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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

THE U.S. FINANCIAL CRISIS: THE GLOBAL DIMENSION WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. POLICY

Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. November 18, 2008 [PDF format, 88 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/112525.pdf>

"What began as a bursting of the U.S. housing market bubble and a rise in foreclosures has ballooned into a global financial and economic crisis. For the United States, the fundamental issues may be the degree to which U.S. laws and regulations are to be altered to conform to international norms and standards and the degree to which the country is willing to cede authority to an international watchdog and regulatory agency. What form should any new international financial architecture take? Should the Bretton Woods system be changed from one in which the United States is the buttress of the international financial architecture to one in which the United States remains the buttress but its financial markets are more "Europeanized" (more in accord with Europe's practices) and more constrained by the broader international financial order? Should the international financial architecture be merely strengthened or include more control, and if more controls, then by whom? What is the time frame for a new architecture that may take years to materialize?"

GLOBAL TRENDS 2025: A TRANSFORMED WORLD

National Intelligence Council (NIC). November 2008 [PDF format, 120 pages]

http://www.dni.gov/nic/PDF_2025/2025_Global_Trends_Final_Report.pdf

"This is the fourth unclassified report prepared in recent years that takes a long-term view of the future. It offers a fresh look at how key global trends might develop over the next 15 years to influence world events. The report stimulates strategic thinking about the future by identifying key trends, the factors that drive them, where they seem to be headed, and how they might interact. It uses scenarios to illustrate some of the many ways in which the drivers examined in the study (e.g., globalization, demography, the rise of new powers, the decay of international institutions, climate change, and the geopolitics of energy) may interact to generate challenges and

opportunities for future decision makers. The study as a whole is more a description of the factors likely to shape events than a prediction of what will actually happen. Some of the preliminary assessments are: The whole international system—as constructed following WWII—will be revolutionized. Not only will new players—Brazil, Russia, India and China— have a seat at the international high table, they will bring new stakes and rules of the game; The unprecedented transfer of wealth roughly from West to East now under way will continue for the foreseeable future; Unprecedented economic growth, coupled with 1.5 billion more people, will put pressure on resources—particularly energy, food, and water—raising the specter of scarcities emerging as demand outstrips supply; The potential for conflict will increase owing partly to political turbulence in parts of the greater Middle East. The report sought to tap the best strategic analysis in the United States and around the world, drawing on extensive input from hundreds of specialists in nearly two dozen countries, including people associated with Chatham House in London; the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute in Sweden; and the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations in Beijing, as well as Washington-based research organizations such as the Brookings Institution and the American Enterprise Institute, and the RAND Corporation of Santa Monica, California."

A PLAN FOR ACTION - A NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION FOR A CHANGED WORLD: 2009, 2010, AND BEYOND

Managing Global Insecurity Project, The Brookings Institution. Web-posted November 2008 [PDF format, 42 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2008/11_action_plan_mgi/11_action_plan_mgi.pdf

"The 21st century will be defined by security threats unconstrained by borders—from climate change, nuclear proliferation, and terrorism to conflict, poverty, disease, and economic instability. The greatest test of global leadership will be building partnerships and institutions for cooperation that can meet the challenge. Although all states have a stake in solutions, responsibility for a peaceful and prosperous world will fall disproportionately to the traditional and rising powers. The United States most of all must provide leadership for a global era. U.S. domestic and international opinions are converging around the urgent need to build an international security system for the 21st century." The Managing Global Insecurity (MGI) Project seeks to build international support for global institutions and partnerships that can foster international peace and security—and the prosperity they enable—for the next 50 years. MGI is a joint initiative among the Brookings Institution, the Center on International Cooperation at New York University, and the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University. MGI's research and consultations provide the foundation for the following Plan for Action, a series of policy briefs, and MGI's book, *Power and Responsibility: International Order in an Era of Transnational Threats* (forthcoming, Brookings Press 2009)

PARTNERSHIP FOR PROGRESS: ADVANCING A NEW STRATEGY FOR PROSPERITY AND STABILITY IN PAKISTAN AND THE REGION

Wadhams, Caroline, et al. Center for American Progress. Web posted November 17, 2008 [PDF format, 80 pages]

<http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2008/11/pdf/pakistan.pdf>

"Pakistan lies at the nexus of one the world's most complicated geopolitical regions, one plagued by poverty, nuclear proliferation, and global terrorism. With a growing

population of more than 165 million people, Pakistan is a vital link between South and Central Asia and the broader Middle East. Pakistan's multiple internal challenges extend beyond its borders and have a wide-ranging impact on regional and global stability. Just as conditions in Afghanistan, India, Iran, and Central Asian countries affect Pakistan, events in Pakistan shape its neighbors. Pakistan will pose one of the greatest foreign policy challenges for the incoming Obama administration. How Pakistan addresses its militancy, weak governance, and economic difficulties will directly influence the security of the United States and its people." *Caroline Wadhams is a Senior Policy Analyst for National Security at the Center for American Progress. She focuses on Afghanistan, Pakistan, and terrorism issues and leads the Center for American Progress-Foreign Policy Terrorism Index.*

NATO IN AFGHANISTAN: A TEST OF THE TRANSATLANTIC ALLIANCE

Morelli, Vincent; Gallis, Paul. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. October 23, 2008 [PDF format, 36 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/112055.pdf>

"The mission of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Afghanistan is a test of the alliance's political will and military capabilities. Since September 11, 2001 the allies have sought to create a "new" NATO, able to go beyond the European theater to combat new threats such as terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Afghanistan is NATO's first "out-of-area" mission beyond Europe. The purpose of the mission is the stabilization and reconstruction of Afghanistan. The mission is a difficult one because it must take place while combat operations against Taliban insurgents continue. Recent assessments of the current situation in Afghanistan point to a rise in the overall level of violence due to increased Taliban military activity and an increase in terrorist-related activities including, suicide bombings. Most observers predict that ISAF's efforts to stabilize Afghanistan will require several more years. An exit strategy has multiple components: suppressing the Taliban; rebuilding the economy; and cajoling Afghan leaders to improve governance. U.S. leadership in Afghanistan may well affect NATO's cohesiveness, credibility and its future." *Vincent Morelli is Section Research Manager for Europe and the Americas at the Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division of the CRS. Paul Gallis is a Specialist in European Affairs at the Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division of the CRS.*

AN AGREEMENT REGARDING THE TEMPORARY U.S. PRESENCE IN IRAQ AND ITS ACTIVITIES AND WITHDRAWAL FROM IRAQ, BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT

American Friends Service Committee. Web posted October 22, 2008 [PDF format, 17 pages]

<http://www.afsc.org/ht/a/GetDocumentAction/i/69064>

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), an international peace and social justice organization, has posted the first public English translation of the latest status of forces agreement between the U.S and Iraqi administrations on its web site. If ratified in Iraq, the agreement would permit U.S. troops to remain the country once the United Nations mandate ends this year and may begin the process of establishing permanent U.S. military bases there. The Arabic-language version of this document appeared in a major daily newspaper, Al-Sabah Al-Jadeed.

