularly in places like Kashmir, nuclear clash seems to be a looming possibility in the future.

Pakistan can trace its violent relation with India all the way back to its creation shortly after India's independence from Great Britain; the incredible amount of hatred between Hindus and Muslims after India's independence was the catalyst that caused the partition. Pakistan achieved the status of a nuclear power in April 1998. It too refuses to sign the NPT and states that it will only do so if and when India signs on. Pakistan remains a developing country with its own share of internal strife, but its major problem comes from India over territorial claims, namely Kashmir. Ghulam Nabi Fai of the Kashmiri American Council told the Washington Post that "The most dangerous place on the planet is Kashmir, a disputed territory convulsed and illegally occupied for more than 53 years and sandwiched between nuclear-capable India and Pakistan. It has ignited two wars between the estranged South Asian rivals in 1948 and 1965, and a third could trigger nuclear volleys and a nuclear winter threatening the entire globe. The United States would enjoy no sanctuary. This apocalyptic vision is no idiosyncratic view. The director of central intelligence, the Defense Department, and world experts generally place Kashmir at the peak of their nuclear worries. Both India and Pakistan are racing like thoroughbreds to bolster their nuclear arsenals and advanced delivery vehicles. Their defense budgets are climbing despite widespread misery amongst their populations. Neither country has initialed the Nuclear Non- Proliferation Treaty, the Comprehensive

Test Ban Treaty, or indicated an inclination to ratify an impending Fissile Material/Cut-off Convention.”

Our recommendation then would be specific action that we believe would prevent escalation of this dangerous situation. Currently President Bush hopes to implement the India-US civilian nuclear cooperation agreement, a deal that will share nuclear technology with India; “The landmark agreement on civil nuclear cooperation offered New Delhi comprehensive access to civilian nuclear technology in exchange for, among other things, voluntarily bringing its power reactors and other civilian nuclear facilities under safeguards” (The Electricity Daily). Though the deal is a key tool in bettering out relations with India, it has considerable ramifications. The nonpartisan Council on Foreign Relations reports that “Pakistan's President Pervez Musharraf, who has suffered fierce criticism at home—and survived two assassination attempts—or his strong alliance with the United States since 9/11, has not received a similar deal on nuclear energy from Washington. Some experts say this apparent U.S. favoritism toward India could increase the nuclear rivalry between the intensely competitive nations, and potentially raise tensions in the already dangerous region.”

The Washington Post agrees that “Pakistan, India's neighbor and rival, will seek a similar de facto blessing for its nuclear status. Given Pakistan's record as a nuclear proliferator, the United States ought to refuse this. A rebuff could help to turn Pakistan's anti-Indian nationalism into an anti-India -and-America nationalism; pro-Western secularists may lose ground to militant Islamists. If so, the upside of a stronger relationship with India will have to be weighed against the potential downside of a jihad-minded nuclear Pakistan.” The Independent News agrees in stating that “A strategic alliance with India is also bad for U.S. security because of the potential rise of anti-U.S. militancy in Pakistan, which could cause that nation's nuclear arms to come under the sway of radical jihadists.”

It is clear that the implementation of the deal will have severe consequences and dramatically increase tensions between India and Pakistan, and possibly Pakistan and the United States, to the point of violence. Therefore, we recommend that the United States extend a similar deal to Pakistan. The sole purpose of this deal should be to improve our association with Pakistan which will be imperative in future years, not just to maintain peace in South Asia, but also to maintain a connection to the Muslim world.

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NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION IN IRAN

Bryant Cobb

Since the election of conservative President Mahmud Amadinejad, Iran has sought a foreign policy that will lead to a nuclear confrontation with the United States and members of the so-called EU 3 (Britain, France, and Germany). In 2002, the United States discovered that Iran was trying to enrich uranium, which is a precursor to the development of nuclear weapons. The Iranian government had signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which allows for the development of enriched uranium only if there is international oversight. Even though the Iranian government has continued to maintain that they are only developing the program to gain additional energy, the circumstantial evidence shows that there is a strong possibility that the Iranians are in fact trying to build a nuclear weapon. Iran possessing a nuclear weapon is dangerous because it could very well trigger a Middle East arms race, such as the one seen between Pakistan and India. Some Arab nations who had renounce nuclear weapons, such as Saudi Arabia and Egypt, may now be compelled to begin their own nuclear programs so that they can match the strength of their Shiite, Persian neighbor. A nuclear Iran could also use its new diplomatic leverage to cut off oil shipments from the Persian Gulf.

The standoff with Iran began its escalation to its present levels when the President of Iran made inflammatory remarks claiming that it is his government's mission to destroy the state of Israel. This admission was followed by Iran's decision on January 10, 2006 that they would unseal IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency) seals from equipment that had been used to conduct experiments with uranium. Since this revelation, the IAEA voted to refer Iran to the United Nations Security Council. The only nations that voted against the IAEA referral were Syria, Venezuela, and Cuba. However, the possibility of sanctions is still up in the air as many nations such as Russia and China still oppose sanctions.

The United States government has several courses of action that they can take pursuant to the standoff with Iran. Some hawks believe that it is most desirable for the United States to bomb certain known Iranian nuclear power sites, such as the Natanz weapons plant. However, many believe that such an action would only delay Iran's nuclear plans for a few years and might provoke Iranian retaliation, which could fall upon the 140,000 U.S. troops who are in neighboring Iraq. Such an action would also cause the deaths of many innocent civilians because many of the weapons plants are located near large cities. This would only lead to more U.S. woes in the Middle East. Others believe that economic sanctions directed specifically at the Iranian government may be the best course of action. However, Iran could once again retaliate by only speeding up development of a nuclear weapon or by lowering shipments of their vast oil reserves which represent 10% of the world's known oil. The threat of Iranian retaliating by limiting oil shipments is what has caused such caution on the part of the Chinese who have announced that they will not support economic sanctions because they may lead to less oil being available to the expanding Chinese economy, which is currently growing at about a rate of 9% a year. The United States could also engage in a containment policy pointed at slowing Iran's nuclear progress and influence over powerful terrorist groups, such as Hezbollah. This policy worked effectively with Iraq's former President, Saddam Hussein, and may work once again as the United States already controls Iran's biggest neighbors, Iraq and Afghanistan. The only drawback is that the United States would need

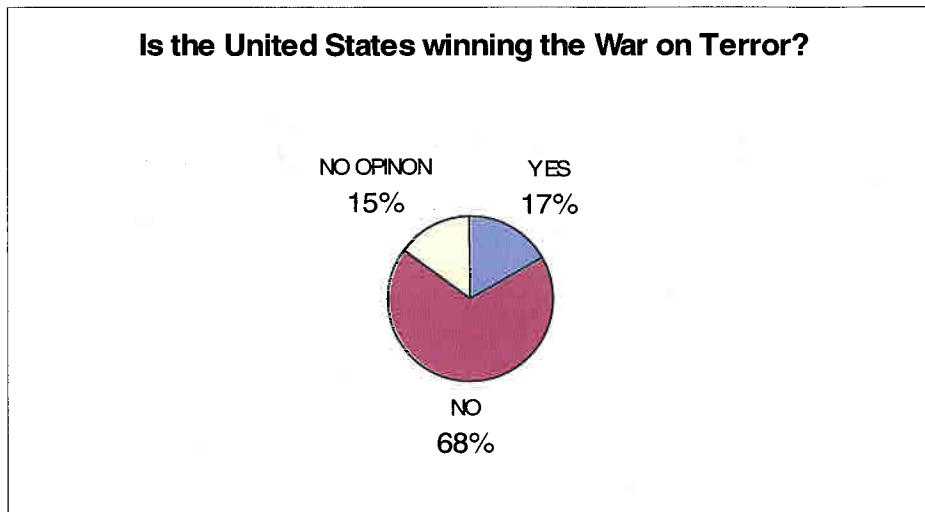
the support of allies who have been alienated from the United States because of its actions in Iraq. The United States could also take a wait-and-see policy towards Iran. Its proponents hope that by allowing Iran to reenergize its nuclear energy program that influential Middle Eastern nations, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, would seek alliance with the United States in order to protect themselves from the emerging Iranian threat. This would give the United States more influence in the region that would allow it to promote political reform in the region. This approach obviously has to be implemented with care as to make sure that the Iranians do not eventually gain a nuclear weapon which they may well use on United States allies and Israel.

The new conservative regime in Iran rightfully has led to new fears that a nuclear confrontation with Iran is inevitable. However, the United States is still in a position, for the time being, to settle the conflict without any military incursion into Iran. A peaceful solution must be the policy of the Bush Administration as the United States military is stretched too thin and cannot effectively take action against a country which is bigger than Iraq.

