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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

FACT SHEET: "A MOMENT OF OPPORTUNITY" IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

The White House. May 19, 2011.

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/fact-sheet-moment-opportunity-middle-east-and-north-africa> (Fact Sheet)

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/19/remarks-president-middle-east-and-north-africa> (Remarks in English)

<http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/spanish/texttrans/2011/05/20110519165806x0.8038686.html#axzz1Msp90Yli> (Remarks in Spanish)

In a major speech at the State Department, President Obama laid out his vision for a new chapter in American diplomacy as calls for reform and democracy spread across the Middle East and North Africa. He made clear that the United States will support people who call for democracy and reform and leaders who implement them, will oppose violence in cracking down on protests and efforts to limit the rights of minorities, and continue to work for peace between Israelis and Palestinians. Attached are President Obama's remarks and a fact sheet announcing the President's new approach to promoting democratic reform, economic development, and peace and security across the region.

INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY FOR CYBERSPACE: PROSPERITY, SECURITY, AND OPENNESS IN A NETWORKED WORLD

The White House. May 2011 [PDF format, 25 pages]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/international_strategy_for_cyberspace.pdf

"The International Strategy lays out the President's vision for the future of the Internet, and sets an agenda for partnering with other nations and peoples to achieve that vision. It begins by recognizing the successes networked technologies have brought us, in large part due to the spirit of freedom and innovation that has characterized the Internet from its early days as a research project. While the strategy is realistic about the challenges we face, it nonetheless emphasizes that our policies must continue to be grounded in our core principles of fundamental freedoms, privacy, and the free flow of information. Digital infrastructure is increasingly the backbone of prosperous economies, vigorous research communities, strong militaries, transparent governments, and free societies. The reach of networked technology is pervasive and global. To realize fully the benefits that networked technology promises the world, these systems must function reliably and securely. Assuring the free flow of information, the security and privacy of data, and the integrity of the interconnected networks themselves are all essential to American and global economic prosperity, security, and the promotion of universal rights.

ADMINISTRATION PRIORITIES FOR EUROPE IN THE 112TH CONGRESS

Testimony by Philip H. Gordon before the Subcommittee on European Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. May 18, 2011.

<http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/2011/163616.htm>

Philip H. Gordon, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State, talked about the Obama Administration priorities for Europe stating that "beyond Libya, the U.S. and Europe work together on an extraordinarily wide range of issues, from Afghanistan to Iran to the tumultuous events in North Africa and the Middle East. On both sides of the Atlantic we are working hard to recover from the worst financial crisis since The Great Depression. Because our economies are intertwined, and we are working together so closely on problems around the globe, policy decisions taken in Europe to address the Eurozone crisis will have an impact here in the United States. There is a common thread that runs through all our engagement with Europe: U.S.-European cooperation is and remains essential to achieving our strategic objectives. Our engagement with Europe begins with the idea that the United States faces a daunting international agenda and that our ability to deal with it is immeasurably increased by working with strong allies and partners. In meeting these challenges, we have no better partner than Europe, where we work with democratic, prosperous, militarily-capable allies who share our values and share our interests."

COUNTERTERRORISM COOPERATION WITH EUROPE AND EURASIA

Testimony by Daniel Benjamin before the Subcommittee on Europe and Eurasia, Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, May 5, 2011.

<http://www.state.gov/s/ct/rls/rm/2011/163358.htm>

Daniel Benjamin, Coordinator, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the U.S. Department of State, said that "The EU is increasingly emerging as a critical player in European counterterrorism policy and can do much to build capacity in Europe and elsewhere. For this reason, the United States encourages EU efforts to develop and implement effective laws to address militant radicals or terrorist associates who may be planning attacks to be carried out in other countries. We support the continuing development of best practices to improve the efficacy of counterterrorism efforts. We also look to cooperate with the EU on cyber security and combating violent extremism as agreed at the most recent U.S.-EU Summit. One example of the U.S. commitment to build and deepen partnerships is the 2010 adoption by the United States and the European Union of a Declaration on Counterterrorism, in which the United States and the EU reiterated our joint commitment to forge a durable framework to counter terrorism within the rule of law. The 2010 Declaration, which Spain advocated for during its presidency, emphasized cooperation in border security, countering terrorist financing, enhancing the global non-proliferation regime, and promoting the counterterrorism work of the UN. The 2010 Declaration also stressed that an effective and comprehensive approach to diminish the long term threat of violent extremism is a vital component of U.S. and EU efforts to combat terrorism. In this respect, the 2010 Declaration acknowledged the important role of civil society to help isolate terrorism, as well as the importance of addressing legitimate concerns of minorities and individuals regarding civil rights and civil liberties."

THE CURRENT STATE OF U.S.-INDIA COOPERATION AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

Remarks by Robert O. Blake, Jr., Assistant Secretary for South and Central Asian Affairs at the U.S. Department of State; Center for Strategic and International Studies, May 13, 2011.

<http://www.state.gov/p/sca/rls/rmks/2011/163312.htm>

"India is on track to have the largest population on the planet by 2030, and might have the largest economy by 2050. India is a rising giant whose influence is being felt not only in the Indian Ocean, but clear across Asia Pacific to the shores of the Americas, in Africa, the Middle East, and in Central Asia. Its rise – fueled by a young, optimistic, dynamic, educated population – may well be the biggest story of the 21st century. And it's that 21st century focus on innovation and science where we are creating lasting areas of collaboration with India that will change our shared futures. While the innovation agenda helps us secure our welfare, we must also work together to ensure that our countries and the neighborhood remain safe and stable. As the world's largest democratic states, governed by the rule of law, India and the United States have the greatest stake in upholding the current rules-based international system... Our strategic relationship will make the world more secure and democratic, while our commercial partnerships will produce novel products that meet the needs of the 21st century consumer. Our joint research and development in space, health and agriculture will lift the welfare of millions. As partners, we must discuss and debate how we can further strengthen our unique bilateral relationship, while actively helping other nations around the globe achieve peace, prosperity, openness, and stability."

AL QAEDA, THE TALIBAN & OTHER EXTREMIST GROUPS IN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN

Hearing at the Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. May 24, 2011.

<http://foreign.senate.gov/hearings/hearing/?id=805120d6-5056-a032-5247-313a14503d33>

Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman John Kerry (D-MA) chaired a hearing to examine the current threat posed by Al Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan and to analyze the capabilities and intent of other international terrorist groups operating in the region. Three witnesses testified before the Committee on Foreign Relations: Peter Bergen, currently the Director of the National Security Studies Program at the New America Foundation and an expert on Al Qaeda and Bin Laden; Dr. Paul Pillar, a 28 year veteran of the CIA and the Director of Graduate Studies and Faculty Member at Georgetown University and Dr. Christine Fair, also a professor at Georgetown University's Center for Peace and Security Studies and an expert on extremist groups in South Asia.