PACIFIC CURRENTS: THE RESPONSE OF U.S. ALLIES AND SECURITY PARTNERS IN EAST ASIA TO CHINA'S RISE

Rand Corporation. November 24, 2008.

http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG736.pdf (Full document, PDF 309 pages)

http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG736.sum.pdf (Summary, PDF 14 pages)

"China's economic, military, and diplomatic power has been on the rise, and many worry that it is nudging aside U.S. influence in the Asia-Pacific region. To explore this issue, the authors examined six specific U.S. allies and partners — Australia, Japan, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, and Thailand. From extensive in-country interviews, trade and poll data, etc., they examined the responses in each nation to China's rise and assessed the implications for U.S. regional security interests. The six nations see China primarily as a source of economic opportunity, but many have concerns about China's regional goals. They want China to be engaged regionally in productive ways but do not want to allow it to become dominant. They find U.S. security commitments reassuring, bolstering their ability to engage China with confidence. The six nations clearly want U.S. involvement in the region to continue. The United States remains well positioned to continue to achieve its core objectives in the Asia-Pacific region. In contrast to many analyses, this book concludes that the U.S. does not face a crisis in Asia, in which an ascendant China is gradually replacing U.S. influence."

STRATEGIC COUNTERTERRORISM

Benjamin, Daniel. The Brookings Institution. Web posted October 27, 2008 [PDF format, 21 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~/media/Files/rc/papers/2008/10_terrorism_benjamin/10_terrorism_benjamin.pdf

"Terrorism is a real and urgent threat to the American people and interests. It is a threat that could become far more dangerous if terrorists acquire nuclear or biological weapons. An effective counterterrorism policy must go beyond uncompromising efforts to thwart those who seek to harm the U.S. today. To achieve a long-term objective, the policies need to embed counterterrorism in an overarching national security strategy designed to restore American leadership and respect in the world. The U.S. needs to develop an broadly accepted understanding of how the terrorist phenomenon can be managed and reduced, and it needs to acquire an understanding—as, for example, some European nations have—that most attacks have limited consequences. Terrorism is going to be a fact of life for the foreseeable future. In the case of jihadist terror, the ideology is durable and has, for some Muslims, a compelling authenticity because of its appropriation of canonic Muslim texts." *Daniel Benjamin is director of the Center on the United States and Europe and a senior fellow in Foreign Policy Studies at the Brookings Institution.*

THE MONEY TRAIL: FINDING, FOLLOWING, AND FREEZING TERRORIST FINANCE

Levitt, Matthew; Jacobson, Michael. Washington Institute for Near East Policy. November 2008.

<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC04.php?CID=302>

"U.S. and international efforts to combat the financing of terrorism are an underappreciated and little-understood aspect of the global counterterrorism campaign. But since terrorist attacks are often inexpensive to mount -- the September 11 attacks were staged for less than \$500,000 -- why should governments devote so much attention to tracking and severing the money trail for terrorism?" The authors explore the critical role that money plays in the success of terrorist organizations, and why countering financial flows must be an integral part of the U.S. government's counterterrorism strategy. Levitt and Jacobson analyze how terrorist financing has matured since 2001, with case studies on al-Qaeda, Hamas, and Hizballah. They also assess the effectiveness of U.S. and international responses to this evolving threat, focusing on the performance of governments throughout the Middle East. The authors offer timely recommendations to the new Obama administration on how to strengthen international efforts in the war on terror."

Matthew Levitt is a senior fellow and director of The Washington Institute's Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence. Previously, Dr. Levitt served as deputy assistant secretary for intelligence and analysis at the U.S. Department of the Treasury. Michael Jacobson is a senior fellow in The Washington Institute's Stein Program on Counterterrorism and Intelligence. Previously he served as senior advisor in the Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence and as counsel on the 9-11 Commission.

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN SECURITY RELATIONS AFTER GEORGIA

Gottemoeller, Rose. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, October 2008
[PDF format, 8 pages]

http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/russia_us_security_relations_after_georgia.pdf

According to the author, the crisis in Georgia bluntly revealed the failure by the United States and Russia to create a closer working relationship after the Cold War. With both countries now in presidential transition, the potential for new misunderstandings and tensions grows even greater. Established and well-understood treaties and agreements, which have previously inspired at least predictability and confidence in the bilateral relationship, could help establish a new book of rules both countries can embrace, explains Gottemoeller in this new policy brief. "U.S.-Russia relations are in the grip of a deep crisis during the most unsettled of political seasons. Over the next six months, an agenda based on familiar issues and guided by eminent leaders is the best hope for avoiding a more serious clash. Now is the time to hold tightly to the superstructure of the U.S.-Russia past relationship, but only in order to have a stable foundation to think about the future. And that future must be approached in an entirely new way, drawing Russia into the system of European security as it has never been involved in the past." *Rose Gottemoeller, a specialist on defense and nuclear issues in Russia and the other former Soviet states, is the Director of Carnegie Moscow Center. Before joining the Endowment in October 2000, Gottemoeller was deputy undersecretary for defense nuclear nonproliferation in the U.S. Department of Energy.*

RE-THINKING U.S.-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS: A HEMISPHERIC PARTNERSHIP FOR A TURBULENT WORLD

Partnership for the Americas Commission, The Brookings Institution. November 2008
[PDF format, 36 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2008/1124_latin_america_partnership/1124_latin_america_partnership.pdf

In its final report, the Commission urges the incoming Obama administration and Members of Congress to pursue a "hemispheric partnership to address common challenges" with Latin America and the Caribbean. The report identifies four areas that hold most promise for a hemispheric partnership: (1) developing sustainable energy sources and combating climate change, (2) managing migration effectively, (3) expanding opportunities for all through economic integration, and (4) protecting the hemisphere from drug trafficking and organized crime. The next section of this report explores the growing need for a U.S.-LAC partnership. The subsequent four sections offer an analysis of each promising area for the potential partnership and provide concrete recommendations for U.S. policymakers. The last section addresses U.S. relations with Cuba. Though this issue is of a smaller order of magnitude than the other four areas, it is addressed here because Cuba has long been a subject of intense interest in U.S. foreign policy and a stumbling block for U.S. relations with other countries in the hemisphere. The Partnership for the Americas Commission seeks to contribute to the discussion of how the United States can best engage the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) to tackle key regional and global challenges. The Commission was co-chaired by Ernesto Zedillo, former president of Mexico, and Thomas R. Pickering, former U.S. undersecretary of state for political affairs.

