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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

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[Responsible Transition: Securing U.S. Interests in Afghanistan Beyond 2011](#). Center for a New American Security. December 7, 2010: Barno, LTG David W.; Exum, Andrew.

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[Political Violence in North Africa: The Perils of Incomplete Liberalization](#). Saban Center for Middle East Policy, The Brookings Institution. January 2011: Boukhars, Anouar.

[UN Security Council Enlargement and U.S. Interests](#). The Council on Foreign Relations. December 2010: McDonald, Kara C.; Patrick, Stewart M.

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[Deradicalizing Islamist Extremists](#). Rand Corporation. December 2010: Rabasa, Angel, et. al.

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[Internet Freedom: Historic Roots and the Road Forward](#). *SAIS Review*. Summer/Fall 2010; Ross, Alec.

[Political Change in the Digital Age: The Fragility and Promise of Online Organizing](#). *SAIS Review*. Summer/Fall 2010; Etling, Bruce; Faris, Robert; Palfrey, John.

[The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, the Public Sphere, and Political Change](#). *Foreign Affairs*. January/February 2011; Shirky, Clay.

[Coping with a Conflicted China](#). *The Washington Quarterly*. Winter 2011; Shambaugh, David.

[Chinese Soft Power in Latin America: A Case Study](#). *Joint Force Quarterly*. 1st Quarter 2011; Ellis, R. Evan.

[China's Strategic Penetration of Latin America: What It Means for U.S. Interests](#). *American Foreign Policy Interests*. December 2010: Pham, J. Peter.

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[Citizen Terrorist. When Americans wage war on the United States](#). *Policy Review*. December 2010: Schuck, Peter H.

[The Web Means the End of Forgetting](#). *New York Times Magazine*. July 25, 2010: Rosen, Jeffrey T.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

[STATE OF THE UNION 2011: WINNING THE FUTURE](#)

The White House. January 25, 2011.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/01/25/remarks-president-state-union-address>

Attached are the remarks by President Obama in the State of the Union Address. "The future is ours to win. But to get there, we can't just stand still. As Robert Kennedy told us, "The future is not a gift. It is an achievement." Sustaining the American Dream has never been about standing pat. It has required each generation to sacrifice, and struggle, and meet the demands of a new age. And now it's our turn. We know what it takes to compete for the jobs and industries of our time. We need to out-innovate, out-educate, and out-build the rest of the world. We have to make America the best place on Earth to do business. We need to take responsibility for our deficit and reform our government. That's how our people will prosper. That's how we'll win the future... Our success in this new and changing world will require reform, responsibility, and innovation. It will also require us to approach that world with a new level of engagement in our foreign affairs. Just as jobs and businesses can now race across borders, so can new threats and new challenges. No single wall separates East and West. No one rival superpower is aligned against us. And so we must defeat determined enemies, wherever they are, and build coalitions that cut across lines of region and race and religion. And America's moral example must always shine for all who yearn for freedom and justice and dignity. And because we've begun this work, tonight we can say that American leadership has been renewed and America's standing has been restored."

[OVERVIEW OF THE AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN ANNUAL REVIEW](#)

The White House. December 16, 2010.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2010/12/16/overview-afghanistan-and-pakistan-annual-review>

"The core goal of the U.S. strategy in the Afghanistan and Pakistan theater remains to disrupt, dismantle, and eventually defeat al-Qa'ida in the region and to prevent its return to either country. Specific components of our strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan are working well and there are notable operational gains. Most important, al-Qa'ida's senior leadership in Pakistan is weaker and under more sustained pressure than at any other point since it fled Afghanistan in 2001. In Pakistan, we are laying the foundation for a strategic partnership based on mutual respect and trust, through increased dialogue, improved cooperation, and enhanced exchange and assistance programs. And in Afghanistan, the momentum achieved by the Taliban in recent years has been arrested in much of the country and reversed in some key areas, although these gains remain fragile and reversible... As President Obama emphasized in 2010, our civilian and military efforts must support a durable and favorable political resolution of the conflict. In 2011, we will intensify our regional diplomacy to enable a political process to promote peace and stability in Afghanistan, to include Afghan-led reconciliation, taking advantage of the momentum created by the recent security gains and the international consensus gained in Lisbon. As we shift to transition, a major challenge will be demonstrating that the Afghan government has the capacity to consolidate gains in geographic areas that have been cleared by ISAF and Afghan Security Forces."

RESPONSIBLE TRANSITION: SECURING U.S. INTERESTS IN AFGHANISTAN BEYOND 2011

Barno, LTG David W.; Exum, Andrew. Center for a New American Security. December 7, 2010 [PDF format, 44 pages]

http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS_ResponsibleTransition_BarnoExum_2.pdf

"The summer of 2011, when U.S. troops will begin to draw down in Afghanistan, will mark a watershed in the U.S. and NATO's decade-long effort in the country. A second watershed will occur in 2014 when the United States and NATO will transfer full responsibility of their efforts to Afghan leadership. But how does the United States and its allies get there from here? And what should the U.S. role be in Afghanistan beyond 2014?. This paper lays out a strategy for the post-July 2011 phase of U.S. and NATO efforts in Afghanistan, defines the U.S. troop presence and commitment beyond 2014, and offers operational and strategic guidance for protecting U.S. and allied long-term interests in Afghanistan and Pakistan." *LTG David W. Barno, USA, (Ret.) is a Senior Advisor and Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security. Andrew Exum is a Fellow at the Center for a New American Security.*

RISKING NATO: TESTING THE LIMITS OF THE ALLIANCE IN AFGHANISTAN

Hoehn, Andrew R; Harting, Sarah. Rand Corporation. December 2010 [PDF format, 109 pages]

http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG974.pdf

"NATO's success in Afghanistan — or lack thereof — will have significant implications for the alliance itself. Success could promote the image of a capable global security alliance. Failure, or even an indeterminate outcome, would cloud the alliance's own future. The authors examine the risks, commitments, and obligations of the current mission in light of NATO's history and with an eye toward the future, as well as the effects on the alliance's internal dynamics. This monograph evaluates NATO's role as an alliance, both with regard to its internal dynamics and its role in facing external security threats. It focuses on NATO's role in Afghanistan in particular and the implications that this undertaking and its results could have for the future of the alliance. The document is an outgrowth of a research project, "Risks and Rewards in U.S. Alliances." The project sought to examine pressures on alliance structures, and on U.S. allies more generally, to better understand what the United States and its key partners seek to gain from such alliances; how changing security circumstances are shaping and, in some circumstances, recasting the nature of these partnerships; and, more generally, to explore the costs and benefits of sustaining alliance relationships into the future." *Andrew R. Hoehn is Vice President of the RAND Corporation and Director of the RAND Project Air Force. (PAF) Sarah Harting is a project associate at the Rand Corporation in Washington DC.*

POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN NORTH AFRICA: THE PERILS OF INCOMPLETE LIBERALIZATION

Boukhars, Anouar. Saban Center for Middle East Policy, The Brookings Institution. January 2011 [PDF format, 43 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/01_north_africa_boukhars/01_north_africa_boukhars.pdf

"After the attacks of September 11, 2001, a growing number of analysts and policymakers drew a link between the dramatic rise of terrorism in the Middle East and the region's lack

of democracy. The question of whether levels of political rights and freedoms affect the resort to violence continues to be a source of major political debate. While some scholars insist that democracies are less likely to produce terrorist activity, due to their ability to channel grievance peacefully, others contend that regimes transitioning to democracy are highly vulnerable to destabilization. Periods of liberalization often raise citizens' expectations for freedom that regimes are unwilling or unable to meet. The resulting dissonance can fuel violent opposition. This study examines whether liberalizing regimes in the Maghreb are more or less vulnerable to the threat of political violence and terrorism than their more repressive counterparts. Do political reform processes, however limited and incomplete, boost regime legitimacy and undercut support for radical opposition forces?... This paper argues that the potential negative impacts of liberalization processes on stability stem not from the depth of political and economic reforms but rather from their limited and inconsistent nature. This unevenness is, in some sense, inevitable. It is extremely difficult for political institutions in authoritarian contexts to keep pace with popular demands. As a result, most Arab societies find themselves torn between what they are and what many expect them to become. This gap cannot be easily erased. But it can be managed." *Anouar Boukhars is assistant professor of international relations at McDaniel College in Maryland. He is the author of Politics in Morocco: Executive Monarchy and Enlightened Authoritarianism (Routledge, 2010).*

