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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

[2011 Digest of United States Practice in International Law](#). Office of the Legal Adviser, U.S. Department of State. July 2012.

Williams, Brock R.; Donnelly, J. Michael. [U.S. International Trade: Trends and Forecasts](#). Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. October, 19, 2012

Ahearn, Raymond, et al. [The Future of the Eurozone and U.S. Interests](#). Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress. January 17, 2012.

Hanson, Fergus. [Internet Freedom: The Role of the U.S. State Department](#). The Brookings Institution. October 25, 2012.

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Dalton, Melissa G. [Assad Under Fire: Five Scenarios for the Future of Syria](#). Center for a New American Security. October 5, 2012.

Planty, Donald J. [Security Sector Transformation in the Arab Awakening](#). U.S. Institute of Peace. September 2012.

Wehry, Frederic. [The Struggle for Security in Eastern Libya](#). Carnegie Endowment for

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Salvatore Jennings, Ray. [Democratic Breakthroughs: The Ingredients of Successful Revolts](#). U.S. Institute of Peace. July 2012.

Brown, Frances Z. [The U.S. Surge and Afghan Local Governance](#). U.S. Institute of Peace. September 2012.

[Oil and Gas for Asia: Geopolitical Implications of Asia's Rising Demand](#). National Bureau of Asia. September 2012.

[Foreign Policy in the New Millennium](#). Chicago Council Survey. September 10, 2012.

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Clinton, Hillary. [The Art of Smart Power](#). *New Statesman*. July 18, 2012.

Shapiro, Andrew J. [A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance](#). *The Washington Quarterly*. Fall 2012.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

REPORTS

2011 Digest of United States Practice in International Law
Office of the Legal Adviser, U.S. Department of State. July 2012.
<http://www.state.gov/s/l/2011/index.htm>

The digest provides the public with a record of the views and practice of the Government of the United States in public and private international law. The official edition of the 2011 Digest is available exclusively on the State Department's website. Past digests covering

1989 through 2010 are also available on the State Department's website. The Digest traces its history back to an 1877 treatise by John Cadwalader, which was followed by multi-volume encyclopedias covering selected areas of international law. Beginning in 1973, the Office of the Legal Adviser published the Digest on an annual basis, changing its focus to documentation current to the year. The 2011 Digest provides a historical record of key legal developments in 2011. "The Arab Awakening presented a variety of challenges for the practice of international law in 2011. In addressing events in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Bahrain, and elsewhere, the United States government carefully applied what Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton has called "smart power," utilizing a wide array of foreign policy tools to fit the needs of the particular circumstance. In Libya, the U.S. took a multilateral approach, acting quickly at the UN Security Council to pass historic resolutions that established an arms embargo and sanctions regime and made the first ever unanimous referral to the International Criminal Court. Based on Security Council Resolution 1973's authorization for "all necessary measures" to enforce a no-fly zone, and consistent with the War Powers Resolution, the United States was part of a limited, NATO-led military mission in Libya."

U.S. International Trade: Trends and Forecasts

Williams, Brock R.; Donnelly, J. Michael. Congressional Research Service (CRS), Library of Congress. October, 19, 2012 [PDF format, 38 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/RL33577.pdf>

"In 2009, as the global financial crisis worsened and the United States and other developed countries dropped into recession, the declining U.S. trade deficit contributed positively to the growth in the U.S. economy. The U.S. recession would have been worse without the shrinking U.S. trade deficit. However, the faltering global economic conditions that caused the declining U.S. demand for imports, and hence the fall in the trade deficit, also caused a decline in demand for U.S. domestic goods and services. While U.S. imports declined in 2009, they rose in 2010 and 2011, forcing companies competing with imports to continue to face diminished demand as the domestic economy remained sluggish. These conditions create increased pressures on political forces to protect domestic industry from imports, not only in the United States, but around the world. As the world is recovering from the great recession countries are vying to capture the increase in global trade by keeping the value of their currencies low, particularly China... Trade deficits are a concern for Congress because they may generate trade friction and pressures for the government to do more to open foreign markets, to shield U.S. producers from foreign competition, or to assist U.S. industries to become more competitive. Overall U.S. trade deficits reflect excess spending (a shortage of savings) in the domestic economy and a reliance on capital imports to finance that shortfall. Capital inflows serve to offset the outflow of dollars used to pay for imports. Movements in the exchange rate help to balance trade." *Brock R. Williams is an Analyst in International Trade and Finance at the CRS. J. Michael Donnelly is an Information Research Specialist.*

The Future of the Eurozone and U.S. Interests

Ahearn, Raymond, et.al. Congressional Research Service (CRS), Library of Congress. January 17, 2012 [PDF format, 32 pages]

<http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/R41411.pdf>

"The Obama Administration, Federal Reserve (Fed), and Congress have been actively engaged in monitoring and working towards an orderly resolution of the Eurozone crisis. President Obama and Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner reportedly have been in close contact with European leaders, urging them to take decisive action to resolve the crisis. A major U.S. concern is that a sovereign default by Greece or another member of the Eurozone or the collapse of a major European financial institution, could ignite a wave of credit freeze-ups that would spill over to U.S. and global financial markets and serve as a major shock to the U.S. stock market and economy. An additional U.S. concern is that the slowing Eurozone economy, along with a depreciating euro, will adversely affect U.S exports and earnings of U.S. companies. This report provides background information and analysis on the future of the Eurozone in six parts: (1) discusses the origins, rationale, economic significance, key provisions, and design challenges of the Eurozone; (2) describes how persistent economic imbalances are underlying causes of the Eurozone crisis and analyzes how the imbalances are related to inadequate adjustment mechanisms within the EMU; (3) focuses on proposals to defuse the Eurozone crisis and strengthen the framework of the currency union; (4) examines three possible scenarios for the future of the Eurozone; (5) assesses the implications of the Eurozone crisis for U.S. economic and political interests." *Raymond J. Ahearn is Coordinator of the report and Specialist in International Trade and Finance at the CRS.*

Internet Freedom: The Role of the U.S. State Department

Hanson, Fergus. The Brookings Institution. October 25, 2012.

<http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2012/10/25-ediplomacy-hanson-internet-freedom>

"Promoting and facilitating internet freedom is among the most radical uses eDiplomacy is being put to at State. Its starting point is that America's traditionally strong advocacy for civil liberties should apply fully and without exception to the online world. Thus, if a government seeks to restrict these freedoms online, the U.S. government will oppose it both rhetorically and in practice including by directly funding the development and rollout of tools that will subvert restrictive internet policies. The use of technology to overcome censorship and empower individuals in exercising their human rights online is a forward-leaning aspect of U.S. policy that views human rights online the same as it does in the physical world. The United States does not condone or seek to support illegal online activity (such as transnational crime) but leaves it to itself to be the arbiter of when and what type of monitoring and filtering is acceptable." *Fergus Hanson is a nonresident fellow in Brookings' Foreign Policy program.*

National Security Guide to the 2012 Presidential Election

King, Kay; Stokes, Jacob. Center for a New American Security. October 5, 2012 [PDF format, 26 pages]

www.cnas.org/files/documents/publications/CNAS_NationalSecurityGuide2012.pdf

This report draws on the expertise of CNAS scholars to provide readers with a fact-based, non-ideological assessment of the critical national security issues that the next president must address. The guide, edited by Kay King, Senior Advisor and Director of External Relations, and Researcher Jacob Stokes, is intended to help U.S. voters, global partners and other interested observers better understand the national security issues that are at stake in this election and that will impact the country for decades to come. "Due to a deeply troubled U.S. economy, national security has not received the attention it deserves in the 2012 presidential election campaign from the candidates, the media and, by extension, the public.