FIRST STEPS TOWARD RESTORING AMERICAN LEADERSHIP: LEGALITY MATTERS

Laurenti, Jeffrey. The Century Foundation. Web posted November 8, 2008 [PDF format, 19 pages]

http://www.tcf.org/publications/internationalaffairs/Jeff_Agenda_Long.pdf

The author suggests that to reclaim American leadership and credibility in resolving the many deepening crises on America's international agenda, the next administration must move swiftly to reverse the U.S. rupture with international law and institutions of the past decade. The report argues that the collapse of America's global standing during this decade has real and measurable consequences in shriveled U.S. capacity to influence events worldwide. The United States had honored international legal commitments without harm to America's core interests from the presidencies of Truman and Eisenhower to those of Ford and Carter. *Jeffrey Laurenti is senior fellow and director of foreign policy programs at The Century Foundation.*

CAN TRADE POLICY SUPPORT THE NEXT GLOBAL CLIMATE AGREEMENT?

Lay, Margaret. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. September 2008 [PDF format, 36 pages]

http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cp96_trade_envir_final.pdf

"The global trade and environment regimes have a rich history of conflicts and synergies that holds important lessons for current initiatives to develop and implement effective national and global climate policy. This paper explores the relationship between the trade and environment regimes and asks how climate negotiators can harness the powerful incentives of international trade to support the next global climate regime. WTO rulings indicate an increasing willingness to restrict trade based on the environmental impact of goods production. However, the trade community remains concerned that such restrictions will be used to protect domestic industries, reducing efficiency, and potentially spark a tit-for-tat trade war."

Margaret Lay is currently a research assistant to the Federal Reserve Board of Governors. She is a former junior fellow in the Carnegie Endowment's Energy and Climate Program.

THE SHAPE OF THE FUTURE: THE TRANSATLANTIC ECONOMY BY 2025

Quinlan, Joseph. German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF). October, 2008 [PDF format, 8 pages]

http://www.gmfus.org//doc/Quinlan_2025_final.pdf (Policy Brief)

http://www.gmfus.org//doc/Transatlan2025CHARTS_Sept08.pdf (Charts)

"The foundation of the world economy has rested squarely on the shoulders of the transatlantic economy for the past 60 years. It is the largest, most powerful, and most productive economy in the world. And while the first decade and a half of globalization was largely driven and shaped by the United States and Europe, the world of tomorrow will be different. It will be less U.S.-centric and more crowded as new players, like China, Russia, India, and Brazil, from the developing nations reshape the global landscape. There are many complementary and convergent interests that can bind together the transatlantic economy and the rise of developing nations. The task for the coming decades is to identify these interests and construct working relationships for all parties. Failure to do so will come at a high price. While the transatlantic economy remains one of the most vibrant components of the world economy, maintaining this position will not be easy. Avoiding the twilight means the transatlantic partnership must undergo a period of transformation." *Joseph Quinlan is a non-resident transatlantic fellow with the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF).*

CELEBRATING 60 YEARS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State. November 2008 [PDF format, 44 pages]

<http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/ejs/1108.pdf>

This electronic journal celebrates the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration by explaining how this powerful statement of humanity's common inheritance came to be, how it draws upon an intellectual heritage that transcends political boundaries, and how — with room always for improvement — it has bettered the lives of individuals in every corner of the globe. Six feature essays explore these themes. In a work of broad scope, Claude Welch surveys why the Universal Declaration matters, what it says, and the results it has produced. Paul Gordon Lauren explains the significant political obstacles that had to be surmounted in order to make the Declaration a reality. Susan Waltz explores how the Declaration's language was crafted. Her cutting-edge scholarship reveals that the final document was no great-power imposition, but rather one that reflects the input of many nations. The two essays that follow place the Universal Declaration within rich intellectual and historical traditions. Lynn Hunt traces the emergence of human rights as we know it to developments in the arts that spurred a new understanding of the individual. Jack Donnelly addresses charges that human rights is an imposition of Western, or wealthy, or imperialist nations. He illustrates how despite differences over details, a broad cross-cultural consensus accepts the universality of core human rights concepts.

ARTICLES

NEW PLUMBING, NEW PURPOSES: REBUILDING THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE

Asmus, Ronald D. *The American Interest*. November/December 2008, pp. 1-9.

<http://www.gmfus.org//doc/AsmusAmericanInterest.pdf>

"The establishment of an alliance between the democracies of North America and Europe was one of the most important developments of the second half of the 20th century. U.S.-European cooperation became the core of what has been known in common parlance as the West. Such cooperation facilitated the rebuilding of war-torn Europe, created the multilateral infrastructure for unprecedented global prosperity and the military infrastructure through NATO that deterred the USSR and eventually sealed the West's Cold War victory. The Atlantic Alliance is thus one major reason why the second half of the century was so much better than the first. Since the end of the Cold War, a central question has been whether this Alliance can continue to exist in any strategically meaningful sense. Was it a successful but temporary phenomenon spawned by the Soviet threat and Europe's weakness during the Cold War? Or is the U.S.-European relationship, as a permanent alliance of like-minded countries, more important than ever in a globalizing world generating new challenges to our values and new threats to our interests? Are the United States and Europe still strategically compatible and capable of renewing this relationship and again acting together to shape the geopolitics of the 21st century?". *Ronald D. Asmus is executive director of the Brussels-based Transatlantic Center and is responsible for strategic planning at the German Marshall Fund of the United States.*

HOW EUROPE COULD SAVE THE WORLD

Calleo, David P. *World Policy Journal*. Fall 2008, pp. 3-12.

<http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/wopj.2008.25.3.3>

"Both Europe and America present the world with a model for democratic government on a continental scale. Europe's model is comparatively recent—with only a half century of history. America's model has been evolving for over two centuries. Both are likely to play a major role in determining how the world organizes itself over the next 25 years. But the two models and their likely global roles differ greatly, and their implications for how the rest of the world develops are also likely to be very different... Taking account of America's experience during the Cold War, it has been easy enough since to see the U.S. as hegemon of a unipolar world. But actual events in the past couple of decades begin to suggest that prospects for prolonged hegemony are not auspicious. So if prospects for imposing the American hegemonic model seem not so promising over the next 25 years, what sort of global influence is the European model likely to have?" *David P. Calleo is Dean Acheson Professor of European Studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and the author of the forthcoming *Follies of Power: America's Unipolar Fantasy* (Cambridge University Press, 2009).*

AMERICA'S HARD SELL

Jentleson, Bruce; Weber, Steven. *Foreign Policy*. November/December 2008, pp. 43-49.

Jentleson and Weber argue that the public diplomacy strategies of the last century won't work as well in the 21st century. The "War of Ideas" metaphor is outdated and should be replaced with the "Marketplace of Ideas" where the U.S. competes for market share against other ideologies, some from non state sources. The authors contend that ideology is the most important component of national powers,

technology massively multiplies soft power, and "domestic values" and "international values" must be consistent. The authors write that the U.S. will have to compete with countries, global corporations, religious movements, Internet communities -- each with strengths and shortcomings -- on a level playing field. *Bruce W. Jentleson is professor of public policy studies and political science at Duke University. Steven Weber is professor of political science and director of the Institute of International Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.*

GROWTH WITHOUT PROSPERITY IN AFRICA

Lewis, Peter. *Journal of Democracy*. October 2008, pp.95-111.

