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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM REPORT 2008

Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, U.S. Department of State.
September 2008.

<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2008/> [Full Text by Section and Country]

"Ten years ago, the passage of the International Religious Freedom Act brought new emphasis and structure to America's age-old priority of promoting religious freedom. The International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA) reinforced the priority of this critical foreign policy objective by creating at the U.S. Department of State the position of Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom and the Office of International Religious Freedom, and by mandating the annual issuance of this report covering 198 countries and territories. The Department of State submits this report to the Congress in compliance with Section 102(b) of the IRFA of 1998. The law provides that the Secretary of State, with the assistance of the Ambassador at Large for International Religious Freedom, shall transmit to Congress "an Annual Report on International Religious Freedom supplementing the most recent Human Rights Reports by providing additional detailed information with respect to matters involving international religious freedom."

TOP 10 GLOBAL ECONOMIC CHALLENGES FACING AMERICA'S 44TH PRESIDENT

Global Economy and Development Program, The Brookings Institution. October 2008. [PDF format, 36

pages]http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2008/10_global_economics_top_ten/top_ten_2008.pdf

This report focuses on the most critical issues facing the next president of the United States of America. From restoring financial stability to establishing a U.S. policy on climate change and engaging the emerging economic powers. In this report, Brookings experts identify and rank the top 10 global economic issues facing the next U.S. president and offer policy recommendations to help guide the new administration. "The "made in the USA" financial crisis comes at the same time economic policymakers are confronting the emergence of a group of rising powers,

from China and India to the Gulf states and Russia. Following 35 years of strong economic output by the Group of Seven economies, during which they commanded approximately 65 percent of the global output and the so-called “BRIC”—Brazil, Russia, India, China—economies accounted for about 7 percent, we have seen the Group of Seven’s share falling to 58 percent over the past five years and the BRIC’s share rising to more than 11 percent. By 2030, according to Brookings expert Homi Kharas, the two groups are expected to converge towards parity, with each accounting for about one-third of world output. The BRICs and other emerging economies are booming, integrating into the global economy, and learning to assert their interests more forcefully.”

AFTER THE WAR: NATION-BUILDING FROM FDR TO GEORGE W. BUSH

Dobbins, James, et.al. Rand Corporation. September 2008.

http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG716.sum.pdf (Summary, pp.23)

http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG716.pdf (Full Document, pp.190)

"This volume addresses the manner in which U.S. policy toward post-conflict reconstruction has been created and implemented and the effect that these processes have had on mission outcomes. Through the lens of presidential decision-making style and administrative structure, from the post-World War II era through the Cold War, post-Cold War era, and current war on terrorism, it is both possible and necessary to reassess how these elements can work in favor of, as well as against, the nation-building goals of the U.S. government and military and those of its coalition partners and allies. This is the fourth in a series of case studies examining the United States, United Nations and European-led nation-building operations since World War II." *James Dobbins is director of the RAND International Security and Defense Policy Center.*

MORE FREEDOM, LESS TERROR? LIBERALIZATION AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN THE ARAB WORLD

Dassa Kaye, Dalia, et. al. Rand Corporation. September 24, 2008.

http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG772.sum.pdf (Summary, pp.18)

http://www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG772.pdf (Full document, pp.227)

A key tenet of U.S. foreign policy has been that promoting democracy in the Arab world is an important strategy in reducing terrorism; at the same time, some policymakers and analysts have held that democracy has nothing to do with terrorism—or even that the growth of democracy in the Middle East may exacerbate political violence. This study examines whether such links exist by exploring the effects of liberalization processes on political violence in Egypt, Jordan, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, and Morocco from 1991 to 2006. The study finds that democratic political reforms can marginalize extremists and undermine support for political violence, but cosmetic reforms and backtracking on democratization can exacerbate the risk of terrorism. *Dalia Dassa Kaye is a political scientist at RAND Corporation.*

U.S. COUNTERTERRORISM IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: UNDERSTANDING COSTS, CULTURES, AND CONFLICTS

Chau, Donovan C. Strategic Studies Institute. Web posted August 27, 2008. [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 81 pages]

<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB821.pdf>

"Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has never been the centerpiece of United States foreign and defense policy. However, the current struggle between the U.S. and its allies against terrorist groups and individuals motivated by Islamic extremism thrusts SSA forward as a front in the global conflict. By comparing views in Washington, DC, with perspectives from SSA, Chau assesses that a fundamental and dangerous misunderstanding of SSA may be leading U.S. policy astray. The author suggests urgently educating a future generation of analysts, officers, and policymakers on SSA--whose interest must match their knowledge and understanding. Africa in general and SSA in particular are now on the foreground of U.S. national security interests and the global conflict against Islamic extremist-terrorists (if correctly understood in a strategic context, a form of global irregular warfare⁶). The U.S. Government is now embarked on a reform of U.S. policy toward the African continent. U.S. foreign aid and assistance to SSA once promoted good governance, educational development, and better healthcare to counter global communism; today, the same foreign aid and assistance has become intertwined with U.S. efforts to counter global Islamic extremism" *Donovan C. Chau is an Assistant Professor of Political Science and a faculty member in the National Security Studies program (M.A.) at California State University, San Bernardino.*

CHANGING COURSE: A NEW DIRECTION FOR U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE MUSLIM WORLD

U.S.-Muslim Engagement Project. September 23, 2008. [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 170 pages]

http://www.usmuslimengagement.org/storage/usme/documents/Changing_Course_-_A_New_Direction_for_US_Relations_with_the_Muslim_World.pdf

"The report outlines a comprehensive strategy for the U.S. to enhance international security by improving relations with key Muslim countries and communities. The strategy reflects the consensus of 34 American leaders, including 11 Muslim Americans, in the fields of foreign and defense policy, politics, business, religion, education, public opinion, psychology, philanthropy and conflict resolution."

THE MIDDLE EAST: EVOLUTION OF A BROKEN REGIONAL ORDER

Salem, Paul. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace [Carnegie Paper #9] July 2008 [PDF format, 28 pages]

http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cmec9_salem_broken_order_final.pdf

This paper is the first of a multi-author set of studies that will examine how a number of key players in the Middle East—namely Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt—perceived the threats and opportunities created by the aftermath of September 11 and the U.S. invasion of Iraq and how they have shaped their policies in reaction to changing developments. This first paper examines the context within which these states act—the changing Middle East order. It identifies patterns and trends in the dynamic history of the Middle East interstate system, and it examines the period since 9/11 and the invasion of Iraq. It concludes with remarks about the competing projects for a new regional order. This paper is divided into several sections. The first provides an analytical overview of the phases the Middle East as a regional system has gone through, as a way to gain a deeper appreciation

of its various dynamics. The second takes a more detailed look at the period since September 11 and the invasion of Iraq. The concluding section explores the competing approaches that external and regional players have promoted to reorganize the region. *Paul Salem is the Director of the Carnegie Middle East Center.*

IRAN: IS PRODUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT POSSIBLE?

