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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

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2011 COUNTRY REPORTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES

U.S. Department of State. May 24, 2012.

<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm#wrapper>

"The world changed immeasurably over the course of 2011. Across the Middle East, North Africa, and far beyond, citizens stood up to demand respect for human dignity, more promising economic opportunities, greater political liberties, and a say in their own future...This year's reports highlight the treatment of marginalized people, including LGBT people and people with disabilities. Too many countries still criminalize consensual same-sex sexual activity, and LGBT people face discrimination and violence in many more countries. We continue to focus on other vulnerable populations, including women and children. Domestic and societal violence and discrimination against women continue to be serious problems in many countries. Women and children are often the first to suffer during conflicts. In addition, we continue to monitor challenges to civil society organizations promoting respect for human rights and democratic transitions in their own countries. In last year's Human Rights Reports, we noted a surge in efforts by repressive governments to control and stifle independent non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Over the last several years, more than 90 governments have sought to pass laws that hampered the ability of NGOs to register, operate freely, or receive foreign funding. In a number of countries, including Egypt, Ethiopia, Malaysia, Algeria, Cambodia, and Russia, governments have imposed or threatened greater restrictions on foreign funding of these organizations, taken other measures that severely hamper their operations, or sought to intimidate them or shut them down completely."

ASSESSING U.S. FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES AND NEEDS AMIDST ECONOMIC CHALLENGES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Testimony by Jeffrey D. Feltman before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on the Middle East and South Asia. May 9, 2012.

<http://www.state.gov/p/nea/rls/rm/189572.htm>

Jeffrey D. Feltman, Assistant Secretary at the Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs of the U.S. Department of State, talked about the "new realities in Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and elsewhere. It is too early to predict what kinds of political systems might emerge in those countries, or how long these transitions will take. We also cannot say for certain how other governments in the region may develop, given that virtually every country in the MENA is affected by those citizen-driven movements. We know that parties rooted in religious faiths will play larger roles. We do not yet know what the U.S. relationship will be over the long term with emerging governments, parliaments, and civil society in these countries... As the processes underway in the region's societies are manifold and complex, we promote positive changes and reforms through diverse means that press on and offer support to governments to make progress, and that strengthen civil societies' ability to voice their demands and engage in shaping their countries' futures. We must appreciate that the coming period of transition will bring a period of uncertainty and challenges and that building productive partnerships with new governments and newly empowered citizens will require that we deploy the full range of our tools and a commitment to sustained engagement."

U.S. POLICY TOWARD BURMA

http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Yun_Testimony.pdf

Testimony of Joseph Y. Yun before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs. April 26, 2012 [PDF format, 10 pages]

Joseph Y. Yun, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State at the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs of the U.S. Department of State, stated that "we have been the first to acknowledge that engagement with Burmese authorities early in this Administration was a

profound disappointment. We expected that it would be a long and slow process, but the lack of progress from late 2009 to mid-2011 was nevertheless disheartening. Following the formation of a new government in March 2011, positive changes have emerged ranging from the release of political prisoners, to new legislation expanding the rights of political and civic association, and a nascent process toward ceasefires with several ethnic armed groups. Secretary Clinton has become actively involved, including her historic visit to Burma in December 2011... The initial reforms are only the beginning of a sustained process and commitment required to bring Burma back into the international community and toward more representative and responsive democratic governance.”

ASSESSING CHINA’S ROLE AND INFLUENCE IN AFRICA

Testimony of Donald Y. Yamamoto before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Subcommittee on Africa, Global Health, and Human Rights. March 29, 2012 [PDF format, 9 pages]

<http://foreignaffairs.house.gov/112/HHRG-112-FA16-WState-YamamotoD-20120329.pdf>

Donald Y. Yamamoto, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary at the Bureau of African Affairs of the U.S. Department of State, addressed the subject of China’s engagement with Africa and its ramifications for U.S. foreign policy. “China’s interests in Africa have grown dramatically over the past thirty years. In the last several years the significance of this growth has been the focus of discussions in many quarters. China’s interests in Africa reflect its need for access to resources and markets, its desire to promote cohesive South-South relations, and a desire to demonstrate leadership in the developing world. China has emerged as a leader in trade and investment in Africa, surpassing the United States for the first time as a trading partner for the region in 2009. China’s activities in Africa offer important opportunities for the continent though there are major areas where our interests do not align... China has become an influential development actor, and directly impacting developing countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. We feel that in order to serve the people on the African continent more effectively, China and the United States should work together, as we can achieve more with our collective resources. We are actively looking for areas of development cooperation with the Chinese, while engaging at multiple levels on our differences in approach on specific issues. We remain concerned with the general lack of transparency regarding China’s foreign assistance and commercial trade practices in Africa, and are encouraging Beijing to more fully engage with other bilateral and multilateral actors to ensure that aid supports the efforts of African governments to be responsive to their people’s needs.”

AMERICA’S PATH: GRAND STRATEGY FOR THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION

Art, Robert J. et al. Center for a New American Security [*Note: contains copyrighted material*] May 31, 2012 [PDF format, 22 pages]

http://www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS_AmericasPath_FontaineLord_0.pdf

"America confronts a world in transition. Whatever the outcome of the November 2012 presidential election, America's next president will face many challenges. To lead the U.S. wisely, the president and his administration must answer several questions: What kind of world does America face and how is the strategic landscape evolving? What are America's core national interests? How should America pursue its interests and what threatens them? What opportunities exist and how can America seize them? How should America convey its purpose, both at home and globally?... To advance its own national interests in this new era, the United States should center its grand strategy on four global collective goods, all of which require power projection in some form: 16 (1) preventing the spread of nuclear

weapons; (2) keeping the deep peace in Europe, deepening the peace in East Asia and, if possible, keeping the peace in the Persian Gulf; (3) preserving two elements of a stable framework for an open international economic order – freedom of the seas and assured access to Persian Gulf oil; and (4) containing, if not also destroying, al Qaeda or any other group that plans terrorist actions against the U.S. homeland." *Dr. Robert J. Art is the Christian A. Herter Professor of International Relations at Brandeis University.*

REVIVING AMERICAN LEADERSHIP: THE NEXT PRESIDENT SHOULD CONTINUE ON THE PATH OBAMA HAS SET

Jones, Bruce, et. al. The Brookings Institution. May 25, 2012 [PDF format, 11 pages]
<http://www.brookings.edu/research/papers/2012/05/25-americas-role-jones-wright>

The following is a "Campaign 2012" policy brief by Bruce Jones, Thomas Wright and Jane Esberg proposing ideas for the next president on the US role in the world. "The next president—whatever his party—will face a series of domestic and international constraints that will press for the continuity of Obama’s policy, rather than significant change. In fact, there is already broad agreement on three principles concerning reform of the international order, advocacy for human rights, and the use of military force. Bipartisan support for these principles should be fostered and communicated to allies, enemies, and “swing states” alike. Building on that foundation, the next administration should: Concentrate on economic diplomacy; Foster a more just and stable international order; Broaden and intensify efforts to form creative new multilateral arrangements in which emerging powers take on responsible roles; Retain the option for credible use of force, but make more effective use of diplomacy, civilian engagement, and other forms of power and influence; Strengthen and deepen America’s traditional alliances in Asia and Europe and develop new strategic partnerships." *Bruce Jones is a senior fellow and the director of the Managing Global Order (MGO) project at Brookings and director of the Center on International Cooperation at New York University.*

PIVOT TO THE PACIFIC? THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION’S “REBALANCING” TOWARD ASIA

Manyin, Mark E., et. Al. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. March 28, 2012 [PDF format,33 pages]
<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/187389.pdf>

“In the fall of 2011, the Obama Administration issued a series of announcements indicating that the United States would be expanding and intensifying its already significant role in the Asia-Pacific, particularly in the southern part of the region. The fundamental goal underpinning the shift is to devote more effort to influencing the development of the Asia-Pacific’s norms and rules, particularly as China emerges as an ever-more influential regional power... Much of the “pivot” to the Asia-Pacific is a continuation and expansion of policies already undertaken by previous administrations, as well as earlier in President Obama’s term. Since President Obama’s inauguration in 2009, the United States has given considerable time and emphasis to Southeast Asia and to regional multilateral institutions.”
Mark E. Manyin, Coordinator, Specialist in Asian Affairs at the Congressional Research Service.