According to the author, fifteen years after the wave of democratization crested in Africa, the region still grapples with an economic malaise that is disappointing popular expectations and undermining the legitimacy of electoral regimes. "There is a generally recognized link between governance, economic performance, and popular welfare in Africa. Many analysts trace the continent's protracted economic crisis and lagging recovery to the nature of its political regimes. Authoritarian governments have misused public resources, impeded the development of markets, and refrained from providing crucial public goods needed for economic expansion. Analysts of economic failure in the region have emphasized the role of dictatorial leaders and political systems grounded in patronage relations. A few observers of other regions, notably Asia and Latin America, have proffered the possibility of an "authoritarian advantage" in economic development. In Africa, however, it is difficult to escape the association between non-democratic rule and economic failure." *Peter Lewis is director of the African Studies Program at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C.*

WHO WILL SPEAK FOR ISLAM?

Esposito, John L.; Mogahed, Dalia. *World Policy Journal*. Fall 2008, pp. 47-57.
<http://www.mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/wopj.2008.25.3.47>

"At the heart of the moving puzzle the world faces over the next quarter century are the diverse Muslim populations, collectively known as the "Global Muslim Community." Spanning the globe and speaking nearly every language, they are united by one faith—Islam. Collectively, they make up one-fifth of the world's population and sit on 75 percent of its oil wealth. Understanding the emerging trends of these societies is perhaps the world's leading strategic imperative. But who will speak for Islam in the future—on democracy, the role of women, or violence? Over six years ending in 2007, the Gallup organization undertook more than 50,000 interviews (representative of the 1.3 billion Muslims who reside in more than 35 nations with majority or significant Muslim populations) in an effort to explore current trends and examine the future. The results, reflective of more than 90 percent of the world's Muslim community, are the end product of the most comprehensive survey of its kind ever conducted; they defy conventional wisdom and the inevitability of a global conflict— even as the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan continue. Dealing a blow to the foundations of the "clash of civilizations" theory, our data shows a strong Muslim affinity for democratic values. Far from hating Americans for their freedom, Muslims around the world describe and admire the Western tradition of democratic governance, while seeing their faith as a source of progress and balance." *John L. Esposito, professor of Religion and International Affairs, Georgetown University. Dalia Mogahed, senior analyst and executive director of the*

Gallup Center for Muslim Studies. Both are co-authors of Who Speaks for Islam? What a Billion Muslims Really Think (Gallup Press, 2007).

FROM GREAT GAME TO GRAND BARGAIN: ENDING CHAOS IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN

Rubin, Barnett R; Rashid, Ahmed. *Foreign Affairs*. November/December 2008.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20081001faessay87603/barnett-r-rubin-ahmed-rashid/from-great-game-to-grand-bargain.html>

"The crisis in Afghanistan and Pakistan is beyond the point where more troops will help. U.S. strategy must be to seek compromise with insurgents while addressing regional rivalries and insecurities. Only a political and diplomatic initiative that distinguishes political opponents of the United States -- including violent ones -- from global terrorists such as al Qaeda can reduce the threat faced by the Afghan and Pakistani states and secure the rest of the international community from the international terrorist groups based there. Such an initiative would have two elements. It would seek a political solution with as much of the Afghan and Pakistani insurgencies as possible, offering political inclusion, the integration of Pakistan's indirectly ruled Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) into the mainstream political and administrative institutions of Pakistan, and an end to hostile action by international troops in return for cooperation against al Qaeda. And it would include a major diplomatic and development initiative addressing the vast array of regional and global issues that have become intertwined with the crisis -- and that serve to stimulate, intensify, and prolong conflict in both Afghanistan and Pakistan." *Barnett R. Rubin is Director of Studies and a Senior Fellow at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University. Ahmed Rashid, Pakistani journalist and writer, is a Fellow at the Pacific Council on International Policy.*

THE HISTORY OF IMPOSED DEMOCRACY AND THE FUTURE OF IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

Enterline, Andrew J.; Greig, Michael J. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. October 2008, pp. 321-347.

"What does history tell us about the prospects for democracy in post-invasion Iraq and Afghanistan? American policy makers frequently referenced the post-World War II success stories of Germany and Japan as plausible futures for the imposed democratic regimes in Iraq and Afghanistan. To evaluate the historical validity of this comparison, we examine the durability of 43 imposed democratic regimes during the period 1800-1994, given several political, economic, and social dimensions, as well as the long-term impact of these foreign cultivated regimes on subsequent polity performance. Our analysis suggests that the survival of imposed democracy is by no means assured. Instead, the survival of democracy is strongly conditioned by the process by which the regime is imposed and the social and economic conditions present in the state hosting the imposed polity. We discuss the prospects for the survival of democracy in Iraq and Afghanistan in light of these findings." *Andrew J. Enterline is an Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science of the University of North Texas. J Michael Greig is an assistant professor at the Department of Political Science of the University of North Texas.*

A NEW U.S. POLICY FOR SYRIA: FOSTERING POLITICAL CHANGE IN A DIVIDED STATE

Kaplan, Seth. *Middle East Policy*. Fall 2008, pp.107-122.

"The American foreign-policy establishment seems deeply divided over how to deal with Syria. No one in Washington doubts that Damascus plays a pivotal role in the Middle East, helping to shape events in Iraq, Lebanon and Palestine while influencing calculations in Jerusalem, the capital of its principal foe, and Tehran, the capital of its principal ally. But there is considerable disagreement within Washington on how to approach Damascus. Should Syria be isolated until its economy and its leadership crack under the strain, as the Bush administration has long favored? Should it, to use fashionable parlance, be forced into a "hard landing" — bullied into abandoning its disruptive behavior on the regional stage and softening its internal political complexion? Or should the United States help Syria achieve a soft landing, as many commentators outside the White House now propose?" *Seth Kaplan is a business consultant to companies in developing countries as well as a foreign-policy analyst. His latest book is Fixing Fragile States: A New Paradigm for Development (2008).*

SECURITY IN THE PERSIAN GULF: TWO CONFLICTING MODELS

Bahgat, Gawdat. *Defense & Security Analysis*. September 2008, pp. 237-246.

"Since the early 1970s, the U.S. has replaced the United Kingdom as the main external security player in the Persian Gulf. The thrust of the security dilemma has always been how to protect the six Gulf monarchies from their two northern neighbors — Iran and Iraq. Different strategies were used to achieve this goal including playing one off against the other and containing both of them. The fall of Saddam Hussein's regime and heavy US military presence in Iraq has shifted the attention squarely to Iran. In recent years, Washington sees Tehran as the main threat to security and stability in the Persian Gulf and the broader Middle East. In order to protect its national interests and its regional allies, the US has sought to establish a strong bloc of Sunni-Arab states in peace with Israel. Such alliance would isolate and weaken Iran (a Shi'ite-dominated state) and its regional allies (Syria, Hezbollah and Hamas). In line with this policy, the US signed defense agreements and established military bases in several GCC states. The most recent one, "Strategic Dialogue", was signed with Saudi Arabia in November 2005." *Gawdat Bahgat is professor of political science and director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Indiana University of Pennsylvania.*

OIL DEPENDENCE AS VIRTUE

Drezner, Daniel W. *The National Interest*. November/December 2008.