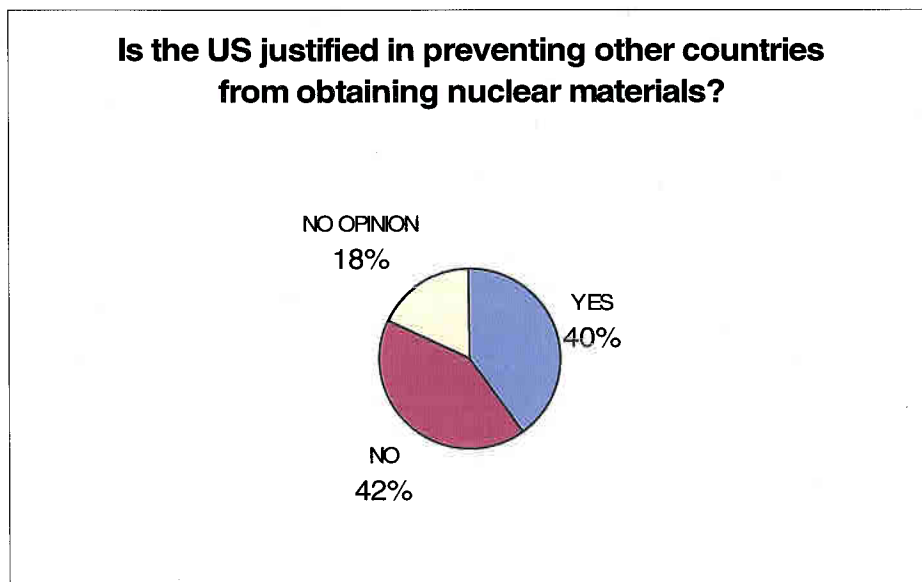
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SURVEY RESULTS



As the data results will attest, much of the surveyed population does not believe that the United States currently is winning the War on Terrorism. If a change is to be realized, then policy goals and objectives must be shifted to achieve the maximum safety of those Americans in the Middle East and abroad, whereas at that same time, insure that the US defense against possible future attacks is still strong.



In the topic of US intervention to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the surveyed public is greatly divided. The true debate is a question of whether the US should heed to their own agenda to insure protection against possible threats or whether national sovereignty is the more important value.

AIDS & GLOBAL HEALTH

ISSUE

We would like to focus our attention on the fact that many people around the world live in countries that have a high rate of the AIDS infection. Tens of thousands die annually. Many of the people living in these countries affected by the AIDS epidemic have very little knowledge of the real cause of the disease, which is why certain behaviors are so dangerous. Throughout the years, organizations have been focused on informing citizens that AIDS is a “bad thing” and that people should abstain from having sex or they should use condoms as a form of protection. While this information might be helpful, more needs to be done to change the attitudes towards sex in these areas so protection, or even abstinence, can become a more viable option.

PROBLEM

AIDS is a severe immunological disorder caused by the retrovirus HIV, resulting in a defect in cell-mediated immune response that results in increased susceptibility to opportunistic infections and to certain rare cancers. It is transmitted primarily by exposure to contaminated body fluids, especially blood and semen. This is information that very few people are aware of. It is difficult to convince the masses to protect themselves against something that they don't necessarily understand. People are also a lot less likely to care if they don't know just how dangerous this disease is to their bodies.

In some countries, it is very common for people to simply have “casual sex.” This casual sex is quite often unprotected and one person might have multiple partners. In Africa especially, women and men simply do not respect each other or the other person's boundaries. This lack of respect has caused a major problem with AIDS there. Because they don't fully understand the disease and because there is no respect between the sexes, having casual sex is all too common. Women are often the ones who suffer in these situations. Women have never been taught to say no to unwanted sexual advances, so when faced with a situation, they are not armed with the right decision-making skills to decide for themselves which course they want to take.

There is also the issue that many African leaders will not even recognize HIV/AIDS as a disease. They make no room in their budget to provide for funding for programs and organizations that are working to prevent HIV/AIDS. They also refuse to pass any laws or create solutions regarding the issue. When lawmakers can't admit there is a dangerous epidemic, there is little hope of relieving the country of any suffering.

SUCCESSFUL EXAMPLE

A shining example of a country that has significantly reduced the incidence of AIDS is Thailand. They have gone from 140,000 new infections in 1991 to 21,000 in 2003 (Kanabus). They accomplished this by making AIDS prevention one of their top national priorities. Their control program gained political clout when it was transferred to the Office of the Prime Minister. They also launched a massive campaign that informed their citizens of the dangers of AIDS. Public announcements were made on T.V and radio stations everywhere, and schools started education programs. Possibly the

most influential aspect of the campaign was the increase in condom use. Condoms were distributed any and everywhere. Brothels were also given free condoms, and if it was found that sex workers and clients were not complying with the new condom program, the brothel was closed. The government increased its funding for programs, education, and new ways of implementing realistic policies. Thailand is proof that while this epidemic is deadly, it can be effectively managed with the right governmental attitude.

U.S. POLICY

It is important to examine HIV/AIDS policy here in the U.S. as part of this analysis. The Bush administration has created PEPFAR, an AIDS relief program, which has pledged \$15 billion from 2004-2008. The goal of PEPFAR is “to prevent 7 million new infections globally, provide ARV drugs for 2 million infected people, and provide care for 10 million infected people, including orphans” (Cook). While the President is providing some funding and publicly showing much concern about the AIDS epidemic in Africa, there are still many problems with his proposed plans.

A major concern is “whether PEPFAR will do enough to strengthen African health care institutions and capabilities for coping with AIDS over the long term, or whether the funds will go primarily to U.S based organizations” (Cook). The U.S needs to ensure that African organizations receive some guidance on how to manage the crisis themselves. Simply providing funding to U.S.-based organizations whose missions are to teach only abstinence and not safe sex will not go far enough to stem the tide of the suffering in African nations plagued by this epidemic. As noted by Cook, the biggest problem is “that funding for PEPFAR abstinence programs, notably in Africa, have increasingly replaced other HIV prevention measures and that the United States is today sending fewer condoms abroad than in 1990.” Teaching abstinence to women who are being raped amidst the civil wars raging in their countries is clearly not helpful. Instead of decreasing the number of condoms being sent to Africa, we need to drastically increase how many we send. Teaching contraception and how to use condoms is one immediate measure towards a solution to the problem. As proven by the numbers in Thailand, promoting safe sex by the use of condoms will significantly reduce the incidence of HIV/AIDS in the long term, something President Bush needs to embrace more wholly. It is important to de-politicize this issue because people are dying.

SOLUTIONS

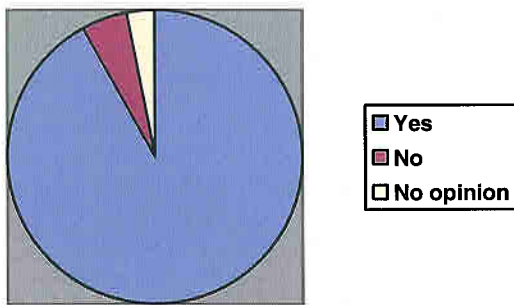
- Educate the citizens of Africa. Make them aware of the disease and all its implications. This should be done through organizations already in Africa.
- Teach mutual respect. The aforementioned organizations should teach men and women to respect each other and themselves so that AIDS can be controlled.
- Consolidate organizations. There are so many programs and organizations that offer different things that people get confused. These organizations should have an open line of communication with each as well as with the people who require help. This way people won't feel so overwhelmed with so many ways to turn that they can get the help and care that they need.

- Increase condom distribution. Teaching abstinence only education is simply not a possibility in most African nations. Condoms need to be made available to everyone.
- Increase funding. No matter what the organization teaches, they will continually require funding to help support their programs and medical needs. To increase funding is to directly combat AIDS.

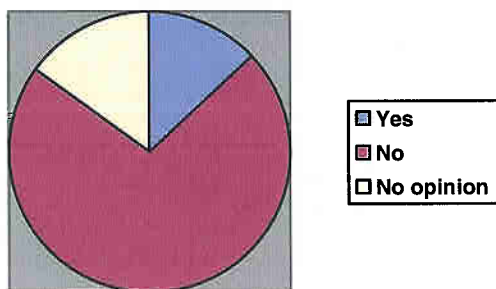
While AIDS claims more victim's everyday, there is a lot the U.S can do to prevent the disease from overcoming several African nations. Thankfully, the President seems to recognize how crucial an issue this is. There are many organizations and programs throughout the U.S solely devoted to preventing the spread of HIV/AIDS and helping those who have contracted it abroad. We feel the solutions we have compiled during our research will help to focus on some of the major concerns that Africa faces. Along with these solutions we understand there are still many problems we have not addressed. But at least our suggestions provide a starting point to control of this deadly epidemic.

SURVEY RESULTS

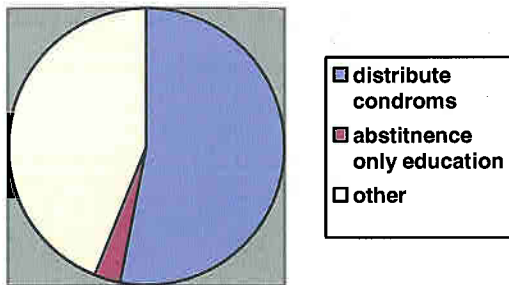
Do you feel AIDS is a crucial issue facing the world today?



Do you feel the United States is doing enough to combat AIDS/HIV?



What do you feel is the best approach for the government to combat AIDS?



While 92% of youth agree that AIDS is a global issue, 72% feel that the U.S is not doing all it can do to combat the epidemic. Almost half, 44%, feel that there is a better approach to attacking this problem head on then distributing condoms or teaching abstinence. It is apparent that most youth feel this is an issue, yet none have a better approach to offer. These charts prove that at the very least, there is awareness around this issue, and at the worst, most feel our country isn't doing enough.

