



# NATIONAL STRATEGY FORUM REVIEW

## THE DOMESTIC DIMENSION OF US FOREIGN POLICY

### IMMIGRATION POINT-COUNTERPOINT

Steven Camarota and Oscar Chacón

### MILITARY PERSUASION AT HOME AND ABROAD

Stephen J. Cimbala

### GLOBALIZATION, SECURITY, AND THE ACADEMY

Arthur I. Cyr

### UNDERSTANDING COUNTERTERRORISM AND PRIVACY

Richard E. Friedman

### NGOs AND DEMOCRACY

Craig L. LaMay

### GLOBAL TRADE IN A CONNECTED WORLD

Robert J. Langlois

### POLISH AMERICANS IN US POLITICS

Donald Pienkos

### UNIONS AND POLICY

Dan Swinney

### BOOK REVIEW

*New Glory: Expanding America's  
Global Supremacy* by Ralph Peters

Reviewed by Gerald B. Mullin

### STRATEGY WATCH

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# LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER

This issue of the *National Strategy Forum Review* seeks to simplify the complex array of issues that bear on long-range issues of US foreign policy.

Many Americans view US foreign policy from their domestic perspective, which includes their expectations, their sense of vulnerability, and the nature of the threats they see. Their basic expectations are to have shelter, an adequate food supply, a stable community and political system, assurance of employment continuity, access to healthcare, education for their children, and sufficient leisure time to take advantage of the promise of the Declaration of Independence – the pursuit of happiness. Globalization, technology, and cheap international travel have blurred the distinctions between domestic and international issues. For example, healthcare may appear to fit neatly into the domestic category, yet the threat of a worldwide avian flu pandemic makes healthcare, at least in part, a foreign policy and national security issue.

The overarching US vulnerability may be the economy which – if it is working well – provides the US prosperity that enables the interlocking systems to work effectively. The Great Depression of the 1930s is a dismal reminder of what can happen. In this regard, it is of paramount importance that we recognize US dependence on diminishing supplies of imported oil and natural gas. Oil production passed the tipping point several years ago. US oil production has decreased and it probably will not increase in the future. The continuity of Mideast oil imports at required levels is doubtful because of political instability in the region. Mexico supplies 13 percent of US oil imports, but its oil resources are diminishing. Venezuela supplies 9 percent of US oil imports, but its government does not like us.

The threat of international terrorism affects our personal security. We expect the US government to protect us from a catastrophic nuclear terrorism incident and from random acts of violence that are only too common in the Middle East, such as suicide bombings of buses, cafés, and wedding receptions.

As we ask questions and frame the issues, we hope to draw upon the common sense and experience of the American public. This directs our focus to the domestic dimension of US foreign policy.

We have asked friends and scholars to examine the following issues:

- The effects of immigration on domestic and foreign policy.
- How Chicago businesses and unions are responding to globalization.
- Domestic actors that perform diplomacy and advocacy roles abroad.
- The ongoing tension between privacy and technology and public perception of national security threats.
- The public perception of war and the US military.

Through these discussions we hope to gain greater clarity on the most important questions to ask and perhaps, have some outline of possible answers. □

# Military Persuasion at Home and Abroad

## A Strategic and Political Challenge

*Stephen J. Cimbala*

### **Defining Military Persuasion**

**M**ilitary persuasion is the threat or use of armed force in order to obtain desired political or military goals. It is a psychological strategy intended to influence the decisions of other state or non-state actors, without necessarily having to destroy their armed forces or societies. As a psychological strategy, military persuasion is heavily dependent upon timely and accurate intelligence. It also exploits cultural, societal, and ideological knowledge that contributes to an accurate picture of the opponent and the opponent's intentions and capabilities.

Politics is about effectiveness in action: so, too, war and intelligence. "Action" includes the ability of political leaders and commanders to master the art of military persuasion on the home front. Especially in democratic societies, but even in dictatorships, the successful prosecution of a war, or of a protracted counter-terror campaign, requires popular support. The US in Vietnam, Argentina in the Falklands, and the rapid collapse of the Taliban provide evidence from recent decades.

### **The Components of Military Persuasion**

#### **The Will of the Opponent**

Military persuasion has as its primary object the influencing of the will of the opponent. This judgment is neither trivial nor truisitic. Military persuasion attempts to change the opponent's own view of the possible risks and gains associated with his options. This change

in the opponent's mindset normally occurs while the opponent still has some capacity to fight back: and, therefore, some potential losses to guard against and assets to protect.

Estimating the opponent's will is difficult because that will is subject to change in response to our efforts to drive in a preferred direction. War, deterrence, and coercive diplomacy are interactive behaviors in which the actions by one side are interpreted by the other and fed back into the assessment and decision system of the second side. Images of the enemy may change during the course of conflict.

**“Politics is about effectiveness in action: so, too, war and intelligence. ‘Action’ includes the ability of political leaders and commanders to master the art of military persuasion on the home front.”**

Terrorists, for example, seek to influence, not only the intentions of the opposed states and their governments, but also the "will" of public opinion in the target or observing states. They do this by the process of converting pain into power.

The conversion of pain into power is a subtle alchemy. It begins with the transformation of private suffering and grief into public horror and spectacle.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and the Oklahoma City bombing were accomplished by persons with very different political agendas. However, their perpetrators shared a sense of psychodrama and theater that was intended to convert private pain into public anxiety. To the extent that terrorism is psychodrama, governments risk making the problem worse by irrelevant or inappropriate reaction.

Some post-9/11 measures, prompted by panic and bureaucratic protectionism, played unintentionally into terrorists' scripts. Americans imprudently fearful of vaguely stated threats are a liability, not an asset, to a US government engaged in a war against al-Qaeda or other terrorists.

### **Interdependence of Ends and Means**

War and crisis management are interactive bargaining situations in which the ends and means of the participants are shared within a common decision space. Because this is so, there are tacit as well as explicitly collaborative aspects, even during the combat phase of a war. During Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003, US military planners sought to prevail in a lightning campaign that would employ minimum numbers of American combat troops and limit US casualties and collateral damage. In order to expedite this favorable outcome, US intelligence established secret prewar contact with well placed persons in the Iraqi military chain of command. These persons were induced to stand down their units or encourage their formations to disperse at critical junctures of the campaign.

Peace and stability operations since the end of the Cold War offer many lessons with regard to overlapping ends and means in military persuasion. Stability operations in Bosnia, Kosovo, Haiti, Somalia, and elsewhere demonstrated that the keys to success were held by locals, not by outside interveners. Only by pacifying or otherwise neutralizing the most important armed formations and political influencers in the host country could the US, the UN, or other external force hope to bring about peace and stability at an acceptable cost.

### **Perspective Taking**

A third aspect of the applied psychological strategy that we call military persuasion is the concept of perspective taking. This is the act of understanding the "other" in its own terms.

The task is easy to state but enormously complicated in practice. How much do we really know, especially before a war begins, about the actual mindset of the opponent? History records many disappointments and intelligence failures. Cultural differences make the problem of intelligence estimation more difficult.

Perspective taking is not the same as sympathizing with the enemy. It involves a willingness to understand the cultural, social, and political settings that produce the enemy mindset: understanding is not tantamount to approval. But understanding does connote respect, at least, for the significance of the opponent's world view, political objectives, and military art. One of the difficulties that great conventional military powers have in dealing with varieties of unconventional warfare, including terrorism and insurgency, is this problem of perspective taking.

Perspective taking between conventional and irregular armed forces challenges the conventional mindset; the larger and more bureaucratic the military, the greater the challenge. That is why, for example, the US military of 2001, compared to its counterparts in the early 1960s, was able to adapt to the unconventional-cum-conventional war against the Taliban and al-Qaeda. US military adaptation was faster in 2001 for many reasons, but among them was its status as a post-information age, voluntary force. Such a force learned and adapted faster to unconventional tactics and to the politically embedded strategies of irregular fighters than its earlier Cold War predecessors did.

### **Perceptions Management**

The American news media are a potential source of favorable advertising for regional or theater commanders; they are equally a potential source of trouble if their reporting of military actions is negative, creating anti-military and anti-administration feedback in US domestic politics. US theater commanders (formerly

CINCs, now Combatant Commanders) in Iraq and elsewhere justifiably view the presence of media with the same ambivalence that most of us regard a biker bar moving into the neighborhood: possibly exciting, but it draws a dangerous crowd.

