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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

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ARTICLES

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[A World of Our Making.](#) Ikenberry, G. John. *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*. Summer 2011.

[Does Obama Have a Grand Strategy? Why We Need Doctrines in Uncertain Times.](#) Drezner, Daniel W. *Foreign Affairs*. July 2011.

[The Arab Revolutions for Dignity.](#) Boukhars, Anouar. *American Foreign Policy Interests*. March/April 2011.

[Why Middle East Studies Missed the Arab Spring.](#) Gause III, F. Gregory. *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2011.

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[Mexican and Central American Immigrants in the United States.](#) Brick, Kate. Migration Policy Institute. June 2011.

[U.S. Hispanic Country-of-Origin Counts for Nation, Top 30 Metropolitan Areas.](#) Lopez, Mark Hugo; Dockterman, Daniel. Pew Hispanic Center. May 26, 2011.

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[Freedom in the 50 States: An Index of Personal and Economic Freedom.](#) Sorens, Jason; Ruger, William. Mercatus Center, George Mason University. June 7, 2011.

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[Social Networking Sites and our Lives.](#) Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project. June 16, 2011.

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[How Health Care Can Save or Sink America: The Case for Reform and Fiscal Sustainability.](#) Orszag, Peter R. *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2011.

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[GOP 2012 Update: The Big Tease.](#) Sabato, Larry J.; Kondik, Kyle. *Sabato's Crystall Ball*. June 9, 2011.

[My Life as an Undocumented Immigrant: A Reporter Talks about his Illegal American Dream.](#) Vargas, Jose Antonio. *New York Times Magazine*. June 22, 2011.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

NATIONAL STRATEGY FOR COUNTERTERRORISM

The White House. June 2011 [PDF format, 26 pages]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/counterterrorism_strategy.pdf

“Rather than defining our entire national security policy, this counterterrorism strategy is one part of President Obama’s larger National Security Strategy, which seeks to advance our enduring national security interests, including our security, prosperity, respect for universal values and global cooperation to meet global challenges. This Strategy builds upon the progress we have made in the decade since 9/11, in partnership with Congress, to build our counterterrorism and homeland security capacity as a nation. It neither represents a wholesale overhaul—nor a wholesale retention—of previous policies and strategies. This National Strategy for Counterterrorism articulates our government’s approach to countering terrorism and identifies the range of tools critical to this Strategy’s success. This Strategy builds on groundwork laid by previous strategies and many aspects of the United States Government’s enduring approach to countering terrorism. At the same time, it outlines an approach that is more focused and specific than were previous strategies. U.S. CT efforts require a multidepartmental and multinational effort that goes beyond traditional intelligence, military, and law enforcement functions. We are engaged in a broad, sustained,

and integrated campaign that harnesses every tool of American power—military, civilian, and the power of our values—together with the concerted efforts of allies, partners, and multilateral institutions. These efforts must also be complemented by broader capabilities, such as diplomacy, development, strategic communications, and the power of the private sector.”

THE 2011 GLOBAL TRAFFICKING IN PERSONS REPORT

Office To Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons, U.S. Department of State. June 27, 2011.

<http://www.state.gov/g/tip/rls/tiprpt/2011/index.htm>

“The Trafficking in Persons report is the most comprehensive worldwide report on the efforts of governments to combat severe forms of trafficking in persons. Its findings will raise global awareness and spur countries to take effective actions to counter trafficking in persons. The annual report serves as the primary diplomatic tool through which the U.S. Government encourages partnership and increased determination in the fight against forced labor, sexual exploitation, and modern-day slavery. This year the report includes more than 180 narratives that assess governments on their efforts to combat trafficking in persons. In keeping with the language and values of the UN Trafficking Protocol, which seek to guarantee prevention, prosecution, and protection for the maximum number of victims, the United States defines trafficking in persons to include all of the conduct involved in forced labor as well as the trafficking of adults and children for commercial sexual exploitation.”

EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN ENERGY: DEVELOPING CAPABILITIES FOR SECURITY AND PROSPERITY

Testimony by Richard Morningstar Before the Subcommittee on Europe and Eurasia of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. June 2, 2011.

<http://www.state.gov/s/eee/rmk/164833.htm>

Richard Morningstar, Special Envoy for Eurasian Energy of the U.S. Department of State, stated that “There are three main components of our Eurasian energy strategy. First, we want to encourage the development of new oil and gas resources and also promote efficiency and conservation in the use of all energy resources. Because there is a world market for oil, new production contributes to meeting growing demand anywhere in the world, including in the United States. Second, we want to assist Europe in its quest for energy security. With the combination of goods and services, the EU27 and the U.S. account for the largest bilateral trade and investment relationship in the world. Europe is our partner on any number of global issues from Afghanistan to Libya to the Middle East, from human rights to free trade. We have an interest in an economically strong Europe. Third, we want to help Caspian and Central Asian countries find new routes to market. We want to help foster economic growth and prosperity in these countries. By expanding export routes, they can increase competition for their resources, demand a fair price, and create strong links to the global economy. These countries should also be able to make their own independent choices regarding how they deal with energy resources.”

GLOBAL FORECAST 2011: INTERNATIONAL SECURITY IN A TIME OF UNCERTAINTY

Center for International and Strategic Studies. June 2011 [PDF format, 96 pages]

http://csis.org/files/publication/110610_Cohen_GlobalForecast2011.pdf

This paper “is an effort to capture CSIS’s collective wisdom of the changing international security picture at this moment of great fluctuation. Authors were asked to write short essays on topics of their choosing that could speak to the newly emerging security landscape from a national, economic, regional, and global perspective. We have witnessed a number of significant challenges to international security in recent years. Some crises have arisen so quickly and with so little warning that national security professionals have had

difficulty responding in ways that maintain strategic balance. Other challenges have emerged so slowly and over such a vast scale that near-term options appear limited. How to determine in real time what is a tectonic shift and what is merely a low-magnitude tremor. How to anticipate events and set clear policy goals at a time of such dynamism?" The document is divided in four parts: (I) National Security in an Era of Contested Primacy; (II) Economic Security Three Years after the Financial Crisis; (III) Regional Security after the Arab Spring; (IV) Global Security after the Japanese Disaster".

PROMOTING GLOBAL INTERNET FREEDOM: POLICY AND TECHNOLOGY

Figliola, Patricia Moloney. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. May 26, 2011 [PDF format, 16 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/166789.pdf>

"The restriction of Internet freedom by foreign governments creates a tension between U.S. policymakers and industry. One of the most fundamental of these tensions is between the commercial needs of U.S. industry, which faces competitive and legal pressures in international markets, and the political interests of the United States, which faces other pressures (e.g., national security, global politics). This tension is complicated by the fact that many of the technologies in question may be used both for and against Internet freedom, in some cases simultaneously. This report provides information about federal and private sector efforts to promote and support global Internet freedom, a description of Internet freedom legislation from the 112th Congress, and suggestions for further reading on this topic. Two appendixes describe censorship and circumvention technologies and a third lists existing law related to global Internet freedom." *Patricia Moloney Figliola is an Specialist in Internet and Telecommunications Policy at the Congressional Research Service.*

THE CHALLENGE OF GAZA: POLICY OPTIONS AND BROADER IMPLICATIONS

Byman, Daniel L.; Goldstein, Gad. Saban Center for Middle East Policy, The Brookings Institution. July 2011 [PDF format, 47 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/07_gaza_borders_byman/07_gaza_borders_byman.pdf