Sadjadpour, Karim. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace [Policy Brief # 65] October 2008 [PDF format, 12 pages]

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

"Iran continues to be a critical national security challenge for the United States, despite decades of effort to change Tehran's behavior by isolating the country politically and economically. A different approach is required. In this new policy brief, Sadjadpour explains that the relevant question is not *whether* to talk to Iran but *how* to talk to Iran, and prioritizes U.S. engagement with Iran on six critical issues: Iraq, Afghanistan, nuclear proliferation, the Arab–Israeli conflict, energy, and terrorism." *Karim Sadjadpour is an associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He joined Carnegie after four years as the chief Iran analyst at the International Crisis Group based in Tehran and Washington, D.C.*

INTEGRATING INSTRUMENTS OF POWER AND INFLUENCE: LESSONS LEARNED AND BEST PRACTICES

Hunter, Robert E., et. al. Rand Corporation. October 2008.

http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf_proceedings/2008/RAND_CF251.sum.pdf

(Summary, pp.18)

http://www.rand.org/pubs/conf_proceedings/2008/RAND_CF251.pdf (Full document, pp.109)

This report is a compilation and an analysis of lessons learned and best practices regarding the integration of civilian and military intervention across the full spectrum of activities from the time before military intervention takes place through to post-conflict nation-building. It provides guidance for the U.S. and international institutions regarding critical areas of foreign policy and national security in the 21st century. The report summarizes the results of conferences and meetings of a panel of senior practitioners convened jointly by the RAND Corporation and the American Academy of Diplomacy that brought together nearly 70 individuals with extensive civilian and military experience, including at senior levels of government in the United States, Canada, and Europe; at international institutions; at NGOs; and in the private sector. The project's terms of reference are presented in the Introduction. *Ambassador Robert E. Hunter is a Senior Advisor at the RAND Corporation and President of the Atlantic Treaty Association.*

THE LOOMING CRISIS: DISPLACEMENT AND SECURITY IN IRAQ.

Ferris, Elisabeth G. The Brookings Institution [Policy Paper #5] August 2008 [PDF format, 53 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2008/08_iraq_ferris/08_iraq_ferris.pdf

This report analyzes the political dimensions of Iraqi displacement, beginning with a short description of the present situation and its historical background. It then analyzes the implications of the large-scale internal displacement on the security of both Iraq and its two neighbors who host the largest number of Iraqi refugees. A

discussion of U.S. policy, European concerns, and the response of the United Nations is followed by analysis of returns of the displaced, with particular attention to the burning issue of property compensation. The study concludes with recommendations to the U.S. government and to the broader international community. "Present and future Iraqi displacement has the potential to change the Middle East landscape in unpredictably adverse ways. But if the U.S. government, the U.N. system, and the non-governmental world do not think strategically about Iraqi displacement, the implications for security in the region could be equally far-reaching." *Elizabeth G. Ferris is Senior Fellow in the Foreign Policy at Brookings in Washington, D.C. and Co-Director of the Brookings-Bern Project on Internal Displacement.*

TOWARD A NEW EURO-ATLANTIC "HARD" SECURITY AGENDA: PROSPECTS FOR TRILATERAL U.S.-EU-RUSSIA COOPERATION

Trenin, Dmitri. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). July 31, 2008 [PDF format, 22 pages]

http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/080731_trenin_towardneweuroatlantic-web.pdf

"As new leaders are taking over in Moscow, Washington, and many EU capitals, they inherit a host of security problems in the Euro-Atlantic area that have accumulated and crystallized since the latest failed attempt, in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, to form a new strategic partnership between the Cold War adversaries. These problems are not trivial and can get more complicated, even leading to political conflicts. In order to avoid drifting toward confrontation not warranted by the core interests of the parties concerned, Russians, Americans, and Europeans need to address the wider context of their relations, prioritize the key issues, and start looking for practical solutions. This study is part of a series being published by the joint CSIS/Institut Français des Relations Internationales (IFRI) project "Europe, Russia, and the United States: Finding a New Balance," which seeks to reframe the trilateral relationship for the relevant policymaking communities." *Dmitri Trenin is deputy director of the Carnegie Moscow Center and a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.*

CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY: WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR U.S. GLOBAL INTERESTS?

Dumbaugh, Kerry. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. July 18, 2008 [PDF format, 29 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/108039.pdf>

"Since the late 1990s, China's robust international engagement has caught many by surprise and prompted growing American debate over the People's Republic of China's (PRC) motivations and objectives. This international engagement has expanded while the United States has been preoccupied with its military involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan. Congress and other U.S. policymakers are becoming increasingly concerned that China's expanded international engagement could have its "soft power" projection and affect U.S. economic and strategic interests. Whatever policy options the United States adopts, China's growing international political and economic clout poses demanding challenges and questions for U.S. policymakers. This report emphasizes the PRC's foreign policy and diplomatic activities around the world rather than its security policy. This report will be updated periodically as events warrant." *Kerry Dumbaugh is an Specialist in Asian Affairs at the Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division of the CRS.*

NEW POWER DYNAMICS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: NEXT GENERATION THINKING ABOUT U.S. STRATEGY TOWARD EAST ASIA

Pacific Forum, Center for Strategic and International Studies. [Issues & Insights Vol. 08 - No. 15] September 10, 2008 [PDF format, 18 pages]

http://www.csis.org/media/csis/pubs/issuesinsights_v08n15.pdf

"U.S. relations with Southeast Asia remain one of the most under-developed dimensions of American engagement with Asia. A rising chorus of voices argues that Washington has missed a series of opportunities to build better relations with a sub-region of growing weight in the global economy. That failure takes on greater significance given Chinese efforts to build stronger ties to a region that has traditionally looked at Beijing with considerable skepticism and even suspicion. Over the last year, the Stanley Foundation has convened a series of meetings to explore changing power dynamics in Southeast Asia. The last in that set was held in Honolulu in June 2008, hosted by Pacific Forum CSIS, to develop recommendations for the next U.S. administration's policy toward Southeast Asia. A group of 10 Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leaders joined those discussions, and provided their own assessment of ways for the U.S. to improve relations with Southeast Asia."

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND AND THE WORLD BANK: A CASE FOR SEPARATING THE CONJOINED TWINS

Rieffel, Lex. Global Economy and Development Program, The Brookings Institution. October 2008 [PDF format, 8 pages]

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

"The IMF and the World Bank were created in 1944 to be at the center of a sound and dynamic international financial system. They have not adapted well to far-reaching changes in the global economy over the past twenty years, and are now poorly equipped to tackle the challenges that lie ahead. Their antiquated governance structures have undermined their legitimacy. Overlapping responsibilities have fostered confusion about their roles. An initiative by the next President to develop fresh mandates for the IMF and World Bank could be a low-cost, high-impact element of a new foreign policy designed to move the United States from being a stumbling superpower to being a trusted global partner. *Lex Rieffel is Nonresident senior fellow of the Global Economy and Development Program at the Brookings Institution.*

THE YEAR IN TRADE 2007

U.S. International Trade Commission. Web posted August 6, 2008 [PDF format, 229 pages]

<http://hotdocs.usitc.gov/docs/pubs/332/pub4026.pdf>

The report provides a practical review of U.S. international trade laws and actions in 2007, a summary of the operation of the World Trade Organization (WTO), and an overview of U.S. free trade agreements and negotiations and of U.S. bilateral trade relations with major trading partners. It also includes complete listings of antidumping, countervailing duty, safeguard, intellectual property rights infringement, and section 301 cases undertaken by the U.S. government in 2007.