Media and military professionals differ in their perceptions of the fairness of news coverage related to the US use of force and post-conflict reconstruction in Iraq – and in general. One study found that large majorities of surveyed military respondents, and of the general public, believed news coverage of the military was too negative. On the other hand, a majority of media respondents in the same study reported that coverage was generally balanced. The same disparity existed between military and public views, compared to media professionals, as to whether the media were biased politically. Forty-seven percent of the public and 67 percent of the military respondents saw the media as too liberal; but only 20 percent of media respondents to the same survey did so.

Differences between the military and the media derive from role perceptions as well as political inclinations. Military personnel complain frequently about excessive negativism in US news coverage of Iraq: The good news is suppressed or underrepresented, while the bad news gets headlines. Some officers share the perspective expressed by one about press coverage: “The media should help communicate what the military is trying to do so that the families understand why their children are in Iraq. The military’s bearing the burden. You have a role to play in helping win the war.” But reporters are for the most part reluctant to be seen as employees or acolytes of the armed forces.

US commanders in Iraq and elsewhere acknowledge that they need the cooperation of the press to communicate their message to the public. Officers must accept that the press is accountable only to itself – an idea that rankles among military people who are accustomed to a

singular and vertical chain of command. Media reporters and editors are responsive to the variety of incentive structures found in a competitive industry as well as to their own muses and professional standards. US experience in Iraq with embedded reporters proved that cooperative reporting of “ground truth” that does not compromise the mission can be accomplished. But the hierarchical nature of the military cannot be avoided. As *Washington Post* reporter Bradley Graham notes: “In the field, where troops are under fire and facing a heightened threat, it is often easier to get information than it is back home at the Pentagon. It seems one of the scariest things defense officials face is talking about policy or the making of policy.”

### Moral Influence

Moral influence is the fifth, and perhaps most important aspect of military persuasion. Sun Tzu defines moral influence as “that which causes the people to be in harmony with their leaders, so that they will accompany them in life and unto death without fear of mortal peril.” The concept of moral influence as a part of military persuasion has several components. First, it implies popular support for the aims of war and for the means required to fight and conclude the war. Second, it also implies harmony within the armed forces themselves, and between them and the political leadership. The military should not be misused for missions or purposes that are professionally inappropriate. Nor should armed forces be permitted to fall into the hands of competing political factions each grappling for control of the state. A third aspect of moral influence is how a society treats those who serve in its military. Moral influence includes the expectation that military service and the risks that it entails will be honored and respected by the state and the people. Each of the preceding points applies to the intelligence services of a democratic society.

The years 2003 to 2005 were marked by

stormy relations between the Bush administration and its political opponents on national security issues that related to moral influence as an aspect of US policy and strategy. Controversies included:

- The President's asserted right to detain indefinitely American citizens and others as "enemy combatants" without preferring formal charges or presenting them as defendants before civil courts or military tribunals.
- Presidentially-approved surveillance by the US National Security Agency (NSA) of US citizens' overseas communications with known or suspected terrorists.
- Extraordinary "renditions" of suspected terrorists to foreign countries, in some cases permitting host country torture for confessions that would not be permitted under US law.
- Congressional initiatives led by Republican Senator John McCain to impose legal restrictions against the use of excessive coercion, including torture, by US military and civilian personnel (and efforts of Vice President Cheney to gain an exemption for the CIA).

On the other hand, the Bush administration would suffer an irreversible loss of public confidence and moral influence if another attack comparable to, or worse than, 9/11 takes place on American soil. Bush and his advisors argue that the first responsibility of a President is national security and defense. The war on terror is declaredly a new kind of war, in which the enemy does not play by any rules of international law or self-restraint. Bush supporters also note that US intelligence and counter-terror operations had been inhibited prior to 9/11 by a political climate that was risk-averse and overly constrained by legalisms.

### **Conclusions**

Political leaders and military commanders must be attentive to the requirements of military persuasion abroad and within the US. Military persuasion is based on intelligence and

the shrewd application of intelligence to the problem of strategizing. Political and military leaders must comprehend the "otherness" of the opponent and its culture. This awareness then lends itself to application in perceptions management by exploiting the interdependence of ends and means between the competitors, and by taking the high ground of moral influence away from the opposition. Military persuasion on the home front is every bit as important as that exercised on foreign audiences: in fact, more so for democracies that assert global interests. □

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## Editor's Note

# NGOs and Civil Society

## Chicago Casablanca Sister Cities International Program

**T**he Chicago Casablanca Sister Cities International Program is a prime example of the important role of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in civil society. NGO actors are capable of extending US foreign policy abroad through diplomatic and social initiatives, among others, and filling gaps left by government. NGO and civic projects abroad can influence foreign perceptions of the US.

A Pew Global Attitude Report published July 14, 2005 on the subject of "Favorable Views of the United States among Moroccan Citizens" indicates that 27 percent of Moroccans had a favorable impression of the US in 2003. The percentage has since doubled, particularly among 18- to 35-year-olds. The poll attributes the increase in favorable attitudes to the Chicago Casablanca Sister Cities International Program, which works in conjunction with its counter committee in Casablanca – the Casablanca Chicago Sister Cities Association.

The program promotes professional, educational, and cultural exchanges. Some of the activities include:

- High school student exchanges.
- Shared expertise among urban planners, doctors, elected officials, students, and academics.
- Chicago opticians provided eye examination clinics and eyeglasses for those in Casablanca who could not afford eye care.
- In December 2004, the program organized CASA BASKET, a basketball training program co-sponsored by One on One Basketball, a US sports organization. CASA BAS-

KET will teach some 900 children from Casablanca's poorest neighborhoods to play basketball.

These efforts were led by Chicago citizens (many of them are members of the National Strategy Forum, including Marilyn Diamond, Co-Chair of the Chicago/Casablanca Committee, who also serves on the *National Strategy Forum Review* Editorial Board). Their committee developed a strategic objective, identified projects in Morocco, and cultivated friendships with Moroccan citizens and government officials. The program is wholly funded by committee members through personal gifts and fundraising events.

The extraordinarily valuable efforts and results in Morocco are being replicated elsewhere in the world by other dedicated American citizens through their respective NGOs. American public diplomacy has two dimensions – government to government and, most importantly, people to people. □

# NGOs and Democracy

*Craig L. LaMay*

**N**on-governmental organizations (NGOs) are an essential component of global governance and, in some places, also of national governance, where they claim to represent the voices and interests of citizens. But NGOs are not democratic in the usual normative sense: They do not report to voters who can reprimand or recall them at the ballot box. Of course, democracy is about much more than voting. As Alexis de Toqueville observed, democracy is about the “habits of the heart,” and thus about how the wheels turn in a society and who turns them. To the extent that NGOs are associations of citizens, they can do a lot to make the wheels turn efficiently. They can also do a lot to gum them up. And there is no guarantee in either case that the results will be a good society.

## **What’s an NGO?**

The modern NGO movement has its roots in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century British and American movements to abolish slavery, advance women’s suffrage, fight poverty, and promote public health and municipal reform. These movements gave rise both to international bodies, such as the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention, and to the first NGOs, among them the World Alliance of YMCAs, founded in 1855, and the International Committee of the Red Cross, founded in 1863. Toqueville described these civic movements when he encountered them in the United States as “political associations” which, in the form he saw them, were outlawed as bastions of privilege in France until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In their modern form, NGOs deserve credit for the development of significant features of international law and, particularly, the advance of human rights norms. Following

World War II, NGOs lobbied and won the right to a voice at the United Nations, were responsible for much of the human rights language in the UN charter, and have been leaders on human rights issues ever since. “NGO,” in fact, is a term coined by the UN, which defines it none too helpfully as any “nonprofit entity whose members are citizens or associations of citizens of one or more countries and whose activities are determined by the collective will of its members in response to the needs of the members of one or more communities with which the NGO operates.” Scholars and practitioners use a number of under-inclusive synonyms for NGO: “private voluntary organizations,” “advocacy,” “interest” or “pressure” groups, etc. “NGO” is sometimes also conflated with the large and growing “third sector,” the not-for-profit economy.