Yet the United States faces several daunting security challenges such as instability in the Middle East, an ongoing war in Afghanistan, an increasingly antagonistic China and cyber security threats – all of which will greet the next president on Inauguration Day, if not before."

Assad Under Fire: Five Scenarios for the Future of Syria

Dalton, Melissa G. Center for a New American Security. September 2012 [PDF format, 14 pages]

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

This policy brief focuses on threats to U.S. security interests and how they might evolve under five different scenarios for the future of Syria: (1) President Bashar al-Asad is killed, followed by a period of conflict; (2) An opposition-led government takes power through a managed transition; (3) The opposition deposes Asad violently and takes control of Syria; (4) Assad retains power after an extended civil war; (5) Syria disintegrates along sectarian or religious lines. . . As the conflict continues to escalate, public debate in the United States has focused on specific policies to address the current conflict, including arming Syrian rebels directly or imposing no-fly zones to support the Syrian opposition. Meanwhile, far too little attention has been paid to what may happen when the conflict ends. Current reports suggest that U.S. policymakers are focusing on the prospect of a managed transition after Asad falls from power, but this is only one possible outcome. As the U.S. learned so painfully in Iraq, preparing effectively for the aftermath of conflict requires exploring a wide range of possible outcomes, not just the ones that Americans prefer." *Melissa G. Dalton is a visiting fellow at the Center for a New American Security, on leave from the U.S. Department of Defense.*

Security Sector Transformation in the Arab Awakening

Planty, Donald J. U.S. Institute of Peace. September 2012 [PDF format, 12 pages]

<http://www.usip.org/files/resources/SR317.pdf>

According to the author, countries transitioning to democracy must change old models of organizing the police, armed services, and intelligence services, which typically were characterized by mistreatment of the public, for models that stress transparency, accountability, and citizen involvement. Yet each new government in the Middle East and North Africa must tailor its reforms carefully and patiently in order to avoid backlash among security services. "The Arab Awakening opened the door to democratic political change in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Security sector reform (SSR) is an integral component of the nascent democratic process in the region. While SSR is a long-term process, it should be a key part of institution building in the new democracies. Democracy requires security institutions that are open, professional, and responsive to public needs. The transitions to democracy are varied in nature and scope. SSR will differ by country and must be tailored to the political realities and specific circumstances of each state. The international community can foster successful SSR processes by calibrating its assistance according to the reform efforts in each country. A general or "one-size-fits-all" approach to SSR will not be successful." *Donald J. Planty is a former career member of the Senior Foreign Service of the United States. Former U.S. Ambassador to Guatemala in 1996–99, he worked on NATO and U.S.-European security issues in Washington and assignments at the U.S. Embassy in Madrid and at the U.S. Embassy in Oslo.*

The Struggle for Security in Eastern Libya

Wehry, Frederic. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. September 2012 [*Note: contains copyrighted material*] [PDF format, 34 pages]
http://carnegieendowment.org/files/libya_security_2.pdf

The growing instability in Libya's eastern province is best addressed in the near term by an effective constitution and the institutionalization of the security sector, says the author. "Despite successful parliamentary elections in early July, localized clashes over identity, power, and resources persist in Libya, straining the capacity of the weak government, deterring foreign investment, and possibly stunting the emergence of democratic institutions. The most pressing of these conflicts—growing insecurity in Libya's eastern region of Barqa, where Benghazi is located—is fueled by longstanding neglect, Salafi militancy, and fighting between ethnic Tabu and Arab tribes. Lacking an effective police and national army, the state is struggling for legitimacy and control of the east. It must act to restore the periphery's confidence in the center... The multiple sources of eastern instability—federalist activism, Salafi extremism, and ethnic infighting—are best addressed in the long term by an effective constitution and the formalization of the security sector. Obviously, these are priorities that affect the country as a whole, but they have special relevance to the eastern region. By delineating local and national authority over municipal services, budgets, and security, the constitutional process will be a litmus test for consolidating unity between east and west. Similarly, formalizing and integrating the country's numerous revolutionary brigades into the the national army and police will help end a rising wave of violence in Benghazi, curtail the spread of Salafi militancy, and bring lasting peace to Kufra. It will also help restore eastern confidence in the national government by removing the disproportionate influence the western militia coalitions have on key ministries." *Fred Wehrey is a senior associate in the Middle East Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His research focuses on political reform and security issues in the Arab Gulf states, Libya, and U.S. policy in the Middle East more broadly,*

Democratization in the Arab World: Prospects and Lessons from Around the Globe

Miller, Laurel, et al. RAND Corporation. July 18, 2012.

http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2012/RAND_MG1192.sum.pdf

[Summary, PDF format, 41 pages]

[http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2012/RAND_MG1192.](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2012/RAND_MG1192.pdf)

[pdf](http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2012/RAND_MG1192.pdf) [Fulltext, PDF format]

"The hopes and drama of the Arab Spring captured the world's attention early in 2011. As events unfolded during that year and into 2012, it quickly became clear that daunting challenges lie ahead for post revolutionary Egypt and Tunisia and for other Arab countries that might also experience regime change. In this volume, we explore the conditions and decisions that are most likely to influence the success of democratization in countries undergoing political transitions. We identify the main challenges to democratization in the Arab world; analyze how other countries around the world that transitioned from autocracies have overcome or failed to overcome similar challenges; and suggest what the United States and the broader international community can do to help transitioning countries strengthen their fledgling democracies. Through a comparative analysis of past democratization experiences throughout the world over nearly four decades and a detailed look at recent uprisings in the Arab world, *Democratization in the Arab World* aims to help policymakers understand the challenges ahead, form well-founded expectations, shape diplomatic approaches, and take practical steps to foster positive

change. The monograph explores the conditions and decisions that are most likely to influence whether democratization succeeds in Arab countries undergoing political transitions. It identifies the main challenges to democratization in these countries; analyzes how countries in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa have dealt with similar challenges in the past; and suggests what the United States and broader international community can do to help strengthen fledgling democracies in the Arab world." *Laurel Miller is a senior policy analyst at the RAND Corporation, focusing on national security and foreign policy issues. She is an adjunct professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service.*

Democratic Breakthroughs: The Ingredients of Successful Revolts

Salvatore Jennings, Ray. U.S. Institute of Peace. July 2012 [*Note: contains copyrighted material*] [PDF format, 48 pages]