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FOREIGN POLICY: TRADE

INTRODUCTION

The WTO, NAFTA and its recent extension into Central America, CAFTA, establish trade agreements between the US and foreign nations. The WTO is an international organization that controls the rules of trade for its 148 members states. NAFTA (and CAFTA) are trade agreements that control trade with member nations within the Americas. Generally, the stated objectives of these trade agreements are to help trade to flow freely, encourage international stability through peaceful resolution of disputes, and to provide a fair dispute settlement process (Understanding the WTO 10).

There has been considerable controversy involving these international trade agreements and their impact on environmental standards, social and cultural patterns, workers' rights and loss of jobs, and trade deficits and economic development ("Global Economy"). Many of these concerns have been brought to the public's attention through demonstrations and protests at WTO meetings and meetings to discuss the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA,) an extension of a NAFTA-type arrangement into all countries in the Western Hemisphere except Cuba.

Proponents of globalized trade point out that international trade has played a role in human interaction for centuries, and that there are distinct advantages to having a central organization regulating trade between nations. They argue that the benefits of the arrangements far outweigh their costs by preserving economic order, eliminating unfair advantages and encouraging cooperation between nations on subjects of international concern. Robert Wright, a strong supporter of globalized trade, argues that "environmental problems, exodus of low-skill jobs from high-wage nations and human rights violations, which led many to oppose change are just about impossible to solve without the power of sanction that the WTO, more than any other world body, has to offer" ("Global Economy").

This Student Advisory Board Report will examine the impact of the two major trade arrangements in several areas. We have focused on areas where problems or concerns have developed. It is particularly important to investigate weaknesses with current trade arrangements since the Bush administration is actively pursuing expansion of trade agreements.

Due to the fact that the provisions of FTAA and proposals to expand the General Agreement on Trade and Services (GATS) (a WTO side agreement) have not yet been finalized, they will not be discussed in detail in this report. However, areas of concern related to NAFTA or the WTO should warrant special attention when negotiating new or expanded international trade agreements.

BACKGROUND AND ORGANIZATION OF WTO AND NAFTA

Prior to 1994, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was the primary international trade organization. GATT provided member nations with most favored nation (MFN) trade status, which extended to all member nations the same trade conditions a nation applied to its most favored trade partner. Tariffs, quotas and other restrictions on the flow of products and capital were also addressed. There have been a number of “rounds” of global trade meetings since GATT was adopted in 1948. The weaknesses of GATT, including the lack of dispute resolution mechanism and lack of broad international participation, resulted in GATT member states creating the WTO. In 1994, the WTO was established through negotiation with member states in the Uruguay Round Agreement (Understanding the WTO 10).

The WTO is run by its 148 member nations. Decisions are made by the organization as a whole, through the consensus of representative “ministers” or their delegates. Power is not delegated to a ruling executive body or board of directors (Understanding the WTO 101).

Decisions relating to trade disputes are enforced by member states through agreed procedures and actions. This includes the possible imposition of trade sanctions (Understanding the WTO 101).

The organization of the WTO is divided into a number of councils and committees, each of which includes representatives from all member nations. The Ministerial Conference is the top group, and meets at least every two years. In between these main meetings, the matters of the organization are handled by the General Council, the Dispute Settlement Body, and the Trade Policy Review Body. All of these groups have representatives from each member nation (Understanding the WTO 101-3).

Three other councils report to the General Council on specific areas: the Council for Trade in Goods, Trade in Services, and Trade-related Intellectual Property Rights. There are other bodies called committees with more limited responsibilities. These include committees on trade and development, the environment, regional trading, administrative issues, and three new committees on investment and competition, transparency in government procurement and trade facilitation (Understanding the WTO 103).

Finally, there are subsidiary bodies for each of the higher bodies that do much of the detail work and analysis for the higher councils.

NAFTA is a trilateral trade agreement between the US, Canada and Mexico. It was signed into law by President Clinton and went into effect in 1994. NAFTA is intended to make the continent one economic zone and provide a framework for fair trade among the participating countries. The agreement details rules on trade tariffs, disputes, other topics and two major side agreements in a 2,000-page document (Block).

In terms of its objectives, the “Preamble” refers to the three governments being committed to creating expanded markets, reducing distortions to trade, and promoting sustainable development. Objectives include the elimination of trade barriers, promotion of fair competition and increased investment opportunities, provision for the settlement of disputes, and establishment of a framework for further cooperation (North American Free Trade Agreement).

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ENVIRONMENT

The relationship between global trade and the environment is complex. This section of the report discusses the ways in which global trade can impact the environment, both negatively and positively. It also summarizes specific WTO and NAFTA provisions that address trade-environment issues and some significant cases involving trade-environment conflicts. Finally, some recommendations for future policies are proposed.

Negative Impacts

The growth in international trade has led to an increase in global economic development and gross domestic product. Although it is difficult to prove a clear cause and effect relationship, the growth in international trade and economic development has also been accompanied by an increase in environmental problems such as deforestation, global warming and species extinction (Nordström 1). Evidence suggests, “environmental quality indexes change continuously with income growth, notably greenhouse gas emissions” (Vaughan 67). As world trade and world population continue to grow into the coming century, the potential for destructive environmental impacts will also increase.

Global trade can negatively effect the environment in many ways. First, economic growth driven by trade and unrestrained by adequate environmental regulations will have negative impacts (Nordström 1). This occurs through increased demand for natural resources leading to depletion and increased pollution of air, land and water associated with economic development. For instance, environmental regulations in the Mexican manufacturing sector did not keep up with economic growth after the passage of NAFTA. The manufacturing sector has grown by 4% per year after NAFTA, but spending on pollution control and inspection has fallen 45% over the same period. Air pollution in the manufacturing sector has increased 10% per year after NAFTA (Vaughan 67). Also, it has been estimated that NAFTA contributes directly to an increase of 1-2% annual gross emissions of carbon monoxide and sulfur dioxide, and to air pollution in border regions from truck emissions. It has also contributed to increases in carbon dioxide emissions arising from increased trade in electricity (Vaughan 66).

Second, due to a desire to keep competitive on an international level, industries and groups may lobby to keep environmental standards weak to maintain growth and production in line with global competitors. Similarly, desire to compete on equal terms with industries in less regulated environments may lead companies to relocate to countries with weaker standards. This is called the industrial relocation “race to the bottom” hypothesis (Vaughan 66). By way of example, over the last decades hundreds of US companies have moved to the *maquiladora* section of Mexico to evade stricter environmental laws in the US (Perot 108).

Third, both the WTO and NAFTA impose constraints on members that can impact national environmental laws. The WTO and NAFTA allow participating states to directly challenge environmental laws of other states that may interfere with international trade. Countries found in the wrong must change their policies or offer compensation. Also, participating nations have agreed to refrain from passing laws that would interfere with international trade rights. Fear that environmental laws might be challenged by trading partners and that sanctions might be imposed can discourage new, tougher environmental standards (Kirton). Furthermore, under Chapter 11 of NAFTA, private investors, without the agreement or backing of their own government, are given the

ability to seek compensation if a NAFTA nation's environmental regulations harm a company's profits. By 2003, ten NAFTA cases involved environmental regulations and allegations of "expropriation of private profits." One dispute compelled the Canadian government to change its import ban on a particular chemical, methylcyclopentadienyl manganese tricarbonyl, and to pay damages to a private US company totaling \$13 million (Vaughan 67).

Positive Impacts

The WTO and NAFTA nations anticipated the potential negative environmental impacts of increased international trade and took steps to address these impacts as major policy goals. The preamble to the Marrakesh Agreement establishing the WTO refers to the need for "optimal use of the world's resources in accordance with the objective of sustainable development, both seeking to protect and preserve the environment and enhance the means for doing so" (Trade and Environment 67). The preamble to NAFTA states that the participants will, "Undertake each of the proceeding [goals] in a manner consistent with environmental protection and conservation;... Promote sustainable development; Strengthen the development and enforcement of environmental laws and regulations" (North American Free Trade Agreement). In 1994, the WTO's Committee on Trade and Environment (CTE) was established to identify "the relationship between trade measures and environmental measures in order to promote sustainable development" (Trade and Environment 5). The committee has focused on the relationship between trade and multilateral environmental agreements (MEAs). The aim of its work is to make "trade and environmental policies mutually supportive" (Trade and Environment 6). In 2001, at the Doha Conference, the Committee on Trade and Environment Special Session (CTESS) was formed to launch further negotiation on trade and the environment (Trade and Environment 5). In terms of NAFTA, an extensive side agreement devoted to environmental issues, the North American Agreement on Environmental Cooperation (NAAEC) and a regional commission to address trade-environment challenges, the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (CEC), accompanied its creation. NAFTA provisions clarify the role of MEAs and other environmental subjects such as "sanitary and phytosanitary" standards (North American Free Trade Agreement).

Assuming the majority of participating nations are committed to environmental protection and sustainability, and that this commitment is reflected in the dispute settlement process and any changes to the agreements, then there is the potential for international trade agreements to have a positive effect on the environment.

First, an organized, predictable, and enforceable system of global trade rules can help eliminate policies based on narrow special interests and encourage nations to regulate and allocate resources more efficiently. For instance, international pressure to reduce national subsidies to certain industries can eliminate overproduction and overharvesting and result in less waste of resources. Also, it provides an opportunity to begin environmental protection of common resources such as the high seas or atmosphere, that previously may have been outside the control of any one nation and therefore left unprotected and subject to misuse (such as ocean dumping and overfishing) (Nordström 2-3).

