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## ARTICLES

### DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Alexander, Gerard THE NONPROFIT INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX: IS THERE SUCH A THING AS TOO MUCH CIVIL SOCIETY? (Weekly Standard, Vol. 12, No. 30, April 23, 2007, pp. 24-28)  
The nonprofit sector of the U.S. economy is showing rapid, massive growth, the author says, and there is speculation that it may change the nature of American society. Combined annual expenditures for all U.S. nonprofits in 2004 neared \$1 trillion, and 2001 total employment was 12 million. Furthermore, this does not include religious organizations, which are treated differently for tax purposes. Nor does it include state colleges or universities, which now frequently register as nonprofits. By 2003 there were 1.2 million faculty members nationwide, 54 percent working full-time and most at state schools, Alexander says. Nor do these numbers account for hundreds of thousands of college administrators. U.S. nonprofits have seen their combined assets grow from \$30 billion in 1975 to \$525 billion in 2005. Microsoft founder Bill Gates' foundation is the richest, with assets of \$29 billion. Second is the Ford Foundation with \$12 billion. There are also 62 colleges or universities with endowments of \$1 billion or more: Harvard has \$29 billion, Yale \$18

billion, Stanford \$14 billion. The Gates Foundation's annual giving now begins to rival Sweden's annual foreign aid, yet it still represents just 1 percent of U.S. nonprofits' giving.

Carney, Eliza THE DEATH OF PUBLIC FINANCING (National Journal, vol. 39, no. 24, June 16, 2007, pp. 34-40)

The unprecedented scale of fundraising for the 2008 presidential campaign dismays even veteran political observers, notes the author. Most of the current presidential aspirants have eschewed the limits imposed by public financing in favor of unlimited private fundraising. No public money is handed out until January of the election year, so the "front-loading" of the current campaign in a pre-election year has forced the candidates to raise huge amounts of cash, further accelerating the demise of public financing. Aimed at "leveling the playing field" for all candidates, public financing of presidential elections has been a staple since the post-Watergate reforms in the 1970s. Public funds are raised by a check-off box on federal income tax returns; in the early 1980s, as much as a quarter of all taxpayers earmarked the sum of USD3 for public financing, but less than ten percent do now. The public financing program has suffered from poor publicity and unclear tax-form instructions, and also from the perception by the public that the political system is dysfunctional. One observer laments that the candidates will spend more time "talking to donors ... instead of the voters."

Continetti, Matthew SEE RUDY RUN (Weekly Standard, Vol. 12, No. 44, August 6, 2007, pp. 17-20)

Continetti, associate editor of The Weekly Standard, looks at former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani's presidential campaign and why he remains the front-runner among Republican Party nominees. Giuliani has received his share of negative publicity, and the conventional wisdom is that conservative voters will abandon their support due to his pro-choice abortion position and other liberal social views. Nevertheless, Giuliani continues to lead the national polls, many state polls, and his organization and fundraising are going well. Continetti says support for Giuliani boils down to 2 issues: most believe he can win against Hillary Clinton in the general election and others trust him to deal with the Iraq war and successfully counter possible terrorist attacks in the future. A Giuliani presidential nomination might force the Republican Party to recruit new volunteers who are less socially conservative or subsume party differences over abortion to get a Republican president elected. Other Republican candidates, hopeful that Giuliani will slide in the polls, may be underestimating his appeal.

Daalder, Ivo; Lindsay, James DEMOCRACIES OF THE WORLD, UNITE (American Interest, Vol. 2, No. 3, January/February 2007)

The authors write that "the Bush revolution in foreign policy is over"; the U.S.' unilateralist approach since Sept. 11 has alienated allies and greatly damaged our international standing. Daalder and Lindsay argue that traditional multilateralist approaches, such as working with traditionally close allies or with the U.N. or NATO, are "nineteenth- and twentieth-century policies for a twenty-first-century world" -- what they propose is a "Concert of Democracies", that share common values and perspectives. Traditional concerts-of-great-powers have their limitations -- countries such as China and Russia have divergent interests and often refuse to cooperate, and demagogues such as Hugo Chavez and Mahmoud Ahmadinejad are greeted with resounding applause when railing against great-power dominance, because "many of their listeners resent being told what to do by a few powerful countries." The United Nations' "universality ... is its greatest curse -- it is beholden to its least cooperative members". The world's democracies, however, have a proven track record for cooperation, as well as the most capable militaries, the largest economies, and a shared commitment for the rule of law and good governance. The authors argue that the greatest source of legitimacy for such an alliance is that democracies recognize that international peace and justice are now based on protecting the rights of individuals; nation-state sovereignty can no longer be the sole principle of international politics. They describe at length how such an organization might be structured. Available online at <http://www.the-american-interest.com/ai2/article.cfm?Id=220&Mid=7>

Grodsky, Brian PRODUCING TRUTH: THE POLITICS OF INVESTIGATING PAST HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN POST-COMMUNIST STATES (World Affairs, vol. 169, no. 3, Winter 2007, pp. 125-133)

Using case studies from Poland, Serbia, and Uzbekistan, the author, professor of political science at the University of Maryland, illustrates how ruling elites use truth commissions to transform national identity by creating new "foundation myths" which, conveniently, rediscover history in ways that add to their own power. In Poland, former Solidarity dissidents controlled the process, and faced opposition from Communists, who still held key ministries and a sizable parliamentary bloc. Initially opposed, Serbia's President Kostunica launched a process to placate The Hague, but controlled the process to gain favor with his political base. Uzbekistan faced the curious position of investigating Soviet-era crimes, which were attributed to foreign occupation from Russia while actively committing new abuses of its own. The author argues that the political processes at play warrant more academic study.

Harris, Shane THE TERRORISM ENHANCEMENT (National Journal, vol. 39, no. 28, July 14, 2007, pp. 34-40)

The recent conviction of a member of a radical environmental group accused of conducting sabotage has drawn attention to the so-called terrorism enhancement, an obscure measure that allows judges to greatly increase the prison sentences of defendants whose crimes could be construed as attempting to influence the conduct of government by force or violence. The law was enacted by Congress in 1995, after the bombings of the World Trade Center and the Alfred Murrah federal building in Oklahoma City. The author notes that there has been little study of how the statute has been applied, but a National Journal survey showed that many of the cases in which the terrorism enhancement was invoked were for crimes that would be hard to define as terrorism. Because of the confusion on the part of Congress in defining terrorism, and the considerable discretion enjoyed by federal judges and prosecutors, the measure has drawn widespread criticism from many in the legal community, who see it as a means for the government to apply disproportionate punishment for crimes that already have established sentencing guidelines.

Herskovits, Jean NIGERIA'S RIGGED DEMOCRACY (Foreign Affairs, vol. 86, no. 4, July/August 2007, pp. 115-130)

Nigeria's elections last April were among the most seriously flawed in the country's history, thanks largely to the manipulations of the U.S.-backed ruling party. With Nigerians increasingly clamoring for accountability, Washington's continuing support could generate more unrest -- and could pose a risk both to oil supplies coming out of Nigeria and to the stability of West Africa.

Katz, Mark N. NON-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONS AND ATTEMPTS AT STATE BREAKUP: IS THERE A CONNECTION? (World Affairs, vol. 169, no. 3, Winter 2007, pp. 111-117)

Katz, professor of government and politics at George Mason University, compares the experiences of Russia, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, and Iraq, and concludes that revolutions can prove to be a serious obstacle to democratization in states with regionally dominant minorities. In each case, revolutionary movements that initially claimed democratic aspirations evolved into authoritarian regimes, alienating ethnic and religious communities and prompting repressive measures. When political and economic conditions eventually force democratic reforms, these long-held resentments seem to metastasize into nationalist movements pursuing independence rather than trusting the regime's second promise of democratization. While the author dwells on the regions of Chechnya, Kosovo, Aceh, Papua, and Kurdistan, he also argues that the revolution-state breakup correlation may also have possible implications for the futures of China, Iran, and Sudan as well.

Maynard, Melissa A LITTLE SUNSHINE (Governing, Vol. 20, No. 10, July 2007, pp. 58-60)

States enacted open-meeting and open-records laws (sunshine laws) in the 1950s and 1960s to improve citizen access to government information and increase transparency in government operations. Lawmakers struggle to update the laws to address new technology such as e-mail,

teleconferencing and the Internet. Concerns about national security and identity theft led to increased exemptions to sunshine laws since 2001, according to freedom of information advocates. But, they note a recent trend toward more access such as the governor of New York requiring web-casting of state agency proceedings and Florida's new Office of Open Government. Several states are working with Google to make their web sites easier for citizens to search. Noting that new technology will provide new opportunities to avoid disclosing information, Jane Kirtley, a media ethics professor at the University of Minnesota, states that, "government officials and government employees should be starting from the presumption that everything that they do is public information."

Pascual, Carlos; Pollack, Kenneth THE CRITICAL BATTLES: POLITICAL RECONCILIATION AND RECONSTRUCTION IN IRAQ (Washington Quarterly, vol. 30, no. 3, Summer 2007, pp. 7-19)

Pascual, vice president and director for the Foreign Policy Studies Program at the Brookings Institution and former coordinator for reconstruction and stabilization at the Department of State, and Pollack, director of research at the Saban Center for Middle East Policy at the Brookings Institution and former director for Persian Gulf affairs at the National Security Council, present their ideas for addressing the situation in Iraq, which they describe as a "monumental task." They believe it is vital that Iraq be recognized as a failed state and that Iran, Syria, Turkey, and neighboring Sunni states be involved. The best case would be for the surge to provide enough security to begin rebuilding Iraq's political, economic, and social institutions and thus make way for the compromises necessary for a political settlement. The authors also emphasize the need to take into account lessons learned about peacemaking and peacekeeping: 1) civil wars require political solutions, 2) the situation must be "ripe" for solutions, 3) a truce can buy time to build trust and allow for the possibility of finding a longer-term solution, 4) a solid security environment is necessary, 5) external forces and economic support will be needed for 8-10 years after a political settlement, and 6) the effort must be multilateral, preferably under a United Nations mandate.

Posha, Jehangir S. ONE SUN IN THE SKY: LABOR UNIONS IN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 8, No. 1, Winter/Spring 2007, pp. 5-11) The author, a Beijing-based journalist for the Boston Globe, quotes an old Chinese proverb which says that there cannot be two suns in the sky, meaning that there can be only one source of power in the land. This idea supports the Chinese Communist Party's fierce opposition to any leadership or organization in China other than itself. China's recent economic growth has been supported by five basic principles — cheap labor, market reforms, disdain for intellectual property rights, disregard for the environment, and cheap capital from state-controlled banks. Market forces and international pressure have greatly reduced all of these except the "cheap and disempowered labor force," making it the country's last remaining competitive advantage. While the government has pressured some companies to pay back-wages, it has not made any meaningful structural improvements to China's labor laws. This is illustrated by the fact that, according to the Dui Hua Foundation in San Francisco which tracks political prisoners in China, at least 24 labor activists are currently in prison. The major avenue of help for workers is the ability to sue companies for compensation. The author says that the West has remained largely silent about workers' rights because Western companies also benefit from the low wages and the fear that trade unions might create political instability and the "global consensus that a gradually reformed China tomorrow is preferable to a politically unstable China today."

Walker, Edward CRIME WITHOUT PUNISHMENT: THE LITVENENKO AFFAIR AND PUTIN'S CULTURE OF VIOLENCE (Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, vol. 8, no. 2, Summer/Fall 2007, pp. 97-105)

The author argues that the ongoing aftermath from the November 2006 radioactive poisoning of former Russian intelligence officer Alexander Litvenenko is only one of several illustrations of the continued lawlessness in Russian politics, business and society. While president Vladimir Putin has succeeded in his goals of establishing a "verticality of power" by centralizing control of the regions in Moscow and "sovereign democracy" by using its energy wealth to pay off its debts and



become a more aggressive regional player, he has been less successful in his pursuit of what he called a "dictatorship of law," -- achieving at best what the author describes as "rule by law" which seems to constrain all but the political leadership and their associates. A prevailing culture of corruption, the elevation of many security services veterans into senior positions, and a shift from the business-related murders of the 1990s to the seemingly politically-motivated killings of critical journalists, bankers, and government officials of today bode ill for Russia's future, regardless of who succeed Putin in next year's elections.