<http://www.usip.org/files/resources/PW81.pdf>

"This study, funded by a grant from the United States Institute of Peace and hosted by Stanford University's Center on Development, Democracy and the Rule of Law (CDDRL), examines fifteen instances of democratic breakthrough. Eleven of these breakthroughs were considered successful, and four failed. This comparative review of breakthroughs is part of a larger effort by the CDDRL that examines four types of democratic change, including political liberalization, democratic consolidation, post conflict democratic development, and democratic breakthroughs... In the course of preparing this study, Arab Spring revolutions began unfolding throughout the Middle East and North Africa, prompting an unexpected chance to evaluate the value of the case study findings against a new set of breakthroughs in progress. This report reflects the iterative process of not only looking to breakthrough attempts of the past, but also toward the future of revolutions that have just begun throughout the Arab world." *Ray Salvatore Jennings' twenty-five years of operational and academic work on conflict and democratic change includes country director posts and field missions with the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), the United Nations, United States Agency for International Development, and the World Bank in over thirty-five countries.*

The U.S. Surge and Afghan Local Governance

Brown, Frances Z. U.S. Institute of Peace. September 2012 [*Note: contains copyrighted material*] [PDF format, 20 pages]

<http://www.usip.org/files/resources/SR316.pdf>

According to the author, the U.S. civilian and military surge in Afghanistan aimed at transforming local governance, but it fell short because the strategy assumed that progress on security and governance would go hand in hand and that bottom-up progress would be reinforced by the national government. Going forward, the international community should focus on a few key governance issues to address and use the Strategic Partnership Agreement as a vehicle for long-term planning, according to the report. *Frances Z. Brown is a 2011–12 International Affairs Fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations and an Afghanistan Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace.*

Oil and Gas for Asia: Geopolitical Implications of Asia's Rising Demand

National Bureau of Asia. September 2012 [PDF format, 72 pages]

http://www.nbr.org/publications/specialreport/pdf/Free/11202012/SR41_OilandGas.pdf

The report examines how Asia's rising energy demand, coupled with angst over high prices and the reliability of future supplies, is shaping the strategic and economic agendas of the region's major powers. "This NBR Special Report comprises four essays from different experts, along with a conclusion drawing implications from the program about the impact of Asia's quest for more secure oil and liquefied natural gas (LNG) supplies on U.S. energy security and strategic interests. The essays addresses key issue emerging from the changing energy landscape: (1) the geopolitical implications of the shift in global oil demand toward Asia, (2) what the dispute over Iran sanctions says about the new balance of political influence in the Persian Gulf, (3) whether state support for the expansion of Asian NOCs serves their countries' energy security, and (4) how Asian LNG markets are being reshaped by Japan's demand shock and shifting LNG supplies. Overall, the program essays, presentations, and discussions present a broad picture of the major geopolitical changes affecting energy security in the Asia-Pacific, the Middle East, and North America today. Their findings collectively suggest that Asian and global oil and LNG markets are changing rapidly, with significant consequences for relations among the key powers in Asia, as well as for the role of the United States in global energy geopolitics. With this in mind, it is important that key stakeholders begin working together to foster innovative, collaborative solutions to common energy challenges."

Foreign Policy in the New Millennium

Chicago Council Survey. September 10, 2012 [PDF format, 60 pages]

http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/UserFiles/File/Task%20Force%20Reports/2012_CCS_Report.pdf

"The 2012 Chicago Council Survey of American Public Opinion provides an opportunity to reflect upon American thinking about U.S. engagement in the world after a decade dominated by the nation's responses to the September 11 terrorist attacks. In 2002, the first survey conducted by the Council after those events, Americans were ready to allocate almost unlimited attention and resources to countering the terrorist threat. Ten years later, as this report shows, Americans still want the United States to play an active part in world affairs. But given the difficulty and cost in lives and treasure of reshaping events in far-off places and the bruising impact of the financial crisis and its aftermath, Americans have become increasingly selective about how and where to engage in the world. The Middle East and South Asia remain areas of great concern for Americans, but they do not believe that U.S. policies and actions in the region over the last ten years, particularly the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, have helped to reduce threats there. While support for military intervention and long-term U.S. bases in the region has waned, most Americans still support actions to combat terrorism and prevent nuclear proliferation, to secure the oil supply, and to respond to genocide and humanitarian crises. They also continue to support diplomatic and multilateral means to address their concerns. Americans today are turning their focus increasingly to Asia. They see the region's dynamism as a positive development even as they harbor concerns about the potential longer-term dangers of a China whose economy eventually becomes as large as or larger than the U.S. economy. They support U.S. involvement and the U.S. military presence in Asia, and consider alliances with Japan and South Korea as the linchpins of U.S. policy in the region."

ARTICLES

The Art of Smart Power

Clinton, Hillary. *New Statesman*. July 18, 2012.

<http://www.newstatesman.com/politics/politics/2012/07/hillary-clinton-art-smart-power>

"As the balance of world power shifts, the US is developing a novel range of diplomatic, social, economic, political and security tools to fix the world's complex new geopolitical problems... When I became secretary of state in early 2009, there were questions about the future of America's global leadership. We faced two long and expensive wars, an economy in free fall, fraying alliances and an international system that seemed to be buckling under the weight of new threats. A lot has changed in three years. Under President Obama's leadership, the US has ended the war in Iraq and begun a transition in Afghanistan; we have revitalised American diplomacy, strengthened our alliances and re-engaged with multilateral institutions. And while the economic recovery is not as strong as anyone would like, we have pulled back from the brink and are heading in the right direction. New powers are playing a greater role on the world stage. But this is not 1912, when friction between a declining Britain and a rising Germany set the stage for global conflict. It is 2012, and a strong America is working with new powers and partners to update an international system designed to prevent global conflict and promote global prosperity." *Hillary Clinton is the U.S. Secretary of State*.

A New Era for U.S. Security Assistance

Shapiro, Andrew J. *The Washington Quarterly*. Fall 2012, pp. 23-35.

<https://csis.org/files/publication/twq12FallShapiro.pdf>

"As the United States transitions from a decade of war, it is clear that the task of maintaining global stability and addressing global challenges must be a shared responsibility. Working with allies and partners to address common security challenges has been a critical part of U.S. policy for decades... With the United States seeking to grow and strengthen its network of partnerships and enhance existing alliances, U.S. security cooperation has become an increasingly critical component of U.S. engagement. When the United States through its security cooperation and, more specifically, security assistance efforts enhances the military capabilities of its allies and partners, it also strengthens their ability to handle their own security. When evaluating the current geopolitical position of the United States, some have pointed to the rise of new powers, the economic downturn, and the challenges faced during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan to argue that the central position of the United States in global affairs is slipping. This claim, however, overlooks a crucial trend: countries around the world increasingly want to partner with the United States, particularly in the security sector. More and more countries seek to establish more robust security ties, to engage and interact with U.S. forces, and to acquire U.S. defense systems. This not only demonstrates the continued centrality of the United States, but it also represents a significant strategic opportunity." *Andrew J. Shapiro is the Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs. Prior to his swearing in on June 22, 2009, Mr. Shapiro served as Senior Advisor to Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. Before joining the State Department, he served from 2001 to 2009 as Senator Clinton's Senior Defense and Foreign Policy Advisor.*

Five Pillars of American Grand Strategy

Miller, Paul D. *Survival*, October/November 2012, pp. 7-44.

