

Institute of Governmental Studies

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Choosing the President: 2008 in the IGS Spotlight

Selecting a president is the most complicated and momentous decision made by American voters, so IGS has launched a year-long series of events to examine the issues, the candidates, and the process of the Super Bowl of elections.

“We want to bring together a stimulating mix of scholars, political practitioners, journalists, and others,” said IGS Director Jack Citrin, who conceived of the program and is one of the faculty organizers. “By combining various perspectives, we hope to develop a detailed and balanced view that should be of interest both to average voters and to experts.”

The series consists of two main components—issue panels designed to inform voters and academic conferences aimed at furthering scholarly understanding of presidential elections and the presidency, Citrin said.

The program is already off to a great start. In late August several hundred people filled a large auditorium to hear a discussion of “Islam, Global Politics, and U.S. Foreign Policy.”

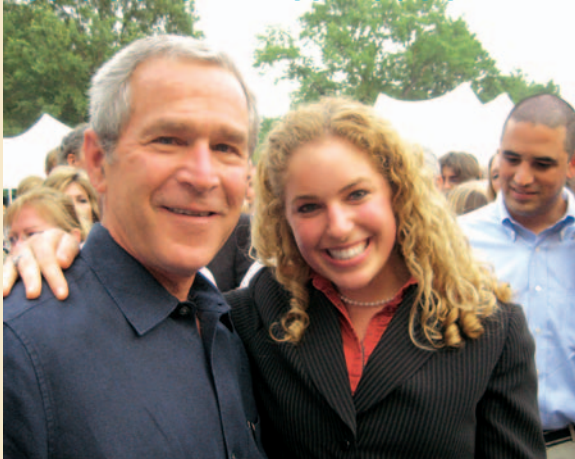
Three scholars of the Middle East spoke and then took questions from the audience: Fawaz Gerges of Sarah Lawrence College; Ira Lapidus, an emeritus professor of history at Berkeley; and Darius Zahedi of Berkeley’s International and Area Studies program.

Lapidus kicked things off by providing some historical context and then arguing that America should treat terrorism as a criminal act, not part of a culture war. That view benefits the terrorists, Lapidus said, not the United States.

“If non-Muslim Americans and Muslims make the mistake of thinking and acting as if there is a conflict of civilizations, then we will all be the worse off,” Lapidus said.

For more on the Choosing the President series, see pages 8–9.

IGS at the White House



IGS undergraduate assistant Riva Litman spent the summer working in the White House as part of Berkeley’s Cal-in-the-Capital program. For more on her experiences, see pages 6–7.

INSIDE

Eric Schickler on filibusters — 2
A major new financial commitment to IGS — 3
Gardner Fellows appointed — 4
Charlie Rose, tech bosses talk innovation — 5
Latino politics: the inside story — 10
IGS Observer: Ha Ha Hillary — 15

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SCHOLAR'S CORNER

The Nuclear Option: What It Would Take

Eric Schickler



Five years ago, when Columbia University political scientist Gregory Wawro and I began to explore the dynamics of obstruction in the 19th and early 20th century Senate, our goal was to understand how different institutional rules affect lawmaking. While we hoped that our findings would have some relevance to contemporary debates, proposals to reform the filibuster were virtually absent from the policy agenda in 2001, as we began our research.

Since that time, a new phrase—"the nuclear option"—has entered our political lexicon, and the prospect of fundamentally changing the Senate filibuster came to dominate (at least for a period) legislative politics and news coverage. This has been a blessing because it has reassured us that, despite writing about events that occurred long ago, the topic has tremendous staying power and will likely remain highly relevant in the future.

This issue's Scholar's Corner is adapted from the book, *Filibuster: Obstruction and Lawmaking in the U.S. Senate*, by Berkeley political scientist Eric Schickler, an affiliated faculty member of IGS, and Gregory Wawro of Columbia University. The book recently received the American Political Science Association Legislative Studies Section's Richard J. Fenno Prize, which is awarded annually for the best book in legislative studies published during the prior year. The book was published by Princeton University Press.

We have also had the unusual opportunity of watching our historical argument—namely that the threat of a "revolutionary" crackdown on obstruction by a determined floor majority limited filibusters in the Senate prior to the adoption of a formal cloture rule in 1917—put to something of a test in today's Senate. Yet the ongoing fight over the future of the filibuster was also a bit of a curse, in that the day-to-day fluidity of an evolving and increasingly tempestuous political conflict made it extremely difficult to bring closure to our project.

In 2003–2005, the filibuster came under severe fire as Republican leaders threatened to use the nuclear option to allow a simple majority to confirm judicial appointees. In the end, a compromise allowed both sides to save face: Republicans won the confirmation of nearly all of their nominees, while Democrats preserved their ability to filibuster future controversial matters. The battle once again raised the question of what it would take for senators to impose *de jure* majority rule on the judicial confirmation process and other legislative matters.

Senators have long known that a determined majority could use rulings from the chair strategically to impose majority rule, as Republicans proposed to do with the nuclear option. Rather than viewing the filibuster as an unwanted historical legacy, we have argued that the lack of majority rule in the United States Senate is best understood as a deliberate choice by senators who gain power as individuals through a set of rules that allow a determined minority to block action. Several conditions would need to be met before a floor majority would resort to use of the nuclear option to eliminate the filibuster.

First, there would need to be a cohesive majority of 50 or more senators that share a strong commitment to enacting a specific set of highly salient policies but that lack the 60 votes necessary for cloture. Given the internal divisions within both parties, this is a difficult condition to meet.

Cont. on p. 14

The **Scholar's Corner** features commentaries in which faculty members affiliated with IGS apply academic research or concepts to issues relevant to the practical world of politics and policy.

Darius and Sarah Anderson Make Major Financial Commitment to IGS

IGS National Advisory Council Chairman Darius Anderson and his wife, Sarah, have announced a major financial commitment to the Institute, pledging \$250,000 over the next five years.

