

DOCUALERT

-November/December 2012-

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

U.S. and Europe: A Revitalized Global Partnership

Remarks by Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton at the Brookings Institution. November 29, 2012.

<http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/2012/11/201223.htm>

During a speech on U.S.-European relations at the Brookings Institution, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said the strength of U.S.-European relations over the last four years is reflected in cooperative efforts to resolve the conflict in Afghanistan, end the crisis in Libya, prevent Iran's nuclear weapons development program and bolster joint strategic defenses. The trans-Atlantic partnership, Clinton said, has reached a critical moment where decisions will have to be made about shared economic interests and how well they can thrive together in the coming years... "And let me be clear: Our pivot to Asia is not a pivot away from Europe. On the contrary, we want Europe to engage more in Asia, along

with us to see the region not only as a market, but as a focus of common strategic engagement. Another ongoing challenge we need to deal with together is Russia. We've made progress with Moscow on areas such as nuclear arms reduction, sanctions on Iran, and trade, and we seek to expand our areas of cooperation. But the reality is that we have serious and continuing differences on Syria, missile defense, NATO enlargement, human rights, and other issues. There are so many other areas that are ripe for cooperation, from supporting the transitions in North Africa and the Middle East, to responding to climate change, to relieving famine in the Horn of Africa, to managing relationships with emerging powers. But if the United States and Europe are not strong, stable, and prosperous in the long-term, our ability to tackle these and other issues will be put at risk. If we can't make the necessary investments in defense, diplomacy, and development, our partnership might not bear the weight of these 21st century challenges."

Global Trends 2030: Alternative Worlds

National Intelligence Council. December 2012 [PDF format, 160 pages]

http://www.dni.gov/files/documents/GlobalTrends_2030.pdf

The National Intelligence Council's (NIC) Global Trends Report engages expertise from outside government on factors of such as globalization, demography and the environment, producing a forward-looking document to aid policymakers in their long term planning on key issues of worldwide importance. The NIC publishes a new edition of Global Trends every four years, in a presidential election year, to assist the next – in this case the returning – administration in its strategic review. "Global Trends 2030" has been the largest collaborative effort of all the editions relying on a diversity of perspectives to enrich the work. The NIC held many meetings with government officials, businesses, universities and think tanks and reached out to experts in 20 countries... "The world of 2030 will be radically transformed from our world today. By 2030, no country—whether the US, China, or any other large country—will be a hegemonic power. The empowerment of individuals and diffusion of power among states and from states to informal networks will have a dramatic impact, largely reversing the historic rise of the West since 1750, restoring Asia's weight in the global economy, and ushering in a new era of "democratization" at the international and domestic level. In addition to individual empowerment and the diffusion of state power, we believe that two other megatrends will shape our world out to 2030: demographic patterns, especially rapid aging; and growing resource demands which, in the cases of food and water, might lead to scarcities. These trends, which are virtually certain, exist today, but during the next 15-20 years they will gain much greater momentum."

Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Iran; Iraq, 1973–1976

Office of the Historian, U.S. Department of State. December 2012.

<http://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1969-76v27>

"This volume, part of a sub series of the Foreign Relations series that document the most important issues in the foreign policy of the administrations of Richard M. Nixon and Gerald R. Ford, documents U.S. policy towards Iran and Iraq from 1973 to 1976. The volume's six chapters are divided into two chronological sections. The first section

documents the increasingly close political, economic, and strategic relationship, which developed between the U.S. and Iran during the mid-1970s; the second section covers Washington's somewhat more distant interactions with Iraq, with whom the United States did not maintain formal diplomatic relations following the 1967 Arab-Israeli war."

Democratic Internationalism An American Grand Strategy for a Post-Exceptionalist Era

Deudney, Daniel; Ikenberry, G. John. Council on Foreign Relations. November 2012 [PDF format, 30 pages]

http://www.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/IIGG_WorkingPaper11_Deudney_Ikenberry.pdf

"American grand strategy should be refocused on initiating a new phase of liberal internationalism that renews and deepens democracy globally, prevents democratic backsliding, and strengthens and consolidates bonds among democratic states. By pursuing this strategic focus, the United States would once again embrace democracy promotion, but based on a strategy of attraction—the pull of success rather than the push of power. In short, it must aim to ensure that the dominant reality in world politics in the coming decades is a community of democracies leading global efforts to solve problems, rather than a world of weak global institutions and rising great power rivalries. This new grand strategy would carry forward the longstanding and largely successful American project of liberal internationalism—the effort to build an open and rule-based world order centered on institutionalized cooperation among democracies. This next phase of "democratic internationalism" would return liberal internationalism to its roots in social democratic ideals, seek to redress imbalances within the democratic world between fundamentalist capitalism and socioeconomic equity, and move toward a posthegemonic system of global governance in which the United States increasingly shares authority with other democracies." *Daniel Deudney is associate professor of political scientist at Johns Hopkins University. G. John Ikenberry is Albert G. Milbank professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton University.*

U.S.-Turkish Relations: A Review at the Beginning of the Third Decade of the Post-Cold War Era

Center for Strategic and International Studies, Center for Strategic Research. November 2012 [PDF format, 30 pages]

http://csis.org/files/publication/121107_Aliriza_USTurkishRelations_Web.pdf

"This report is the product of a joint effort by the Center for Strategic Research at the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs of Turkey (SAM) and the CSIS Turkey Project. It incorporates the perspectives from both sides of the relationship, and in addition to examining the opportunities and challenges the alliance has confronted in the past six decades, it looks ahead to those it is likely to face in the future. Part I of the report examines the origins and development of the alliance during the Cold War. Part II looks at the inevitable adjustments brought on by the end of the Cold War and identifies the key factors that helped to ensure the continuation of the relationship in the first two decades of the new era. Part III looks forward at the beginning of the third decade of the post-Cold War era to how the relationship may evolve by focusing on the main areas of

cooperation... The current turmoil in the Middle East has served as a stark reminder to both Washington and Ankara of their shared interests and complementary strategic perspectives. Close coordination between the United States and Turkey during the Arab Spring, Turkey's continuing contribution to the NATO mission in Afghanistan, Turkey's decision to join the U.S.-led NATO missile shield program, and U.S. security assistance to Turkish military efforts against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) all highlight the extent to which the two countries can cooperate in Turkey's increasingly volatile and conflict-prone region."

Can Lebanon Survive the Syrian Crisis?