OSAMA BIN LADEN'S DEATH: IMPLICATIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS

Rollins, John. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. May 5, 2011 [PDF format, 26 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/163138.pdf>

"The May 1, 2011 killing of Osama bin Laden (OBL) by U.S. forces in Pakistan has led to a range of views about near- and long-term security and foreign policy implications for the United States. Experts have a range of views about the killing of OBL. Some consider his death to be a largely symbolic event, while others believe it marks a significant achievement in U.S. counterterrorism efforts. The degree to which OBL's death will affect Al-Qaeda (AQ) and how the U.S. responds to this event may shape the future of many U.S. national security activities. Implications and possible considerations for Congress related to the U.S. killing of OBL in Pakistan are addressed in this report. As applicable, questions related to the incident and U.S. policy implications are also offered. They address: Implications for AQ (core, global affiliates, and unaffiliated adherents); Congressional Notification; Legal Considerations; National Security Considerations and Implications for the Homeland; Military Considerations; Implications for Pakistan and Afghanistan; Implications for U.S. Security Interests and Foreign Policy Considerations". *John Rollins is coordinator and specialist in Terrorism and National Security at the Congressional Research Service.*

TOWARD A POLITICAL STRATEGY FOR AFGHANISTAN

Birkle, Gretchen; O'Halon, Michael E.; Sherjan, Hassina. The Brookings Institution. May 2011 [PDF format, 16 pages]

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

"Afghan politics are in a troubled state and may well represent the chief threat to the current stabilization effort. Disputes over the results of the September 2010 parliamentary elections, and disagreements over who should resolve those disputes, have continued well into 2011 and in fact are not fully settled as of this writing. The United States and its NATO partners, in conjunction with Afghan security forces, have a fairly detailed and comprehensive military strategy for the Afghan campaign. It entails a prioritization and sequencing of major efforts in certain districts and provinces of the country, with several phases in place, and a clear set of parameters to determine how and when to hand off responsibility to Afghan army and police forces over time. The training and equipping schedule for the Afghan security forces is detailed, thorough, and carefully juxtaposed with the campaign plan for foreign

forces. The chain of command within NATO for this effort is clear, and coordination with relevant Afghan partner agencies is generally professional and amicable. There is no such international political strategy for working with Afghanistan and its government. The international community seeks a viable, legitimate, and proficient Afghan government able to enjoy the support of its people, improve their well being, and gradually take over responsibility for the country's security. But these are generalities. The military strategy goes well beyond such amorphous visions to a specific set of actions and a detailed sequencing of effort. There is no comparable roadmap on matters of politics." *Gretchen Birkle is the director of the International Republican Institute's Kabul office. Hassina Sherjan is the founder of Aid Afghanistan for Education and the CEO of the Kabul-based Boumi Company, presently on fellowship at Harvard University. Michael E. O'Hanlon is senior fellow and director of research in Foreign Policy at Brookings, and coauthor with Sherjan of *Toughing It Out in Afghanistan* (Brookings Institution Press 2010).*

SYRIA: ISSUES FOR THE 112TH CONGRESS AND BACKGROUND ON U.S. SANCTIONS

Sharp, Jeremy M. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. April 28, 2011 [PDF format, 29 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/162748.pdf>

"This report analyzes bilateral issues between the United States and Syria. Unrest in Syria and the Asad government's violent response are adding new complexity to the troubled U.S.-Syrian relationship. The Obama Administration's policy of limited engagement with Syria to address areas of longstanding concern has been met with criticism from some, including some Members of Congress. Critics believe that the Administration should apply further pressure to the Syrian government and consider implementing harsher economic sanctions against it. The use of violence against Syrian protestors has been accompanied by calls for new U.S. sanctions but also some expression of concern by experts that political unrest in Syria could evolve into a broader civil conflict that in turn could destabilize Syria's neighbors. Syria's long-standing relationship with Iran is of great concern to U.S. strategists, insofar as Syria serves as a conduit for Iranian power projection in the broader Middle East. As the Syrian government has grown more estranged from the United States over the last ten years, Syrian-Iranian relations have improved, and some analysts have called on U.S. policymakers and their regional allies to offer incentives to Syrian leaders in order to realign them away from Iran. These dynamics are complicated by long-standing U.S. concerns about Syrian sponsorship of terrorism, pursuit of weapons of mass destruction technology, and regional policy in Lebanon and Iraq." *Jeremy M. Sharp is an Specialist in Middle Eastern Affairs at the Congressional Research Service.*

THE ROAD TO TURKEY'S JUNE ELECTIONS: CRISES, STRATEGIES, AND OUTCOMES

Barkey, Henri J. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. May 9, 2011.

<http://carnegieendowment.org/publications/?fa=view&id=43887>

"Few surprises are likely when Turkey holds its June 12 parliamentary elections. The ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) is expected to retain power by winning a majority of seats in parliament. Still, these elections will represent a critical turning point in the evolution of modern Turkey for three distinct reasons. First, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan has promised that the new parliament's first order of business will be to draft a new constitution to replace the authoritarian military constitution of 1982. Second, these elections represent the beginning of a leadership transition in Ankara. Erdogan—who has promised not to run for parliament again—is seeking to transform Turkey from a parliamentary to a presidential system, with the goal of becoming president himself. Finally, these elections will determine whether the main opposition party, the Republican People's Party (CHP), can sufficiently reinvent itself to regain the role of a serious contender and challenger to the ruling AKP." *Henri J. Barkey is a visiting scholar in the Carnegie Middle East Program and the Bernard L. and Bertha F. Cohen Professor at Lehigh University.*

UPHEAVAL: U.S. POLICY TOWARD IRAN IN A CHANGING MIDDLE EAST

Lynch, Marc. Center for a New American Security. June 2011 [PDF format, 40 pages]

http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS_Upheaval_Lynch_1.pdf

"The wave of uprisings that have rocked the Arab world will have dramatic consequences for America's strategy toward Iran. Arguments rage over whether the upheavals have strengthened or weakened Iran, Tehran's role in sparking or exploiting the turbulence, how new regimes in key Arab states might interact with the Islamic Republic, and if the wave of protests might reach Iran itself. But for all of the uncertainty, one thing seems clear: The foundations of the Obama administration's Iran strategy are crumbling. A policy well-crafted for the regional status quo inherited by the Obama administration must now adapt... The United States has a historic opportunity to align itself with the aspirations of the people of the Middle East, arguably for the first time in a generation, and risks squandering it by falling back on conventional policies. It faces a chance to move beyond the zero-sum political struggle between Iran and America's regional allies that has dominated the last 30 years. While the domestic turmoil faced by America's regional allies may appear to strengthen Tehran in the short term, over the long term the reform of these regimes will challenge Iran's regime more than any effort to contain Iran ever did." *Marc Lynch is a Non-Resident Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security, an Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Middle East Studies Program at George Washington University, and an editor for the Middle East Channel for ForeignPolicy.com.*

OBAMA'S CHALLENGE IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

Pew Global Attitudes Project. May 17, 2011

<http://pewglobal.org/files/2011/05/Pew-Global-Attitudes-Arab-Spring-FINAL-May-17-2011.pdf>