## ECONOMIC SECURITY

PUBLIC PROCUREMENT: SPOTTING THE BRIBE (OECD Observer, no. 260, March 2007, pp. 11-12)

Corruption — particularly in highly competitive government contracting -- costs millions of dollars annually. Government contracts also provide valuable, often long-term, business opportunities, so governments realize that strong anti-corruption measures are a sound investment. This article uses the OECD's Anti-Bribery Convention to examine the problem of corruption in public procurement. Three primary actions to reduce bribery and corruption include clear rules backed by enforcement; development of judicial and technical expertise within procurement offices; and, buy-in and understanding of the consequences of bribery from all personnel involved in the procurement process. This article is available online at:

[http://www.oecdobserver.org/news/fullstory.php/aid/2170/Public\\_procurement:\\_Spotting\\_the\\_bribe.html](http://www.oecdobserver.org/news/fullstory.php/aid/2170/Public_procurement:_Spotting_the_bribe.html)

Baker, Gerard ONE COUNTRY, TWO SYSTEMS, TEN YEARS: HONG KONG IS STILL HONG KONG (Weekly Standard, Vol. 12, No. 39, June 25 - July 2, 2007, pp. 20-22)

The author, U.S. editor of the Times of London, says ten years of Chinese control over Hong Kong have had mixed results. The economy, he says, is better than ever, in spite of weathering the Asian financial crisis, a collapse in property values, and an outbreak of SARS. Economic growth is prodigious -- it now surpasses New York in total amounts raised for initial public offerings; and "it remains the model of a low-tax, small-welfare, low regulation enterprise culture," writes Baker. Politically, he says, Hong Kong remains freer than anywhere else in China, but "it feels as though it is on a long leash." He says Taiwan democrats call Hong Kong a "birdcage democracy." Vigorous political activity in Hong Kong elicits warnings from Beijing to "stop messing around with politics." The March general election campaign took place for the edification of a total of 800 voters (in a territory of seven million people), most of them carefully chosen by Beijing. The pro-Beijing candidate won 80 percent of the vote. Still, he writes, the opposition candidate was allowed to criticize Beijing all over the territory, including in two U.S.-style debates.

Baker, Gerard THE WALL STREET SLIDE (International Economy, vol. 21, no. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 26-28)

"New York is losing its mojo!" scream the financial pundits. Over-regulation is driving business away from the Big Apple to other global financial centers such as London and Hong Kong, they charge. Or is it? Gerard Baker, the U.S. editor and an assistant editor of The Times of London, challenges the notion that U.S. financial markets are losing out to more nimble, less tightly regulated markets in Europe and Asia as a result of legislation in 2002 following the Enron and other financial scandals. Nothing of the sort, he says. The rise of London and Hong Kong as financial centers is not because of regulatory differences but is simply a reflection of a more balanced global capital system, Baker writes. He says that London has emerged as the consolidated financial market for Europe, where in the first quarter of this year, the combined market capitalization of companies quoted on European exchanges exceeded that of American companies for the first time since World War One. He said the growth of Hong Kong's equity market reflects the explosive expansion of the Chinese economy. What unites London, Hong Kong and New York is far more important than what differentiates them, and that is the



prevalence of Anglo-American common law. "This Anglo-American common-law approach differs fundamentally from the legal systems of Europe and most of Asia in its flexibility and reliability. It is no accident that, as capitalism has gone truly global in the last ten years, financial centers steeped in that tradition have moved to preeminence," he writes.

Beattie, Alan AVOIDING THE EXPORT CRUSH (Financial Times, June 13, 2007)

Financial Times writer Beattie reports that economies such as the Philippines, Indonesia, Brazil, and Egypt, having achieved some middle-income status through industrialization, now find expansion threatened by competition from China. Low-wage China has started exporting more sophisticated manufactured goods. Business people in the Philippines and similar economies now have to spend more time figuring out the niche in the global economy where they have a relative advantage. After letting low-cost factory jobs go to China, Hong Kong has developed its services sector and South Korea has turned to product development and design. China's emergence has revived the debate about the value of industrial policy. Opponents view businesses as best suited to seize niche market openings. Even supporters recognize that traditional industrial policy -- tariffs on imports and subsidies to domestic producers -- is no longer adequate.

Birol, Fatih ENERGY ECONOMICS: A PLACE FOR ENERGY POVERTY IN THE AGENDA? (Energy Journal, Vol. 28, No. 3, 2007, pp. 1-6)

The issue of energy poverty has been overshadowed by energy security and climate change, says the author, chief economist of the International Energy Agency. The lack of access to electricity and reliance on traditional biomass for cooking and heating have a number of negative consequences for the world's poorest people, such as inadequate education and healthcare, low worker productivity and deforestation. Birol argues that, without a sharper increase in electricity rates and use of alternative fuels, eradicating extreme poverty in the next two decades will be impossible. He claims such an increase can be achieved quickly at modest short-term costs and views strong political will of the poorest country governments as necessary conditions. What he doesn't say is that the policies aimed at mobilizing investment necessary to build energy infrastructure have rarely been pursued by governments of developing countries because they have lacked the will or resources. For the poorest countries, public-private partnerships, rather than exclusive reliance on private capital, may be one way forward, Birol says.

Bosco, David THE DEBT FRENZY (Foreign Policy, Issue 161, July/August 2007, pp. 36-42)

The author, a contributing editor at Foreign Policy, discusses various aspects of the system of international government debt, with particular emphasis on "vulture funds," investment funds which purchase government bonds from lenders at a fraction of their face value, then sue, harass, and shame the debtor governments to pay what they owe. Activists who support debt forgiveness criticize these funds for reducing the money available for humanitarian expenditures such as education and health care by the debtor governments. Where the activists see poor countries in need of relief, fund managers see the governments which refuse to pay their debts as corrupt deadbeats disregarding the rule of law. Argentina and Zambia are presented as extreme examples of a country which is shirking its obligations (Argentina) and one which is struggling to pay a debt incurred in 1979 while facing wrenching poverty and a runaway AIDS epidemic (Zambia). "What is sorely needed is ... a legal mechanism that can inject some equity into the process -- a system that will cry for Zambia but punish Argentina."

Campbell, Noel; Rogers, Tammy ECONOMIC FREEDOM AND NET BUSINESS FORMATION (Cato Journal, vol. 27, no. 1, Winter 2007, pp. 23-36)

Economic research consistently indicates that countries with more economic freedom -- secure property rights, limited government intervention, low taxes, etc. -- enjoy higher per capita incomes and better living conditions than countries that are economically less free. Economists argue that in less free, more politicized economies creative economic energies are channeled away from wealth-creating entrepreneurial activity and into securing political protection from market forces. Campbell, from the University of Central Arkansas, and Rogers, from North Georgia College & State University, argue that similar differences also occur between the U.S. states, some of which

have significantly different economic rules and regulations. They demonstrate that economic freedom on the state level has a more powerful and direct impact on entrepreneurial activity (understood as net business formation) than other state government policies aimed to stimulate the economy. The authors argue their findings support the libertarian economic approach: instead of yielding to the temptation to “fix” the economy, state governments should focus on safeguarding property rights and leaving entrepreneurs enough room to flourish. A smaller, less active government “will do more to promote prosperity than the conventional state development model,” they say.

Claessens, Stijn; Feijen, Erik FROM CREDIT TO CROPS (Finance & Development, vol. 44, no. 1, March 2007)

The authors argue that more development of financial services can directly reduce world hunger by providing farmers in developing countries with the credit they need to buy such tools as tractors, fertilizers and livestock to increase agricultural production. This, in turn, causes household incomes to rise and food prices to decrease, resulting in less undernourishment. They studied more than 50 developing countries between 1980 and 2003 to find relationships between financial development and investment in agricultural inputs, productivity and nutrition. They incorporated variables likely to affect those relationships, such as government expenditures as a percentage of gross national product, level of economic activity, inflation and the percentage of the population living in rural areas. They found that private credit and greater agricultural productivity are linked, as are credit and investment in the use of agricultural equipment. The authors say commercial banks are achieving success in some poor countries, including the development of sustainable microcredit institutions, mobile phone banking, smart cards and the use of scoring to extend credit. Claessens is a research director at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and Feijen is an economist with the World Bank. This article is available online at <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2007/03/claessen.htm>

Detomasi, David Antony THE MULTINATIONAL CORPORATION AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE: MODELLING GLOBAL PUBLIC POLICY NETWORKS (Journal of Business Ethics, vol. 71, no. 3, March 2007, pp. 321–334)

Globalization has increased the trans-border economic power of multinational corporations (MNCs), giving rise to concerns about their social accountability. Who is to provide governance and enforce corporate social responsibility (CSR)? Several well-known actors – national governments, international organizations, NGOs and industry associations – try to keep MNCs in check, but all of them, taken separately, display serious weaknesses and limitations. The author, an assistant professor of international business at Queen’s University, Ontario, argues that the only governance entities capable of establishing and enforcing CRS standards globally are Global Public Policy Networks (GPPNs). In such informal networks “the strengths of state, market, and civil society actors combine to create an effective international governance system that overcomes the weaknesses afflicting each individually.” The author says that GPPNs, empowered by the common interests of their participants, already are beginning to emerge and engender a number of global corporate codes of conduct, such as OECD’s Guidelines for Multinational Enterprises or the United Nations Global Compact initiative. Unlike a state, the international system lacks centralized governing institutions, but is not bereft of governance – a set of rules and regulatory mechanisms that “function effectively even though they are not endowed with formal authority,” writes the author. In his view, emerging GPPNs are one example of how such governance can be instituted and successfully exercised in today’s globalized world.

Dollar, David; Wei, Shang-Jin UNDERUTILIZED CAPITAL (Finance and Development, vol. 44, no. 2, June 2007, pp. 30-33)

China continues to experience rapid economic growth. However, the authors, both with the IMF, contend that China could improve by running the state-owned enterprises (SOEs) more efficiently. Even though there is a larger number of private and foreign firms, state-owned companies account for one-third of the manufacturing assets. Nevertheless, the SOEs have lower returns to capital than the private and foreign firms. The Chinese financial system is dominated by

state-owned banks, which tend to favor SOEs and do not expend much effort in expanding commercialization. Furthermore, the authors point out the SOEs' tendency to reinvest with very low marginal returns. They see receiving dividends, rather than just collecting taxes, as one way to increase its investment. With some of these and other changes, the China's economy could boost its growth and free up resources for increased consumption.

Easterly, William THE IDEOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT (Foreign Policy, No. 161, July/August 2007, pp. 31-35)

The author, a professor of economics at New York University, condemns the theories and practices of the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations as "a dark ideological specter is haunting the world. It is almost as deadly as the tired ideologies of the last century — communism, fascism, and socialism — that failed so miserably. It feeds some of the most dangerous trends of our time, including religious fundamentalism. It is the half-century-old idea of Developmentalism. And it is thriving." In common with all ideologies, developmentalism offers a comprehensive answer to society's problems and the idea that there is but one correct answer — in this case, "free markets." The author provides a litany of examples where the "solutions" imposed by the World Bank have backfired — such as in Nicaragua, Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia and Zimbabwe — and suggests that this situation has created a backlash against globalization that "threatens to kill sensible, moderate steps toward the freer movement of goods, ideas, capital, and people." It is necessary to acknowledge that the imposition of rigid development ideology has failed. The best solution is to allow poor societies the freedom to make their own choices and find their own paths to greater prosperity.