"With the most recent incarnation of peace talks between the Israeli government and Palestinian Authority at a standstill, and turmoil and political change spreading throughout the Middle East and North Africa, it has become even more important for policymakers in Jerusalem and Washington to understand the factors shaping developments in Gaza. This understanding is critical for policymakers to assess options, determine the benefits and drawbacks of the alternative policies, and make strong, informed decisions... The status of the peace process has been and continues to be a fundamental factor in affecting policy toward Gaza. If the peace process is robust, Israel would likely draw down its presence in the West Bank, and the stature of President Abbas and moderate voices would rise. If there is no prospect of a peace deal, many Palestinians would question the legitimacy of those who champion talks. The relationship that has developed between Tehran and Hamas has had a considerable influence on developments in Gaza. Hamas has turned to Iran in part due to the isolation and financial crisis it faces, and Iran has looked to Hamas as an ally it can cultivate against Israel and use as a bridge to the broader Arab and Sunni world. The danger for Israel is that Iran's growing influence is a force against Hamas's moderation. At the same time, the attitudes of U.S. allies shape events in Gaza; Hamas has made progress in terms of public opinion in Europe, and has improved ties with Russia and Turkey." *Daniel Byman is Director of Research at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy of the Brookings Institution. He is also a professor in the Security Studies Program of Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Gad Goldstein was the Kreiz Visiting Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy from August 2009 to July 2010.*

THE COMING TURKISH-IRANIAN COMPETITION IN IRAQ

Kane, Sean. United States Institute of Peace. June 2011 [PDF format, 16 pages]
http://www.usip.org/files/resources/Turkish_Iranian_Competition.pdf

"This report reviews the growing competition between Turkey and Iran for influence in Iraq as the U.S. troop withdrawal proceeds. In doing so, it finds an alignment of interests between Baghdad, Ankara, and Washington, D.C., in a strong and stable Iraq fueled by increased hydrocarbon production. Where possible, the United States should therefore encourage Turkish and Iraqi cooperation and economic integration as a key part of its post-2011 strategy for Iraq and the region. This analysis is based on the author's experiences in Iraq and reviews of Turkish and Iranian press and foreign policy writing. The two rising powers in the region, Iran and Turkey, share borders with Iraq and are rapidly becoming the most influential external actors inside the country. Their political sway was made clear during Iraq's extended 2010 cycle of government formation, when they were respectively instrumental in consolidating the two leading political groupings: Ayad Allawi's Iraqiyya and (eventually) Nouri al-Maliki's National Alliance. The connections between Iraq and its two neighbors extend further than politics, however. Turkey and Iran are Iraq's two main trading partners, and deep cultural and religious ties date to the centuries-long struggle for the control of Mesopotamia between the Ottoman (Turkish) and Safavid Persian (Iranian) empires." *Sean Kane is the senior program officer for Iraq at the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). He assists in managing the Institute's Iraq program and field mission in Iraq. He previously worked for the UN Assistance Mission for Iraq from 2006 to 2009.*

IRAN'S NUCLEAR FUTURE: CRITICAL U.S. POLICY CHOICES

Davis, Lynn E., et.al. Rand Corporation. June 2011 [PDF format, 152 pages]
http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND_MG1087.pdf

"As Iran's nuclear program continues to evolve, U.S. decision makers will confront a series of critical policy choices involving complex considerations and policy trade-offs. These policy choices could include dissuading Iran from developing nuclear weapons and deterring Iran from using its nuclear weapons, if it were to acquire them. To be successful, the United States will need to find ways to influence Iran's calculations of costs and benefits as Iran pursues its national security interests (survival of the regime, protection of the homeland, and expansion of its regional influence). The United States will also need to reassure its partners in the region of the credibility of the U.S. deterrent posture so as to reduce the Gulf Cooperation Council states' potential interest in developing their own nuclear weapons and dissuade Israel from pursuing unilateral military actions or openly declaring its nuclear posture." *Lynn E. Davis is a senior political scientist and senior fellow at the RAND Corporation, and serves as director of RAND's Washington office.*

LOOKING FOR HELP: WILL RISING DEMOCRACIES BECOME INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY SUPPORTERS?

Carothers, Thomas; Youngs, Richard. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; FRIDE. July 12, 2011 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 42 pages]
http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/Rising_democracies_final.pdf

According to the authors, rising democracies from the developing world have the potential to assist and revitalize international democracy support. Encouraging these countries to do more to support democracy abroad should be a priority, but it will not be easy. "The emergence of a multipolar world gives Western democracy advocates cause for both optimism and anxiety. China's success sparks fears of the spread of an autocratic development model. Yet democratic states such as Brazil, Indonesia, India, South Africa, and Turkey are also gaining ground. These countries serve as powerful examples of the universal appeal of democracy and possess unique experiences with democratization. The United States and Europe understandably hope that rising democracies will use their growing prominence to defend democratic values abroad, potentially revitalizing

international democracy support. Rising democracies, however, are often reluctant to publicly embrace a democracy and human rights agenda. Most of them are exponents of the pro-sovereignty, anti-interventionist approach to international politics. They emphasize inclusive cooperation among developing countries and are disinclined to confront autocratic leaders. They are also habitually wary of Western, especially U.S., intentions in the developing world and thus frequently suspicious of Western democracy promotion. Western powers should not dismiss the potential contribution that rising democracies can make to democracy support, but they should moderate their expectations and proceed with caution. An engaged but balanced Western approach is the best option for encouraging rising democracies to play a productive role in the challenge of responding to the serious backlash against international democracy support that emerged over the last decade." *Thomas Carothers is vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He is the founder and director of the Democracy and Rule of Law Program. Richard Youngs is director general of FRIDE. He is also assistant professor at the University of Warwick in the UK.*

THE TRAVAILS OF DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Casas-Zamora, Kevin. The Brookings Institution. June 2011 [PDF format, 32 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/06_central_america_casaszamora/06_central_america_casaszamora.pdf

"This paper will examine three sets of issues that remain crucial to Central America's development and will continue to make the region prone to political crises and democratic reversals. The first issue is the weakness of the state and, more generally, of political power; the second is the region's uncertain path towards integration with the world economy; and the third, and arguably most pressing, is crime and violence. All of them need to be dealt with in a consistent manner and with the help, in some cases, of external actors. With the possible exception of Costa Rica and Panama, throughout Central America both states and governments are very weak and increasingly incapable of providing the public goods and services essential for the pursuit of human development, social cohesion, and sustainable economic growth. The signs of this weakness are abundant, but there are three that deserve to be highlighted: the feeble tax structure; the very limited, and diminishing, bureaucratic capabilities; and the reduced legitimacy enjoyed by crucial democratic actors, notably political parties." *Kevin Casas-Zamora is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy and in the Latin America Initiative at The Brookings Institution.*

BRAZIL AND THE UNITED STATES: THE NEED FOR STRATEGIC ENGAGEMENT

Einaudi, Luigi R. Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University. March 2011 [PDF format, 16 pages]
<http://www.ndu.edu/inss/docUploaded/SF%20266%20Einaudi.pdf>

"Brazil's economic performance, political stability, and cultural vitality ensure that Brasilia's foreign and defense policies will help shape global as well as regional politics in the decades ahead. More than a Latin American or even Third World leader, Brazil has become an autonomous global power. U.S. relations with Brazil have evolved from alliance during and immediately after World War II to skeptical distance today. Distrust is exacerbated by outmoded stereotypes and hubris on both sides. Mutually beneficial engagement requires the United States to welcome Brazil's emergence as a global power that is culturally and politically close to the United States; and for Brazil, in turn, to realize that the United States accepts its rise and that more can be achieved working with Washington than against it. Both countries should consult widely on global issues, strengthen personal and institutional ties, and learn to cooperate more effectively on conflict resolution, energy, and trade." *Ambassador Luigi R. Einaudi is a Distinguished Visiting Fellow in the Center for Strategic Research, Institute for National Strategic Studies, at the National Defense University.*