ARTICLES

MANAGING FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY CHALLENGES IN PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITIONS

Campbell, Kurt; Steinberg, James. *The Washington Quarterly*. Autumn 2008, pp. 7-20.

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

The authors, respectively, write that presidential transitions are replete with dangers and missteps that blindside even the most experienced practitioners, but they are also times of opportunity. "The end of the Cold War has changed the nature of the challenges, but the two-and-a-half-month transition that will take place at the end of this year poses even greater challenges than in the past. Although each transition is unique, the next president and his team need to understand the lessons of the past if he is to take advantage of the great opportunities for new U.S. leadership and avoid the landmines that lie ahead. Grave national security challenges during times of presidential transition are hardly new; selecting key personnel is further complicated by the sheer number of appointments that must be made as a result of the widening scope of national security issues. Although cabinet officials are almost always named and confirmed by the first day in office, cumbersome vetting procedures and congressional overload can cause second- and third-tier appointments to languish for months, producing systemic uncertainty and wedging open a dangerous window of vulnerability." *Kurt Campbell is CEO of the Center for a New American Security (CNAS) and chairman of The Washington Quarterly's editorial board. James B. Steinberg is dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs in Austin, Texas, and was deputy national security adviser from 1996 to 2001. He is also a member of TWQ's editorial board.*

THE NEXT PRESIDENT: MASTERING A DAUNTING AGENDA

Holbrooke, Richard. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2008.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080901faessay87501/richard-holbrooke/the-next-president.html>

"The next U.S. president will inherit a more difficult set of international challenges than any predecessor since World War II. He will have to reshape policies on the widest imaginable range of challenges, domestic and international. He will need to rebuild productive working relationships with friends and allies. He must revitalize a flagging economy; tame a budget awash in red ink; reduce energy dependence and turn the corner on the truly existential issue of climate change; tackle the growing danger of nuclear proliferation; improve the defense of the homeland against global terrorists while putting more pressure on al Qaeda, especially in Pakistan; and, of course, manage two wars simultaneously." *Richard Holbrooke was U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations from 1999 to 2001. He is currently Chair of Asia Society.*

RESTORING AMERICA'S IMAGE: WHAT THE NEXT PRESIDENT CAN DO

Reiss, Mitchell B. *Survival*. October 2008, pp. 99-114.

America's image in the world today is not all that it should be. Blame for this is most often assigned to President George W. Bush, but greater responsibility rests with deeper changes in the international system: the resentment (and fear) caused by the preponderance of American power, the loosening of alliances after the demise of the Soviet Union, a fundamental rethinking of the laws of war and peace in an age of terror, the co-branding of the United States with the forces of modernity and globalisation, and a demographic change that has sidelined the post-Second World

War generation with their historical memories of American bravery and generosity. The next US president can start to restore America's image by setting a new tone, adroitly managing the US presence in the Persian Gulf and adopting new policies on climate change, immigration, world trade, and Guantanamo Bay. Even so, resurrecting America's image will be a slow, long-term process. *Mitchell B. Reiss is Vice Provost for International Affairs at the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia. From 2003 to 2005, he was Director of Policy Planning at the State Department. He was a senior foreign-policy adviser for Governor Mitt Romney's 2008 campaign for the Republican presidential nomination.*

STRATEGIC COLLABORATION: HOW THE UNITED STATES CAN THRIVE AS OTHER POWERS RISE

Hachigian, Nina; Sutphen, Mona. *The Washington Quarterly*. Autumn 2008, pp. 43-57.

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

"The authors note that calling for a new G-13 forum would be a bold and useful step that the next president could take. The new president will face a radically different world than the one that George W. Bush inherited -- beyond instability in the Middle East, several major new world powers have emerged. This strategic environment is unlike any the United States has ever encountered. The authors argue that, instead of regarding the emergence of China, India and Russia as a threat to American prominence, the next administration must harness the power of these new players, particularly through a new forum that can tackle the greatest threats to contemporary global security. They note that this new world is shaped by technology, rather than ideology, and allows money, goods, and people to cross borders. By the same token, infectious diseases can spread with similar ease, and technology has empowered rogue states and terrorist groups. In this new era, the authors note, the greatest threats to the peace and prosperity that the international community desires does not emanate from other strong powers but from these "technologically empowered forces of chaos -- the rotten fruit of globalization." *Nina Hachigian is a senior fellow at the California office of the Center for American Progress. Mona Sutphen is a managing director at Stonebridge International LLC, a Washington-based international business consulting firm.*

GLOBALIZATION, AMERICAN POWER, AND INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Kirshner, Jonathan. *Political Science Quarterly*. Fall 2008, pp. 363-390.

The author considers the consequences of globalization for American power and international conflict more generally. He argues that the processes of globalization are affecting the balance of power between states and creating new axes of international conflict. He posits that even though the United States is advantaged by globalization, the process also challenges some of its own interests. "This paper proceeds in three principal parts. First, it addresses the political context of globalization (especially the role of unipolarity and U.S. power), and then considers three broad ways in which security can be affected by globalization. Second, considers the processes of globalization, and how they can affect state capacity, the balance of power, and the nature of conflict. A third section considers the consequences of these changes for American power and international conflict more generally." *Jonathan Kirshner is professor of government and Director of the Peace Studies Program at Cornell University. He is the author, most recently, of Appeasing Bankers: Financial Caution on the Road to War."*

THE SEPTEMBER 12 PARADIGM: AMERICA, THE WORLD, AND GEORGE W. BUSH

Kagan, Robert. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2008, pp. 25-39.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20080901faessay87502-p0/robert-kagan/the-september-12-paradigm.html>

"Future presidents should not shy away from using U.S. power to promote American values. September 11 changed a presidential administration once leery of "nation building," into an activist for democracy, achieving minimal results while accelerating growing ambiguity from Europe. The United States and other democratic nations share a common aspiration for a liberal international order, argues the author, which is increasingly coming under pressure from both "great-power autocracies" and "radical Islamic terrorism." In the face of these challenges, "a return to realism" is as important as ever, and all sides must come together to offer both words and actions in democracy's defense." *Robert Kagan is a Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the author of The Return of History and the End of Dreams.*

MAKING INTERVENTION WORK: IMPROVING THE UN'S ABILITY TO ACT

Abramowitz, Morton; Pickering, Thomas. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2008, pp. 100-109.