"The United States has been pursuing at least one pillar of an implicit grand strategy since the end of the Cold War: building the democratic peace. The democratic peace has informed most major US foreign-policy initiatives over at least the last two decades, and rightly so: it has many strengths to recommend it, including its harmony with values the American electorate broadly shares. But championing liberalism is only one component of US grand strategy. There are four others: defending the American homeland from attack, maintaining a favorable balance of power among the great powers, punishing rogue actors, and investing in good governance and allied capabilities abroad. Like support for democracy, these broad goals are well within the mainstream of US foreign policy; they enjoy bipartisan support, and have been remarkably consistent for decades. In fact, these five pillars together are a fairly accurate description of US grand strategy since at least the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt, though some have occasionally overshadowed others. Many of the key weaknesses of US foreign policy in the mid-twentieth century, such as its open-ended support of right-wing dictatorships, its failure to understand the nature of the Vietnam War and its blindness to the emerging jihadist movements around the world, can be understood in part as a natural consequence of Washington's single-minded focus on balancing against the Soviet Union, to the neglect of other goals. By contrast, the strengths of American foreign policy are evident when it pursues the full range of objectives relevant to US national security interests." *Paul D. Miller is an Assistant Professor of International Affairs at the National Defense University in Washington DC. He previously served on the National Security Council staff under Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama.*

The Return of History in Europe

Kramer, Steven Philip. *The Washington Quarterly*. Fall 2012, pp. 81-91.

<http://csis.org/files/publication/twq12FallKramer.pdf>

"The post-war European paradigm was based on three pillars: economic policy and social security which would transcend the old divisions between socialism, liberalism, and conservatism (the welfare state and planned economy would prevent another economic depression and end the social insecurity and class conflict that had spawned disaster in the 1930s); a solution to the German problem through European integration under Franco—German leadership; and close security ties between Europe and the United States. The first two were intrinsic to the European model, the last a result of the Cold War. With the end of the Soviet Union, things had to change so the Golden Age could remain. Now, the Eurocrisis has again forced Europe to reconsider the assumptions upon which it based its structures for the last two decades. The manner in which it resolves the crisis will determine whether Europe transitions to a Silver Age based on a resurgent continent; a Bronze Age of muddling through; or an Iron Age of disarray." *Steven Philip Kramer is Professor of Grand Strategy at The Dwight D. Eisenhower School for National Security and Resource Strategy, National Defense University.*

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

Grygiel, Jakub J. *Orbis*. September 15, 2012, pp. 517-529.

"Europe's crisis is economic and financial only in its symptoms. The problem is political in

nature, deeply embedded in the principles undergirding the entire European Union (EU) project. Unfortunately, the solutions sought by the various European leaders, from Angela Merkel to Mario Monti, address only these symptoms, while at best ignoring and at worst aggravating the root causes. For the sake of Italy, Greece, and other suffering nations, one can hope that the economic crisis will subside, but the amelioration of the crisis will in all likelihood result in a weaker and more disunited Europe. The EU is a victim of its own poorly conceived logic of political development. The consequences are, however, not limited to Europe. The splintering and wilting of the European project is, in fact, a serious setback for the United States. It represents, at least in part, a failure of a key century-long U.S. foreign policy goal that aimed at the establishment of a strong, united, and free Europe. It also exacerbates the fragility of a Western, trans-Atlantic alliance, the importance of which will only increase as the Middle East continues to destabilize, Russia hardens its authoritarian stance and China rises to challenge the United States in the Pacific. In fact, Washington's "pivot" to Asia is in large measure predicated on the assumption that at a minimum Europe is stable, secure and on its way to becoming a coherent power on its own, allowing a geographic shift of U.S. resources and attention. The EU crisis is beginning to test the reliability of such an assumption. This article develops this argument, starting with U.S. objectives, continuing with Europe and its woes and ending with the consequences for Washington and the West." *Jakub J. Grygiel is the George H. W. Bush Associate Professor at The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at The Johns Hopkins University in Washington, D.C. He is also a Senior Fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute (FPRI).*

Why the Euro Will Survive: Completing the Continent's Half-Built House

Bergsten, Fred. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2012, pp. 16-24.

"As doom and gloom about the euro abound, an increasing number of commentators and economists question whether the common currency can survive. The world economy, they allege, is teetering on the edge of an even deeper crisis than today's. To be sure, the eurozone faces serious economic and financial problems. The area is in the midst of multiple overlapping and mutually reinforcing crises. The first is a fiscal crisis, which has taken its biggest toll in Greece but pervades the southern part of the eurozone and Ireland. The second is a competitiveness crisis, long evident in the large current account deficits along the eurozone's periphery and the even larger current account imbalances between eurozone countries. The third is a banking crisis, which first unfolded in Ireland and has become particularly acute in Spain." *C. Fred Bergsten is Director of the Peterson Institute for International Economics.*

Asia's New Age of Instability

Wesley, Michael. *The National Interest*. November/December 2012.

<http://nationalinterest.org/article/asia-s-new-age-instability-7614>

"A central theme in the Obama administration's recent foreign-policy narrative has been that the United States is returning to Asia after a decade of distractions in the Middle East. It is easy to argue that Asia should be America's highest foreign-policy priority. After the financial crisis, Asia emerged as the growth dynamo on which the hopes for the revival of the American and global economies are pinned. At the same time, this very economic dynamism produces huge bilateral trade deficits and is largely responsible for the steady decline of American manufacturing. And Asia is home to the United States' most serious strategic competitor: China. America is about to discover that Asia has changed dramatically over the past

decade. Its main strategic competitor is now its largest creditor; its most important regional ally, Japan, has entered its third decade of economic stagnation, demographic decline and toxic politics; and once-estranged countries such as India and Vietnam have become promising but demanding partners. America has changed too. It is constrained by a war-weary population and a stifling government debt burden. The big question is where the United States fits into this changed Asia. Its current approach appears to be a mixture of updated Asia strategies of old and tactical responses to various demands of Asian competitors, allies and partners—some wanting the United States to be a guarantor; others wanting it to be a balancer; and yet others viewing America as an opponent." *Michael Wesley is the executive director of the Lowy Institute for International Policy.*

When Duty Calls: A Pragmatic Standard of Humanitarian Intervention

Pape, Robert A. *International Security*. Summer 2012, pp. 41-80.