THE LATIN AMERICAN DRUG TRADE: SCOPE, DIMENSIONS, IMPACT, AND RESPONSE

Chalk, Peter. Rand Corporation. June 2011 [PDF format, 112 pages]

http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND_MG1076.pdf

"Transnational crime remains a particularly serious problem in Latin America, affecting numerous states both in and beyond the region and having severe repercussions for political, economic, and human security. Although a range of issues confront policymakers and decision makers, most are, in some way or another, connected with the drug trade. This monograph examines the scope and dimensions of cocaine and heroin production emanating from Latin America; the main methods and routes that are used to ship narcotics between source, transit, and consumption countries; and the principal consequences that are associated with this particular manifestation of transnational crime. This monograph is based on research conducted during fiscal years 2009 and 2010 as part of a study, "U.S. Security Roles in Latin America," that identified and analyzed the major security trends in Latin America and the implications of regional developments for the stability of friendly states and broader U.S. interests." *Peter Chalk is a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation.*

THE U.S. CONGRESS AND THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT: EVOLVING TRANSATLANTIC LEGISLATIVE COOPERATION

Archick, Kristin; Morelli, Vincent. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. June 7, 2011 [PDF format, 30 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41552.pdf>

"The United States and the European Union (EU) share an extensive, dynamic, and for many a mutually beneficial political and economic partnership. A growing element of that relationship is the role that the U.S. Congress and the European Parliament (EP)—a key EU institution—have begun to play, including in areas ranging from foreign and economic policy to regulatory reform. Consequently, some officials and experts on both sides of the Atlantic have asked whether it would be beneficial for Congress and the EP to strengthen institutional ties further and to explore the possibility of coordinating efforts to develop more complementary policies in some areas. This report provides background on the Congress–European Parliament relationship and the role of the Transatlantic Legislators' Dialogue (TLD). It also explores potential future options should an effort to strengthen ties between the two bodies gain momentum." *Kristin Archick is an Specialist in European Affairs at the CRS. Vincent Morelli is a Section Research Manager at the Congressional Research Service.*

MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: POLICY PERSPECTIVES FROM THE UNITED STATES

Terrazas, Aaron. Migration Policy Institute. June 2011 [PDF format, 28 pages]

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/migdevpolicy-2011.pdf>

"As migration has become an increasingly visible global phenomenon in recent decades, there has been heightened interest in the complex relationship between migration and the development prospects of migrants' countries of origin. While individual migrants and their families tend to benefit from the decision to seek opportunities abroad, the consequences for migrant communities and countries of origin are more ambiguous. This report examines the evidence and whether there is any role for US policymakers to play. The objective of this report are twofold: First, synthesize the stage of knowledge on the relationship between migration and the prospects for social and economic development in migrant's countries of origin. Second, to outline the evolution of policy attention to the issue in the U.S." *Aaron Terrazas is a Policy Analyst at the Migration Policy Institute, where he serves as Project*

ARTICLES

GEORGE W. BUSH, BARACK OBAMA AND THE FUTURE OF US GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

Lindsay, James M. *International Affairs*. July 2011, pp.765-779.

"The foreign policy world views of George W. Bush and Barack Obama differ dramatically. However, both presidents share one common conviction: that other countries long for US leadership. Bush believed that friends and allies would eventually rally to the side of the United States, even if they bristled at its actions, because they shared America's goals and had faith in its motives. Obama believed that a United States that listened more to others, stressed common interests and favored multinational action would command followers. In practice, however, both visions of American global leadership faltered. Bush discovered that many countries rejected his style of leadership as well as his strategies. Obama discovered that in a globalized world, where power has been more widely dispersed, many countries are not looking to Washington for direction. The future success of U.S. foreign policy depends on the ability of policy-makers to recognize and adapt to a changing geopolitical environment in which the U.S. remains the most significant military, diplomatic and economic power but finds it, nonetheless, increasingly difficult to drive the global agenda." *James M. Lindsay is Senior Vice President, Director of Studies, and Maurice R. Greenberg Chair at the Council on Foreign Relations.*

A WORLD OF OUR MAKING

Ikenberry, G. John. *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*. Summer 2011.

<http://www.democracyjournal.org/20/a-world-of-our-making.php>

"The Arab spring has reminded us that while the outside world cannot dictate or direct the flow of change in North Africa and the Middle East, the prospects for successful transitions increase when the Western democracies and the wider international community are working together—and when the international order is open, stable, cooperative, and engaged. It is in this sense that there is a new urgency for a renewed American commitment to international order building. The Arab world is embroiled in turmoil, but this is only part of a larger global drama of crisis and transformation that includes the world economy's struggle to find a path to stable growth, conflicts driven by resource scarcity, looming environmental threats, and the rise of developing countries—India, Brazil, and particularly China—into the ranks of the great powers. Even today, amidst these grand shifts in the global system, the United States remains the critical player in the rebuilding of international order, and three broad tasks confront it: It must integrate the rising powers into that order, ensuring continuity; it must make sure that China has the right incentives and opportunities to participate; and it must forge a "milieu-based" grand strategy that structures the general international environment in ways that are congenial to its long-term security." *G John Ikenberry is Albert G. Milbank Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University and the author of Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis, and Transformation of the American World Order (Princeton University Press, 2011), from which this article is adapted.*

DOES OBAMA HAVE A GRAND STRATEGY? WHY WE NEED DOCTRINES IN UNCERTAIN TIMES

Drezner, Daniel W. *Foreign Affairs*. July 2011, pp.57-69.

"Grand strategies are not nearly as important as grand strategists like to think, because countries tend to be judged by their actions, not their words. What really matters for great powers is power-national economic and military strength-and that speaks loudly and clearly by itself. Still, in times of deep uncertainty, a strategy can be important as a signaling

device. In these moments, such as the present, a clearly articulated strategy matched by consistent actions is useful because it can drive home messages about a country's intentions to domestic and foreign audiences. Despite what its critics say, the Obama administration has actually had not just one grand strategy so far but two. The first strategy, multilateral retrenchment, was designed to curtail the United States' overseas commitments, restore its standing in the world, and shift burdens onto global partners. This strategy was clearly articulated, but it delivered underwhelming policy results. The second, emergent grand strategy is focused on counterpunching. More recently, the Obama administration has been willing to assert its influence and ideals across the globe when challenged by other countries, reassuring allies and signaling resolve to rivals. This strategy has performed better but has been poorly articulated." *Daniel W. Drezner is Professor of International Politics at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and the editor of Avoiding Trivia: The Role of Strategic Planning in American Foreign Policy (Brookings Institution Press, 2009).*

THE ARAB REVOLUTIONS FOR DIGNITY

Boukhars, Anouar. *American Foreign Policy Interests*. March/April 2011, pp.61-68.

"Before the historic revolts transforming the Arab world today, it was an article of faith that radical Islamist revolutionaries would spearhead any challenge to the dictatorships that rule the Arab world. The millions of prodemocracy protesters braving riot squads and regime thugs have demolished such preconceptions. Although much can still go wrong, the clamor for freedom and justice that started in the small town of Sidi Bouzid in Tunisia and exploded in Liberation Square in Cairo has shown that the impossible can happen. The Islamist boogeyman has neither engineered the revolutions for dignity and freedom nor dominated them. The Obama administration has so far demonstrated a new realism that realizes the failures of the old foreign policy model that saw Arab tyrants as guarantors of America's interests in the region. The temptation to contain the revolutionary fervor spreading through the region still exists within the administration, but there is also a growing realization that the time has come for redefining America's role in the Middle East." *Anouar Boukhars is Assistant Professor of Political Science and International Studies at McDaniel College, Maryland, and a former visiting fellow at the Brookings Doha Center. He is the author of Politics in Morocco: Executive Monarchy and Enlightened Authoritarianism (Routledge 2010).*

WHY MIDDLE EAST STUDIES MISSED THE ARAB SPRING

Gause III, F. Gregory. *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2011, pp.81-91.