Jacoby, Ulrich GETTING TOGETHER (Finance & Development, vol. 44, no. 2, June 2007, pp. 34-35)

China is fast becoming a major player in the economies of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), offering trade and investment in a drive to secure oil and minerals needed for its own development, writes Ulrich Jacoby, a senior economist in the IMF's African Department. Jacoby's figures indicate that from 2000-2005, SSA's exports to China surged nearly 400 percent, accounting for about one-fifth of the region's total export growth. In 2005 China received 25 percent of SSA's raw materials exports and 17 percent of its fuel exports. Conversely, China's exports to SSA, mostly manufactured goods, rocketed 370 percent during the same period to more than \$13 billion, accounting for almost 15 percent of the region's imports. On the investment front, Jacoby wrote that China has launched multi-billion projects to build an oil refinery in Angola, and a railway, a port and a hydroelectric power station in Gabon in return for exclusive rights to extract iron ore from a Gabonese mine. The major beneficiaries of China's loans and credit lines to SSA, totaling about \$19 billion, are Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Republic of Congo and Nigeria, all of which are endowed with abundant resources.

Jubak, Jim THE OIL SQUEEZE HAS JUST BEGUN (MSN MoneyCentral, posted July 17, 2007)

The author, a financial columnist and commentator, citing a report recently issued by the International Energy Agency, warns that the global oil markets will get progressively worse over the next five years, due to growing worldwide demand and shrinking supply. Due to underinvestment or simply geological depletion, oil output is in decline in the majority of the oil-exporting countries, while demand continues to grow, especially in China but also in the oil-exporting countries themselves. Jubak notes that oil consumption is built in to most everyday activities, such as commuting to work, and the U.S., the world's largest oil user, does not have a national program to reduce consumption of petroleum. Given the long lead times to implement comprehensive conservation, there are few if any effective short-term remedies. Available online at <http://articles.moneycentral.msn.com/Investing/JubaksJournal/TheOilSqueezeHasJustBegun.aspx?page=all>

Klare, Michael T. ENTERING THE TOUGH OIL ERA: THE NEW ENERGY PESSIMISM (TomDispatch.com, posted August 16, 2007)

The author, professor at Hampshire College (Amherst, Massachusetts), notes that when “peak oil” — the theory that global oil production will peak and decline due to shrinking worldwide petroleum reserves — gained public attention several years ago, many in the oil industry and business establishment dismissed it as a fringe notion. Klare writes that “recently, however, a spate of high-level government and industry reports have begun to suggest that the original peak-oil theorists were far closer to the grim reality of global-oil availability than industry analysts were willing to admit.” Notably, the usually conservative Paris-based International Energy Agency released a report in early July that global oil production is unlikely to keep up with demand over the next five years, a situation that may result in oil shortages. He notes that most of the “easy oil” — the high-quality, low-sulfur oil in on-land reservoirs near the surface -- has already been found and consumed; what is left is the “tough oil”, the fields in deep locations, the heavy, high-sulfur-content oils that require more processing, or that are in countries experiencing political instability. Over the next five years, oil production will need to increase by several million barrels per day per year, to account for growing demand and depletion of existing fields, and infrastructure to exploit the “tough-oil” reserves over the next two decades will cost on the order of USD 20 trillion — an unlikely prospect in a world increasingly dominated by national-government-owned oil companies. Klare concludes, “whether or not the peak in world oil output is at hand, the future of the global oil supply in a world of endlessly growing demand appears grim.” Available online at [http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/174829/michael\\_klare\\_tough\\_oil\\_on\\_tap](http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/174829/michael_klare_tough_oil_on_tap)

Modi, Vikram WRITING THE RULES: THE NEED FOR STANDARDIZED REGULATION OF ISLAMIC FINANCE (Harvard International Review, vol. 29, no. 1, Spring 2007, pp. 38-42)

Islamic finance fueled by petrodollars has been growing fast over the last decade, says Modi, associate editor of the Review. As Islamic and some regular banks develop Shari’ah-compliant financial products, the customer base is growing despite suspicions from some Islamic scholars. Some predominantly Muslim countries such as Libya and Morocco refuse to recognize Islamic banks, which they see as linked to Islamic parties. Others, such as Egypt and Tunisia, allow such banks to exist but impose little regulation. But there also are countries such as Bahrain and Malaysia that not only offer substantial support to Islamic banking but also cooperate on regulatory issues. The author declares that consolidation, standardized regulation, greater transparency and innovation are needed to encourage growth of Islamic financial services. He suggests that Western countries with large Muslim populations follow the lead of the U.K Financial Service Authority, which holds Islamic banks to the same standards as conventional ones, but has modified laws to accommodate them, recognizing the unique nature of Islamic financial transactions. Available online at <http://hir.harvard.edu/articles/1609/> [ES;AZ]

Noland, Marcus THE LOOMING ARAB EMPLOYMENT CRISIS (International Economy, vol. 21, no. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 54-57)

The author, a Senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics and a visiting professor at Yale University, notes that the Middle East is facing a demographic challenge with expected population growth of 150 million people over the next decade. He suggests that expansion of labor-intensive manufacturing or services exports could create a sustainable increase in employment, but such a development is inhibited by the poor integration of the Arab economies into the global trading system and the scarcity of foreign investment outside the petroleum industry. The author asserts that political uncertainty discourages foreign businesses and investors from a lasting engagement in the region. However, some countries are doing better than the others, so improvements in economic outcomes could be achieved by sharing the best economic and business development practices within the region. The broader international community can help, particularly the U.S., which can try to reduce its current account deficit (thus helping to redirect oil states’ current account surpluses to internal investment), strengthening progressive democratic forces in the Arab world, entering into internally consistent preferential trade agreements with Arab countries and improving coordination with multilateral institutions and other developed countries. This article is based on the book Noland co-authored with Howard Pack, THE ARAB ECONOMIES IN A CHANGING WORLD.



Prasad, Eswar; Rajan, Raghuram; Subramanian, Arvind THE PARADOX OF CAPITAL (Finance and Development, vol. 44, no. 1, March 2007, pp. 16-19)

According to standard economic theory, financial capital should flow from richer, industrial to poorer, developing countries in search of new investment opportunities and higher rate of return. Foreign direct investment (FDI) does follow that pattern, but other capital flows tend to move in the opposite direction, a phenomenon that has long puzzled economists. The authors of the article point out that the paradox has intensified since 1990, when it was first described by Robert Lucas. By examining a sample of 51 nonindustrial countries, the authors also found out that countries that relied less on foreign finance have grown faster in the long run. In other words, higher growth in those countries is associated mainly with higher domestic savings. The authors suggest this may be a result of weak financial systems in many developing countries that hamper the absorption of foreign capital, slow down borrowing and force savings. In some countries with weak financial systems foreign capital may be neither needed nor helpful, the authors conclude, because the forces of globalization may be generating productivity gains and growth despite those financial weaknesses. "Any discussion of the merits of capital account openness is likely to be very specific to a country," they say.

Scheve, Kenneth F.; Slaughter, Matthew J. A NEW DEAL FOR GLOBALIZATION (Foreign Affairs, Vol. 86, No. 4, July-August 2007, pp. 34-48)

Scheve, a political scientist at Yale University, and Slaughter, an economist at Dartmouth, assert that surging inequality of income is driving the rise in protectionist sentiment among the 96 percent of U.S. workers who are seeing the real value of their wages fall. The typical political tradeoff for maintaining open trade consists of spending more money for trade adjustment assistance to workers who lose their jobs to imports and for raising more people to a higher level of education. The authors argue that these policies won't work for decades at best. Instead they propose a redistribution of income from the most wealthy, a New Deal for globalization in the model of Roosevelt's 1930s New Deal. Because income tax rates are already progressive, they propose increasing the income of the wealthy subject to taxes for Social Security and Medicare while reducing or eliminating those taxes for those making less money. Currently available online at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86403/kenneth-f-scheve-matthew-j-slaughter/a-new-deal-for-globalization.html>

Siddiqi, Moin INDUSTRIALISATION CANNOT WAIT (African Business, No. 333, July 2007, pp. 20-21)

The author, an independent economist specializing in trends in the Middle East, Africa and Central Asia, looks at the Africa's, especially Sub-Saharan Africa's, lack of economic growth. South Africa remains an only exception in the SSA region with its advanced industrialization. In comparison with the growing Asian economies, the SSA economy is limited to "commodity-reliant," involving simple labor-intensive activities. For economic growth, following the example of Asia's recently industrialized countries, there needs to be export diversification and upgrading of manufacturing methods. There is also tremendous need for infrastructure improvement, along with regional trade, which could lead to solid industrial base, eventually expanding to larger areas. Siddiqi believes it would take a long time, more than a mere "five-year development plan," before the desired economic growth can be achieved.

Thony, Jean-Francois; Png, Cheong-Ann FATF SPECIAL RECOMMENDATIONS AND UN RESOLUTIONS ON THE FINANCING OF TERRORISM (Journal of Financial Crime, vol. 14, no. 2, 2007, pp. 150-169)

The authors use an IMF study to discuss the design of the new international legal framework for combating the finance of terrorism. They report on the status of and obstacles to implementation of the Financial Action Task Force's (FATF) Special Recommendations and UN Security Council Resolutions on the financing of terrorism. They particularly focus on the areas which countries are having difficulties in complying fully with the requirements. Notable unresolved obstacles include the difficulty of applying international law instruments to non-state actors, and the need for

ensuring persons affected by these measures have adequate legal recourses. Despite some countries' slow progress in implementation, the authors say that some tangible results have been achieved -- not so much in terms of terrorist funds being confiscated, but with regard to the ability of terrorists and terrorist organizations to take advantage of the international financial system to channel funds for their operations. The proof of this, they note, is in their increased use of traditional methods of cash-couriers to physically move funds across borders.

## GLOBAL ISSUES / INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION

THE TRUTH ABOUT RECYCLING (Economist, Vol. 383, No. 8532, June 9, 2007, p. 24)

This article offers a global survey of the state of materials recycling, weighing the economics, the techniques and momentum of the practice. There are several major concerns in the recycling industry -- first, local governments in the United States and Europe often find that recycling isn't an economically viable practice because the costs of collecting, transporting, and sorting materials outweigh the market price. Another concern is whether recycled materials are bought and used in another manufacturing process which turns out a product that will end up ultimately in a landfill anyway. In some cases, products headed for recycling are disassembled in ways that release harmful gases into the environment, or expose workers to toxins. The most promising trend in the field is adoption of the "closed loop cycle" where materials and packaging are designed from the outset to create no waste, using materials that can be either recycled indefinitely or returned to the earth. Major corporations such as Wal-Mart, Toyota, and Nike have set goals to reach the zero-waste target.

Baran, Zeyno O BROTHERHOOD, WHAT ART THOU? DON'T MISTAKE ISLAMIC

EXTREMISTS FOR MODERATES (Weekly Standard, Vol. 12, No. 30, April 23, 2007, pp. 15-16)

Non-Muslim western governments are wrong to differentiate among Muslims based on whether or not they espouse violence, according to Baran, a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute. Instead, they should distinguish based on whether Muslim groups consider themselves Islamist. Thus a British-born Islamist should not be considered a western ally, while a devout, conservative Muslim immigrant may in fact be one. Baran thus proposes an ideological as opposed to tactical standard. While this may be a distinction with a small difference -- Islamists seem to espouse violence to accomplish their goals, while non-Islamists do not -- the author correctly criticizes the attempt by some U.S. intellectuals and congressmen to "engage" with the Muslim Brotherhood, an Islamic group that seeks "the total imposition of Islamic law on society at large." Moreover, Baran says, such engagement is counterproductive, since Islamism is not a majority strain of Islam, but engagement treats it as though it were, thereby demoralizing non-Islamist Muslims.

Belli, Brita NATURAL BABY, TOXIC WORLD (E Magazine, Vol. 18, No. 3, May/June 2007, pp. 27-33)

Belli, managing editor of E Magazine and a new mother, reports on efforts by U.S. parents to reduce their infants' chemical exposure and reduce landfill waste created by disposable diapers. By using "attachment parenting", babies are carried physically close to their parents and breast-fed. Attuned parents need less baby gear, such as mattresses treated with flame retardant, do not use formula and in some cases, can give up diapers by anticipating their child's hygiene needs. For those who cannot master diaper-free babies, several diaper products have come on the market that use fewer chemicals. There is a new diaper that is completely biodegradable. Belli notes the explosion of new organic baby foods and products designed to help parents make their own baby food. She also points out ways to remove toxins within the home. A side bar reports on the use in plastic toys of phthalates, a commonly-used group of organic compounds that are known to be carcinogenic, and some recent government efforts to regulate their use.