"When should the United States and other members of the international community intervene to stop a government from harming its own citizens? Since World War II, the main standard for intervention has been the high bar of genocide, although the international community has rarely acted to stop it. The main alternative—the "responsibility to protect"—would set the bar so low that virtually every instance of anarchy or tyranny would create unbounded obligations beyond the capacity of states to fulfill. A new standard—the pragmatic standard of humanitarian intervention—can help guide decisionmakers on when to intervene to stop governments from targeting their own citizens. The standard has three requirements: (1) an ongoing campaign of mass homicide sponsored by the government; (2) a viable plan for intervention with reasonable estimates of low casualties for the intervening forces; and (3) a workable strategy for creating lasting local security for the threatened population. The pragmatic standard was met in the recent successful intervention in Libya as well as in other cases over the last twenty years, and it should become the basis for deciding which humanitarian crises justify international intervention in the future." *Robert A. Pape is Professor of Political Science and Director of the Chicago Project on Security and Terrorism at the University of Chicago.*

The Other Afghan Transition

O'Hanlon, Michael. *Survival*. October/November 2012, pp.101-109.

"Western policy debates tend to dwell on how fast to bring home the troops. But Afghanistan's 2014 presidential elections may be more important than the change of military mission. Afghanistan policy debates in NATO capitals these days are about transition. Specifically, by 2014, the NATO-run International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) operation is to end, according to a schedule first proposed by President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan and later reaffirmed by outside powers at NATO's Lisbon Summit in 2010. By that point, Afghans will have primary security responsibility for all parts of their country – a goal that they will technically reach in 2013, according to the latest plans – and nearly all ISAF troops will be able to depart. The May 2012 strategic partnership agreement between the United States and Afghanistan, reinforced by several other such bilateral accords, will guide relations thereafter; the July 2012 Tokyo donors' conference has added further detail to plans. With these pieces in place, Western policy debates tend to dwell on how fast to bring troops home between now and the end of 2014. This is a strange focus for a policy debate about a war not yet won. Arguably, at least as much time and attention should be spent considering how to succeed in the mission

in Afghanistan – or at least how to avoid failure." *Michael O'Hanlon is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, visiting professor at Princeton, Columbia and Johns Hopkins universities, and co-author with Martin Indyk and Kenneth Lieberthal of Bending History: Barack Obama's Foreign Policy (Brookings, 2012).*

A Modest Post-Assad Plan

Byman, Daniel, Miles, Renanah. *The National Interest*. November /December 2012.

<http://nationalinterest.org/article/modest-post-assad-plan-7624?page=5>

"Unlike other Arab Spring conflicts that have resulted in regime capitulation (Tunisia, Egypt and Yemen) or regime decapitation (Libya), the long and bloody Syrian conflict is likely to generate a failed state requiring the kind of large-scale reconstruction efforts seen in Iraq and Afghanistan. Inevitably, some will call for America to step in to establish order. The United States has a long and rather ugly record in trying to help countries in Syria's position. True, in Iraq and Afghanistan the United States has gained hard experience in the dos and (mostly) don'ts of state building. But the lessons from these and other state-building efforts suggest success requires considerable resources, excellent coordination within the government, long-term follow-through and serious planning for the postconflict period even as the war is being waged. None of these is likely to be present for any U.S. effort in a post-Assad Syria, given the current political and operational environment. We argue here that the United States and its allies are unlikely to overcome Syria's myriad problems and establish a peaceful, stable and democratic Syria. The likely lack of resources, poor governmental coordination and the sheer scale of Syria's problems probably would spell failure for any ambitious efforts. Moreover, regime-change initiatives could backfire and complicate post regime plans." *Daniel Byman is a professor at Georgetown University and the research director of the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution. Renanah Miles is a program analyst in the Office of the Deputy Chief Management Officer at the Department of Defense.*

The Arab Spring: Implications for Israeli Security

Morton, Jeffrey S.; Shortt, Nicole. *Mediterranean Quarterly*. Summer, 2012, pp. 34-51.

"The popular uprising that started in Tunisia in December 2010 quickly spread across the Arab world, culminating in a historic regional realignment with far-reaching implications. This essay details the implications of the Arab Spring for Israeli security. After highlighting the history of Israel's defense strategy and reviewing the Arab Spring revolts, the authors find that the recent uprisings exacerbate several issues faced by Israel, including geopolitical relations with other countries in the region, energy issues, and growing threats presented by nonstate actors... "The unanticipated and unparalleled public revolts that began in late 2010 and rapidly spread across the Arab world pose serious threats to Israel's security. At the core of Israeli strategic calculation is the presence of secular status quo governments in at least the most important and proximate Arab states. While Israel and the Arab states around it share very little in common in terms of governance, demographics, language, and culture, their common strategic disposition—status quo as opposed to revisionism—has created a general stability that has dominated geostrategic planning for decades. The Arab Spring, by virtue of its ability to collapse numerous national governments, holds the prospect of reversing a cornerstone of regional stability." *Jeffrey S. Morton is professor of international law and politics at Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton. Nicole Shortt is a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology, University of California, Irvine.*

U.S. DOMESTIC POLICY AND TRENDS

REPORTS

An America Built to Last: President Obama's Agenda and the Hispanic Community

The White House. August 2012.

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/hispanic_agenda_final.pdf (in English)

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/hispanic_agenda_final_es.pdf (in Spanish)

"This report takes a close look at the President's agenda and how the Administration's policies have impacted the Hispanic population. Latinos will continue to drive the growth of the labor force in the coming decades – as they will account for 60 percent of the Nation's population growth between 2005 and 2050 – so how Latinos recover from this recession is of both immediate and long-term importance to our economy. However, according to the Pew Research Center, these same families also experienced a 66 percent decline in median wealth from 2005 to 2009... the President has taken a series of steps to spur economic growth, put Americans back to work, and restore middle class security. As a result, over the last 29 months 4.5 million private sector jobs have been created putting Americans back to work and restoring economic security to Latino families struggling because of the economic crisis. And while still unacceptably high, the Hispanic unemployment has dropped to 10.3 percent from a high of more than 13 percent."

A Record 24 Million Latinos Are Eligible to Vote

Hugo Lopez, Mark et al. Pew Hispanic Center. October 1, 2012 [PDF format, 16 pages]

http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/10/trends_in_Latino_voter_participation_FINAL_REVISED_2.pdf

"This report explores electoral participation trends among Hispanics in recent presidential election cycles. It also provides a snapshot of the geography and demography of the Hispanic vote in 2012, with a special focus on the so-called "battleground states." Accompanying this report are state profiles of Latino eligible voters in 41 states and the District of Columbia, each based on data from the 2010 American Community Survey. Also accompanying this report is an interactive map showing key characteristics of Latino voters in all 50 states and the District of Columbia." *Mark Hugo is associate director of the Pew Hispanic Center.*

Characteristics of the 60 Largest Metropolitan Areas by Hispanic Population

Motel, Seth; Patten, Eileen. Pew Hispanic Center. September 19, 2012.