“IGS plays a vital role in deepening our understanding of public policy and politics,” Darius Anderson said. “Sarah and I are proud that we can help advance all of the Institute’s goals—education, research, and public service.”

IGS Director Jack Citrin decided that the bulk of the Andersons’ contribution will fund the Cal-in-Sacramento Platinum Fellowship program, which has been generously supported in the past by their previous donations.

“Darius is deeply committed to the mission of IGS and his leadership of the board has attracted an outstanding group of advisors who together with him are contributing significantly to our ability to contribute to the campus and beyond,” Citrin said. “This

wonderful gift from Darius and Sarah will enrich our programs in ways that will assist students, researchers, and the public.”

Platinum Fellowships allow undergraduates to spend a summer working in Sacramento in the policymaking community, either in the legislature, governor’s office, the offices of other statewide elected officials, interest groups, state agencies, or even political journalism.

By providing the fellows with housing and need-based living stipends, the Andersons’ financial support means that the program is open to all Berkeley students, regardless of family financial background.

“Helping the next generation of young people engage the issues facing our society is one of my personal goals and one of the things that is important about IGS,” Darius Anderson said. “This gift will assist some of Berkeley’s most promising students as they embark on careers of public service.”

The donation, which will be divided into five annual installments of \$50,000 each, will also benefit other IGS programs, such as the Institute’s research initiatives, the training of graduate students, and public forums designed to increase awareness about public policy and politics.

Anderson has long been involved with IGS. Since becoming chairman of the National Advisory Council, he has played a crucial role in reshaping and revitalizing the board. Last spring the Andersons hosted the first annual IGS Salon Dinner at their ranch in Sonoma.

Darius Anderson is the founder and CEO of three of California’s most distinguished companies: Platinum Advisors, a government relations and public affairs firm; Kenwood Investments, a California private equity real estate development firm; and Gold Bridge Capital, a San Francisco-based pension fund advisory firm.

With a background that encompasses over 20 years of experience in business, real estate, and politics, Anderson is an entrepreneurial leader whose influence and experience have impacted some of California’s most important business ventures, acquisitions, and developments.

“Sarah and I are proud that we can help advance all of the Institute’s goals—education, research, and public service.”
—Darius Anderson



Sarah and Darius Anderson

IGS Names Three New Gardner Fellows

Three recent Berkeley graduates started work this fall at the United Nations, the U.S. Senate, and the New York City housing department as Gardner Fellows, appointed for a year in an IGS program designed to encourage their interest in public service.

Gardner Fellows “shadow” a mentor for a year, attending high-level meetings and generally participating in events to which they would not otherwise have access. John Gardner, who served as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under President Johnson, devoted his career to public service

and the study of leadership. The program selects fellows from both Berkeley and Stanford, the two universities from which Gardner held degrees. IGS administers the Berkeley component.



Jennifer Browning



Kyle Maurer



Miriam Solis

Jennifer Browning graduated Phi Beta Kappa in development studies and French, merging her interest in international development with her passion for languages. In the summer of 2006 Browning became involved with the Malawi Diffusion and Ideational Change Project, an HIV/AIDS research project in rural Malawi. During the fieldwork phase of the project, she managed a team of Malawi Ministry of Health counselors in the administration of HIV tests to over 300 villagers. Her research and experiences culminated in a senior thesis on HIV/AIDS community-based organizations. Browning also served as a student correspondent for the UC Berkeley NewsCenter, publishing four dispatches about life in rural Malawi.

During her senior year at Berkeley, Browning revitalized and served as co-president of Le Cercle Français, a French conversation club. Browning also served as a researcher with the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, a branch of the National Institutes of Health.

During her fellowship year Browning will concentrate on gender and development issues in Africa under the guidance of Winnie Byanyima, director of the Gender Bureau at the United Nations Development Program.

Kyle Maurer graduated Summa Cum Laude from Berkeley in 2007 with a degree in political science. An accomplished classical flutist, Maurer has played with the San Francisco Symphony Youth Orchestra and performed regularly at Davies Symphony Hall in San Francisco and on tour throughout Europe. He was a member of the UC Berkeley Symphony Orchestra and won the University-wide concerto competition as a soloist.

Maurer's interest in American politics and classical music coincide in his arts advocacy work. As an advocate in Washington, D.C. with Americans for the Arts, he lobbied members of Congress to co-sponsor the Artist Deduction Bill and conducted research for the Congressional Arts Report Card.

At Berkeley, Maurer was president of the nationally ranked Cal Mock Trial team and a recipient of outstanding attorney awards for oratorical performance. He also interned for state Sen. Tom Torlakson and served as a research assistant to Professors Bruce Cain and Gordon Silverstein.

During his Gardner Fellowship, Maurer will be working with the Senate Democratic Policy Committee under the direction of Research Director Tim Gaffaney. Thereafter, Maurer will attend Stanford Law School.

Miriam Solis studied ethnic studies and geography at Berkeley with an eye toward equitable community development in the United States and abroad. As a McNair Scholar, Solis studied the impacts of urban growth on her hometown of Modesto, California, home to a large but marginalized population of Latinos. That research earned her the National Association of Chicana and Chicano Studies' Fredrick E. Cervantes Student Premio.

Solis's commitment to social justice spans a range of topics, from ensuring access to higher education, maintaining the availability of services for disadvantaged communities, and empowering women of color. During her time in Brazil as a Haas Scholar, Solis explored the connection between local and global urbanization trends. That research gave rise to her honors thesis on the gendered dimensions of workforce settlements in Rio de Janeiro. For this and other work Solis was awarded the Carlos Muñoz, Jr. Scholar-Activist Award, the Chicana/Latina Foundation scholarship, and the California Alumni Leadership Scholarship.

During her Gardner Fellowship, Solis will be working at the New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development under the auspices of Commissioner Shaun Donovan.

Charlie Rose and High-Tech Bosses on Innovation

Technophiles heard talk show host Charlie Rose interview Silicon Valley luminaries at Berkeley on Oct. 11 as part of the TechNet Innovation Summit, which was co-sponsored by IGS.