Cashore, Benjamin, et al. FOREST CERTIFICATION IN DEVELOPING AND TRANSITIONING COUNTRIES: PART OF A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE? (Environment, vol. 48, no. 9, November 2006, pp. 6-25)

The authors write that inadequate governmental responses to the severe challenges facing global forest management prompted leading environmental groups to sidestep governments, and found the Forest Stewardship Council in 1993. The goal was to turn to the marketplace to generate incentives to establish sustainable forestry principles; however, most of the support for, and successes in, the forest certification program has been in North America and Europe. Tremendous obstacles remain in most of the developing world, including weak central governments, lack of oversight, and entrenched local interests. The authors note some success stories in a number of countries that have adopted some aspects of the certification process, including improved market access for wood products and higher prices than could be obtained by illegal logging.

Devoss, David BRINGING UP THE PAST (Smithsonian, vol. 38, no. 4, July 2007, pp. 80-88)  
Underwater archaeologists have only begun to search the waters of the Malacca Strait off Malaysia in recent decades, but what they're finding is rewriting the history of the region. Devoss profiles Australian marine archaeologist Michael Fletcher, who discovered a shipwreck known as the Tang wreck because of cargo dating to China's Tang dynasty of 618-960 A.D. The wreck reveals a level of sophistication in regional sea trade and commerce, of which researchers had been unaware. Fletcher and others like him confront not only the dangers of the work, but they race to find these submerged hulks before they are raided by pirates with no regard for preserving and recording their historical value, or destroyed by the seabed-leveling techniques used by some fishing trawlers.

Gelbspan, Ross TWO PATHS FOR THE PLANET (American Prospect, vol. 18, no. 7, July/August 2007, pp. 45-48)  
Gelbspan, a longtime journalist interested in environmental issues, notes that humanity is facing "an increasingly chaotic future driven by a succession of climate-driven emergencies -- but the good news is that the bad news is at last being taken seriously." Not only is climate change no longer seriously doubted, but many in the private sector now admit that the free-market forces that have helped create the current global environmental crisis are powerless to reverse it. A transition to a more sustainable global economy and way of life will require unprecedented feats of cooperation among governments. Many corporate executives privately admit that government regulation is required to mandate universal adoption of renewable technologies in lockstep, otherwise one company that heavily invests in renewable energy may be undercut by the competition. He notes that the "carbon crisis could be a profoundly transformative opportunity to begin to reverse the growing and unsustainable gap between the world's rich and poor." As the world's biggest energy user, the U.S. can be a global leader in the energy transition, or it can obstruct it. Gelbspan concludes, "the future of the world quite literally depends on whether U.S. leadership rises to the occasion."

Kolbert, Elizabeth STUNG: THE MYSTERIOUS DECLINE OF THE HONEYBEE (New Yorker, August 6, 2007, pp. 52-59)  
The mysterious and rapid decline of honeybee populations in the United States beginning in the fall of 2006 has dismayed and alarmed scientists and beekeepers. The cause of this calamity, known as colony-collapse disorder, in which honeybee colonies suddenly and nearly completely disappear, is still unknown. Honeybees are crucial to U.S. agriculture, and the spread of colony-collapse disorder represents a major threat to the U.S. food supply. Because the country's vast commercial orchards must be pollinated on a scale beyond the capacity of any local population of pollinators, growers hire traveling beekeepers to bring in honeybee colonies for short periods of time; the bees have become, in effect, migrant farm workers who do their jobs and move on. Evidence suggests that a kind of "honeybee AIDS" virus, spread by the long-distance transport of bee colonies during harvest season, is attacking the bees' immune systems. In the words of a

recent report, “pollinator decline is one form of global change that actually does have credible potential to alter the shape and structure of the terrestrial world.”

Ludtke, Melissa, et al. ISLAM: REPORTING IN CONTEXT AND WITH COMPLEXITY (Nieman Reports, Vol. 61, No. 2, Summer 2007, pp. 4-62)

Nieman Reports devotes this issue to the complexities and challenges faced by Western reporters in covering Islam, the Islamic world and the Middle East. In 22 articles, top journalists and academics such as Richard Engel, Tariq Ramadan and Robert Azzi review the work of their peers and note the ignorance, prejudice and misperceptions about Islam that are frequently repeated in the media. Other writers suggest current stories and trends, such as political developments, social change, bloggers and the economy, in the Middle East and elsewhere that are ignored in coverage. All urge their colleagues to do a better job in understanding the subtle complexities of culture and its interface with Islam as a religion. In her article, DePaul University professor Marda Dunskey sums up a consistent editorial theme of this journal: she writes that in the U.S. press, conflict in the Middle East repeatedly imparts details from a U.S. policy viewpoint, omitting key issues and leaving important contextual questions unasked and unanswered. She and other authors would like to see reporting that is more nuanced and less superficial. Full texts are available online at <http://www.nieman.harvard.edu/>

Motavalli, Jim THE CAN-DO CONGRESS? (E Magazine, Vol. 18, No. 3, May/June 2007, pp. 34-39)

The Democrats, now in charge of the U.S. Congress, have introduced a flood of climate change and energy legislation during the current session. Motavalli, editor of E, reviews the pros and cons of each. All claim to reduce fossil fuel dependence and greenhouse gas emissions. Clean energy advocates and environmental groups see this as the best opportunity in many years to influence climate change legislation. But passage of any new laws is uncertain — the U.S. energy industry has more coal-fired plants on the drawing board than at any previous time. Major concerns about the effects of emissions reductions on the economy means that any climate legislation will be challenged from inside and outside the Congress. One likely piece of legislation to be enacted will be new Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards which would raise the fuel economy of vehicles. The standard has not changed in 20 years despite new technologies and would be easier for Congress to pass than other bills. A sidebar notes that Congress has begun a big push on other environmental legislation including wildlife refuges, clean water management and reducing chemical exposure.

Nash, J. Madeleine CHRONICLING THE ICE (Smithsonian, July 2007, vol. 38, no. 4, pp. 66-74)

Glaciologist Lonnie Thompson has been studying ice cores from mountain glaciers for more than 30 years, long before the public or policymakers learned the term “global warming.” But the Ohio State University professor has been able to read the ice cores to create new insights into atmospheric composition and weather patterns from millennia past. He has found how the glaciers contribute to global weather patterns and provide a natural mechanism for neutralizing carbon in the atmosphere. Thompson, a 2006 winner of the National Medal of Science, has also found correlations between what the ice reveals about weather conditions and aberrations of the past and the downfall and what historians know about the disappearance of once-flourishing civilizations. Available online at <http://www.smithsonianmagazine.com/issues/2007/july/ice.php>

Raffaele, Paul THE PIRATE HUNTERS (Smithsonian, vol. 38, no. 5, August 2007, pp. 38-44)

Piracy on the high seas soared in the 1990s after many countries reduced the size of their navies with the end of the Cold War; as a result, maritime authorities worldwide have had to step up efforts to protect shipping and trade. About 95 percent of the world's trade travels by water; in 2007, estimated value of such trade was at least \$6 trillion. Estimates of the value of goods lost to pirates ranges into the billions annually. The foremost organization combating ocean-going piracy is the Kuala Lumpur-based International Maritime Bureau (IMB), which operates the Piracy Reporting Centre, the world's only such operation. The shipping lanes near Somalia are considered among the most perilous in the world; other piracy “hot spots” are the waters off

Indonesia, Bangladesh and Nigeria. In the Persian Gulf, authorities are concerned about terrorism as well as piracy; Coalition vessels, including those manned by the U.S. Coast Guard, patrol exclusion zones around Iraqi terminals where tankers take on millions of barrels of oil daily.

Ratliff, Evan THE WHOLE EARTH, CATALOGED (Wired, July 2007, pp. 154-159)

Obtaining maps and directions online has been a growing practice for about a decade, but further technological developments are allowing users to customize maps, and make them available to others in ways that redefine cartography. Sites like Platial.com allow users to share their commentary, photographs, or points of interest on map locations for other users. This development is more than another online pastime for the technologically adept, Ratliff writes. Mapmaking has always been a tool of dominance of the land, but now easy-to-use shareware allows anyone to become a cartographer. That can lead to entirely new views of the Earth in all its rich chaotic complexity. According to one expert quoted by Ratliff, "It's as close to Babel as we get." Available online at [http://www.wired.com/techbiz/it/magazine/15-07/ff\\_maps](http://www.wired.com/techbiz/it/magazine/15-07/ff_maps)

Ricchiardi, Sherry DISTORTED PICTURE (American Journalism Review, vol. 29, no. 4, August/September 2007, pp. 36-43)

Affordable and user-friendly, the photo-editing computer program Adobe Photoshop makes it easy to manipulate photographs, and the increasing misuse of the technology poses a serious threat to photojournalism's credibility, says the author. A number of trends are leading to a greater likelihood of using altered photo images, including: staff cutbacks that require news organizations to rely on long-distance freelancers, who are largely free of newsroom accountability; competition for newspaper space that increases pressure for dramatic images; and the fact that digital photography leaves no original negatives with which to compare an image. Doctoring photos – either to deceive the viewer or enhance the image's esthetics -- has been around since the advent of photography, but the thorny issue remains of defining the limits of what is and is not acceptable. There have been incidents in which photos of public figures have been removed from web sites, after the images were found to have been manipulated, to change their physical appearance. So far, there is no fast and effective software to detect altered images — a major problem for AP, which receives between 2,000 and 3,000 photographs each day. So, in the meantime, viewers will have to accept that "seeing is not believing."

Robertson, Lori KIND OF CONFIDENTIAL (American Journalism Review, Vol. 29, No. 3, June/July 2007, pp. 26-33)

U.S. federal judges have been rejecting reporters' promises to keep silent about conversations with confidential sources, leading news organizations to warn sources that pledges of anonymity aren't absolute. "The law as it exists today does not provide the kind of absolute protection for sources that reporters traditionally thought they had the right to offer," says Kevin Baine of Williams & Connolly, the law firm representing the Washington Post. But media lawyers are seeing growing support for protecting journalists, including at the state level, the author says. Thirty-two states and the District of Columbia have shield laws, and seven additional states have introduced shield law legislation.

Sen, Amartya TURKEY: NOT ABOUT ISLAMIC VS. WESTERN VALUES (New Perspectives Quarterly, vol. 24, no. 3, Summer 2007, pp. 24-27)

The author, 1998 Nobel Prize winner for economics and a Lamont University Professor at Harvard University, says it is a mistake to see the debate between secular and religious politics in Turkey as a clash between Islamic and Western (or Judeo-Christian) values. The differences, he says in this interview with NPQ, are related to views on appropriate political and public practice, not to which religion is appropriate. He notes that most of the secularists in Turkey are themselves Muslims. He cautions those who fear "universalism" not regress to the "well-frog" approach, that is, the refusal to hear about the opinions of the outside world. "For reasoned vindication of any local practice," Sen says, "it would have to be open to further examination and arguments." Available online at [http://www.digitalnpq.org/archive/2007\\_summer/07\\_sen.html](http://www.digitalnpq.org/archive/2007_summer/07_sen.html)

Serafini, Marilyn RAPIDLY SPREADING THREATS (National Journal, Vol. 39, no. 27, July 7, 2007, p. 22-26)

Dangerous diseases such as dengue fever and malaria are spreading beyond their traditional territories and into higher elevations. Some scientists list global warming as an important factor and predict that the situation could get worse in the coming decades. As climate change expands the reach of such "tropical" illnesses, the author says, some pharmaceutical companies and government agencies are starting to pay attention. Novartis is one of those companies, founding the Institute for Tropical Diseases in Singapore to focus on dengue fever, malaria and other diseases. At the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the National Center for Environmental Health is preparing a series of workshops on heat waves, vector-borne diseases (spread by mosquitoes, ticks and fleas), waterborne diseases and health communications. The National Institutes of Health is examining the effects of exposure to ultraviolet rays, air pollution and vector- and waterborne diseases. Currently available online at <http://news.nationaljournal.com/articles/climate/disease.htm>

Svoboda, Elizabeth THE ASTEROID HUNTERS (Discover, Vol. 28, no. 7, July 2007, pp. 50-55) Improvements in telescope technology and sophisticated computer programs are allowing amateur astronomers to carry out professional research-grade work. In part due to budgetary constraints, the professional astronomy community and NASA are increasingly turning to amateur backyard astronomers to help identify and track asteroids and other near-Earth objects. The author writes that amateurs have made many significant discoveries of asteroids, including one that is between two and four miles wide.