<http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/09/19/characteristics-of-the-60-largest-metropolitan-areas-by-hispanic-population/>

"Nearly half (45%) of the nation's Hispanic population lives in just 10 metropolitan areas, according to tabulations of the 2010 American Community Survey (ACS). The Los Angeles-

Long Beach, Calif., metropolitan area has the nation's largest Hispanic population—5.7 million—and alone accounts for more than one-in-ten (11%) Hispanics nationally.³ All population estimates presented in this report are for Hispanics living in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. The New York-Northeastern New Jersey metropolitan area is the second largest by Hispanic population (4.2 million) and is home to 8% of Hispanics nationwide. Six of the 10 largest Hispanic metropolitan populations are in just two states. California has three—Los Angeles (#1), Riverside-San Bernardino (#4) and San Francisco-Oakland-Vallejo (#10). Texas is also home to three of the 10 largest Hispanic metropolitan areas—Houston-Brazoria (#3), Dallas-Fort Worth (#6) and San Antonio (#9). The other four largest Hispanic metropolitan populations are New York (#2); Chicago, Ill. (#5); Miami-Hialeah, Fla. (#7); and Phoenix, Ariz. (#8). Overall, each of the 10 largest Hispanic metropolitan areas has a Hispanic population of more than 1 million and Hispanics are the largest minority or ethnic group in each." *Seth Motel and Eileen Patten are both Research Assistants at the Pew Research Center.*

Open For Business: How Immigrants Are Driving Small Business Creation In The United States

Partnership for a New American Economy. August 14, 2012 [PDF format, 40 pages]

<http://www.renewoureconomy.org/sites/all/themes/pnae/openforbusiness.pdf>

The report shows that immigrants are becoming increasingly likely to start a business - responsible for 28 percent of new U.S. businesses in 2011, as the rate of new business generation among the native-born declines. "This report examines and assesses a critical driver of new business creation in America: entrepreneurial immigrants. Leaving one's home and immigrating to a new country to start a new life is itself an entrepreneurial act, so it is perhaps unsurprising that immigrants are disproportionately entrepreneurial. Previous research has shown how greatly we depend on immigrant entrepreneurs. The Partnership for a New American Economy found that immigrants or their children founded more than 40 percent of America's Fortune 500 companies, and the Fiscal Policy Institute recently reported that immigrants now own more than 18 percent of all incorporated businesses in the United States. This report shows that the prevalence of immigrant entrepreneurs and their importance to the U.S. economy are only growing. Over the last 15 years, while native-born Americans have become less likely to start a business, immigrants have steadily picked up the slack. Immigrants are now more than twice as likely as the native-born to start a business and were responsible for more than one in every four (28 percent) U.S. businesses founded in 2011, significantly outpacing their share of the population (12.9 percent)."

The Economic Value of Citizenship for Immigrants in the United States

Sumption, Madeleine; Flamm, Sarah. Migration Policy Institute (MPI). September 2012 [PDF format, 24 pages]

<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/citizenship-premium.pdf>

"Citizenship is widely recognized as an important symbol of full membership and participation in society. By naturalizing, immigrants receive a range of rights and prerogatives available only to citizens. Naturalized citizens can vote and run for public office; they receive protection from deportation and from losing their residence rights; and they enjoy other rights, such as the ability to bring family members more quickly to the

United States, full access to public benefits, and visa-free travel to many countries. Surveys suggest that political and social rights — particularly the right to vote — are the primary motivation for naturalizing, alongside the desire for a sense of belonging. However, citizenship is also thought to provide economic benefits, including access to job opportunities that are not open to noncitizens. Certain government jobs and licensed professions require citizenship (the vast majority of immigrants holding public-sector jobs are naturalized). And some employers may treat citizenship as a signal of good integration into US society or otherwise discriminate against noncitizens when hiring. This report analyzes the impact of naturalization on immigrants, as well as the motivations for seeking citizenship and the barriers to doing so." *Madeleine Sumption is a senior policy analyst at the Migration Policy Institute. Sarah Flamm is a research assistant at MPI.*

NO END IN SIGHT?: The Long-Term Youth Jobs Gap And What It Means for America

O'Sullivan, Rory. Young Invincibles. July 2012 [PDF format, 19 pages]

<http://younginvincibles.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/No-End-In-Sight-7.9.12.pdf>

"The economy has hit young Americans hard over the past five years. While the national unemployment rate is 8.2 percent, the unemployment rate for 16- to 24-year-olds more than doubles to 16.5 percent. For Latino youth, that figure jumps to 20.5 percent, and for African Americans, it skyrockets to 30.2 percent - almost four times the national average. This report answers the question by comparing the number of youth jobs we have now with how many we would have in a healthy economy. The new analysis estimates the size of this "youth jobs gap" and how long it will persist." Young Invincibles is a non-partisan, non-profit youth organization that seeks to expand opportunity for all Americans between the ages of 18 and 34. Young Invincibles engages in education, policy analysis, and advocacy. *Rory O'Sullivan is Policy & Research Director at Young Invincibles.*

Job Polarization and the Great Recession

Mitchell, Josh; Nichols, Austin. Urban Institute. October 15, 2012 [*Note: contains copyrighted material*] [PDF format, 7 pages]

<http://www.urban.org/UploadedPDF/412680-Job-Polarization-and-the-Great-Recession.pdf>

"For decades, the labor market has grown more polarized with employment and wages growing more slowly for middle-skill jobs than for other jobs. By most measures, polarization did not accelerate during the Great Recession. More polarization is evident, however, in the wages of re-employed workers. Over the last 25 years, employment and earnings growth for workers in middle-skill jobs has lagged behind growth for those in jobs requiring both the highest and lowest-skilled workers. This phenomenon, known as "job polarization", is most often attributed to new technologies and offshoring of manufacturing processes, which replace middle-skill jobs but complement high-skill jobs." *Austin Nichols is a Senior Research Associate in The Urban Institute's Income and Benefits Policy Center and Josh Mitchell is a Research Associate.*

Unemployment: Issues in the 112th Congress

Gravelle, Jane G.; Hungerford, Thomas L.; Levine, Linda. Congressional Research Service (CRS), Library of Congress. October 5, 2012 [PDF format, 18 pages]

<http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/199398.pdf>

"The longest and deepest recession since the Great Depression ended and an expansion

began in June 2009. Although output started growing in the third quarter of 2009, the labor market was weak in 2010, with the unemployment rate averaging 9.6% for the year. Despite showing greater improvement toward the end of 2011, the unemployment rate averaged a still high 8.9% for the year. The labor market has continued to slowly strengthen in 2012, with the unemployment rate in September measuring 7.8%—the first time it has been below 8% since January 2009... This report considers three policy issues: whether to take additional measures to increase jobs, what measures might be most effective, and how job creation proposals should be financed. Most proposals discussed as part of a potential additional macroeconomic jobs bill are traditional fiscal stimulus policies. Their objective is to increase total spending in the economy (aggregate demand) either through direct government spending on programs or by providing funds to others that they will spend (through tax cuts, transfer payments, and aid to state and local governments). Proposals for employment tax credits are different from traditional fiscal policies in that their objective is to directly increase employment through a subsidy to labor costs." *Jane G. Gravelle is a Senior Specialist in Economic Policy at the CRS; Thomas L. Hungerford is an Specialist in Public Finance and Linda Levine Specialist in Labor Economics, both at the CRS.*