UN SECURITY COUNCIL ENLARGEMENT AND U.S. INTERESTS

McDonald, Kara C.; Patrick, Stewart M. The Council on Foreign Relations [Council Special Report #59] December 2010. [PDF format, 74 pages]

http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/UNSC_CSR59.pdf

"The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) remains an important source of legitimacy for international action. Yet despite dramatic changes in the international system over the past forty-five years, the composition of the UNSC has remained unaltered since 1965, and there are many who question how long its legitimacy will last without additional members that reflect twenty-first century realities. There is little agreement, however, as to which countries should accede to the Security Council or even by what formula aspirants should be judged. Reform advocates frequently call for equal representation for various regions of the world, but local competitors like India and Pakistan or Mexico and Brazil are unlikely to reach a compromise solution. Moreover, the UN Charter prescribes that regional parity should be, at most, a secondary issue; the ability to advocate and defend international peace and security should, it says, be the primary concern." According to this report, the issues facing the world in the twenty-first century--climate change, terrorism, economic development, nonproliferation, and more--will demand a great deal of the multilateral system. The United States will have little to gain from the dilution or rejection of UNSC authority. The authors outline sensible reforms to protect the efficiency and utility of the existing Security Council while expanding it to incorporate new global actors. *Kara C. McDonald is a Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Department of State, and currently serves as the U.S. deputy special coordinator for Haiti. Stewart M. Patrick is senior fellow and director of the International Institutions and Global Governance program at the Council on Foreign Relations.*

IRAQ'S COMING NATIONAL CHALLENGES: TRANSITION AMID UNCERTAINTY

Cordesman, Anthony H., et. al. Center for Strategic and International Studies. January 5, 2010 [PDF format, 38 pages]

http://csis.org/files/publication/110105_Iraq_1-Introduction.pdf

"While it is tempting to focus on Iraq's very real political divisions -- and its ongoing, low-level insurgency -- it is equally important for both Iraqis and the US to realize that they must take immediate steps to focus on the full range of issues that will define Iraq's future. Iraq's politics will continue to present a serious risk of instability for at least the next decade, and violent terrorist groups and other factions will remain a major problem through at least 2015. Key risks like the divisions between Sunni and Shi'ite, and Arab and Kurd, remain critical issues. So do the many tensions and rivalries between leaders and factions, and the ongoing challenge from violent Sunni and Shi'ite extremists." *Anthony H. Cordesman holds the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and acts as a national security analyst for ABC News.*

WATER AS A STRATEGIC RESOURCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Alterman, Jon; Dziuban, Michael. Center for Strategic and International Studies. December 13, 2010 [PDF format, 34 pages]

http://csis.org/files/publication/101213_Alterman_ClearGold_web.pdf

"Conventional security threats dominate public debate and government thinking, but water is the true game-changer in Middle Eastern politics. Scholarly work on water has often focused on shared rivers as a potential cause of war between countries. But countries in the Middle East have not gone to war over their rivers, and diplomats have been successful in keeping tensions to a minimum. Instead, finite supplies of underground water within national borders pose a more immediate and strategically consequential challenge. Groundwater has fed the agriculture that many regional leaders have used to cement political loyalties. Its potential exhaustion threatens existing political balances. Water is a fundamental part of the social contract in Middle Eastern countries. Along with subsidized food and fuel, governments provide cheap or even free water in order to ensure the consent of the governed. But when subsidized commodities have been cut in the Middle East, instability has often followed. Water's own role in prompting unrest has so far been relatively limited, but that record is unlikely to hold. Preventing crisis is in part a matter of continuing to ensure adequate water supply. Investment in advanced technologies for water production, treatment, and reuse is a feasible route for some countries, particularly wealthy ones. On the demand side, countries must impose comprehensive water pricing systems and offer incentives for responsible use. In all countries, it will be crucial to change the perceptions of ordinary people about water and appropriate uses for it. If water appears to be a free resource, it will continue to be treated as an inexhaustible one." *Jon b. Alterman is director and senior fellow of the Middle East Program at CSIS. He also he teaches Middle Eastern studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies and the George Washington University. Michael Dziuban is a research assistant in the Middle East Program at CSIS.*

THE MIDDLE EAST: SELECTED KEY ISSUES AND OPTIONS FOR THE 112TH CONGRESS

Addis, Casey L., et.al. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. January 3, 2011 [PDF format, 20 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/R41556.pdf>

"The Middle East presents an array of challenges to U.S. foreign policy. Although the United States maintains strong relations with several key Arab and non-Arab states such as Israel, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Turkey, other state and non-state actors, such as Iran, the Lebanese Shiite group Hezbollah in Lebanon, and the Palestinian Sunni group Hamas, are aligned against U.S. interests. The U.S. and its regional and international allies continue to work to limit the influence of these actors while advocating for economic and political reform

to address ongoing socioeconomic challenges and to promote democracy and a greater respect for human rights in the region." *Casey L. Addis is the coordinator of this CRS report and an Analyst in Middle Eastern Affairs at the Congressional Research Service.*

SECURITY IN THE INDO-PACIFIC COMMONS: TOWARD A REGIONAL STRATEGY

Auslin, Michael. American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. December 15, 2010 [PDF format, 32 pages]

<http://www.aei.org/docLib/AuslinReportWedDec152010.pdf>

"Due to its economic strength, military power, and political dynamism, the Indo-Pacific will be the world's most important region in coming decades, and its significance will be felt throughout the globe. Since the end of World War II, it has transformed itself into the world's economic powerhouse, yet has also witnessed a struggle between tides of liberalism, authoritarianism, and even totalitarianism. It remains riven by distrust, territorial disputes, ethnic tensions, and painful historical memories. The Indo-Pacific's unique geography makes the balance of regional security most vulnerable in its "commons": the open seas, air planes, and cyber networks that link the region together and to the world." *Michael Auslin is a resident scholar in foreign and defense policy studies and director of Japan studies at American Enterprise Institute. He is also a columnist for the Wall Street Journal, writing on Japanese and Asian issues.*

LATIN AMERICAN ACTION AGENDA FOR THE NEW CONGRESS

Noriega, Roger F. American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. January 2010 [PDF format, 5 pages]

<http://www.aei.org/docLib/2011-LAO-01-g.pdf>

"After years of passivity and improvisation, US policy in Latin America is dysfunctional. It must be retooled to confront grave and growing security challenges, as well as to cultivate promising economic opportunities in the region. Vigorous bipartisan oversight by the newly elected Congress will encourage the Obama administration to develop a more sensible policy toward this key region that addresses Mexico's antidrug campaign, Hugo Chávez's hostile regime, free trade with Colombia, and relations with Brazil and Cuba." *Roger F. Noriega is a former assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs (2003-2005) and a former U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States (2001-2003). He coordinates AEI's program on Latin America.*

FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS: IMPACT ON U.S. TRADE AND IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. TRADE POLICY

Cooper, William H. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. January 6, 2011 [PDF format, 18 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/155012.pdf>

"In the last few years, the United States has considered bilateral and regional free trade areas (FTAs) with a number of trading partners. Such arrangements are not new in U.S. trade. U.S. interest in bilateral and regional free trade arrangements surged, and the Bush Administration accelerated the pace of negotiations after the enactment of the Trade Promotion Authority in August 2002. U.S. participation in free trade agreements can occur only with the concurrence of the Congress. In addition, FTAs affect the U.S. economy, with the impact varying across sectors. The 112th Congress and the Obama Administration face the question of whether and when to act on three pending FTAs—with Colombia, Panama, and South Korea. Although the Bush Administration signed these agreements, it and the leaders of the 110th Congress could not reach agreement on proceeding to enact them...