"The vast majority of academic specialists on the Arab world were as surprised as everyone else by the upheavals that toppled two Arab leaders last winter and that now threaten several others. It was clear that Arab regimes were deeply unpopular and faced serious demographic, economic, and political problems. Yet many academics focused on explaining what they saw as the most interesting and anomalous aspect of Arab politics: the persistence of undemocratic rulers. For many Middle East specialists, this remarkable record of regime stability in the face of numerous challenges demanded their attention and an explanation. Regional analysts must determine what changed in the forces that underpinned four decades of Arab regime stability and what new elements emerged to spark the current revolts. In the wake of such unexpected upheavals, both academics and policymakers should approach the Arab world with humility about their ability to shape its future. That is best left to Arabs themselves... Understanding what we missed and what we overestimated in our explanations of the stability of Arab authoritarianism-and understanding why we did so-is of more than just academic significance. Regional analysts must determine what changed in the forces that underpinned four decades of Arab regime stability and what new elements emerged to spark the current revolts. Doing so will allow U.S. policymakers to approach the Arab revolts more effectively by providing them insight into the factors that will drive post revolutionary politics in the Arab world." *F. Gregory Gause III is Professor of*

DANGER: FALLING TYRANTS

Goldberg, Jeffrey. *The Atlantic Monthly*. June 2011.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2011/06/danger-falling-tyrants/8493/>

"Preserving U.S. access to oil may require the Obama administration to call for more democracy in some countries in the Middle East while propping up monarchs in others, according to the author. Goldberg notes that some ruling regimes may need to be propped up to counterbalance the major threat facing the U.S. in the region, Iran. He believes that the U.S. should pay close attention to the Muslim brotherhood, which has a number of autonomous branches of varying degrees of radicalism. The Arab revolution has created some fracturing along ideological lines within the Muslim Brotherhood, but Goldberg notes that it is adept at playing politics and ducking hard questions." *Jeffrey Goldberg is a national correspondent for The Atlantic. Author of the book Prisoners: A Story of Friendship and Terror (Vintage 2008), he has reported from the Middle East and Africa.*

AL-QAEDA AND THE RISE OF CHINA: JIHADI GEOPOLITICS IN A POST-HEGEMONIC WORLD

Fishman, Brian. *The Washington Quarterly*. Summer 2011, pp.47-62.

http://www.twq.com/11summer/docs/11summer_Fishman.pdf

"As al-Qaeda wrestles with an old-fashioned shift in the global distribution of state power, China must determine how to evolve its traditional foreign policy memes in response to the transnational problems posed by al-Qaeda and its allies. China's traditional policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries has served it reasonably well for 60 years and continues to create certain advantages in negotiations with less-than-humanitarian regimes in the Middle East and Africa. But sub-national and transnational threats will challenge the doctrine of non-interventionism, which is grounded in a decidedly Westphalian understanding of the world. China has already grown somewhat more forward-leaning in dealing with some transnational threats, including pirates off of East Africa, but jihadi groups represent a challenge that is both broader and potentially more disruptive. To date, China has responded to a potential threat from al-Qaeda by minimizing rhetorical confrontation and hoping that al-Qaeda's operators remain focused elsewhere. But ten years after 9/11, global jihadis such as al-Qaeda view China's economic and political support for "apostate" regimes a terrible offense. That, coupled with the increasing prominence of the Uyghurs in jihadi propaganda, suggests China will not be able to avoid al-Qaeda forever." *Brian Fishman is a Counterterrorism Research Fellow at the New America Foundation and Research Fellow at the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point.*

AL-QAEDA'S FRANCHISING STRATEGY

Mendelsohn, Barak. *Survival*. June/July 2011, pp. 29-50.

"The killing of Osama bin Laden by US special-forces troops on the night of 1 May 2011 has raised questions about the future of al-Qaeda. While US officials declare that Washington will seek to exploit the situation to destroy al-Qaeda's network in Afghanistan and Pakistan, bin Laden's death does not mark the end of terrorism or of the jihadi movement. The future of al-Qaeda depends not only on how its central leadership in South Asia responds to bin Laden's death, but also to the reaction of al-Qaeda's franchises: jihadi groups in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Algeria and Yemen that have adopted al-Qaeda's name and sworn allegiance to its leader. The failed Christmas 2009 bombing of a Delta Air Lines passenger jet over Detroit brought al-Qaeda's branch in Yemen, al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP), to the attention of the American public. Beyond the revelation that groups previously thought to focus on the local level had expanded their theatre of operations globally, with both the motivation and the capability to target the US homeland, the attempt highlights an ongoing

shift in al-Qaeda's organisational strategy." *Barak Mendelsohn is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Haverford College. He is the author of Combating Jihadism: American Hegemony and Interstate Cooperation in the War on Terrorism (University of Chicago Press, 2009).*

IRAN AND THE BOMB: HOW REAL IS THE NUCLEAR THREAT?

Hersh, Seymour M. *The New Yorker*. June 6, 2011, pp. 16-19.

"Is Iran actively trying to develop nuclear weapons? Members of the Obama Administration often talk as if this were a foregone conclusion, as did their predecessors under George W. Bush. There is a large body of evidence, however, including some of America's most highly classified intelligence assessments, suggesting that the United States could be in danger of repeating a mistake similar to the one made with Saddam Hussein's Iraq eight years ago--allowing anxieties about the policies of a tyrannical regime to distort our estimations of the state's military capacities and intentions. The two most recent National Intelligence Estimates (N.I.E.s) on Iranian nuclear progress, representing the best judgment of the senior officers from all the major American intelligence agencies, have stated that there is no conclusive evidence that Iran has made any effort to build the bomb since 2003. Despite years of covert operations inside Iran, extensive satellite imagery, and the recruitment of many Iranian intelligence assets, the United States and its allies, including Israel, have been unable to find irrefutable evidence of an ongoing hidden nuclear-weapons program in Iran, according to intelligence and diplomatic officials here and abroad. The general anxiety about the Iranian regime is firmly grounded. President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has repeatedly questioned the Holocaust and expressed a desire to see the state of Israel eliminated, and he has defied the 2006 United Nations resolution calling on Iran to suspend its nuclear-enrichment program. Tehran is also active in arming Hezbollah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza. Iran is heavily invested in nuclear technology, and has a power plant ready to go on line in the port city of Bushehr, with a second in the planning stage." *Seymour M. Hersh has been a regular contributor to the magazine since 1993. His journalism and publishing awards include a Pulitzer Prize, five George Polk Awards, two National Magazine Awards, and more than a dozen other prizes for investigative reporting.*

LIBYA AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF POWER

Jones, Bruce. *Survival*. June/July 2011, pp.51-60.

"From the beginning of protests in Libya's second city, Benghazi, the emerging international 'semi-order' has performed better than we might have anticipated. In the face of a civilian uprising and Libyan leader Muammar Gadhafi's threats to crush it, the UN Security Council moved swiftly to adopt sanctions and refer Gadhafi and key allies to the International Criminal Court, invoking the 'responsibility to protect' concept in Resolution 1970. This, combined with the Arab League's call for imposition of a no-fly zone, created a sense of unity and resolve. Only the African Union dithered. Later, though, a 10-0-5 vote on Security Council Resolution 1973 to actually implement the responsibility to protect, through a no-fly zone and additional military action, showed underlying divisions. Some argued that abstentions rather than 'no' votes were a glass half full. Since the vote, sharp criticisms from Russia and India about of the West's use of force, in public and in the Security Council, have amplified the sense of division." *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.*

THE NEW POLITICS OF PROTECTION? CÔTE D'IVOIRE, LIBYA AND THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT

Williams, Paul D.; Bellamy, Alex. *International Affairs*. July 2011, pp. 825-850.