Swope, Christopher WORKING WITHOUT WIRES (Governing, Vol. 20, No. 8, May 2007, pp. 28-34)

A number of cities in the U.S. are installing wireless broadband networks to provide free public access to the Internet. While these projects are usually public-private partnerships and limited to selected public areas, the city of Corpus Christi, Texas took a different approach. This city of 282,000 installed its own WiFi network covering 147 square miles and found that most use was by city agencies, not residents or businesses. The network provides high-speed data exchange between field employees, such as police, firefighters and building inspectors, and their offices, and allows real-time monitoring of public parks, city vehicles, and water and gas meters. Other uses are under development. While Corpus Christi recently sold its network to a commercial company which will maintain and upgrade the system and charge a fee for access, other municipalities continue to watch and learn from the city's experience with WiFi. Available at <http://www.governing.com/articles/5wifi.htm>

Trenberth, Kevin E. WARMER OCEANS, STRONGER HURRICANES (Scientific American, Vol. 297, No. 1, July 2007, pp. 44-51)

The author, head of the climate analysis section at the National Center for Atmospheric Research (NCAR), reviews how tropical depressions become hurricanes (also called cyclones or typhoons). Heat from the ocean influences a hurricane's wind and rainfall intensity. An increase in the number and intensity of hurricanes in the tropical North Atlantic Ocean since 1994 coincided with an increase in sea surface temperatures greater than expected from naturally occurring cycles. Global climate models developed at NCAR show that warming of the Atlantic since 1994 is related to atmospheric heating caused by human activities. Other scientists have confirmed a similar occurrence in the tropical Pacific Ocean. The author concludes, "global warming has led to more intense storms" and "we all would be wise to plan for more extreme hurricane threats."

## INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Allen, Craig THE LIMITS OF INTELLIGENCE IN MARITIME COUNTERPROLIFERATION OPERATIONS (Naval War College Review, Vol. 60, no. 1, Winter 2007, pp. 35-52)

The author writes that naval forces have long been at the vanguard of global counter-proliferation efforts. They have also been at the heart of several recent maritime interceptions carried out as part of the Proliferation Security Initiative. Allen, professor of law at the University of Washington, says the legitimacy of PSI operations must be grounded in accurate intelligence. He examines the intelligence requirements of maritime counter-proliferation efforts as well as the degrees of risk management associated with operational decision making, and points to President Bush's assertion that maritime interdiction should be carried out in a way that doesn't "unnecessarily interfere with maritime commerce or the freedom of navigation." The multilateral aspect of PSI operations and intelligence sharing is another factor for consideration. Allen says some PSI nations are on record as saying they will never reveal some successful interdiction activities to prevent illicit proliferators from taking advantage of such information to probe for weaknesses. The downside to this, he writes, is that the public and non-participating PSI states may never fully learn of the initiative's accomplishments. He concludes that national security decision makers should not accept less than the best intelligence when dealing with weapons of mass destruction, but "they must also be prepared to make timely decisions when that intelligence falls short of certainty."

Barron, Owen A NEW APPROACH: ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD THROUGH PUBLIC DIPLOMACY (Harvard International Review, vol. 28, no. 4, Winter 2007, pp. 30-33)

Harvard International Review staff writer Owen Barron traces the history of American public diplomacy efforts. The author dwells on what is currently negative Arab public opinion of the U.S. However, although Arabs dislike American foreign policy, they affirm U.S. values. Barron offers several remedies for U.S. public diplomacy in this region of the world, including, not only explaining American values to Arabs, but, also, attempting to understand Islamic and Arabic cultures ourselves.

Cobb, Adam C. BALANCING ACT: AUSTRALIA'S STRATEGIC RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES (Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, vol. 8, no. 2, Summer/Fall 2007, pp. 71-79)

The U.S. must not take Australia for granted, says the author, professor at the Air War College in Alabama, who evaluates Canberra's efforts to navigate between a long-time ally and a rising China, which is becoming a major regional strategic player and a key trading partner. While its security ties are based on its historical ties to Great Britain and the U.S., geography is shaping its economic future, where it risks increasing long-term dependence on its role as an energy and natural resources supplier to China. The author suggests that Australia consider using its energy resources as the basis for a new grand strategy, building a balance of power with China, India, and the U.S. based on a doctrine of "security through energy." By doing so, 21st-century Australia can build a position for itself in the Pacific, similar to that of Switzerland in Western Europe.

Coonen, Stephen J. THE WIDENING GAP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE: DOES IT MATTER? (Parameters, vol. 36, no. 3, Autumn 2006, pp. 67-84)

The author describes the widening military capabilities gap between the United States and Europe. However, the gap should not prevent interoperability between the two forces. For example, the U.S. could play a leading role during high-intensity warfare while the Europeans become more prominent in the post-conflict phase. Americans and Europeans also perceive threats in the world today similarly. The author, a lieutenant in the U.S. Army, concludes that, although a gap exists between U.S. and European military capabilities, this disparity may not be as significant as many have implied. Currently available online at <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/USAWC/Parameters/06autumn/coonen.htm>

De Nevers, Renee NATO'S INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ROLE IN THE TERRORIST ERA (International Security, Vol. 31, No. 4, Spring 2007, pp. 34-66)

While the United States has cobbled together various coalitions in its pursuit of the war on terrorism, NATO, as a formal institution, has played a limited military role. While contributing to defense, and mounting military missions in Afghanistan, Bosnia, and elsewhere, NATO has not



come up with a consistent extra-territorial strategy against terrorism, in part due to limited military capabilities. In addition, the U.S. strategy has shown a preference for cobbling together ad-hoc alliances quickly, rather than mobilizing the NATO as a whole. While NATO has expanded defensive tactics in the Mediterranean, intelligence sharing tends to be bilateral. In addition, NATO's effectiveness in the field is limited by national constraints on troop activity and a shortage of armed personnel. The author concludes the United States is unlikely to abandon NATO, which it regards as its most valuable political alliance. However, the success or failure of NATO forces in Afghanistan may define its military usefulness in the war against terror.

Dueck, Colin; Takeyh, Ray IRAN'S NUCLEAR CHALLENGE (Political Science Quarterly, Vol. 122, No. 2, Summer 2007, pp. 189-205)

Dueck, assistant professor of public and international affairs at George Mason University, and Takeyh, senior fellow in Middle East Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, write that Iran has legitimate reasons for wanting a nuclear deterrent, and the most promising route for the U.S. to take is that of containment, supplemented by direct bargaining. Iran's regime has numerous factions, but they all agree on the need for a nuclear protection from threats they see from Israel, other neighboring countries, and the U.S. The impact of the Iran-Iraq war on Tehran's nuclear calculations cannot be underestimated. "The international indifference to Saddam's war crimes and Tehran's lack of an effective response has led Iran's war-veteran President to perceive that the security of his country cannot be predicated on global opinion and treaties," the authors write. Iran is "not an irrational rogue state" seeking the bomb as an instrument of an aggressive foreign policy, nor is it likely to hand over an "Islamic bomb" to terrorist organizations, the authors argue, noting that Iran has long possessed chemical weapons and has yet to transfer such arms to its terrorist allies. "Since the U.S. is not about to invade and occupy Iran, an unwillingness to engage in diplomacy with its government amounts to tacit consent as Tehran develops the bomb," the authors say, recommending containment and "direct, hard bargaining" as the only chance to prevent Iran's acquisition of nuclear weapons. Available online at [http://www.psqonline.org/cgi-bin/99\\_article.cgi?byear=2007&bmonth=summer&a=01free&format=view](http://www.psqonline.org/cgi-bin/99_article.cgi?byear=2007&bmonth=summer&a=01free&format=view)

Felicetti, Gary THE LIMITS OF TRAINING IN IRAQI FORCE DEVELOPMENT (Parameters, vol. 36, no. 4, Winter 2006-07, pp. 71-83)

Although training Iraqi national security forces is often touted as the key to victory, it may not be a realistic solution. More training will not solve the forces' multiple problems, including improper selection of candidates and leaders, a poor organizational culture, flawed work environments, divided loyalties, and officers focused on basic survival. These challenges must be addressed, not simply through more training exercises, but by the far more complex task of nation-building. Currently available on the Internet at <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/06winter/felicetti.htm>

Foster, Gregory D. STRATEGY AND THE SEARCH FOR PEACE (The Futurist, vol. 40, no. 6, November/December 2006, pp. 18-22)

National Defense University professor Foster envisions a future of lasting peace and encourages strategic planners to act upon it. There is much about the future that cannot be predicted, but it is almost certain that tomorrow's military decision makers will have to deal with reduced response time and increased disaster potential. It is a moral obligation of government to look ahead and plan for the future. Foster concludes by outlining differences between the past and the present and creates strategic imperatives that should be used to deal with the future.

Fuhrman, Matthew MAKING 1540 WORK: ACHIEVING UNIVERSAL COMPLIANCE WITH NONPROLIFERATION EXPORT CONTROL STANDARDS (World Affairs, vol. 169, no. 3, Winter 2007, pp. 143-152)

Preventing hostile regimes and terrorists for shopping the globe for WMD is at the heart of instituting an effective international export control regime. The author traces the experiences of Russia and India in the 1990s to present best practices for the United States to encourage others to adhere to UN Security Council Resolution 1540, which contributes to the international control



of WMD and related materials. He advocates a two-stage approach, where the United States establishes a state's willingness to comply, offering outreach, incentives, or sanctions as needed, then enhances their ability to comply through training, equipment, and expertise to help states develop the legislation and facilities needed to keep WMD out of the wrong hands.

Haas, Mark L. A GERIATRIC PEACE? THE FUTURE OF U.S. POWER IN A WORLD OF AGING POPULATIONS (International Security, Vol. 32, No. 1, Summer 2007, pp. 112-147)

This provocative article looks at the aging of the global population in coming decades, and attempts to sketch out international consequences. The author, assistant professor of political science at Duquesne University, describes a world where the U.S. population is aging, but so are the populations of allies and rivals. Japan and China will have more oldsters to support; Germany and Russia will see population loss. Since U.S. rivals have less efficient economies than the U.S., this will impede their military spending, resulting in continuation of a balance of power that favors the U.S. This is particularly true as the American population is aging less slowly than the population of its key rivals. Ironically, one of the drags on the global economy will be military pensions, making the development of advanced weapons too expensive for every country except the U.S. However, the author notes, the relative burden of an aging population will also affect the U.S., and cause it to rein in some of its more activist foreign policy initiatives. In addition, developing nations with faltering economies, with the added burden of aging populations, may become terrorist havens.

Hymans, Jacques NORTH KOREA'S NUCLEAR NEUROSIS (Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, vol. 63, no. 3, May/June 2007, pp. 44-49)

Hymans, professor of international affairs at Smith College, examines North Korea's history and psyche to figure out what led up to Pyongyang's October 2006 nuclear test. He says Kim Jong Il wanted to make "a loud bang" to deter adversaries, "but ended up with a fizzle" when the explosion achieved only 10 percent of its four-kiloton nuclear yield. North Korea's declaration that it is a nuclear state, the author writes, doesn't necessarily make it so. For Kim, Hymans says, building a nuclear weapon was about national self-expression and identity. With implications for other authoritarian societies, Hymans says once the leadership gives an order such as to start a nuclear program, the scene is set institutionally and psychologically — no one dares question the decision, which becomes irrevocable, save only when complete disillusionment with the regime occurs, or when the regime falls apart. The author categorizes Kim as an oppositional nationalist, or, a leader who is intensely fearful of an external enemy, while also very proud of his nation's ability to face down an enemy. Nuclear development programs tend to falter in countries where all power and authority are consolidated in the position of a single individual, Hymans says, because successful programs require lots of money and access to sophisticated technology, as well as "the ability to instill an ethic of scientific professionalism and a long-term planning perspective" both of which are often inhibited in a regime where the cult of personality prevails.