THE CAUSES OF STABILITY AND UNREST IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA: AN ANALYTIC SURVEY

Cordesman, Anthony H. Center for Strategic and International Studies [Note: contains copyrighted material] April 23, 2012.[PDF format, 144 pages]
http://csis.org/files/publication/120418_MENA_Stability.pdf

"It is now all too clear that the "Arab Spring" is much more likely to be the "Arab Decade." The pattern of political unrest that began in 2011 is driven by a mix of political, demographic, and economic issues in each country that has experienced serious unrest will take at least a decade to resolve in a form that can bring lasting stability, says the author. More broadly, the Middle East and North Africa face population and job pressures that will continue to rise through 2040, and which present major challenges in terms of governance, infrastructure, and development. This briefing summarizes current statistics and data on the key trends in demographics, economics, internal security and justice systems, governance, and social change to show how they affect both the region and individual nations." *Anthony H. Cordesman holds the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at Center for Strategic and International Studies.*

SYRIA: U.S. POLICY OPTIONS

Testimony by Jon B. Alterman before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. April 19, 2012 [PDF format, 7 pages]

http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Alterman_Testimony.pdf

Jon B. Alterman, Ph.D., the Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy and Director of the Middle East Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) stated that "the timeline of change in Syria remains a mystery. If there is a long war of attrition between the government and opposition, it could well drag on for years, as most wars of attrition do... I cannot give you a three-point plan on how to fix Syria this month, or even how to avoid disaster in the next year. We need to be realistic about how much we do not know in Syria and how much we cannot begin to predict. Even so, a number of policy conclusions that flow from the foregoing: Plan for a long engagement; Do not expect the opposition to sweep into power; Understand that militarization helps Assad; Remember that diplomacy remains vital; Be ready for non-linear change."

U.S.-TURKEY RELATIONS: A NEW PARTNERSHIP

Madeleine K. Albright and Stephen J. Hadley, Chairs; Steven A. Cook, Project Director. Council on Foreign Relations [Independent Task Force Report No. 69] May 2012 [PDF format, 100 pages]

http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/TFR69_Turkey.pdf

"This Council on Foreign Relations–sponsored Independent Task Force report examines the various trends in Turkey and assesses their consequences for U.S. policy toward the country and the region more broadly. The report begins by taking stock of the modern U.S.-Turkey relationship, noting strains over the past decade stemming from differences over policy toward Iraq. The Task Force then considers the political, social, and economic reforms Ankara has made in recent years along with threats to further progress. The report also includes a discussion of Turkey's potential role as a regional energy hub and its growing importance to foreign policy debates within and beyond its traditional reach in NATO and Europe. Within each section of the report, the Task Force offers recommendations on how the United States can support Turkey's continued emergence and build a deeper working relationship that acknowledges Ankara's growing importance... The Task Force further recommends exploring a Turkish-American Partnership to deepen trade and economic ties and calls on the two countries to expand bilateral trade and investment." *Madeleine K. Albright is chair of Albright Stonebridge Group, a global strategy firm. She was U.S. Secretary of State during the Clinton Administration (1997-2001). Stephen J. Hadley is a principal at RiceHadleyGates, LLC, an international strategic consulting firm. He previously served first as deputy national security adviser and then as national security adviser in the*

administration of George W. Bush. Steven A. Cook is Hasib J. Sabbagh senior fellow for Middle Eastern studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).

THE RISE OF ISLAMIST ACTORS: FORMULATING A STRATEGY FOR SUSTAINED ENGAGEMENT

Mecham, Quinn. Project on Middle East Democracy. April 27, 2012 [PDF format, 6 pages]
http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/POMED-Policy-Brief_Mecham.pdf

"In the past six months, "Islamist" parties or blocs have won elections in four countries in the Arab world: Tunisia, Egypt, Morocco, and Kuwait. Islamists may also yet emerge as dominant political actors in other countries affected by the popular uprisings in the Arab world, such as Libya, Yemen, and Syria. While these groups are not new, they are and to develop their political strategies, much like Turkish or Indonesian Islamist parties have been doing in the context of democratic competition. In the process, Islamist parties in the Arab world are rapidly evolving and divisions amongst Islamist politicians are being played out in very public ways, leading to the formulation of new political platforms and even the creation of new Islamist parties." *Quinn Mecham is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Middlebury College. His scholarship and teaching focus on Middle Eastern politics, political Islam, and has a new project on Islamist political parties in the Middle East and Asia.*

BEYOND GUNS AND BUTTER: A U.S.-EGYPTIAN RELATIONSHIP FOR A DEMOCRATIC ERA

Hamid, Shadi. Saban Center for Middle East Policy, The Brookings Institution. April 2012 [PDF format, 10 pages]
http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/4/egypt%20hamid/04_guns_butter_hamid1.pdf

"Today, the United States and the international community have a strong interest in ensuring freedom of association for Egypt's embattled civil society and helping Egypt rebuild its battered economy. Making strides in these areas will help stabilize Egypt and allow it, in time, to return to playing a strong, constructive regional role. A stable, democratic Egypt could serve as model for the new kind of mutually beneficial relationship the United States can develop with the region's emerging democracies. The United States and its European allies—still Egypt's largest donors—should tie any additional economic support to tangible progress on political reform, according to measurable benchmarks. Instead of seeing economic aid and democracy assistance as separate funding streams, as donors often have, they should be seen as two sides of the same coin, with one depending on the other. Taking such steps should be part of longer-term strategy to establish a U.S.-Egypt relationship built on mutual respect, transparency, and the identification and pursuit of genuinely shared interests. Such an endeavor will require fundamental changes in how Washington engages its Egyptian counterparts." *Shadi Hamid is Director of Research at the Brookings Doha Center and a fellow at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution.*

AFGHANISTAN: THE UNCERTAIN ECONOMICS OF TRANSITION

Cordesman, Anthony H. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). April 18, 2012 [PDF format, 114 pages]
http://csis.org/files/publication/120418_afghanistan_uncertain_economics_transition.pdf

The economics of Afghanistan are only one aspect of the challenges posed by US, allied, and Afghan efforts to accomplish a successful transition. There are many reasons that transition will either fail or be determined by Afghanistan's internal dynamics and the role of regional states regardless of what the US, Europe, and other aid donors do. Among these reasons

are: The weakness and corruption of Afghan governance mixed with growing de facto power of regional and ethnic power brokers; Continued insurgent sanctuaries in Pakistan mixed with divisions and radicalization within the Taliban; The difficulties of making a transition to a non-Karzai government in 2014, and creating an election that produces meaningful consensus versus region, ethnic, and sectarian divisions and power struggles and a rise in outside pressure from Pakistan, Iran, India, the other "Stans," China, and Russia – the "new great game". *Anthony H. Cordesman holds the Arleigh A. Burke Chair in Strategy at CSIS.*

FIXING PAKISTAN'S CIVIL-MILITARY IMBALANCE: A DANGEROUS TEMPTATION

Yusuf, Moeed. U.S. Institute of Peace [*Note: contains copyrighted material*] May 2012 [PDF format, 4 pages]

<http://www.usip.org/files/resources/PB125.pdf>

"As the mistrust in the U.S.-Pakistan relationship deepens, Washington's frustration with Islamabad has also grown. Over the past few months, influential voices have begun to recommend that the U.S. take a more aggressive approach to Pakistan by playing up Pakistan's civil-military divide: prop up civilians while dealing harshly with the military and its spy agency, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI). Specifically, views range from moving to a more hostile "containment" approach that would box in the Pakistan military; to seeing "progressive" civilians as partners and declaring the military as an adversary; to labeling specific members of the military and ISI found to be involved in supporting militants as "terrorists." The premise for this view is that the Pakistani military and intelligence apparatus is undermining U.S. interests in Afghanistan and that it has held civilian governments—who otherwise would be amenable to reversing Pakistan's traditional strategic paradigm—hostage to its own agenda." *Moeed W. Yusuf is the South Asia adviser at the United States Institute of Peace Center in the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention.*

CLIMATE CHANGE, MIGRATION, AND CONFLICT IN NORTHWEST AFRICA

Werz, Michael; Conley, Laura. Center for American Progress. April 18, 2012 [*Note: contains copyrighted material*][PDF format, 84 pages]

http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/2012/04/pdf/climate_migration_nwafrika.pdf

"Northwest Africa is crisscrossed with climate, migration, and security challenges. From Nigeria to Niger, Algeria, and Morocco, this region has long been marked by labor migration, bringing workers from sub-Saharan Africa north to the Mediterranean coastline and Europe. To make that land journey, migrants often cross through the Sahel and Sahel-Saharan region, an area facing increasing environmental threats from the effects of climate change. The rising coastal sea level, desertification, drought, and the numerous other potential effects of climate change have the potential to increase the numbers of migrants and make these routes more hazardous in the future. Added to these challenges are ongoing security risks in the region, such as Nigeria's struggles with homegrown insurgents and the growing reach of Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, which has expanded out of Algeria. For the United States and the international community, this region is critical because of its potential for future instability. The proximity of Algeria and Morocco to Europe, Nigeria's emerging role as one of Africa's most strategically important states, and Niger's ongoing struggles with governance and poverty all demand attention. Northwest Africa's porous borders and limited resources, which allow Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb to flourish there, suggest that there is no time to waste in developing better and more effective policies for the region." This report is the second in a series of papers from the Center for American Progress that examines the implications of the climate change, migration, and security nexus. The series will highlight the overlays of these factors in key regions around the world and suggest ways

in which U.S. policy must adapt to meet the challenges they present. *Michael Werz* is a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress. *Laura Conley* is a graduate student in International Relations at the University of Chicago.