<http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=20096>

"As the strategic and economic value of oil skyrocketed during the first half of this year, many experts declared that the global distribution of power is rapidly shifting to oil exporters—specifically, Russia and the members of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). This belief has led to a lot of talk about the rise of "authoritarian capitalist" great powers and "the return of history". But let's imagine—as *The National Interest* asked me to do—that the summer of 2008 turns out to be the all-time peak of oil prices, and that the end of the oil era is imminent. The first instinct is to assume that in this world—a world in which oil would be a minor commodity, irrelevant to both geopolitics and the global economy—America would be much better off. Oil-exporting autocracies would fade into obscurity, and the Middle East would revert to barren sand-strewn lands. This imagined future, after all, is what drives politicians from George W. Bush to Barack Obama to say that

ending dependence on foreign oil will liberate America." *Daniel W. Drezner is a professor of international politics at the Fletcher School at Tufts University and a senior editor at The National Interest. His most recent book is All Politics Is Global (Princeton University Press, September 2008)*

ASIA'S DEMOCRACY BACKLASH

Kurlantzick, Joshua. *Current History*. November 2008, pp. 375-380.

"South and Southeast Asia in the late 1990s and early in this decade rode the crest of a wave of democratization that encompassed much of the developing world. As economies grew rapidly and publics became more politically active, nations such as Thailand and Bangladesh drew up liberal constitutions supposedly designed to strengthen civil society, protect minority rights, and check the power of entrenched actors like the military and powerful business interests. In vibrant Asian cities like Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur, where rapid growth had produced towering skylines, sleek new roads, and flashy shopping districts, the idea of military coups now seemed obsolete. But recent years have revealed that some of this democratization was a façade. (To be sure, Asia's longest-established democracies, Japan and India, suffer few of these weaknesses; and South Korea and Taiwan, though unruly, do not seem at risk of backsliding.) In some cases, the apparent vibrancy reflected merely economic liberalization, and democracy had not sunk deep roots." *Joshua Kurlantzick, a Current History contributing editor, is a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He is the author of Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World (Yale University Press, 2007).*

WHAT HAS MOSCOW DONE? REBUILDING U.S.-RUSSIAN RELATIONS

Sestanovich, Stephen. *Foreign Affairs*. November/December 2008.

"The next president will have to reassess the U.S.-Russian relationship and find the right balance between pushing back and cooperating. This past summer's war in Georgia -- and its aftermath -- delivered a higher-voltage shock to U.S.-Russian relations than any event since the end of the Cold War. It made Russia an unexpected flashpoint in the U.S. presidential campaign and probably won Russia a place at the top of the next administration's agenda. Has Washington's thinking about Russia really changed, and how much? At first glance, the change seems fundamental. Five years ago, the U.S. ambassador in Moscow, Alexander Vershbow, said that the main difficulty in U.S.-Russian relations was a "values gap." The two sides were cooperating effectively on practical problems, he argued, but were diverging on issues such as the rule of law and the strengthening of democratic institutions. No U.S. official would make such a statement today. Well before Russian tanks rolled into Georgia in August, the list of issues separating Washington from Moscow had grown long, and, more important, these issues extended well beyond the values gap" *Stephen Sestanovich is Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of International Diplomacy at Columbia University and George F. Kennan Senior Fellow for Russian and Eurasian Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. He was Ambassador-at-Large for the former Soviet Union from 1997 to 2001.*

RUSSIA GOES BALLISTIC

Thayer, Bradley; Skypek, Thomas. *The National Interest*. September/October 2008, pp. 61-68.

http://www.thefreelibrary.com/_/print/PrintArticle.aspx?id=186015822

The authors believe that Russia could acquire a nuclear advantage over the U.S. within the next two decades. America's strategic force is a Cold-war relic with an arsenal that is growing obsolete, while Moscow is designing a new generation of weaponry. Thayer and Skypek write that the erosion of American nuclear superiority will have major ramifications for the global balance of power. They warn that decades-old alliances may fracture amid a drift toward multi-polarity, as governments from Tokyo to Riyadh to Seoul develop their own deterrents in the face of growing power of states like Russia and China. The authors note that the United States is the only nuclear power with a self-imposed moratorium that has halted the modernization of warheads and delivery systems. *Bradley A. Thayer is an associate professor of defense and strategic studies at Missouri State University. Thomas M. Skypek is a Washington-based defense analyst with Booz Mien Hamilton.*

THE NEED FOR MISSILE DEFENSE

Brookes, Peter. *Policy Review*. October/November 2008.

<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/30030029.html>

"Despite Iran's runaway nuclear program, North Korea's atomic assistance to Syria, and robust ballistic missile production and testing by Russia and China, a missile defense system for protecting the homeland and U.S. interests overseas remains a controversial idea in some corners. It should not be. The security challenge arising from the proliferation of ballistic missiles and the dangerous payloads they might carry, including weapons of mass destruction (WMD) like nuclear arms, is a threat that — in fact — may be growing." *Peter Brookes is a senior fellow at the Heritage Foundation and a former deputy assistant secretary of defense.*

THE DEFENSE INHERITANCE: CHALLENGES AND CHOICES FOR THE NEXT PENTAGON TEAM

Flournoy, Michele; Brimley, Shawn. *The Washington Quarterly*. Autumn 2008, pp. 59-76

http://www.twq.com/08autumn/docs/08autumn_flournoy.pdf

The authors note that when Barack Obama is inaugurated in January, he will face "the most daunting defense inheritance in generations" -- wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; the search for bin Laden; the increasing power of China, Russia, India, and Pakistan; changes in the nature of war, as shown by the Israeli experience in Lebanon; cyberspace warfare; instability on the world's oceans; and broader systemic problems such as climate change and increased competition for resources, including food. This dire situation is compounded by American budgetary woes made worse by the economic crisis, the spiraling costs of entitlements, and the exploding costs of the two wars. The Pentagon will be forced to make tough choices regarding personnel and weapons programs. The authors note that the Defense Department "cannot afford to continue hemorrhaging taxpayer dollars because of its broken acquisition system." Other problems facing the new administration include countering weapons of mass destruction, reducing the U.S. nuclear posture, reexamining the U.S. global military posture, sustaining the all-volunteer force, fixing dysfunctional management processes, and improving interagency cooperation. *Michèle A. Flournoy is president and cofounder of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS) and a former principal deputy assistant secretary of defense in the Clinton administration. Shawn Brimley is a fellow at CNAS.*

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

THE HISPANIC VOTE IN THE 2008 ELECTION

Lopez, Mark Hugo. Pew Hispanic Center. November 7, 2008.