Second, environmental forces and problems do not respect national borders. To the extent that international trade calls attention to this reality, it may encourage a movement toward a more effective management of global environmental problems. The

elimination of economic boundaries and the opportunity to communicate with trading partners on common interests and concerns can act as a catalyst to seek environmental solutions on a regional or global basis. These solutions are likely to be far more effective than what could be accomplished on a national level, at least for widespread pollution problems (Nordström 1).

Third, studies generally indicate that a nation needs to reach a certain level of economic development before the population demands environmental cleanup and protection. One theory is that international trade stimulates economic development, which increases the national standard of living, which increases environmental awareness and the desire for a cleaner environment. If the government is responsive to public demand, environmental standards should grow along with the economy. This is called “the technique effect” (Nordström 3). China is an interesting case in point. Recent news reports have indicated that a growing number of Chinese citizens are protesting environmental degradation, despite the severe repercussions for speaking out and the lack of opportunity for democratic reform. The Chinese government reported 87,000 protests and incidents of unrest last year (McDonald). Unfortunately, the Chinese government has been slow to respond to these demands.

Environmental disputes between the U.S. and other nations arising under the WTO

There are a number of areas involving the environment and trade agreements that remain untested and unclear. What is clear is that countries cannot discriminate. Environmental standards and measures must apply equally to international trading partners and national businesses. If a law is designed to apply fairly and equally, but some trading partners challenge it as a violation of international trade agreements, it is unclear what the outcome would be. It has been proposed that trade rules should be rewritten to clarify that countries can enforce nondiscriminatory environmental agreements against nations that have not signed the agreement (Understanding the WTO 66).

The WTO has dispute settlement procedures and decision panels which function like tribunals. Panels consist of three to five experts from different countries, chosen by the disputing nations. If they cannot agree on the panel, the Dispute Settlement Board (DSB) selects the experts from a list of qualified candidates. Decisions of the panel can be appealed to an Appellate Body of seven experts in trade or international law. The decisions of the Body are final (Understanding the WTO 55). This process has been criticized because it relies on decision makers who may have little or no knowledge of science or environmental law and allows foreign decision makers to influence national environmental laws and standards. Critics have called for changes in the way decision makers are selected and in the dispute resolution process to provide more recognition to environmental concerns. For instance, the DSB could require in environmental disputes that some panelists have a background in environmental matters and also require the panel to consider advisory reports from environmental experts.

The preference at the WTO is to settle disputes through mediation and consultation, if possible, rather than the full panel process. WTO member nations have agreed in advance that they will use the official dispute resolution process rather than unilateral action to settle disagreements. Disputes involve policies, laws or actions adopted by a country that fellow WTO members consider a violation of WTO agreements

(Understanding the WTO 55). The following are examples of cases that have been heard by the WTO involving environmental disputes between the US and other nations.

1. *Gasoline Rule*

In order to reduce air pollution in the US, the EPA passed the Gasoline Rule permitting only gasoline of a specified cleanliness to be sold in the most polluted regions of the country. A different standard applied to the remainder of the US. The Gasoline Rule applied to all US refiners, blenders and importers. However, the US applied stricter rules on the chemical characteristics of imported gasoline. Venezuela and Brazil challenged the Rule as discriminatory against gasoline importers and inconsistent with GATT Art. III, and not covered by Art. XX. The panel found in favor of Venezuela and Brazil (Understanding the WTO 60).

2. *Shrimp Part I*

The Endangered Species Act listed five species of sea turtle as endangered or threatened and prohibited their take within the US, its territorial waters or the high seas. The US required shrimp trawlers to use “turtle excluder devices” (TEDs) when fishing. It also prohibited the import of shrimp caught with technology that could capture sea turtles, unless the harvesting nation certified that it had a program and “incidental take rate” similar to that of the US, or that it did not fish in an environment likely to have sea turtles. India, Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand brought suit against the US. The WTO panel found the US ban could not be justified because it discriminated against some trading nations. The US provided a longer transition period for compliance and technical assistance to countries in the Western Hemisphere, but it did not apply the same terms or offer assistance to Asian nations (Understanding the WTO 68).

3. *Shrimp Part II*

Malaysia introduced a complaint concerning the US response to the Shrimp/Turtle I dispute and findings. Malaysia’s position was that the US must completely remove its ban on shrimp. The US position was that it was only required to negotiate in good faith and review and revise its application of the ban so that it applied equally to all nations. The US had reviewed its policy and issued new guidelines which set forth revised rules for shrimp exporters based on the Appellate Body’s findings. Malaysia claimed no prohibition, in the absence of international agreement, was allowed. The Appellate Body ruled that although the US had been ordered to negotiate with the other nations to reach an international agreement concerning conservation of sea turtles and shrimp harvesting, it had not been ordered to actually conclude an agreement. Since a good faith effort to reach an agreement had been made, the US had fulfilled its obligation (Trade and Environment 64).

Environmental disputes between the U.S. and other nations under NAFTA

NAFTA has very complex dispute resolution provisions and processes. NAFTA and its side agreements on environmental and labor issues encompass 2,000 pages. Cases can arise under a number of difference provisions. As mentioned earlier, Chapter 11 “investor state” rules allow private investors to challenge a foreign government’s regulations and seek monetary compensation for laws or regulations that result in an “expropriation of profits.” Under NAAEC Article 13, the CEC can act as a “roving

spotlight” and initiate its own investigations of trade-environment matters. Under NAAEC Article 14-15, individuals or groups can go directly to the CEC and charge a government with failure to enforce its own environmental laws. Chapter 19 provides for review of “antidumping and countervailing duty” cases. Finally, Chapter 20 is the main provision in NAFTA dealing with dispute resolution and is applicable to all disputes concerning the application or interpretation of NAFTA (Kirton, North American Free Trade Agreement).

Like the WTO, NAFTA provides for disputes to be settled by a “consensus roster” of experts acceptable to all member countries and to be resolved by agreement if possible. Panelists must have expertise in law and international trade. Panelists can be selected from outside the roster but are subject to challenge. Scientific Review Boards may be used to provide expert advice (SICE). The panel meets behind closed doors and the public has no right to observe (Lazaroff).

The following are examples of environment-trade cases that have arisen under NAFTA or its side agreement.

1. Methanex

In June of 1999, Methanex, a Canadian company, challenged California’s right to ban the gasoline additive MTBE. The additive was banned because it leaked into ground water and polluted drinking water sources. Methanex sued the US for over 970 million dollars claiming that its profits were harmed by California’s law. On August 9, 2005, a NAFTA Chapter 11 Arbitral Tribunal dismissed Methanex’s claims and ordered the company to pay legal fees in the amount of 4 million dollars (Lazaroff).

2. Glamis Gold

In November of 2003, Glamis Gold, a Canadian mining company, challenged a California’s law requiring companies to return land to pre-mining conditions if the land is sacred to Native American tribes. Glamis was unwilling to comply with the law and filed a NAFTA investor suit seeking 50 million dollars in compensation for “expropriating” its opportunity to mine gold. Glamis spent a total of 14 million dollars in acquiring the property, buying equipment, and developing the site. There has not yet been any judgement in this case (When Bad Things 3).

3. Metalclad

Metalclad, a California company, built a hazardous waste facility near residences in the Mexican city of Aucascalientes. The state and city refused to allow the facility to operate for fear it would harm the environment and residents. The federal government had permitted the facility. Metalclad sued Mexico and was awarded 16.6 million dollars by a NAFTA tribunal, which found the denial to operate an expropriation of investor property (Lazaroff).

The growth in world trade brings both opportunities and risks to the environment. International trade contributes to economic growth and development. Without adequate safeguards, expanded economic activity will have negative impacts on the environment, including resource depletion, pollution and global warming through increased greenhouse gas emissions. International trade agreements provide opportunities for environmental protection by encouraging multinational agreements and cooperation between

governments on environmental matters, by promoting sound and efficient resource use through the elimination of subsidies, overharvesting and overproduction, and by raising the level of public environmental awareness in all nations.

The US is one of the most powerful participants in both the WTO and NAFTA. It is important that this power be used to promote the best trade-environment policies. Sound environmental and sustainable growth objectives are stated in the Preamble to both NAFTA and the Marakesh Agreement establishing the WTO. Below are some recommendations to strengthen these objectives and help guide negotiations for future agreements.

ENVIRONMENTAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- Encourage multinational cooperation and commitment to high environmental standards by linking trade agreements with MEAs that harmonize environmental laws across a region (Block).
- Improve communication between trade and environmental officials at the national level to better coordinate regulations in both areas (Trade and Environment 8).
- Support enforcement and funding for environmental protections and commissions in trade agreements, such as NAFTA's CEC (Kirton).
- Clarify that countries can enforce MEA's against nations that have not signed the agreements if they want to operate and trade in the region. Critics say this allows foreign nations to force environmental standards on them. But the alternative is to allow nations to impose weak standards on those that have chosen to follow high standards. Non-cooperating nations can take their trade elsewhere (Understanding the WTO 66).
- Encourage changes to the dispute resolution process so that WTO and NAFTA panelists in environmental cases are required to have knowledge of environmental law and science and are required to consider advisory reports prepared by environmental experts.
- Support provisions like NAFTA-NAAEC Article 14-15 (which gives citizens the right to sue their government to enforce environmental laws) in future trade agreements. All citizens in a democracy have a valid interest in encouraging enforcement of existing laws (Kirton).
- Negotiate changes to NAFTA Chapter 11 (which gives private investors the right to sue nations for environmental regulations that may effect private profits) and avoid Chapter 11 provisions in future agreements.
- Encourage US leadership in the development and export of cutting edge environmentally friendly technologies that support sustainable growth and protect the environment.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ITS IMPACT ON ECONOMICS

The major economic concern over trade agreements for underdeveloped countries is the imbalance created by the widening gap between the highly developed countries, such as the United States, and the underdeveloped countries of the "third world". As Soledad Alvear Valenzuela of Chile stated, "Globalization has created new opportunities... but it has also created imbalances as a result of unequal access to the advantages that it offers."