Patterns and Predictors of School Readiness and Early Childhood Success among Young Children in Black Immigrant Families

Crosby, Danielle A.; Dunbar, Angel S. Migration Policy Institute. October 2012 [PDF format, 40 pages]

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

The report examines levels of school readiness among young children by race/ethnicity and nativity, helping fill a significant gap in knowledge about the early childhood experiences of young children in Black immigrant families. Using a nationally representative U.S. birth-cohort study, the authors identify the contextual factors, such as family circumstances, parenting practices, and enrollment in center-based child care - that encourage early school success. "Over the past decade, there has been a marked increase in the number of studies focused on the antecedents of early school success that aim to inform policy and practice, and ultimately improve outcomes for children. Within this body of literature, children in immigrant families have begun to garner attention because of their sizable and growing share of the US child population. Between 1990 and 2010, the immigrant child population doubled, from 4 million to 8 million, accounting for all of the growth in the US population aged 8 or younger during that period. It is estimated that one out of every four young children has at least one parent who was born outside of the United States. Much of the existing work on early development and school readiness among immigrants' children has focused on Hispanic (and to some extent Asian) children, who comprise the largest segments of this population. As a result, information about the experiences of young children of immigrants in other racial/ethnic groups is lacking. Although 12 percent of all Black children living in the United States are first- or second-generation immigrants (from Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, or other origins), comparatively little research exists regarding their health and development, especially during early childhood." *Danielle A. Crosby is an Associate Professor of Human Development and Family Studies at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, School of Health and Human Sciences. Angel S. Dunbar is a PhD student in the Department of Human Development and Family Studies at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.*

The Economic Benefits of Passing the DREAM Act

Guzmán, Juan Carlos; Jara, Raul C. Center for American Progress. October 1, 2012 [Note: contains copyrighted material] [PDF format, 29 pages]

<http://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/DREAMEcon-7.pdf>

Until now, much of the debate surrounding the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act, or DREAM Act--a bill to provide a pathway to legal status for eligible young people who were brought here as children and who complete high school and some college or military service--focused on legal, ethical, and logistical concerns. But there are other important benefits of enacting the DREAM Act, most importantly the boost to the economy, according to the authors. "This report takes a close look at this economic perspective. We present an analysis to understand what would happen if the United States were to grant a pathway to legal status to an estimated 2.1 million eligible youth in our country by passing the DREAM Act. Overall, we find that the passage of the DREAM Act would add \$329 billion to the U.S. economy and create 1.4 million new jobs by 2030, demonstrating the potential of the proposed law to boost economic growth and improve our nation's fiscal health." *Juan Carlos Guzmán is a monitoring and evaluation specialist at the Initiative for Global Development. Raúl Jara is a research associate at the University of Notre Dame's Institute for Latino Studies.*

How the Presidential Candidates Use the Web and Social Media

Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism. August 15, 2012. http://www.journalism.org/analysis_report/how_presidential_candidates_use_web_and_social_media

"This new study of how the campaigns are using digital tools to talk directly with voters--bypassing the filter of traditional media--finds that the Obama campaign posted nearly four times as much content as the Romney campaign and was active on nearly twice as many platforms. Obama's digital content also engendered more response from the public--twice the number of shares, views and comments of his posts. Just as John McCain's campaign did four years ago, Romney's campaign has taken steps over the summer to close the digital gap--and now with the announcement of the Romney-Ryan ticket made via the Romney campaign app may take more. The Obama campaign, in turn, has tried to adapt by recently redesigning its website. These are among the findings of a detailed study of the websites of the two campaigns as well as their postings on Facebook, Twitter and YouTube--and the public reaction to that content--conducted by the Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism... The study of the direct messaging of the candidates also reveals something about the arguments the two sides are using to win voters. Romney's campaign was twice as likely to talk about Obama (about a third of his content) as the president was to talk about his challenger (14% of his content). That began to change some in late July when the Obama campaign revamped its website. And while the troubled economy was the No. 1 issue in both candidates' digital messaging, the two camps talk about that issue in distinctly different ways. Romney's discussion focuses on jobs. Obama's discussion of the economy is partly philosophical, a discourse on the importance of the middle class and competing visions for the future."

The Candidates on Climate and Energy: A Guide to the Key Policy Positions of President Obama and Governor Romney

Center for Climate and Energy Solutions. Updated September 7, 2012. [HTML format, various paging]

<http://www.c2es.org/publications/2012-voter-guide>

This voter guide outlines the records and positions of President Barack Obama and former Gov. Mitt Romney on key climate and energy issues. A side-by-side summary at the top links to more details below. The nonpartisan guide is based on an examination of the candidates' actions in office, public statements, campaign materials, news reports, and other publications. It is offered to inform the electorate and contribute to public debate about the nation's pressing climate and energy issues. As a nonpartisan organization, the Center for Climate and Energy Solutions (C2ES) does not endorse candidates.

The Future of Higher Education

Anderson, Janna, et al. Pew Internet & American Life Project. July 27, 2012 [PDF format, 43 pages]

http://pewinternet.org/~media//Files/Reports/2012/PIP_Future_of_Higher_Ed.pdf

"A majority of technology stakeholders polled in a Web-based survey anticipate that higher education in 2020 will be quite different from the way it is today. They said university-level education will adopt new methods of teaching and certification driven by opportunity, economic concerns and student and parent demands. In the Pew Internet/Elon University survey of 1,021 Internet experts, researchers, observers and users, 60% agreed with a statement that by 2020 "there will be mass adoption of teleconferencing and distance learning to leverage expert resources ... a transition to 'hybrid' classes that combine online learning components with less-frequent on-campus, in-person class meetings." Some 39% agreed with an opposing statement that said, "in 2020 higher education will not be much different from the way it is today."

ARTICLES

President and Senate: Where We Stand Now

Sabato, Larry J.; Kondik, Kyle. *Sabato's Crystal Ball*. October 25, 2012.

<http://www.centerforpolitics.org/crystalball/articles/president-and-senate-where-we-stand-now/>

"An incumbent president's approval rating is historically a good indicator of how he will do on Election Day. By this measurement, President Obama should be in decent shape: according to the RealClearPolitics average from mid-day Wednesday (October 24), [Obama's approval rating was 49.8%](#); that average includes polls taken of all adults (the bigger pool of people that includes non-voters), as well as likely voters (a smaller pool). And yet, the president is running more than two points behind his approval in [the average of national horse race polls](#) — at mid-day Wednesday, he stood at 47.2%, to Mitt Romney's 47.8%. Meanwhile, [Romney actually has taken the lead over Obama on "favorability."](#) Romney's net favorability — the gap between the people who say they have a favorable view of him versus those who have an unfavorable view — is two points higher than Obama, although both men have roughly the same "favorable" ratings: 49.7% for the president and 49.3%

for the challenger." *Larry J. Sabato is University Professor of Politics and director of the Center for Politics, University of Virginia. Kyle Kondik is the director of communications at the Center for Politics.*

Governors Rankings - Three's Company: Keep an Eye on Three States

National Journal. October 26, 2012.