The important point is that there are a lot of these things. In 1948 the UN gave formal consultative status to 41 NGOs. Today there are 2,418 of them working in consultative status with the UN’s Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and another 400 NGOs accredited to the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD), an ECOSOC subsidiary body. And that is just the beginning. According to Helmut Anheier and his colleagues, there were more than 37,000 NGOs in the world in 2000, 20 percent more than existed in 1990. The Union of International Associations (UIA) lists 54,000 NGOs in its 2004 database, up from 48,000 in 2001. Some of these organizations exist almost entirely in the virtual world – Diaspora networks, dot-causes, and other associations of people who use the Internet to rally around a common concern, raise funds, organize rallies, and create electronic forums. The great majority of inter-

national NGOs are located in the capitals of Western Europe and in the US, and the largest numbers of them have always been in one of two fields: economic development and scientific research. A 1924 UIA report found that 410 of the 639 NGOs then in its database were in those fields; in the UIA's 2001 count, 46 percent were. The fastest rates of growth over the decade, however, were in social services (78 percent), health (50 percent), and law and advocacy (42 percent).

### NGOs and Governance

The reasons for NGO growth are three. One is a diminished government presence in public life, both nationally and globally. In developed countries over the past two decades there has been a transformation in citizens' expectations about the provision of "public" goods and services. For-profit firms increasingly provide goods that were once provided almost exclusively by governments – parks and recreation centers, hospitals and health care, education, prisons and rehabilitative services, sanitation and sewer maintenance, and police and even military services.

It is in the nature of public good provision, however, that for-profit firms will ignore unprofitable goods and services, or unprofitable markets, creating a global service gap increasingly filled by multi-sectoral partnerships that include, prominently, NGOs. The Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI), for example, was launched at the 2000 World Economic Forum to bring "a rigorous business-like attitude to resolving a global health concern." GAVI is a coalition of vaccine manufacturers, NGOs, research institutes, UNICEF, the World Health Organization, the World Bank, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, whose stated goal is to coordinate and fund vaccinations for more than 2 million people in 75 developing countries, mostly children, who die each year from vaccine-preventable diseases. By

far the largest donor to GAVI has been the Gates Foundation, which to date has made grants totaling \$750 million, just under 60 percent of GAVI's \$1.32 billion in contributions and pledges. Most of the rest has been provided by national development agencies in Europe and the United States.

The second and third reasons for NGO growth are due to globalization. At the level of global governance, the nation-state is far from dead, but it has been supplemented by new actors: intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) like the World Trade Organization, transnational corporations (TNCs), and NGOs. As P.J. Simmons and Ann Fiorini have written, NGOs are important to global governance because they are able to do things that governments alone cannot, or do not, do. Through their activities they will frequently set policy agendas for governments and IGOs; they provide both formal and informal mechanisms through which governments, IGOs and TNCs can negotiate; they can, through their ability to mobilize public opinion, confer or deny legitimacy to the decisions of governments and IGOs; and last, by virtue of their presumed political neutrality, they are often the ones that translate international agreements and norms into domestic realities. Often this happens through coalitions of NGOs. Most famously, Canadian Jody Williams helped to organize a coalition of some 1,400 NGOs under the banner of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, which lobbied successfully for the 1997 Mine Ban Treaty (and won Williams the Nobel Peace Prize). The treaty banned the use, production, stockpiling or transfer of anti-personnel landmines and, as of this writing, has been ratified by 143 countries. Similarly, a coalition of more than 2,000 NGOs was essential to the passage of the 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which brought the ICC into being in July 2002.

Other commentators have identified the same normative and governing functions for

NGOs, though they give different emphasis to them. Anthony Giddens, for example, has described NGOs as mediators, the occupants of a middle ground between the market and the state. James Paul identifies these same activities as the process of formulating micro-policy (in bilateral relations with a specific IGO or government), macro-policy (in multilateral relations between NGOs, governments and IGOs) and international norms (essentially shaping global public opinion). It is because of this activity that NGOs are sometimes identified, by scholars, journalists, and themselves as the central component of “global civil society.” They are not the only component by any means, but they account for most of its formal infrastructure, and as such they are, by default, the voice of “we the people” in global governance. This leads to the third reason for NGO growth. Economists note that, in general, more ethnically and racially diverse countries have more non-profits, the result of competition for limited public resources. More homogenous countries have fewer non-profits because there is less social disagreement. In the fractious, unsettled and endlessly diverse realm of global governance, not surprisingly, not-for-profit firms abound.

#### **NGOs and Political Accountability**

The problem with the foregoing description is that it assumes NGOs are virtuous actors, or at least disinterested servants of the public interest. That assumes too much. As a journalist interested in international media assistance, I have worked with a range of NGOs – from global firms in New York and London to small, one- or two-person operations in Belgrade or Jakarta – and while many do excellent work, they do not all fit in the same box. There are at least a few things to remember about the world of NGOs, but the most important is this: *There is nothing inherently “democratic” about NGOs.* In the system of global governance, only nation-states are sovereign within the ordinary, democ-

atic meaning of that term – that is to say, accountable to voters.

There are certainly cases – for example, in countries where governments exercise excessive power and either challenge or deny the existence of autonomous social space – in which only NGOs can sustain and nurture the seeds of civil society necessary to oppose an authoritarian regime and to build a democratic one. But even in democratizing and developing countries, the essentially political activities of NGOs do not always reflect the preferences of the indigenous population. And in the larger system of global governance NGOs cannot be considered legitimate democratic actors, despite their voluntary character and their association with civil society. Political scientists who characterize NGOs as “interest groups” do so because they are neither chosen by nor subject to recall by voters, and they can pursue narrow political or institutional agendas that represent only the interests of their members and funders, a constituency that is rarely very diverse. As political scientist E.E. Schattsneider observed long ago about American civil society organizations, “The flaw in the pluralist heaven is that the heavenly chorus sings with a strong upper-class accent.”

International NGOs can also pursue agendas that poorly serve those whom they purport to represent. The 2003 trade talks in Cancun, Mexico, for example, collapsed after leading agricultural states – France, Germany, and the United States – refused to forgo tariffs on protected farm products like peanuts and cotton, and also because developing countries in Africa and Latin America, urged on by NGOs like Oxfam, adopted an absolutist bargaining position that was sure to fail – and did. Simmons, in his review of NGOs, talks about the “rise of global idiots,” NGOs that promote themselves and their programs with little understanding of local economic and political conditions and which will sometimes compete for funding and publicity to the detriment of the people they are sup-

posed to serve. Worst of all is the potential of “any group with a fax machine and a modem” to distort and derail public debate. Simmons, for example, blames misinformation campaigns by NGOs for scuttling US ratification of the international Convention of Biodiversity in 1994. Other NGOs – Greenpeace, famously – that rely on confrontation as a source of publicity and fundraising energy may do more to impede global democratic deliberation than to advance it. And, as Joseph Nye notes, when NGOs are invited to sit at the table of major IGOs, like the World Bank or the IMF, their own legitimacy as democratic representatives is open to question, and no one questions it more loudly than NGOs excluded from the discussion.

More generally, NGOs are susceptible to charges that they are not independent. In 2005, for example, the Newspaper Guild of America sharply criticized Reporters sans Frontières (RSF), saying the organization is “heavily funded by government grants, raising questions about its objectivity.” The Guild was particularly critical of RSF’s reporting on press freedom in Haiti, Venezuela, and Iraq; it noted that the organization has received large grants from the French government and from the US-based National Endowment for Democracy, each of which has also given grants to various opposition groups and private media in those countries. As a result, the Guild charged, RSF’s reporting reflected “a political agenda colored by its choice of patrons.” It chronicled several instances in which RSF allegedly ignored abuses that might embarrass its benefactors.

The RSF example raises a final reason for skepticism, which is that some major NGOs are not very “non-governmental.” Government aid monies are often distributed through NGOs, which are retained as contractors to provide programs and services. Some NGOs, in fact, were created by governments for this purpose, but even where they have not been it is a reach to call many of these firms “private.” In the de-

mocratization industry, for example, the major US NGOs in the field – the National Endowment for Democracy, the Eurasia Foundation and the Asia Institute – get upwards of 90 percent of their revenues from the federal government. Simmons writes that by 1998, 40 percent of total revenues for the world’s biggest NGOs came from governments, up from 1.5 percent of total revenues in 1970. More recent data from the Johns Hopkins Comparative Non-Profit Project cite governments and IGOs as the source of 35 percent of revenues for international NGOs. There is a practical reason for this, since governments will often want to provide assistance in places where direct government involvement would be unwelcome, politically sensitive or even counterproductive. Nonetheless, it is fair to ask whether such contracting has the effect of withholding information from both domestic and international publics about governmental activities.