Salem, Paul. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. December 2012 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 34 pages]

http://carnegieendowment.org/files/lebanon_syrian_crisis.pdf

"Lebanon remains vulnerable to the Syrian conflict. Although the country has avoided major upheaval so far, the state is weak, sectarian tensions are high, and political coalitions are divided along pro and anti-regime lines, according to the author. "The international community has a part to play in determining the path forward. The best way for regional and international players to help Lebanon is to help resolve or defuse the Syrian conflict. Many external players have already made a policy of encouraging stability in Lebanon and keeping Lebanon at some distance from the conflict raging next door. That approach has been wise and beneficial. The Gulf countries, some of whom have encouraged or allowed the funding and arming of radical groups in northern Lebanon in direct support of the Syrian rebels, need to reconsider their policies in as much as they might end up dragging Lebanon itself into internal conflict. Iran, which has encouraged or coordinated with Hezbollah to send some fighters to Syria, should also consider that this policy could also lead to internal conflict in Lebanon. Regardless of the outcome of Lebanon's elections next spring—assuming they take place—or the conflict in Syria, external backers of both the pro-Syrian and anti-Syrian sides in Lebanon should push for the formation of an inclusive post-election government. Lebanon needs to continue to be governed very carefully and with power sharing and cooperation between its main communities and factions." *Paul Salem is the director of the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut, Lebanon. He works and publishes on the regional and international relations of the Middle East as well as issues of political development and democratization in the Arab world.*

Global Swing States: Brazil, India, Indonesia, Turkey and the Future of International Order

Kliman, Daniel M; Fontaine, Richard. Center for a New American Security; German Marshall Fund of the United States. November 27, 2012.

<http://www.cnas.org/globalswingstates>

"The current international order confronts numerous challenges. Some of those challenges largely relate to the rise of China, such as outsized maritime claims and the bypassing of international financial institutions. Other challenges involve stagnating multilateral trade talks, a weakened global financial architecture, the nuclear ambitions of North Korea and Iran and a

retrenchment of democracy in some parts of the world. At the same time, a combination of fiscal and political pressures constrains the role of traditional supporters of the global order such as the United States and Europe. The United States should therefore seize the opportunity to enlarge the international order's base of supporters to include Brazil, India, Indonesia and Turkey. These four nations each possess a large and growing economy, a strategic location in their region and a commitment to democratic institutions. And critically, each nation's precise international role is now in flux... This report begins by reviewing new challenges to the international order and then lays out why Brazil, India, Indonesia and Turkey are particularly promising partners in its defense. It then examines the positions of each of the four nations regarding five central pillars of the global order: trade, finance, the maritime commons, nonproliferation and human rights. The report ultimately presents a series of detailed policy recommendations for how to partner with the global swing states to pursue an international order that will continue to promote prosperity, enhance peace, and advance human rights and democracy." *Dr. Daniel M. Kliman is a Transatlantic Fellow at the German Marshall Fund. Richard Fontaine is the President of the Center for a New American Security.*

The Paranoid Neighbor: Algeria and the Conflict in Mali

Boukhars, Anouar. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. October 2012 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 38 pages]

http://carnegieendowment.org/files/paranoid_neighbor.pdf

"As the crisis in Mali threatens to grow into a full-fledged regional security and humanitarian nightmare, nervous neighboring countries are looking to Algeria to lead a conflict management effort... The crisis in Mali has exposed the country's tectonic fault lines, casting a shadow over current peace efforts and any future military intervention to reintegrate the north into the rest of the country. Diplomatic attempts to solve the crisis have faltered. The core states that could influence the key stakeholders in the conflict have been unable or unwilling to reconcile their interests and harmonize their actions. Accusations and counteraccusations of free riding and self-serving posturing remain the norm. Meanwhile, questions about the necessity, timing, and shape of the intervention force in northern Mali persist, as does speculation about Algeria's next move. The bottom line is that a sustained, cooperative, and sincere engagement by Algeria is critical to the success of conflict management and resolution in Mali. The country's economic and political power as well as its efforts to position itself as a leader in its neighborhood place it in a unique position to influence events...The core countries that could influence the trajectory of the conflict remain at loggerheads over the best means to restore stability to Mali. Questions about the necessity, timing, and shape of the intervention force in northern Mali persist." *Anouar Boukhars is a nonresident scholar in Carnegie's Middle East Program. He is an assistant professor of international relations at McDaniel College in Westminster, Maryland and the author of Politics in Morocco: Executive Monarchy and Enlightened Authoritarianism (Routledge, 2010).*

Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations

Sharp, Jeremy M. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. December 6, 2012 [PDF format, 20 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/201971.pdf>

"This report provides a brief overview of the key issues for Congress related to Egypt and information on U.S. foreign aid to Egypt. The United States has provided significant military and economic assistance to Egypt since the late 1970s... U.S. policy makers have routinely justified aid to Egypt as an investment in regional stability, built primarily on long-running military cooperation and on sustaining the March 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. For Obama Administration officials and the U.S. military, there is a clear desire to engage Egyptian President Muhammad Morsi's new government on a host of issues, including immediate economic support and Sinai security... . For FY2013, President Obama is requesting \$1.55 billion in total bilateral aid to Egypt (\$1.3 billion in military aid and \$250 million in economic aid). The aid levels requested are unchanged from FY2012 appropriations. The Obama Administration and many Members of Congress are closely monitoring developments in Egypt in the hope that civil strife does not spiral out of control." *Jeremy M. Sharp is an Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs at the CRS.*

ASEAN's Future and Asian Integration

Kurlantzick, Joshua. Council on Foreign Relations. November 2012 [PDF format, 25 pages]
http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/IIGG_WorkingPaper10_Kurlantzick.pdf

"In a region largely bereft of regional organizations, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has been the most significant multilateral group in Asia for the past forty-five years. Since its inception in 1967, ASEAN has largely achieved its initial purpose of preventing Southeast Asia from further outbreaks of war following the Indochina Wars, and has also accomplished several notable achievements in the economic and nonproliferation realms. Yet ASEAN today lags woefully behind its full potential. Unlike other regional institutions, ASEAN does not maintain a peacekeeping force, have the authority to enforce human rights, or possess a formal mechanism for conflict resolution. Most Western leaders and even many of Southeast Asia's top officials do not consider the organization capable of handling serious economic or security challenges, including disputes in the South China Sea." In this paper the author analyzes the major obstacles facing ASEAN today and prescribes recommendations for the both the United States and ASEAN that will enable ASEAN to firmly establish itself as the essential regional organization in Asia." *Joshua Kurlantzick is fellow for Southeast Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is the author of Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World (Yale University Press, 2007).*

Promoting Global Internet Freedom: Policy and Technology

Figliola, Patricia Moloney. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. October 23, 2012 [PDF format, 15 pages]
<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/201085.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." *Patricia Moloney Figliola is an Specialist in Internet and Telecommunications Policy at the CRS.*

Terrorism and Transnational Crime: Foreign Policy Issues for Congress

Rollins, John; Sun Wyler, Liana. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. October 19, 2012. [PDF format, 40 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/R41004.pdf>