FTAs could raise some important policy issues if the 112th Congress considers implementing legislation and as it monitors ongoing negotiations as part of its oversight responsibilities: Do FTAs serve or impede U.S. long-term national interests and trade policy objectives? Which type of an FTA arrangement meets U.S. national interests? What should U.S. criteria be in choosing FTA partners? Are FTAs a substitute for or a complement to U.S. commitments and interests in promoting a multilateral trading system via the World Trade Organization (WTO)? What effect will the expiration of TPA have on the future of FTAs as a trade policy strategy?." *William H. Cooper is an Specialist in International Trade and Finance at the Congressional Research Service.*

POVERTY IN NUMBERS: THE CHANGING STATE OF GLOBAL POVERTY FROM 2005 TO 2015

Chandy, Laurence; Gertz, Geoffrey. The Brookings Institution. January 2011 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 23 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/01_global_poverty_chandy/01_global_poverty_chandy.pdf

"Poverty reduction lies at the core of the global development challenge. For the international development community, this objective serves not only as a source of motivation, but as a defining theme across its work. Many of the world's most prominent aid organizations cite poverty reduction as their overarching goal. But while the common goal of poverty reduction is never disputed, we find it remarkably difficult to measure whether it is happening, and if so how fast, according to the report. "How many poor people are there in the world, and how many are there likely to be in 2015? In which countries and regions is poverty falling? How is the composition of global poverty changing and where will poverty be concentrated in the future? These are central questions for which we currently have few, if any, answers. This policy brief attempts to fill this gap by providing a best approximation in response to each of these questions, before offering policy recommendations based on these findings." *Laurence Chandy is a Fellow at the Global Economy and Development program of the Brookings Institution. Geoffrey Gertz is a Research Analyst at the same program.*

DERADICALIZING ISLAMIST EXTREMISTS

Rabasa, Angel, et. al. Rand Corporation. December 2010 [PDF format, 244 pages]

http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2010/RAND_MG1053.pdf

"Just as there are processes of radicalization, there are processes through which extremists come to renounce a radical worldview. A key question is whether the objective of these programs should be disengagement (a change in behavior) or deradicalization (a change in beliefs) of militants. Furthermore, a unique challenge posed by militant Islamist groups is that their ideology is rooted in a major world religion. This monograph analyzes individual and group deradicalization programs in the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Europe and proposes steps to accelerate these processes... Disengagement and deradicalization programs will likely remain a necessary part of larger counter-radicalization and counterterrorism strategies. However, governments cannot afford to be naive or careless when seeking to rehabilitate extremists. To succeed, deradicalization programs must be extensive efforts that include affective, pragmatic, and ideological components and considerable aftercare. Prison-based." *Angel Rabasa is a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation.*

ARTICLES

INTERNET FREEDOM: HISTORIC ROOTS AND THE ROAD FORWARD

Ross, Alec. *SAIS Review*. Summer/Fall 2010, pp. 3-15.

"This article addresses the question, "How do we protect and promote the positive social and economic benefits of network technologies that are global?" by mapping out the principles of Internet freedom—its history, contemporary context and conceptual framework—and providing an overview of how the work of the State Department can help achieve its goals. While in many regards, limits to Internet freedom have grown across the globe, the State Department has and will continue to promote freedom through diplomacy, monitoring and reporting, programming, and policy." *Alec Ross serves as Senior Advisor for Innovation in the Office of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton.*

POLITICAL CHANGE IN THE DIGITAL AGE: THE FRAGILITY AND PROMISE OF ONLINE ORGANIZING

Etling, Bruce; Faris, Robert; Palfrey, John. *SAIS Review*. Summer/Fall 2010, pp.37-49.

The authors conclude that policymakers and scholars that have been most optimistic about the impact of digital tools have over-emphasized the role of information, specifically access to alternative and independent sources of information and unfiltered access to the Internet. The authors argue, in contrast, that more attention should be paid to the means of overcoming the difficulties of online organization in the face of authoritarian governments in an increasingly digital geopolitical environment. "The Internet has an important role in increasing information sharing, access to alternative platforms, and allowing new voices to join political debates. The Internet will continue to serve these functions, even with state pushback, as activists devise ways around state online restrictions. Conditions that contribute to success are likely determined not by the given technological tool, but by human skill and facility in using the networks that are being mobilized... It is less clear how far online organizing and digital communities will be allowed to push states toward drastic political change and greater democratization, especially in states where offline restrictions to civic and political organization are severe." *Bruce Etling is the director of the Internet & Democracy Project at the Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University. Robert Faris is the research director at the Berkman Center. John Palfrey is vice dean for library and information resources at Harvard Law School, and the faculty co-director at the Berkman Center.*

THE POLITICAL POWER OF SOCIAL MEDIA: TECHNOLOGY, THE PUBLIC SPHERE, AND POLITICAL CHANGE

Shirky, Clay. *Foreign Affairs*. January/February 2011, pp.28-43.

"Discussion of the political impact of social media has focused on the power of mass protests to topple governments. In fact, social media's real potential lies in supporting civil society and the public sphere -- which will produce change over years and decades, not weeks or months. Since the rise of the Internet in the early 1990s, the world's networked population has grown from the low millions to the low billions. Over the same period, social media have become a fact of life for civil society worldwide, involving many actors -- regular citizens, activists, nongovernmental organizations, telecommunications firms, software providers, governments. This raises an obvious question for the U.S. government: How does the ubiquity of social media affect U.S. interests, and how should U.S. policy respond to it?"
Clay Shirky is Professor of New Media at New York University and the author of Cognitive Surplus: Creativity and Generosity in a Connected Age (Penguin Press, 2010)

COPING WITH A CONFLICTED CHINA

Shambaugh, David. *The Washington Quarterly*. Winter 2011, pp. 7-27.
http://www.twq.com/11winter/docs/11winter_Shambaugh.pdf

"2009-2010 will be remembered as the years in which China became difficult for the world to deal with, as Beijing exhibited increasingly tough and truculent behavior toward many of its neighbors in Asia, as well as the United States and the European Union. Even its ties in Africa and Latin America became somewhat strained, adding to its declining global image since 2007. Beijing's disturbing behavior has many observers wondering how long its new toughness will last. Is it a temporary or secular trend? If it is a longer-term and qualitative shift toward greater assertiveness and arrogance, how should other nations respond?. What the world is witnessing in China's new posture is in part the product of an ongoing intensive internal debate, and represents a current consensus among the more conservative and nationalist elements to toughen its policies and selectively throw China's weight around. Although there seems to be domestic agreement at present, China remains a deeply conflicted rising power with a series of competing international identities. Many new voices and actors are now part of an unprecedentedly complex foreign-policymaking process. Consequently, China's foreign policy often exhibits diverse and contradictory emphases. Understanding these competing identities is crucial to anticipating how Beijing's increasingly contradictory and multidimensional behavior will play out on the world stage. Each orientation carries different policy implications for the United States and other nations."
David Shambaugh is professor of political science & international affairs and director of the China Policy Program at George Washington University.