"The survey, conducted by the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project March 21-April 26, suggests the enthusiasm for democracy displayed by protestors in Tunisia, Egypt and elsewhere is consistent with public opinion in majority Muslim nations. (The survey was conducted prior to the May 2 death of Osama bin Laden, as well as the April 27 agreement between Hamas and Fatah to form a unity government in the Palestinian territories.) Democracy is widely seen as the best form of government, especially in Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt, where more than seven-in-ten hold this view. Moreover, people in the Muslim nations surveyed clearly value specific features of a democratic system, such as freedom of religion, free speech and competitive elections. And publics in many Muslim countries increasingly believe that a democratic government, rather than a strong leader, is the best way to solve

national problems. This new survey finds that the rise of pro-democracy movements has not led to an improvement in America's image in the region. Instead, in key Arab nations and in other predominantly Muslim countries, views of the U.S. remain negative, as they have been for nearly a decade. While the Arab Spring has not led to a change in America's image, it has generated considerable interest and excitement, especially in the Arab nations surveyed. More than 85% in Jordan, Egypt, the Palestinian territories, and Lebanon have followed news about political demonstrations in the region, and in Arab countries there is widespread optimism that the protests will lead to more democracy."

A MORE STRATEGIC U.S. APPROACH TO POLICE REFORM IN AFRICA

Downie, Richard; Cooke, Jennifer G. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). April 2011 [PDF format, 30 pages]
http://csis.org/files/publication/110414_Downie_PolicyReformAfrica_Web.pdf

"U.S. strategic stakes in Africa have expanded in the last 15 years, with growing awareness among policymakers and the American public that developments in Africa can have direct and significant impact on U.S. economic, political, and security interests. The last decade has seen strong bipartisan support for initiatives that seek to accelerate African development, institution building, and security sector capacities. Within that period, however, few policymakers have chosen to emphasize the vital role that Africa's police can play in delivering—or undermining—this agenda. Overseas police support is a component of both Security Sector Reform and democratic institution building, yet the U.S. security agenda has largely focused on bolstering militaries while democracy strengthening efforts have tended to favor nonsecurity institutions. Civilian policing has tended to fall through the cracks." *Richard Downie is deputy director and fellow with the Africa program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. Jennifer Cooke is director of the CSIS Africa Program. She works on a range of U.S.-Africa policy issues, including security, health, conflict, and democratization.*

INTERNET FREEDOM: A FOREIGN POLICY IMPERATIVE IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Fontaine, Richard; Rogers, Will. Center for a New American Security. June 2011 [PDF format, 52 pages]
http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS_InternetFreedom_FontaineRogers_0.pdf

This report examines the complex role new communications technologies play in political change abroad, and how those technologies intersect with the array of American foreign policy objectives. The authors propose a comprehensive set of principles and policy recommendations that should comprise a robust Internet freedom strategy, one that balances competing foreign policy, economic and national security priorities and that leverages the tremendous potential of the private sector. In this report, the authors argue that the U.S. needs a comprehensive Internet freedom strategy, one that tilts the balance in favor of those who would use the Internet to advance tolerance and free expression, and away from those who would employ it for repression or violence. This requires incorporating Internet freedom as a key element of American foreign policy. *Richard Fontaine is a Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security. He previously served as foreign policy advisor to Senator John McCain for more than five years. Will Rogers is a Research Associate at the Center for a New American Security.*

POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENT CONNECTIONS: THE ROLE OF U.S. FAMILY PLANNING ASSISTANCE IN U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Dabelko, Geoffrey D. Council on Foreign Relations. April 2011 [PDF format, 25 pages]
http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/CFR_WorkingPaper6_Dabelko.pdf

"Current global population growth rates are not environmentally sustainable and the increasing demands of a growing global population are increasingly straining supplies of food, energy, and water. The expected consequences of climate change will stress resources further. Population growth dynamics compound challenges presented by increased resource consumption from a rising global middle class, making the world's population, and the quality and quantity of natural resources, top priorities for governments and the public alike. Governments and multilateral organizations must recognize the relationship between resource demand, resource supply, and resource degradation across disparate economic and environmental sectors. Formulating appropriate and effective responses to growth-induced resource complications requires both a nuanced understanding of the problem and the use of innovative approaches to decrease finite resource consumption." This Working Paper seeks to nuance mainstream conceptualizations of population-environment linkages and attempts to focus policymakers' attention on the need for integrated population, health, and environmental (PHE) approaches within U.S. foreign policy. Dabelko argues that support of, and funding for, PHE approaches should be increased because PHE programs can promote and sustain stability in developing countries. PHE initiatives are successful because they address population and environment linkages at both the macro and micro levels, embracing the complex interactions of population, consumption, and resource use patterns, according to the author. *Geoffrey D. Dabelko is the Director of the Environmental Change and Security Program and coordinator of the Global Health Initiative at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.*

QUALITATIVE ENERGY DIPLOMACY IN CENTRAL ASIA: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES, RUSSIA AND CHINA

Shen, Simon. Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies, The Brookings Institution. April 2011 [PDF format, 24 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/04_us_russia_china_shen/04_us_russia_china_shen.pdf

"At the turn of the 21st century, Central Asia – especially Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan which are rich in oil and gas – has emerged as a new center of energy reserves. To compete for access to these resources in a pragmatic manner, the major powers also found it increasingly necessary to rationalize their ambitions qualitatively, if not necessarily ideologically. So the United States designed the platform of liberal democracy and "human rights above sovereignty," Russia proffered its own idea of "sovereign democracy" to the Central Asians, and China posed as a non-interventionist "responsible state." *Simon Shen, Former Visiting Fellow at the Brookings Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies, is an Associate Professor at the Hong Kong Institute of Education.*

ARTICLES

UNDERSTANDING THE REVOLUTIONS OF 2011: WEAKNESS AND RESILIENCE IN MIDDLE EASTERN AUTOCRACIES

Goldstone, Jack A. *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2011, pp.8-17.

"The wave of revolutions sweeping the Middle East bears a striking resemblance to previous political earthquakes. The revolutions of 2011 are fighting something quite different: "sultanistic" dictatorships. Although such regimes often appear unshakable, they are actually highly vulnerable, because the very strategies they use to stay in power make them brittle, not resilient. It is no coincidence that although popular protests have shaken much of the Middle East, the only revolutions to succeed so far -- those in Tunisia and Egypt -- have been against modern sultans. The other main threat to democracies in the Middle East is war. Prior to 2011, the Middle East stood out on the map as the sole remaining region in the world virtually devoid of democracy. The Jasmine and Nile Revolutions look set to change all that. Whatever the final outcome, this much can be said: the rule of the sultans is coming to an end." *Jack A. Goldstone is Virginia E. and John T. Hazel, Jr., Professor at George Mason University's School of Public Policy.*

DEMYSTIFYING THE ARAB SPRING: PARSING THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TUNISIA, EGYPT, AND LIBYA

Anderson, Lisa. *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2011, pp. 2-8.