The event at Zellerbach Hall featured leading business figures from the high-tech world and also Berkeley's Laura Tyson, a professor at the Haas School of Business and a former chair of the President's Council of Economic Advisors. Excerpts are to be broadcast on Rose's program.

There seemed little argument that the global economic playing field no longer tilts significantly toward the biggest and richest countries.

"I think borders and boundaries will come down," predicted Cisco CEO John Chambers, part of a panel that included Sybase's John Chen and Tyson. "It's inevitable that the world will be flat, the jobs will go to where the best infrastructure is, [where there is an] educated workforce, the environments that create innovation, and supportive government. They go, all four, together. And that's a trend no one can stop."

"I personally believe there's no way around the reality of much more multilateral, or cooperative, global government," Tyson said. "It has to be."

All three panelists seemed to agree that while the United States still has the competitive advantage when it comes to technological innovation, the rest of the world—particularly China and India—is narrowing the gap.

"They're more hungry than we are," said Chen. "I think they're doing a lot of the things that we used to do."

Moreover, Tyson pointed to the so-called "compression of development time," which allows America's competitors to reach the technological frontier far more rapidly than ever before. "Right now, if you look at the U.S. workforce, we have the most educated, experienced workforce in the world," she said. But partly due to the lack of emphasis here on math and science in K-12 education, she added, "you

would have to say that the competition is catching up."

A second group of panelists was organized around the topic of "green innovation."

Jonathan Schwartz, president and CEO of Sun Microsystems, made the point—as did others, in different ways—that the next "green revolution" will come about only when economic incentives align with societal needs. "We talk about the green revolution as if it's a social revolution and not an economic revolution," he said. "In fact, it's both."

Larry Brilliant, executive director of Google's philanthropic arm, Google.org,

John Melo, chief executive of Amyris Biotechnologies—the firm cofounded by Berkeley scientist Jay Keasling to produce an inexpensive synthetic version of the anti-malarial drug artemisinin—offered some insight into how that transition might work.

"We learned that we could engineer microbes not just to design artemisinin, but we could design them to make fuels—not just any fuels, but fuels that are renewables, fuels that are hydrocarbons," explained Melo, who spent nearly a decade in the oil industry. "Alcohol is very good—especially if you want to get drunk. It's not quite as good for powering vehicles."

"You would have to say that the competition is catching up."

– Laura Tyson, Haas School of Business



Laura Tyson and John Chen. Photo courtesy Technet

called for a modern-day equivalent of the 1960s-era civil-rights movement, rather than a government-led version of the Manhattan Project—nothing less, in fact, than "a change in human consciousness."

When it comes to developing alternative-energy sources and slowing the advance of global warming, said Brilliant, "The holy grail is making electricity from renewables cheaper than electricity from coal. And that means a whole new vocabulary—starting to think about black electricity versus green electricity, and a grid that can distinguish them and differentially price them."

TechNet, the organizer and main sponsor of the event, is a bipartisan political network of high-tech CEOs and senior executives that promotes the growth of technology and the innovation economy.

A longer version of this article appeared initially in The Berkeleyan, www.berkeley.edu/berkeleyan.

A White House Summer: Speechwriting, Inspiration, and Tuna Sandwiches

Berkeley senior Riva Litman has worked for the past three years as the undergraduate assistant in the IGS Center on Politics. She will graduate this spring with a double major in political science and history. This summer she worked as an intern in the Office of Presidential Speechwriting. Here are her reflections on that experience.

“I returned to Berkeley with a love of presidential history, a passion for politics, and, most important, a desire to pursue public service in the future.”

My first day on the job marked the beginning of the most unforgettable experience of my life. I made my way up the steps of the Old Executive Office Building, waited for the Secret Service agents to give me an intern badge, and even managed to pass Michael Chertoff, the secretary of homeland security, while en route to my new office. On top of everything, I was sent on my inaugural trip to the West Wing to drop off materials for the president’s upcoming Memorial Day speech. Thus began my experience as a White House intern.

During the next three months, I did much more than answer phones, make photocopies, and bring coffee to the president’s special assistants. In fact, my responsibilities were surprisingly substantive. The other two speechwriting interns and I were asked to conduct research for most of President Bush’s public remarks, which included finding information about anything from the Southern Baptist Convention’s efforts to fight malaria to stories of Australian soldiers fighting alongside American troops in the War on Terror. We perused the books in the White House Library, picked up materials from the Library of Congress, and worked with other researchers and speechwriters to provide the most compelling material we could find for the president’s remarks. The three of us helped the staff provide annotated copies of all presidential speeches for the staff secretary and for the president; and we were charged with the task of ensuring that the president’s speeches were absolutely unassailable. We corroborated every sentence, we verified every claim, and we triple-checked every speech. This was no easy task. In fact, we spent many late nights eating tuna sandwiches from the White House Mess while footnoting speeches the president would deliver in front of millions of people the following day.

But the job involved much more than just footnotes, research, and first-class tuna sandwiches. As an intern, I had the opportunity to meet with and learn from some of the most brilliant and inspirational people in the administration: Karl Rove, Dan Bartlett, Tony Snow, Josh Bolton, Frances Townsend, and John McConnell—each of whom offered a different and unique perspective on working for the president of the United States. We learned about the drafting of the post-9/11 “Axis of Evil” speech and about the president’s unmatched mountain biking

skills. We learned about micro targeting in the midterm election, the duties of the president's personal aide, and the nature of the president's relationship with his cabinet. The humility and pride with which they all spoke about their jobs restored my faith in both politics and politicians. They made me proud to partake in public service—even if only as an intern.

The things I experienced because of my internship were phenomenal. I greeted hundreds of visitors during the White House Garden Tours; attended events in the West Wing; toured the Vice President's residence; watched President Bush and his aides return from trips on Marine One; and attended several of the president's speaking events in the Rose Garden and on the South Lawn (which even included the opportunity to pet both Barney and Miss Beazely, the "First Dogs"). I ate breakfast in the White House Mess with one of the president's speechwriters; visited the Oval Office; and spent the Fourth of July on the South Lawn serving ice cream to the White House staffers and their guests while watching fireworks with the First Family. During the Congressional Picnic I had the opportunity to meet and speak with President Bush, a moment I'll never forget.