U.S.-EU COOPERATION AGAINST TERRORISM

Archick, Kristin. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. May 21, 2012 [PDF format, 22 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS22030.pdf>

"The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks gave new momentum to European Union (EU) initiatives to combat terrorism and improve police, judicial, and intelligence cooperation among its 27 member states. Since the 2001 attacks, the EU has sought to speed up its efforts to harmonize national laws and bring down barriers among member states' law enforcement authorities so that information can be meaningfully shared and suspects apprehended expeditiously. Among other steps, the EU has established a common definition of terrorism and a common list of terrorist groups, an EU arrest warrant, enhanced tools to stem terrorist financing, and new measures to strengthen external EU border controls and improve aviation security. As part of its drive to bolster its counterterrorism capabilities, the EU has also made promoting cooperation with the U.S. a top priority. Washington has largely welcomed these efforts, recognizing that they may help root out terrorist cells and prevent future attacks against the U.S. or its interests abroad... U.S.-EU cooperation against terrorism has led to a new dynamic in U.S.-EU relations by fostering dialogue on law enforcement and homeland security issues previously reserved for bilateral discussions. Despite some frictions, most U.S. policymakers and analysts view the developing partnership in these areas as positive. Like its predecessor, the Obama Administration has supported U.S. cooperation with the EU in the areas of counterterrorism, border controls, and transport security." *Kristin Archick is an Specialist in European Affairs at the Congressional Research Service.*

COUNTERING CRIMINAL VIOLENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA

Shifter, Michael. Council on Foreign Relations [Council Special Report No. 64] April 2012 [PDF format, 59 pages]

http://i.cfr.org/content/publications/attachments/Criminal_Violence_CSR64.pdf

In this Council Special Report, the author assesses the causes and consequences of the violence faced by several Central American countries and examines the national, regional, and international efforts intended to curb its worst effects. "The causes and consequences of rising criminal violence are manifold. The illicit drug trade, chiefly cocaine, is a critical dimension. Strategically located between the largest suppliers of cocaine and its major consumer, the United States, the region is particularly vulnerable to criminal violence. Indeed, although insecurity is a significant concern in much of Latin America—the serious situation in Mexico stands out— Central America's institutional and financial capacity to effectively deal with the problem is considerably more limited than elsewhere. The deteriorating security conditions in Central America fundamentally challenge U.S. strategic interests in building stable democracies in the region. The underlying rationale for a strong and sustained U.S. response in Central America may be even more compelling in these neighboring nations than in Colombia between 1999 and 2000, when the United States adopted Plan Colombia to provide support in the face of a dire security situation. The United States has a special responsibility and capacity to adopt constructive policies to assist Central America in improving and controlling its security situation. Demography and history are powerful factors linking the United States and Central America. An estimated three million Central Americans currently live in the United States. In several countries, remittances exceed 13 percent of GDP. The ties are historic and profound, and will continue to deepen." *Michael Shifter is president of the Inter-American Dialogue, a Washington-based policy forum on Western Hemisphere affairs. He is also an adjunct professor of Latin American politics at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.*

ARTICLES

WHY WOMEN ARE A FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE

Verveer, Melanee. *Foreign Policy*. April 23, 2012.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/23/why_women_are_a_foreign_policy_issue

"In the past, U.S. diplomacy and development efforts were conducted in a manner that was gender neutral at best. The United States regularly supported peace talks that left women out of negotiating rooms and treaty documents, an omission that weakened the chances of forging durable peace agreements. The country designed development programs without consulting women or considering the crucial role they played, whether it was agricultural training initiatives that targeted men even though women often represented the majority of small farmers, or building wells in areas where women could not go, never mind that women were the ones responsible for fetching water. As a growing body of research shows, however, the world's most pressing economic and political problems simply cannot be solved without the participation of women. That's why Secretary of State Hillary Clinton is working to ensure that advancing the status of women and girls around the world is fully integrated into every aspect of U.S. foreign policy. As of this spring, with the release of a first-ever secretarial policy directive on gender, advancing the status of women and girls worldwide is officially a requirement in every U.S. diplomat's job description. As Clinton said in March, the United States will use "every tool at our disposal" to support this crucial cause." *Melanne Verveer is the U.S. State Department's ambassador at large for global women's issues.*

SCORING OBAMA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Indyk, Martin; Lieberthal, Kenneth; O'Hanlon, Michael E. *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2012, var. pages.

"As November's US presidential election approaches, foreign policy and national security issues are rising in importance. President Barack Obama is running on a platform of ending the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan while demonstrating toughness against al Qaeda. His Republican opponents charge him with presiding over the US' decline and demonstrating fecklessness on Iran. There was inevitable tension between Obama's soaring rhetoric and desire for fundamental change, on the one hand, and his instinct for governing pragmatically, on the other. The history of the Obama administration's foreign policy has thus been one of attempts to reconcile the president's lofty vision with his innate realism and political caution. The continued weakening of the US' economic foundations is incompatible with maintaining long-term national power and a successful foreign policy. The consequences of a failure to arrest American domestic decline for the US and the world at large will thus reach far beyond any consequences stemming from the president's personal popularity or partisan standing." *Martin S. Indyk is Vice President and Director of the Foreign Policy Program at the Brookings Institution. Kenneth G. Lieberthal is Director of the John L. Thornton China Center and Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy and Global Economy and Development at the Brookings Institution. Michael E. O'Hanlon is Senior Fellow and Director of Research for Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution. This essay is adapted from their new book, Bending History: Barack Obama's Foreign Policy (Brookings Institution Press, 2012).*

ECONOMIC SHOCKS AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Frankel, Jeffrey. *Survival*. June/July 2012, pp.29-46.

"During the five years from 2003 to 2007, global perceptions of risk were unusually low, as reflected in the market pricing of sovereign debt, corporate debt and options. These perceptions were wrong, as the ensuing five years have abundantly illustrated. Today, in 2012, nobody doubts that the world faces many serious economic and political risks. In the economic realm, 'shocks' – financial crises, episodes of inflation and currency depreciation, recessions, and sudden changes in world market conditions for commodities – are, by definition, unpredictable. But past shocks can serve as a guide to future risks. Cataloguing such shocks can provide insight into some of the longer-term trends signposted by previous economic or financial crises and the implications of the interplay of major economic and geopolitical factors for international strategy... A country does not need to be an international debtor to have a financial crisis. Crashes in domestic stock markets, real estate or banking, or (often) a combination of the three, can take place without the presence of international investors. Indeed, big bubbles and crashes seem almost a rite of passage for the arrival of a new global economic power." *Jeffrey Frankel is Harpel Professor of Capital Formation and Growth at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. This essay was prepared for the IISS conference 'A New Era of Geo-economics: Assessing the Interplay of Economic and Political Risk', 24–25 March 2012.*

EUROPE AFTER THE CRISIS

Moravcsik, Andrew. *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2012, pp.54-68.

"From the start, the euro has rested on a gamble. When European leaders opted for monetary union in 1992, they wagered that European economies would converge toward one another: the deficit-prone countries of southern Europe would adopt German economic standards -- lower price inflation and wage growth, more saving, and less spending -- and Germany would become a little more like them, by accepting more government and private spending and higher wage and price inflation. This did not occur. Now, with the euro in crisis, the true implications of this gamble are becoming clear. In the face of these tensions, keeping the Euro zone together requires European governments first to address the crisis of liquidity by stabilizing debt-ridden countries and shoring up European banks and then, in the long term, to bring about the fundamental convergence of European economies. The euro crisis will shape not just the fate of the single currency but also the future of the whole continent. The recent turmoil has made clear that the alignment of European domestic policies is a prerequisite for mutually beneficial cooperation." *Andrew Moravcsik is Professor of Politics and International Affairs and Director of the European Union Program at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.*

A STILL-STRONG ALLIANCE

Kupchan, Charles A. *Policy Review*. April/May 2012.