"The important story about the 2011 Arab revolts in Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya is not how the globalization of the norms of civic engagement shaped the protesters' aspirations. Nor is it about how activists used technology to share ideas and tactics. Instead, the critical issue is how and why these ambitions and techniques resonated in their various local contexts. The patterns and demographics of the protests varied widely. The demonstrations in Tunisia spiraled toward the capital from the neglected rural areas, finding common cause with a once powerful but much repressed labor movement. In Egypt, by contrast, urbane and cosmopolitan young people in the major cities organized the uprisings. Meanwhile, in Libya, ragtag bands of armed rebels in the eastern provinces ignited the protests, revealing the tribal and regional cleavages that have beset the country for decades. Although they shared a common call for personal dignity and responsive government, the revolutions across these three countries reflected divergent economic grievances and social dynamics-legacies of their diverse encounters with modern Europe and decades under unique regimes." *Lisa Anderson is President of the American University in Cairo.*

THE CONSEQUENTIALIST: HOW THE ARAB SPRING REMADE OBAMA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Lizza, Ryan. *The New Yorker*. May 2, 2011, var. pages.

http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/05/02/110502fa_fact_lizza

"Despite the realist tilt, Obama has argued from the start that he was anti-ideological, that he defied traditional categories and ideologies. In Oslo, in December of 2009, accepting the Nobel Peace Prize, Obama said, "Within America, there has long been a tension between those who describe themselves as realists or idealists—a tension that suggests a stark choice between the narrow pursuit of interests or an endless campaign to impose our values around the world." The speech echoed Obama's 2002 address to an antiwar demonstration in Chicago's Federal Plaza. In Chicago, he had confounded his leftist audience by emphasizing the need to fight some wars, but not "dumb" ones, like the one in Iraq. In Oslo, he surprised a largely left-leaning audience by talking about the martial imperatives of a Commander-in-Chief overseeing two wars. Obama's aides often insist that he is an anti-ideological politician interested only in what actually works. He is, one says, a 'consequentialist.'" *Ryan Lizza is The New Yorker's Washington correspondent. He covers the 2012 Presidential campaign and national politics.*

THE RISE OF THE ISLAMISTS: HOW ISLAMISTS WILL CHANGE POLITICS, AND VICE VERSA

Hamid, Shadi. *Foreign Affairs*. May/June, 2011, pp.40-48.

"For decades, US policy toward the Middle East has been paralyzed by "the Islamist dilemma." Now, it seems, the US no longer has a choice. Popular revolutions have swept US-backed authoritarian regimes from power in Tunisia and Egypt and put Libya's on notice. If truly democratic governments form in their wake, they are likely to include significant representation of mainstream Islamist groups. Like it or not, the US will have to learn to live with political Islam. To guide the new, rapidly evolving Middle East in a favorable direction, the US should play to these instincts by entering into a strategic dialogue with the region's Islamist groups and parties. Through engagement, the US can encourage these Islamists to respect key Western interests, including advancing the Arab-Israeli peace process, countering Iran, and combating terrorism. The US can take precautions -- and it should -- but this does not alter an unavoidable reality. Anti-Israel public opinion will remain a feature of Middle Eastern politics until a final and equitable peace treaty is struck." *Sahdi Hamid is Director of Research at the Brookings Doha Center and a Fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.*

THE BIN LADEN AFTERMATH: PAKISTAN'S MILITANT MILIEU

Tankel, Stephen. *Foreign Policy*. May 6, 2011.

<http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=43905>

"Osama bin Laden's death at the hands of U.S. Navy SEALs ignited debate about al-Qaeda's future as well as the future of militancy in Pakistan, where various outfits retain the capability to strike locally and globally. In the near term, analysts expect al-Qaeda Central's leaders in Pakistan will seek to ensure their security and execute a succession plan in the wake of bin Laden's capture, necessitating a communications lockdown and forestalling any direct retaliation. Instead, al-Qaeda Central is likely to rely on other outfits to respond on its behalf, either locally or globally... The United States must continue to engage with Pakistan. But the nature of that engagement should change, with a view toward the longer term, which means a greater focus on building civilian as opposed to military capacity." *Stephen Tankel is a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He is also an associate fellow at the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence and an adjunct staff member at the RAND Corporation.*

THE DOUBLE GAME

Wright, Lawrence. *The New Yorker*. May 16, 2011, var. pages.
http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/05/16/110516fa_fact_wright

"It's the end of the Second World War, and the United States is deciding what to do about two immense, poor, densely populated countries in Asia. America chooses one of the countries, becoming its benefactor. Over the decades, it pours billions of dollars into that country's economy, training and equipping its military and its intelligence services. The stated goal is to create a reliable ally with strong institutions and a modern, vigorous democracy. The other country, meanwhile, is spurned because it forges alliances with America's enemies. The country not chosen was India, which "tilted" toward the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Pakistan became America's protégé, firmly supporting its fight to contain Communism. The benefits that Pakistan accrued from this relationship were quickly apparent: in the nineteen-sixties, its economy was an exemplar. India, by contrast, was a byword for basket case. Fifty years then went by. What was the result of this social experiment?" *Lawrence Wright has been a staff writer at The New Yorker since 1992. His most recent book "The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11," (Vintage, 2007), a narrative history of the events leading to 9/11, won the Pulitzer Prize for general nonfiction in 2007 and was nominated for the National Book Award.*

UNDER THE SHRINKING U.S. SECURITY UMBRELLA: INDIA'S END GAME IN AFGHANISTAN?

Fair, C. Christine. *The Washington Quarterly*. Spring 2011, pp. 179-192.
http://www.twq.com/11spring/docs/11spring_Fair.pdf

"With the U.S.-led invasion after 9/11 and subsequent occupation, India has been able to steadily re-establish its presence in Afghanistan while free-riding under the U.S. and NATO security umbrella. India, with its \$1.2 billion pledged to Afghanistan, is the fifth largest bilateral donor and the most significant donor in the region. What will India do in Afghanistan? What are New Delhi's current interests in Afghanistan, and does it have the means to achieve these goals? What are the consequences of its activities for India, Pakistan, and international efforts to stabilize Afghanistan?... While the United States may be at the limits of its national power in balancing its interests among Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India, India too is experiencing its own limitations in the very region over which it claims hegemony. India may have to decide whether it wants to increase its influence and activities in Afghanistan, while encouraging further Pakistani adventurism in India and elsewhere, or whether it is prudent to scale back its objectives in Afghanistan to appease Pakistan. Much depends upon this decision. If India cannot effectively secure its interests in Afghanistan, how can India demonstrate that it has what it takes to be a power of any consequence outside of South Asia -much less globally?" *C. Christine Fair is an assistant professor at Georgetown University.*

THE CROSSROADS. CAN WE WIN IN AFGHANISTAN?

Bergen, Peter. *The New Republic*. May 2011, var. pages.