CHINESE SOFT POWER IN LATIN AMERICA: A CASE STUDY

Ellis, R. Evan. *Joint Force Quarterly*. 1st Quarter 2011, pp. 85-91.
<http://www.ndu.edu/press/chinese-soft-power-latin-america.html>

"This article examines Chinese soft power in the specific context of Latin America. The United States has long exercised significant influence in the region, while the PRC has historically been relatively absent. Nonetheless, in recent years, China's economic footprint in Latin America, and its attempts to engage the region politically, culturally, and otherwise, has expanded enormously. Understanding the nature and limits of PRC soft power in Latin America casts light on Chinese soft power in other parts of the world as well... The core of Chinese soft power in Latin America, as in the rest of the world, is the widespread perception that the PRC, because of its sustained high rates of economic growth and technology development, will present tremendous business opportunities in the future, and will be a power to be reckoned with globally. In general, this perception can be divided into seven areas: hopes for future access to Chinese markets; hopes for future Chinese

investment; influence of Chinese entities and infrastructure in Latin America; hopes for the PRC to serve as a counterweight to the United States and Western institutions; China as a development model; affinity for Chinese culture and work ethic; China as "the wave of the future." *R. Evan Ellis is an Assistant Professor of National Security Studies in the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies at the National Defense University.*

CHINA'S STRATEGIC PENETRATION OF LATIN AMERICA: WHAT IT MEANS FOR U.S. INTERESTS

Pham, J. Peter. *American Foreign Policy Interests*. December 2010, pp. 363 – 381.

"The emergence in recent years of the People's Republic of China as a significant force in Latin America and the Caribbean has clearly altered the traditional dynamic in a way that affects how the United States relates both to the region as a whole and to its individual countries. A close examination of the growing links that China has forged shows that while it is driven by the need to acquire access to stable supplies of energy and natural resources required to facilitate the country's economic development as well as to open new markets for its manufactured goods, geopolitical considerations are also at play. Among those are the desire to reduce the number of states in the region that still maintain diplomatic relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan and the promotion of a multipolar world order. It is within that context that conclusions can be drawn about both the economic impact of China's increasing presence on Latin America's development and its political and security implications for the United States. Finally, several elements are suggested for a more engaged U.S. policy going forward vis-a-vis its neighbors in Central and South America and the Caribbean." *Dr. J. Peter Pham is senior vice president of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy and the incoming editor of American Foreign Policy Interests.*

PLAN A-MINUS FOR AFGHANISTAN

O'Hanlon, Michael; Riedel, Bruce. *The Washington Quarterly*. Winter 2011, pp.123-132.
http://www.twq.com/11winter/docs/11winter_O'Hanlon_Riedel.pdf

"The strategy in Afghanistan, as outlined by President Obama in his December 2009 West Point speech and earlier March 2009 policy review, still has a good chance to succeed. Described here as Plan A, it is a relatively comprehensive counterinsurgency strategy, albeit one with a geographic focus on about one-third of Afghanistan's districts. Directed at defeating the insurgency or at least substantially weakening it, while building up Afghan institutions, it has reasonable prospects of achieving these goals well enough to hold together the Afghan state and prevent the establishment of major al Qaeda or other extremist sanctuaries on Afghan soil. Nevertheless, the strategy is not guaranteed to succeed, for reasons having little to do with its own flaws and more to do with the inherent challenge of the problem. Critics of the current strategy are right to begin a discussion of what a backup strategy, or a Plan B, might be. The most popular alternative to date emphasizes targeted counterterrorism operations, rather than comprehensive counterinsurgency—especially in the country's Pashtun south and east where the insurgencies are strongest." *Michael O'Hanlon is a Senior Fellow and director of research at The Brookings Institution and coauthor of Brookings' Afghanistan Index. Bruce Riedel is a Fellow in the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at Brookings and author of Deadly Embrace: Pakistan, America and the Future of Global Jihad (Brookings Institution Press, 2011). In 2009, he chaired President Obama's review of policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan.*

CAUGHT IN THE MUDDLE: AMERICA'S PAKISTAN STRATEGY

Staniland, Paul. *The Washington Quarterly*. Winter 2011, pp. 133-148.

http://www.twq.com/11winter/docs/11winter_Staniiland.pdf

"President Obama has placed Pakistan at the center of his administration's foreign policy agenda. Islamabad is a pivotal player in Afghanistan and its decisions will have much to do with whether and how U.S. forces can leave that country. Despite significant effort and expense, the strategy pursued by the Obama administration since the spring of 2009 has not delivered on its ambitious goals in Pakistan and the broader region. Pakistani security policy remains dominated by the military, the country's economic performance and political stability are both troubling, and the broader region has become even less secure. The United States risks becoming caught in a set of interlocking dependencies that undermine its influence—tightly linked to a troubled Karzai regime in Kabul, painfully reliant on the Pakistani army for logistics and intelligence, and reactive to an Indian security elite which expects to influence U.S. policy without providing much in return. Although there have been valuable initiatives on a variety of issues, U.S. policy toward Pakistan remains locked in an uncomfortable limbo awaiting further movement on U.S. commitments to Afghanistan, India-Pakistan relations, and domestic Pakistani politics. Washington faces a set of dilemmas: how to manage long-term goals when short-term imperatives undermine them, and how to navigate conflicting international objectives in the region. There are no easy solutions to these problems, but stasis is not a strategy." *Paul Staniland is assistant professor of political science at the University of Chicago.*

TURKEY'S EURASIAN AGENDA

Larabee, F. Stephen. *The Washington Quarterly*. Winter 2011, pp. 103-120.

http://www.twq.com/11winter/docs/11winter_Larrabee.pdf

"In the last two decades, Eurasia has emerged as an area of growing strategic importance for Turkey. Much media attention has been driven by Turkish foreign policy in the Middle East, with Turkey's rapprochement with Iran and Syria, its close ties to Hamas, and the growing strains in Ankara's relations with Israel prompting concerns in various Western capitals, including Washington, that Turkey is reorienting its ties away from the West and toward the East. Yet, Turkey has also pursued important foreign policy initiatives toward Central Asia and the Caucasus. Turkey's growing engagement with Eurasia raises important issues for U.S. policy and Turkey's relations with the West. The key question is whether Ankara's new activism in Eurasia complements, or conflicts with, Western efforts to stabilize the region. Does the intensification of Turkey's ties to Russia represent a natural attempt to exploit the new diplomatic flexibility afforded by the end of the Cold War? Or are these ties part of a new strategic realignment of Turkish foreign policy? Ankara's initiatives in Central Asia and the South Caucasus raise similar concerns: do they enhance Western efforts to strengthen the sovereignty and independence of the countries in the regions, as Turkish officials claim? Or are they part of a broader "anti-Western" reorientation of Turkish foreign policy, as some critics charge?" *F. Stephen Larrabee holds the Distinguished Chair in European Security at the RAND Corporation.*

ARAB ISLAMISTS: LOSING ON PURPOSE?

Hamid, Shadi. *Journal of Democracy*. January 2011, pp.68-80.

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/01_islamist_parties_hamid/01_islamist_parties_hamid.pdf

"In most Arab countries, Islamist groups are the only ones capable of winning free and fair elections. With secular and liberal opposition parties weak or nonexistent across much of the

region, many analysts have argued that the full inclusion of Islamist parties is critical to any meaningful process of democratization. In other words, the future of Islamist movements and the future of Arab democracy are inextricably intertwined. It will be difficult to achieve the latter without the participation of the former. Furthermore, as mainstream Islamists—defined here as those who renounce violence and commit to the democratic process—have increasingly adopted more moderate positions and policies, they have suggested a readiness to assume the responsibilities of power." *Shadi Hamid is director of research at the Brookings Doha Center and a fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.*

A THIRD WAY TO PALESTINE: FAYYADISM AND ITS DISCONTENTS

Danin, Robert M. *Foreign Affairs*. January/February 2011, pp.94-121.