"In March 2011, the UN Security Council authorized the use of force to protect civilians in Libya. This was the first time that the Council has ever authorized the invasion of a

functioning state for such purposes. International society's relatively decisive responses to recent crises in Côte d'Ivoire and Libya has provoked significant commentary, suggesting that something has changed about the way the world responds to violence against civilians. Focusing on these two cases, this article examines the changing practice of the UN Security Council. It argues that we are seeing the emergence of a new politics of protection, but that this new politics has been developing over the past decade. Four things are new about this politics of protection: protecting civilians from harm has become a focus for international engagement; the UN Security Council has proved itself willing to authorize the use of force for protection purposes; regional organizations have begun to play the role of 'gatekeeper'; and major powers have exhibited a determination to work through the Security Council where possible. However, the cases of Côte d'Ivoire and Libya also help to highlight some key challenges that might halt or reverse progress. Notably, states differ in the way they interpret mandates; questions are being asked about the UN's authority to act independently of specific Security Council authorizations; the overlap of regional organizations sometimes sends conflicting messages to the Security Council; and there remains a range of difficult operational questions about how to implement protection mandates. With these in mind, this article concludes with some suggestions about how the future challenges might be navigated in order to maintain the progress that has been made in the past decade." *Paul D. Williams is an Associate Professor in the Elliott School of International Affairs, George Washington University. Alex Bellamy is Professor of International Security at the Griffith Asia Institute/Centre for Governance and Public Policy, Griffith University, Australia.*

CAN ASIA LEAD? POWER AMBITIONS AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Acharya, Amitav. *International Affairs*. July 2011, pp.851-869.

"Is the much hyped 'rise of Asia' translating into global public good? The leading Asian powers, China, India and Japan, demand a greater share of the decision-making and leadership of global institutions. Yet, they seem to have been more preoccupied with enhancing their national power and status than contributing to global governance, including the management of global challenges. This is partly explained by a realpolitik outlook and ideology, and the legacies of India's and China's historical identification with the 'Third World' bloc. Another key factor is the continuing regional legitimacy deficit of the Asian powers. This article suggests that the Asian powers should increase their participation in and contribution to regional cooperation as a stepping stone to a more meaningful contribution to global governance." *Amitav Acharya is UNESCO Chair in Transnational Challenges and Governance and Professor of International Relations at the School of International Service, American University, Washington DC.*

INTERNATIONAL TRADE AND US RELATIONS WITH CHINA

Fordham, Benjamin O.; Kleinberg, Katja B. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. July 2011, pp.217-236.

"US relations with China are critically important for the future of world politics. They are also a useful case in which to test the individual level implications of the liberal commercial peace argument. A plausible case can be made on both sides of the claim that China poses a security threat to the United States. China's economy is growing far faster than the United States' economy, while the country remains a communist autocracy. At the same time, trade between the United States and China has expanded dramatically in the last three decades. Its dual role as a major trading partner and a growing international rival generates substantial uncertainty about China's future status as friend or foe. Using data from a recent survey by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, we find that economic interests help explain individual Americans' assessment of China as a threat and their views concerning hostile policies toward that country. Those who stand to benefit from trade with China hold more positive views of the country and oppose conflictual foreign policies with respect to it. Those whose incomes are likely to decline because of trade with China tend to take the

opposite position on these questions." *Benjamin O. Fordham is a Professor of Political Science at Binghamton University, State University of New York. Katja Kleinberg is Assistant Professor of International Relations and Conflict at Binghamton University, State University of New York.*

THE NEW POLICY WORLD OF CYBERSECURITY

Harknett, Richard J.; Stever, James A. *Public Administration Review*. May/June 2011, pp. 455–460.

"As government agencies, private sector corporations, the military, and even retail shoppers shift their activities to the Internet, cybersecurity becomes increasingly important. Past presidential administrations recognized that cybersecurity necessitates a comprehensive national policy to protect electronically transmitted and stored information from intrusion. But so far, development of a coherent cybersecurity policy has proven to be a daunting task. A feasible policy framework that systematically arrays the issues and specifies parameters of constraints is lacking, and articulated policies and strategies are narrowly focused and implemented incrementally. The authors argue that recent government documents related to cyberspace form a positive foundation on which to build a comprehensive policy. Despite the incremental nature of cybersecurity progress, these key documents represent a cumulative process on which to build future policy." *Richard J. Harknett is an associate professor of political science and chair of the University Faculty at the University of Cincinnati. James A. Stever is a professor of political science at the University of Cincinnati.*

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

A DESCRIPTION OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION: AN UPDATE

Congressional Budget Office (CBO). June 2011 [PDF format, 33 pages]

<http://www.cbo.gov/ftpdocs/121xx/doc12168/06-02-Foreign-BornPopulation.pdf>

This document is the latest in CBO's series on immigration. It updates "A Description of the Immigrant Population" (November 2004), providing an overview of the foreign-born population in the U.S., with a particular focus on the years 2000 to 2009. It discusses changes in the numbers and countries of origin foreign-born people and their U.S. residency and citizenship status, and it compares demographic and labor market characteristics of foreign-born and native-born people in the United States. "In 2009, about 39 million foreign-born people lived in the United States, making up more than 12 percent of the U.S. population—the largest share since 1920. Naturalized citizens (foreign born people who have fulfilled the requirements of U.S. citizenship) accounted for about 17 million of the total. Noncitizens (foreign-born people authorized to live and work in the United States either temporarily or permanently and people who are not authorized to live or work in the United States) accounted for about 22 million of the total. About half of the noncitizens were people without authorization to live or work in the United States, either temporarily or permanently."

REACHING THE DEBT LIMIT: BACKGROUND AND POTENTIAL EFFECTS ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

Levit, Mindy R., et.al. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. June 3, 2011 [PDF format, 25 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/166819.pdf>

"The federal government's statutory debt limit is currently \$14,294 billion. On January 6, 2011, Secretary of the Treasury Timothy Geithner issued a letter to Congress stating that the debt limit would be reached sometime between March 31 and May 16, 2011. Treasury has subsequently revised this estimate as a result of changes in the expected levels of tax receipts, the timing of commitments and obligations, and in determining the level of cash balances needed to operate. This report examines the possibility of the federal government reaching its statutory debt limit and not raising it, with a particular focus on government operations. First, the report explains the nature of the federal government's debt, the processes associated with federal borrowing, and historical events that may influence prospective actions. It also includes an analysis of what could happen if the federal government may no longer issue debt, has exhausted alternative sources of cash, and, therefore, depends on incoming receipts or other sources of funds to provide any cash needed to liquidate federal obligations. Finally this report lays out considerations for increasing the debt limit under current policy and what impact fiscal policy could have on the debt limit going forward." *Mindy R. Levit is Coordinator and Analyst in Public Finance at the CRS.*

BUILDING A LONG-TERM STRATEGY FOR GROWTH THROUGH INNOVATION

Baily, Martin; Katz, Bruce; West, Darrell. The Brookings Institution. May 2011 [PDF format, 24 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/05_growth_innovation/05_growth_innovation.pdf

"History has amply demonstrated that innovation in the public and private sectors is the most important key to long-term U.S. prosperity and economic competitiveness. Yet in the United States today, innovation is at risk of stalling just at a time when rising international competition is on the upswing and the U.S. economy is still reeling from a deep recession. Priorities for action start with turning three deficits—budget, investment/savings and trade—into surpluses. This will require action by the public sector—to provide tax credits for innovation and more forward-thinking trade policies, for example—and the private sector, including businesses, universities and private research firms that reward education and job skills. To achieve solid, sustainable economic growth, government agencies at all levels must integrate and coordinate their activities with each other and with the private sector, rowers pulling in the same direction in a sea of economic uncertainty... Long-term U.S. economic prosperity depends on identifying a different economic and political path forward. This implies not just the adoption of new policies, but a new approach to problem solving. We must rely on investment, infrastructure development, engagement with the private sector and a renewed attention to innovation. There are three crucial steps that need to be undertaken: turn our deficits in the budget, trade and investment and savings into surpluses; invest in four key drivers of the next economy—innovation, global markets, human capital and the reduction of energy costs; and, improve government innovation and performance." *Martin Baily is a senior fellow in economic Studies at Brookings and the Bernard L. Schwartz chair in Economic Policy Development. Bruce Katz is vice president of the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program and the Adeline M. and Alfred I. Johnson Chair in Urban and Metropolitan Policy. Darrell M. West is vice president and director of Governance Studies and founding director of the Center for Technology Innovation at Brookings.*