The article discusses progress in the Afghan war. U.S. President Barack Obama has reversed an earlier policy and committed to keeping U.S. forces in Afghanistan until at least 2014. Counterinsurgency tactics devised by U.S. Army Major Jim Gant appear to be making progress against the Taliban militants, while U.S. special operations forces have significantly degraded the mid-level Taliban leadership. U.S. General David Petraeus has reformed contracting policies that often resulted in the Taliban indirectly receiving funds from the U.S. "Staying in Afghanistan isn't the politically obvious decision: The war is going to remain controversial, and it's going to be criticized from both the left and the right. Arguably, it could even imperil Obama's reelection. Still, the president has made his choice and he appears to be sticking with it." *Peter Bergen is the author of The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict Between America and Al-Qaeda (Free Press, 2011).*

HIZBULLAH'S POLITICAL STRATEGY

Khatib, Lina. *Survival*. April/May 2011, pp.61-76.

"In its rise from relatively humble beginnings in the 1980s to its current status as Lebanon's leading political actor, Hizbullah has followed a sophisticated and adaptive political strategy that blends military, social, economic and religious elements. While the party's day-to-day political decisions revolve around internal Lebanese issues such as guaranteeing more representation within the parliament or cabinet, its long-term political aim is to be a leader in the Islamic world. From its 1985 Open Letter to its 2009 manifesto, the party has consistently presented its vision as transcending Lebanon. The Open Letter was primarily addressed to Muslims worldwide, and the manifesto frames Hizbullah's outlook as global in scope: 'The Resistance in Lebanon has evolved from a Lebanese national value to an Arab and Islamic value and has become today an international value that's taught all over the world'. Despite its participation in the current Lebanese political confessional system, in which power is proportionally distributed between Muslim and Christian communities and divided among various sects within them, the party's long-term aim is to reach a position of leadership through a change in the system itself." *Lina Khatib is Program Manager, Program on Good Governance and Political Reform in the Arab World, Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, Stanford University.*

THE EUROPEAN UNION GOES EAST

Jackson Pitcairn, Bruce. *Policy Review*. Apr/May 2011, var. pages.
<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/73166>

"What is the EU up to in Europe's east? To answer this question, we must look at how Europe's east and relations between Europe and Russia have been changing in the past twenty years and how incremental change has now produced a different political structure which, in turn, necessitates new policy in Brussels. Since 1989, the relatively stable geopolitical competition in and for Eastern Europe which lasted for most of the 20th century has given way to a more ambiguous geo-economic problem. The traditional instruments of Western power — nato first and foremost, but also osce, the un, and the Minsk Group process — have proven to have little or no influence in the post-Soviet countries nearest to classical Europe in the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century. In a nutshell, those soft powers in which the European Union has long and annoyingly claimed a comparative advantage (if not a complete monopoly) appear to have finally supplanted the harder power of the United States, which protected Western Europe from 1945 to

1989. It is now obvious that whether or not there will ever be a wider Europe to include the east — a completed Europe, a Europe that is in the fullest meaning whole, free and at peace — will be decided on the uncertain terrain of economics, trade, pipelines, and visas. More importantly, the final contours of Europe and its position in world politics will depend on European decisions and on the strength of Europe's institutions to a degree that would not have been true even a few years ago." *Bruce Pitcairn Jackson is president of the Project on Transitional Democracies, a nonprofit organization supporting post-Soviet and Balkan democracies in building closer ties with the European Union and NATO.*

THE POST-AMERICAN HEMISPHERE: POWER AND POLITICS IN AN AUTONOMOUS LATIN AMERICA

Crandall, Russell. *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2011, pp.83-96.

"Across the region in recent years, the US has seen its influence decline. Latin American countries are increasingly looking for solutions among themselves, forming their own regional organizations that exclude the US and seeking friends and opportunities outside of Washington's orbit. Some US allies are even reconsidering their belief in the primacy of relations with the US. Much of this has to do with the end of the Cold War, a conflict that turned Latin America into a battleground between US and Soviet proxies. Washington has also made a series of mistakes in the years since then, arrogantly issuing ultimatums that made it even harder to get what it wanted in Latin America. Although star performers such as Brazil and Chile have recently surged ahead, Latin America has yet to realize its full collective diplomatic and political capacity. Most leaders in the region realize that Latin America and the US share the same interests and goals, and they understand that cooperation is indispensable." *Russell Crandall is Associate Professor of International Politics at Davidson College and the author of The United States and Latin America After the Cold War (Cambridge University Press, 2008). He was Principal Director for the Western Hemisphere at the U.S. Department of Defense in 2009 and Director for Andean Affairs at the National Security Council in 2010-11.*

NETWORKED ASIA

Blumenthal, Dan. *The American Interest*. May/June 2011.

<http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=960>

"It is now received wisdom that Asia will become the geopolitical pivot of the 21st century, and that the budding U.S.-China security rivalry will shape the region's future and, through it, the future of the world. Whether this be so or not, the United States should look back with satisfaction on its post-World War II Asia policy. In a relatively short time, a solid majority of Asian nations has gone from rags to riches and from varieties of chaos and vulnerability to relative domestic order and external security stability. What is more, these countries achieved these goals while embracing democratic capitalism. U.S. policy deserves its share of credit for these achievements on three counts: American power, projected forward, was the shield protecting these changes; the American model itself, embodied in the post-World War II economic and normative order, inspired them; and when necessary American Presidents pushed their Asian friends in the right direction." *Dan Blumenthal is director of Asian studies at the American Enterprise Institute.*

NATO'S LAST CHANCE

Michta, Andrew A. *The American Interest*. May/June 2011.

<http://www.the-american-interest.com/article.cfm?piece=959>

"As spring 2011 bursts into bloom, the NATO alliance finds itself withering on the vine. An alliance that was once the quintessential expression and spearpoint of the Transatlantic security relationship is now at risk of undermining it. Notwithstanding the adoption of a New Strategic Concept and Critical Capabilities Initiative at the November 2010 Lisbon Summit, internal differences over Afghanistan and a widening Transatlantic gap in defense spending are fast overshadowing the larger imperative of Euro-American security cooperation. All signs point to accumulating distress... From the post-9/11 U.S. perspective, NATO makes sense mainly as a global expeditionary alliance that should be structured and equipped to "deliver security where needed." For continental West Europeans, particularly France and Germany, the alliance is an enabler of cooperative regional security and a contextual marker for bilateral relations with Russia. For the post-communist NATO members, the alliance's key concern should be the continued viability of Article V, which states that an attack on one alliance member is an attack on all. This concern was much magnified by the 2008 Russo-Georgian war, which played out against an overall backdrop of resurgent Russian assertiveness. Internal polarization within NATO has been further exacerbated by the impact of the 2008 global economic crisis, which continues to reorder both the intra-European power dynamic and internal debates on defense reform in NATO." *Andrew A. Michta is the M.W. Buckman Distinguished Professor of International Studies at Rhodes College and a senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington. He is the incoming director of the GMFUS Warsaw office, which will open in June 2011.*

INTERNATIONAL ORDER AFTER THE FINANCIAL CRISIS

James, Harold. *International Affairs*. May 2011, pp. 525–537.