Johnson, Reuben WHAT PUTIN STANDS FOR (Weekly Standard, Vol. 12, No. 30, April 23, 2007, pp. 11-13)

The author, a defense and aerospace writer, says a popular joke in Russia about President Vladimir Putin portrays him as a politician for sale. The reality, though, goes much further. "The entirety of state-owned and -controlled enterprises are run by and for the benefit of the cabal around Putin," he says. Putin is already in his second term as president, all he is constitutionally allowed. On March 30, the speaker of the Russian parliament's upper chamber proposed amending the constitution to allow him a "presidency without end." As matters now stand, the top of the Russian government controls the natural gas monopoly, the Yukos oil company, all foreign arms and military equipment sales (including MiG fighter jets and other high-tech aircraft). Johnson notes that Russia has sent \$3.5 billion worth of fighter aircraft, attack and transport helicopters, assault rifles and other equipment to Hugo Chavez's Venezuelan regime, while at the United Nations Russia deleted the proposed ban on all arms exports to Iran as its price for agreeing to the latest sanctions resolution.

Kilcullen, David J. SUBVERSION AND COUNTERSUBVERSION IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST TERRORISM IN EUROPE (Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, vol. 30, no. 8, August 2007, pp. 647-666)

The author, a former Australian Army officer and currently a counterinsurgency advisor with the multinational force in Iraq, examines in this article how Europe fits into the campaign against terrorism. Europe has found itself both as a source and a target for terrorist activity. Kilcullen says that Europe faces, as a primary threat, terrorist-linked subversion with two key objectives — to manipulate and exploit immigrant communities. Noteworthy in Kilcullen's analysis is that counterterrorism analysis focused on the nature of Islam in Europe is a dead-end, offering no value to how best to arrest the trend. The threats facing western nations requires terrorism analysts to re-think existing paradigms of warfare, intelligence, law enforcement, terrorism and insurgency, Kilcullen says. He notes that Europe has become a transit area for extremists, a source of intellectual capital, exploitable grievances, and a legislative safe haven, in addition to becoming part of the battleground in terrorists' international campaign.

Kupchan, Charles; Trubowitz, Peter GRAND STRATEGY FOR A DIVIDED AMERICA (Foreign Affairs, Vol. 86, No. 4, July-August 2007, pp. 71-84)

Kupchan, of Georgetown University, and Trubowitz, of the University of Texas, argue that the bipartisan consensus on foreign affairs during World War II and the Cold War was a departure from the divisions far more typical in U.S. history. With the Iraq war, the consensus has disappeared again, exposing the U.S. to the dangers of an incoherent foreign policy. Congressional Republicans mostly prefer pursuing U.S. influence in the world by military might; Democrats prefer multilateral persuasion. Continued partisanship threatens failed leadership abroad and possibly a return to isolationism. "The United States needs to pursue a new grand strategy that is politically solvent," the authors write. "In today's polarized landscape ... restoring solvency means bringing U.S. commitments back in line with political means." The authors make some recommendations: sharing more foreign burdens with other countries, targeting terrorists rather than seeking regime change, rebuilding the spent U.S. military, restraining adversaries through engagement, becoming less dependent of foreign oil, and building new pragmatic partnerships for specific international problems.

Larrabee, F. Stephen TURKEY REDISCOVERS THE MIDDLE EAST (Foreign Affairs, vol. 86, no. 4, July/August 2007, pp. 103-114)

In recent years, Turkey has established a new diplomatic profile in the Middle East, giving it a new opportunity to act as a bridge between the Arab world and the West. Ankara's shift has been caused largely by rejection by Western Europe of its EU bid and diffidence toward the U.S. and its perceived lack of support for containing Kurdish separatists in northern Iraq, who are also a concern of Iran and Syria. Turkey's Islamist conservative government has drawn closer to Saudi Arabia and Egypt, and shifted away from long-standing ally Israel toward a more pro-Palestinian orientation, meeting with Hamas and criticizing Israel for its role in the August 2006 conflict in Lebanon. The author, who holds the Corporate Chair in European Security at the RAND Corporation, rejects fears of an "Islamization" of Turkish foreign policy, calling instead for Washington to accept an assertive and independent-minded Turkey and for Ankara to recognize the ultimate need for some type of accommodation with Iraqi Kurds, and citing the 2006 "Shared Vision" statement as a starting point for a new US-Turkish strategic partnership.

Latell, Brian RAUL CASTRO: CONFRONTING FIDEL'S LEGACY IN CUBA (Washington Quarterly, vol. 30, no. 3, Summer 2007, pp. 53-65)

Fidel Castro's brother Raul has been running Cuba since July 31, 2006. Some observers have concluded that Fidel will never return to power and some see the possibility of reform. But Latell, author of AFTER FIDEL: RAUL CASTRO AND THE FUTURE OF CUBA'S REVOLUTION (2006), warns that "it is not yet clear, however, whether or not those hopes will be viciously dashed." Recent events show that the government is determined to maintain absolute control and its highest priority has been preserving order. There are, however, signs that Raul may be interested in economic reform. Latell stresses the importance of the military, which has been controlled by Raul since 1959, to the survival of the regime. His legitimacy and appeal are probably most

questioned by Cuba's youth, who face alienation and lack of opportunity. In spite of Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez's support, which is critical to the viability of the Cuban economy, Latell sees Raul and Chavez more as rivals than allies. Tensions and uncertainties seem certain to increase, and the military, more powerful than any combination of civilian leaders, will remain the crucial factor.

Lindemann, Marc **STORMING THE IVORY TOWER: THE MILITARY'S RETURN TO AMERICAN CAMPUSES** (Parameters, vol. 36, no. 4, Winter 2006-07, pp. 44-57)

The author, a U.S. Army lieutenant, writes that the U.S. military must take full advantage of recruiting opportunities again available at the most selective university campuses, a result of a recent U.S. Supreme Court decision that removed remaining restrictions and opened up the possibility of reinstating Reserve Officers' Training Corps' (ROTC) in American colleges. The author also traces the history of ROTC at Yale University. Currently available online at <http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/Parameters/06winter/lindeman.htm>

McConnell, Mike **OVERHAULING INTELLIGENCE** (Foreign Affairs, Vol. 86, No. 4, July-August 2007, pp. 49-58)

McConnell, the new U.S. director of national intelligence, makes clear how much hard work remains to coordinate the 16 agencies that collect a billion bits of new information a day to thwart terrorists and other threats. The big challenge is striking the right balance between centralized direction and decentralized action. Coordination of domestic and foreign intelligence remains a problem. A new single culture must supplant the differing cultures of the separate agencies. Collaboration among the federal agencies and between them and state and local governments and businesses is more important than ever, given the rapid action required by strategic threats these days. Intelligence officers need to begin viewing their work as sharing information, not owning it, and they need to overcome their risk aversion to hiring native speakers of foreign languages. They need to develop and adapt technology more quickly and efficiently, and they need sustained public and political support. Currently available online at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86404/mike-mcconnell/overhauling-intelligence.html>

Markey, Daniel A **FALSE CHOICE IN PAKISTAN** (Foreign Affairs, vol. 86, no. 4, July/August 2007, pp. 85-102)

The author, a veteran of the Policy Planning staff of the U.S. Department State, defends Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf from critics, claiming that his government has taken billions in U.S. aid while covertly undermining counterterrorism efforts, and calls for strong, but discreet, pressure to ensure the return of democracy in October 2007 and expansion of U.S. diplomatic contacts with civilian leaders. Tough talk and aid suspensions, says the author, will only entrench Pakistan's influential security services, confirming suspicions about U.S. reliability and causing them to strengthen their ties with Islamist groups they developed in the 1980s as strategic counterweights against encirclement from Afghanistan and India. Instead, the author says that the U.S. must work to convince the Pakistani military of its long-term commitment by demonstrating the tangible benefits of partnership with more aid and training as well as stepped-up efforts to stabilize Afghanistan and facilitate discussions between India and Pakistan. Domestically, the U.S. must strongly insist on free and fair elections, human rights, and the rule of law as part of a larger effort to helping Pakistanis strengthen democracy, which is ultimately its true long-term defense against extremism. Currently available online at <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/20070701faessay86407/daniel-markey/a-false-choice-in-pakistan.html>

Niblett, Robin **CHOOSING BETWEEN AMERICA AND EUROPE: A NEW CONTEXT FOR BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY** (International Affairs, Vol. 83, No. 4, July 2007, pp. 627-641)

The author, former director of the Europe Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, notes that power in Britain has changed hands from a prime minister who sought to balance intense U.K.-U.S. consultation on foreign policy with the ambition to be "at the heart of

Europe”, to one whose approach towards both the U.S. and the EU has yet to be tested. Niblett argues that the days are now largely over when the UK could build an Anglo-US foreign-policy position before bringing in Europe. The UK is now a central player in the development of increasingly activist European foreign policies, whether these can later be coordinated effectively with the U.S. or not. A strong, bilateral relationship continues to serve the interests of both sides, but this relationship does not sit upon the same foundations as during the Cold War. There are now significant underlying factors, especially since the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11 and the July 7, 2005 attacks in the UK, that pull the US away from Europe and the UK, while pushing the UK towards Europe as the first step in developing foreign policy strategies. The author notes that, today, UK positions on most global issues and foreign policy challenges tend to conform more closely to the dominant EU line than to the U.S. On balance, the UK might think about European integration more from a U.S. than from a European perspective, but it now thinks about global problems more from a European than from a U.S. or transatlantic perspective.

Obama, Barak RENEWING AMERICAN LEADERSHIP (Foreign Affairs, vol. 86, no. 4, July/August 2007, pp. 2-16)

Among the frontrunners for the 2008 Democratic presidential nomination, Barak Obama summons the spirits of Roosevelt, Truman, and Kennedy in an essay outlining his vision of U.S. foreign policy that leads “by deed and example.” In the Middle East, Obama calls for a phased withdrawal from Iraq leaving only a residual training and counterterrorism presence, increased multilateral pressure on Iran, and a renewed personal engagement in Israeli-Palestinian negotiations. Calling nuclear proliferation “the most urgent threat to the security of American and the world,” Obama pledges negotiations on a verifiable global ban on new nuclear weapons material and \$50 million to start an IAEA-controlled nuclear fuel bank so that countries can realize the benefits of its emissions-free energy without gaining the technologies needed to produce nuclear weapons. On terrorism, Obama calls for a refocusing on the Afghan-Pakistan border region, and a need for a deeper understanding of the causal factors of extremism to better “export opportunity,” as part of a larger U.S. effort to rebuild neglected global alliances and partnerships needed to confront a host of 21st-century transnational threats.