A final, important and almost always overlooked aspect of NGOs is their financing. NGOs of all sizes will now frequently have some kind of profit-generating activity, usually one linked in some obvious way to their mission, but not always. NGOs with successful “brands” now raise money by sponsoring credit cards, acting as travel agencies, selling merchandise, endorsing consumer products and a wide variety of other commercial activities, including partnerships with for-profit corporations. Prominent examples of the latter include Nike and Starbucks, both of which have become, fairly or not, poster-children for the evils of globalization and partners in well-publicized initiatives with Greenpeace and the World Wildlife Fund, respectively. Corporate-NGO partnerships of various kinds are now common. They serve both the public relations objectives of corporations and the resource needs of NGOs. Viewed from the point of view of citizens, these partnerships often represent something more profound, namely the shift of public goods pro-

vision – services like health care, sanitation and education – from the public to the private sector. Mary Kaldor and her colleagues call this process the “corporatization” of the NGO sector and predict it will accelerate.

### Conclusion

In the end, what makes NGOs interesting in a discussion of democracy is that there is no easy way to characterize them. They embody all the conflicting impulses and ideas that comprise democratic theory. Anheier notes that the literature on non-profit organizations around the world describes them variously as “protectors of pluralism and minority preferences *and* guardians of elite privileges; as extra-governmental forces for democracy *and* control; as sources of innovation *and* paralysis; and as instruments *and* competitors of regimes in power.” How NGOs influence democracy, either within states or globally, Anheier says, depends on “contextual factors like ideologies; notions of the nation-state and economic equality; the degree of economic development and social, religious, or ethnic heterogeneity in society; and the degree of political stability.”

Among other things what this means is that “civil society,” however one defines the term, is a necessary but insufficient condition for democratic governance. Indeed the most effective guarantee of a healthy civil society is a strong state, and the struggle between civil society and the state is not a zero-sum game. In the absence of a strong state, civil society can easily erupt into civil war. Most of the armed conflicts since the end of the Cold War have been intra-state affairs in ethnically and religiously pluralist countries where the proliferation of civil society associations devoted to narrow causes threatened or destroyed democratic transition. NGOs and civil society are thus as much a manifestation of the global “democratic deficit” as they are a solution to it.

Kaldor and her colleagues Anheier and Marlies Glasius have described NGOs as a creation and a symbol of what Donald Kettl has called “new public management,” “part of the modernization of welfare states currently under way in most developed market economies,” and which “seeks to capitalize on what is viewed as the comparative efficiency advantages of non-profit organizations through public-private partnerships, competitive bidding, and contracting under the general heading of privatization.” In this view, NGOs are increasingly public service providers, not public advocates; their principal role is to privatize services once provided by governments, from health care to job training, education to environmental protection. The upside of this transition is the same as the downside: NGOs can be effective and efficient service providers because they are not encumbered by the deliberative and sometimes bureaucratic requirements of ordinary democratic process. As one critic says, the growth of NGOs in both the developed and undeveloped world can be summarized by the equation “less government = less bureaucracy = more flexibility = greater efficiency.” One might of course add to this list “less public representation.” □

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# Polish Americans in US Politics

*Donald Pienkos*

**S**ince World War II, a number of organized ethnic diasporas have surfaced as forces in American politics. The success of each of these diasporas is predicated on several factors including population size and concentration in particular parts of the country, places where their political influence can be better asserted, the degree of ethnic cohesion, and the effectiveness of organizational representatives in expressing their views to government leaders and the public. Chicago, with its many substantial and well-defined ethnic and immigrant communities, has always been a center for political activity and expression on a host of issues.

## **Polish Americans: A Look Back**

Chicago was a magnet for Polish immigrants, among others, who found jobs in the city's mushrooming industrial economy. By 1910, the city was home to several hundred thousand Poles and their children. As the national headquarters of its three largest fraternal insurance societies – the Polish National Alliance, Polish Roman Catholic Union, and Polish Women's Alliance – and the site of several major Polish-owned publishing enterprises and banks, Chicago soon enjoyed the nickname of "Polonia's capital."

By this time too, Poland's American cousins had gained recognition for their lobbying efforts, in Chicago and nationally. During World War I, their main political action federation, the Polish National Department, headed by John Smulski, a Chicago banker and politician, won Washington's support in restoring Poland's statehood after 123 years of foreign domination. Polish independence was proclaimed in Warsaw on November 11, 1918.

During World War II, and in the follow-

ing decade, a second wave of Poles began arriving in the US. This emigration, though smaller than the first, was soon working with the "old Polonia" to help revitalize its involvement in the Polish independence cause. The mission was to re-establish a postwar Poland free from Soviet domination. Together, in 1944, the leaders of the "two Polonias" created a new ethnic political action federation, the Polish American Congress (PAC), to advance this cause, one to which it remained staunchly dedicated throughout the long Cold War era.

During the Cold War, the PAC was aggressive in lobbying against Soviet domination over Poland and many other East European "captive nations" that found themselves under Soviet control. The PAC rallied Americans of all backgrounds against the general threat the Soviet Union posed to the US and the free world. It worked with likeminded citizens in the major political parties, the labor movement, business, and organized religion to shape public opinion on this issue.

The PAC supported US economic aid to the Polish people for humanitarian and political reasons after 1956. And it relentlessly worked for international recognition of Poland's post-World War II western and northern borders that President Franklin Roosevelt and his wartime coalition partners had provisionally approved at the Yalta Summit in 1945.

During and immediately after World War II, the community provided more than \$150 million in material aid to Polish war victims, refugees, P.O.W.s, fighting personnel, and exiles. In the 1980s, the PAC and its charitable foundation shipped more than \$200 million in medical goods, foodstuffs, and clothing to the needy in crisis-ridden, bankrupt, communist-run

Poland. Thanks to these actions, the PAC succeeded in presenting itself to US officials as the spokesman for a Polish American population that had grown to over 9 million members by the 1990s.

Poland's non-violent, Solidarity-led revolution of 1989, its inclusion into NATO in 1999 – one of the PAC's greatest achievements ever in working to influence US foreign policy-making – and its entry into the European Union in 2004, closed an historic chapter in the annals of Polish American and PAC work for Poland. Today, and for the first time in over two centuries, Poland is a fully independent and functioning democracy. Poland's international status and security has been bolstered by its engagement in NATO, the EU, the United Nations, and its close ties with its respected friend and ally, the United States.

Amid these post Cold War realities, PAC members have begun to grapple with a major question: the Congress' future mission. There is no easy answer to this question, if only because Poland's current situation is so different from the one that Polonia lived with for so long. Still, in these new and very favorable post-Cold War circumstances, the question must be answered and new priorities defined.

**The PAC Today and Tomorrow: Foreign and Domestic Priorities**

Today, the PAC continues to function actively as a political action federation uniting Polonia's many national fraternal, veterans, and cultural societies. Its affiliated state divisions complement the work of the national body in every part of the country where large numbers

of Polish Americans live.

What are the priorities that the PAC and Polish Americans might address today and tomorrow?

- On the foreign policy side of the agenda, it remains important for the PAC to engage in a continuing dialogue with Polish and US government leaders to bridge and strengthen the traditionally strong ties between the Polish and American peoples and the many societal values they share. The PAC must regularly remind US officials and opinion leaders in our media of Poland's democratic commitments and its people's strong interest in enhancing their economic and cultural ties with the US. This is a relationship to be preserved and enhanced.
- On the domestic side of the ledger, the US must face up to the need to develop a comprehensive review and

reform of immigration policy. Here the PAC has a clear, responsible, and long-stated position. It calls on Washington to deal firmly with the problem of illegal entry into the US and, at the same time, begin reforming present immigration law. The PAC offers a plan to adjust the status of undocumented immigrants who are already living in the US that is different from the Bush Administration's proposed guest workers initiative.

A policy focusing on adjustment of status will not be easy to work out. Equally difficult will be agreeing on how many immigrants the US should accept and the criteria for their admission. These are all matters for PAC participation. The PAC recognizes the positive role of immigration in our nation's history, a view that is based on its historic involvement on the issue. While it is concerned about the proper evaluation of the possibly 100,000 undocumented Poles living in the US who comprise a not insignificant portion of the estimated 8 to 12 million

“... as many as one-third of all Poles seeking temporary visas to the US are denied entry... the PAC can play an important role in working with US Department of State Officials and Poland to solve this problem.”

undocumented persons currently in this country, it also has an interest in supporting the future admission of thousands more from Poland who want to come here "by the rules."

There is also the related question of the problem of US visa policy toward Poland. Currently, as many as one-third of all Poles seeking temporary visas to the US are denied entry, often in arbitrary fashion. Poland and its citizenry are deeply troubled by such treatment. This issue can damage US-Poland relations, and many believe it must be addressed. Once again, the PAC can play an important role in working with US Department of State officials and Poland to solve this problem.