JOB CREATION IN THE MANUFACTURING REVIVAL

Levinson, Marc. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. July 1, 2011 [PDF format, 17 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41898.pdf>

"After a prolonged slump, the U.S. manufacturing sector is showing notable signs of revival. In part, the upturn in manufacturing output is cyclical, as global economic growth recovers following the downturn in 2008-09. At the same time, however, there are indications that other forces may be at work, as a variety of factors – higher labor costs in the emerging

economies of Asia, higher freight transportation costs, increased concern about supply-chain disruptions – increase the relative attractiveness of the United States as a location for factory production. The strengthening of U.S. manufacturing is a subject of intense interest in Congress. Hundreds of bills introduced in the 112th Congress would support domestic manufacturing activity in various ways, from providing government loans to improving vocational training in manufacturing skills to promoting research and development to mandating that airport security screeners' uniforms be made in the United States." *Marc Levinson is Section Research Manager at the Congressional Research Service.*

THE GEOGRAPHY OF IMMIGRANT SKILLS: EDUCATIONAL PROFILES OF METROPOLITAN AREAS

Hall, Matthew, et. Al. The Brookings Institution. June 2011 [PDF format, 32 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/06_immigrants_singer/06_immigrants_singer.pdf

"Since Congress last debated comprehensive immigration reform in 2007, the United States has experienced the Great Recession and now faces a slow recovery. Throughout, the highly charged public debate on immigration has focused on illegal immigration and its costs. Often lost in this discussion is the vital role of immigrants in the U.S. labor market. Immigrants are now one-in-seven U.S. residents and almost one-in-six workers. They are a significant presence in various sectors of the economy such as construction and hospitality on the low-skill end, and information technology and health care on the high-skill end. While border enforcement and illegal immigration are a focal point, longer-term U.S. global competitiveness rests on the ability of immigrants and their children to thrive economically and to contribute to the nation's productivity. The Great Recession at the tail of the last decade, combined with rapid demographic changes across metropolitan America, has reshaped and intensified the debate about the economic value of immigrants and their importance in the U.S. labor market. A pragmatic approach to immigration—one that considers the economic advantages of the new arrivals—should include a more flexible admissions system to respond to labor market changes. With the United States at a critical point in both immigration policy and economic trajectory, policymakers should carefully weigh options to provide support for immigrant workers at all skill levels to keep the United States globally competitive." *Matthew Hall is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Illinois-Chicago and a faculty member of the Institute of Government and Public Affairs.*

MEXICAN AND CENTRAL AMERICAN IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

Brick, Kate. Migration Policy Institute. June 2011 [PDF format, 24 pages]
<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/MexCentAmimmigrants.pdf>

"The Mexican and Central American immigrant population in the United States has increased by a factor of 20 since 1970 — a period during which the overall US immigrant population increased four-fold. This report examines the age, educational, and workforce characteristics of immigrants and the second generation from Mexico and Central America, finding that these immigrants are younger, more likely to be male, and more likely to be married with children than the US born or other immigrant groups. A high proportion are unauthorized, with key implications for their economic and social status and the overall immigration debate. Questions about whether and how to reform the American immigration system will depend on how these immigrants interact with other groups and how they participate in the political system." *Kate Brick is an Associate Policy Analyst at the Migration Policy Institute.*

U.S. HISPANIC COUNTRY-OF-ORIGIN COUNTS FOR NATION, TOP 30 METROPOLITAN AREAS

Lopez, Mark Hugo; Dockterman, Daniel. Pew Hispanic Center. May 26, 2011 [PDF format,

12 pages]

<http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/142.pdf>

This report examines the Hispanic population of the United States by its 10 largest country-of-origin sub-groups, both at the national level and in the 30 metropolitan areas with the largest Hispanic populations. The data for this report are derived from the 2010 U.S. Census and from the 2009 American Community Survey. "Hispanics of Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban origin or descent remain the nation's three largest Hispanic country-of-origin groups, according to the 2010 U.S. Census. However, while the relative position of these three groups has remained unchanged since 2000, the next four Hispanic sub-groups grew faster during the decade. Hispanics of Salvadoran origin, the fourth largest country-of-origin group, grew by 152% since 2000. The Dominican population grew by 85%, the Guatemalan population by 180% and the Colombian population by 93%. Meanwhile, the Cuban and Puerto Rican." *Mark Hugo Lopez is the associate director of the Pew Hispanic Center. Daniel Dockterman is a research assistant at the Pew Hispanic Center.*

STATE OF WOMEN-OWNED BUSINESSES REPORT

American Express Open. March 30, 2011 [PDF format, 53 pages]

http://media.nucleus.naprojects.com/pdf/WomanReport_FINAL.pdf

Over the past 14 years, the number of women-owned businesses has grown at a rate that exceeds the national average. "This report offers an up-to-date accounting of the state of women-owned businesses in the United States in 2011. Using data from the three most recent business census surveys (1997, 2002, and 2007)—the most recent of which was just published in December 2010—this report provides estimates of the number, employment and revenues of women-owned firms as of 2011. Data are reported at the national level in total, and by industry, revenue and employment size class. Trends at the state level are also reported. By sharing these estimates in a timely manner, it is our aim to inform business planning, program development and enterprise support activities—as well as to shine a light on gains made and barriers to address. This new analysis not only confirms what we know from past government reports—that women continue to launch enterprises at a rate exceeding the national average, yet their firms remain smaller than those owned by their male counterparts—but shares a new and nuanced investigation into the growth trends among women-owned enterprises over the past 14 years."

OPPORTUNITY-RICH SCHOOLS AND SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES: SEVEN STEPS TO ALIGN HIGH-QUALITY EDUCATION WITH INNOVATIONS IN CITY AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Mckoy, Deborah L., et. al. Center for Cities and Schools, University of California-Berkeley; Urban Institute. June 2011 [PDF format, 62 pages]

<http://www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/412348-opportunity-rich-schools-sustainable-communities.pdf>

"Policies and strategies at all levels of government are increasingly associating educational outcomes with community planning and housing. Challenges remain for local officials and practitioners trying to align these policy areas, including persistent spatial inequity and rigid institutional silos. This report develops seven steps to link education and planning policy at the local level. The authors draw from a national scan of model activities, interviews with key experts and agency staff members, and the authors' experience working with local governing bodies. The report identifies practical solutions that encompass assessing the current educational environment, engaging the community, strategic planning and implementation of investment, and institutionalizing successful innovations." *Deborah L. McKoy is the Executive Director and Founder of the UC Berkeley Center for Cities and Schools at the Institute of Urban and Regional Development and a lecturer in the*

HELPING STUDENTS GET BACK ON TRACK: WHAT FEDERAL POLICYMAKERS CAN LEARN FROM NEW YORK CITY'S MULTIPLE PATHWAYS TO GRADUATION INITIATIVE

Alliance for Excellent Education. June 13, 2011 [PDF format, 22 pages]

<http://www.all4ed.org/files/HelpingStudentsNYC.pdf>

"The call to action to address the nation's dropout crisis has bubbled up to the federal level, where policymakers are dedicating funding and offering solutions to improve graduation rates, including proposals to be part of the pending reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Much of this attention is rightly focused on the 2,000 high schools with the lowest graduation rates, which together account for more than half of the nation's dropouts. However, research and emerging practice across the country indicate that this school-centric strategy must be complemented with one that addresses the specific educational needs of those students most likely to drop out of school--off-track students--in an effort to prevent them from dropping out... Many of these efforts under way across the country are modeled after the New York City Department of Education's (NYCDOE) Multiple Pathways to Graduation (MPG) initiative, which has attracted national attention for its innovative approach, the size and scale of the effort, and early indicators of success. At the core of the data-driven, district wide approach is the creation of a portfolio of recuperative schools and programs—all held to the same academic standards as other options within the system—designed to help off-track students meet state graduation standards and graduate prepared for meaningful postsecondary opportunities."