Toward the end of the summer, the president took nearly an hour out of his day to speak to the interns in the East Room of the White House. It was in that historic room—a room in which Thomas Jefferson drafted his policies and James Madison met with his cabinet—that I was struck with an inspiration to pursue politics one day. President Bush's warmth and sincerity made me proud to represent him. His passion made me proud to support him. And his conviction made me proud to work for him.

When reflecting on my summer at the White House, I can say with certainty that it changed my life. While I will always cherish the tangible souvenirs I brought home with me (which included far too many White House cups and boxes of "presidential" M&Ms), the lessons I learned and the people I met left an incalculable imprint on my life. Walking through the White House gates every morning gave me a surge of enthusiasm for the work I did and for the people I was serving. After three months, I came back with a lot more than 20 boxes of M&Ms and a photograph with the president. I returned to Berkeley with a love of presidential history, a passion for politics, and, most important, a desire to pursue public service in the future. To say that a White House internship is an experience of a lifetime just might be an understatement.



Riva Litman (center) and other White House interns with Tony Snow, then the president's press secretary, at the White House Congressional Picnic in June, when Snow's band entertained the crowd.

IGS Takes Aim at the Presidential Race

The big issues that will confront the next president—from climate change to immigration, from foreign policy to the federal budget—will also be addressed by the new IGS series, “Choosing the President: Campaigning and Governing in War and Peace.”

The inaugural event—already held this fall—looked at Islam and U.S. foreign policy, and future panels are set for later this fall or the spring semester.

“These programs should be of interest to students, faculty members, and people from the Berkeley community,” said IGS Director Jack Citrin. “IGS has always served as a forum for open, constructive, balanced discussion, and we intend to continue that tradition as we look at the upcoming election.”

The Choosing the President series will also include two major scholarly conferences.

In April IGS will host a conference entitled “Choosing a President: The Evolving Process,” which will focus on the structure of the primary election system. Panels will include discussions of the campaign finance system, the front-loaded primary schedule, and the 2008 contest in retrospect.

“By bringing together a diverse group of scholars, journalists, and campaign strategists from both parties, we hope to shed light on recent changes in the way presidents are nominated and elected,” said David Karol, a member of the political science faculty and an organizer of the conference. “We believe that will lead toward an assessment of the system as a whole.”

Then in September a second major conference will examine “The American Presidency at War,” with legal and political scholars assessing the powers of the presidency in wartime versus peacetime, the constitutional basis of these powers, and the reaction to assertions of presidential power by Congress, the courts, and public opinion.

“This conference provides a wonderful opportunity for scholars from several disciplines to discuss one of the most pressing issues facing our nation today—presidential power during wartime,” said Terri Bimes, the director of the IGS Center for the Study of Representation and an organizer of the conference. “By examining the presidency of George W. Bush within a constitutional and historical perspective, we will be better able to assess how much Bush carries on a tradition of strong wartime presidencies and where he breaks controversial new ground.”

Boalt Hall law professor John Yoo, who is also one of the organizers of the series, said he hopes that it will be “the outstanding academic analysis of the people, issues, and events of the 2008 presidential campaign.”

“These programs bring together the nation’s leading scholars from political science, law, economics, foreign policy, health care, and journalism with experienced campaign professionals and former White House officials in a unique forum that will deepen our understanding of this pivotal election in a time of great change and challenge,” Yoo said.

Much of the series will be co-sponsored with other Berkeley units. The Boalt Hall School of

**For more information on
Choosing the President:
Campaigning and
Governing in War and
Peace, go to:
[igs.berkeley.edu/
events/president2008](http://igs.berkeley.edu/events/president2008).**



Law and the Institute of International Studies are co-sponsoring major portions of the series, while other organizations are co-sponsoring individual programs, including the UC Energy Institute, the Haas School of Business, the School of Education, the School of Public Health, and the Graduate School of Journalism.

“IGS often serves as the focal point of Berkeley’s efforts to deepen the understanding of politics and public policy,” Citrin said. “We are pleased to be able to work with so many of our campus partners in developing these important programs.”

The Issues

Wednesday, Aug. 29: Islam, Global Politics, and U.S. Foreign Policy

Co-sponsored with the Institute of International Studies

Monday, Nov. 5: Strategic Options for U.S. Foreign Policy

Co-sponsored with the Institute of International Studies

Thursday, Nov. 15: Climate Change and Energy Policy

Co-sponsored with the UC Energy Institute

Monday, Nov. 26: Iraq: Status Report and Options

Co-sponsored with the Institute of International Studies

Thursday, Feb. 21: The Next President and the Courts

Co-sponsored with the Boalt Hall School of Law

Wednesday, March 5: The Economy and the Federal Budget

Co-sponsored with the Haas School of Business

Thursday, March 13: Education

Co-sponsored with the School of Education

Thursday, April 3: Immigration

Saturday, April 12: Covering the Digital Campaign

Co-sponsored with the Graduate School of Journalism

Thursday, April 17: Healthcare

Co-sponsored with the School of Public Policy

The Process

April 10-12, 2008 — Choosing a President: The Evolving Process

How does America choose its chief executive? Does the system need reform? And if so, how? Panels will examine the campaign finance system, the impact of a “front-loaded” primary schedule, and presidential elections generally. This conference will be held in conjunction with the 27th annual IGS Review of the Presidency.