<http://www.nationaljournal.com/hotline/governors-rankings-three-s-company-20121026>

"There weren't many governor's races to begin with this year. And most of the contests that were on the ballot aren't terribly competitive. Republicans will pick up at least one seat this year, and two other states offer the GOP opportunities. But the limited playing field means both the Democratic Governors Association and the Republican Governors Association are spending their millions (they're still allowed to solicit corporate contributions) on just a handful of really competitive seats. On Nov. 6, keep an eye on Montana, New Hampshire, and Washington state."

Latino Public Opinion & Realigning the American Electorate

Segura, Gary M. *Daedalus*. Fall 2012, pp. 98-113.

The growth and significance of the Latino electorate raises important questions about its preferences, identity, and impact. In this essay, the author explores three facets of Latino public opinion and offer thoughts regarding their political impact. According to the author, Latino core beliefs about the role of government are progressive. Segura also explores the ways in which national origin, nativity, and generational status reveal important differences in how Latinos think about and participate in politics and states that the Latino population and electorate could have substantial electoral and social impact. *Gary M. Segura is Professor of Political Science at Stanford University, where he is also Director of Chicano/a Studies in the Center for Comparative Studies in Race and Ethnicity.*

7 Reasons to Expect US Manufacturing Resurgence

Contractor, Farok J. *YaleGlobal*. August 7, 2012.

<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/7-reasons-expect-us-manufacturing-resurgence>

"Some 2.8 million American jobs – 70 percent of them in manufacturing – have been lost since 2001 because of the US trade deficit with China, according to a recent Economic Policy Institute study... It's true that the share of manufacturing in the US GDP is now only 12 to 15 percent, and the country is predominantly a service economy. But the nation is still the world's biggest manufacturer, with unrivaled productivity in terms of manufacturing value-added per employee or per hour worked. American manufacturing wages average \$34 an hour, some 21 times the average in China at \$1.60 an hour. But each US worker adds \$145,000 in value, far more than German, French or Japanese employees, and more than 10 times that of the Chinese worker who contributes \$13,700. The predominant explanation is US manufacturers' investment in automated equipment. Also, American labor is better trained than the Chinese. Similar productivity rankings can be seen in dollar value-added per hour: The US worker is on top with \$73 in value-added per hour worked; the Chinese worker adds only \$7.19 of value per hour; Japanese, German and French workers contribute up to \$63. China outperforms the US and Europe only in "value added per dollar wages paid" – but only because hourly wages are so low in China." *Farok J. Contractor is a professor of management and global business with Rutgers Business School.*

America the Undertaxed: U.S. Fiscal Policy in Perspective

Campbell, Andrea Louise. *Foreign Affairs*. September/October 2012., pp. 99-114.

"The most important debates in U.S. politics today center on the cost and the role of government. Cutting taxes, limiting expenditures, and reducing debt have become the chief concerns of Republicans, whereas Democrats generally seek to preserve or even expand government spending and are willing to raise taxes to do so. The looming expiration of the George W. Bush tax cuts at the end of 2012 and the economy's weak recovery give these debates special urgency, as decisions made in the next few months are likely to shape the nation's economic, social, and political trajectory for years to come. Behind each party's position lies not only a particular collection of interest groups but also a story about what the government's role in the U.S. economy is and what it should be. Democrats think Washington can and should play a more active part, using taxation, regulation, and spending to keep the economy growing while protecting vulnerable citizens from the ravages of volatile markets. Republicans, in contrast, think Washington already does too much; they want to scale government back to liberate markets and spur economic dynamism. When mulling these stories, it can be useful to put U.S. fiscal policy in perspective. Compared with other developed countries, the United States has very low taxes, little redistribution of income, and an extraordinarily complex tax code. These three aspects of American exceptionalism deserve more attention than they typically receive." *Andrea Louise Campbell is Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.*

The New Price of American Politics

Bennet, James. *The Atlantic*. October 2012.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/10/the/309086/>

"Not since the Gilded Age has our politics been opened so wide to corporate contributions and donations from secret sources. And the new era of big money has just begun. Jim Bopp, its intellectual architect, believes this is a good thing—the more money, the better, he says. Reformers (and most voters) disagree. Their battle is over the most-basic ideas of our democracy; at stake—according to both sides—is either the revitalization of politics, or its final capture by the powerful." *James Bennet has been the editor-in-chief of The Atlantic since 2006.*

The Writing Revolution

Tyre, Peg. *The Atlantic*. October 2012, var. pages.

<http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2012/10/the-writing-revolution/309090/>

"For years, nothing seemed capable of turning around New Dorp High School's dismal performance—not firing bad teachers, not flashy education technology, not after-school programs. So, faced with closure, the school's principal went all-in on a very specific curriculum reform, placing an overwhelming focus on teaching the basics of analytic writing, every day, in virtually every class. What followed was an extraordinary blossoming of student potential, across nearly every subject—one that has made New Dorp a model for educational reform... And so the school's principal, Deirdre DeAngelis, began a detailed investigation into why, ultimately, New Dorp's students were failing. By 2008, she and her

faculty had come to a singular answer: bad writing. Students' inability to translate thoughts into coherent, well-argued sentences, paragraphs, and essays was severely impeding intellectual growth in many subjects. Consistently, one of the largest differences between failing and successful students was that only the latter could express their thoughts on the page. If nothing else, DeAngelis and her teachers decided, beginning in the fall of 2009, New Dorp students would learn to write well. " *Peg Tyre is the director of strategy at the Edwin Gould Foundation.*

Is The White House The New Federal Reserve Of Oil?

Clayton, Blake. *Forbes*. October 12, 2012.

<http://www.forbes.com/sites/blakeclayton/2012/10/12/is-the-white-house-the-new-federal-reserve-of-oil/2/>

"With oil prices climbing, the Obama administration has continually reminded Wall Street that the president might dip into the [Strategic Petroleum Reserve](#) (SPR), the nation's emergency oil stockpile, to help calm a painful rise in prices. Since February, President Obama, Energy Secretary Chu, Treasury Secretary Geithner and Interior Secretary Salazar have all stressed that the president, whose sole authority it is to tap the U.S. SPR, stands ready to sell oil from these government-controlled reserves onto the market at any time. Nearly all emphasized that the option to intervene in the market is always "on the table," as if letting the option dangle. President Obama has emphasized that the oil release could be "set in motion in a few days, not weeks, if needed." *Blake Clayton is a fellow for Energy and National Security at the Council on Foreign Relations and contributor to Forbes magazine writing about markets, economics, and geopolitics.*

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