"How is international order built, and how is its legitimacy established, in a world in which political and economic foundations are rapidly shifting? The geography of power is being transformed, in particular by the rise of China. What are the consequences of the rise of major new powers for the structure and the functioning of the international system? In the past, seismic changes, associated with great wars or great financial crises, led to a disorientation about the moral foundations of society, domestically and internationally; led to confusion and uncertainty about values, not just in a technical sense (can we believe in gold as money, in the pound sterling, in the US dollar?) but also in a broader sense: What is the best way of ordering an economy, a society, or a polity? How can policies be legitimated? An international order is not just an exercise in power projection. It is also built around a set of ideas. We often like to think of past versions of order as generated by particular countries which propagated a grand vision: for example, the nineteenth-century British view of John Bright or Richard Cobden about the universal beneficence of commerce, or the universalization of an American vision of commercial prosperity in the second half of the twentieth century. But even visionary international orders do not last forever. Some events or dates—1688, 1776, 1789, 1914—mark an epochal shift. We are now at one such great historical caesura. What historians will call the 'long twentieth century' ended not with the terrorist attacks of 2001 but

with the financial crisis that started in 2007." *Harold James is Professor of History and International Affairs at Princeton University.*

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

BUILDING A 21ST CENTURY IMMIGRATION SYSTEM

The White House, 2011. May 2011.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/immigrationblueprint_spanish.pdf [Spanish - PDF format, 40 pages]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/immigration_blueprint.pdf [English - PDF format, 35 pages]

"As we work to rebuild the economy, our ability to thrive depends, in part, on restoring responsibility and accountability to our immigration system. The President takes seriously his responsibility to enforce our immigration laws. Over the last two years, the Obama Administration has dedicated unprecedented resources to secure our borders, taken important steps to make our interior and worksite enforcement smarter and more effective, and made improvements to the legal immigration system. But we cannot solve the problems with our broken immigration system through enforcement alone. Over the years, many have attempted to confront this challenge, but passions are great and disagreements run deep. The President knows that this work will not be easy, but the American people demand and deserve a solution. They deserve a 21st century immigration system that meets our economic and national security imperatives and that upholds America's proud tradition as a nation of laws and a nation of immigrants. What follows is an update on the progress we have made in securing our borders, enforcing our laws, and improving our immigration system, a summary of the economic benefits of our proposed immigration reforms, and an outline of the challenges we must tackle and the solutions we must implement if we are to build a 21st century immigration system."

WINNING THE FUTURE: PRESIDENT OBAMA'S AGENDA AND THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY

The White House. March 2011 [PDF format, 34 pages]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/winning_the_future_hispanic_community.pdf

This is a report on what the Obama Administration is doing related to the Hispanic community and about the critical role Hispanics play in the President's vision for America to win the future. "In the last two years since taking office, the President and his Administration have worked to lay the groundwork for America to win the future, stopping the freefall of the economy and begin to set the foundation for growth and prosperity. Every issue has been of vital importance to the Latino community, from promoting job creation to making sure that every American has access to quality health care, to reforms that strengthen education for all Americans, to fighting for comprehensive immigration reform while standing up for the civil rights of all Americans."

THE IMPACT OF EXPORTING ON THE STABILITY OF U.S. MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Riker, David; Thurner, Brandon. Office of Competition and Economic Analysis, International Trade Administration. March 2011 [PDF format, 24 pages]

<http://www.trade.gov/publications/pdfs/mas-economics-brief-3.pdf>

"Exporting provides opportunities to expand the sales of U.S. manufacturing industries, resulting in greater revenues for U.S. companies and higher employment for U.S. workers. However, investors and workers are concerned about risk as well as expected return, and risk depends on the volatility of economic outcomes. In the case of exports, it is worth asking whether the added risks and unpredictability associated with exporting outweigh the increase in expected revenues. In this paper, we investigate the recent link between exporting and the economic stability of the U.S. manufacturing sector. We compare the volatility of the domestic shipments of U.S. companies and industries to the volatility of their total, worldwide shipments." *David Riker is an economist at the Office of Competition and Economic Analysis at the International Trade Organization of the U.S. Department of Commerce.*

IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES: HOW WELL ARE THEY INTEGRATING INTO SOCIETY

Jiménez, Tomás R. Migration Policy Institute. May 2011 [PDF format, 30 pages]

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/integration-Jimenez.pdf>

"Even though immigration is intertwined with the history of the United States, fears about immigrants' ability to integrate remain an area of concern. Yet an examination of immigrants' integration across five major indicators – language proficiency, socioeconomic attainment, political participation, residential locale, and social interaction with host communities – shows they are integrating reasonably well. Remarkably, the process has unfolded almost entirely without policy intervention. The author examines the laissez faire policy approach to integration, raising concerns about how the state of public education and size of the US unauthorized population may remain powerful barriers to immigrants' full social, economic, and political integration." *Tomás Jiménez is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Stanford University and a fellow at the Center for Social Cohesion.*

MELTING POT CITIES AND SUBURBS: RACIAL AND ETHNIC CHANGE IN METRO AMERICA IN THE 2000S

Frey, William H. The Brookings Institution [State of Metropolitan America #31] May 2011 [PDF format, 16 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2011/0504_census_ethnicity_frey/0504_census_ethnicity_frey.pdf

"Old images of race and place in America are changing rapidly. Nowhere are these shifts more apparent than in major U.S. cities and their suburbs. An analysis of data from the 1990, 2000, and 2010 decennial censuses reveals that: (1) Hispanics now outnumber blacks and represent the largest minority group in major American cities; (2) Well over half of America's cities are now majority non-white; (3) Minorities represent 35 percent of suburban residents, similar to their share of overall U.S. population; (4) More than half

of all minority groups in large metro areas, including blacks, now reside in the suburbs; (5) Fast-growing exurban areas remain mostly white and depended overwhelmingly on whites for growth in the 2000s." *William H. Grey is a Senior Fellow at the Metropolitan Policy Program of The Brookings Institution. He is also a research professor in population studies at the University of Michigan.*

HOW FEDERAL EDUCATION POLICY UNDER THE ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT CAN SUPPORT STATES IN SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

The RAND Corporation. May 16, 2011 [PDF format, 3 pages]

http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_briefs/2011/RAND_RB9590.pdf

"Researchers examined the federal and state roles in improving schools and student achievement. They found that states are still searching for the most-effective ways to improve schools and that no specific strategy yet exists that will work for all states. They concluded that federal policymakers should consider the key issues of state capacity, cost, and state politics when designing policies to improve public education. Federal policy should also support more experimentation, evaluation, and dissemination of new knowledge and avoid a one-size-fits-all approach. At the state level, education departments have undertaken a variety of efforts to improve school performance, ranging from public reporting on schools to assigning experts to help with improvement. Despite such federal and state efforts, there has not been a dramatic turnaround in most of these schools."