FREEDOM IN THE 50 STATES: AN INDEX OF PERSONAL AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM

Sorens, Jason; Ruger, William. Mercatus Center, George Mason University. June 7, 2011

[Note: contains copyrighted material][PDF format, 83 pages]

http://mercatus.org/sites/all/modules/custom/mercatus_50_states/files/Freedom50States2011.pdf

The study comprehensively ranks the American states on their public policies that affect individual freedoms in the economic, social, and personal spheres. It updates, expands, and improves upon 2009 Freedom in the 50 States study. The authors have added more policy variables (such as bans on trans fats and the audio recording of police, Massachusetts's individual health-insurance mandate, and mandated family leave), improved existing measures (such as those for fiscal policies, workers' compensation regulations, and asset-forfeiture rules), and developed specific policy prescriptions for each of the 50 states based on data and a survey of state policy experts. *Jason Sorens is an assistant professor of political science at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York. William Ruger is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at Texas State University.*

TEN WAYS SOCIAL MEDIA CAN IMPROVE CAMPAIGN ENGAGEMENT AND REINVIGORATE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

West, Darrell M. The Brookings Institution. June 28, 2011.

http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/0628_social_media_west.aspx

"Social media are the ultimate in disruptive technology. They change information delivery, business organization, online content, news coverage, and the manner in which individuals process new developments. As shown during the 2008 campaign, these digital tools represented a textbook example of voter mobilization and electoral impact. social networking outreach tools such as Facebook, MySpace, YouTube, and Twitter, a number of Democratic and Republican candidates raised money, identified supporters, built electoral coalitions, and brought people in closer touch with the electoral process. Despite social networking's track record for generating democratic engagement, though, it has proven

difficult to sustain political interest and activism online over time and move electronic engagement from campaigns to governance. Faced with a polarized political environment and arcane debates over legislative provisions, many Americans have opted out of the civic participation which was so prolific during the last presidential election cycle." *Darrell M. West is vice president and director of Governance Studies and founding director of the Center for Technology Innovation at Brookings.*

SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES AND OUR LIVES

Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project. June 16, 2011.

<http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2011/Technology-and-social-networks/Summary.aspx>

"Questions have been raised about the social impact of widespread use of social networking sites like Facebook, LinkedIn, MySpace, and Twitter. Do these technologies isolate people and truncate their relationships? Or are there benefits associated with being connected to others in this way? The Pew Research Center's Internet & American Life Project decided to examine social networking sites in a survey that explored people's overall social networks and how use of these technologies is related to trust, tolerance, social support, and community and political engagement. The findings presented here paint a rich and complex picture of the role that digital technology plays in people's social worlds. Wherever possible, we seek to disentangle whether people's varying social behaviors and attitudes are related to the different ways they use social networking sites, or to other relevant demographic characteristics, such as age, gender and social class."

PATENTS: A SINGULAR LAW FOR THE DIVERSITY OF INNOVATION

Kahin, Brian. The Brookings Institution. June 2011 [PDF format, 8 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/06_patents_kahin/06_patents_kahin.pdf

"Not long ago, patents were viewed as a subject consigned to specialists with law and a technical background. Now branded as intellectual property, they have moved front and center in an economy dependent on innovation for sustainable growth. Yet as patents have expanded in number, power, and subject matter, they have drawn controversy as well as attention. Today a unitary, deeply institutionalized legal system confronts an increasingly diverse technological and business environment. High demand, low standards of quality, and the extreme complexity of information have led not only to immense portfolios but to new varieties of strategic behavior. Large investments in product development are put at risk by the leveraging power of individual patents, and networked services and industry standards make especially attract targets because of the embeddedness and breadth of investment. While China has been criticized relentlessly for not respecting intellectual property rights, China now appears to be emulating the high-volume, low-quality U.S. model, but on its own terms." *Brian Kahin is a senior fellow at the Computer & Communications Industry Association and a research fellow at the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government at the Harvard Kennedy School. He is also a visiting adjunct professor at the University of Michigan School of Information.*

ARTICLES

LOCATION, LOCATION, LOCATION: CREATING INNOVATION CLUSTERS

Feldman, Maryann. *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*. Summer 2011, var. pages.

<http://www.democracyjournal.org/21/location-location-location-creating-innovation-clusters.php>

"During the recession of the early 1980s, the state of North Carolina suffered the loss of its traditional economic backbone. Jobs in tobacco processing, textiles, and furniture manufacturing declined dramatically. Faced with this crisis, Governor Jim Hunt decided to

emphasize innovation-based economic development, eschewing low-wage manufacturing jobs in favor of broad-based wealth and prosperity. At the time, North Carolina was already home to the Research Triangle Park. But steady and consistent state policy, investment tax credits, and quasi-governmental, sector-specific agencies helped create the vibrant entrepreneurial economy that now exists contiguous to the park... But this isn't just a North Carolina story. Across the United States, innovative clusters have proliferated beyond early high-tech leaders like Silicon Valley, Route 128 (in Massachusetts), and the Research Triangle. Newer and emerging conglomerations in San Diego, Austin, and the greater Washington, D.C. area, for example, have gained considerable traction over the past 20 years. These clusters specialize in a range of high-tech sectors, including telecommunications, human bio-therapeutics, and computational technology. What can the rise of these clusters tell us about entrepreneurship policy? Innovation and entrepreneurship are two sides of the same coin: Entrepreneurs recognize opportunity and innovate. Location becomes important not only for recognizing opportunity but also for cultivating an environment dedicated to the entrepreneurs' activity, which in turn lowers the cost of innovating. But while entrepreneurship is a private-sector activity, it is public policy that sets the stage by establishing property rights, providing incentives to encourage experimentation and discovery, and determining how the rewards will be allocated." *Maryann Feldman is the S.K. Heninger Distinguished Professor of Public Policy at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.*

OUR BEST IMPORTS: KEEPING IMMIGRANT INNOVATORS HERE

Wadhwa, Vivek. *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*. Summer 2011, var. pages.

<http://www.democracyjournal.org/21/our-best-imports-keeping-immigrant-innovators-here.php>

"From 1995 to 2005, 52 percent of Silicon Valley's technology and engineering companies were founded by immigrants. The majority came to the United States as students. They ended up staying after graduation and on average founded companies 13 years after their arrival. They also filed 25 percent of America's global patents, significantly boosting U.S. competitiveness. Their contributions to the new American economy are vast, and their importance is clear. The research team I work with at Duke, Harvard, New York University, and the University of California-Berkeley has been studying the impact of skilled immigration on American competitiveness. We have looked at trends in outsourcing; research and development, innovation, and entrepreneurship in India, China, and the United States; and the reverse migration of skilled talent from the United States to India and China... our research and analysis lead to one conclusion: America must revise its immigration policies if we are to remain the world's leading incubator of entrepreneurship." *Vivek Wadhwa is director of research at the Center for Entrepreneurship and Research Commercialization at Duke University's Pratt School of Engineering. She is also a senior research associate at the Labor and Worklife Program at Harvard Law School.*

HOW HEALTH CARE CAN SAVE OR SINK AMERICA: THE CASE FOR REFORM AND FISCAL SUSTAINABILITY

Orszag, Peter R. *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2011, pp.42-57.