The major problem that slows and limits the international trade is the high tariffs and taxes for imports and exports. For the underdeveloped countries, it is hard to import goods produced by other countries due to high tariffs and it is equally hard for them to export goods when tariffs are added, because the goods become too expensive to buy in the importing country. Therefore, lowering the trade tariffs would help the underdeveloped countries. This is shown in the example of India in the past few years, where economic growth and reduction of poverty was achieved by being more open toward the international trade economic reforms.

The problem for the United States lies in that trade agreements for US can mean an even more increasing trade deficit. The factors that cause the US trade deficit are the continued growth of the US economy and the need for American investment, accompanied by the decline in manufacturing output as a share of economy and the dollar's role as a reserve currency. All this indicates that if United States would export more and import and invest less into foreign industries, the US trade deficit would decrease. This, however, is contradicting to what changes the underdeveloped countries need. They depend on the US investments and market, which raises their need for exports, making it necessary for the US to import, which the United States cannot do. Therefore, the trade agreements with underdeveloped countries contradict the needs of United States, and might hurt the United States economy more than they help the developing countries' economies.

So, international trade agreements should lower the high tariffs and taxes to aid underdeveloped countries. However, aid should be also provided for those countries to become self-dependant. The United States should decrease its imports, therefore boosting its economy by stimulating production at home. United States should also invest into long-term projects in other countries, such as oil, gas, and new technologies, to help other countries' economies and increase its own profits. hurt the United States economy more than they help the developing countries' economies.

Globalization of market economies is more beneficial to multinational corporations than countries themselves. Multinational corporations have no allegiance to one place; thus they are free to move their industries at will. If labor suddenly becomes cheaper in a different country, the corporation can easily pick up and go, but the departure of such economic stimulus in a particular area can wreak havoc on the local economy. As University of Wisconsin-Madison Associate Professor Robert W. McChesney writes:

Globalization is the result of powerful governments, especially that of the United States, pushing trade deals and other accords down the throats of the world's people to make it easier for corporations and the wealthy to dominate the economies of the nations around the world without having obligations to the peoples of those nations.

(McChesney)

Trade agreements frame conditions of exchange between countries, often times concerning exports and imports. In this day and age, however, it is mostly the corporations that set the international market prices. For instance, the prices of manufactured goods are disproportionately high with respect to the prices of raw

materials. The corporations that manufacture the goods are the ones who decide the prices of their items. The nations producing the raw materials (mostly developing nations) are unable to charge at their discretion as the corporations do. Unless certain nations are able to organize themselves into cartels (such as OPEC).

Corporations going into countries that will produce their products carry great power to get the benefits that they want from those governments. They get special treatment in terms of assistance such as tax reduction, land grants, and so on because that country must strive to boost the industrial production in their nation.

ECONOMIC RECOMMENDATIONS

- The best way to help developing nations without hurting our own economy too much would be to aid them in becoming self-sufficient. Thus we do not lose as much currency as we would by completely lowering our tariffs and importing more goods from those countries; but at the same time they would not need our markets to have stable economies.
- The most important factor to help developing countries with their developmental strategies is to greatly reduce or even eliminate the high tariffs and taxes for the purpose that trade provides a fair competitive base for both the developing and developed countries. So, greater cooperation will be needed between all countries to establish a reasonable and fair international trade law, which limits the trade barriers. However, besides eliminating the trade barriers, we also need to assist the developing countries now (as Japan currently does) so that they can attain a sustainable growth.
- Most developing countries are likely to benefit from increased participation in international trade, which will boost their economy and could improve the quality and quantity of available jobs. Trade agreements should be made, establishing a reasonable and fair international trade law, which would lower high tariffs and taxes. US cannot take an active role in participating in those trade agreements so not to increase its growing deficit and imports, and hurt its economy more. However, US can greatly help by choosing to cooperate in creating those trade agreements for the other countries.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ITS IMPACT ON GLOBAL POLITICS

Globalization is entering a second phase. The naïveté of the 1990's has been replaced by a solemn understanding of the economic force. Developing nations can witness the effects open markets have brought to neighboring countries. While interdependency is advertised as inherent, divides exist between the prospective returns of developed nations as opposed to developing ones in trade liberalization. "People have some fear about trade liberalization, and all the more so when the general economic situation is not so prosperous and the outlook not so optimistic," said Georg Koopmann, a senior economist specializing in trade at the Hamburg Institute of International Economics (Altman 4). These fears have been strengthened by prevalent economic notions which suggest "that trade liberalization should happen first in rich countries; that there is a legitimate argument for protecting infant industries in the developing nations; and that freer trade can hurt those developing countries" (Ibid 4). The urgings from

developed nations to developing ones are not enough, given the economic support that newly opened countries won't reap a large number of benefits.

In this second decade of globalization, politics is becoming an increasingly present factor. Market trends have less predictable impacts on countries. Commentator, Fareed Zakaria explains:

In Europe, governments are reforming their economies but have retained their cherished welfare states. And they are doing well, none more than Sweden, where the government spends over 60 percent of the gross domestic product. Several European countries -- Sweden, Britain and Denmark among them -- chose to defy the conventional wisdom and have not adopted the single European currency. Markets have not punished them; indeed, they have been rewarded.

(Zakaria 1)

Therefore, the incentive for nations to "realize" the growing tendency towards global interdependence and remove restrictions is low, given this unpredictability. However, the perceived harms of liberalized economies are far greater than this rather lackluster probability for benefits. There is a widespread notion among many nations' leaders (especially those of developing nations) that trade liberalization will destabilize their governments and inevitably cause them to lose power. In citing a pattern, plaguing many African nations, Henry Bienen, now the president of Northwestern University, writes, "In societies with weak administrative systems, direct control of trade and production allows politicians more room for strategic interventions. Thus, first preferences are often for direct controls over trade rather than for tariffs" (Bienen 715).

In some aspects, however, both developing and developed nations have cause to fear power reformations under the context of globalization and trade liberalization. Public debate over trade often centers on a divide between labor interests and capital interests. In the international realm, capital is mobile, while labor is not. This creates a structural divide in the public debate over the issue. Since globalization is an ongoing trend, businesses have the option of uprooting from nations not yet embracing the trend to pursue capital interests in more liberalized settings absent larger levels of regulation. Thus, national authorities are more threatened by the prospects of not heeding the whims of capital. Suzanne Berger explains, "Therefore, the expected results of limiting taxation of capital are that labor will have to shoulder a greater part of the tax burden and that society's ability to fund social welfare expenditures will decline" (Berger 10). The effect strengthens the influence of a select group of investors and relegates previously equal entities to secondary citizenship. Furthermore, the trend will inevitably continue as globalization spreads, but the structural discrepancies in influences will slightly decrease as more sects of the population embrace capital interests; though, this gap will never close as labor is a necessity in the occupational spectrum that will not disappear from society.

More tangibly damaging to governments' control over citizens is the media's effect under globalization. Berger continues, "The effects of the internationalization of the media, the marketing and export of American popular culture, and the deregulation of information all combine to weaken national values and traditions, and in so doing, they dry up the springs of support for national action" (Ibid 4). Globalization brings a greater information flow; citizens become opened to wider perspectives, and traditions become interspersed in a pseudo-melting-pot of ideas. Thus, governments become engaged under

a wider eye of public scrutiny. Indeed, just as capital interests are mobile in a globalized world, so too are citizens (to a lesser extent, though). Competition between governments to attract or withhold inhabitants increases. Therefore, authorities lose control, and original intentions and methods of governance are transformed.

The insecurities of governmental leaders based on these potential causes for a loss of control force them to focus on the possible downsides of liberalization rather than potential market tradeoffs. In the end, they are less willing to give up political power for possible economic benefits for their countries.

U.S. hegemonic role

“Nations dwell in perpetual anarchy, for no central authority imposes limits on the pursuits of sovereign interests. . . . Because as states they cannot cede ultimate control over their conduct to [a] supranational sovereign, they cannot guarantee that they will adhere to their promises. The possibility of a breach of promise can impede cooperation even when cooperation would leave all better off. Yet, at other times, states do realize common goals through cooperation under anarchy,” states economist K.A. Oye. In the global sphere, nations operate absent the casual regulations of centralization. This premise grants the notion of necessity for some force to at least push economic and political trends on the globalized arena. It was in this vain that Charles Kindleberger fathered the “hegemonic stability hypothesis.” The theory posits that without postnationalism, the void of a stabilizing force in the world is filled by the hegemon. Kindleberger surmised in his book, *The World in Depression: 1919-1939*, that between the two World Wars, a hegemon, influencing global trade, did not exist, therefore, resulting in the era’s instability. Economists Beth and Robert Yarbrough clarify the hegemon’s role, in accordance to Kindleberger’s theory:

A hegemon can enforce negotiated trade agreements by using its own trade policy to threaten other countries contemplating opportunistic protectionism with the loss of the gains from trade. Multilateralism is a means of defining the rules to be enforced. For the hegemonic enforcement mechanism to work, each country must receive a share of the gains from trade large enough to compensate it for forgoing opportunistic protectionism if all countries comply with their commitments, and all must receive less if any country behaves opportunistically. In effect, the hegemon acts as a residual claimant, absorbing the costs of liberalization and paying each country a side-payment to assure compliance.