<http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/111956>

"Looking ahead, the most significant risks facing the United States and Europe are economic weakness, political lethargy, and geopolitical introversion. This internal frailty comes at a particularly unfortunate moment — just as the two sides of the Atlantic need to collectively manage the transition to a world no longer dominated by the West. If the eu continues to fragment, it will cut an ever-shrinking figure on the global stage and fall woefully short of being the partner the United States wants and needs. Over time, Europe's lack of geopolitical relevance will diminish the transatlantic solidarity still maintained by common interests and values. With or without Europe by its side, the United States will struggle to provide effective global leadership if the assets available to do so are shrinking and the nation's public mind is deeply divided... The Atlantic partnership faces an uncertain and unsettling era in global politics as power shifts from the West to emerging powers. The

disruptions that will inevitably accompany this tectonic change can be most effectively managed by coherent teamwork between the United States and Europe. Preparation for this task starts at home; the United States and Europe need to restore economic and political solvency if they are to have the power and purpose to anchor the coming transition. The Atlantic partners have more than enough common ground and common cause. What remains to be seen is whether they have the common wherewithal to act on their shared interests and values." Charles A. Kupchan is a professor of International Affairs at Georgetown University and Whitney Shepardson Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. He is the author of *No One's World: The West, the Rising Rest, and the Coming Global Turn* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

UNFINISHED MIDEAST REVOLTS

Broder, Jonathan. *The National Interest*. May/June 2012.

<http://nationalinterest.org/article/unfinished-mideast-revolts-6802?page=show>

"Nowhere in the world have the latest shocks to the Old Order been more powerful than in the Middle East and North Africa, where massive civic turmoil has swept away long-entrenched leaders in Egypt, Tunisia and Yemen, toppled a despot in Libya and now challenges the status quo in Syria. Over the past sixty years, the only other development of comparable game-changing magnitude was the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union. It isn't clear where the region is headed, but it is clear that its Old Order is dying. That order emerged after World War II, when the Middle East's colonial powers and their proxies were upended by ambitious new leaders stirred by the force and promise of Arab nationalism. Over time, though, their idealism gave way to corruption and dictatorial repression, and much of the region slipped into economic stagnation, unemployment, social frustration and seething anger...But what will the new order in the Middle East look like? It is still emerging. The discontent in Algeria, Lebanon, Iraq, Sudan and the Palestinian territories, which also share the demographic profile of high unemployment among young people with few economic prospects at home, has not yet reached a critical mass. Perhaps that is because the memories of civil conflict are still fresh in all of those countries. But unless the governments there take steps to address their economic problems, they easily could become targets of a new round of popular protests." *Jonathan Broder is a senior editor at Congressional Quarterly. He spent seventeen years in the Middle East as a foreign correspondent for the Associated Press, NBC News and the Chicago Tribune.*

THE ARAB DIGITAL VANGUARD: HOW A DECADE OF BLOGGING CONTRIBUTED TO A YEAR OF REVOLUTION

York, Jillian. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. Winter/Spring 2012, var. pages.

<http://jilliancyork.com/2012/02/11/the-arab-digital-vanguard-how-a-decade-of-blogging-contributed-to-a-year-of-revolution/>

"In 1991, just four years after Zine El-Abidine Ben Ali rose to power as president, Tunisia became the first country in the Arab world to connect to the Internet. The public had access by 1996, though its vast democratizing benefits were to be short-lived. That same year, the L'Agence Tunisienne d'Internet (Tunisian Internet Agency, or ATI) was established. Among its first mandates was the introduction of censorship. Over the course of the next decade the region began to trickle online, with Saudi Arabia and Syria amongst the last to connect. Swept up by the global technology bubble, in Cairo and Beirut, Amman and Abu Dhabi, entrepreneurs, seeing the communicative potential of the pre-Web 2.0 Internet, began developing email services, job-search sites, and perhaps most importantly, web forums. Such forums became sources of unreported news, discussion, social commentary, and

political debate, paving the way for the region's future bloggers. In countries where political discussion was taboo and crossing red lines—such as discussion of the ruling family, or debates about Islam—resulted in persecution of journalists, web forums created new spaces, outside of society, where political discussion was relatively safe." *Jillian C. York is Director for International Freedom of Expression at the Electronic Frontier Foundation.*

THE OPTIONS IN SYRIA

Jones, Bruce. *Foreign Policy*. April 10, 2012.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/10/The_Options_in_Syria?page=0,0

"There will be new calls for the use of force to achieve regime change. The strong moral pros and substantial operational cons of that option have been fully debated in this magazine and elsewhere. At this stage, there is no sign that the United States, NATO, Turkey, or anyone else is contemplating a full-blown intervention. Indeed, the White House has reportedly signaled to the Syrian opposition recently that it is not prepared to escalate its conflict with the Assad regime. There is a further option that has not been exhaustively examined: that of a multi-national stabilization force. A stabilization force is neither an intervention nor a peacekeeping tool: It has the military capacity of the former, but the intentions of the latter. It does not aim for regime change, but to stop a particular bout of killing and to prevent more. The deployment of such a force helped stop widespread slaughter by the Indonesian army in East Timor in 1999." *Bruce Jones is director of the Managing Global Order program at The Brookings Institution, and of the NYU Center on International Cooperation. He formerly served with the United Nations in Kosovo and the Middle East.*

PIVOT BUT HEDGE: A STRATEGY FOR PIVOTING TO ASIA WHILE HEDGING IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Barno, David W.; Bensahel, Nora; Sharp, Travis. *Orbis*. Spring 2012, pp.158-176.

"The U.S. government's new emphasis on the Asia-Pacific represents a bold strategic choice that could animate U.S. national security policy for years to come. Yet the United States must balance its rightful new focus on the Asia-Pacific with the volatility that still exists in other areas of the world. The United States should pivot to the Asia-Pacific—but to protect its vital interests, it should also hedge against threats elsewhere, particularly in the greater Middle East. To implement a "Pivot but Hedge" strategy, the U.S. government should do three things. First, it should exercise caution when cutting the defense budget. Second, it should give the military services greater leadership roles in specific regions: naval and air forces should lead in the Asia-Pacific, while ground forces should lead in the greater Middle East. Third, it should maintain expansible, capable, and well-trained ground forces as a hedge against global uncertainty. Historians will look back at 2011 as a momentous year in American national security policy. The United States abandoned its longtime Egyptian ally Hosni Mubarak, intervened in Libya, killed Osama bin Laden, removed its troops from Iraq, and accelerated its departure from Afghanistan. Yet perhaps the most important strategic decision made by President Barack Obama last year centered on another part of the world: the Asia-Pacific." *Lt. General David W. Barno (USA, Ret.), a former U.S. commander in Afghanistan, is Senior Advisor and Senior Fellow at the Center for a New American Security (CNAS). Nora Bensahel, Ph.D., is Deputy Director of Studies and Senior Fellow at the CNAS. Travis Sharp is the 2011-2012 Bacevich Fellow at the CNAS.*

THE GLOBAL POWER SHIFT FROM WEST TO EAST

Layne, Christopher. *The National Interest*. May/June 2012, pp.21-31.

<http://nationalinterest.org/article/the-global-power-shift-west-east-6796>

"The signs of the emerging new world order are many. First, there is China's astonishingly rapid rise to great-power status, both militarily and economically. In the economic realm, the International Monetary Fund forecasts that China's share of world GDP (15 percent) will draw nearly even with the U.S. share (18 percent) by 2014. (The U.S. share at the end of World War II was nearly 50 percent.) This is particularly startling given that China's share of world GDP was only 2 percent in 1980 and 6 percent as recently as 1995. Moreover, China is on course to overtake the United States as the world's largest economy (measured by market exchange rate) sometime this decade. Until the late 1960s, the United States was the world's dominant manufacturing power. Today, it has become essentially a rentier economy, while China is the world's leading manufacturing nation... These profound developments raise big questions about where the world is headed and America's role in the transition and beyond. Managing the transition will be the paramount strategic challenge for the United States over the next two decades. In thinking about where we might be headed, it is helpful to take a look backward - not just over the past seventy years but far back into the past. That is because the transition in progress represents more than just the end of the post- 1945 era of American global dominance. It also represents the end of the era of Western dominance over world events that began roughly five hundred years ago. During this half millennium of world history, the West's global position remained secure, and most big, global developments were represented by intracivilizational power shifts. Now, however, as the international system's economic and geopolitical center of gravity migrates from the Euro-Atlantic world to Asia, we are seeing the beginnings of an intercivilizational power shift. The significance of this development cannot be overemphasized." *Christopher Layne is professor and Robert M. Gates Chair in National Security at Texas A & M University's George H. W. Bush School of Government and Public Service. His current book project, to be published by Yale University Press, is After the Fall: International Politics, U.S. Grand Strategy, and the End of the Pax Americana.*

A STRATEGY OF "CONGAGEMENT" TOWARD PAKISTAN

Khalilzad, Zalmay. *The Washington Quarterly*. Spring 2012, pp. 107-119.