"This report provides an overview of transnational security issues related to patterns of interaction among international terrorist and crime groups. In addition, the report discusses the U.S. government's perception of and response to the threat. It concludes with an analysis of foreign policy options. In recent years, the U.S. government has asserted that terrorism, insurgency, and crime interact in varied and significant ways, to the detriment of U.S. national security interests. Although unclassified anecdotal evidence largely serves as the basis for the current understanding of criminal-terrorist connections, observers often focus on several common patterns. To combat these apparent criminal-terrorist connections, Congress has maintained a role in formulating U.S. policy responses. Moreover, recent Administrations have issued several strategic documents to guide U.S. national security, counterterrorism, anti-crime, and intelligence activities. In July 2011, for example, the Obama Administration issued the Strategy to Combat Transnational Organized Crime, which emphasized, among other issues, the confluence of crime and terrorism as a major factor in threatening the U.S. global security interests. While the U.S. government has maintained substantial long-standing efforts to combat terrorism." *John Rollins is a Specialist in Terrorism and National Security at the CRS. Liana Sun Wyler is an Analyst in International Crime and Narcotics at the CRS.*

Global MetroMonitor 2012: Slowdown, Recovery, and Interdependence

Istrate, Emilia; Nadeau, Carey Anne. The Brookings Institution. November 30, 2012 [PDF format, 48 pages]

<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2012/11/30%20global%20metro%20monitor/30%20global%20monitor.pdf>

"This 2012 Global MetroMonitor assesses the economic performance of the world's largest metropolitan economies in 2012 in three key dimensions: relative to one another; relative to their countries; and relative to their own performance in 2011 and before the worldwide recession, including the degree to which they have recovered from the downturn. This edition of the Global MetroMonitor is the third in a series started in 2010, initially co-produced by Brookings and the London School of economics Cities program. The report focuses on metropolitan performance on two key economic indicators: annualized growth rate of real GDP per capita; and annualized growth rate of employment... While the global economic recovery slowed in 2012, the world's largest metropolitan economies continued to have very different growth experiences. Disparities loom both across major world regions and within them, reflecting differences in metro

industrial structure, national growth rates, and metro starting points. An analysis of GDP per capita and employment changes from 2011 to 2012 for the largest 300 metropolitan economies worldwide, which account for nearly one-half (48 percent) of global output but contain only 19 percent of world population, shows that: Three-quarters of the fastest-growing metropolitan economies in 2012 were located in developing Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East and Africa. Compared to their countries, more than half of metro areas outperformed on employment growth in 2012, but only 40 percent achieved faster GDP per capita growth." *Emilia Istrate is a Senior Research Associate and Associate Fellow, Metropolitan Policy Program. Carey Anne Nadeau is Senior Research Assistant at the Metropolitan Policy Program.*

ARTICLES

The Euro Crisis and US Strategy

Friedberg, Aaron L. *Survival*. December 2012/January 2013, pp. 7-28.

"Coinciding as they do with America's fiscal crisis and post-war fatigue, Europe's troubles could lead to a dangerous diminution of overall Western engagement in various hot spots at a critical moment. For 45 years after the end of the Second World War, American strategists worried far more about Europe's perceived political, economic and military weakness than they did about its potential strength. Following the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War this pattern was briefly reversed. With the signing of the Treaty of Maastricht in 1992 the birth of a 'United States of Europe' seemed finally to be at hand. Possessed of a vast market and nascent institutions of central governance, this new entity was widely seen as having the potential to become a major player on the world stage. While it had long supported the principle of European integration, Washington met these developments with a measure of ambivalence. The last several years have seen a reversion to the post-war norm, but with one important modification. American policymakers are concerned once again with Europe's weakness but, in contrast to the Cold War, they no longer regard the continent as the primary focus of their attention. Instead, over the last two decades, the centre of gravity of American strategy has migrated steadily eastward, from Europe to the Middle East and the Persian Gulf and now, with the Obama administration's self-proclaimed 'pivot', to East Asia. As seen from Washington, Europe is becoming a strategic sideshow and, what is more, it appears increasingly to be a hindrance in dealing with other challenges, rather than a help. If the present crisis results in an economic implosion, Europe could drag others down with it, making it more difficult for the United States to generate the resources necessary to meet other pressing geopolitical challenges." *Aaron L. Friedberg is Professor of Politics and International Affairs at Princeton University. An earlier version of this essay, entitled 'Beyond the Euro Crisis: Implications for U.S. Strategy', was published by the German Marshall Fund as part of its EuroFuture Project.*

The Faulty Logic of the European Union & Its Consequences for the United States

Grygiel, Jakub J. *Orbis*. Fall 2012, pp.517-529.

"The European Union is in crisis because it is based on a wrong understanding of political development. Its founding assumption is that a common market and a common currency

would lead to a unified polity; that Europeans would arise out of the euro. This has not happened and Europe is fraying economically and politically. And the United States is not a disinterested spectator because a weaker and more divided Europe undermines a key foreign policy objective pursued over the last century—of a Europe whole, secure, and free. Consequently, it is premature for Washington to reorient its strategic attention away from Europe. The splintering and wilting of the European project is, in fact, a serious setback for the United States. It represents, at least in part, a failure of a key century-long U.S. foreign policy goal that aimed at the establishment of a strong, united, and free Europe. It also exacerbates the fragility of a Western, trans-Atlantic alliance, the importance of which will only increase as the Middle East continues to destabilize, Russia hardens its authoritarian stance and China rises to challenge the United States in the Pacific. In fact, Washington's "pivot" to Asia is in large measure predicated on the assumption that at a minimum Europe is stable, secure and on its way to becoming a coherent power on its own, allowing a geographic shift of U.S. resources and attention. The EU crisis is beginning to test the reliability of such an assumption. This article develops this argument, starting with U.S. objectives, continuing with Europe and its woes and ending with the consequences for Washington and the West." *Jakub J. Grygiel is the George H. W. Bush Associate Professor at The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at The Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C.. He is a Senior Fellow at FPRI.*

An American President in the Age of Globalization

Talbott, Strobe. *YaleGlobal*. November 19, 2012.

<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/american-president-age-globalization>

"In Washington and Beijing, new administrations prepare to take the reins. Strobe Talbott gives an analysis of the significance of President Barack Obama's reelection. A child of an African man, raised in a middle-class American home, Obama represents high aspirations for many around the globe. But he's also a target for those who fear globalization and change. "The same attributes of the 44th president that have made him a prodigy in the eyes of many Americans - and much of the rest of the world - have also made him a target of unprecedented mistrust and hatred," writes Talbott. Obama is qualified to lead in an era of globalization, and Talbott points out two areas that demand political courage: strengthening the global nuclear non-proliferation regime with ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and leading an international effort to slow the process of human-induced climate change." *Strobe Talbott is president of the Brookings Institution and chairman of the State Department's Foreign Affairs Policy Board.*

Strategy in a Time of Austerity

Krepinevich Jr., Andrew F. *Foreign Affairs*. November/December 2012.