"The United Nations must streamline its decision-making process, if the organization ever hopes to transform its ideals into actions, argue two former U.S. ambassadors. Grave crises in Burma and Sudan show that authoritarian leaders do not respond to international condemnation and that sanctions often have little impact on regime leaders. The authors point to UN reform reports underlining the importance of creating a UN "rapid reaction force," closer coordination with nongovernmental humanitarian organizations, and more robust UN diplomacy. But while institutional change is essential, so too will be the daunting challenges of convincing China and Russia -- as well as skeptical legislators -- in the United States and Europe to take action." *Morton Abramowitz is a Senior Fellow at the Century Foundation and former U.S. Ambassador to Thailand and Turkey. Thomas Pickering is Vice Chair of Hills & Company and has served as U.S. Ambassador to six countries and the United Nations.*

ALIGNING "SOFT" WITH "HARD" POWER

Fore, Henrietta H. *Parameters*. Summer 2008.

<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters/08summer/fore.htm>

Fore provides readers with an insightful look at her agency's attempts to align "soft" and "hard" power in today's challenging security environment. The article addresses the importance of collaboration between American development agencies and the US military as it relates to the role of "development" in achieving national security objectives. The author highlights how security has evolved and influenced the agency's ability to accomplish its mission in the fragile and failed states around the globe. This security perspective has led to the organization of several new offices and innovative methodologies for conducting business within and outside the agency. Perhaps one of the most critical of these new initiatives is USAID's support and membership on Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Iraq and Afghanistan. USAID has become a leader in the rigorous training program for interagency

personnel being assigned to PRTs. The Administrator provides the reader with insight into an ever-growing number of projects, programs, and organizations designed to bridge the culture gap between the military and civilian worlds. Ms. Fore concludes with a vision challenging the military and the nation's chief development agency to maintain and enhance this essential partnership. *Henrietta H. Fore has been Administrator of the US Agency for International Development since November 2007. She previously served as Under Secretary of State for Management and Director of the United States Mint in the Department of the Treasury.*

THE TYRANNY OF FALSE VISION: AMERICA'S UNIPOLAR FANTASY

Calleo, David P. Survival. October/November 2008, pp.61-78.

"For the past two decades, the American political imagination has been possessed by a hazardous geopolitical vision; the United States is defined as the dominant power in a closely integrated and 'unipolar' international system. A century of history has done much to encourage this view. Americans have trouble realising how revolutionary and threatening their unipolar vision can appear to others. A world system dominated by one superpower is a bold and radical program. If successful, it would mean, for the first time in modern history, a world without a general balance of power. Pursuing such a goal implies numerous confrontations with other nations. It antagonises both states that fear decline and those that anticipate improvement. Nevertheless, Americans now find it difficult to entertain any other view of the world. They have been slow to see, let alone accept, what to many others seems a more probable and desirable future – a plural world with several centers of power." *David P. Calleo is University Professor at Johns Hopkins University and is Dean Acheson Professor and Director of European Studies at its Nitze School of Advanced International Studies.*

THE FUTURE OF NORTH AMERICA: REPLACING A BAD NEIGHBOR POLICY

Pastor, Robert A. Foreign Affairs. July/August 2008, pp. 84-99.

"On January 20, 2009, if not before, a new national security adviser will tell the incoming president of the United States that the first two international visitors should be the prime minister of Canada and the president of Mexico. The importance of Canada and Mexico may, however, come as a surprise to most Americans, as well as to the new president. For most of the past decade, Canada and Mexico have been the United States' most important trading partners and largest sources of energy imports. U.S. national security depends more on cooperative neighbors and secure borders than it does on defeating militias in Basra." *Robert A. Pastor is a Professor at and Founding Director of the Center for North American Studies at American University.*

ROGUE OPERATORS

Byman, Daniel. National Interest. July/August 2008, pp. 52-59.

<http://www.nationalinterest.org/Article.aspx?id=18750>

According to Byman, the terrorist threats the U.S. faces are hard to categorize -- they are neither traditional terrorist groups nor state sponsors. The author notes that the real problem is that "weaknesses within states and their governments' desires to bolster their security often result in an inability to rein in societies' darkest undercurrents." Despite all the talk about non-state actors or networked organizations, states are still at the core of the war on terror; frequently, the

problem is passivity or lack of action on the part of governments. Some examples Byman cites of efforts that have backfired are Saudi Arabia's funding of extremist religious institutions; Pakistan's support of the Taliban; Iran funding groups that ended up battling its own favored proxies in Iraq; and jihadist fighters from Yemen returning to Iraq after being arrested and "reeducated". Byman argues that the U.S. has to accept that "state sponsorship" can often be something that occurs at the substate level, and that we need to engage local bureaucracies directly. *Daniel Byman is the Director of the Center for Peace and Security Studies at Georgetown University and a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.*

LUBRICATED WITH OIL: IRAN-CHINA RELATIONS IN A CHANGING WORLD

Dorraj, Manochehr; Currier, Carrie L. *Middle East Policy*. Summer 2008.

"China and Iran are emerging powers with increasingly significant political and economic relations that have regional and global dimensions. In this article, the authors explore the historical roots, evolution and development of this relationship with a particular emphasis on the period since the Islamic revolution of 1979. Dorraj and Currier discuss several central questions. First, what are the incentives for these two otherwise ideologically opposed regimes to forge an increasingly expanding and cordial relationship--especially in the context of declining American political influence in the Middle East--and what does each side gain from this relationship? Second, how much weight is given to economic interests, especially the trade in energy, in facilitating closer relations between the two states? What are the dynamics of petropolitics in this relationship? Finally, in light of the different bilateral relationships the two countries have with the United States--China's expanding trade and political relations versus Iran's acrimonious relations--what are the limitations of their partnership? Both Iran and China's regional as well as global political ambitions pose a challenge to their bilateral relationship. Thus, we analyze a variety of circumstances under which their interests may clash, and we weigh them against the strategic objectives motivating their cooperation." *Dr. Dorraj and Dr. Currier are professors of political science at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth, Texas.*

CONSERVATIVE INTERNATIONALISM

Nau, Henry R. *Policy Review*. August/September, 2008.