<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/67025/robert-m-danin/a-third-way-to-palestine>

"This past September, as Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu sat down in Washington to dine with U.S. President Barack Obama, a barely noticed event took place in Ramallah. With little fanfare, the 13th Palestinian Authority (PA) government, headed by Salam Fayyad, issued its one-year countdown to independence. This brief and understated document is likely to prove far more significant for the future of Palestine than the White House dinner and reflects nothing short of a revolutionary new approach to Palestinian statehood. For nearly a century, "armed struggle" was the dominant leitmotif of the Palestinian nationalist movement. This strategy was supplemented and ostensibly replaced by peace negotiations after the Oslo accords of 1993. The newest approach, adopted by Prime Minister Fayyad, a U.S.-educated former International Monetary Fund (IMF) economist, signifies the rise of a third and highly pragmatic form of Palestinian nationalism. Fayyad's strategy is one of self-reliance and self-empowerment; his focus is on providing good government, economic opportunity, and law and order for the Palestinians -- and security for Israel by extension -- and so removing whatever pretexts may exist for Israel's continued occupation of the Palestinian territories." *Robert M. Danin is Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations.*

HOW DO RISING POWERS RISE?

Hart, Andrew F.; Jones, Bruce D. *Survival*. December 2010/January 2011, pp. 63-88.

<http://www.iiss.org/publications/survival/survival-2010/year-2010-issue-6/how-do-rising-powers-rise/>

"The idea that a single group of emerging powers, principally the BRIC states, are reshaping global politics is now prevalent. However, the basis of their newfound power is not well understood. Their influence is primarily a function of their regional clout, and their outsized weight in multilateral institutions; but also because the goals of US policy frequently play to emerging-power advantages. Investigation of how the emerging powers are choosing to wield this influence in the economic, financial, and security realms finds that, although they have some blocking power, the most prevalent strategies thus far have been to bargain hard to protect their own interests and national space, and to balance the growing influence of their BRIC counterparts." *Andrew F. Hart is a Research Associate at the NYU Center on International Cooperation. Bruce D. Jones is Director and Senior Fellow of the NYU Center on International Cooperation, and Senior Fellow and Director of the Managing Global Insecurity Initiative at the Brookings Institution.*

A CRISIS OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE?

Ikenberry, G. John. *Current History*. November 2010, pp. 315-321.

"The governance of the global system is at a turning point. For over half a century, the United States and its Western partners have dominated the world's governance institutions. Most of these multilateral bodies, such as the United Nations and the Bretton Woods financial institutions, were founded in the years immediately after World War II. Together this complex of institutions has provided the organizational underpinnings for a relatively stable and prosperous postwar era. Yet, despite the accomplishments of this American-led "old order," it appears to be increasingly out of sync with a world of rising states and new global challenges. Power has shifted over the past half-century. States such as China, India, and Brazil are seeking a larger role at the "high table" of global governance. At the same time, complex new issues such as climate change, terrorism, and failed states are calling out for greater cooperation. The demand for governance is growing, yet the supply of governance remains uncertain." *G. John Ikenberry is a professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton University. He is the author of the forthcoming Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order (Princeton University Press, 2011).*

THE RISE OF MUSLIM FOREIGN FIGHTERS: ISLAM AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF JIHAD

Hegghammer, Thomas. *International Security*. Winter 2010/2011, pp. 53-94.

"A salient feature of armed conflict in the Muslim world since 1980 is the involvement of so-called foreign fighters, that is, unpaid combatants with no apparent link to the conflict other than religious affinity with the Muslim side. Since 1980 between 10,000 and 30,000 such fighters have inserted themselves into conflicts from Bosnia in the west to the Philippines in the east. Foreign fighters matter because they can affect the conflicts they join, as they did in post-2003 Iraq by promoting sectarian violence and indiscriminate tactics. Perhaps more important, foreign fighter mobilizations empower transnational terrorist groups such as al-Qaida, because volunteering for war is the principal stepping-stone for individual involvement in more extreme forms of militancy. Indeed, a majority of al-Qaida operatives began their militant careers as war volunteers, and most transnational jihadi groups today are by-products of foreign fighter mobilizations. Foreign fighters are therefore key to understanding transnational Islamist militancy." *Thomas Hegghammer is a Nonresident Fellow at New York University's Center on Law and Security and a Senior Research Fellow at the Norwegian Defence Research Establishment in Oslo.*

JIHADI VIDEO IN THE 'WAR OF IDEAS'

Farwell, James P. *Survival*. December/January 2010, pp. 127-150.

"Al-Qaeda has displayed an impressive grasp of electronic media in its strategic communication for propaganda, recruitment and mobilisation. It understands that the power of modern communication lies in resonance, channelling unconscious feelings towards a message and narrative that give meaning to its messages. Its media provide visual context for these messages that appeal to the emotions for motivation and to reason for persuasion. It has shown a sophistication worthy of top US political media in driving its own political messages. They have found power in different modes and channels of communication, but video has suited the purposes of violent extremists well and would be a mistake to underestimate their ability, flexibility, imagination and effectiveness." *James P. Farwell is an expert in strategic communication and information strategy who has served as a consultant to the US Department of Defense. He has three decades' experience as a political consultant in US presidential, senate, congressional and other campaigns.*

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

FACT SHEET: OBAMA'S PLAN TO WIN THE FUTURE

Office of the Press Secretary, The White House. January 25, 2011.

<http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2011/January/20110125211851tegdirb0.1519368.html?CP.rss=true#>

"In his State of the Union, President Obama spoke of the need to maintain America's leadership in a rapidly changing world so that our economy is competitive – growing and working for all Americans. To do so, he is putting forward a plan to help the United States win the future by out-innovating, out-educating, and out-building our global competition. At the same time, the President understands the need to reform the way our government does business and take responsibility for our deficit – by investing in what makes America stronger and cutting what doesn't."

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ECONOMIC RECOVERY: SUSTAINING U.S. ECONOMIC GROWTH IN A POST-CRISIS ECONOMY

Elwell, Craig. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. December 2, 2010 [PDF format, 21 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41332.pdf>

"Evidence suggests that the process of economic recovery began in mid-2009. Real gross domestic product (GDP) has been on a positive track since then. The stock market has recovered from its lows, and employment has increased moderately. On the other hand, significant economic weakness remains evident, particularly in the labor and housing markets. There is concern that this time the U.S. economy will either not return to its pre-recession growth path but perhaps remain permanently below it, or return to the pre-crisis path but at a slower than normal pace. Problems on the supply side and the demand side of the economy may lead to a weaker than normal recovery. If the pace of private spending proves insufficient to assure a sustained recovery, would further stimulus by monetary and fiscal policy be warranted? One of the important lessons from the Great Depression is to guard against a too hasty withdrawal of fiscal and monetary stimulus in an economy

recovering from a deep decline. The removal of fiscal and monetary stimulus in 1937 is thought to have stopped a recovery and caused a slump that did not end until WWII. Opponents of further stimulus maintain that the accumulation of additional government debt would lower future economic growth, but supporters argue that additional stimulus is the appropriate near-term policy." *Craig K. Elwell is an specialist in Macroeconomic Policy at the Congressional Research Service.*

STRUCTURALLY UNBALANCED: CYCLICAL AND STRUCTURAL DEFICITS IN CALIFORNIA AND THE INTERMOUNTAIN WEST

Murray, Matthew, et.al. Brookings Mountain West in partnership with the Morrison Institute for Public Policy at Arizona State University. January 2011 [PDF format, 26 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/0105_state_budgets/0105_state_budgets.pdf

"As state legislatures reconvene this month, numerous states are contending with substantial budgetary turmoil, aggravated by the recent Great Recession and slow recovery. Such turmoil has visited substantial hardship on citizens and threatens to weaken many states' ability to provide basic services and make investments for their long-term economic vitality. This brief takes a careful look at the fiscal situation in Arizona, California, Colorado, and Nevada and examines the states' serious cyclical budget shortfalls—those resulting from the recession and its aftermath—as well as the critical longer-term structural imbalances between revenues and expenditures that have developed in Arizona, California, and, to a lesser extent, Nevada. Along these lines, the study uses a unique methodology to estimate the size of the states' structural deficits (or, in Colorado, the surplus) and explores the mix of forces, particularly the policy choices, that created them. After that, the authors highlight the dramatic impacts these states' fiscal challenges, and government responses to them, are having on service delivery as well as local governments. The brief concludes by suggesting some of the steps state policymakers must take to close their budget gaps over the short and longer term. Accompanying the brief is a special single-state drill-down on the particularly dire situation in Arizona." *Matthew Murray is Professor of Economics and Associate Director of the Center for Business & Economic Research at the University of Tennessee.*