Rogan, Hanna ABU REUTER AND THE E-JIHAD: VIRTUAL BATTLEFRONTS FROM IRAQ TO THE HORN OF AFRICA (Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, vol. 8, no. 2, Summer/Fall 2007, pp. 89-96)

Terrorists have built a pervasive media presence in print, satellite broadcasts, and the Internet. In her survey of “global jihadist” propaganda, the author, a visiting fellow at the Terrorism Research Center and a member of the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment, concludes that in addition to traditional wartime roles of legitimating its actions and intimidating its foes, terrorist media is geared primarily to followers and potential recruits, facilitating operational command and control as well as inspiring individuals from a “virtual community” to stage attacks of their own. While its overall effectiveness is debatable, the author stresses the need for continued close monitoring to inform future counterterrorism policies. Available online at <http://journal.georgetown.edu/82/rogan.pdf>

Romney, Mitt RISING TO A NEW GENERATION OF GLOBAL CHALLENGES (Foreign Affairs, vol. 86, no. 4, July/August 2007, pp. 17-32)

A leading Republican frontrunner for the 2008 presidential race, Mitt Romney outlines his foreign policy vision by invoking the sacrifices needed to win the Second World War and the tenacity and resolve needed to prevail in the Cold War, facets of America’s character needed now more than ever as it faces the threat of global terrorism. If elected, Romney would build U.S. military and economic strength by adding 100,000 more active duty forces and spending a minimum of 4 percent of GDP to rebuild the defense establishment while maintaining a strong domestic economy through lower taxes and smaller government. Romney would renew efforts to achieve energy independence through technology investments and increased domestic exploration. U.S. diplomacy would face a makeover similar to the military’s Goldwater-Nichols reforms to improve performance by creating civilian “joint commands” to promote peace, security, and freedom worldwide. Finally, Romney advocates strengthening old alliances, such as NATO as a force to



confront terrorism, and building new partnerships, such as those providing opportunity and prosperity through free trade.

Rossmiller, Shannen MY CYBER COUNTER-JIHAD (Middle East Quarterly, Vol. 14, no. 3, Summer 2007)

On Sept. 11, the author was a small-town municipal judge in Montana and mother of three with no knowledge of Arabic or expertise in the Middle East. But the 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S. and news reports about terrorists and associates using web sites and chat rooms to carry out operations and recruit converts galvanized her to explore the Internet. Soon she would begin studying Arabic online and navigating through a world of what she describes as jihadi websites. Rossmiller improved her Arabic and used an online translation service to make contacts and create a false identity. She fed tips to the FBI that helped their investigations. One of them contributed to the arrest of an American Army National Guard specialist from Washington State who was posing as a Muslim convert and offering information about weaknesses of his tank unit on the eve of its departure for Iraq. The author's identity was compromised during the man's military hearing, making her vulnerable to death threats and leaving her with a bullet-ridden car. While now employing security protection, Rossmiller's online sleuthing continues prompting the now-retired judge to warn that her experience with the terrorists use of web technology suggests that "Western governments lag behind in Internet cyber-warfare with al-Qaida." Available online at <http://www.meforum.org/article/1711>

Sahimi, Muhammad CONCESSIONS ON IRAN'S NUCLEAR PROGRAM WOULD HELP MODERATES (New Perspectives Quarterly, Vol. 24, no. 2, Spring 2007, pp. 19-21)

Dignified treatment of Iran and the offering of concessions – even symbolic ones – in return for suspension of its nuclear programs would help Iran's moderates, according to Sahimi, professor of engineering at the University of Southern California and a close associate of Nobel Prize-winning human-rights lawyer Shirin Ebadi. The vast majority of Iranians, according to Sahimi, "despises their country's ruling hardliners" but supports Iran's nuclear program because it has become a source of national pride. Closing the Natanz facilities, where Iran is researching uranium enrichment, is not the solution to international community's security concerns, he says. Sahimi estimates that without an alternative energy source, Iran may become a net importer of oil by 2015. Enriched uranium could be safely supplied to Iran's reactors through a multinational fuel consortium safeguarded by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), a proposal that was made by IAEA in 2005, and which is similar to a 1975 proposal by the administration of President Gerald Ford. "Thus, a diplomatic solution to the problem of Iran's uranium enrichment program is in hand, and only awaits serious negotiations," says Sahimi, who has written extensively on Iran's nuclear programs and their political impact.

Twining, Daniel AMERICA'S GRAND DESIGN IN ASIA (Washington Quarterly, vol. 30, no. 3, Summer 2007, pp. 79-94)

The author, the Fulbright/Oxford scholar at Oxford University and a transatlantic fellow of the German Marshall Fund of the United States, believes that U.S. policymakers are employing a radically different strategy in Asia to facilitate the ascent of friendly Asian centers of power that will both constrain, not contain, China and allow the U.S. to retain its position as Asia's decisive strategic actor. The U.S. is actively cultivating Japan as a center of power and to reshape Southeast Asian security by constructing new partnerships; however, Indonesia and Vietnam may prove more important to the U.S. than Thailand and the Philippines. In 2005, the U.S. announced an historic effort to facilitate India's rise as an independent power.

Valencia, Mark, J. THE PROLIFERATION SECURITY INITIATIVE: A GLASS HALF-FULL (Arms Control Today, vol. 37, no. 5, June 2007, pp.17-21)

The author says the PSI's focus on interdiction has constrained some trade in weapons of mass destruction, their delivery systems and related material or has forced "rogue traders" to change tactics. The initiative, with over 80 supporting nations, has evolved from maritime interdiction to port inspections and aerial interdictions, as well as coordinated efforts to disrupt financial



networks that could supply this trade. He also points to ship-boarding agreements the United States has concluded bilaterally with seven countries covering about 70 percent of the world's commercial fleet measured by tonnage. Valencia, a senior fellow with a Malaysian government-sponsored policy research institute, says that secrecy surrounding PSI interdictions and methods make it difficult to evaluate the effectiveness of the four-year-old initiative. Greater transparency would help, he said, as well as bringing PSI into the United Nations system. This article is available on the Internet at [http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2007\\_06/Valencia.asp](http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2007_06/Valencia.asp)

Wilson, Ward THE WINNING WEAPON? RETHINKING NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN LIGHT OF HIROSHIMA (International Security, Vol. 31, No. 4, Spring 2007, pp. 162-179)

In this provocative article, Wilson, an independent scholar, delves into history to re-examine the Japanese surrender of 1945. That surrender has been widely attributed to President Truman's decision to drop two atomic bombs on Japan, one on Hiroshima, one on Nagasaki. The author's examination of archives, however, concludes that Japan's decision to surrender was not made on the basis of its nuclear damage, but rather on the Soviet Union's late-stage entry into the war against Japan, which deprived Japan of all hopes of an alliance with the Soviets. The author posits that the Japanese leadership reacted to the nuclear bombs as a mere extension, in their minds, of an already-devastating bombing campaign. The author concludes that, in light of this insight, it is necessary to re-evaluate nuclear strategy and the importance of the nuclear weapon. Noting that all wars since World War II have been won or lost without use of nuclear weapons, he questions the primacy of the weapon both in war and in deterrence theory.

A WORLDWIDE WEB OF TERROR (Economist, vol. 384, no. 8537, July 14, 2007, pp. 28–30)

After the fall of the Taliban and its eviction from Afghanistan, Al-Qaeda reconstituted itself in cyberspace, "the ultimate ungoverned territory," setting up virtual schools for ideological and military training and active propaganda arms. Internet communication enables terrorists to adopt a highly decentralized structure and to disseminate widely both military instruction and propaganda: "The hand-held video camera has become as important a tool of insurgency as the AK-47 or the RPG rocket launcher." However, the anonymity of the Internet can also work against jihadists, as police and intelligence agents can infiltrate their Web sites. The article recommends "a systematic campaign of counter-propaganda, not least in support of friendly Muslim governments and moderate Muslims, to try to reclaim the ground ceded to the jihadists."

Yeager, Holly SOLDIERING AHEAD (Wilson Quarterly, vol. 31, no. 3, Summer 2007, pp. 54-62)

Women now make up 14.4 percent of enlisted personnel and 15.9 percent of the officer corps in the 1.4-million-strong active-duty U.S. military. They serve in more than 90 percent of military occupations, but are still barred from jobs having to do with direct ground combat. Nonetheless, they are getting shot at in Iraq, where they work as convoy drivers, military police, and a variety of other jobs having to do with supply and support. How are they doing? Admirably, says Yeager, who has covered the Pentagon for the Hearst newspaper group and Defense Daily and writes extensively about women's issues. Contrary to expectations, most women hold up emotionally in combat, and the American public has not howled in protest over the 70 female soldiers killed in Operation Iraqi Freedom. The increased number of women in the military has not fundamentally changed martial culture. What has changed, however, is management style, which is geared toward more family-friendliness. And this, the author says, is a plus for attracting and retaining an all-volunteer force. Even so, more women than men leave the service because of the demands of family responsibilities. And lack of combat experience will prevent most women from advancing to the highest levels of the military hierarchy. Available online at

[http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=wq.essay&essay\\_id=261679](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=wq.essay&essay_id=261679)

## U.S. SOCIETY & VALUES

Cooper, Andrew F. BEYOND HOLLYWOOD AND THE BOARDROOM: CELEBRITY DIPLOMACY (Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, vol. 8, no. 2, Summer/Fall 2007, pp. 125-132)

The author, associate director of the Centre for International Governance Innovation (Canada), considers the challenges of how best to harness “the buzz” of celebrity activists and “the bite” of business elites to forward worthy transnational causes. While lacking in the refinement of the traditional diplomatic corps, celebrity diplomats should not be discounted or dismissed when Bono, Angelina Jolie, and George Clooney can call attention to global poverty and Bill Gates, Ted Turner, and Warren Buffett can contribute billions to solve it. While they can be criticized as potentially unwieldy to manage and distracting from the detailed negotiations needed to resolve global issues, their activism speaks to the adaptive quality of diplomacy and new ways to redefine priorities in the age of global media.

Davis, Mike HOME-FRONT ECOLOGY: WHAT OUR GRANDPARENTS CAN TEACH US ABOUT SAVING THE WORLD (Sierra, July/August 2007)

“Does this generation of Americans have the ‘right stuff’ to meet the epic challenges of sustaining life on a rapidly warming planet?” The author writes that, in spite of growing concern over energy consumption and greenhouse gas emissions, Americans own bigger houses and cars, and are consuming more energy and resources than ever. But, Davis notes, a “surprisingly hopeful answer ... to whether Americans would ever voluntarily give up their SUVs and McMansions ... lies in living memory” — during World War II, the U.S. embarked on a nationwide campaign to aid the war effort by conservation, home gardening and reducing waste. Americans by the millions tore up their lawns and planted vegetable gardens, recycled scrap metal, old tires and cooking grease, bicycled or carpooled instead of driving alone, or mended clothes instead of shopping compulsively. Journalists of the time noted that the slower pace of life during the war was restoring a sense of community that the automobile culture had begun to erode earlier — and, Davis notes, would erode since, in the postwar euphoria of abundance. He takes hope that, “even a few short generations later, we can find inspirations and essential survival skills in that brief age of victory gardens and happy hitchhikers.”

Ferling, John 100 DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD (Smithsonian, vol. 38, no. 4, July 2007, pp. 44-54)

The author chronicles the career of General Nathanael Greene, the all-but-forgotten hero of the Revolutionary War, whose role in the October 1781 victory at Yorktown, Virginia, set in motion the negotiations that resulted in American independence.

Friedwald, Will ANY WAY YOU COULD BE, SAMMY WAS (American Legacy, Summer 2007, pp. 64-75)

Seventeen years after his death, Sammy Davis Jr. “is more omnipresent than at any time since the mid-1960s,” when he conquered every nearly every form of entertainment: night clubs, records, television, movies and Broadway, says author Will Friedwald, jazz columnist for the New York Sun. Davis and the rest of the Rat Pack are considered “hip all over again.” Along with two new biographies of Davis, two documentaries and two feature films are in the works. Friedwald cites biographer Wil Haygood’s contention that Davis wanted to be white [Haygood is black], and adds that Davis “needed nothing less than total love and approval from everybody all the time.” He traces Davis’ career from his first appearance on vaudeville at the age of three, in 1928, through his Rat Pack days. By 1955 Davis was a superstar, but he still encountered “subtle, debilitating racism.” His last great hit was “Mr. Bojangles” in 1972. Interestingly, an article in the June 3 New York Times by Pat H. Broeske also looks at Davis’s posthumous return to the limelight, observing that his life gives biographers and filmmakers a lot to work with: “beyond the drug problems and his love affairs [with white actresses May Britt and Kim Novak], he offers a vehicle to consider an American obsession: race.”