<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policyreview/26105009.html>

"Since World War II international relations specialists have debated two main traditions or schools of American foreign policy, realism and liberal internationalism. Realism identifies with Richard Nixon and looks to the balance of power to defend stability among ideologically diverse nations. Liberal internationalism identifies with Franklin Roosevelt and looks to international institutions to reduce the role of the balance of power and gradually spread democracy by talk and tolerance. Generally speaking, conservatives or Republicans were considered realists — Eisenhower and Ford — while liberals or Democrats were seen as liberal internationalists — Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, and Carter. This debate broke down with Ronald Reagan. He adopted a strategy that used force or the threat of force assertively, as realists recommended, but aimed at the demise of communism and the spread of democracy, as liberal internationalists advocated. This essay argues that Ronald Reagan tapped into a new and different American foreign policy tradition that has been overlooked by scholars and pundits. That tradition is "conservative internationalism." Like realism and liberal internationalism, it has deep historical roots. Just as realism takes inspiration from Alexander Hamilton and Teddy

Roosevelt and liberal internationalism identifies with Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, conservative internationalism draws historical validation from Thomas Jefferson, James K. Polk, Harry Truman, and Ronald Reagan." *Henry R. Nau is professor of political science and international affairs at the Elliott School of International Affairs, the George Washington University. He served in the Ford and Reagan administrations and is author, among other books, of At Home Abroad: Identity and Power in American Foreign Policy (Cornell University Press, 2002).*

THE ACCIDENTAL FOREIGN POLICY

Yglesias, Matthew. *The Atlantic*. June 2008, pp. 28-30.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200806/yglesias-obama>

The author focuses on the foreign policy views of 2008 U.S. presidential candidate Barack Obama, and on American public opinion of Obama's foreign policy views. "Obama demonstrates a new approach to foreign policy by indicating a willingness to hold direct negotiations with leaders of rogue states, commit to eventual global nuclear disarmament, balance American military priorities toward Afghanistan, soften the embargo on Cuba and widen the focus of democracy promotion to include other development goals, with the objective of more effectively preventing terrorist recruitment." *Matthew Yglesias is associate editor of the Atlantic Monthly.*

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW OF WAR AND AMERICA'S WAR ON TERRORISM

Kittrie, Nicholas. *International Journal on World Peace*. September 2008, pp. 85-106.

"The events of 9/11 perpetrated by Al Qaeda, a non-state actor, and the subsequent capture of 'terrorists' by U.S. forces and detention in Guantanamo, raises questions about how international law should function in such cases. This article examines the military rationale of the international law of war and the challenges to it by human rights organizations and the U.S. justice system. Should suspected terrorists be treated as POWs or international war criminals? Granting prisoner of war privileges to suspected belligerents in detention has been resisted, particularly for its lack of reciprocity. Current developments in international law have failed to vigorously address this situation." *Nicholas Kittrie is Distinguished University Professor at the American University School of Law and former Counsel to the United States Senate Judiciary Committee, is editor of the forthcoming The Law of War and the Law of Peace: A Documentary Sourcebook.*

ISLAMIST PARTIES: THREE KINDS OF MOVEMENTS

Cofman Wittes, Tamara. *Journal of Democracy*. July 2008, pp.9-12.

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/articles/2008/07_islamist_parties_wittes/07_islamist_parties_wittes.pdf

"Between 1991 and 2001, the world of political Islam became significantly more diverse. Today, the term "Islamist"—used to describe a political perspective centrally informed by a set of religious interpretations and commitments—can be applied to such a wide array of groups as to be almost meaningless. It encompasses everyone from the terrorists who flew planes into the World Trade Center to peacefully elected legislators in Kuwait who have voted in favor of women's suffrage. Nonetheless, the prominence of Islamist movements—legal and illegal, violent and peaceful—in the ranks of political oppositions across the Arab world makes the necessity of drawing relevant distinctions obvious. The religious discourse of the Islamists is now unavoidably central to Arab politics...Cultivating Islamist movements that embrace

democratic participation and pluralism will be an important part of successful democratization in many Arab societies— but the legitimacy of a moderate Islamist political discourse will hinge on the legitimacy of the democratization process overall." *Tamara Cofman Wittes is a senior fellow and director of the Project on Middle East Democracy and Development in the Brookings Institution's Saban Center for Middle East Policy. Her latest book is Freedom's Unsteady March: America's Role in Building Arab Democracy (2008).*

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State. September 2008.

<http://www.america.gov/publications/ejournalusa/0908.html>

More than 100 million voters are likely to cast ballots in nationwide U.S. elections November 4. But only 538 men and women will elect the next president of the United States, and those elections will take place in 50 state capitals and in Washington, D.C., December 15. This indirect election system, called the Electoral College and devised in 1787 by the framers of the Constitution, puzzles Americans and non-Americans alike. It reflects the federal governing system of allocating powers not only to a national government and to the people but also to the states. This electronic journal discusses the historical reasons for the Electoral College system and how it functions.

THE POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF OHIO, MICHIGAN, AND MISSOURI: BATTLEGROUNDS IN THE HEARTLAND

Teixeira, Ruy; Frey, William. Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution. October 10 2008. [PDF format, 60 pages]

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

This report on the political demography and geography of three Midwest states— Ohio, Michigan, and Missouri—is part of a series of reports on “purple” states in the 2008 elections. “Purple states are states where the current balance of political forces does not decisively favor one party or the other, as it does in the solid red (Republican) and blue (Democratic) states. But demographic and geographic trends are constantly testing the balance in these purple states. The three states focused on in this report are not only strongly “in play” in 2008, but they have the greatest electoral voting heft in the Midwest (aside from Illinois, the very blue state which is the home state of Democratic nominee Barak Obama). The significance of Ohio is well known, due to George W. Bush’s razor thin victory over John Kerry in 2004. But Michigan and Missouri are also seen to be “up for grabs.” As part of the Metropolitan Policy Program’s Blueprint for American Prosperity, this series will provide an electoral component to the initiative’s analysis of and prescriptions for bolstering the health and vitality of America’s metropolitan areas, the engines of the U.S. economy.” *Ruy Teixeira is Visiting Fellow at the Governance Studies and Metropolitan*

Policy Programs, The Brookings Institution. William H. Frey is Senior Fellow at the Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution.

STATE AND FEDERAL ELECTRONIC GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, 2008

West, Darrell M. The Brookings Institution. August 26, 2008 [PDF format, 19 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2008/0826_egovernment_west/0826_egovernment_west.pdf

This report assesses the nature of American state and federal electronic government in 2008 by examining whether e-government effectively capitalizes on the interactive features available on the World Wide Web to improve service delivery and public outreach. Although considerable progress has been made over the past decade, e-government has fallen short of its potential to transform public-sector operations. This report closes by suggesting how public officials can take maximum advantage of technology to improve government performance. *Darrell M. West is the Vice President and Director of Governance Studies at the Brookings Institution. Author of Digital Government: Technology and Public Sector Performance (Princeton University Press, 2005).*

ESTIMATES OF THE UNAUTHORIZED IMMIGRANT POPULATION RESIDING IN THE UNITED STATES: JANUARY 2007

Hoefler, Michael, et al. Office of Immigration Statistics, U.S. Department of Homeland Security. September 2008 [PDF format, 7 pages]
http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/ois_ill_pe_2007.pdf

"In summary, an estimated 11.8 million unauthorized immigrants were living in the United States in January 2007 compared to 8.5 million in 2000. Between 2000 and 2007, the unauthorized population increased 3.3 million; the annual average increase during this period was 470,000. Nearly 4.2 million (35 percent) of the total 11.8 million unauthorized residents in 2007 had entered in 2000 or later. An estimated 7.0 million (59 percent) were from Mexico."