Thursday, April 10:

Review of the Bush Presidency

Friday, April 11:

Campaign Finance Parties, Primaries, and Process The Nomination Stage in Retrospect

Saturday, April 12:

Assessing the System

September 19, 2008: The American Presidency at War

How do the powers of the presidency fluctuate in times of war and peace? Is the wartime presidency more powerful than the domestic politics presidency? Does the Constitution sanction this discrepancy? Have Congress, the Courts, and public opinion supported the expansion of presidential power in wartime? This conference seeks to examine these questions. Co-sponsored with the Boalt Hall School of Law

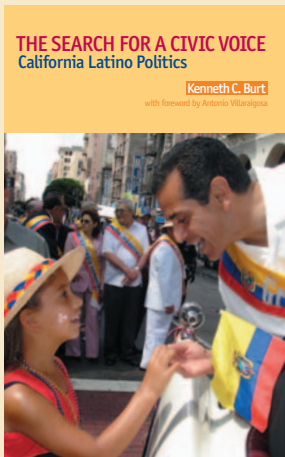
The Imperial Presidency and the Founding War and Presidential Politics Rethinking Presidential Power in the 21st Century Keynote: The View from the White House in Time of War

“IGS has always served as a forum for open, constructive, balanced discussion, and we intend to continue that tradition as we look at the upcoming election.”

—Jack Citrin



The Search for a Civic Voice: California Latino Politics



Author Kenneth Burt, the political director of the California Federation of Teachers and an award-winning historian, wrote *The Search for a Civic Voice* while he was a Carey McWilliams Fellow at IGS. The article below, adapted from the book, tells the story of the successful struggle for noncitizen old age pensions, including the role of Latinos.

The overheated national debate over immigration has obscured the fact that U.S. policy fluctuates between welcoming and demonizing immigrants. In completing my new book on the birth of Latino politics, *The Search for a Civic Voice*, I discovered a little-known but significant decision to make noncitizens eligible for state old age pensions.

The Community Service Organization (CSO) transformed the role of Latinos in California politics, starting with the election of Edward Roybal to the Los Angeles City Council in 1949. By the early 1960s, the organization had registered more than 400,000 voters, helped elect city council members in a number of cities, and—guided by CSO lobbyist Dolores Huerta—shaped public policy in the state Capitol.

The issue of assistance for the elderly poor had emerged in 1947 during a series of “house meetings” conducted in Boyle Heights, where CSO leaders would ask the neighbors about their grievances. The nascent organization decided to start with the issues that were easiest to resolve. These included the installation of streetlights and stop signs, which became necessary as people started to buy automobiles after World War II.

By 1953, CSO had become an established force in Los Angeles, San Jose, and Madera. It was then that the group felt strong enough to organize around a statewide issue.

L.A. Assemblyman Vernon Kilpatrick, a realtor and an ally of the labor movement, introduced Assembly Bill 2059 to enable long-term noncitizens to be eligible for state old age pensions. The bill lost in the Republican-dominated legislature but was reintroduced in 1955 and again in 1957, each time making greater advances.

After the election of Gov. Pat Brown and a Democratic legislature in November 1958, the bill was once more introduced. Seeking bipartisanship, Bruce Allen, a Republican from San Jose, and Edward Elliot, an East Los Angeles Democrat, jointly introduced the pension bill as Assembly Bill 1.

The bill soon ran into trouble because it was not part of Brown’s package of social service reforms, and the chair of the policy committee charged with reviewing the bill in the Assembly refused to hear it.

In an unusual parliamentary move that underscored the depth of support CSO (with the help of labor) enjoyed among its legislative allies, bill backers voted 54 to 19 to withdraw it from committee over the chairman’s objections.

The bill then went to the fiscal committee where its fate rested in the hands of Ways and Means Chairman Jesse Unruh, who was not a friend of CSO. In addition, it faced objections from Brown, whose staff told Huerta the bill was “too expensive.”

Still, the pressure on the governor and other legislators continued to build as CSO brought to bear the power of its coalition partners. Supporters included the County Supervisors Association of California, Catholic Welfare Agencies of Los Angeles, Catholic Welfare Agencies of San Francisco, Los Angeles Federation of Jewish Welfare Agencies, California Federation of Labor and California CIO Council.

By the end of the legislative session, it appeared that a majority of lawmakers would approve the bill. However it still faced opposition from the governor and Unruh, and on the final day of the session it was referred to the Senate Rules Committee, where it died.

Believing that the 1960 presidential election would be close, the AFL-CIO provided CSO

the funds to hire 20 organizers to register voters across the state. The Kennedy campaign bragged about the additional 140,000 voters in *Time* magazine.

With Kennedy's victory, CSO once again sought to reform state law to make long-term non-citizens eligible for old age pensions.

Assemblyman Phillip Burton of San Francisco introduced the measure, Assembly Bill 5, along with 4 co-authors. They reflected a range of organizational relationships and included Assemblyman James Mills, who won his election because of the mobilization of Latino voters in San Diego for Kennedy.

"We did a big campaign," said Huerta. CSO generated thousands of letters, and delegations lobbied their legislators in the state Capitol. Such efforts by CSO were reinforced and magnified by old friends in the larger civil rights coalition. Bill Becker and Max Mont of the Jewish Labor Committee delivered labor, Jews, and other minority groups. Monsignor Thomas O'Dwyer rallied religious leaders. All tapped into their long-established relationships with legislators.

Still, the measure faced multiple obstacles. The least problematic was Brown, who was sympathetic but was still concerned about the bill's fiscal impact. The greater problems came from Unruh, then in the process of putting together the votes to become speaker, and Senate Social Welfare Committee Chair James Cobey, who represented Madera and Merced counties in the Central Valley.

Burton began to alleviate Brown's concern and to clear legislative hurdles by locating federal money to cover almost half of the \$5 million additional costs anticipated in the first year, a prospect no doubt enabled by a political alliance with the Kennedy administration.

At the same time, Brown held out a carrot to Los Angeles and other counties seeking financial relief by noting that individuals covered by state pensions would no longer apply for General Assistance for which the counties paid 100 percent. Burton also emphasized the modest nature of the bill, claiming that it would add only 8,000 seniors to the rolls.

The Brown administration, confident that federal money would come, adopted the bill as part of its "welfare reform" package and budgeted for the added expense.