As the PAC fleshes out its position on these and other matters, it needs to engage in a new dialogue with the Polish American population in order to get a better sense of where they stand, and how strongly they feel, about these issues.

### **A Changing Polonia in a Changing America**

"American Polonia" has changed enormously over the past four or five decades - from a tight-knit community of immigrants and their children and grandchildren, to a diverse population of Polish Americans that has expanded across the US. Relatively few of these individuals are fluent in the Polish language; most have never been to Poland.

Polish Americans today are fully integrated into American life, although many, if not most, maintain some attachment to their heritage. The foreign-born are divided into the diminishing and aging immigrants who came to America after World War II and the most recent immigrants who entered the US in the 1980s. When one speaks about Polish Americans and Polonia today, it's a different world.

For the PAC to represent the entire community, it must develop dialogues with each group of Polish Americans. This task is further complicated by the fact that Polish Americans,

like other Americans, are much more spread out than they were in the past. Many have moved from the central city, old Polish neighborhoods to newer, "non-ethnic" neighborhoods and the suburbs. This is also true of Chicago, where a large part of the Polish American population lives beyond city limits. Polish Americans are also not so easily described as "working class Democrats" by economic condition and political party orientation. They are moderate, conservative, and liberal in political ideology, Republicans as well as Democrats, members of the middle class as much as the working class, with hundreds of thousands engaged in professional and managerial positions.

Polish Americans are also less concentrated today in the states of the US where they were once concentrated. Just in the twenty-year period between the census surveys of 1980 and 2000, for example, the percentage of Polish Americans residing in the ten states where they were most likely to reside fell from 76.4 percent to 70.9 percent. (These states were New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Michigan, New Jersey, California, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Massachusetts, with Florida replacing Connecticut in 2000.)

This demographic shift has political implications. Clearly, it is harder today for the PAC to effectively communicate its message to its audience. But there is an even more significant consequence connected with this shift that involves America's overall population movement away from the Eastern and Middle Western states to the Sunbelt. This shift has already meant a substantial decline in political influence for precisely those states where the largest numbers of Polish American voters live.

In Illinois, about 8 percent of the state's population of 12 million was Polish by national ancestry in 2000. But Illinois itself is less significant politically today than it was in years and decades ago. For example, in 1980 Illinois had 24 congressional districts, nearly half of them in the heavily Polish American Chicago metropoli-

tan area. Today, Illinois has 19 districts. Back in 1958, no less than four US Congressmen of Polish descent from the Chicago area served in Washington. Even as recently as 1980, there were three Polish Americans in the House from the Chicago area; today there is one.

In 1980, the nine east coast and Midwestern states with the largest number of Polish Americans could claim 162 members in the House of Representatives. In 2006, these same nine states had only 136 Representatives. And while people of Polish origin can be found in large numbers in two rapidly growing states - California and Florida - they comprise less than 3 percent of their populations. These changes have obvious consequences, both in congressional and presidential elections, and require that the PAC step up its efforts in developing and communicating its political concerns to those seeking and holding public office.

The PAC must take full advantage of Polonia's historic record of service to America's national interests as it continues to educate others about the political concerns of Polish Americans and Poland. It must make good use of this record, which includes such facts as:

- Poland today is free, democratic, and strongly pro-American; its people want good relations with the US; want Americans and Polish Americans to visit Poland; and want them to learn more about Poland and its culture.
- Poland is the largest of the east central European states that have ended communist rule and has become a major actor in the transatlantic democratic community of nations. Poland deserves to be taken seriously in America as a major and constructive force for international stability and progress; its government's concerns merit a proper hearing in the US.
- Polish Americans make up the largest segment of a still larger population in America, whose roots are in eastern and east central Europe. Over 20 million people are in these communities and all have much in common

with one another on the issues that concern the PAC and Polish Americans. All have cooperated well with one another, based on their joint efforts to bring about NATO expansion. Such coalition-building can continue to expand in the future.

By making full use of these many significant resources, the Polish American Congress can continue to play a meaningful role in American political life. □

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# Global Trade in a Connected World

*Robert J. Langlois*

**T**rade is like the tide – it just keeps coming at you, sometimes high, sometimes low. It is a force that cannot be stopped. In 2005, trade brought \$1,996 billion (USD) in imports onto America's shores and sent exports of \$1,271 billion overseas. This ebb and flow resulted in a goods and services deficit for the United States of \$725 billion, an increase of more than \$108 billion above the prior year. The question then arises whether or not US companies can conclude that the tide is permanently out for them. The answer is "No." Despite the increased trade deficit, the US sold \$85 billion more goods abroad in 2005 than in 2004.

The force of trade for any particular manufacturer of goods or provider of services depends primarily on the current state of that enterprise, not on the detailed history of the overall trade environment. For small- and medium-sized manufacturers, who are more concerned about keeping afloat over the next wave of imports, the aggregate statistics are irrelevant. What solo entrepreneur and corporate executives need is a beacon – a ready focal point that can provide the necessary information and connections for effectively setting sights on overseas markets. Let me introduce you to four international trade mariners who will illustrate my point.

I met Nigerian Navy Captain R.A. Raji, retired, in a Hilton conference room in Chicago. Raji had come to Chicago with 50 other Nigerians looking to establish trade relations with American companies. Raji and his friends had to invest their own money to travel to America

to explore the marketplace. He gave me his business card along with literature on his products. Raji, like many of his Nigerian counterparts, had an email address but no website to facilitate trading in a 21<sup>st</sup> Century e-commerce world.

I first spoke to Bob Patterson, a representative of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, on the telephone. He

called me to seek assistance with a box about the size of a laundry basket that is used to grow high-value crops in rural villages in Africa. Similar efforts are beginning as well in some neighborhood schools in Chicago. The product simultaneously provides access to healthy food as well as a source of income. He needed wireless access to information that is necessary to grow crops

in areas not easily reached by agricultural service agencies.

I met Roger Marks at a World Trade Center Chicago (WTCC) seminar on doing business in China. With more than 100 executives listening intently, Roger was sharing his practical experience in setting up retail operations in China for an exclusive Chicago cosmetics company. Last year Roger left his lucrative position at the cosmetics company. He is now part of that little-known group of experts who offer global consulting services.

I met Thomas Panek at one of the many trade-related events held in Chicago. Thomas, a trade specialist with the US Department of Commerce (US DOC), has 10 years of experience helping companies engage in international

“What solo entrepreneur and corporate executives need is a beacon – a ready focal point that can provide the necessary information and connections for effectively setting sights on overseas markets.”

trade and an impressive number of academic and diplomatic accolades. He is part of a network of 1,700 trade professionals located throughout the US and in embassies around the world. For the last two years, Thomas has been based in Chicago. In that time, he has managed to counsel more than 300 Chicagoland companies on international trade. However, there are 985,000 companies registered in Illinois and, of these, only 17,542 of them export – less than 2 percent. Even for Thomas, who was nominated US DOC Trade Specialist of the Year in 2005, it would take a lifetime just to find and shake hands with the additional Illinois companies that have promising international potential.

So how do these individuals relate? Aside from Nigeria, there currently are 197 countries – almost every country on the globe – that trade in the global market and could benefit from Illinois goods and services. There are hundreds of experts like Roger Marks who make up the global services industry in Illinois. There are a few “Thomas Paneks” specifically chartered with helping current Illinois exporters expand their business

and introducing the export market to more companies with export potential. There are even fewer “Bob Pattersons” who are actively expanding the

global market by taking a small box and endless enthusiasm, changing lives in remote countries greatly in need of hope and advancement.

I was thinking about Raji, Bob, Roger, and Thomas on a recent trip to India, celebrating the maiden voyage of American Airlines’ non-stop flight from Chicago to New Delhi. I

“... it was all there – all the historic elements of trade – updated by technology to more effectively serve customers in today’s increasingly complex and immediate world.”

had recently been appointed President of the World Trade Center Chicago, and my first objective was to reassess its mission, vision, and

“... WTCC should... facilitate trade relationships and processes by better reflecting the expanding and dynamic electronic trade environment.”

value proposition.

I uncovered a clue to that value proposition halfway across the world in a small carpet museum in India, learning how the carpets

are handmade in Kashmir. The manager announced that we could purchase the rugs with our credit cards. Within three weeks express delivery, they would land on our doorstep with all US Customs import requirements met. Now, for someone who began in international business more than 25 years ago, when there were poor or no international telephone connections, telexes (early email), and unconfirmed Letters of Credit, I found this simple statement to be incredibly thought-provoking.