"Over the next decade, the U.S. military will need to undertake the most dramatic shift in its strategy since the introduction of nuclear weapons more than 60 years ago. Just as defense budgets are declining, the price of projecting and sustaining military power is increasing and the range of interests requiring protection is expanding. This means that tough strategic choices will finally have to be made, not just talked about. As the British physicist Ernest Rutherford once declared to his colleagues, "We haven't got the money,

so we've got to think." A new strategic framework will be needed, one focused less on repelling traditional cross-border invasions, effecting regime change, and conducting large-scale stability operations and more on preserving access to key regions and the global commons, which are essential to U.S. security and prosperity. The bad news is that this will mean reducing the priority of certain objectives and accepting greater risk in some realms. But the good news is that with a shift in focus, truly critical U.S. interests can continue to be protected at a sustainable cost." *Andrew F. Krepinevich, Jr., is President of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments.*

The Currency of Power

Zoellick, Robert. *Foreign Policy*. November 2012, pp. 67-73.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/10/08/the_currency_of_power?page=full

"Consider the foreign-policy debates of this U.S. election year. Journalists and commentators expound about wars and rumors of wars, political leaders and upheavals, human rights and duties to intervene, missiles and their defense. All serious and important topics. But how about a question on the eurozone crisis that threatens the integration of Europe, one of the 20th century's greatest security-policy achievements and America's closest ally and partner? What about America's connections to growth in East Asia, where economics is the coin of the realm? The reply is that these topics concern economics, not foreign policy! America's security strategists seem to have lost the ability to integrate the two. Their perspectives on economics do not extend much beyond sanctions policies and paying for defense budgets. At best, the role of economics is assumed, not analyzed. We scarcely understand its effects on power, influence, diplomacy, ideas, and human rights. At worst, economic problems have become a justification for a "come home, America" isolationism. And economists -- absorbed with mathematical models and debates about quantitative easing and stimulus policies -- are content to operate in their separate universe. Some, on the left and the right, disparage the role of economics in foreign policy as crass commercialism, narrow business interests, or, worse, affording undue influence to bankers. Others view international economics and trade policy as narrow specialties involving technical negotiations that just aggravate domestic constituencies. Yet this separation of economics from U.S. foreign policy and security policy reflects a shift from earlier American experience. For its first 150 years, the American foreign-policy tradition was deeply infused with economic logic." *Robert Zoellick, former World Bank president, is senior fellow at Harvard University's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and distinguished visiting fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics.*

Afghan Security Returns to the Grassroots

Ahmad, Jamid. *The National Interest*. November 28, 2012.

<http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/afghan-security-returns-the-grassroots-7778>

"The size and purpose of the flexible residual force that will remain in Afghanistan beyond 2014—mostly Special Forces and trainers—will soon be determined. Although the final numbers are still uncertain, the overall U.S. civilian-military campaign plan is likely to be in the range of thirty thousand personnel. In the months ahead, Washington not only needs to ensure a successful transition to Afghan lead—it also must devise new ways to

maintain security across the country after 2014. One such element that remains largely out of public attention is a growing interest in the Village Stability Operations (VSOs). These missions are conducted by the U.S. Special Forces embedded with villagers to maintain social stability by supporting villages from within. The VSO methodology is part of the broader counterinsurgency campaign and is crucial not only to understanding local villages but also in identifying and addressing sources of instability at the grassroots level." *Javid Ahmad is a Program Coordinator for Asia at the German Marshall Fund of the United States in Washington, DC.*

Religious Freedom and National Security

Inboden, William. *Policy Review*. October/November 2012.

<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/129086>

"Both the Bush and Obama administrations have demonstrated at least a rhetorical appreciation for the relationship between religious freedom and broader security equities. For example, the Bush administration's 2006 "National Security Strategy" declared that "against a terrorist enemy that is defined by religious intolerance, we defend the First Freedom: the right of people to believe and worship according to the dictates of their own conscience, free from the coercion of the state, the coercion of the majority, or the coercion of a minority that wants to dictate what others must believe." While the Obama administration's "National Security Strategy" does not address religious freedom, President Obama highlighted it in his 2009 Cairo speech as one of the key issues facing the Islamic world: "People in every country should be free to choose and live their faith based upon the persuasion of the mind and the heart and the soul... Freedom of religion is central to the ability of peoples to live together." Yet in operational terms, the U.S. government has consistently treated religious-freedom promotion as at best a tertiary priority. While religious freedom exists as a normative good in its own right, its potential contributions to stability and security have been less explored, let alone appreciated. Understanding religious freedom's relationship with national security would mean moving it from the periphery towards the center of American policy." *William Inboden is a distinguished scholar at the Strauss Center for International Security and Law, an assistant professor at the Ibj School at the University of Texas-Austin, and an associate scholar with the Religious Freedom Project at Georgetown University. He formerly served on the State Department's Policy Planning staff and as senior director for strategic planning at the National Security Council.*

Slavery's Global Comeback

Gould, J.J. *The Atlantic*. December 19, 2012.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/12/slaverys-global-comeback/266354/>

"The leading demographic accounts of contemporary slavery project a global slave population of between 20 million and 30 million people. Most of these people have been unknowingly trafficked though the promise of opportunity by predators. Others are children literally sold by parents or relatives in order to pay off debt or to lessen their economic burden. The highest ratios of slaves worldwide are from South and Southeast Asia, along with China, Russia, Albania, Belarus, and Romania. There is a significant slave presence

across North Africa and the Middle East, including Lebanon... As pervasive as contemporary slavery is, it hasn't come clearly into focus as a global issue until relatively recently. There are a couple of big reasons why -- one having to do with the scale of the problem, the other with the concept of slavery itself... But if the president of the United States has nevertheless embraced the term "slavery," as Barack Obama has now done with his speech at the Clinton Global Institute in September, you know it's also an emotive term whose time has come -- or come again. The State Department, meanwhile, now answers the question "What is modern slavery?" by implying, virtually to the point of stating, that it now considers "slavery" the umbrella term for crimes of "trafficking". *J.J. Gould is deputy editor of TheAtlantic.com. He was the former editor of the Journal of Democracy, co-published by the Johns Hopkins University Press and the National Endowment for Democracy.*

The Surprising Sources of Oil's Influence

Clayton, Blake; Rubenstein, David M. *Survival*. December 2012/January 2013, pp. 107-122.

"Connections between the oil trade and international politics have declined in recent decades, but there is no reason to assume that these changes are permanent. Should countries care about where they get their oil? As Middle Eastern oil exports to Asia rise while shipments to the United States and Europe fall, analysts are asking whether this trade shift will have geopolitical consequences, drawing China politically closer to the Middle East while driving the West further away. In North America, the debate over the Keystone XL pipeline, which would have transported crude from Canada to the US Gulf of Mexico, featured proponents who trumpeted the value of relying on a friendly source of oil and skeptics who insisted that the origin of US oil imports doesn't matter. Throughout the world, many still worry that dependence on the Persian Gulf leaves countries exposed to blackmail; other analysts, though, insist that markets have rendered such threats impotent." *Blake Clayton is Fellow for Energy and National Security at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). Michael Levi is David M. Rubenstein Senior Fellow for Energy and the Environment and Director of the Program on Energy Security and Climate Change at CFR.*

Top Five Threats To National Security in the Coming Decade

Erwin, Sandra I. *National Defense*. November 2012, pp. 30-37.