THE STATE FISCAL STABILIZATION FUND AND HIGHER EDUCATION SPENDING

Cohen, Jennifer. New America Foundation. May 2011 [PDF format, 13 pages]

<http://www.newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/SFSF%20and%20Higher%20Education%20Spending%20Part%202.pdf>

"The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA), included nearly \$100 billion in one-time funding for new and existing education programs, a historic sum given that annual appropriations for federal education programs at the time were approximately \$60 billion. The largest single education program included in the law was the State Fiscal Stabilization Fund, a new \$48.6 billion program that provided direct grant aid to state governments in 2009, 2010, and 2011. The program was designed to help states maintain support for both public K-12 and higher education funding that they might have otherwise cut in response to budget shortfalls brought on by the economic downturn. Our examination of how states divided their Education Stabilization funds between K-12 and higher education revealed several interesting patterns. States spent the majority of Education Stabilization funds on K-12 education – roughly 78.9 percent of the total \$39 billion available for Education Stabilization funds. The remaining 21.2 percent – \$8.3 billion – were spent on higher education. This allocation of funding between K-12 and higher education mirrors the typical state budget, in which states tend to spend far more on K-12 than higher education each year. Only five states – Colorado, Louisiana, Montana, Nevada, and Wyoming – spent a greater percentage of their Education Stabilization funds on higher education than K-12 education over the three fiscal years that the funds were available. This indicates that most states chose to make larger budget cuts to K-12 education than to higher education in response to lower tax revenues resulting from the economic recession." *Jennifer Cohen is a Senior Policy Analyst with the Education Policy Program at the New America Foundation.*

A NEW CIVIC MISSION OF SCHOOLS

Carnegie Corporation of New York. Spring 2011 [PDF format, 24 pages]

http://carnegie.org/fileadmin/Media/Publications/civic_mission_of_schools_2011.pdf

The mission of this report is to document Carnegie Corporation of New York's decade-long effort to educate students for citizenship and community participation and leadership. "Where will the country's next generation of leaders come from if young people don't care? This question was being asked with considerable urgency at Carnegie Corporation in late 2001. At that point, surveys showed Americans under the age of 25 were less likely to vote than their parents, or young people of prior generations. Even though many were volunteering and joining in community activities, the connection to civic engagement was seen as tenuous. New strategies were needed to educate the country's youth and fully prepare them for responsible citizenship, but experts couldn't agree on what approach would work best. To find the answer, the Corporation created a new area of democracy grantmaking aimed at identifying and jump-starting the most effective approaches to civic education."

BEYOND RED VS. BLUE: THE POLITICAL TYPOLOGY

Pew Research Center, May 4, 2011.

<http://people-press.org/2011/05/04/beyond-red-vs-blue-the-political-typology>

"With the economy still struggling and the nation involved in multiple military operations overseas, the public's political mood is fractious. In this environment, many political attitudes have become more doctrinaire at both ends of the ideological spectrum, a polarization that reflects the current atmosphere in Washington. Yet at the same time, a growing number of Americans are choosing not to identify with either political party, and the center of the political spectrum is increasingly diverse. Rather than being moderate, many of these independents hold extremely strong ideological positions on issues such as the role of government, immigration, the environment and social issues. But they combine these views in ways that defy liberal or conservative orthodoxy. This is the fifth typology created by the Pew Research Center since 1987. Many of the groups identified in the current analysis are similar to those in past typologies, reflecting the continuing importance of a number of key beliefs and values. But there are a number of critical differences as well. The new groupings underscore the substantial political changes that have occurred since the spring of 2005, when the previous typology was released. Today, there are two core Republican groups, compared with three in 2005, to some extent reflecting a decline in GOP party affiliation. However, Democrats have not made gains in party identification. Rather, there has been a sharp rise in the percentage of independents – from 30% in 2005 to 37% currently. Today, there are three disparate groups of independents, compared with two in 2005."

CHURCHES IN COURT: THE LEGAL STATUS OF RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN CIVIL LAWSUITS

Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. March, 2011 [PDF format, 25 pages]

http://pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Issues/Church-State_Law/Pillar_Autonomy.pdf

"American religious institutions have been at the center of many legal controversies in recent years. The Roman Catholic Church, for instance, has been fighting a very public and contentious legal battle over whether it can be held accountable for employing priests who sexually abuse minors. The Episcopal Church also has been caught up in a series of legal disputes, most of them over the ownership of church property. These and related lawsuits raise complex constitutional questions that have been troubling American courts for more than a century: Do the First Amendment's religion clauses – which guarantee religious liberty and prohibit all laws "respecting the establishment of religion" – bestow a unique legal status on religious organizations that puts some of their decisions and actions beyond the reach of civil laws? To put it another way, are legal disputes involving churches and other religious institutions constitutionally different from those involving their secular counterparts, and if so, how? These questions have been raised in four different types of court cases – property disputes, employment of clergy, treatment or discipline of members, and misconduct by employees of religious organizations."

THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION AND TERRORISM INVESTIGATIONS

Bjelopera, Jerome P.; Randol, Mark. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. April 28, 2011 [PDF format, 31 pages]
<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/terror/R41780.pdf>

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI, the Bureau) is the lead federal law enforcement agency charged with counterterrorism investigations. Since the September 11, 2001 (9/11) attacks, the FBI has implemented a series of reforms intended to transform itself from a largely reactive law enforcement agency focused on investigations of criminal activity into a more proactive, agile, flexible, and intelligence-driven agency that can prevent acts of terrorism. This report sets forth possible considerations for Congress as it executes its oversight role. These issues include the extent to which intelligence has been integrated into FBI operations to support its counterterrorism mission and the progress the Bureau has made on its intelligence reform initiatives. In addition, these issues will also be relevant during confirmation hearings for a new director. The statutory 10-year term of current FBI Director Robert S. Mueller III expires in September 2011. A new director will be subject to Senate confirmation." *Jerome P. Bjelopera is an Specialist in Organized Crime and Terrorism at the CRS. Mark A. Randol is an Specialist in Domestic Intelligence and Counter-Terrorism at the CRS.*

ARTICLES

THE RIGHT WORLDVIEW

Kitfield, James. *National Journal*. May 19, 2011.

"After Bin Laden, How will 2012 GOP contenders hit Obama on Foreign Policy? Republican presidential hopefuls are trying to make the case that President Obama's foreign-policy leadership is weak and overly conciliatory. GOP leaders see a squishy multilateralism. The eventual Republican nominee will have to reconcile the tug-of-war between those competing foreign-policy camps, and that will require deciding on the lessons from the Bush years. The neoconservatives who dominated Bush's first term are unrepentant about the Iraq war; they continue to argue for a more assertive American leadership abroad—confronting adversaries militarily and supporting democratic revolutions. Mainstream candidates who seem to lean most clearly in this direction include Gingrich, Pawlenty, and Romney. The liberal realists who held greater sway in Bush's second term and who dominated in his father's administration—people who believe in engaging the world but who keep their focus on American interests—urge burden-sharing and greater restraint in the use of military force, a point that Gates makes often. Possible champions for this more mainstream foreign policy include Indiana Gov. Mitch Daniels and former Ambassador to China Jon Huntsman." *James Kitfield has written on defense, national security and foreign policy issues from Washington, D.C. for over two decades.*

2012 PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING PROCESS: IT'S TIME FOR THE STATES

Cook, Rhodes. *Larry J. Sabato's Crystal Ball*. April 28, 2011.