AN OLDER AND MORE DIVERSE NATION BY MID-CENTURY

U.S. Census Bureau. August 14, 2008 [HTML format, various paging].
<http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/population/012496.html>

"The U.S. will be more racially and ethnically diverse, as well as much older, by mid-century, according to the U.S. Census Bureau. Minorities, now roughly one-third of the U.S. population, are expected to become the majority in 2042, with the country projected to be 54 percent minority in 2050. By 2023, minorities will comprise more than half of all children. In 2030, when all of the baby boomers will be 65 and older, nearly one in five U.S. residents is expected to be 65 and older. This age group is projected to increase to 88.5 million in 2050, more than doubling the number in 2008 (38.7 million). Similarly, the 85 and older population is expected to more than triple, from 5.4 million to 19 million between 2008 and 2050."

ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF IMMIGRATION: A SURVEY

Pekkala, Sari; Kerr, William R. Harvard Business School. Web posted September 2, 2008 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 37 pages]
<http://www.hbs.edu/research/pdf/09-013.pdf>

The paper surveys recent empirical studies on the economic impacts of immigration. Particular emphasis is given to the experiences of Northern Europe and Scandinavia. The survey first examines the magnitude of immigration as an economic phenomenon in various host countries. The second part deals with the assimilation of immigrant workers in host-country labor markets and the use of social benefits by immigrants. The survey then considers the effect of immigration on the labor market outcomes of natives. The paper concludes with studies of immigration's impact for the public sector of host countries. *William Kerr is an Assistant Professor at Harvard Business School. Sari Pekkala is an associate principal at the consulting firm CRA International.*

AMERICA'S DYNAMIC WORKFORCE:2008

U.S. Department of Labor. Web posted September 9, 2008 [PDF format, 70 pages]
<http://www.dol.gov/asp/media/reports/Workforce2008/ADW2008.pdf>

The report presents an overview of current conditions and notable trends affecting the American labor market and economic activity. Primary emphasis is on measures of labor market performance, employment, labor force participation, unemployment, and compensation. General measures of economic performance such as gross domestic product (GDP) and productivity growth are also described as they relate to labor market conditions and trends.

FINANCING THE U.S. HEALTH SYSTEM: ISSUES AND OPTIONS FOR CHANGE

Seshamani, Meena; Lambrew, Jeanne M.; Antos, Joseph. Bipartisan Policy Center. Web posted June 26, 2008 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 36 pages]
[http://betterhealthcaretogether.org/Library/documents/Financing%20Options%20%20\(final\).pdf](http://betterhealthcaretogether.org/Library/documents/Financing%20Options%20%20(final).pdf)

"Health reform proposals across the spectrum have included changes in how the U.S. health system is financed. The goals of such changes range from using financial incentives to promote system goals, and replacing insufficient financing mechanisms with more sustainable ones, to increasing federal subsidies for a reformed health system. The paper examines the implications of different options for financing the health system. It describes recently proposed policies, including continuing current financing and redirecting health spending to more effective uses, rolling back high-income tax cuts, modifying the current tax exclusion for health benefits, a play-or-pay model, and a value-added tax." *Meena Seshamani is a resident physician in the Department of Otolaryngology-Head and Neck Surgery at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine. Jeanne M. Lambrew is a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress and an associate professor of public affairs at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas. Joseph Antos is the Wilson H. Taylor Scholar in Health Care and Retirement Policy at AEI.*

AN ANALYSIS OF THE MCCAIN HEALTH CARE PROPOSAL

Blumberg, Linda J.; Holahan, John. The Urban Institute. September 22, 2008 [PDF format, 12 pages]
http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411755_mccain_health_proposal.pdf

"The McCain health care plan represents a philosophical advance over many proposals, principally in its commitment to redistributing the current tax exemption for employer-based health insurance. However, the plan raises more concerns than it

addresses. McCain's proposal would dramatically change how many obtain insurance, make coverage less accessible for those with health problems, have a high budget cost, but have little effect on the number uninsured. These problems could be addressed by providing a guaranteed source of adequate, affordable coverage; phasing-out the tax exemption slowly; larger subsidies to the low-income; spreading health risk broadly; and a significant commitment to cost-containment." *John Holahan is director and Linda Blumberg is a principal research associate in the Urban Institute's Health Policy Center.*

AN ANALYSIS OF THE OBAMA HEALTH CARE PROPOSAL

Blumberg, Linda J.; Holahan, John. The Urban Institute. September 22, 2008 [PDF format, 11 pages]

http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/411754_obama_health_proposal.pdf

"The Obama health care plan would greatly increase health insurance coverage, substantially increase access to affordable and adequate coverage for those with the highest health care needs, significantly increase the affordability of care for the low-income, and reduce the growth in health spending through a broad array of strategies. Despite the overall positive assessment, a few concerns remain. The plan would leave about 6 percent uninsured, necessitating the maintenance of the current inefficient safety net system; the employer mandate may engender significant political opposition; and the cost estimate may be low depending upon how several plan details are resolved." *John Holahan is director and Linda Blumberg is a principal research associate in the Urban Institute's Health Policy Center.*

U.S. METRO ECONOMIES: CURRENT AND POTENTIAL GREEN JOBS IN THE U.S. ECONOMY

United States Conference of Mayors. Web posted October 6, 2008 [PDF format, 41 pages]

<http://www.usmayors.org/pressreleases/uploads/GreenJobsReport.pdf>

According to the study, the U.S. economy currently generates more than 750,000 green jobs, a number that is projected to grow five-fold to more than 4.2 million jobs over the next three decades. The report is the first calculation of its kind to measure how many direct and indirect jobs are in the new and emerging U.S. green economy. Current green jobs are well distributed across the country. Approximately 85% are located in metropolitan areas, while the remaining ones are found in non-metro counties. Dwindling natural resources, growing global demand for energy, climate change – these issues are irrevocably altering our global economy. In this report, the U.S. Conference of Mayors examines the economic benefits of the 'Green Economy' - that part of economic activity which is devoted to the reduction of fossil fuels, the increase of energy efficiency, and the curtailment of greenhouse gas emissions.

BEST-PERFORMING CITIES 2008: WHERE AMERICA'S JOBS ARE CREATED AND SUSTAINED

DeVol, Ross et al. Milken Institute. September 2008 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 62 pages]

<http://www.milkeninstitute.org/pdf/bpc2008.pdf>

"Over the past decade, the Milken Institute has regularly analyzed U.S. metropolitan areas to determine which cities are most successful at creating and sustaining jobs. Global, national, and regional economic trends are reflected in the annual rankings,

shedding light on where businesses are thriving or struggling, and where wages are growing or lagging. In this report the authors see a continuation of trends that were already becoming evident in last year's figures, along with new developments that are affecting the outlook for communities across the country. Provo, Utah, with its high-tech status, is placed on the top and is joined by other growing technology-based and global trade centers in Utah, Texas, Washington, Alabama and the Carolinas. The rebounding technology sector boosted several newcomers to the top 10 in the annual ranking of where America's jobs are being created and sustained, and metros that are highly dependent on export-intensive industries also showed success. Several past leading cities fell due to the national decline in housing and construction markets, and metros that remain concentrated in manufacturing continue lag in the rankings with new developments that are affecting the outlook for communities across the country." *Ross C. DeVol is Director of Regional Economics at the Milken Institute.*

HIGH STAKES, MORE MEANING: AN OVERVIEW OF THE PROCESS OF REDESIGNING THE US CITIZENSHIP TEST

Migration Policy Institute. Web posted September 29, 2008 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 18 pages]

http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/BR6_NatzTest_092908.pdf

"More than a decade in the making, the redesigned citizenship test required for use after October 1, 2008 is supposed to provide a more meaningful opportunity for applicants to demonstrate knowledge about US history and civics, and allow the government more standardized test administration. The most significant change to the test is the new civics portion. As before, applicants must correctly answer six out of 10 questions drawn from a master list of 100 civics questions. However, the 100 questions have undergone a significant overhaul with new questions emphasizing core concepts of American democracy and new items about geography, Native Americans, and women."