<http://ow.ly/fG8Ow>

"The next wave of national security threats, however, might be more than the technology community can handle. They are complex, multidimensional problems against which no degree of U.S. technical superiority in stealth, fifth-generation air warfare or nightvision is likely to suffice. The latest intelligence forecasts by the Obama administration and other sources point to five big challenges to U.S. and global security in the coming decades: Biological Weapons; Nukes; Cyber-Attacks; Climate Change; Transnational Crime." *Sandra Erwin is editor of National Defense Magazine.*

How China Sees America: The Sum of Beijing's Fears

Nathan, Andrew J.; Scobell, Andrew. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2012, pp. 32-42.

"Great power" is a vague term, but China deserves it by any measure: the extent and

strategic location of its territory, the size and dynamism of its population, the value and growth rate of its economy, the massive size of its share of global trade, and the strength of its military. China has become one of a small number of countries that have significant national interests in every part of the world and that command the attention, whether willingly or grudgingly, of every other country and every international organization. And perhaps most important, China is the only country widely seen as a possible threat to U. S. predominance. Indeed, China's rise has led to fears that the country will soon overwhelm its neighbors and one day supplant the United States as a global hegemon... Although China's relative power has grown significantly in recent decades, the main tasks of Chinese foreign policy are defensive and have not changed much since the Cold War era: to blunt destabilizing influences from abroad, to avoid territorial losses, to reduce its neighbors' suspicions, and to sustain economic growth. What has changed in the past two decades is that China is now so deeply integrated into the world economic system that its internal and regional priorities have become part of a larger quest: to define a global role that serves Chinese interests but also wins acceptance from other powers. Chief among those powers, of course, is the United States, and managing the fraught U.S.-Chinese relationship is Beijing's foremost foreign policy challenge. And just as Americans wonder whether China's rise is good for U.S. interests or represents a looming threat, Chinese policymakers puzzle over whether the United States intends to use its power to help or hurt China." *Andrew J. Nathan is Class of 1919 Professor of Political Science at Columbia University. Andrew Scobell is Senior Political Scientist at the RAND Corporation. This essay is adapted from their forthcoming book, China's Search for Security (Columbia University Press, 2012).*

Transnational Criminal Organizations: Mexico's Commercial Insurgency

Martinez, Christopher. *Military Review*. September/October 2012, pp.58-62.

http://usacac.army.mil/CAC2/MilitaryReview/Archives/English/MilitaryReview_20121031_art011.pdf

"In the past several years, U.S. government officials and journalists have compared the violence of transnational criminal organizations (TCOs) within Mexico to the terrorist tactics used by the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) and suggested that the TCOs are conducting an "insurgency." For example, in September 2010, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton stated, "We face an increasing threat from a well-organized network, a drug trafficking threat that is, in some cases, morphing into or making common cause with what we would consider an insurgency, in Mexico and in Central America." She later added, "It's looking more and more like Colombia did 20 years ago."...If the United States and Mexico do not acknowledge their adversaries as commercial insurgencies, strategic plans like "Plan Colombia" or the "Merida Initiative" risk failing due to inaptly designed campaign plans and poorly predefined measures of effectiveness to evaluate their execution. U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton was the first political leader to describe the TCO threat in Mexico as an insurgency." *Major Christopher Martinez is the senior military intelligence planner for the U.S. Southwest Regional Support team at Joint Task Force North, Fort Bliss, TX. In his current position, Major Martinez serves as an advisor and partner to federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies in Arizona and California.*

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

Economic Effects of Policies Contributing to Fiscal Tightening in 2013

Congressional Budget Office. November 2012. [PDF format, 16 pages]

<http://www.cbo.gov/sites/default/files/cbofiles/attachments/11-08-12-FiscalTightening.pdf>

"Substantial changes to tax and spending policies are scheduled to take effect in January 2013, significantly reducing the federal budget deficit. According to the Congressional Budget Office's (CBO's) projections, if all of that fiscal tightening occurs, real (inflation-adjusted) gross domestic product (GDP) will drop by 0.5 percent in 2013 (as measured by the change from the fourth quarter of 2012 to the fourth quarter of 2013)—reflecting a decline in the first half of the year and renewed growth at a modest pace later in the year.¹ That contraction of the economy will cause employment to decline and the unemployment rate to rise to 9.1 percent in the fourth quarter of 2013. After next year, by the agency's estimates, economic growth will pick up, and the labor market will strengthen, returning output to its potential level (reflecting a high rate of use of labor and capital) and shrinking the unemployment rate to 5.5 percent by 2018."

The Evaluation of the U.S. Small Business Administration's Regional Cluster Initiative

U.S. Small Business Administration. June 2012 [PDF format, 231 pages]

<http://www.sba.gov/sites/default/files/files/Cluster%20Evaluation.pdf>

"In September 2010, the U.S. Small Business Administration (SBA) launched the Regional Cluster Initiative, a pilot program to promote and support ten clusters — geographically concentrated groups of interconnected businesses, suppliers, academic institutions, service providers, and associated organizations — across a wide variety of industries and regions throughout the United States. The SBA's Cluster Initiative provides funding to the organizing entities of the ten clusters in order to increase opportunities for small business participation within the clusters, promote innovation in the industries on which the ten clusters are focused, and enhance regional economic development and growth. This report describes the preliminary findings and outcomes from the first-year evaluation of the SBA's Initiative. This report examines the ten clusters participating in the initiative in detail, including their various stakeholder participants and the services and activities provided by the clusters, with a focus on small business participants... Several key outcomes were observed during year one. Among the preliminary outcomes, there is evidence of new business formation within the clusters and job creation in small businesses that participated in the clusters. Seven new businesses were started after cluster participation during the first year of the initiative, three of them in the Monterey, California area focused on the agricultural technology supply chain. The average full-time employment in the small businesses that participated in the clusters increased by 7.6%

during year one. Average total employment, including both full-time and part-time employees, grew by 11.2%. The small businesses that participated in the clusters also experienced growth during the first year of the initiative."