On the return flight from India, perhaps somewhere over the North Pole, I had the “Ah-ha” moment. In reviewing the carpet experience, it suddenly became clear to me that it was all there – all the historic elements of trade – updated by technology to more effectively serve customers in today’s increasingly complex and immediate world.

The continuing mission of the World Trade Center Chicago is to help Illinois companies compete and succeed in global markets by educating and facilitating trade relationships. In other words, we enable Raji to find Roger, Roger to connect with Thomas, and Thomas to connect with Bob. The ultimate bottom line in any trade endeavor is people deciding to do business with other people. Part of the equation will never change.

However, we can significantly ease the front end of that process, particularly for small- and medium-sized companies. The enhanced value proposition of WTCC should be to act as a beacon to facilitate trade relationships and processes by better reflecting the expanding and dynamic electronic trade environment. Technology provides the opportunity to create a seamless system and infrastructure to support the first critical steps in forging new relationships. By electronically consolidating information and making it more easily accessible, we can augment and dramatically simplify the process of identifying and connecting with trade experts, opportunities, and potential partners. In other words, the WTCC should help thousands of additional Illinois companies optimize their trade potential – and do this effectively in an increasingly e-commerce world.

How much potential is there if we more effectively address global

trade connections? In answering this question, I ask you to think of the current wave of imports and investments that are flooding into America. How will non-US companies navigate themselves to knowledgeable partners in Illinois and manage myriad requirements necessary to “set up shop?” Similarly, how will Illinois manufacturers and service providers take full advantage of non-US markets? Herein lie the dynamic and bilateral forces of trade that cannot be stopped.

That is how I came to conclude that the World Trade Center Chicago can be an even stronger beacon in Illinois to guide those interested in safely navigating trade winds.

I am reminded of the words of one of America’s greatest authors, Mark Twain: “... Twenty years from now you will be more disappointed by the things that you didn't do than by the ones you did do. So throw off the bowlines. Sail away from the safe harbor. Catch the trade winds in your sails. Explore. Dream. Discover...” □

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“By electronically consolidating information and making it more easily accessible, we can augment and dramatically simplify the process of identifying and connecting with trade experts...”

# Unions and Policy

## Towards a High Road Social Contract

*Dan Swinney*

### New Labor Initiatives in Illinois

**W**hile the headlines describe a labor movement that's splitting into different factions or engaging Wal-Mart with mixed success at best, something different and profound has been happening quietly in Illinois.

This last year the historically Republican Illinois Manufacturers' Association—representing some 4,000 manufacturing companies—joined with the historically Democratic Illinois AFL-CIO—representing some 1 million union members—and created the Illinois High Performance Manufacturing Initiative. This Initiative is committed to creating a non-partisan social partnership of labor, business, and government to have Illinois lead the race to the top in becoming the destination place for global, high-performance manufacturing. This comprehensive program goes way beyond the traditional labor/management partnership to address challenges in the education system, research and development and stimulate advances in innovation and productivity.

This new initiative has given rise to the Chicago Manufacturing Renaissance. The Renaissance also reflects a new partnership between leading business organizations, the Chicago Federation of Labor, Chicago Public Schools, City Colleges of Chicago, and others. It has already influenced government policy with the creation of Manufacturing Works in Chicago—a center that provides workforce and business assistance services explicitly to encourage the development

and success of High Road/High Performance companies. The Renaissance is in line to create a new high school—the Austin Polytechnical Academy—that will link inner-city high school

students to excellent careers in local, small and medium-sized companies in the metal forming industry. These initiatives reflect an effort to forge a new social contract, one based on new approaches by labor and business, as both try to adjust their policies to more effectively rise to the challenges of the changing global economy.

“These initiatives reflect an effort to forge a new social contract, one based on new approaches by labor and business as both try to adjust their policies to more effectively rise to the challenges of the changing global economy.”

### The Old Social Contract and Labor Policy

After the Depression and World War II, labor had—sometimes begrudgingly—accepted the adage “What’s good for GM is good for the country” as an accurate description of the social contract between labor and business in America. There was a relatively close relationship between the search for corporate profits and the development of the productive capacity of the country. People went into business to make money. But because of the level of the development of our productive forces, technology, and the economic and productive infrastructure in the rest of the world, this was best accomplished by close identity and focused work over a long period of time within a particular sector in industry. This led to breakthroughs in productivity and efficiency, scale, and innovation, as well as commitment to work in a negotiated partnership with labor and

the broader community. A company like GM, Inland Steel, or IBM was rewarded for their long time horizon and their deep knowledge of their particular business sector. Of course, there were disputes and legitimate differences of opinion on the level of wages and compensation, on working conditions, and on who was really included in the mainstream—particularly in relation to race and gender. Yet, in this Ford era those conflicts were always open to negotiations, whether between labor and management, in the tradition of John L. Lewis of the Mineworkers, or in the community, in the tradition of Saul Alinsky from the Back of the Yards in Chicago.

Up to this point, the labor movement could assume that we as a country “were in this together.” Labor accepted the complete authority of owners and managers to make the key decisions regarding the maintenance and development of our productive capacity—our ability to create wealth—and operated solely within the limits of fighting for a better and more equitable redistribution of wealth. Labor was confident that business was still the effective steward of our overall economy. As George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO said in 1955:

Where management decisions affect a worker directly, a union will intervene... (But) those matters that do not touch a worker directly, a union cannot and will not challenge. These may include investment pol-

icy, a decision to make a new product, a desire to erect a new plant so as to be closer to expanding markets, etc...

“This virulent and destructive approach has become known as “the Low Road.” The impact of this shift in policy has been the loss of millions of manufacturing jobs, the devastation of traditionally stable, working-class communities, and greater polarization in our society.”

Labor had the luxury of focusing on taking care of its own and limiting its agenda to the redistribution of wealth—leaving the challenges of creating that wealth, and the maintenance and development of our productive capacity, to business and management. And until the mid-to-late 1970s, labor did well. Labor worked generally for a fair, or at least a negotiated compensation package. Business was the initiator and steward of wealth creation and production, and government provided a safety net.

#### A Shift in Business Policy

In the mid-1970s, some in business made a dramatic shift in policy. The nature of this shift was perhaps made clearest by David Roderick, then President of US Steel, when he declared, “I’m in this business to make money, not steel.” He then proceeded to dismantle profitable productive capacity in Chicago and around the country rather than looking for innovative ways to upgrade the industry.

Instead of focusing on innovation, key partnerships, and long-term thinking to build the competitive capacity of American manufacturing, many managers and owners, particularly in large, publicly-traded companies—with encouragement from Wall Street—turned to short-term financial speculation on industrial assets to generate high rates of return. Money was made by speculation rather than building businesses.

This virulent and destructive approach has become known as “the Low Road.” As a result, the social contract between business and labor that benefited American society for several decades during the 20<sup>th</sup> century was reduced to

shambles. The impact of this shift in policy has been the loss of millions of manufacturing jobs, the devastation of traditionally stable, working class communities, and greater polarization in our society.

**Back to the Drawing Board**

In Chicago alone 3,000 of 7,000 manufacturing plants closed in the 1980s. In reaction to this dramatic shift that hit the city like a sledgehammer, some in the labor movement, including consultants such as the Center for Labor and Community Research (CLCR), began a slow process of experimenting with new approaches and new thinking. This process has been profoundly shaped by international experience. What is beginning to emerge is a compelling, new vision of development combined with unlikely, but potentially powerful partnerships.

- In the early 1980s, with Lynn Williams from Canada as President, the United Steelworkers of America began to actively experiment with worker ownership. More than 20 major steel and related companies were purchased by their employees—often out of crisis—and with a few exceptions the experiment worked reasonably well.
- Labor became familiar with the successful cooperative experience in Mondragon, Spain in the Basque Region. Here, a Catholic priest purchased a small gas stove company in the 1950s with five of his students. He organized the management structure on the basis of “one worker, one vote” and created a wage policy where the highest paid employee would not make more than three times the lowest paid employee. This firm was successful, leading to other cooperative start-ups. Now, the region has over 100 companies employing 65,000 “owners” and represents the cutting edge of the Spanish industrial economy.
- In New York City, labor leaders in the crisis-

ridden garment sector turned to a new model of labor/management/government cooperation that had emerged in the Emilia-Romagna Re-

gion of northern Italy. In this region, the government had set up service centers that provided assistance to small manufacturing companies, encouraged innovation and the formation of what are called “flexible manufacturing networks” that assisted small competitors in becoming larger, dy-

dynamic partners in jointly going after market opportunities. The service centers also provided some of the development services that small companies typically needed. Based on this model, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (now UNITE) created the Garment Industry Development Corporation—a service center that represented a partnership with the major companies and city government to assist small garment companies. In Chicago, during a major campaign against the destructive mismanagement at Brach Candy Company, CLCR created the Candy Institute based on the same model.