MEDIA METRICS: THE TRUE STATE OF THE MODERN MEDIA MARKETPLACE

Thierer, Adam; Eskelsen, Grant. Progress & Freedom Foundation. Web posted July 17, 2008 [Note: contains copyrighted material][PDF format, 99 pages]

<http://www.pff.org/mediametrics/Media%20Metrics%20%5BVersion%201.0%5D.pdf>

"Debates about the state of the media marketplace continue to garner interest in Washington. Many policymakers, regulators, and consumer groups bemoan the supposed lack of "localism," ownership concentration and an absence of quality programming as a rationale to further regulate in the media sector. The report shows that, contrary to what some media critics believe, there are more media choice, competition, and diversity than ever before. The report offers a comprehensive look at a variety of media sectors such as audio, video and print, providing policymakers with a snapshot of the media sector." *Adam Thierer is a Senior Fellow and the Director of PFF's Center for Digital Media Freedom. Grant Eskelsen is a research associate at the Progress & Freedom Foundation.*

FREEDOM OF FAITH: RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State. August 2008.

<http://www.america.gov/publications/ejournalusa/0808.html>

"The principle of religious freedom is a cherished right in the United States, one that has historical roots older than the formation of the nation itself. In the 21st century, the United States pulses with a unique cultural chemistry brought on by a wave of immigration which has brought followers of more diverse faiths to many communities. This electronic journal examines how the U.S. adjusts to these demographic changes to remain true to the principles of freedom of faith."

ARTICLES

HOW OBAMA REALLY DID IT: SOCIAL TECHNOLOGY HELPED BRING HIM TO THE BRINK OF THE PRESIDENCY

Talbot, David. *Technology Review*. September/October 2008, pp. 78-83.

Talbot writes that Barack Obama "has forever changed electoral politics by making new media platforms and his own social networking site fulcra of his campaign." Jascha Franklin-Hodge, cofounder of Blue State Digital, the high-tech company working for the Obama campaign, states that the key is tightly integrating online activity with tasks people can perform in the real world -- "the core of the software is having those links to taking action." Those actions are donating money, making calls, writing letters and organizing house parties. McCain has an online campaign, but has a lot of catching up to do, according to Talbot; it needs a text messaging strategy to reach voters under age 25. Joe Trippi, who ran John Dean's campaign in 2004, states that "there won't be a campaign in 2012 that doesn't try to build a social network around it." *David Talbot is chief correspondent for Technology Review.*

RECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES

Brownstein, Ronald. *The Atlantic*. September 2008.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/doc/200809/partisanship>

"Obama and McCain both say they want to usher in a new, less divisive brand of politics. Which of them has the better chance? Is bipartisanship still possible? The public's exasperation with the escalating partisan conflict and diminishing achievement in Washington roars through this year's polls; discontent with the performance of both the president and Congress is at a record level. Both Obama and McCain have responded by centering their respective campaigns on a promise to reach across party lines and narrow the country's partisan and ideological divisions. Each says he intends to be the president of all of America, not half of it. And each says he is committed to treating his opponent and his opponent's party with respect."

THE HIDDEN HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE

Brownstein, Ronald. *National Journal*. October 18, 2008.

<http://www.nationaljournal.com/njmagazine/coverstory.php>

The author analyses the exit-poll results from five different Presidential Elections and discusses which demographic subgroups tend to swing and which ones rarely move. "The collapse of public faith in Washington and the meltdown on Wall Street are generating gales of discontent that could reconfigure each party's electoral coalition and reorder long-standing patterns of support. Democratic presidential nominee Barack Obama is seriously competing for at least 10 states that President Bush carried last time -- including two, Indiana and Virginia, that haven't voted Democratic since 1964 -- and seeking to ignite a historic surge in turnout,

particularly among young people and African-Americans. Republican presidential nominee John McCain, meanwhile, is battling these headwinds while trying to mend the GOP's frayed appeal among independent voters and restore the party's reach into states (such as Minnesota, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania) where suburban swing voters have moved toward the Democrats under Bush."

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION PROCESS IS IN NEED OF A MAJOR UPGRADE

Ornstein, Norman. *Roll Call*. October 16, 2008.

http://www.aei.org/publications/filter.all_pubID.28777/pub_detail.asp

"The most vulnerable period for the United States, even in the best of times, is the first few months of a new administration. Whether a new president replaces one of his own party or the other, the early weeks leave him and his team flying blind. The outgoing administration takes the hard drives on the computers and empties the file cabinets, with all the papers, e-mails and other information headed to the National Archives and eventually to the presidential library (or other sites for lesser administration officials)." *Norman J. Ornstein is a resident scholar at American Enterprise Institute.*

PSYCHOLOGICAL REFLECTIONS ON BARACK OBAMA AND JOHN MCCAIN: ASSESSING THE CONTOURS OF A NEW PRESIDENTIAL ADMINISTRATION

Renshon, Stanley A. *Political Science Quarterly*. Fall 2008, pp. 391-433.

http://www.psqonline.org/cgi-bin/99_article.cgi?byear=2008&bmonth=fall&a=02free&format=view

The author analyzes the probable psychological baseline contours of a Barack Obama or John McCain presidency. He explores the psychology, worldview, and approach to leadership that are likely to inform and shape the presidency of each candidate in the context of his own developmental history and the psychology of public expectations and concerns. *Stanley A. Renshon is professor of political science, Coordinator of the Interdisciplinary Program in the Psychology of Social and Political Behavior at the City University of New York Graduate Center.*

THE NEW VICE PRESIDENCY: INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICS

Edwards III, George C.; Jacobs, Lawrence R. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. September 2008, pp. 369-421.