<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/98.pdf>

"Hispanics voted for Democrats Barack Obama and Joe Biden over Republicans John McCain and Sarah Palin by a margin of more than two-to-one in the 2008 presidential election, 67% versus 31%, according to an analysis by the Pew Hispanic Center of exit polls from Edison Media Research as published by CNN. The Center's analysis also finds that 9% of the electorate was Latino, up from 8% in 2004. This report contains an analysis of exit poll results for the Latino vote in 9 states and for the U.S. Obama carried the Latino vote by sizeable margins in all states with large Latino populations. His biggest breakthrough came in Florida, where he won 57% of the Latino vote in a state where Latinos have historically supported Republican presidential candidates (President Bush carried 56% of the Latino vote in Florida in 2004). Obama's margins were much larger in other states with big Latino populations. He carried 78% of the Latino vote in New Jersey, 76% in Nevada, and 74% in California." *Mark Hugo Lopez is the Associate Director of the Pew Hispanic Center.*

YOUNG VOTERS IN THE 2008 ELECTION

Keeter, Scott, et al. Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. November 12, 2008.

<http://pewresearch.org/pubs/1031/young-voters-in-the-2008-election>

In the last three general elections - 2004, 2006, and 2008 -- young voters have given the Democratic Party a majority of their votes, and for all three cycles they have been the party's most supportive age group. This year, 66% of those under age 30 voted for Barack Obama making the disparity between young voters and other age groups larger than in any presidential election since exit polling began in 1972. This pattern of votes, along with other evidence about the political leanings of young voters, suggests that a significant generational shift in political allegiance is occurring. This pattern has been building for several years, and is underscored among voters this year. Among voters ages 18-29, a 19-point gap now separates Democratic party affiliation (45%) and Republican affiliation (26%). *Scott Keeter, Director Survey Research, Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. He is also an exit poll analyst for NBC News.*

HIGH MARKS FOR THE CAMPAIGN, A HIGH BAR FOR OBAMA

Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. November 13, 2008.

<http://people-press.org/report/471/high-bar-for-obama>

"This quadrennial post-election survey finds greater satisfaction with the choice of presidential candidates than after any election in the past 20 years. In addition, Obama gets by far the highest grades for any winning candidate in that period. A week after the election, voters are feeling good about themselves, the presidential campaign and Barack Obama. Looking ahead, they have high expectations for the Obama administration, with two-thirds predicting that he will have a successful first term. As Republicans contemplate the party's future, they are expressing support for

a more conservative approach from GOP leaders. Six-in-ten Republican and Republican-leaning voters say they would like to see Republican leaders in Washington move in a more conservative direction; just 35% say they favor the party's leaders pursuing a more moderate approach."

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TRANSITION TEAMS

Project on Government Oversight. Web posted October 20, 2008 [PDF format, 7 pages]

<http://pogoarchives.org/m/go/transition-paper-20081016.pdf>

Project on Government Oversight's advice includes making agency missions more modern and relevant, protecting inherently governmental functions, improving whistleblower protections, halting the revolving door between the government and the private sector, increasing government transparency, and implementing multiple measures to improve and strengthen contract oversight. Founded in 1981, The Project On Government Oversight (POGO) is an independent nonprofit that investigates and exposes corruption and other misconduct in order to achieve a more effective, accountable, open and honest federal government.

ANXIETY OVER ENERGY, JOBS, AND WEALTH SHAKES AMERICA'S GLOBAL ECONOMIC CONFIDENCE

Chicago Council on Global Affairs. Web posted October 15, 2008 [PDF format, 8 pages]

http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/UserFiles/File/POS_Topline%20Reports/POS%202008/2008%20Public%20Opinion_Economic.pdf

"The report shows that economic anxiety is causing Americans to shift their foreign policy views and priorities. Energy has emerged as a major source of concern, along with jobs and an unfair distribution of wealth. These concerns are negatively impacting views of globalization, immigration, NAFTA, and the U.S. economic future. The U.S. public's unease is evident in the strong majority (64%) that believes that the distribution of income and wealth in the U.S. has become less fair. Eighty-two percent of those who believe this indicate that globalization and international trade are "very" or "somewhat" important to their assessment."

THE HEALTH CARE DELIVERY SYSTEM: A BLUEPRINT FOR REFORM

Center for American Progress; Institute on Medicine as a Profession. October 31, 2008.

http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2008/10/health_care_delivery.html/#overview (html format)

http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2008/10/pdf/health_delivery_full.pdf (Full book, PDF 124 pages)

"Concern about the state of the American health care system has reached a slow boil. Health care consistently ranks among the top three issues that the American public wants policymakers to address, and it is increasingly intertwined with growing worries about economic insecurity. High costs, gap-ridden coverage, and sporadic quality are the health care problems that most concern Americans. The blueprint it lays out is a vision of how different parts of the system should be structured and how they should function. Even more specifically, it proposes policies that the next administration and Congress could enact over the next five years to improve our health system."

THE ENDURING CHALLENGE OF CONCENTRATED POVERTY IN AMERICA

The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program; The Federal Reserve System. October 24, 2008 [PDF format, 233 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2008/1024_concentrated_poverty/1024_concentrated_poverty.pdf

"The Federal Reserve System and its 12 member banks partnered with the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program to produce a new, in-depth look at concentrated poverty in America. The two-year study profiles 16 high-poverty communities across the United States, investigating the historical and contemporary factors associated with their high levels of economic distress. This report is the first to analyze concentrated poverty and its impacts across the wide range of community types in which it occurs—urban, small city, and rural; white, black, Latino, and Native American; growing and declining; and every region of the United States. It finds that all of these communities face obstacles related to under-performing local schools and low adult labor market skills; insufficient quality and diversity of housing; lack of mainstream commercial investment; and the limited capacity of local public, private, and non-profit organizations to navigate this suite of challenges."

TRENDS IN UNAUTHORIZED IMMIGRATION: UNDOCUMENTED INFLOW NOW TRAILS LEGAL INFLOW

Passel, Jeffrey S.; Cohn, D'Vera. Pew Hispanic Center. October, 2008 [PDF format, 25 pages]

<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/94.pdf>

There were 11.9 million unauthorized immigrants living in the United States in March 2008, according to new Pew Hispanic Center estimates. The unauthorized immigrant population grew more slowly in the period from 2005 to 2008 than it did earlier in the decade. The inflow of immigrants who are undocumented has now fallen below that of immigrants who are legal permanent residents, reversing a trend that began a decade ago. Jeffrey Passel is a Senior Demographer at the Pew Hispanic Center. D'Vera Cohn is Senior Writer at the Pew Research Center. *Jeffrey S. Passel is a senior demographer at the Pew Hispanic Center. He is a nationally known expert on immigration to the United States and on the demography of racial and ethnic groups. D'Vera Cohn is a senior writer at the Pew Research Center. She was a reporter at The Washington Post from 1985 to 2006.*

UNEVEN PROGRESS: THE EMPLOYMENT PATHWAYS OF SKILLED IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Batalova, Jeanne; Fix, Michael; Creticos, Peter A. Migration Policy Institute. Web posted October 25, 2008 [PDF format, 70 pages]