- In the 1990’s, the changing character of high performance manufacturing became apparent. Outsourcing of both low- and high-skilled jobs became a common practice for some companies. As some sections of the labor movement embraced narrow protectionist policies to save their jobs, others recognized that the future of high performance manufacturing and job security depended on the skill and education of the workforce. Labor and labor-based organizations, including the AFL-CIO’s Working for America Institute and the Center on Wisconsin Strategy, looked to the European experience with workforce development and proposed sec-

“What is beginning to emerge is a compelling, new vision of development combined with unlikely, but potentially powerful, partnerships.”

tor-based training and education programs for local communities. In Chicago, the Chicago Federation of Labor and CLCR completed a comprehensive review of the training and education “non-system” in Cook County. A major influence in our thinking came from what we saw on a trip to Germany and Denmark. Our proposal for fundamental reforms in all aspects of education attracted the most attention from the Illinois Manufacturers’ Association, which, in turn, led to the launch of the Illinois High Performance Manufacturing Initiative and the Chicago Manufacturing Renaissance described at the beginning of this article.

### **Towards a New, High Road Social Contract**

At CLCR, we see these new experiments as the formative experience in shaping a new labor policy in relation to the social contract. This new vision is now contending for influence within the labor movement as well as in sections of the business community and the public sector. Labor no longer has the luxury of focusing only on the redistribution of wealth and the quality of working conditions. As Tim Leahy, Secretary Treasurer of the Chicago Federation of Labor declared, “Management is too important to leave only to management.”

While continuing to fight for the equitable distribution of wealth and decent working conditions, labor must engage and lead the process of wealth creation, and the retention and development of our productive capacity—a role ceded solely to business in the past. Labor must develop “an integrated approach to affecting all aspects of the structure, finance, and operations of both single employers and entire industries.”

#### **What should this new labor policy include?**

1. Labor must gather, understand, and analyze

information central to the strategy and success of employers. This information is the basis for developing an independent view of how the

company or sector should be developed in light of labor’s long-term, material interests and a plan to implement that view should it become necessary.

2. Labor needs to organize all of the resources at its disposal to encourage and assist firms to become successful High Road/High Performance companies, while at the same time

blocking and discouraging the Low Road. This includes:

- Tapping into the vast pool of information and ideas about innovation that are held by people who do the work in companies
- Making available, as appropriate and legal, the huge financial resources in pension and labor-based investment funds as a source of capital for High Road/High Performance companies
- Using labor’s considerable political and mass strength to develop and advance comprehensive policy and legislation that encourages the retention, development, and attraction of High Road/High Performance companies. This includes support for quality education, research and development, regulatory reform, etc.

3. Labor must build partnerships with those in business that have embraced the High Road/High Performance model as *central* to their mission. A simplistic “anti-corporate” perspective or simply ceding all authority in production to management, as is often the case in the standard “management rights” clause in a union contract, is no longer appropriate.

4. Labor must also seek partnerships with others in the broader community who seek High Road, sustainable development as *central* to their mission, including environmental and community-

“Labor must develop ‘an integrated approach to affecting all aspects of the structure, finance, and operations of both single employers and entire industries.’”

based organizations. Taking responsibility for production requires a commitment to use production for the benefit of all of society, not only as a source of revenue or employment for a few.

5. Labor must aggressively and effectively address its own “Low Road” practices. These practices have encouraged too many to see labor as a “special interest,” focused only on the welfare of its dues-paying members or leadership – regardless of how those interests fit into a larger, sustainable development agenda; into the struggle against discrimination based on race, ethnicity, or gender; or into the fight against bureaucracy and inappropriate privilege for leadership.

6. And labor, like its counterparts and competitors in business, must see its interests in global terms. We live in a highly integrated global economy. As suggested by the international character of the experiments that have given rise to a new social contract, the potential for a global, High Road development partnership is enormous. Labor has every interest in the economic development of other countries. By engaging proactively in the discussion of policy that determines the character of wealth creation, labor can ensure that our domestic policy is anchored in making the best use of our assets in leading the race to the top of the global economy, rather than protecting diminishing assets and passively watching the slide to the bottom, as currently seems to be the case.

From our experience in the trenches over the last 20 years experimenting with new approaches, we have seen countless examples of labor embracing segments of a new policy towards the social contract: defining a new relationship to the process of wealth creation and to High Road partners in business and the broader community. In each situation, it was rewarded with broad political support and new resources and opportunities that saved jobs, increased security, and increased the prestige of the particular union. New doors have opened that could lead to dramatic and broader changes in our so-

ciety and in our relationship with the global economy. We believe that if labor fully embraces a new policy on the social contract that establishes labor leadership in wealth creation, as well as in the equitable distribution of wealth, the movement will be rewarded with increased strength and support at a time when it is most desperately needed. □

For additional information on the Illinois High Performance Manufacturing Initiative, the Chicago Manufacturing Renaissance, and Austin Polytechnical Academy, visit [www.clcr.org](http://www.clcr.org).

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# Globalization, Security, and the Academy

## Warriors, Wizards, and the People

*Arthur I. Cyr*

This article addresses how Illinois/Chicagoland academic institutions are educating the public about the effects of globalization, including both domestic and foreign policy concerns of strategic importance. These issues are durable and urgent.

Much of United States public policy, related to both higher education and international relations, can be traced to the effects of World War II and the early phase of the Cold War. In this sense, academic outreach efforts in Illinois generally reflect broad, deep national currents of sentiment and action. In assessing the roles of colleges and universities, context is particularly important.

A natural gulf exists between higher education and the general public in the sense that the culture of the academy, even when not elitist, is generally specialized and often arcane. The concerns of the standard scholar seem far removed from those of the average American. Academic life provides remarkable freedom to pursue topics and tasks not directly related to the practical concerns that go into making a living for most people.

The study of national military security would appear to be especially far removed from the preoccupations of much of the business world and the public at large, outside of people directly engaged in the defense industry. This is not to deny the great impacts of academic and military institutions on one another. Fred Kaplan's classic book *The Wizards of Armageddon* documents the close cooperation among natural scientists, social scientists, and the military during the height of the Cold War.

Demands of defense technology facilitated this collaboration. President Dwight D. Eisenhower was able to initiate the U-2 recon-

naissance aircraft program because of this strong base of academic-military cooperation. The success of the program throughout the 1950s meant the White House had accurate, though top secret, information to refute allegations that the US was falling behind in the intercontinental ballistic missile race with the Soviet Union. Argonne National Laboratory, affiliated with the University of Chicago, is a principal resource in this field, with an active, well-established public education program.

Concerning the public at large, higher education and international relations have been strongly intertwined for approximately six decades. After the end of World War II, the GI Bill opened the doors for millions of men and women who had served in uniform to have the opportunity for a college education. For the first time in American history, college was available to the many rather than to the very few.

Notable leadership here as well was provided by the University of Chicago. The "Great Books" and related public education efforts of that university influenced the wider community, inspired by President Robert Hutchins and such advocates as Mortimer Adler of that university. Modern university extension programs, especially in Illinois, are rooted in this great University of Chicago experiment in broad egalitarian education.

Harvard University also played an important role in this process, with major national impact. During the 1950s, President Nathan Pusey and Dean of the Faculty McGeorge Bundy were remarkably successful in transforming the university from a traditional finishing school for the rich, at least at the undergraduate level, to a rigorous, far more egalitarian educational institution.

President Eisenhower's subtle yet strong hand was visible in this arena as well. Immediately after taking office in 1953, Eisenhower achieved an armistice on the Korean Peninsula. The President was convinced, however, that terribly devastated South Korea nonetheless might soon fall. A comprehensive reconstruction effort, including education, was the result. This in turn inspired interest in boosting international education in the US.

In 1958, Congress passed the National Defense Education Act. This landmark legislation provided enormous federal support for the education of specialists in foreign areas and languages. Federal support greatly reinforced substantial but more limited efforts, notably by the Ford Foundation, to nurture international and regional studies centers at American universities.