JOB CREATION ON A BUDGET: HOW REGIONAL INDUSTRY CLUSTERS CAN ADD JOBS, BOLSTER ENTREPRENEURSHIP, AND SPARK INNOVATION

Muro, Mark; Fikri, Kenan. The Rockefeller Foundation; The Brookings Institution. January 2011 [PDF format, 12 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/0119_clusters_muro/0119_clusters_muro.pdf

"States across the country need to swiftly and cheaply reignite innovation, entrepreneurship, and job creation in their metropolitan and rural areas in order to get back on the road to prosperity. Supporting regional industry or innovation clusters—geographic concentrations of interconnected firms and supporting organizations—stands out as one low-cost means of achieving that goal. Clusters matter because these geographic concentrations of companies, suppliers, coordinating entities, and institutions like universities or community colleges unleash powerful synergies and efficiencies among member firms that have the power to markedly boost the performance of the state economy. Cluster strategies provide a direct route to economic renewal because they build on existing assets to promote growth in regions by enhancing the interactions by which firms complete transactions, share ideas, start new enterprises, and create jobs... Regional industry clusters represent a

powerful source of growth, new-firm starts, and quality jobs at a moment of economic uncertainty. However, too few states are engaged in rigorous and robust efforts to bolster these dynamic sources of regional growth. Too often, state economic policies have placed external business recruitment at the center of their efforts, not realizing that such “smokestack” or headquarters chasing is typically wasteful at a time when resources are scarce. The hard fact: No more than 2 percent of annual state job gains can be attributed to business relocations nationally while more than 95 percent comes from the expansion of existing businesses (nearly 42 percent) and the birth of new establishments (56 percent).” *Mark Muro is a Senior Fellow and Policy Director of the Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings. Kenan Fikri is a research assistant at the same program.*

IMMIGRATION POLICY AND LESS-SKILLED WORKERS IN THE UNITED STATES: REFLECTIONS ON FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR REFORM

Holzer, Harry J. Migration Policy Institute. January 2011 [PDF format, 31 pages]
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/Holzer-January2011.pdf>

This paper reviews the evidence on the effects of less-skilled immigration to the U.S., and considers the implications of this evidence for immigration reform ideas. It begins with a review of the costs of less-skilled immigration, in terms of competition to native-born American workers and fiscal costs; as well as the benefits of such immigration in the form of lower prices to consumers, higher profits for employers, and greater efficiency for the U.S. economy. The paper then reviews various reform ideas that have been proposed in Congress in recent years, and also considers a range of other ideas, that would likely raise the net benefits associated with less-skilled immigration to the U.S. *Harry J. Holzer is a professor of public policy at Georgetown University and an Institute Fellow at the Urban Institute. He served as Chief Economist of the U. S. Department of Labor during the Clinton Administration.*

MORE THAN IRCA: U.S. LEGALIZATION PROGRAMS AND THE CURRENT POLICY DEBATE

Kerwin, Donald M. Migration Policy Institute. December 2010 [PDF format, 19 pages]
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/legalization-historical.pdf>

“Although the prospects for comprehensive immigration reform have faded, policymakers in Washington will eventually need to return their attention to reform of the US immigration system and the question of how to deal with the nation’s estimated 11.1 million unauthorized immigrants. Legalization is a policy option that has been used with some regularity by governments in the United States, Europe, and elsewhere, as discussed in this Policy Brief. Although the prospects for comprehensive immigration reform have faded, policymakers in Washington will eventually need to return their attention to reform of the US immigration system and the question of how to deal with the nation’s estimated 11.1 million unauthorized immigrants. This report provides an historical overview of US legalization programs, a primer on the statutory language used to describe them, and a discussion of the current debate over legalization.” *Donald Kerwin is Vice President for Programs at the Migration Policy Institute (MPI).*

THE IMPACT OF THE GREAT RECESSION ON METROPOLITAN IMMIGRATION TRENDS

Singer, Audrey; Wilson, Jill H. The Brookings Institution. December 16, 2010 [PDF format, 11 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2010/1216_immigration_singer_wilson/1216_immigration_singer_wilson.pdf

"During 2009, the U.S. economy was in the throes of the Great Recession, and immigration had become a highly polarized topic of debate, reflected by a rise in anti-immigrant sentiment. Immigration was high prior to the Great Recession which officially commenced in December 2007. While immigration seemed to come to a standstill in 2008, an increase between 2008 and 2009 may be reflective of the first signs of the comeback of the national economy. At the very least, the demand for immigrant workers seems to have reappeared, though immigrant earnings are diminished in the post-recessionary period. Despite the national trend, metropolitan markets have experienced the recession in different ways, causing shifts in immigrant settlement patterns, at least for the time being. How has the immigrant population changed since the recession started, nationally and across metropolitan areas? How do current flows, immigrant stock and characteristics compare to the pre-recession moment? This brief analyzes immigration during the 2000s, highlighting pre- and post-recession trends for the 100 largest metropolitan areas where 85 percent of the U.S. foreign-born population lives." *Audrey Singer is a Senior Fellow at the Metropolitan Policy Program of the Brookings Institution. Jill H. Wilson is Senior Research Analyst at the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program.*

BECOMING AMERICAN: BEYOND THE MELTING POT

Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State. January 2011 [PDF format, 32 pages]
http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/ejs/en_0111_immigration.pdf

"The United States is often referred to as the "Great Melting Pot," a metaphor that connotes the blending of many cultures, languages and religions to form a single national identity. But this metaphor fails to capture the slow, complex and frequently turbulent process by which immigrants of diverse backgrounds and beliefs join U.S. society, even as they transform it. Debate — even rancor — over immigration is neither new nor uncommon in U.S. history. Immigration is both an important part of our national identity and a source of social and political tension. Today, as during earlier periods of mass immigration to the United States, integrating newcomers into the American mainstream is a dynamic process that requires adaptation and change not only on the part of immigrants, but by receiving communities, public institutions and private entities. This issue examines how long-time residents and newcomers are learning to understand one another and live peaceably together in three U.S. communities: Marshalltown, Iowa; Beaverton, Oregon; and Louisville, Kentucky."

THE 2010 CONGRESSIONAL REAPPORTIONMENT AND LATINOS

Hugo Lopez, Mark; Taylor, Paul. Pew Hispanic Center. January 5, 2011 [PDF format, 11 pages]
<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/132.pdf>

"This report analyses the 2010 Congressional reapportionment and Latino electoral strength. The primary focus is on Latinos in states that gained or lost Congressional seats in the 2010 reapportionment. The data for this report are derived from 2010 Census

population counts for the nation and the states as published by the Census Bureau, the 2010 Congressional reapportionment, the 2009 American Community Survey, and the 2000 Census. With these reapportionment changes, Latinos likely will play a larger role in national politics in the coming decade. Two states that gained seats, Florida and Nevada, have been key swing battlegrounds in recent presidential elections (having voted for the Republican nominee in 2004 and the Democrat in 2008). In both states, Latinos are a growing share of eligible voters... No matter what happens with immigration patterns in the future, the aging of the U.S. born Latino youth bulge ensures that the electoral strength of the nation's largest minority group will continue to grow in the coming decades. And much of that growth will take place in states that have gained congressional seats and Electoral College votes." *Mark Hugo Lopez is the associate director of the Pew Hispanic Center. Paul Taylor is executive vice president of the Pew Research Center, director of the Pew Hispanic Center and director of Pew's Social & Demographic Trends project.*