Soon thereafter, AB 5 passed the Unruh-controlled Assembly Ways and Means Committee and

sailed through the full Assembly. CSO focused its attention on Sen. James Cobey, of Merced, within whose committee the bill now rested.

"We went to barber shops, grocery stores, and door-to-door to get people to sign letters," recalled Huerta. They also went to the lawmaker's office.

Some of the seniors "had four or five children in World War II, but they didn't speak English," Huerta recalled. "I dropped them off at Cobey's office [in Sacramento]. They sat there and held the pictures of their children in the service, some of whom had died for their country. They were told only to say, 'Pass AB 5.'"

Burton also got Cobey's attention. He "held up all of his bills" in the assembly committee, recalls Huerta. She noted, "This broke the logjam." The full Senate then passed the measure 28 to 1.

Brown signed the bill on July 14, 1961, before an audience of 200 CSO members from 30 chapters who had carpooled to the state Capitol in Sacramento. In applying his signature, Pat Brown stated that "Simple justice is done, at last." He added that it was a "significant part of the New Frontier," thereby linking his action and the successful CSO efforts to the Kennedy administration.

CSO explained the victory to its members in terms of Latino self-organization, voter registration, and coalition politics.

"In 1961, with 400,000 votes behind them and support from many other groups, the bill was passed and signed," according to CSO. The bill's legislative odyssey also illustrated the power of leadership. The bill would never have passed without the extraordinary efforts of Assemblyman Phillip Burton. But it also would never have happened without the support of Gov. Brown and the Kennedy administration.



Author Kenneth Burt speaks at the UC Berkeley Labor Center during a book talk co-sponsored by IGS.

For more on the book or to order a copy, go to: www.kennethburt.com

IGS Elections Center Hosts Voting Rights Talk

Few things are more important to a democracy than free and fair elections, and two of the country's top enforcers of federal election law visited IGS recently to speak about their work.

John K. Tanner and Susana Lorenzo-Giguere, the chief and acting deputy chief respectively of the U.S. Justice Department's Voting Rights Section, spoke at the inaugural event of a new lecture series organized by the IGS Election Administration Research Center.

Tanner and Lorenzo-Giguere described their work enforcing the 1965 Voting Rights Act, the landmark measure that Tanner called the "most successful federal voting law" in American history.

The event was co-sponsored by the Center for Latino Policy Research as part of the Latino Policy Forum, and much of the discussion focused on the role of the Voting Rights Act in ensuring ballot access to Latino voters. Tanner noted that although the act was originally designed to stop the systematic disenfranchisement of African Americans in the South, its provisions have often been applied to protect Latinos and other groups.

Lorenzo-Giguere read moving passages in which voters described their experiences as the victims of voting discrimination. Such stories, she said, are the reason it is so important to vigorously enforce voting protections.

The proper administration of elections is so important, Tanner said, that it should receive more academic attention, an idea reflected in the founding of the Election Administration Research Center at IGS.

IGS Conference Examines France

Scholars from around the world gathered recently at IGS for a two-day conference on ethnicity and inequality in France.

Organized by the IGS Center on Institutions and Governance, "Racing the Republic: Ethnicity and Inequality in France in American and World Perspective" brought together scholars from many disciplines, including sociology, history, women's studies, law, and anthropology.

Questions of ethnoracial division (linked to slavery, colonial rule, and/or immigration), citizenship, and politics loom large today not only in the United States but also in many other advanced nations.

None is perhaps more urgently concerned with these issues today than France. And none provides a more fruitful comparative case with the United States, since the two republics share a germane commitment to the democratic ideal and a common claim to embody civic universality.

For more on the conference, go to igov.berkeley.edu



John K. Tanner

Created in 2005, the center, known as the EARC, seeks to improve the administration of elections through research, education, and public outreach.

EARC, which is directed by IGS elections researcher Karin Mac Donald, studies elections at both the state and local levels and disseminates its findings to election officials, academic researchers, and members of the public. The center also develops materials and procedures to assist election administration.

Among the topics examined by the center are the organization of local election departments, the process of administering elections, the behavior and characteristics of state and local election officials and staff, the role of advocates for voters' rights in election reform, and the implementation of new election policies.

The current EARC research program involves a systematic study of poll worker training in California counties with the aim of assessing variation, determining areas for standardization, and making recommendations for improvement of poll worker training methods and practices.

For more information on the IGS Election Administration Research Center, go to earc.berkeley.edu.

For more on the Voting Rights Act and other federal voting laws, go to www.usdoj.gov/crt/voting.

Presidents, Poems on Display in IGS Library

Explaining politics to the public is one of the goals of the IGS Library, and this fall the library is using an unusual method: a collection of woodcuts and rhymes that chronicles American history through the lives of the presidents.

Both the carvings and the poetry were created by retired San Francisco State Professor Joe Illick, who taught history at the school for 39 years.

“As I worked on each woodcut, I also wrote short verses that described the essence of the man and his times,” Illick says on his website. “My object was to be informative in a lighter way in an attempt to make history appealing to a broader audience than it usually receives.”

IGS Library Director Nick Robinson said the exhibit will serve a dual purpose.

“These delightful pieces help to decorate the library, but they also will help to educate people about American politics,” Robinson said. “People will love these works whether they come in just to see the display or simply take a break while studying or conducting research.”