Economic Recovery: Sustaining U.S. Economic Growth in a Post-Crisis Economy

Elwell, Craig K. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. November 29, 2012

[PDF format, 27 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/201600.pdf>

"The 2007-2009 recession was long and deep, and according to several indicators was the most severe economic contraction since the 1930s (but still much less severe than the Great Depression). The slowdown of economic activity was moderate through the first half of 2008, but at that point the weakening economy was overtaken by a major financial crisis that would exacerbate the economic weakness and accelerate the decline. Economic recovery began in mid-2009. Real gross domestic product (GDP) has been on a positive track since then, although the pace has been uneven and slowed significantly in 2011. 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 balance sheet of households, the labor market, and the housing sector. Congress was an active participant in the policy responses to this crisis and has an ongoing interest in macroeconomic conditions. Current macroeconomic concerns include whether the economy is in a sustained recovery, rapidly reducing unemployment, speeding a return to normal output and employment growth, and addressing government's long-term debt problem." *Craig K. Elwell is an Specialist in Macroeconomic Policy at the CRS.*

State Government Fiscal Stress and Federal Assistance

Dilger, Robert Jay. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. December 3,

2012 [PDF format, 33 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41773.pdf>

"No two state budgets are alike. States have different budget cycles, different ways of preparing revenue estimates and forecasts, different requirements concerning their operating and capital budgets, different roles for their governors in the budget process, and different policies concerning the carrying over of operating budget deficits into the next fiscal year. Although no two state budgets are alike, all 50 states have experienced fiscal stress in recent years, especially during FY2009 and FY2010... Congressional interest in state budgetary finances has increased in recent years, primarily because state action to address budget shortfalls, such as increasing taxes, laying off or furloughing state employees, and postponing or eliminating state infrastructure projects, could have an adverse effect on the national economic recovery... This report examines the current status of state fiscal conditions and the role of federal assistance in state budgets. It begins with a brief overview of state budgeting procedures and then provides budgetary data comparing state fiscal conditions in FY2008 to FY2011. The data indicate that (1) states reduced their general fund budgets from FY2008 to FY2011, but, because they received increased federal funding, increased their total amount of spending; (2) the

share of total state expenditures held by the states' four operating expenditures budgets (general fund, federal funds, other state funds, and bonds) shifted from FY2008 to FY2011, with an increased reliance on federal funds; and (3) states experienced varying levels of fiscal stress from FY2008 to FY2011. This report concludes with an assessment of the consequences current levels of state fiscal stress may have for the 113th Congress." *Robert Jay Dilger is a Senior Specialist in American National Government at the CRS.*

Addressing the Long-Run Budget Deficit: A Comparison of Approaches

Gravelle, Jane G. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. November 30, 2012 [PDF format, 39 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/201601.pdf>

"The growth of the national debt, which is considered unsustainable under current policies, continues to be one of the central issues of domestic federal policy making. On August 2, 2011, Congress adopted, and the President signed, the Budget Control Act (P. L. 112-25), which might be viewed as an initial step in addressing long-run debt issues. A number of tax cuts also expire during the 112th Congress. While it has been recognized for some time that the growing long-term debt is an issue, this concern was reinforced with the downgrading of U.S. Treasury securities by Standard and Poor's from AAA to AA + on August 5, 2011. More recently, however, short-term concerns about the effect of spending cuts and tax increases on economic recovery have become a central issue for the immediate future. This report examines alternative approaches to reducing the deficit, relating to the immediate issues arising from the Budget Control Act and the expiring tax cuts as well as to ongoing longer-term decisions about how to bring the debt under control. It focuses on the trade-offs between limiting the provision of defense and domestic public goods, reducing transfers to persons including entitlements for the elderly and those with low income, reducing support for state and local governments, and raising taxes. Using projections of the debt and deficit, it also addresses how limiting reliance on one source of deficit reduction creates pressure on other sources." *Jane G. Gravelle is a Senior Specialist in Economic Policy at the CRS.*

Remaking Federalism: Renewing the Economy

Muro, Mark; Katz, Bruce. The Brookings Institution. November 13, 2012 [PDF format, 20 pages]

<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/11/13%20federalism/13%20federalism%20budget%20economy.pdf>

According to this report, unlocking the economic power of U.S. states and metropolitan areas will take support from Washington and strong federal policies that ensure fiscal efficiency and strategic investments. The authors introduce specific policy recommendations to strengthen federalism while ushering the shift toward a new economic model. "With the 2012 election completed, Washington faces a daunting overhang of substantial economic, fiscal, and governance problems. Steps toward reform will have to be taken. A housecleaning of major proportions must commence even amid the politics of gridlock and deficits and at a moment of deep pessimism about federal

problem-solving on all fronts. Increasingly, metropolitan areas and their states are acting like the engines of prosperity and change they are and—through their own initiative—leading. Together with their states, metro areas are stepping up as never before and pursuing game-changing initiatives to create jobs in the near term and restructure their economies for the long haul. Attuned to the localism of the economy, these centers of economic dynamism are working hard to develop a new growth model focused on advancing innovation and advanced industries, providing crucial infrastructure, and improving education and skills training." *Bruce Katz is a vice president at the Brookings Institution and founding director of the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program. Mark Muro is a senior fellow and policy director at the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program.*

How Can Trade Policy Help America Compete?

Lawrence, Robert Z. Peterson Institute for International Economics. October 2012 [PDF format, 7 pages]

<http://www.iie.com/publications/pb/pb12-21.pdf>

"America deserves credit for not having succumbed to the global financial crisis by repeating the protectionist mistakes of the 1930s. Nonetheless, since 2007, although lip service has been paid to boosting US exports, its trade policy accomplishments have been modest. This is unfortunate because active trade policies can promote American living standards and facilitate America's return to full employment and sustained growth. These policies can also help to create a global trade order that advances American interests. This policy brief argues that the United States needs new initiatives that discipline foreign practices, increase access to foreign markets, revitalize the World Trade Organization (WTO), improve the administrative and regulatory environment for trade, and assist workers and communities adversely affected by change." *Robert Z. Lawrence has been a senior fellow at the Peterson Institute since 2001 and is also the Albert L. Williams Professor of International Trade and Investment at Harvard University.*

Metro Trade: Cities Return to Their Roots in the Global Economy

Berube, Alan; Parilla, Joseph. Metropolitan Policy Program, The Brookings Institution. November 26, 2012 [PDF format, 36 pages]

<http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/11/26%20metro%20trade/26%20metro%20trade.pdf>

"Economic theory, world history, and contemporary experience show that metropolitan areas (i.e., city-regional economies) and trade are inextricably linked. Trade is essential to metro areas—it is how they grow their economies. And metro areas are essential to trade—they provide the specialization and market access that facilitates exchange among producers and consumers. This report examines how the intersection between metro areas and trade is motivating a new—yet old—approach to economic growth in an age of increasing international exchange and rapid urbanization... The report proceeds in four basic parts: (1) It describes several periods in ancient and medieval history in which networks of cities emerged to facilitate global trade and exchange, before the rise of the nation-state; and reviews how economists have come to understand what drives trade, how metro areas are important to trade, and how trade helps metro economies to grow

and prosper; (2) It explains why and how, amid increasing trade and urbanization worldwide, metro areas are today becoming even more critical hubs in the global economy and expanding the notion of what it means to be a "global city"; (3) It provides a framework for, and leading examples of, strategies at the metro level for enhancing regional economic growth through trade; (4) It concludes by calling for metro areas to rediscover their historical roots as the centers for global trade, and assert new leadership on trade issues to achieve growth and prosperity in the next economy." *Alan Berube is Senior Fellow and Deputy Director of the Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings Institution. Joseph Parilla is Senior Policy/Research Assistant at the Metropolitan Policy Program at Brookings.*