<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/frc2011042802/>

"The two major parties have done their job in terms of setting the parameters for the 2012 presidential nominating process. Now, it is time for the states to fill in the blanks. And what they do in that regard over the next few months could go a long way in determining who wins next year's Republican presidential nomination. Basically, the governors and state legislatures – often in conjunction with the state parties – have two major questions to answer: When to hold their event, and what that event should be – a low-turnout caucus or a higher turnout primary. In short, will the nominating process next year be heavily "front-loaded," as it has been in the recent past, which rewards the candidate with early momentum and concludes by the Ides of March?". *Rhodes Cook is a Senior Columnist at the University of Virginia's Center for Politics, Larry J. Sabato's Crystal Ball.*

DECISION MAKING IN THE OBAMA WHITE HOUSE

Pfiffner, James P. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. June 2011, pp. 244-262.

"Presidents attract extremely smart, ambitious people to serve in the White House, but the quality of the advice the president receives depends upon how he or she uses the available talent. Chief executives face daunting challenges in evaluating the onslaught of information, judging the perspectives of their subordinates, and ensuring that they receive advice based on presidential perspectives rather than the priorities of their subordinates. Political scientists who study presidential decision making have come to consider several factors as central to understanding White House organization and process: the level of centralization, the extent of multiple advocacy, and the use of honest brokers to manage advice to the president. This article examines President Obama's decision-making style with respect to these three factors and uses several case studies to illustrate them: economic policy, detainee policy, and decision making on the war in Afghanistan." *James P. Pfiffner is University Professor of Public Policy at George Mason University. His major areas of expertise are the Presidency, American National Government, and Public Management.*

WOMAN OF THE WORLD

Alter, Jonathan. *Vanity Fair*. June 2011, var. pages.

<http://www.vanityfair.com/politics/features/2011/06/hillary-clinton-201106>

"In her ninth year as America's most admired woman, Hillary Clinton is dealing with radical change across the globe, as well as trying to transform U.S. diplomacy on the nuts-and-coffee level. But despite the secretary of state's punishing pace—half a million miles in her Boeing 757—and the complex relationship between her and President Obama, Clinton seems clear about what she can (and can't) accomplish, and, as Jonathan Alter reports, her friends are clear about something else: Madam Secretary is in her element."

MUSLIMS IN AMERICA

Stern, Jessica. *The National Interest*. May/June 2011.

<http://nationalinterest.org/article/muslims-america-5167?page=show>

"Until A few years ago, America seemed relatively resistant to the kind of homegrown Islamist terrorism that has plagued Europe for the last decade. Terrorism experts attribute the resilience of American Muslims to their greater integration into society. In Europe, immigrant populations tend to cluster—with Algerians settling in France, Turks in Germany, Moroccans in the Netherlands and so on, making it easier for ethno-religious groups to remain isolated, spending time only with others like themselves. Many Muslim immigrants in Europe arrived as unskilled guest workers, and changes in the labor market have made it harder for them to find jobs. In America, in contrast, Muslim immigrants are not poor. They are the wealthiest group of Muslim immigrants in the world. They tend to be better educated and have higher-paying jobs than the average American, and they are more likely to vote. Thus, it would appear, they feel American—or no less American than any other group. The vast majority of Muslim immigrants have thrived in the United States. This is something to celebrate. But by 2009, it was clear America was not immune to domestic radicalization. Al-Qaeda's "psyops" effort, which involved spreading the argument that the war on terrorism was actually a war on Islam, was beginning to bear fruit. To fight this kind of terrorism, the Muslim community's involvement is critical. According to a study by the Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security, of the plots that were thwarted since 9/11, Muslim citizens provided the critical information to the law-enforcement community 40 percent of the time." *Jessica Stern is a member of the Hoover Institution Task Force on National Security and Law and author, most recently, of Denial: A Memoir of Terror (Ecco, 2010).*

THE MITIGATOR

Toobin, Jeffrey. *The New Yorker*. May 9, 2011, var. pages.

"The death penalty is withering. The change has been especially striking in Houston, which has long reigned as the death-penalty capital of the nation. If Harris County, which includes Houston and its nearby suburbs, were a state, it would trail only the rest of Texas for the number of people executed. But last year prosecutors in Harris County sent only two people to death row. Explanations for the change vary. Crime is down everywhere, and fewer murders means fewer potential death-penalty cases. Widely publicized exonerations of convicted prisoners, based on DNA evidence, may have given some jurors second thoughts about imposing the death penalty. Another explanation for the decline in death sentences has been the increasing use of mitigation, a strategy that aims to tell the defendant's life story. In Texas, the most prominent mitigation strategist is a lawyer named Danalynn Recer, the executive director of the Gulf Region Advocacy Center." *Jeffrey Toobin, a staff writer at The New Yorker since 1993, writes about legal affairs. He is also the senior legal analyst for CNN, which he joined in 2002 after seven years with ABC News.*

URBAN PLANTING

Cosier, Susan. *Audubon Magazine*. March/April 2011.

<http://www.audubonmagazine.org/currents/currents1103.html>

"Abandoned lots, marginal land and even rooftops in cities across the United States are being turned into small scale farms to supply urban dwellers, farmers markets and restaurants with local produce. City Farm in Chicago, Illinois, Slicker Farm in Oakland, California, and the Garden Resource Program in Detroit, Michigan are three such enterprises. Urban farms may be less efficient than huge factory farms, but may also be more sustainable because of their much smaller carbon footprint. More importantly, urban agriculture brings healthy food to low-income communities where it is harder to obtain and more expensive than unhealthy fast food."

CONVENIENT SCAPEGOAT: PUBLIC WORKERS UNDER ASSAULT

McCartin, Joseph A. *Dissent*. Spring 2011.

<http://dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=3825>

"Whether the United States can emerge from the Great Recession to confront this massive long-range failure of the private sector to generate good jobs, reliable benefits, and rising incomes for the many will depend greatly on how well public sector unions are able to weather this perilous moment. With less than 7 percent of nongovernmental workers unionized, private sector unions no longer have the leverage to improve wages and benefits for those beyond their ranks. Thus, by default, public sector unions have become the single most effective social force capable of speaking out for a just economy that lifts the standards of all workers, public and private. To preserve their credibility and their ability to fight effectively for both their members and a fairer economy for all, the unions would be wise at this moment to show that they are prepared to make sacrifices where necessary, appropriate, and fair." *Joseph A. McCartin teaches history at Georgetown University, where he directs the Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor.*