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/BrainWasteOct08.pdf>

"More than 1.3 million college-educated immigrants living in the United States are unemployed or working as taxi drivers, dishwashers, security guards or in other unskilled jobs because they are unable to make full use of their academic and professional credentials, according to the report. The report quantifies the scope of the 'brain waste' problem that affects 22 percent of the 6.1 million immigrants with a bachelor's degree or higher who are in the U.S. labor market. It analyzes and offers possible solutions for the credentialing and language-barrier hurdles that deprive the U.S. economy of a rich source of human capital at a time of increasing competition

globally for skilled talent." *Dr. Jeanne Batalova is a Policy Analyst at the Migration Policy Institute. Michael Fix is Vice President and Director of Studies at the Migration Policy Institute where he codirects the National Center on Immigrant Integration Policy. Peter A. Creticos is President and Executive Director of the Institute for Work and the Economy.*

THE ORIGINS OF THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

Baily, Martin Neil, et.al. Initiative on Business and Public Policy, The Brookings Institution. November 2008.

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2008/11_origins_crisis_baily_litan/11_origins_crisis_baily_litan.pdf

"The financial crisis that has been wreaking havoc in markets in the U.S. and across the world since August 2007 had its origins in an asset price bubble that interacted with new kinds of financial innovations that masked risk; with companies that failed to follow their own risk management procedures; and with regulators and supervisors that failed to restrain excessive taking. A bubble formed in the housing markets as home prices across the country increased each year from the mid 1990s to 2006, moving out of line with fundamentals like household income. The rapid rise of lending to subprime borrowers helped inflate the housing price bubble. Before 2000, subprime lending was virtually non-existent, but thereafter it took off exponentially. The sustained rise in house prices, along with new financial innovations, suddenly made subprime borrowers — previously shut out of the mortgage markets — attractive customers for mortgage lenders...These new financial innovations thrived in an environment of easy monetary policy by the Federal Reserve and poor regulatory oversight. With interest rates so low and with regulators turning a blind eye, financial institutions borrowed more and more money (i.e. increased their leverage) to finance their purchases of mortgage-related securities." *Martin Neil Baily is a Senior Fellow in Economic Studies at the Brookings Institution and the director of the Initiative on Business and Public Policy.*

TIME TO BAIL OUT: ALTERNATIVES TO THE BUSH-PAULSON PLAN

Papadimitriou; Dimitri B.; Wray, L. Randall. Levy Economics Institute of Bard College. Web posted November 20, 2008[Note: contains copyrighted material][PDF format, 8 pages]

http://www.levy.org/pubs/pn_08_06.pdf

The authors take a look back and propose some alternatives to the Bush-Paulson plan to "bail out" both the Street and the U.S. homeowner. Resolving the liquidity crisis is the best strategy, the authors say, and keeping small-to-medium-size banks open is the best way to ensure access to credit once the economy recovers. A temporary suspension of the collection of payroll taxes would put more income into the hands of households while lowering the employment costs for firms, fueling spending and employment. The government should assume a more active role in helping homeowners saddled with mortgage debt they cannot afford, providing low-cost 30-year loans directly to all comers; in the meantime, a moratorium on foreclosures is necessary. And federal grants to support local spending on needed projects would go a long way toward rectifying our \$1.6 trillion public infrastructure deficit. *Dimitri B. Papadimitriou is executive vice president and Jerome Levy Professor of Economics at Bard College. L. Randall Wray is professor of economics at the University of Missouri–Kansas City and director of research at the Center for Full Employment and Price Stability.*

INTERNET IN TRANSITION

Center for Democracy & Technology. June 2008 [PDF format, 30 pages]
<http://www.cdt.org/election2008/election2008.pdf>

The document examines a broad range of issues the next President and Congress must address in order to keep the Internet a powerful engine for innovation, economic growth and democratization. The policies outlined in the paper describe current threats to the Internet and then proposes policies and actions that the next President and Congress should take to protect innovation, privacy, consumer choice, and freedom of expression.

STAYING THE COURSE: ONLINE EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 2008

Allen, Elaine; Seaman, Jeff. Sloan Consortium. Web posted November 13, 2008 [PDF format, 28 pages]
http://www.sloanconsortium.org/publications/survey/pdf/staying_the_course.pdf

This is the sixth annual report on the state of online learning in U.S. higher education. This year's study, like those for the previous five years, is aimed at answering some of the fundamental questions about the nature and extent of online education. The study aims to answer some of the fundamental questions about the nature and extent of online education. A collaborative effort between the Babson Survey Research Group, the College Board and the Sloan Consortium and supported by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation the study is based on responses from more than 2,500 colleges and universities. *Elaine Allen, Ph.D. is Associate Professor of Statistics & Entrepreneurship at the Babson College and Co-Director of Babson Survey Research Group. Jeff Seaman, Ph.D. is Survey Director of the Sloan Consortium and Co-Director, Babson Survey Research Group, Babson College.*

ARTICLES

BUSH'S LEGACY

Frum, David. *Foreign Policy*. September/October 2008, pp. 32-38.

The author admits that the president may be the most unpopular president in modern times, often considered a "reckless, unilateralist cowboy", but history will be kinder to George W. Bush than contemporary caricatures. After eight years, he leaves behind much more than a defeated dictator in Iraq. His successes include closer ties to India, a pragmatic relationship with China, pressure applied to Iran that will pay dividends for years to come, the signing of new bilateral trade agreements, and the world's first convention on cybercrime. In the two decades leading up to Bush's presidency, the US and its allies were struck by a rising number of increasingly ambitious, aggressive, and deadly terrorist attacks. Conversely, if Iran is allowed to follow North Korea into the nuclear weapons club, it could well be the failure to act against the other two thirds of the "axis of evil," not the willingness to act in Iraq, that will be regarded as the most important decision of the Bush years. Bush's political opponents will continue to attack him after he leaves the presidency. Just as the Bush presidency led Democrats to express an unexpected nostalgia for Ronald Reagan, the next Republican president can expect to hear from pundits and academics alike that he falls far short of the high standard set by the last one. *David*

Frum, former speechwriter and special assistant to President Bush, is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute.

THE NEW LIBERALISM

Packer, George. *The New Yorker*. November 17, 2008.

http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/11/17/081117fa_fact_packer

After looking back at presidential history, interviewing President-elect Obama's advisors, and reviewing Obama's words from his books and campaign speeches, Packer tries to describe how Obama might lead the country. Packer compares this moment to the election of President Roosevelt in 1932 but believes in Obama's idea of "deliberative democracy", in which adults listen to one another -- "who attempt to persuade one another by means of argument and evidence, and who remain open to the possibility that they could be wrong." Obama reads widely from both the "right-wing and left-wing book clubs" but Packer states that Obama's liberalism is more procedural than substantive -- his most fervent belief is in rules and standards of serious debate. Packer believes that Obama will favor activist government in questions of social welfare such as jobs, income, health care and energy but will attempt to accommodate differences on social and legal issues such as guns, abortion, the death penalty, same-sex marriage, the courts and the constitution.