<https://csis.org/files/publication/twq12springkhalilzad.pdf>

"Pakistan undertakes a comprehensive review of its relationship with the United States, the United States should similarly review its approach to Pakistan. In the ten years since the 9/11 attacks, the key threat in South Asia has been the nexus between the Pakistani military as well as security services and the syndicate of violent extremist groups al-Qaeda, the Taliban, Lashkar-e-Taiba, and other insurgents operating against the United States, Afghanistan, and India. During the Bush and Obama administrations, the United States has sought to induce Pakistani leaders to break with these groups. While Pakistan has cooperated to a degree against some of them, the U.S. strategy has failed to transform Pakistan's behavior. A better way to conceptualize the Pakistani challenge is to recognize that Pakistan fits into a category of states that are both things at once: ally and adversary. The national interests of these states, as defined by key elites and policymakers, are consistent with some U.S. goals but opposed to others. Conceptions of the national interest may differ between competing institutions within the state. The policies they pursue are malleable to varying degrees, and the extent to which they support or oppose the United States can vary by issues and the circumstances. Unlike genuine allies, the United States shares with these states only some common interests and only limited strategic like-mindedness. Their goals, outlooks, and policies often come into conflict. Such states have incentives to cooperate with the United States at least on a tactical level on some issues. But the relationship is not founded on a clear and genuine basis of understanding, and relations can degenerate into periods of tension or crisis." *Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad*

served as the U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan (2003_2005), Iraq (2005_2007), and Permanent Representative to the United Nations (2007_2009) during the George W. Bush administration. He is the president of Khalilzad Associates and Gryphon Partners, and a counselor at The Council for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

DEMOGRAPHY AND INSTABILITY IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

Sciubba, Jennifer Dabbs. *Orbis*. Spring 2012, pp. 267-277.

"This article introduces a framework for analyzing population's effect on national security and applies this framework to assess how demographic trends in the developing world will influence conflict over the next twenty years. Population is connected to national security as an indicator of challenge and opportunity, a multiplier of conflict and progress, and a resource for power and prosperity. Breaking down the analysis in this way, rather than purely by demographic trend or by type of conflict, will help tease out the pathways through which demographic trends create challenges and opportunities. The indicator-multiplier-resource framework uses a comprehensive vision of national security, defined as a state's ability to survive and thrive by the absence of threat at the system, state, and individual levels of analysis. The indicator-multiplier-resource framework can be applied to what are arguably the three most influential demographic issues affecting the developing world: (1) youthful populations; (2) transitional age structures; and (3) urbanization. Some of these trends create insecurity that results in rebellion, protest, and crime. Others prepare conditions for increased prosperity and peace, and thus increase security and capability for many states in the developing world. The picture these diverse demographic trends reveal is one that requires states to continue to plan for warfare, and respond to civil conflict, instability, and humanitarian disasters. At the same time, these trends also mean that there will likely be a greater number of capable states willing to help with a response. The bottom line is that there is growing divergence among states in the developing world both in demographic and conflict patterns." *Jennifer Dabbs Sciubba is an Assistant Professor of International Studies at Rhodes College.*

THE 21ST CENTURY FORCE MULTIPLIER: PUBLIC-PRIVATE COLLABORATION

Stavridis, James; Farkas, Evelyn N. *The Washington Quarterly*. Spring 2012, pp. 7-20.
https://csis.org/files/publication/TWQ_12Spring_Stavridis_Farkas.pdf

"For about the last decade, the U.S. government has been recruiting private business and non-profit collaborators to volunteer expertise, exchange information, and even operate together to enhance national security, provide humanitarian assistance, or promote economic development around the world. The main objective of such collaboration is to improve effectiveness. The federal government has worked to harness expertise it doesn't have in the cyber arena, for example, by working with industry experts to help the U.S. government, its NATO allies, and the business community itself improve their cyber defenses. Now, as government and private sector budgets tighten, working together and pooling resources serves a more immediate and overriding objective achieving resource efficiency. Finite resources provide a compelling imperative for more and better public-private collaboration. Such collaboration a voluntary interaction between governments and non-government entities where one or both parties draw upon the expertise of the other does not necessarily involve a financial transaction or even a contract. Harnessing the know-how and resources of corporations, universities, research institutions, and charitable as well as development organizations is and will be critical to maintaining U.S. policy innovation and effectiveness. Just as we need to invest in education and research to cultivate national competitiveness, we need to build relationships leveraging private sector expertise and capabilities to enhance both global development and U.S. national security."

Admiral James Stavridis is the Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR) and Commander, U.S. European Command (EUCOM). Evelyn N. Farkas is his Senior Advisor for Public/Private Partnership.

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

KEEPING AMERICA'S WOMEN MOVING FORWARD

The White House Council on Women and Girls. April, 2012 [PDF format, 70 pages]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/email-files/womens_report_final_for_print.pdf

"Today, more than ever before, women are playing a central role in the American economy. Women now make up nearly 50% of our workforce, are a growing number of breadwinners in their families, and are the majority of students in our colleges and graduate schools. American women own 30% of small businesses, which generate \$1.2 trillion a year in sales. Since 1962, women's participation in the labor market has risen by 20 percentage points while the United States' Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has more than quadrupled. And according to a report by McKinsey, if the United States raised female labor participation rates to the average participation rate of the top 10 states, our economy would add 5.1 million women workers, the equivalent of a 3-4% increase in GDP... Over the past three years, the Obama Administration has worked tirelessly to promote equality; enhance women's economic security; and ensure that women have the opportunities they need and deserve at every stage of their lives, from obtaining training and education, to succeeding in the workforce and supporting their families, to retiring with dignity and security. his report provides a sampling of the policies, programs, and legislative initiatives that have resulted from these efforts. It is by no means a comprehensive list, but rather a reflection of the depth and breadth of the President's commitment to the lives of women and girls."

THE BLUEPRINT FOR A SECURE ENERGY FUTURE: PROGRESS REPORT

The White House. March 12, 2012 [PDF format, 20 pages]

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/email-files/the_blueprint_for_a_secure_energy_future_oneyear_progress_report.pdf

"One year ago, the President put forward a comprehensive plan in the Blueprint for a Secure Energy Future outlined the Administration's all-of-the-above approach to U.S. energy, a strategy aimed at reducing the U.S. reliance on foreign oil, and positioning the United States as the global leader in clean energy. The report, which represent the efforts of six Federal agencies, underscore the Administration's commitment over the past three years to promoting an all-hands-on-deck, all-of-the-above approach to American energy and building a more secure energy future."

OCCUPATIONAL OUTLOOK HANDBOOK 2012-2013

Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor. March 28, 2012 [HTML format with links]

<http://www.bls.gov/ooh/home.htm>

The profiles featured here cover hundreds of occupations and describe "What They Do", "Work Environment", "How to Become One", pay, and more. Each profile also includes BLS

employment projections for the 2010-20 decade. "Total employment is expected to increase by 20.5 million jobs from 2010 to 2020, with 88 percent of detailed occupations projected to experience employment growth. Industries and occupations related to health care, personal care and social assistance, and construction are projected to have the fastest job growth between 2010 and 2020. Jobs requiring a master's degree are expected to grow the fastest, while those requiring a high school diploma will experience the slowest growth over the 2010-20 timeframe."

SUMMARY ESTIMATES FOR MULTINATIONAL COMPANIES: EMPLOYMENT, SALES, AND CAPITAL EXPENDITURES FOR 2010

Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S. Department of Commerce. April 18, 2012 [PDF format, 8 pages]

http://www.bea.gov/newsreleases/international/mnc/2012/_pdf/mnc2010.pdf

This is the 2010 advanced and 2009 revised summary estimates of the employment, capital spending, and sales activity of U.S. multinational companies (comprising both their U.S. and foreign operations) and the corresponding activity of foreign multinational companies in the United States. Preliminary 2010 and revised 2009 statistics based on more complete source data and including country and industry detail will be released later this year.

ECONOMIC MOBILITY IN THE STATES

Pew Center on the States. May 10, 2012 [*Note: contains copyrighted material*] [HTML format with interactive contents]

<http://www.pewstates.org/research/reports/economic-mobility-of-the-states-85899383564?p=1>

The report is the first time research has identified where in the country Americans are more likely to move up or down the earnings ladder. Eight states, primarily in the Mideast and New England regions, have higher upward and lower downward mobility than the country as a whole, while states in the South have consistently lower upward and higher downward mobility. This is a new interactive tool that captures the findings of the first analysis of Americans' economic mobility at the state level, including data from all 50 states and the District of Columbia. Users can click the map to see where in the country Americans are most likely to move up rather than down, and where they are most likely to move down rather than up.