(Yarbrough 131)

However, in this new age of globalization, when politics is more prevalent in dilemmas of liberalization, the theory falls short. The hegemon cannot, under these circumstances, merely give the incentive of potential benefits. The perceptions of market trends, among developing nations’ leaders, cause them to want something more tangible to risk control over their governments. This is why economists are witnessing a downturn in the current hegemon, the United States’, ability to spur liberalized policies in continents, such as Africa.

Fareed Zakaria continues, “Talks over the expansion of global trade are stalled -- and not because of a few hundred latte-sipping protesters dancing outside World Bank meetings, though they are also part of the new politics of globalization. Third world countries believe that without some concessions from the West, these talks have become

a one-way street in which they alone open their markets” (Zakaria 2). Thus, in order for the U.S. to meet its obligation as a hegemon, it must offer greater and more tangible incentives for nations to join in the liberalization process. Furthermore, through this, the stigmatized view of globalization will fall as interdependency truly realizes its potential.

POLITICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- As a doctrinal shift, the United States must halt its aggressive stance in trade liberalization. Other nations will no longer cede their markets to globalization for nothing in return. Economic incentives must be offered in order to compensate for countries' lack of willingness to let in outside influence that could limit their own governments' authority over citizens. Congress is in a unique position to remodel our image in the international sphere as well as opening markets to herald a new era of interdependency.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIOLOGY AND CULTURE

New trade agreements can affect cultures dramatically, and “resistance to change due to cultural concerns can reduce the national benefits from trade liberalization” (Suranovic). The “cultural externality” model shows that consumers of a product receive utility when others consume their domestic goods, and “a loss of cultural benefits” is more likely to take place in this situation – basically when nations change themselves in order to keep up with the changing world around them.

It would be a good idea to define trade liberalization: it is basically the reduction of tariffs and trade barriers to permit more foreign competition and foreign investment in an economy, or, reducing barriers between nations to enhance global trade. Reducing those barriers causes some problems, as you will see.

Advocates of trade liberalization argue that different social norms, rules, customs, and cultures are a roadblock when trying to organize a cohesive world economy. Opponents (those who do not support globalization) say that cultural differences and diversity must be held sacred, and trade liberalization poses a huge threat to the ability of societies to maintain a unique identity for themselves. The idea of “culture” can be defined many different ways in many different frames of reference, which can make it difficult for societies to effectively agree on the limits trade agreements should have upon their societal traditions and customs – their “culture.” Thus trade and culture often clash when it comes to countries being resistant to change, or when trade “intrudes on domestic policy and values” (Suranovic). While some countries may see certain trade acts as perfectly acceptable, another country, with an entirely different set of beliefs, customs, and social norms may see it as unacceptable, and thus the process of trade is impeded. Examples include animal rights (if animals are treated inhumanely in countries where they are imported from, would the US have a problem with that? [dolphins/tuna]), child labor (many countries still use scores children to work in sweatshops to make products sold in developed nations [Nike]), and environmental concerns (is the country ruining their environment in the process of trade [logging industry], and will it adversely affect the nation it is trading with in the long run?) It is questions and issues such as these that raise red flags in some nations but might be considered a non-issue in other countries.

When defining culture while considering such factors as these, it is no wonder that trade liberalization has had trouble overcoming barriers on the road to globalization.

Where some cultures might believe that only men can work (such as the Middle East and parts of Asia), another culture may try and encourage them to expand to the female sector in order to increase production and output levels of goods and services. A clash like this can easily break down a trade agreement and slow progress. Other, more specific, details of a certain culture may also be taken into account when looking at how culture and trade combine. Orthodox Jews will not eat pork, even if the price of beef were to skyrocket and the cost of pork were to bottom out. A Muslim investment banker will, if he practices faithfully under Islamic law, not participate in any transactions that involve interest payments. This could obviously cause huge problems when dealing with the Western world of finance, where interest payments are the norm and it is difficult to work without them. There are thousands of other cultural details such as these that come into play every time two different nations try and trade on a global level.

Globalization of the media also contribute to trade and culture clashes. With the dawn of the Internet and satellite television, it is now possible to view media from almost any country that produces it. One can read foreign newspapers, watch television from other countries, etc. and this contributes to the clash of cultures so often seen when one culture starts to seep into another. The current Chinese government has had problems recently as they attempt to censor teenagers who – imitating their American and European counterparts - post online blogs or publish their own books that project values and ideas regarding their sexuality that are radically different than those of their government. The Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance in Iran recently banned CNN from entering the country for fear that Iran's citizens would hear anti-Iranian sentiments and discussions about possible nuclear weapons violating treaties that Iran had previously agreed to uphold. The ban was recently lifted, but Iran is still poised to ban CNN again if there are any more problems or concerns regarding the station.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RECOMMENDATIONS

- All of these disparities in cultures when it comes to creating trade agreements pose a central question: How much should nations be willing to change or abandon certain elements of their culture in the name of streamlining the global economy and furthering globalization? Every nation has the right to refuse to trade with countries whose disparate cultural beliefs would interfere with their own. Yet there will almost always come a time when a nation must forgo certain elements of their culture in favor of the welfare of their citizens. The central challenge here lies in attempting to determine when it is more beneficial to a nation's citizens to uphold long-standing cultural values for their own sake, or to further globalize one's economy and risk losing those customs and values forever.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND ITS IMPACT ON AGRICULTURE

Agriculture in the United States is a vital component of both the national and global economy. The US currently exports the largest number of agricultural products in the world; 45% of the wheat, 71% of almonds, 60% of sunflower oil, and 34 % of soybeans grown in the US are exported. States' economies, such as Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, California, Washington and Texas, would nearly if not totally collapse without foreign trade. (4) Dependency on foreign nations has increased because, while agriculture production here in the US is growing at an annual

rate of 2%, the food demand continues to remain the same. Therefore, producers in the United States have come to rely heavily on the global market as their source of income. Because the domestic agriculture has become so dependent on international trade, it has become a priority for the United States to see reform in the trade of agriculture on the international level. The removal of trade barriers would be beneficial to the United States because as long as they exist, consumers and producers in the United States as well as others in the global market will pay millions of dollars.

In 2001 at the Doha World Trade Organizations, the international community failed to reach an agreement largely because of the inability to come to a consensus concerning agriculture. This past year in further WTO talks, both the EU and the US came under fire for their trade distorting domestic support of their farmers, giving them an unfair advantage over developing nation's farmers and hindering the quality of products.

The United States responded introducing a "bold" plan for agriculture reform, with the hope of "unleashing the potential of the Doha round".

"The U.S. proposal is offered in earnest. We are ready to make meaningful changes to American farm programs provided our trading partners deliver tangible market access for U.S. agricultural exports and our offer is also met by substantial reductions in trade-distorting measures, with deeper cuts by the biggest subsidizers," US Trade Representative Rob Portman said. (7)

The general idea of the US's proposals are to liberalize trade among nations in the areas of market access, domestic support, and export competition and achieve president Bush's vision of a "tariff free world".

This proposition has a timeline of 15 years, broken down in to three stages. The first stage calls for a substantial reduction of tariffs and domestic support. The next five years is a break, with the intention of reviewing the effects on international trade and economies. Lastly, over the final five years, tariffs and domestic support will be completely eliminated. According to a speech made by Dr J. B. Penn, Under Secretary for farm and foreign agricultural services, this will not only boost the United State's economy, but developing countries as well, by "improving living standards through out the world" to help "lifting millions out of people out of poverty". To justify this, he deems agriculture as the "engine of economic growth". (Penn)

Time Line:

- ☆ 2007: Coming into effect of Doha Agreements
- ☆ 2008-2012: Five-year implementation period
- ☆ 2013-2017: Five-yea hiatus to assess the effect of the Doha round.
- ☆ 2018-2022: Second five-year implementation period to eliminate all remaining tariffs and trade distorting domestic support. (Murphy)

Market Access

There are many steps to be taken to increase overall market access. Tariffs need to be reduced a considerable amount, cuts ranging from 55-90%. In addition there will be "tariff caps" to limit the tariff; a 75% cap is proposed on developed countries and a to-be-determined cap for developing nations. The US proposal also puts both developed and developing nations on the same tier for tariff reduction (Murphy).

Export Competition

The second part of the proposition is a rapid removal of export subsidies. All export subsidies on agriculture products will be limited. The US proposes to limit export subsidies when they themselves do not spend more than a few million dollars a year itself on export subsidies (Murphy). Rules regarding food aid are also part of the export competition pillar.

Domestic Support

The Current WTO Boxes

- * Amber: most trade-distorting; tied to price or output; annual limit
- * Green: none or minimally trade-distorting; decoupled support, no limit
- * Blue: trade-distorting but has production-limiting features; no limit
- * De minimis: up to 5% support allowed for product specific and non-product specific amber (Penn)

The third and final objective of the United States' plan for reform is drastic cuts in trade-distorting domestic support, with deeper cuts for countries with larger support. The WTO has distinguished the Amber Box as trade-distorting support and the Green Box as non-trade distorting support. The proposal the US is making only concerns trade-distorting support and does not change the current policy towards non-trade distorting support.