Hit Hard but Bouncing Back: The Employment of Immigrants During the Great Recession and the Recovery

Enchautegui, Maria E. Urban Institute. November 2, 2012 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 7 pages]

<http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412691-Hit-Hard-but-Bouncing-Back.pdf>

"During the Great Recession immigrants lost more employment, relative to their initial employment level, than U.S.-born workers. During the Recovery immigrants gained more employment than U.S.-born workers. The employment gains of immigrants during the recovery spread among all educational groups except those with no high school diploma. Among U.S.-born workers, only those with Bachelor's degree or more gained employment. By mid-2012, the employment of both immigrants and U.S.-born workers were still below the pre-recession level." *María E. Enchautegui is a senior research associate at the Urban Institute. Prior to joining the Urban Institute she served as Senior Economic Advisor to the Assistant Secretary for Policy at the Department of Labor.*

Latino Voters in the 2012 Election

Pew Hispanic Center. November 7, 2012 [PDF format, 20 pages]

http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/11/2012_Latino_vote_exit_poll_analysis_final_11-07-12.pdf

Latinos voted for President Barack Obama over Republican Mitt Romney by 71% to 27%, according to the analysis. Obama's national vote share among Hispanic voters is the highest seen by a Democratic candidate since 1996, when President Bill Clinton won 72% of the Hispanic vote. The analysis finds that Latinos made up 10% of the electorate, as indicated by the national exit poll, up from 9% in 2008 and 8% in 2004. The analysis also shows that as a group, non-white voters made up 28% of the nation's electorate, up from 26% in 2008.

An Awakened Giant: The Hispanic Electorate is Likely to Double by 2030

Taylor, Paul, et.al. Pew Hispanic Center. November 14, 2012.

<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/11/14/an-awakened-giant-the-hispanic-electorate-is-likely-to-double-by-2030/>

"The record number of Latinos who cast ballots for president this year are the leading

edge of an ascendant ethnic voting bloc that is likely to double in size within a generation, according to a Pew Hispanic Center analysis based on U.S. Census Bureau data, Election Day exit polls and a new nationwide survey of Hispanic immigrants. The nation's 53 million Hispanics comprise 17% of the total U.S. population but just 10% of all voters this year, according to the national exit poll. However, their share of the electorate will rise quickly for several reasons. The most important is that Hispanics are by far the nation's youngest ethnic group. Their median age is 27 years—and just 18 years among native-born Hispanics—compared with 42 years for that of white non-Hispanics. In the coming decades, their share of the age-eligible electorate will rise markedly through generational replacement alone. According to Pew Hispanic Center projections, Hispanics will account for 40% of the growth in the eligible electorate in the U.S. between now and 2030, at which time 40 million Hispanics will be eligible to vote, up from 23.7 million now. Moreover, if Hispanics' relatively low voter participation rates and naturalization rates were to increase to the levels of other groups, the number of votes that Hispanics actually cast in future elections could double within two decades." *Paul Taylor is the executive vice president of the Pew Research Center, and serves as the director of the center's Social and Demographic Trends project and director of the Pew Hispanic Center.*

Record Shares of Young Adults Have Finished Both High School and College

Fry, Richard; Parker, Kim. Pew Social & Demographic Trends. November 5, 2012 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 21 pages]

http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2012/11/educ_attain_report_FNL.pdf

Record shares of young adults are completing high school, going to college and finishing college, according to this analysis. "In 2012, for the first time ever, one-third of the nation's 25- to 29-year-olds have completed at least a bachelor's degree. These across-the-board increases have occurred despite dramatic immigration-driven changes in the racial and ethnic composition of college-age young adults, a trend that had led some experts to expect a decline in educational attainment. College completion is now at record levels among key demographic groups: men and women; blacks, whites and Hispanics; and foreign-born and native-born Americans."

ARTICLES

America's Most Diverse Neighborhoods

Kolko, Jed. *The Atlantic*. November 13, 2012 [HTML format, various paging]

<http://www.theatlanticcities.com/housing/2012/11/where-find-diversity-america/3892/>

"Among the 100 largest metros, San Jose is the most diverse. San Jose is 35 percent white (the largest group), 31 percent Asian, 28 percent Hispanic, 3 percent two-or-more races, and 2 percent black. In no other metro does the largest group have a share smaller than 35 percent. New York ranks second, with a population that is 39 percent white, 28 percent Hispanic, 19 percent Black, and 12 percent Asian. Four of the ten most diverse large metros in the U.S. are in California: San Jose, Oakland, Orange County, and

San Francisco. Only one – New York – is in the Northeast, and not one is in the Midwest." *Jed Kolko is Chief Economist at Trulia, Inc., an online real estate resource.*

Fiscal Cliff To Be Decided by a Few Key Players

Chokshi, Niraj. *National Journal*. November 11, 2012 [HTML format, various paging]
<http://goo.gl/JZFxL>

"The campaigning marathon may be over, but there's a legislative sprint ahead. There is no goal more urgent between now and the end of the year than mitigating the impact of the expiring tax cuts and impending spending cuts known collectively as the "fiscal cliff." Virtually no one wants to see the fiscal restraint and associated risk of recession come to pass, but preventing it requires serious negotiating. Whether lawmakers achieve the so-far-elusive grand bargain, just delay the fiscal belt-tightening, or fail to reach a compromise altogether, the power to keep the economy from going over the cliff will be concentrated in the hands of a precious few. With the policy options mostly on the table and both sides having made clear what their deal breakers are, the next two months of negotiations will be all about finding a palatable compromise, Congress-watchers say." *Niraj Chokshi is an economics reporter at National Journal.*

The Bloomberg Way

Bennet, James. *The Atlantic*. November 2012 [HTML format, various paging]
<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/11/the-bloomberg-way/309136/>

"You could look at Michael Bloomberg—astounding, profane, irritated by small talk, impatient with the politics of empathy—and see a plutocrat whose billions have given him the freedom to say and do whatever he wants, even to change the law to run for a third term as New York City's mayor. Or you could look a little further and see a more interesting pattern: a man who turned getting shunted off the fast track at Salomon Brothers—over to information technology, no place for a fledgling master of the financial universe—into an opportunity, creating an entirely new approach to getting traders the data they needed; who took getting fired as a chance to gamble his payout on this idea; who then took the billions he made and chose not to embark on a lifelong vacation but to step into the least-forgiving political arena in the country; and who has since governed New York assertively, putting himself in the vanguard of a generation of mayors who, at a time when the federal government is paralyzed, are testing new approaches to education, transportation, and public health. You begin to see a guy, in sum, who thinks for himself, but not only of himself." *James Bennet has been the editor-in-chief of The Atlantic since 2006.*