LOCATING AMERICAN MANUFACTURING: TRENDS IN THE GEOGRAPHY OF PRODUCTION

Helper, Susan, et al. The Brookings Institution. May 9, 2012 [PDF format, 60 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2012/5/09%20locating%20american%20manufacturing%20wialh/0509_locating_american_manufacturing_report.pdf

"The report begins by situating the present moment of U.S. manufacturing. It continues by reporting a series of often surprising descriptive trends affecting the nature and location of American production. Finally, it concludes by proposing geographic high-road policies for American manufacturing. These policies require a federal platform that is sensitive to the ways in which manufacturing differs geographically. They require state and local decision makers to take the lead in adapting the high-road approach to their specific needs. This policy prescription differs from the general business attraction incentives that have dominated state and local economic development policy. These incentives (which cost state and local treasuries \$70 billion annually) are problematic because they reduce the revenue available to fund investments in training and technology—investments that are essential to

a high-road approach. When firms locate near each other, they gain a number of advantages. The geographic clustering of companies in the same industry or related industries—along with the educational, R&D, business, and labor institutions that support them—promotes high wages and innovation. Such clustering gives manufacturers access to specialized workers, suppliers, and customers and makes it easier for them to share ideas that can improve their performance. Manufacturers can also benefit from their location in a geographic area that has a diverse set of industries, including those not associated solely with manufacturing. In such locations, they can learn from the practices of non-manufacturing industries and gain easier access to such services as engineering, finance, legal services, and management consulting. These geographic benefits are not simply natural advantages but also advantages created by public policy. The policy approach that aims to create such advantages, often called the high-road approach, encourages firms to utilize highly paid skilled workers to create innovative products and processes.” *Susan Helper is Carlton Professor of Economics at Case Western Reserve University.*

REMAKING FEDERALISM TO REMAKE THE AMERICAN ECONOMY

Bruce Katz. The Brookings Institution [Campaign 2012 Papers #3] February 16, 2012.

http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2012/0216_federalism_katz.aspx

“As the 2012 presidential election unfolds, and the debate over the future of the American economy comes into sharper relief, it is essential that both candidates articulate a federalist vision for economic renewal. While past federalist eras have been defined by their means—the way that different levels of government interact—the current economic imperative necessitates federalism that is defined by co-delivering particular ends, specifically a new vision for the national economy. In summary terms, the next economy should be fuelled by innovation, to spur growth not only through idea generation but the virtuous interplay of invention, commercialization and manufacturing. It should increasingly be powered by low-carbon energy, to position the United States at the vanguard of the next, innovation-led industrial revolution. It should be driven by exports, to take advantage of rising global demand for quality products and services. This ambitious macro vision largely comes to ground in the nation’s 100 largest metropolitan areas, which already generate more than three-quarters of the nation’s gross domestic product. These communities dominate economically, since they concentrate and agglomerate the innovative firms, talented workers, risk-taking entrepreneurs and supportive ecosystems of universities, community colleges and business associations that drive modern economies.” *Bruce J. Katz is a vice president at the Brookings Institution and founding Director of the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program.*

IMMIGRANT WORKERS IN THE U.S. LABOR FORCE

Singer, Audrey. The Brookings Institution. March 15, 2012 [PDF format, 18 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/papers/2012/0315_immigrant_workers_singer.aspx

“This short analysis provides data on immigrants in the labor force at the current time of slowed immigration, high unemployment, and low job growth and highlights eight industries where immigrants are especially vital. How large a share of the labor force are they and how does that vary by particular industry? How do immigrants compare to native-born workers in their educational attainment and occupational profiles? This analysis puts a spotlight on immigrant workers to examine their basic trends in the labor force and how these workers fit into specific industries and occupations of interest... Immigrants are a growing part of the labor force (people with a job or looking for one), and in 2010 there were 23.1 million foreign-born persons in the civilian labor force, making up 16.4 percent of the total. As the foreign-born population has grown as a share of the total population, they

have grown disproportionately as a share of the labor force." *Audrey Singer is a senior fellow at the Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program.*

THE U.S. IMMIGRATION SYSTEM: POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF REFORM

Greenstone, Michael, et. al. The Hamilton Project, The Brookings Institution. May 2012 [PDF format, 12 pages]

http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2012/5/15%20immigration%20greenstone%20looney/05_immigration_greenstone_looney.pdf

"Even as immigration to the United States continues to rise after a mid-century dip, most agree that America's immigration policy has failed to keep up with changing circumstances. The current system does not meet U.S. economic needs, no longer reflects the historic humanitarian goal of reuniting families set out in the landmark 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act, undermines the confidence of Americans in the rule of law, and has produced divisive and fragmented policy responses at the state level. The aforementioned concerns are considerable, and they are being raised at a time when our nation continues its recovery from the Great Recession and attention remains rightly focused on the unemployment rate and the need for economic improvement. For these reasons, The Hamilton Project has focused its attention on the economic effects of immigration—and, specifically, the often-misunderstood facts underpinning the debate. Practically, the system for processing both temporary and permanent visas is characterized by long lines and inequities. Economically, current policies limit the gains that the country could garner from the employment-based immigration of workers with needed skills. And fiscally, the burden of caring for and educating immigrants and their children falls disproportionately on certain communities. All of these factors point to a system badly in need of update and reform." *Michael Greenstone is the 3M Professor of Environmental Economics in the Department of Economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. From 2009-10 he served as the chief economist at the White House's Council of Economic Advisers.*

WHEN LABELS DON'T FIT: HISPANICS AND THEIR VIEWS OF IDENTITY

Pew Hispanic Center. April 4, 2012 [PDF format, 64 pages]

<http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/04/Hispanic-Identity.pdf>

"Nearly four decades after the U.S. government mandated the use of the terms "Hispanic" or "Latino" to categorize Americans who trace their roots to Spanish-speaking countries, a new nationwide survey of Hispanics finds that these terms still haven't been fully embraced by Hispanics themselves. A majority says they most often identify themselves by their family's country of origin while just one-quarter says they prefer a pan-ethnic label. This report explores Latinos' attitudes about their identity; their language usage patterns; their core values; and their views about the U.S. and their families' country of origin. It is based on findings from a national bilingual survey of 1,220 Hispanic adults conducted Nov. 9 through Dec. 7, 2011, by the Pew Hispanic Center."

DIVERSE STREAMS: BLACK AFRICAN MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

Capps, Randy, et.al. Migration Policy Institute. April 2012 [PDF format, 28 pages]

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/CBI-AfricanMigration.pdf>

"Today there are about 1.1 million Black African immigrants, comprising 3 percent of the total US foreign-born population. Black Africans are among the fastest-growing groups of US immigrants, increasing by about 200 percent during the 1980s and 1990s and nearly 100 percent during the 2000s. This report finds African immigrants generally fare well on integration indicators, with college completion rates that greatly exceed those for most

other immigrant groups and US natives. Despite higher levels of human capital, high employment rates, and strong English skills, African immigrants' earnings lag those of the native born." *Randy Capps is a demographer and Senior Policy Analyst with the Migration Policy Institute (MPI) National Center on Immigrant Integration Policy.*

CULTURE SHIFT: TEACHING IN A LEARNER-CENTERED ENVIRONMENT POWERED BY DIGITAL LEARNING

Alliance for Excellent Education. May 2012 [*Note: contains copyrighted material*] [PDF format, 31 pages]

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

"The increasingly global economy and complex world have changed the demands on the U.S. education system. Unlike in the first half of the twentieth century, today all students must be able to think critically, communicate effectively, collaborate with others, and analyze information

and sources while meeting rigorous benchmarks, such as those contained in the common core state standards. The percentage of jobs in the United States requiring postsecondary education has grown from 28 percent to 60 percent since 1973.² For students to be adequately prepared for college and a career, they must graduate from high school with a very different set of skills and knowledge than was needed in the past. This requires a shift from a teacher-centric culture to one that supports learner-centered instruction with an intense focus on the student, whether in face-to-face, blended, or virtual environments. The learner-centered environment uses data to set learning goals and criteria for success, assesses progress, and provides students with a comprehensive system of academic and developmental supports. The new culture offers flexible learning opportunities that are relevant to students and engage them deeply in directing and taking responsibility for their individual learning."