NOTES ON BEHAVIORAL ECONOMICS AND LABOR MARKET POLICY

Babcock, Linda, et.al. The Brookings Institution. December 2010[PDF format, 16 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2010/1229_behavioral_econ_labor_market_policy/1229_behavioral_econ_labor_market_policy.pdf

"Recent years have been trying ones for American workers. The unemployment rate has reached double digits for the first time in over a quarter of a century. Worker compensation growth has all but stalled. The human costs of labor market turbulence have rarely been clearer, and the value of public policies, such as unemployment insurance and job training programs, that assist workers in managing that turbulence, gaining new skills, and navigating the labor market have rarely been more apparent. And, even in the best of times, the United States' labor market is a dynamic and turbulent one, with high rates of turnover (over five million separations and five million new hires in a typical month in normal times) but substantial frictions as well. As a result, labor market programs and regulations are key components of economic policy. Such policies help support the unemployed, provide education and training opportunities, and ensure the fairness, safety, and accessibility of the workplace. The challenge for policymakers is to design such policies so that they meet these goals as effectively and as efficiently as possible. In these notes, we briefly review selected topics in labor market policy through the lens of behavioral economics. We identify aspects of existing U.S. policy design that appear at odds with behavioral findings, as well as unrealized policy opportunities those findings suggest. And we make recommendations for either policy reform or further study, according to what the evidence supports." *Linda Babcock is the James M. Walton Professor of Economics at Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, PA.*

DESIGNING SOCIAL MEDIA POLICY FOR GOVERNMENT

Hrdinova, Jana; Helbig, Natalie. Brookings Institution [Issues in Technology Innovation #4] January 2011 [PDF format, 9 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/01_social_media_policy/01_social_media_policy.pdf

"The use of social media tools in government in the United States and around the world, while still relatively new, has been steadily gaining acceptance at all levels of government. Government agencies are turning to social media tools to improve the quality of services and enable greater citizen engagement. At the same time, social media present new

challenges to governments who must address resulting citizen expectations and the differences in communication culture, while navigating the blurry line between personal and professional activities. Developing a social media policy can be an important first step to navigating this new space and can ultimately serve as a key enabler for responsibly and effectively leveraging social media tools. Yet, many governments are struggling with what such a policy should encompass. To help fill this gap, the Center for Technology in Government at the University of Albany-SUNY, undertook a project designed to develop a deeper understanding of the issues surrounding the use of social media in government and to identify patterns in existing government social media policies." *Jana Hrdinová and Natalie Helbig are both program associates at the Center for Technology in Government at the University at Albany, SUNY. Natalie Helbig is also an adjunct professor at the Rockefeller College of Public Affairs and Policy.*

AMERICAN JIHADIST TERRORISM: COMBATING A COMPLEX THREAT

Bjelopera, Jerome P.; Randol, Mark A. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. December 7, 2010 [PDF format, 135 pages]
<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/153298.pdf>

"This report describes homegrown violent jihadists and the plots and attacks that have occurred since 9/11. "Homegrown" and "domestic" are terms that describe terrorist activity or plots perpetrated within the United States or abroad by American citizens, legal permanent residents, or visitors radicalized largely within the United States. The report also discusses the radicalization process and the forces driving violent extremist activity. It analyzes post-9/11 domestic jihadist terrorism and describes law enforcement and intelligence efforts to combat terrorism and the challenges associated with those efforts. It also outlines actions underway to build trust and partnership between community groups and government agencies and the tensions that may occur between law enforcement and engagement activities. One appendix provides details about each of the post-9/11 homegrown jihadist terrorist plots and attacks. A second appendix describes engagement and partnership activities by federal agencies with Muslim-American communities. Finally, the report offers policy considerations for Congress." *Jerome P Bjelopera is an Analyst in Organized Crime and Terrorism at the CRS. Mark A. Randol is an Specialist in Domestic Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism at the CRS.*

ARTICLES

WHAT HAPPENED TO 15 MILLION U.S. JOBS?

Tankersley, Jim. *National Journal*. January 21, 2011.

"America's jobs crisis began a decade ago. Long before the housing bubble burst and Wall Street melted down, something in our national job-creation machine went horribly wrong. The years between the brief 2001 recession and the 2008 financial collapse gave us solid growth in our gross national product, soaring corporate profits, and a low unemployment rate—but job creation lagged stubbornly behind, more so than in any economic expansion since World War II. The Great Recession wiped out what amounts to every U.S. job created in the 21st century. But even if the recession had never happened, if the economy had simply treaded water, the United States would have entered 2010 with *15 million* fewer jobs than economists say it should have. Somehow, rapid advancements in technology and the opening of new international markets paid dividends for American companies but not for American workers. An economy that long thrived on its dynamism, shedding jobs in

outdated and less competitive industries and adding them in innovative new fields, fell stagnant in the swirls of the most globalized decade of commerce in human history." *Jim Tankersley is the economics correspondent for National Journal.*

ACTIVIST FISCAL POLICY

Auerbach, Alan J.; Gale, William G.; Harris, Benjamin. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Fall 2010, pp. 141-164

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/articles/2010/12_activist_fiscal_auerbach_gale_harris/12_activist_fiscal_auerbach_gale_harris.pdf

"During and after the "Great Recession" that began in December 2007 (according to the Business Cycle Dating Committee at the National Bureau of Economic Research), the U.S. federal government enacted several rounds of activist fiscal policy. These began early in the recession with temporary tax cuts enacted in February 2008, followed by a tax credit for first-time homebuyers enacted in July 2008. They reached a crescendo in February 2009 with the American Recovery and Reinvestment Tax Act (ARRA): a combination of tax cuts, transfers to individuals and states, and government purchases estimated to increase budget deficits by a cumulative amount equal to 5.5 percent of one year's GDP." The authors review the recent evolution of thinking and evidence regarding the effectiveness of activist fiscal policy. Although fiscal interventions aimed at stimulating and stabilizing the economy have returned to common use, their efficacy remains controversial. We review the debate about the traditional types of fiscal policy interventions, such as broad-based tax cuts and spending increases, as well as more targeted policies. We conclude that while there have certainly been some improvements in estimates of the effects of broad-based policies, much of what has been learned recently concerns how such multipliers might vary with respect to economic conditions, such as the credit market disruptions and very low interest rates that were central features of the Great Recession. The eclectic and innovative interventions by the Federal Reserve and other central banks during this period highlight the imprecise divisions between monetary and fiscal policy and the many channels through which fiscal policies can be implemented." *Alan J. Auerbach is the Robert D. Burch Professor of Economics and Law at the University of California, Berkeley. William G. Gale is the Arjay and Frances Miller Chair in Federal Economic Policy, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C. Benjamin H. Harris is Senior Research Associate at the Economic Studies Program of The Brookings Institution.*

NO-COST STIMULUS

Litan, Robert E. *The American Interest*. January/February 2011.

<http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=913>

"As the U.S. economy struggles to recover from the deepest economic downturn since the Great Depression, the debate over how to move forward has focused until quite recently on the traditional levers of fiscal and monetary policy. There is, however, no longer much room to pull on either one of them. The huge Federal deficit is constraining the ability to enact additional fiscal stimulus measures, and the record expansion of the Federal Reserve's balance sheet and near-zero real interest rates mean that it has done about as much as it can to boost job growth without unduly risking significant future inflation. We are left with two choices: Either we wait for the economy to somehow heal its own wounds, as it has done many times before, or we stimulate innovation through programs focused on encouraging entrepreneurship to meet a host of serious long-term needs: a greener economy, a more efficient health care system, better schools, and more. Taking action to

stimulate innovation is by far the wiser course of action, but for political and other reasons the Federal government's record in supporting innovation is, to be generous, fitful." *Robert E. Litan is vice president for research and policy at the Kauffman Foundation. This article is adapted from his testimony prepared for the Joint Economic Committee, June 29, 2010.*

THE SOCIAL SECURITY CHALLENGE

Blahous, Charles. *Policy Review*. December 2010.