The exhibit opened Nov. 1, with pieces on display covering the presidents from George Washington to Theodore Roosevelt. In the spring semester the exhibit will shift to more recent presidents, with a display from William Taft to George W. Bush.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT, 1933-1945



Unemployment everywhere, system failure near.
Another day, another care. Pessimism, fear.
Enter Franklin Roosevelt: aristocrat, assured.
How could he know what poor folks felt, what they had endured?
Yet something in his confidence, conveyed in fireside chats,
His lordly tone and common sense, persuaded democrats.
He went to work immediately—he called a holiday—
Then S.E.C., F.D.I.C., and later tripleA.
Pursuing, so the histories say, recovery and reform.
Relief, as well, through public work.
The critics yelled, “Those men just shirk.”
And “Who will pay?” and “This is wrong!”
Another way—Townsend and Long
Said “Help the old” and “Help the poor,”
While workmen bold, united, sure.
Without much tact, but with maturity.
Got the Wagner Act and Social Security.
No more hand-to-mouth for labor.
And south of the border we found Good Neighbors.
But across the seas danger pervaded:
China on its knees, Europe invaded.
The Rising Sun attacked Pearl Harbor’s ships.
Johnny got his gun. No more loose lips.
Kick ’em in the Axis. North African campaign.
Rationing and war taxes. Win at Alamein.
Coral Sea and Midway. The Italian fight.
Normandy was D-Day, Germans now in flight.
Leyte Gulf and Yalta—we had turned the tide.
But before the war was halted, FDR died.

Dr. New Deal became Dr. Win the War.
The commonweal changed as it never had before.

IGS Faculty Advisory Committee

Berkeley political scientist Laura Stoker has been named the new chair of the IGS Faculty Advisory Committee. Other new members include David Vogel (Haas School of Business), Anne Keller (School of Public Health), Steve Raphael (Goldman School of Public Policy), and John Yoo (Boalt Hall School of Law). Continuing members include Irene Bloemraad (Sociology), Taeku Lee (Political Science), Gerard Roland (Economics), and Eric Schickler (Political Science).

“IGS has always been a multidisciplinary institution, drawing on the best aspects of many different academic fields,” said IGS Director Jack Citrin. “The new composition of the Faculty Advisory Committee continues that tradition and gives us guidance from scholars with a wide array of backgrounds.”

As chair, Stoker replaces Bob Powell, whose term on the panel expired. “Bob has been an invaluable advisor to IGS and continues to be an active participant here as director of the Positive Political Theory Seminar and the Center on Institutions and Governance. I know that Laura will continue the role of providing faculty leadership as well as maintaining her own research relationship with IGS,” Citrin said.

Citrin also extended his appreciation to professors Rui de Figueiredo, John Ellwood, and Susan Rasky, whose terms of service ended.

IGS Grad Student Honored for Work on Blogs

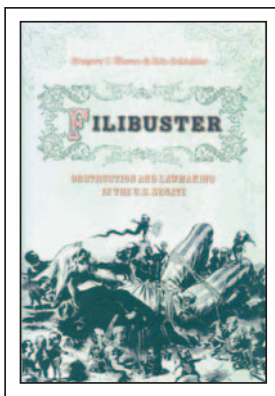
IGS graduate student Kevin Wallsten has been honored for his work studying the blogosphere. Wallsten, who came to Berkeley in 1999, received the Best Graduate Student Paper Award from the American Political Science Association Section on Information Technology and Politics. His paper, “How Conspiracies Rise, Spread, and Fall: The Case of Voter Fraud, the Blogosphere, and the 2004 Election,” examines the dynamics of conspiracy theories by tracking discussions of election-related conspiracies in the blogosphere after the 2004 election.

Contrary to traditional theories of political communication (which assume that political discourse flows downward from political elites and media institutions to the mass public), Wallsten finds strong evidence that discussion of conspiracy theories originates from the “bottom-up.” More specifically, he finds that election-related conspiracies were discussed by politicians and journalists only after a large number of political bloggers debated them on their blogs. For a copy of Wallsten’s paper, go to repositories.cdlib.org/igs.

Scholar’s Corner cont. from p. 2

But even if a cohesive majority confronted obstruction on a highly salient set of issues, it may not be sufficient for the nuclear option to be invoked. It would also be necessary for the minority to persist in obstruction, even as threats of a crackdown are raised. Given incomplete information about the majority’s resolve and given the imperative to position-take for attentive interest groups and constituents, this condition may not be too difficult to overcome in the contemporary context. Beyond such short-term policy calculations, however, it would be necessary to overcome individual members’ personal power interest in preserving their prerogatives, and the prominence and status such prerogatives accord them in the political system. Furthermore, members of the current majority would need to value their present policy gains more than the potential policy losses should they find themselves members of a now-powerless minority in the future. Given that party control of the Senate has changed hands several times in the past two decades, such concerns are rather palpable.

Finally, the majority would need to believe that it would hold its own in the public relations battle that would ensue should it attempt the nuclear option. Contrary to the way contemporary



filibusters are conducted, using the nuclear option to crack down on obstruction would involve a war of attrition with the parties blaming each other for the impasse in the hope of winning over the public. The majority would accuse the minority of causing gridlock, rendering the government incapable of meeting policy demands. The minority would counter by accusing the majority of a power grab, steamrolling and trampling on the rights of the minority. The minority might well be advantaged in this public relations battle by the shift toward more formal rules since 1917. Today’s Senate rules explicitly require a two-thirds vote to invoke cloture on a rules change. By contrast, the pre-1917 rules included no such requirement. As a result, a revolution in the pre-cloture era would have meant claiming that the ambiguous rules needed to be reinterpreted. Doing so today would require circumventing a clearly written rule. To the extent that the public might object to an explicit, unilateral reversal of existing rules, the revolution strategy is likely a more risky one to implement today.

These considerations suggest that even as the filibuster becomes a routine weapon used by the minority to block majority party programs, it will require an unprecedented breakdown for the filibuster rule to be revoked. In particular, a unified, intense majority must be confronted by an equally intense and unified minority, and the two sides must each believe that it will emerge triumphant in the public relations war that would follow a showdown over the Senate’s antiquated rules. These are difficult conditions to satisfy, but the continuing trends of increasing polarization, declining comity, and erosion of norms in the Senate do not bode well for future compromises over the chamber’s rules.

IGS OBSERVER

By Gerald C. Lubenow

Humoring Hillary

By now, everyone knows the rap on Hillary. She has very high negatives. The sins of her husband, in which she participated as an enabler, will come back to haunt her. And she is calculating, ambitious, sanctimonious, and humorless. Some of these may indeed prove to be problems, but perhaps not in quite the way pundits have been predicting.