YOUTH AND THE LABOR FORCE: BACKGROUND AND TRENDS

Fernandes-Alcantara, Adrienne L. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. May 10, 2012 [PDF format, 35 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R42519.pdf>

"Congress has indicated a strong interest in ensuring that today's young people--those ages 16 through 24--attain the education and employment experience necessary to make the transition to adulthood as skilled workers and taxpayers. In the wake of the December 2007-June 2009 recession, questions remain about the employment prospects of youth today and the possible effects on their future earnings and participation in the labor market. This report provides context for policymakers on the youth employment situation. It includes data on labor force participation, employment, and unemployment in the post-World War II period, with a focus on trends since 2000. This discussion compares rates based on age, gender, race/ethnicity, and income, where applicable. The report also explores the factors that influence youth participation in the labor force and their prospects for employment." *Adrienne L. Fernandes-Alcantara is an Specialist in Social Policy at the Congressional Research Service.*

PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN PUBLIC'S TOP STORY

Pew Research Center. May 31, 2012.

<http://www.people-press.org/2012/05/31/presidential-campaign-publics-top-story/>

"Americans continued to follow news about the presidential campaign more closely than any other news last week, though they also closely followed news about the price of gasoline.

Nearly three-in-ten (28%) say news about the candidates for president was their top story, while 17% say they followed news about gas prices most closely. One-in-ten (10%) say they followed news about the U.S. economy more closely than any other story, according to the latest weekly News Interest Index survey, conducted May 24-27 among 1,012 adults by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. Looking at a separate measure, comparable numbers say they very closely followed news about the economy (33%), the election (32%) and gas prices (32%)."

WHY MINORITIES WILL DECIDE THE 2012 U.S. ELECTION

Frey, William H. The Brookings Institution. May 2012.

<http://www.brookings.edu/research/opinions/2012/05/01-race-elections-frey>

"With Republican Mitt Romney now his party's presumptive presidential nominee, both his campaign and President Obama's re-election effort are barnstorming the nation for votes. For former Massachusetts Gov. Romney, this means recapturing the enthusiasm of the 2010 midterm GOP rout, especially among white Republican leaning voting blocs concerned about taxes and excessive government spending. For the Democratic president, it means tapping into the groundswell that got him elected in 2008, particularly when it comes to minority voters. Obama and the Democrats believe demography is on their side. Census 2010 made abundantly clear that racial and ethnic minorities, especially Hispanics, are dominating national growth and will for decades to come. The Democratic agenda— favoring broader federal support for medical care, housing, and education seems designed to curry the favor of these groups, which played a huge role in tipping the balance in his favor in several key swing states. But while demography is often destiny, it's not necessarily a slam dunk that minorities can carry the day for Obama this time. The reasons have to do with the complications of translating pure demographics into votes and the outsized role that the nation's still large white population can exert on national politics. The 2010 midterm Republican surge is an example. With the economy in freefall and disenchantment with early Obama initiatives rising, even sympathetic white voting blocs—like college graduate women— fled the Democrats. Of course the president's public approval ratings have risen since then, and the economy has picked up some. The country is clearly not at the same place economically as it was in 2008 or 2010." *William H. Frey is a Senior Fellow at the Metropolitan Policy Program of The Brookings Institution.*

STATE OF THE NEW MEDIA 2012

Project for Excellence in Journalism. March 19, 2012 [HTML format, various paging]

<http://stateofthemedial.org/>

New research released in this report finds that mobile devices are adding to people's news consumption, strengthening the lure of traditional news brands and providing a boost to long-form journalism. Eight in ten who get news on smartphones or tablets, for instance, get news on conventional computers as well. "People are taking advantage, in other words, of having easier access to news throughout the day – in their pocket, on their desks and in their laps. At the same time, a more fundamental challenge that we identified in this report last year has intensified — the extent to which technology intermediaries now control the future of news. Two trends in the last year overlap and reinforce the sense that the gap between the news and technology industries is widening. First, the explosion of new mobile platforms and social media channels represents another layer of technology with which news organizations must keep pace. Second, in the last year a small number of technology giants began rapidly moving to consolidate their power by becoming makers of "everything" in our digital lives. Google, Amazon, Facebook, Apple and a few others are maneuvering to make the hardware people use, the operating systems that run those devices, the browsers on which people navigate, the e-mail services on which they communicate, the social

networks on which they share and the web platforms on which they shop and play. And all of this will provide these companies with detailed personal data about each consumer."

THE DOMESTIC TERRORIST THREAT: BACKGROUND AND ISSUES FOR CONGRESS

Bjelopera, Jerome P. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. May 15, 2012 [PDF format, 71 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sqp/crs/terror/R42536.pdf>

"The emphasis of counterterrorism policy in the United States since Al Qaeda's attacks of September 11, 2001 (9/11) has been on jihadist terrorism. However, in the last decade, domestic terrorists--people who commit crimes within the homeland and draw inspiration from U.S.-based extremist ideologies and movements--have killed American citizens and damaged property across the country. Not all of these criminals have been prosecuted under terrorism statutes... The U.S. government reacted to 9/11 by greatly enhancing its counterterrorism efforts. This report discusses how domestic terrorists broadly fit into this new counterterrorism landscape, a terrain that in the last 10 years has been largely shaped in response to terrorists inspired by foreign ideologies. This report focuses especially on how domestic terrorism is conceptualized by the federal government and issues involved in assessing this threat's significance. Today (perhaps in part because of the government's focus on international terrorist ideologies) it is difficult to evaluate the scope of domestic terrorist activity. For example, federal agencies employ varying terminology and definitions to describe it. Also, domestic terrorism-related intelligence collection efforts have not necessarily received the same attention as similar efforts to counter foreign threats. Beyond these issues, the Obama Administration's community outreach-driven strategy to quell terrorism-related radicalization in the United States focuses on individuals inspired by Al Qaeda. How domestic terrorism fits into this strategy is unclear. Congress may opt to examine these and other issues related to domestic terrorism. Domestic terrorists may not be the top federal counterterrorism priority, but they feature prominently among the concerns of some law enforcement officers." *Jerome P. Bjelopera is an Specialist in Organized Crime and Terrorism at the Congressional Research Service.*

ARTICLES

U.S. DEBT CULTURE AND THE DOLLAR'S FATE

Whalen, Christopher. *The National Interest*. May/June 2012, var. pages.

<http://nationalinterest.org/article/us-debt-culture-the-dollars-fate-6798>

"In our common narrative, the modern era of global finance—what we call the Old Order—begins with the Great Depression and New Deal of the 1930s. The economic model put in place by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and others at the end of World War II is seen as a political as well as economic break point. But arbitrarily selected demarcation points in any human timeline can be misleading. The purpose of narrative, after all, is to simplify the complex and, over time, to remake the past in today's terms. As we approach any discussion of the Old Order, we must acknowledge that the image of intelligent design in public policy is largely an illusion. There is no question that the world after 1950 was a reflection of the wants and needs of the United States, the victor in war and thus the designer of the peacetime system of commerce and finance that followed. Just as the Roman, Mongol and British empires did centuries earlier, America made the post-World War II peace in its own image. The U.S.-centric model enjoyed enormous success due to factors such as relatively low inflation, financial transactions that respect anonymity, an open court system and a relatively enlightened foreign policy—all unique attributes of the American system. But the framework of the global financial system in the twentieth century and its

U.S.-centric design were the end results of a series of terrible wars—starting, in the case of America, with the Civil War. The roots of the U.S.-centric financial order that arose at the end of World War II extend back into the nineteenth century and reflect the political response of a very young nation to acute problems of employment and economic growth—problems that remain unresolved today." *Christopher Whalen is a senior managing director of Tangent Capital Partners in New York City. He is the author of Inflated: How Money and Debt Built the American Dream (Wiley, 2010).*

THE PRESIDENT, CONGRESS, AND THE FINANCIAL CRISIS: IDEOLOGY AND MORAL HAZARD IN ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE

Knott, Jack H. *Presidential Studies Quarterly*. March 2012, pp. 81–100.

"This article examines how the democratic political institutions of the president and the Congress interacted with private firms and regulatory agencies to contribute to the financial meltdown in 2008-09. This economic governance system failed to counteract the excessive optimism in the financial markets but rather contributed to and reinforced this development. Political moral hazard weakened institutional checks and balances in economic regulation and contributed to a convergence of political ideology and policy preferences of the president, Congress, political parties, and professional experts. These developments occurred during significant financial innovation, making it difficult to foresee the risk building in the system." *Jack H. Knott is the C. Erwin and Lone L. Piper Dean and Professor of the Sol Price School of Public Policy at the University of Southern California. His work focuses on political institutions, public policy, and public management.*

TEN KEY INSIGHTS INTO THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Newport, Frank M, et.al. *Gallup*. May 24, 2012, var. pages.