The EU, Japan, and the US have the largest sum of domestic support, with the US at \$19 billion, Japan at \$33 billion, and EU at \$88 billion. The plan calls for the US to cut their support by 53% and the EU by 75%. (Murphy)

The elimination of domestic support will help many developing countries with their economies and trade of agriculture. Because so many of European and American farmers are subsidized by the government, they have an unfair advantage over smaller foreign farmers because they are able to lower their prices and not suffer any financial consequence.

AGRICULTURAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Above all things, the US proposal to the World Trade Organization is not politically or economically feasible. Many different administrations will rotate through during the 22-years it would take to fully implement this plan, undoubtedly with very different political agendas.

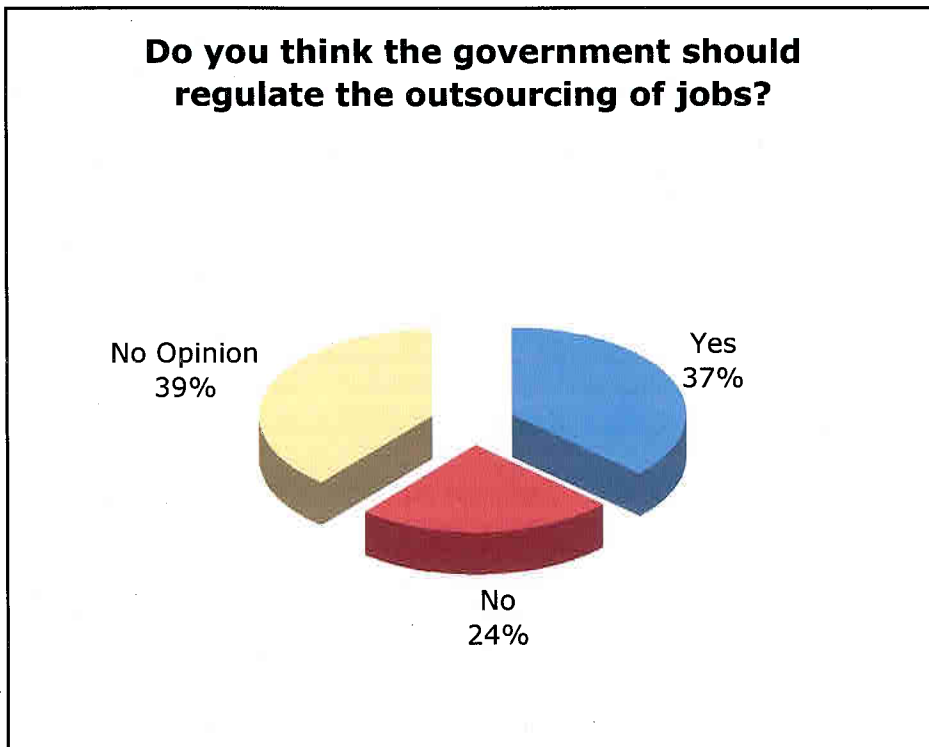
- The US proposal is also fairly one sided and does not take in to consideration the different circumstances of developed and developing countries. The flexibility

that developing countries need to maintain and expand their economies is not there. Although there are concessions made in the proposal, it may not be enough.

- The United States tariffs and subsidies for agriculture are relatively low when compared to many other nations. Therefore the cuts the US would endure, should their proposal be adopted by the international community, would have a small impact when compared to those endured by other nations. It will be extremely hard to garner support from the European Union and Japan, who have some of the higher tariffs and subsidies, as they have already voiced their opposition to this plan.

SURVEY RESULTS

The trade group decided to pose two questions to our local peers. The first was “Do you think the United States should continue importing more than they export?”; a question to intended gauge youth awareness, interest, and opinion regarding our growing trade deficit. 16% of the youth surveyed said “Yes,” 55% said “No,” and 29% were uninformed or had no opinion in the matter. Including the nearly 1/3rd of the students that had no opinion, over half of those surveyed believe that the trade deficit is an issue that needs to be addressed. The second question was “Do you think the government should regulate the outsourcing of jobs?” To this, 37% answered “Yes,” 24% said “No,” and 39% were uninformed or had no opinion. Outsourcing is a complex issue and these numbers reveal that youth are not particularly knowledgeable regarding its intricacies. More students, however, did believe that outsourcing should be regulated as opposed to not being regulated.



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WAR ON DRUGS

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, more than 200 million people worldwide abuse drugs. (UNODC). Five percent of the world's population, age 15-64, have used drugs at least once in the last 12 months. Drug use transcends class and geography; users are extremely diverse- urban professionals, street children in developing, the planter addicted to his own crops, adolescents in the suburbs. (UNODC)

The number of cannabis users worldwide is now close to 160 million people or 4% of the population age 15-64. Cannabis production has also been rising in recent years. The number of opiate users is estimated to have risen slightly to around 16 million people (11 million of which abuse heroin). There are about 14 million cocaine users worldwide. In 2003, observations show an ongoing increase in the use of cannabis and signs of stabilization for usage of opiates and cocaine. (UNODC)

In the 1990s, Afghanistan established itself as the largest source of opium and heroin in the world. The area under opium cultivation in this country has increased in 125,970 acres from 2003- 2004. In 2004, for the very 1st time, opium production was found in all 32 provinces of Afghanistan. That year, the potential opium production in Afghanistan was estimated to be around 4,200 metric tons. In 2004, the number of families involved in the production of opium also rose by 35%, estimated to be 356,000 in 2004, about 2.3 million people, about 10% of the total population of Afghanistan. The yearly gross income per opium growing family in 2004 was estimated to be around \$1,700 US dollars. The farm- gate value of the opium harvest is about \$600 million US dollars- 3 times the size of the government's total domestic revenues. In addition to Afghanistan, Myanmar, of Southeast Asia, is also a major opium producer. However, despite its reputation as a leading producer, during the last decade, policies by both the central Government and local authorities continue to promote a rapid reduction in opium cultivation, in line with a national action plan to eradicate it by the year 2014. For many years Laos was also an important producer and supplier of opium. In 1998, the area under opium poppy cultivation was estimated at 66,196 acres. However, since the Government decided to eliminate opium poppy cultivation in the Lao PDR by the year 2005, opium poppy cultivation has recorded a steady decline in Laos. (UNODC)

Colombia is the largest source of cocaine in the world. Through Plan Colombia, the U.S. has given a \$1.3 billion package to fight the drug trade in Colombia. Plan Colombia has attempted to battle illicit crops, prevent human rights violations, stabilize the economy, and resolve the ongoing civil war in Colombia. Since 2000, coca cultivation in Colombia has reduced 51%. In addition, the total area under coca cultivation in Colombia has decreased by 14,820 acres from 2003- 2004. In the year 2004, the 4th consecutive annual decrease of coca cultivation, the total area under coca cultivation was 197,600 acres. The UNODC also discovered that in 2004, Colombia had the potential to produce a total of 390 metric tons of cocaine, which would amount to about \$ US 315 million. Peru is the 2nd largest cultivator of cocaine after Colombia. In 2004, Peru represented 33% of the world's cultivation of coca. That year, the total area under productive coca cultivation in Peru was about 124,241 acres. However, coca

cultivation in Peru has remained under the high production levels of the mid- nineties. In Peru, the potential production of cocaine has been estimated to be about 190 metric tons of cocaine. On the long term, coca leaves prices have tended to increase since their lowest level of US\$0.6/kg in 1996. This sustained high price of coca leaf may have been the main motivation for the farmers to increase coca cultivation. Bolivia is the third largest producer of coca in the world. It is widely recognized that there is an increasing trend in coca cultivation in Bolivia for the past few years. (UNODC)

Morocco is the main producer of cannabis, otherwise known as hashish, in the world. In 2004, the total area under cannabis cultivation in Morocco was 297,635 acres. The gross cannabis production of this country was 98, 000 metric tons in 2004. The total gross farmers income from cannabis cultivation is said to be about US\$325 million. This represents 0.7% of Moroccan GDP in 2003. (UNODC)

The illegal drug market in the United States is one of the most profitable in the world. It attracts many drug traffickers, who arrive on plane, by sea, and by land. These drug traffickers conceal cocaine, heroin, marijuana, MDMA or ecstasy, and methamphetamine shipments for distribution in U.S. neighborhoods. Ecstasy has increased at an alarming rate in the United States over the last several years. Criminal groups operating from South America smuggle cocaine and heroin into the United States. The U.S./Mexico border is the primary point of entry for cocaine shipments being smuggled into the United States. According to a recent interagency intelligence assessment, approximately 65 percent of the cocaine smuggled into the United States crosses the Southwest border. Colombia-based drug groups have allowed Mexico-based trafficking organizations to play an increasing role in the U.S. cocaine trade. According to the Federal Drug Seizure System (FDSS), U.S. federal authorities seized over 111 metric tons of cocaine in calendar year 2001. This moderate increase over the nearly 107 metric tons seized in 2000 is due in part to an increase in maritime seizures in the Southwest Pacific. Besides these groups from abroad, organizations within the US also produce illegal drugs such as marijuana, methamphetamine, phencyclidine (PCP), and lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD).