"Rising health-care costs are at the core of the United States' long-term fiscal imbalance. The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) projects that between now and 2050, Medicare, Medicaid, and other federal spending on health care will rise from 5.5 percent of GDP to more than 12 percent. (Social Security costs, by comparison, are projected to increase from five percent of GDP to six percent over the same period.) It is no exaggeration to say that the United States' standing in the world depends on its success in constraining this health-care cost explosion; unless it does, the country will eventually face a severe fiscal crisis or a crippling inability to invest in other areas. The problem is not limited to the federal government. Over the past 25 years, cost increases in the national Medicare and Medicaid programs have roughly paralleled (and actually been slightly below) cost increases in the

rest of the health-care system. These trends drive a wide range of problems. State governments have had to divert funds from education to health care, which is partly why salaries for professors at public universities are now often 15 to 20 percent lower than those at comparable private universities. Meanwhile, the rising cost of employer-sponsored health insurance has squeezed take-home pay for most U.S. workers at the same time as median wages have stagnated and income inequality has increased." *Peter R. Orszag is Vice Chair of Global Banking at Citigroup, an Adjunct Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, and a columnist for Bloomberg. He was Director of the White House's Office of Management and Budget in 2009-10 and Director of the Congressional Budget Office in 2007-8.*

THE ERA OF STATE ENERGY POLICY INNOVATION: A REVIEW OF POLICY INSTRUMENTS

Carley, Sanya. *Review of Policy Research*. May 2011, pp. 265–294.

"U.S. energy and climate policy has evolved from the bottom-up, led by state governments, and internationally recognized for the use of unconventional and innovative policy instruments. This study focuses on policy instruments adopted throughout the era of state energy policy innovation that aim to diversify, decentralize, and decarbonize the electricity sector. Specific attention is devoted to the renewable portfolio standard, net metering, interconnection standards, tax incentives, public benefit funds, and energy efficiency resource standards. This analysis synthesizes the findings from the energy policy literature and provides a summary of the current state of understanding about the effects of various state energy policy instruments, and concludes with a discussion of broader trends that have emerged from the use of policy instruments in the state energy policy innovation era." *Sanya Carley is Assistant Professor at the School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University.*

AMERICA 2021: WHAT NEXT ON CLIMATE?

Democracy: A Journal of Ideas. Summer 2011, var. pages.

<http://www.democracyjournal.org/21/america-2021-what-next-on-climate.php?page=1>

"The effort to address climate change stumbled with the failure to pass cap-and-trade. What should happen now? Five experts discuss the future of U.S. climate and energy policy. For this discussion, we brought together five distinguished experts: Joe Aldy, an assistant professor at the Harvard Kennedy School and a nonresident fellow at Resources for the Future; Vicki Arroyo, an executive director of the Georgetown Climate Center and visiting professor at Georgetown Law; Alex Laskey, president and founder of OPOWER an energy efficiency software company that helps utilities meet their efficiency goals; Manik Roy, vice president of federal government outreach for the Pew Center on Global Climate Change, and Lexi Shultz, the legislative director for climate and energy at the Union of Concerned Scientists. Bryan Walsh, energy and environment reporter for Time magazine, moderated their discussion"

THE CRISIS IN CLEAN ENERGY

Victor, David G.; Yanosek, Kassia . *Foreign Affairs*. July/August 2011, pp. 112-121.

"After years of staggering growth, the clean-energy industry is headed for a crisis. In most of the Western countries leading the industry, the public subsidies that have propelled it to 25% annual growth rates in recent years have now become politically unsustainable. The market value of leading clean-energy equipment manufacturing companies has plummeted and is poised to decline further as government support for the industry erodes. The coming crisis could make some of the toughest foreign policy challenges facing the US even more difficult to resolve. The revolution in clean energy was supposed to help fix these problems while also creating green jobs that would power the economic recovery. Solutions must start with more consistent long-term policies that depend less on subsidies and thus are less vulnerable to cutbacks in these times of fiscal restraint. An open and competitive global

clean-energy market, underpinned by an innovation-driven clean-energy strategy, could yield a true energy revolution." *David G. Victor is a Professor at the School of International Relations and Pacific Studies at the University of California, San Diego, and Director of the school's Laboratory on International Law and Regulation. Kassia Yanosek, Founding Principal of Tana Energy Capital LLC, has worked in private equity and at Bechtel and BP.*

REFORMING THE U.S. TAX SYSTEM

Carbaugh, Bob; Ghosh, Koushik. *Challenge*. March/Apr 2011. pg. 61-79.

"The suddenly enormous budget deficit has unleashed discussion of tax reform in the United States. The intricate web of deductions, credits, and various loopholes distorts incentives. But reforming the tax system could also enable the country to raise more tax revenue in economically efficient and socially just ways. The authors provide a primer about the available choices." *Bob Carbaugh and Koushik Ghosh are both Professors of Economics at Central Washington University.*

GOP 2012 UPDATE: THE BIG TEASE

Sabato, Larry J.; Kondik, Kyle. *Sabato's Crystal Ball*. June 9, 2011.

<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/ljs2011060901/>

"Rarely if ever has one of the two major parties been so confounded by dissatisfaction with its presidential field and the refusal by the base's and establishment's preferred choices to run. The void in the GOP ranks has led to a big tease: Potential contender after potential contender, many of them with no real hope of being nominated, coming forward to dip a toe, foot or leg in the White House waters." The article includes a chart with the key advantages and disadvantages of each republican candidate. *Larry J. Sabato is the University Professor of Politics and director of the Center for Politics at the University of Virginia. Kyle Kondik is the Media Relations Coordinator at the Center for Politics.*

MY LIFE AS AN UNDOCUMENTED IMMIGRANT: A REPORTER TALKS ABOUT HIS ILLEGAL AMERICAN DREAM

Vargas, Jose Antonio. *New York Times Magazine*. June 22, 2011, var. pp.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/26/magazine/my-life-as-an-undocumented-immigrant.html?adxnnl=1&adxnnlx=1310738557-N3iWNhsUzTt4WWCDvZwew>

"One August morning nearly two decades ago, my mother woke me and put me in a cab. She handed me a jacket. "Baka malamig doon" were among the few words she said. ("It might be cold there.") When I arrived at the Philippines' Ninoy Aquino International Airport with her, my aunt and a family friend, I was introduced to a man I'd never seen. They told me he was my uncle. He held my hand as I boarded an airplane for the first time. It was 1993, and I was 12. My mother wanted to give me a better life, so she sent me thousands of miles away to live with her parents in America — my grandfather (Lolo in Tagalog) and grandmother (Lola). After I arrived in Mountain View, Calif., in the San Francisco Bay Area, I entered sixth grade and quickly grew to love my new home, family and culture... Over the past 14 years, I've graduated from high school and college and built a career as a journalist, interviewing some of the most famous people in the country. On the surface, I've created a good life. I've lived the American dream. But I am still an undocumented immigrant. And that means living a different kind of reality... Last year I read about four students who walked from Miami to Washington to lobby for the Dream Act, a nearly decade-old immigration bill that would provide a path to legal permanent residency for young people who have been educated in this country. There are believed to be 11 million undocumented immigrants in the United States. We're not always who you think we are. Some pick your strawberries or care for your children. Some are in high school or college. And some, it turns out, write news articles you might read. I grew up here. This is my home." *Jose Antonio Vargas is a former reporter for The Washington Post and shared a Pulitzer Prize for*

coverage of the Virginia Tech shootings. He founded Define American, which seeks to change the conversation on immigration reform.