Gopnik, Adam ANGELS AND AGES, LINCOLN'S LANGUAGE AND ITS LEGACY (New Yorker, May 28, 2007, pp. 30-37)

As the bicentennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth, in February 2009, approaches, the number of books on all aspects of his life and times is increasing. This summation of current Lincoln scholarship is, like its subject, surprisingly lively and relevant to a wide international audience. "Overcome again by Lincoln's example," writes longtime New Yorker author Adam Gopnik, "by the idea of a President who was at once an interesting mind, a tough customer, and a good writer -- I decided start reading the new Lincoln literature. It seemed to be multiplying by fission, as amoebas do, on the airport bookshelves. In books published in the past two years alone, you can read about Lincoln's 'sword' (his writing), his 'sanctuary' (the Soldiers' Home just outside Washington, where he spent summers throughout the war). You can read a book about Lincoln's alleged love affair with a young officer, and one about Lincoln's relations, tetchy but finally triumphant, with Frederick Douglass. There is no part of Lincoln, from manhood to death, that is not open and inscribed." Gopnik's tour of Lincoln literature offers thumbnail sketches of Lincoln's sometimes evolving beliefs on faith, law, war, and, Shakespeare, among many other topics of his and our times. The article offers both a useful guide to what to read, and a quick lesson, if one is needed, of the continuing relevance of Abraham Lincoln. Available online at [http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/05/28/070528fa\\_fact\\_gopnik](http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2007/05/28/070528fa_fact_gopnik)

Greene, Daniel "MEMORY IS A SHIELD": A CONVERSATION WITH ELIE WIESEL (Museum News, vol. 86, no. 4, July/August 2007, pp. 36-41)

Although many people have written about the Holocaust, few have done so with the poignancy of Elie Wiesel. Wiesel was fifteen years old when he was deported to Auschwitz; he survived the Holocaust to offer testimony about its horrors to a world that did not always want to remember. In 1978, Wiesel was asked by U.S. president Jimmy Carter to head his Presidential Commission on the Holocaust, a group later known as the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. The group visited former concentration camps, met with European officials to ask for records pertaining to Holocaust victims, and was responsible for the creation of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. In 1986, for his work on behalf of victims everywhere, Wiesel was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace. This discussion between Wiesel and Daniel Greene, historian at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM), took place as part of the Museum's podcast series "Voices on Antisemitism", to raise public awareness about threats of prejudice and hatred. In his remarks, Wiesel talked about contemporary anti-semitism, memory and the role of museums in remembering tragedy, especially at USHMM, where Wiesel hopes that "anyone who enters the museum does not come out of it the same person."

Harbold, Laura DRAWN FROM NATURE: AUDUBON'S ARTISTIC LEGACY. Woodville, Louisa LINNAEUS: IN SEARCH OF BOTANICAL TREASURES (Humanities, Vol. 28, No. 2, March/April 2007, pp. 10-17)

The work of naturalists John James Audubon (French/Haitian) and Carolus Linnaeus (Swedish) helped Americans appreciate their own native flora and fauna. Linnaeus created the two-part, Latin-based system of naming plants, animals and minerals still in use. He sent students to explore the world, including the New York-Canadian wilderness, and the specimens they brought back were part of his groundbreaking book SPECIES OF PLANTS, published in 1753. Linnaeus' system of classifying the natural world "helped New World inhabitants establish an identity separate from their European kinfolk," says author Woodville. Audubon is best known for his BIRDS OF AMERICA, a seven-volume set of 650 hand-colored prints published in 1840. Harbold interviews Larry Hott, director of DRAWN FROM NATURE, a documentary on Audubon funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, who sees Audubon as a man of contradictions -- a conservationist who was also an avid bird hunter, an American outdoorsman and European sophisticate, and an artist and entrepreneur. Many of the birds he painted are now extinct, along with much of the American wilderness that was their home. Audubon was "the first to sound the clarion call that there was a problem," says Hott. The painter's legacy lives on in the National Audubon Society and its dedication to preserving America's natural heritage.

Lent, John A. COMIC BOOKS AND COMIC STRIPS: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE SCHOLARLY LITERATURE (Choice, vol. 44, no. 11, July 2007, pp. 1855-1867)

Throughout the 20th century, comic strips have been one of the prime conveyors of popular American images. Early syndicated comic strips were translated and published in Europe and Walt Disney successfully marketed his cartoon characters as hardbound collections in Latin America in the 1930s as part of President Roosevelt's 'Good Neighbor Policy'. The study and research into comic art was minimal until after World War II, when interest began to increase as the State Department and later the U.S. Information Agency produced comic books as part of the publications it sent to its overseas audiences. The author, a recognized authority on the popular culture of comic art and the author of several important works on the subject, attempts to identify the most prominent comic books and newspaper strips published in English. One promising area of comic scholarship in the U.S. during the last decade has been an increased exploration of foreign comics, and not just from Europe and Japan. A number of factors have contributed to this, including the worldwide commercial success of Japanese manga; the Internet, with its potential to connect cartoonists and comic scholars globally; the arrival of graphic novels and of journals such as the International Journal of Comic Art; the interest of American book publishers in foreign comics; and the growth of comic book conventions and conferences. Comic art's biggest achievement in the past twenty years has been to find its place in academia; however, some areas still need further study, such as knowledge about the audiences, messages, and power structures behind comics. The essay is divided into two parts, dealing with reference titles, and discussing theory and criticism.

McBride, James HIP-HOP PLANET (National Geographic, vol. 211, no. 4, April 2007, pp. 100-114)

"Not since the advent of swing jazz in the 1930s has an American music exploded across the world with such overwhelming force," writes the author. The culture of song, graffiti and dance that is collectively known as hip-hop has transformed popular music in every country that it has permeated. France, home to a large population of North African immigrants, is the second largest hip-hop market in the world. McBride traces the origins of hip-hop, from beat poet Amiri Baraka in the 1950s and 1960s, to the youth of the South Bronx and Harlem who came up with impromptu dance music in the 1970s – largely because the New York City public school system had drastically cut funding for the arts. While its structure is bewildering, and lyrics that glorify violence and ostentatious luxury disturb many, McBride writes that rap music has "become a universal expression of outrage ... at its best, hip-hop lays bare the empty moral cupboard that is our generation's legacy. This music that once made visible the inner culture of America's greatest social problem, its legacy of slavery, has taken the dream deferred to a global scale. Today, 2 percent of the Earth's adult population owns more than 50 percent of its household wealth, and indigenous cultures are swallowed with the rapidity of a teenager gobbling a bag of potato chips. The drums are pounding out a warning. They are telling us something. Our children can hear it. We'd be wise, I suppose, to start paying attention." Currently available online at <http://www7.nationalgeographic.com/ngm/0704/feature4/index.html>

Mock-Bunting, Logan THEIR WAR (Washington Post Magazine, July 22, 2007, pp. 10-15, 22-28)

The author chronicles the growing gulf between the U.S. military and the civilian world. While the general public's respect for the military is as great as ever, they are still uncomfortable with the military, and few parents are eager to see their children enlist. The military-civilian gap began to grow during the college protest days of the Vietnam War, when major universities stopped giving academic credit to the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program. More and more Army officers were educated in the isolated environment of the military academies, and the absence of military science courses in the top universities meant that future civilian leaders would learn less about the officers that they would some day command. Says the wife of an Air Force colonel: "we are disconnecting from our society." The author writes that military leaders do not advocate reviving conscription, since that would entail training a flood of unwilling draftees in an increasingly technical military. Unlike the military, there is no system place to educate civilian leaders about integrating civilian-military capabilities.



Odell, Jennifer BROOKLYN JAZZ UNDERGROUND PROMOTES BOROUGH'S MUSICAL INNOVATORS (Downbeat, Vol. 74, No. 4, April 2007, pp. 13-14)

While rap music emanated from the South Bronx in the 1970s, another New York borough is fast becoming a musical brand name. When hip-hop artist Mos Def calls out, "Where Brooklyn at?" during a show, Odell points out, it is because commercially successful hip-hop and jazz groups identify themselves with Brooklyn. In January, a collective of jazz musicians formed the Brooklyn Jazz Underground, in order to pool business skills and preserve their Brooklyn-based identities. They are focusing on booking weekend festivals to highlight all the group members' music, selling CDs and bringing more fans to the collective's Web site. The BJU may even pursue non-profit status to reach its goals related to school and community outreach. The BJU's democratic structure promotes shared decision-making and work. If one person shoulders an unfair portion of the work, said pianist Benny Lackner, "people would care less and the dynamic would be off. I see that on a small scale in my trio ... the other musicians are more active because they have input."

Soodalter, Ron CAPTAIN GORDON'S INFAMY (Smithsonian, vol. 38, no. 3, June 2007, pp. 58-65)

When Captain Nathaniel Gordon set sail for Africa in April 1860, he undoubtedly knew that U.S. laws against the slave trade had been generally ignored. Gordon bought 897 Africans from traders on the Congo River, cut off their clothes with his knife and shoved them into the hold of his ship. En route to Cuba, he was stopped by the USS Mohican, part of a small U.S. fleet organized to seize slave ships. Gordon was sent to New York to stand trial for piracy under an 1820 law that mandated the death penalty for anyone serving on a U.S. ship that participated in the slave trade. The author notes that President James Buchanan "had declared he would never hang a slaver" – but unfortunately for Gordon, Abraham Lincoln was elected president in November 1860. Gordon's first trial ended in a hung jury, even though a ship's officer testified that Gordon "packed" the slaves "by spreading the limbs of the creatures apart and sitting them so close together that even a foot [of a passing sailor] could not be put upon the deck." The captain was retried, found guilty and sentenced to death; President Lincoln refused to issue a pardon. Gordon took strychnine and nearly died, but doctors managed to get him on his feet to walk to the gallows. It was February 1862 and "the slave trade was dying," writes Soodalter. "The country was making a sharp turn into a new era in which trafficking in humans would no longer find acceptance." Gordon was the only person in U.S. history to be executed for trafficking in slaves.

Turner, Jonathan TWO CONVERSIONS AND A LOST CRUCIFIXION: WHY DID CARAVAGGIO PAINT TWO VERY DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE SAME SUBJECT? (ARTNews, April 2007, pp. 98-100)

In the early 1600s, the Baroque artist Caravaggio (1571-1610) produced two very different paintings of the same subject, "The Conversion of Saint Paul." These two works, along with a surviving example of "The Crucifixion of Saint Peter," were displayed together for the first time last year in Rome's Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, and may help explain why Caravaggio painted two sharply contrasting versions of a biblical scene. The author argues that the first rendition may have shocked contemporary sensibilities, and was probably considered "insufficiently reverent" for its treatment of a religious theme. Caravaggio introduced a radical naturalism and a dramatic approach to chiaroscuro (the use of light and shadow) that had a profound influence on generations of artists that followed him, but his innovations were not always understood or welcomed during his own lifetime. Both paintings are unorthodox for their time; the first version is more violent and has a more vivid palette, and the later version has the somber tones that likely made more acceptable to religious authorities. This first-ever display invites a renewed appreciation of the artist's daring experiments with light, shadow, and strongly theatrical composition. Only 50 works by the Baroque master survive, but his paintings, "with their light sources beyond the frame and their movement suddenly halted as if in a snapshot, look increasingly modern," the author concludes.



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This mini-publication discusses the factors that make the U.S. economy the world's most productive, competitive, and influential. It focuses on workers and productivity, small and large business, the service economy, goods and services, the role of government, and the concept of "creative destruction," the process where jobs, companies, entire industries come and go because of their success or failure in the marketplace. USA Economy in Brief includes colorful charts to illustrate, for instance, U.S. annual exports and imports and the U.S. trade deficit. (July 2007)

## Electronic Journals

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### **eJournalUSA: Society & Values | August 2007**

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## **Books**

European Union with Turkey: the possible impact of Turkey's membership on the European Union / by Sedat Laciner... [et al.]. - Ankara; (International Strategic Research Organization (ISRO)), 2005.

New Steps in forging a Euroatlantic strategy for the Black Sea / Ed. by Ronald D. Asmus. - Washington, D.C. ; The German Marshall Fund, 2006.

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