For example, on closer examination, it's unclear how serious a problem, if any, her positive-negative ratings pose. Barack Obama and John Edwards both have more favorable ratings than she, but Hillary is creaming them in the Democratic primary. And the three leading contenders for the Republican nomination, Giuliani, Romney, and Thompson, all have ratings that are as bad, or worse than Hillary's.

As for the lingering impact of Bill's infidelities, his approval rating is currently double his disapproval, and nearly three times as many people think he was a good president as a bad one. When Gallup, earlier this year, asked respondents to name the greatest president in U.S. history, Clinton ranked fourth, right behind Lincoln, Reagan, and Kennedy and just ahead of FDR and Washington.

As for being calculating and ambitious, any presidential candidate who isn't should be dismissed as unfit for the office. Her sanctimonious humorlessness, on the other hand, may pose unforeseen complications. Recently, her laugh has been the object of intense media scrutiny.

The imbroglio began when Fox news' Brit Hume observed, after Hillary had burst out laughing during an earlier interview when asked why she has a "a hyper-partisan view of politics," that her laugh "is always disarming, always engaging, and always attractive." Less enchanted, the Republican National Committee rushed out a "research brief" entitled "Hillary: No Laughing Matter" with video clips of her giggling in response to various questions.

Sean Hannity found her laugh "frightening," and the right wing blogosphere went wild. The Sunday *Times's* Franck Rich and Maureen Dowd derided Hillary's mirth as coldly calculated, and a news section story asked "What's Behind the Laugh?" Hendrik Hertzberg viewed more than two dozen YouTube videos of Hillary laughing and concluded, in a lengthy analysis in *The New Yorker*, that she is simply laughing: "That is to say, she is responding to a comment or situation that she perceives as absurd or humorous."



This megaton level of overkill following a few chuckles suggests that, if Hillary continues to glide toward nomination as the Democratic candidate for president, she will be subject to a level of scrutiny never before seen in American politics.

And it isn't just the blogosphere that has jumped its moorings. Perhaps hoping to seem hip, the mainstream media is chockablock with pop psychology analyses that are only going to get worse as the campaign meanders on. In a supposedly serious book review in the supposedly staid *Atlantic*, Caitlin Flanagan writes of how her long attraction to and admiration for Hillary was utterly destroyed when the Clinton's gave away their pet cat, Socks. "All presidential pets become famous,"

writes Flanagan, "but the national affection for Socks during his time in the White House was unexpectedly and politically miraculous."

Hillary's sin, in Flanagan's eyes, was to seduce and abandon a defenseless animal, to use Socks to humanize her dysfunctional family. "Hillary's literary exploitation of Socks continued long after she discarded him," adds Flanagan, noting that Hillary mentions Socks (once, obliquely) in her memoir *Living History*. This is not meant to be funny, but one can imagine Hillary bursting into laughter as she reads it.

Which is how she might respond as well to a recent column by former Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan in the *Wall Street Journal*. That Barack Obama would be criticized by some African Americans as not being black enough was probably to be expected. That Hillary would be criticized for not being woman enough is, at least for this observer, somewhat surprising. "She doesn't have to prove she is a man," Noonan wrote, "she has to prove she is a woman."

"No close or longtime observer has ever been quoted as saying that she may be too soft for the job. Instead one worries about what has always seemed her characterological bellicosity," added Noonan. Hillary is "a person who wants to run things, to assert authority, to create systems and have people conform to them."

Hmmmm . . . run things, assert authority, create systems and have people conform to them. Isn't that what presidents do? What heads of state regardless of sex must do? One wonders if Indira Ghandi, Margaret Thatcher, and Golda Meir were womanly enough for Noonan. Or whether they tried to leverage their pets for political advantage.

I have no idea what it might be like to have a woman president, but having a woman candidate for president seems destined to exceed anything anyone might have imagined.

New from Berkeley Public Policy Press!

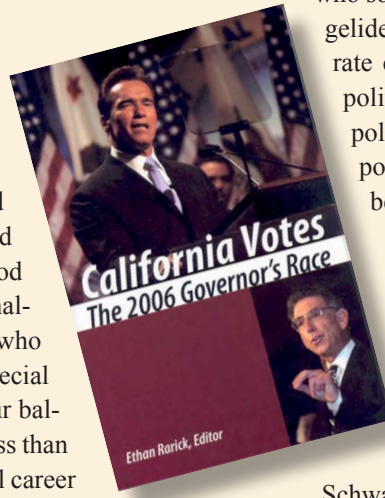
California Votes: The 2006 Governor's Race

Edited by Ethan Rarick

In November of 2005, California voters were ready to terminate Arnold Schwarzenegger as a politician. The state was headed in the wrong direction, they told pollsters, and they didn't want to reelect their Hollywood governor. The two most likely Democratic challengers held leads over Schwarzenegger, who had just endured a terrible thrashing in a special election he had called. Voters rejected all four ballot measures the governor supported. After less than two years in office, it seemed that the political career of Arnold Schwarzenegger was an experiment gone wrong.

Yet just a year later, Schwarzenegger swept to victory, carrying 52 of the state's 58 counties and winning reelection by more than a million-and-a-half votes.

Here is the story of that dramatic turnaround, told mostly in the words of California's top political insiders. We learn about the strategies and ideas behind Schwarzenegger's rejuvenation, but also about the two Democrats



who sought to take his job: Treasurer Phil Angelides and Controller Steve Westly. In separate chapters, some of California's leading political scholars dissect the underlying political structure of the state, while top pollsters describe the mood of the voters before, during and after the campaign.

California is home to one out of every eight Americans, and California gubernatorial campaigns are the nation's second most important and dynamic political races, behind only those for the presidency. Add to that the global celebrity of Arnold

Schwarzenegger, and it has become essential that anyone who wants to understand American politics must understand California politics. Here is an insider's peek into that world, direct from the men and women who made the decisions that affected the outcome of one of the most-watched American political campaigns in years.

To order *California Votes*, call 510-642-1428. The book sells for \$24.95.



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