<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/57976>

"Social security presents President Obama and Congress with a daunting policy challenge. The program currently faces both worsened near-term finances and a large long-term deficit. There is good reason to enact a correction soon, for solutions become less palatable with each year of delay. Americans care deeply about Social Security, which is possibly the nation's most cherished domestic program. One might naively assume that political rewards would accrue to elected officials who accept responsibility — and credit — for strengthening the program's finances. But policy makers face a further challenge, in that not only are Americans sharply divided about Social Security policy choices, but they are divided even about the underlying facts and the problem to be solved. Despite years of bipartisan efforts to objectively define and quantify the Social Security financing challenge, consensus agreement even on basic factual predicates remains elusive. An equitable solution will be unobtainable unless elected leaders bring stakeholders together around a common understanding of the facts and the need to take reformative action. *Charles Blahous serves as one of two public trustees for the Social Security and Medicare programs and is also a research fellow at the Hoover Institution. He previously served as executive director of the President's Commission to Strengthen Social Security.*

OBAMA: TRIANGULATION 2.0?

Berman, Ari. *The Nation*. February 7, 2011.

<http://www.thenation.com/article/157902/obama-triangulation-20?page=0,0>

"Immediately following the Democrats' 2010 electoral shellacking, a broad spectrum of pundits urged President Obama to "pull a Clinton," in the words of *Politico*: move to the center (as if he wasn't already there), find common ground with the GOP and adopt the "triangulation" strategy employed by Bill Clinton after the Democratic setback in the 1994 midterms. "Is 'triangulation' just another word for the politics of the possible?" asked the *New York Times*. "Can Obama do a Clinton?" seconded *The Economist*. And so on. The Obama administration, emphatic in charting its own course, quickly took issue with the comparison. According to the *Times*, Obama went so far as to ban the word "triangulation" inside the White House. *Politico* called the phrase "the dirtiest word in politics." *Ari Berman is a contributing writer for The Nation magazine. He is also a frequent guest and political commentator on MSNBC, C-Span and NPR.*

DEMOGRAPHY VS. GEOGRAPHY: UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICAL FUTURE

Kotkin, Joel. *The American*. December 8, 2010.

<http://www.american.com/archive/2010/december/demography-versus-geography>

"Demography favors Democrats, as the influence of Latinos and millennials grows. Geography favors the GOP, as the fastest-growing states are solid red. A look at America's political horizon. In the crushing wave that flattened much of the Democratic Party last

month, two left-leaning states survived not only intact but in some ways bluer than before. New York and California, long-time rivals for supremacy, may both have seen better days; but for Democrats, at least, the prospects there seem better than ever. That these two states became such outliers from the rest of the United States reflects both changing economics and demographics. Over the past decade, New York and California underperformed in terms of job creation across a broad array of industries. Although still great repositories of wealth, their dominant metropolitan areas increasingly bifurcated between the affluent and poor. The middle class continues to ebb away for more opportune climes." *Joel Kotkin is a Distinguished Presidential Fellow in Urban Futures at Chapman University and an adjunct fellow with the Legatum Institute in London.*

CONSERVATIVES AND AMERICAN POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Glenn, Brian J. *Political Science Quarterly*. Winter 2011, pp.611-638.

The author explores how conservatism has impacted the growth of the American state since the New Deal and also how the growth of the American state has influenced conservatism. He finds that in many instances, conservatives have moved beyond mere obstructionism and that a new form of modern conservatism has conceded the goals of liberalism. The author analyses three chronological sets of case studies, one on Social Security under the New Deal, the second covering education and environmental policy in the 1960s and 70s, and a third on Social Security and education policy in the 1990s. "These short but hopefully rich cases will help contextualize the analysis for the reader, providing concrete material with which to work. Each case will help us analyze the position of conservatism through the perspectives of the coalitions that existed (or did not), the kinds of arguments conservatives were able to forward to counter liberalism, and the organizational capacity they had at their disposal." *Brian J. Glenn is an assistant research professor at Suffolk University and a research fellow at the Insurance Law Center, University of Connecticut School of Law.*

THE KIDS ARE NOT ALRIGHT

Rebell, Michael A. *The American Interest*. January/February 2011, pp.79-87.

<http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=912>

"During the 2009–10 school year, 20,000 teachers in California were laid off; Hawaiian students had Friday classes cancelled for 17 weeks in a row; bilingual services in Illinois were cut 25 percent; and New York City reduced funding for after-school programs by 50 percent. These kinds of unplanned, across-the-board emergency cuts in educational services undeniably undermine learning and permanently damage the life chances of vulnerable students, especially those from poor and minority communities... Cutbacks in critical educational services are accelerating this year and are likely to do so for the foreseeable future. Most states project mounting deficits that will keep state budgets under severe stress for years to come. The National Conference on State Legislatures sees a "foreboding future", extending at a minimum through FY 2012 or 2013 and perhaps far longer. They estimate the states' collective budget gap for FY 2011 at \$89 billion and project gaps almost as large for the following two years. The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009, which gave priority to the educational sector in distributing Federal stimulus funds, has mitigated the impact of the states' funding crisis on educational services for the past two years. However, the stimulus money is almost gone, and the limited allotments in the jobs bill approved by Congress in August 2010 barely stem the tide of mounting state deficits and their deleterious effects on educational opportunity." *Michael A. Rebell is the executive director of the Campaign for Educational Equity at Teachers College, Columbia University.*

CITIZEN TERRORIST. WHEN AMERICANS WAGE WAR ON THE UNITED STATES

Schuck, Peter H. *Policy Review*. December 2010.

<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/58011>

"Americans are accustomed to thinking of terrorists as foreigners, typically from the Mideast or Afpak region. Probability, not xenophobia, underlies this belief, given the backgrounds of known terrorists and the hundreds of millions of people around the world who despise America's liberal culture, support for Israel, religious diversity, and much else. Those who wish to destroy American power, institutions, and ways of life tend to fit the stereotype. But not all terrorists come the Mideast or from abroad. Just since early May, three American citizens have been arrested in connection with bomb plots — Faisal Shahzad, for the Times Square attempt, and the other two for international jihadist activities. These three Americans, of course, are not the first to be prosecuted for such crimes. Jose Padilla's dirty bomb plot and Timothy McVeigh's mass murder in Oklahoma City are some earlier examples of acts of terrorism perpetrated by treacherous Americans on American soil. And to further complicate things, an American citizen, Anwar al-Awlaki — who is apparently orchestrating al Qaeda efforts from his haven in Yemen, including some of the citizen-conducted attacks inside the U.S. — is being openly targeted for assassination by the cia and the military. Needless to say, an executive branch decision to kill an American citizen without a trial raises extraordinary legal, political, institutional, and moral questions, particularly in the context of a war without determinate battlefields, opposing forces, duration, or clear goals." *Peter H. Schuck is the Simeon E. Baldwin Professor Emeritus of Law at Yale University.*

THE WEB MEANS THE END OF FORGETTING

Rosen, Jeffrey T. *New York Times Magazine*. July 25, 2010.

http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/25/magazine/25privacy-t2.html?_r=1

The author technologists and cyberthinkers are wrestling with the first great existential crisis of the digital age -- the impossibility of erasing your posted past. "For most users, this includes regrettable activities or photographs posted on sites such as Facebook and MySpace that are now an embarrassment, best left forgotten. But how to do this? Cyberlaw expert Jonathan Zittrain believes that the law should permit people to declare 'reputation bankruptcy' every decade or so, wiping out certain categories of personal information online, especially if it can be viewed by future employers and groups with whom an individual may later have to connect. One solution comes from the University of Washington which is developing a technology called Vanish that makes electronic data, such as e-mail messages and photos and text posted on the Web, 'self-destruct' after a specified period of time." *Jeffrey Rosen, a law professor at George Washington University, is a frequent contributor to the New York Times Magazine.*