Realism and the Republican Future

Gay, John Allen. *The National Interest*. November 16, 2012 [HTML format, various paging]
<http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/realism-the-republican-future-7744>

"The Republican Party suffered a severe blow on November 6, losing the presidential election and several key Senate races and provoking an intense discussion about the

party's future. Most of the changes will come in domestic policy—according to some, this is the root of the party's worsening position in key minority groups and its inability to beat the incumbent in spite of a fragile economic situation. But changes in the foreign-policy arena will be just as vital for a GOP that can win again. After many years in which the Republicans were the trusted party on foreign policy, exit polls showed that voters would trust Obama in an international crisis by several points more than Romney; voters that rated foreign policy as the most important issue facing America favored Obama nearly two to one. Undecided voters thought Obama won the foreign policy debate in the same ratio. This is a product of the extraordinary cost of the neoconservative project in Iraq." *John Allen Gay is program assistant for the Regional Security Program and the Program on American National Security in the Twenty-First Century at the Center for the National Interest.*

The First Amendment: An Icon Sometimes Erected in Curious Places

Berger, Peter. *The American Interest*. December 12, 2012 [HTML format, various paging] <http://blogs.the-american-interest.com/berger/2012/12/12/the-first-amendment-an-icon-sometimes-erected-in-curious-places/>

"The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is an icon of religious freedom, and rightly so. It contains a double prohibition: no establishment of religion and no hindrance to the free exercise of religion. The two clauses often grind against each other. Adopted by Congress in 1791, the Amendment still comes up again and again on the calendars of federal judges. On the whole, they have done a decent job, and religious freedom is more single-mindedly protected by the law in this country than about anywhere else." *Peter Berger is sociologist and a senior research fellow at the Institute on Culture, Religion and World Affairs at Boston University.*

How To Make Sense of America's Wildly Different, Confusing Patchwork of Gun Control Laws

Resnik, Ryan. *National Journal*. December 17, 2012 [HTML format, various paging] <http://goo.gl/cEBIA>

"So what emerges is an overlapping patchwork of federal and state laws. The right to bear arms exists everywhere, but how arms are controlled and disseminated varies. Which makes for a confusing answer to the question: What is the current state of gun control in the United States?" *Brian Resnick is an online editor at National Journal.*

Hispanics and National Politics

Suarez, Ray. *Foreign Affairs*. November 2012.

"Current demographic trends suggest that the percentage of Latinos eligible to vote in the United States will grow in the decades to come, and if Democrats continue to win lopsided margins among them, it will become nearly impossible for Republicans to win enough Electoral College votes to put a candidate in the White House. Since Election Day, pundits have broadly disagreed on why Mitt Romney lost. But they have largely agreed on why President Barack Obama won. Experts and strategists in the Republican Party had

been predicting that the coalition that elected Obama in 2008 had splintered, was disenchanted, and would be unlikely to vote. They could not have been more wrong: black, young, and Latino voters came out in tremendous numbers, making up a big share of the president's three-million-plus margin of victory. In the election postmortems, Latinos have received a special level of attention, and for good reason. According to most estimates, Latino support for Obama was just a whisker short of the record 72 percent Bill Clinton got in 1992. Some reports even put it higher: The polling organization Latino Decisions gave Obama an eye-popping 75 percent of the vote, compared with 23 percent for Romney --a 3:1 margin." *Ray Suarez is is Senior Correspondent for the PBS NewsHour.*

The Good Jobs Deficit

Gordon, Colin. *Dissent Magazine*. December 10, 2012 [HTML format, various paging]
<http://www.dissentmagazine.org/blog/the-good-jobs-deficit>

"The long view, looking back over the last generation, shows increased polarization in the labor market: job growth has been robust in a few high-skill, high-wage, managerial and technical fields, and in the low-skill, low-wage, service occupations. But the middle—decent jobs with decent benefits for those without college degrees—has evaporated. A shorter view, looking across the last business cycle, confirms the general trend. As the National Employment Law Project has ably documented, job losses during the recession were concentrated in mid-wage occupations, while job gains during the recovery have been concentrated at the low end." *Colin Gordon is a professor of history at the University of Iowa.*

US Lags in Race for Tech Talent

Wadhwa, Vivek. *YaleGlobal*. October 26, 2012 [Note: contains copyrighted material]
 [HTML format, various paging]
<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/us-lags-race-tech-talent>

"The U.S. is highly protectionist on labor and jobs. The country remains a top destination among skilled talent because of its opportunities in education, angel investors and markets. But regulations on visas that allow immigrants to work at U.S. firms increasingly lead to bottlenecks in the application process and career obstacles for individuals in a highly mobile global market for top talent. U.S. law allows no more than 7 percent of the permanent-residency visas to any one nationality, yet Chinese and Indian workers make up half the skilled pool, reports Wadhwa. Likewise, U.S. laws are not amenable for the tech startups that begin with a handful of employees. Australia, Canada and the UK are streamlining policies to welcome such entrepreneurs. Chile is offering startup funds and other subsidies to attract tech workers. Countries count on talent to invigorate economies, and the race is on." *Vivek Wadhwa is vice president of academics and innovation at Singularity University; fellow, Arthur & Toni Rembe Rock Center for Corporate Governance, Stanford University; director of research at the Center for Entrepreneurship and Research Commercialization at the Pratt School of Engineering, Duke University. He is the author of The Immigrant Exodus: Why America Is Losing the Global Race to Capture Entrepreneurial Talent (Wharton Digital Press, 2012)*

An Economic Ranking of the US Presidents, 1789–2009: A Data-Based Approach

Taylor Zachary, Mark. *PS: Political Science & Politics*. October 2012, pp 596-604.

"How relatively good or bad were the economic performances of our past presidents? The answers to this question remain unclear. Most evaluations of presidential performance cloud the issue with partisan bias and subjective judgments or mix economics together with other policy areas. To address these shortcomings, this article uses new data from the Measuring Worth Project to calculate the relative economic rankings of the United States presidents who served from 1789 until 2009. It analyzes up to 220 years of data on economic growth, unemployment, inflation, government debt, balance of payments, income inequality, currency strength, interest rates, and stock market returns to estimate an economic grade point average for each president. Then, these estimates are used to test for correlations with other variables to generate hypotheses regarding the conditions for superior and inferior economic performance." *Mark Zachary Taylor is an assistant professor at the Sam Nunn School of International Affairs at Georgia Institute of Technology.*

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