With the abundance of narcotic production it is clear that the United States must take action. Current policies against drugs should be altered and improved upon to create optimum results. Many of the anti-drug programs focus on the suppliers of the drugs, when production would be reduced more efficiently by focusing on the drug users. The current situation in Colombia and the surrounding Andes Mountain region exemplifies the necessity of attacking the demand end of the market. In the mid 1990's Coca crops in Bolivia and Peru were destroyed and the bulk of the production shifted to Colombia in the late '90's. Between 1996 and 2000 the Coca crops in Colombia rose from 165,000 acres to 334,000 Acres to offset its neighbors' dropping production. This trend occurring throughout the Andes region has been dubbed the balloon-belt theory. As long as demand remains high the production will continue to flourish. If production is cut off in one area it will shift to an unregulated area.

With the rise of Coca production in 2000 the former President Pastrana of Colombia looked to strengthen the fight against drugs and restore order to his country through Plan Colombia. He proposed a \$7.5 billion program to achieve this. The Clinton administration granted \$1.3 billion in the summer of 2000, the third largest amount given by the U.S. to support one country. The U.S. funds are split into five main pieces: \$122

million to Human Rights and Judicial reform, \$390.5 million to equip the army to battle drug production and trade, \$81 million to provide economic alternatives from Coca production, \$129.4 million to restrain drug trading, and finally \$115.6 million to create a police force. This approach is largely militaristic; most of the money is going to equipment, supplies and training for the Colombian military. After September 11th the Bush administration shifted the goals towards fighting 'narco-terrorism'. This newly coined term roughly describes the connection between the drug trade and the insurgency in Colombia. Paramilitaries are also considered terrorists; these groups are responsible for the bulk of the human rights violations in Colombia. Approximately thirty percent of guerilla forces' incomes are from the drug trade. This connects the fight against terrorism with the fight against drug production.

The results of Plan Colombia are mixed. As of 2003, Coca production in Colombia was reportedly down 15%. However, this statistic is faulty; the production of Coca in Peru rose again in 2001. This supports the balloon theory – as long as there is a demand, it will be met. The production will shift to where it is less regulated; from 1988 to 2003 the Andean Region produced a constant total of about 540,000 Acres of Coca each year. Furthermore, the street price of cocaine in the U.S. has not changed since the implementation of Plan Colombia in 2001. By 2003, Colombia's first Counter narcotics Brigade was finally deployed, and a strong police force was created. These results seem largely disappointing, and president Uribe's goal of eliminating all Coca production in Colombia by the end of his term in 2006 seems impossible.

Eradicating Coca crops has proven to have extremely destructive side effects. The chemical used to kill the crops, Glyphosate, also damages the environment and harms humans. The chemical commonly found in Roundup is rashly dropped from airplanes onto the illicit crops. Peasant farmers burn down the rainforest to find healthy land to grow new crops. Side effects of Glyphosate use include pneumonia, mental confusion, tissue damage, and other severe health problems. The Plan Colombia program also pledged to provide money for alternative crops, but the money is not necessarily reaching the peasants who need it most.

Colombia's example of Cocaine production is similar to issue present in Afghanistan, Morocco and Southeast Asia. The black market drug trade will always feed violent crimes and cause instability in countries. Unfortunately, because we cannot control every corner of the earth a supply of drugs will always exist as long as the demand exists. More efforts to stop drug abuse need to be made in the United States. Cocaine, Methamphetamine and Opiates should not be legalized, but the punishment for using hard drugs should be changed. Funding should be sent to rehabilitation services, and prison sentences should be replaced with forced stays in rehabilitation centers. The U.S. is imposing strict regulations on the supply end but not on the demand end. Drug abuse is an issue that belongs to the United States.

Assuming that crops must be eradicated in the future, new chemicals must be used. Dropping harsh chemicals, including DDT, a chemical that is banned in the United States, on crops is pushing health problems onto the innocent civilians. In Colombia, The chemical used to destroy illicit crops is an intense version of Roundup called Glysophate. This chemical is dropped liberally on the Coca plants from airplanes. This chemical destroys the environment and causes health problems. After a crop has been sprayed down citizens of Colombia nearby the crops will show up at the doctors reporting

common side effects of Glyphosate including pneumonia-like symptoms. Additionally, The soil is ruined for any legal crop. The farmers then burn down rainforest to find virgin soil that can sustain crops.

To reduce production of drugs, we propose that other economic incentives and motivations be provided to the cultivators of these crops. Narcotics-producing countries can be motivated either to refrain from growing illicit crops or to permit the purchase or destruction of these crops by government authorities. However, the only way to reduce drug cultivation in these countries is to target the individual planters themselves. Perhaps tax incentives could also be provided to the growers. An abundance of jobs should also be opened up in these countries for planters seeking alternative sources of income. Thus, the welfare and that of the planters will depend on the growth and diversification of the country's economy.

Perhaps the country's legal economy may be improved in other geographic areas, including urban settings, in order to attract people away from areas that mainly yield crops involved in coca or opium production. For example, the best "substitute crop" for coca or opium could well be an assembly plant producing electronic goods or automobiles for the international market.

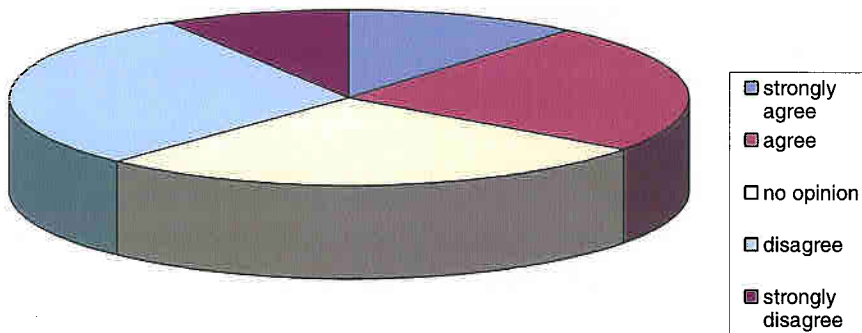
Illicit cash crops can also be replaced with other alternatives. Crops could be destroyed by aerial herbicidal spraying or biological control agents while substitute crops and markets are developed and assured. In addition, the original plants may simply be grown for other purposes. For example, the coca plant may still be grown for traditional uses such as chewing and herb tea.

The programs mentioned above to motivate planters to stop production of drugs could be made further effective by strict law enforcement and penalties for non-compliance. Drug cultivators might pay the government a large sum of money, or be forced to pay higher taxes for a few years. Furthermore, the major motivation in the drug market is not the product, but the profit. Thus, our efforts to reduce the flow of drugs into the United States must find ways to reduce the profits generated by the drug trade. One way to do this is to promote harsher criminal punishments penalizing the movement of money generated by drug sales, including revocation of licenses of financial institutions such as banks and brokerage houses (some of which knowingly facilitate financial transactions of traffickers) that engage in such practices. Similarly, economic penalties against drug abusers, in addition to current rehabilitation treatments and other such programs, would reduce the demand for drugs, therefore eliminating profits for suppliers.

The fight against drugs needs to shift from an effort to punish growers and eradicate crops to a focus upon the consumers of the drugs and dissuade production by offering viable alternatives to the farmers.

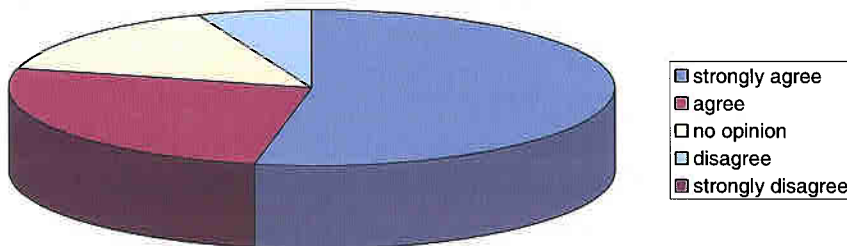
SURVEY RESULTS

Graph 1: Illegal drugs, including cocaine, marijuana, and opium should be decriminalized (not necessarily legalized)



The results of this poll show that the opinion is evenly split. The results are probably swayed because drugs with less impact are juxtaposed with more serious drugs; students would be more likely to agree with the statement if the more serious drugs were not included in the statement.

Graph 2: Drugs will be produced and traded as long as there is a market demand.



This proves our point that the demand side of the drug trade is the most important sector to focus efforts on. An overwhelming majority of students agree that the demand for drugs drives the market.

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Conclusion

Brigid Hurn-Maloney, Student Advisory Board Vice-Chair

Foreign policy is an extremely broad and complicated area of research. We have covered many topics; from aid, human trafficking, the war on drugs to war on terror and foreign oil and there have been a few issues that seem to strike a cord with both the Student Advisory board and our peers. AIDS, the War on Terror, Iraq and Foreign Oil dependency are just a few. Many people do not believe that students can fully grasp complicated issues regarding foreign policy but our research has worked to counter that perception. 78% of students surveyed are aware of the genocide in Darfur even though it is rarely covered in the media. 73% feel that foreign oil dependency is important to them and more then 60% of students expressed an opinion on the question of government regulation of job outsourcing. In general, the Student Advisory Board believes that only situations in which lives are at stake, such as genocides, require military intervention. We have realized that our relationships and ties with other counties heavily influence many issues that face the United States today. The success of the United States is interdependent with the state of other nations and the world in general.

The 2005-2006 Student Advisory Board extends its deep gratitude to Congresswomen Eshoo for taking the time to listen to her younger constituents. We hope that our research, opinions and recommendations will give you a better view of the feelings and political understanding that the students in the 14th Congressional District hold.

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