<http://www.gallup.com/poll/154853/Ten-Key-Insights-Presidential-Election.aspx>

"The November 6 U.S. presidential election is now about 24 weeks away, and both major-party candidates continue their nonstop campaigning to win over the hearts, minds, and motivations of voters. Gallup has been measuring public opinion related to the election -- either directly or indirectly -- for well over a year now, and in this summary, Gallup editors evaluate 10 key indicators that shed light on where the election stands today... Not only are overall voter preferences in the 2012 presidential election closely split at this point, but Obama and Romney each have important strengths and weaknesses in their images and issue ratings." *Frank M. Newport is the Editor in Chief of The Gallup Poll. He reports regularly for USA Today, NPR, CNBC, and other media organizations.*

5 WORLD EVENTS THAT COULD SWING THE U.S. ELECTION

Friedman, Uri. *Foreign Policy*. May 24, 2012, var. pages.

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/05/24/five_world_events_that_could_swing_the_us_election?page=full

"The prevailing political wisdom is that the economy -- not foreign policy -- will determine who becomes the next president of the United States. When voters were asked in a [Washington Post-ABC News](#) poll this week what the single most important issue was for them in choosing a president, 52 percent said jobs and the economy (and they're evenly split on whether Barack Obama or Mitt Romney would do a better job on the latter). To put that figure in perspective, the second most-cited issue was "Health care/repealing Obamacare" at a mere 7 percent, while foreign-policy issues such as terrorism and the war in Afghanistan each mustered a measly 1 percent of responses. In January, the [Pew](#)

Research Center concluded that the American public is more concerned with domestic policy than at any point in the past 15 years.”

THE STATES THAT PUT PRESIDENTS OVER THE TOP

Skelley, Geoffrey. *Sabato's Crystal Ball*. May 17, 2012, var. pages.

<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/the-states-that-put-presidents-over-the-top/>

“We all think we know which states are the pivotal players in the Electoral College. The *Crystal Ball's* [most recent look at the map](#) showed that there are seven “Super Swing States:” Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio and Virginia. How these states vote on Nov. 6 will likely decide the outcome of the 2012 presidential contest. But which state will put either Barack Obama or Mitt Romney over the top? In other words, which state will actually prove to be the decisive domino in the race to 270 electoral votes? In 2008, that state was Colorado. Obama won the Centennial State by about nine percentage points over John McCain; had Obama failed to carry Colorado and every state that he won by a smaller margin, the Electoral College result would have been a 269-269 tie, a result that would have thrown the election into the House of Representatives. Considering that the final tally in 2008 was Obama 365, McCain 173, it is easy to overlook the concept of the decisive state. In a blowout win, such as an FDR or Reagan landslide, the margin of victory in the decisive state can be nearly 20 percentage points. However, in a too-close-to-call election, that margin might be tenths, even hundredths, of a percentage point. Just look at 2000, when George W. Bush defeated Al Gore by .01% of the vote in Florida to reach 271 electoral votes. Flip Florida and Gore wins.” *Geoffrey Skelley is a Political Analyst at the Center for Politics of the University of Virginia.*

A NEW ENERGY ERA

Zawatsky, Jay. *The National Interest*. May 15, 2012.

<http://nationalinterest.org/commentary/new-energy-era-6928>

“The United States sits on top of the world’s largest supply of natural gas. In the last half-dozen years, the often-demonized oil companies have perfected two technologies that can deliver that clean-burning resource in quantities sufficient to replace imported oil as a transportation fuel. Significantly, natural gas can increase fuel economy, reduce greenhouse gases and do it all for a substantially lower cost per gallon than a gasoline (or diesel) equivalent. How does this natural-gas revolution work? Since the early 1950s, geologists have known there are massive deposits of natural gas within nearly impenetrable shale formations in several areas of the country, including the Barnett Shale in Texas, the Haynesville Shale in northwestern Louisiana and eastern Texas, the Marcellus Shale along the Appalachian chain in West Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania, and the Fayetteville Shale in Arkansas.” *Jay Zawatsky is the CEO of havePower, LLC (a natural gas infrastructure developer) and a professor of business in the dual degree MBA program of the University of Maryland University College.*

TOUGH LOVE FOR RENEWABLE ENERGY

Ball, Jeffrey. *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2012, pp.122-133.

“Over the past decade, governments around the world threw money at renewable power. Private investors followed, hoping to cash in on what looked like an imminent epic shift in the way the world produced electricity. Much of that enthusiasm has now fizzled. Natural gas prices have plummeted in the US, the result of technology that has unlocked vast supplies of a fuel that is cleaner than coal. The global recession has nudged global warming

far down the political agenda and led cash-strapped countries to yank back renewable-energy subsidies. Governments will have to redesign their renewable-power policies to focus ruthlessly on slashing costs. Renewable-power producers will also have to act more strategically, picking the technologies they deploy, and the locations where they place them, in ways that make more economic sense. As renewable power comes of age, it needs some tough love. Taking wind and solar power mainstream will also require better ways to get it to consumers when they need it, since the times when wind turbines and solar panels generate the most electricity are not necessarily the times when people use electricity most." *Jeffrey Ball is Scholar in Residence at Stanford University's Steyer- Taylor Center for Energy Policy and Finance. Previously, he wrote about energy and the environment for The Wall Street Journal, where he spent 14 years as a reporter, columnist, and editor, serving most recently as Environment Editor.*

WHY THE CURRENT EDUCATION REFORM STRATEGY WON'T WORK

Atkinson, Robert D. *Issues in Science & Technology*. Spring 2012, pp. 29-36.

<http://www2.itif.org/2012-current-edu-reform-wont-work.pdf>

"The article focuses on the decline of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) education in the U.S. or over half a century, innovations based on science and engineering have powered the U.S. economy, creating good jobs, a high standard of living, and international economic leadership. Yet, as the National Science Board documented in *Science and Engineering Indicators: 2012*, the nation's global share of industries focused on science, technology, engineering, and mathematics—the group widely known as STEM—is in decline. Moreover, the nation is not able to produce enough STEM workers domestically in key fields. Although increasing the quantity and quality of U.S. graduates in STEM fields will not turn around declining U.S. innovation-based competitiveness, it is an important component of a national innovation strategy." *Robert D. Atkinson is president of the Information Technology and Innovation Foundation in Washington, DC.*

GET RICH U

Auletta, Ken. *The New Yorker*. April 30, 2012, var. pages.

http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2012/04/30/120430fa_fact_auletta

"There are no walls between Stanford and Silicon Valley. Should there be? Stanford University is so startlingly paradisaical, so fragrant and sunny, it's as if you could eat from the trees and live happily forever. Students ride their bikes through manicured quads, past blooming flowers and statues by Rodin, to buildings named for benefactors like Gates, Hewlett, and Packard. Everyone seems happy, though there is a well-known phenomenon called the "Stanford duck syndrome": students seem cheerful, but all the while they are furiously paddling their legs to stay afloat. What they are generally paddling toward are careers of the sort that could get their names on those buildings. The campus has its jocks, stoners, and poets, but what it is famous for are budding entrepreneurs, engineers, and computer aces hoping to make their fortune in one crevasse or another of Silicon Valley." *Ken Auletta has written the Annals of Communications column for The New Yorker since 1993. His most recent book is Googled: The End of the World As We Know It (Penguin Press, 2009)*

WHO SHOULD LEAD U.S. CYBERSECURITY EFFORTS?

Newmeyer, Kevin P. *Prism*. March 2012, pp. 115-126.

<http://www.ndu.edu/press/us-cybersecurity-efforts.html>

"This article examines the options available to improve cyber security leadership within the U.S. Government. At present the authorities are scattered among several departments with weak executive oversight. A strong executive agent is required. This article proposes the establishment of a Director of Cyber security (DCYBER) modeled on the Director of National Intelligence. The Director would have the authorities necessary to direct investments and enforce policy along with an empowered Department of Homeland Security... Cyber security concerns have only grown with the expansion of digital technology into all aspects of daily life and daily government operations. President Obama in the International Strategy to Secure Cyberspace stated that cyber security is part and parcel of everyday life for all Americans and much of the world. Establishing a strong DCYBER at a Cabinet-equivalent level would provide the necessary leadership within the Federal Government. The Department of Homeland Security would continue to play an important role in protecting civilian governmental systems and coordinating with the private sector. DOD has already taken several steps to improve its capabilities for action, and senior leaders are addressing cyber security in a responsible manner. Congress and the President need to demonstrate the political leadership and expend the political capital to make the needed changes in legislation and structure on the domestic front." *Mr. Kevin P. Newmeyer is an Assistant Professor of National Security Affairs at the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies, National Defense University.*

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<http://barcelona.usconsulate.gov>

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