FARMER IN CHIEF

Pollan, Michael. *New York Times Magazine*. October 9, 2008.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/10/12/magazine/12policy-t.html>

In an article framed as a letter to the President-elect, the author notes that food, an issue barely mentioned during the election campaign, may become a primary issue facing the next administration. While both candidates spent a lot of time talking about health care, energy independence and climate change, Pollan notes that the next President "will quickly discover that the way we currently grow, process and eat food in America goes to the heart of all three problems". Food production, processing and distribution in the U.S. is one of the biggest consumers of fossil fuels, using ten calories of hydrocarbon energy to bring one calorie of food energy from the farm to the supermarket. The goals of food production for most of the last few decades have been to produce large quantities of cheap, subsidized commodity crops, used in heavily processed convenience foods, contributing to the poor diet of most Americans. Pollan notes that the main challenge is to wean U.S. food production off fossil fuels and back onto "incoming sunlight" by relocalizing agriculture. *Michael Pollan, a contributing writer for the magazine, is the Knight Professor of Journalism at the University of California, Berkeley. He is the author, most recently, of "In Defense of Food: An Eater's Manifesto."*

THE NEW POWER LANDSCAPE

The National Journal. November 22, 2008.

The magazine interviewed more than 90 lobbying firms, associations, unions, and advocacy groups on how they are preparing for the new President and Congress. "President-elect Obama promises change in Washington come January 20, and lobbying firms, advocacy groups, associations, coalitions, labor unions, nonprofits, and other organizations in the influence sector are scrambling to position themselves for the coming new order. Whether driven by a sense of entitlement, hope, fear, or a wish to protect gains achieved under the Bush administration, K Street insiders

agree that their roles and strategies must shift to reflect the changing times and the election results that have left the Democrats with a firm grip on power.”

THE END

Lewis, Michael. *Conde Nast Portfolio*. December 2008.

<http://www.portfolio.com/news-markets/national-news/portfolio/2008/11/11/The-End-of-Wall-Streets-Boom>

In this article Lewis, a former Wall Street investment banker, returns to his old haunts to chronicle the causes of the monumental collapse of the financial markets that the Wall Street firms brought about. He writes that even financial-world insiders had a hard time grasping the scope of the economic bubble in housing and finance that evolved during the past decade. Lewis profiles a small group of bankers and hedge-fund managers who shared a jaded view of Wall Street, and who were among the few who realized that Wall Street had constructed a “doomsday machine” that would eventually implode.

THE PRIVATIZATION OF CIVIL JUSTICE

Murray, Peter L. *Judicature*. May/June 2008, pp. 272-278.

The author describes the evolution of the civil justice industry with arbitrators and mediators -- private practitioners rather than public officers deciding cases. As a result of too many court cases, Congress has encouraged arbitration and mediation; Murray believes that the mediators and arbitrators now require more oversight. Only 1-2 percent of civil cases are heard by judges, and arbitrators/mediators may be influenced by repeat customers. He describes one arbitrator who decided 19 times for a credit card company; after deciding against the credit card company, he stopped getting cases. Along with other improvements, Murray suggests that Congress amend the Federal Arbitration Act to protect consumers and non-repeat players, allow judicial review of mediation and arbitration decisions, and provide mediation within the civil justice system using the court's judges as mediators. *Peter L. Murray is Robert Braucher Visiting Professor of Law from Practice at Harvard Law School.*

STATE OF BLOGGING

Jackson, Nancy Mann. *State Legislatures*. May 2008, pp. 30-32.

Mann discusses state legislators' use of blogs as a method of communication for their constituents. While some representatives get a lot of coverage in traditional media, others who are closer to metropolitan centers have a more difficult time getting exposure. Blogs provide an easy and cheap means of publicity and a new way for constituents to meet their elected officials. Blogs are also helping to create transparency in government; state legislators enjoy the opportunity to engage directly with constituents and let them know what is going on in the state capitol as it is happening. Research has shown that those who are involved in the online community are often civically engaged offline. While this is a relatively new technology, Dr. David Wyld, professor of management at Southeastern Louisiana University and author of “The Blogging Revolution: Government in the Age of Web 2.0,” says that this will be a feature constituents will come to expect from their elected officials in five to ten years. First Amendment activists are concerned, however, about the comments feature on these blogs. Some are worried that

filtering inappropriate comments may infringe upon a public forum (state legislators' blogs are often hosted on government Web sites).

THE BIGGER TENT

Cooper, Ann. *Columbia Journalism Review*. September/October 2008, pp. 45-47.
http://www.cjr.org/essay/the_bigger_tent_1.php

The question of "who is a journalist" is a thing of the past, with bloggers, amateur videographers, and others now widely recognized as falling within the "big tent" of mainstream journalism. The author says barriers will continue to erode, and while more traditional journalists are adopting the less formal blogs along with news aggregates, the bloggers are also doing some original reporting, along with disseminating news and opinion. The better question now is "what is journalism"; the author says the best of both worlds can be combined for the good of the public. "Old media will have to let go of some attitudes and assumptions that are no longer relevant, and new media will need to recognize standards that can infuse credibility and trust into this new journalism," she says. The goal of the fourth estate to hold power accountable, inform the citizenry and strengthen democracy still remains intact in this new age of journalism, she argues. *Ann Cooper teaches at Columbia's Graduate School of Journalism. She has worked as a reporter for newspapers, magazines, and National Public Radio, and was the executive director of the Committee to Protect Journalists.*

MUSICAL HEALING?

Sublette, Ned. *Downbeat*. November 2008, pp. 38-43.

Three years after Hurricane Katrina, a big part of the community that created New Orleans music is still gone. Many lost not only their homes to the flood, but also irreplaceable archives, books, recordings, CDs, rare artifacts, vintage instruments, research materials and sheet music. New Orleans is back up to 72 percent of its pre-flood population, but for African Americans, it's just 63 percent. Most of the big names in music are back, but less so the rank and file. New Orleans has maintained its schedule of festivals, but the musicians' union membership and theatrical performances are down. Most clubs have reopened. "The people who have had the most difficulty in returning are the working-class families, from whose ranks the new generation of musicians would emerge ... a generation of elders was lost," says Sublette. Volunteer and charitable programs are struggling to meet the vast need that the government isn't meeting. Pianist Henry Butler was turned down by a state program that offers assistance to Katrina victims; he now lives in Denver but returns for gigs, as do many other musicians. "My music has grown exponentially since Katrina," he said, "partly because I'm feeling more." But he doesn't know if he'll live in New Orleans again, because, he says, "I don't know what direction the city is going to take." *Ned Sublette is a U.S. composer, singer, record producer and musicologist.*

Information Provided by the Information Resource Center
U.S. Embassy Madrid
<http://www.embusa.es/irc/index.html>

Views expressed in the articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect U.S. government policies.