"The purpose of this paper is to spotlight and encourage research regarding the vice presidency's electoral and institutional impacts. The year 2008 is a particularly propitious moment to expand this research agenda, for three reasons. First, presidential succession may appear especially relevant. Nearly one out of three vice presidents (14 of 46) has become president. Knowing more about the running mates may be particularly important in 2008 because the Republican nominee, John McCain, is a cancer survivor and would, if elected, be the oldest president sworn in to a first term. A second motivation for expanding the research is that the selection of running mates seems to offer a targeted but still critical electoral resource in 2008. The third and especially important stimulus is the emergence of the vice presidency as a critical institutional base of power and decision making. The media and other political scholars should scrutinize the electoral strengths of the running mates and their suitability to succeed the president." *George C. Edwards III is Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Jordan Chair in Presidential Studies at Texas A&M University and editor of Presidential Studies Quarterly. Lawrence R. Jacobs is the*

Walter F. and Joan Mondale Chair for Political Studies and Director of the Center for the Study of Politics and Governance in the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute and Department of Political Science at the University of Minnesota.

A LIBERAL SHOCK DOCTRINE

Perlstein, Rick. *American Prospect*. September 2008, pp. 22-24.

"The author believes that progressive political change in American history is rarely incremental. History continues to teach us that presidents have to move quickly to enact progressive reforms before the opportunities escape them. With few exceptions, most of the reforms (such as Social Security, Medicare, desegregation) that have advanced our nation's status as a modern, liberalizing social democracy were pushed through in such circumstances. The post-Civil War reconstruction of the South, the Progressive Era remaking of democratic institutions, the New Deal, and the Great Society, were all blunt shocks that required immediate decision-making, a course of action that the White House's most effective occupants have always understood. Franklin D. Roosevelt "hurled down executive orders and legislative proposals like thunderbolts" during his First Hundred Days, hardly slowing down for another four years; Lyndon Johnson, aided by sympathy generated by John F. Kennedy's death and the landslide of 1964, generated legislation at such a breakneck pace that even his aides were awestruck." *Rick Perlstein is a senior fellow at the Campaign for America's Future.*

A WIDENING GAP: REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC VIEWS ON CLIMATE CHANGE

Dunlap, Riley E.; McCright, Aaron M. *Environment*. September/October 2008, pp.26-36.

"Historically, support for environmental protection in the United States has been relatively nonpartisan. Republicans have pointed with pride to Theodore Roosevelt's crucial role in promoting the conservation of natural resources by establishing national parks and forests, and Democrats have applauded Franklin Delano Roosevelt's efforts to include conservation as part of the New Deal via the Soil Conservation Service and related programs. The situation began to change in the early 1980s, as the Reagan administration labeled environmental regulations a burden on the economy and tried to weaken them and reduce their enforcement. What had been a modest, but significant, difference in Republican and Democratic levels of pro-environmental voting in Congress since 1970 has grown over time, especially after the Republican takeover of the U.S. House of Representatives in 1994... It seems certain that regardless of who wins the upcoming presidential election, the United States will have a significantly different form of leadership on global warming than it has had under George W. Bush. How might a change in presidential leadership affect the polarization of rank-and-file Republicans and Democrats on global warming?" *Riley E. Dunlap is Regents Professor of Sociology at Oklahoma State University and Gallup Scholar for the Environment with the Gallup Organization. Aaron M. McCright is an assistant professor of sociology in Lyman Briggs College, the Department of Sociology, and the Environmental Science and Policy Program at Michigan State University.*

THE STATE OF AMERICAN FEDERALISM 2007-2008: RESURGENT STATE INFLUENCE IN THE NATIONAL POLICY PROCESS AND CONTINUED STATE POLICY INNOVATION

Dinan, John. *Publius*. Summer 2008, pp.381-415.

"States played a prominent role in policy-making in 2007-2008 in several respects. States were more successful in securing relief from federal directives regarding the National Guard, homeland security, education, and welfare than in any prior year in the Bush presidency; they were unable to fend off several new mandates, however, particularly concerning the State Children's Health insurance Program. States also continued to be the primary innovators in areas such as immigration, environmental protection, and health care, although they encountered new constraints in the form of federal court challenges and agency rulings. The Supreme Court made no notable contributions to the post-1992 decisions that initially curbed and recently deferred to federal power; however, several rulings interpreting federal statutes and reviewing state acts had important federalism implications." *John Dinan is Associate Professor at the Department of Political Science, Wake Forest University.*

STATE POLICY INNOVATION AND THE FEDERALISM IMPLICATIONS OF DIRECT DEMOCRACY

Ferraiolo, Kathleen. *Publius*. Summer 2008, pp. 488-514.

"As state policy activism has flourished in recent years, increasingly that activism has taken place through the direct democracy process. While winning ballot measures often have implications for federal--state relations, federalism issues have largely been ignored in the direct democracy literature. I address this oversight by investigating how the outcomes of direct democracy politics affect the relationships among citizens, states, and the federal government. My analysis focuses on measures proposed over the last decade that represent either a response to perceived federal inaction or a challenge to federal policy." *Kathleen Ferraiolo is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at James Madison University.*

AMERICAN MUSLIMS AND THE USE OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

Kanjwal, Hafsa. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. Summer/Fall 2008, pp. 133-139.

The author argues that one of our major challenges will be to address the growing mutual suspicion, fear, and misunderstanding between Western and Muslim societies. Cultural diplomacy should take precedence over public relations diplomacy, and the American Muslim community needs to develop a sophisticated cultural presence before it can be coherent on a civic or political level to create a cohesive and accessible American Muslim identity. There is a large percentage of Americans who are Muslim but feel they have been left out of the "core," which is often preoccupied on theological issues. Through case studies, the author highlights cultural material being produced by the American Muslim community, such as MuslimGirl Magazine, and Musa Syeed, the young American Muslim filmmaker who produced the award-winning documentary "A Son's Sacrifice." *Hafsa Kanjwal served on the board of the Muslim Students Association at Georgetown University.*

THE NEW EVANGELICALS

Fitzgerald, Frances. *New Yorker*. June 30, 2008, pp. 28-35.

There is a new movement among evangelicals that is friendly to science, environmental protection (including fighting global warming), caring for the poor,

immigration reform and humane treatment of detainees, and it is "posing the first major challenge to the religious right in a quarter of a century," writes journalist and author Frances Fitzgerald. Evangelical leaders such as Joel Hunter and Rick Warren are setting a national agenda very different from that of the fundamentalist right that had so much influence in the 2004 presidential election. The new evangelicals are theologically conservative and remain opposed to sex outside of heterosexual marriage and abortion, but "they lack the cultural attitudes descended from the fundamentalist resistance to modernist thought, such as a distrust of science, a rejection of institutional solutions to poverty." Hunter and others have been criticized, but polls show that half of all evangelicals have substantial differences with the religious right. "The younger generation, that's what's driving this thing," Hunter says. Pew polls find that while evangelicals aged 18-30 care more about abortion than their elders, they are less bothered by gay marriage, more concerned about health care and the poor, and more likely to champion environmental causes. The Democrats may pick up more evangelical votes in 2008, "but for reasons that could be circumstantial," says Fitzgerald. Polls during the primaries "showed that evangelicals were more concerned with jobs and the economy than with gay rights and abortion."

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

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