Strings attached to this federal support included public outreach efforts. Often, as at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC), this has involved continuing professional enrichment programs for K-12 teachers as well as general public education through University Extension.

The legacy of these international education initiatives is visible in the substantial area studies programs now established at the University of Chicago, UIUC, and Northwestern University. Other universities and colleges in the state also have considerable, though generally less comprehensive, centers of strength bearing on both globalization and the interplay between domestic and foreign policy concerns. One notable example is the Center for Korean Studies at North Park University.

Often a distinctive center is the product of the efforts and initiative of an individual with both administrative/development skills and scholarly credentials. That was certainly the case with Professors Gwendolyn Carter and Melville Herskovits, rightly credited with building the Program of African Studies at Northwestern University into an important national and inter-

national resource.

A similar role has been played by Professor George Yu of the Department of Political Science at UIUC, a particularly effective director of the Center for East Asian and Pacific Studies at that campus. The university has also established a new Center on Global Studies, thanks to the initiative of another political scientist, Professor Edward Kolodziej. UIUC is the leader in Illinois in number and range of foreign area study centers.

In a time of broad global currents of change spanning a variety of fields, a center which is an effective catalyst among disciplines, departments, and schools can be especially influential. A notable current example is the Center for International and Comparative Studies (CICS) at Northwestern University led by Dean Andrew Wachtel. Among other accomplishments, the Center actively engages faculty from the Kellogg School of Management, which has long been a rather separate castle on the hill at that university.

Some programs have developed distinctive niches with specialties along functional or professional rather than regional or broadly international lines. A particularly important example is the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society (IUS). This organization dates from the seminal era of the early Cold War in the 1950s.

Distinguished University of Chicago Professor Morris Janowitz created the Inter-University Seminar as a vehicle for serious continuing communication and cooperation among military professionals and scholars. His own field of military sociology was quite specialized, arguably comparatively isolated within academic culture, and, for many participating scholars, was removed from continuing cooperation with the active duty military. The wizards of Armageddon cooperated on technical projects of a very tangible sort. The wide study of the sociological, political, and psychological dimensions of mili-

tary professionals represents a different dimension of educational and research challenges.

The IUS has become established as the premier organization for scholars around the world concerned with issues of civil-military relations and military professionalism. Founded at the University of Chicago, later housed at Northwestern University, the organization is now at Loyola University in Chicago. The biennial international conference of the IUS is held in Chicago and draws scholars and others from around the world.

Continuing effective leadership has been instrumental to the success of the IUS. Following Janowitz, two long-time Loyola University political scientists, Professors Sam C. Sarkesian and John Allen Williams, have provided essential direction. Loyola does not contain a large number of traditional foreign area study centers. At the same time, private universities are often much more fully integrated into the surrounding community. This makes the Inter-University Seminar an especially promising resource for public outreach as well as important Loyola asset.

At least at major universities, community and public education traditionally has been relegated to a backwater, often especially from the perspective of the faculty. This is probably part of the explanation why some of the most effective current efforts at educating business and the public at large on national security questions, including the threat of terrorism, address relatively specific questions or audiences. The College of DuPage has a Homeland Security Procurement Technical Assistance Center focused on doing business with all levels of government. The University of Illinois and Northern Illinois University both sponsor programs addressing the security of food supplies; Northwestern University's Homeland Security Innovation and Entrepreneurship Center is geared toward smaller businesses, and transportation and logistical security.

The status of outreach/extension education is changing. The rapid expansion of the older population, a substantial percentage of whom have both time and financial resources, means that university and college extension programs are enjoying strong and growing demand for their services. A more businesslike, pragmatic approach to academic administration, forced by economic realities, will probably become steadily more independent from particular faculty quirks and eccentricities.

All major universities in Illinois have established outreach and extension programs, but UIUC is the leader statewide thanks to the long-term efforts of Terry Iverson and others involved in an active, innovative program.

The stakes for effectively educating the general public concerning global and international matters, especially bearing on national security, remain high. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 did not in fact change the world – contrary to much tell-tale superficial rhetoric – but rather, reminded Americans in dramatic and bloody fashion that the world has not changed. Our globe remains the same dangerous place that witnessed World War II, the Cold War, and other conflicts.

President Eisenhower, who ended one war and avoided others, gave great support to higher education in various ways. He also educated the public directly. As he departed, he warned about the dangers the military-industrial complex may present to democracy. His warning was a subtle reminder that responsibility for effective, ethical governance ultimately rests with the people, not the potentates. The same goes for finding Illinois public education programs that address global economic and security concerns. The Internet greatly eases the search process, but you should also still spend time in the library. □

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# Immigration

## THE DEBATE

*Lauren Stone*

**I**mmigration is a contentious issue in both the public and private spheres. US immigration policy and implementation face a daunting array of challenges, including striking a balance among the competing objectives of policymakers, foreigners, employers, human rights activists, and private US citizens.

The number of undocumented immigrants entering and living in the US is rising. Reports indicate that 8 to 12 million undocumented immigrants are estimated to reside in the US illegally. What are the economic, social, legal, security, and humanitarian and ethical implications? Does today's interconnected world change the context of immigration and America's legacy of being a "nation of immigrants"?

The public debate on immigration centers on the following issues:

- vulnerable economic sectors, dependency on immigrant workers, and low-wage competition
- border controls, temporary workers permits, and amnesty legislation
- rights of immigrants to reunite with family, seek asylum and a better standard of living
- rights of native-born US citizens to jobs, reasonable wages, and the benefits of public services
- programs that address immigrant assimilation and integration
- immigration and national security

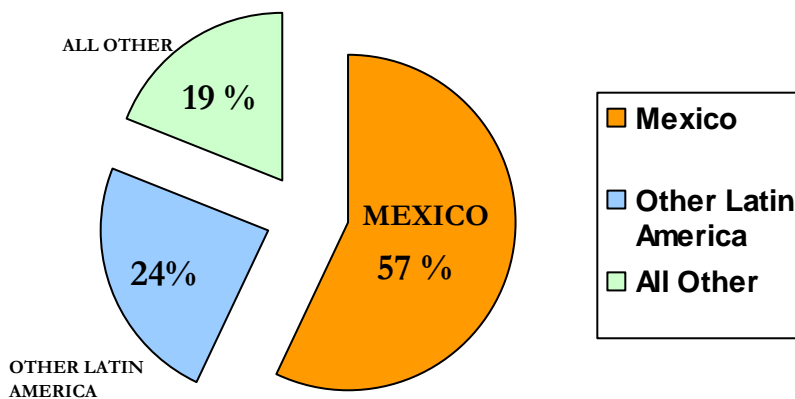
<b>Cultural Conservatives/ Nativists/Hardliners</b>	<b>The Issues</b>	<b>Civil Rights and Ethnic Advocacy Groups/Free Marketers/ Environmentalists/Job Protectionists</b>
Undocumented immigrants use government services and do not pay taxes.	US Economy	Immigration produces net economic gains for US citizens.
Granting amnesty would increase the US deficit from \$10 billion to more than \$29 billion, according to a 2004 report issued by the Center for Immigration Studies (CIS).		Immigrants fill jobs Americans will not take, such as washing dishes in restaurants, harvesting vegetables, and filling other agriculture-related jobs.
Social and health services are stretched.		Immigration keeps the US competitive in the global economy.
Immigrants cause accelerated population growth. The US population already consumes a large portion of the world's resources.		Undocumented immigrants support the economy by filling demand for labor in the service sector (e.g. agriculture, food service, construction, etc)

**IMMIGRATION: THE DEBATE**

Small business and major corporation employers hire immigrants who work for a lower wage and with no benefits (i.e. health insurance); immigrants drive down wages and take jobs from skilled, native-born Americans.	Labor, Jobs, and Wages	Immigrants provide essential labor to the US, particularly as the US workforce ages.
		Immigrants stimulate job creation in depressed neighborhoods.
More immigrants are settling in suburban communities. Suburban poverty has increased, according to a 2000 study by Brookings Institute and the University of Michigan.	Social Issues	Blocking immigrants' access to healthcare, education, and other public services poses ethical questions.
Amnesty would increase the cost of allowing unskilled immigrants to live in the US. Legalization would give migrants legal access to government services, which are already strained.		Legalization would bring millions of undocumented workers into the open. It would raise working conditions for millions of low-skilled workers and increase investment in human capital.
Immigrants are not assimilating into American culture.	Citizenship	Immigrants contribute to cultural diversity.
Undocumented immigrants living in the US are illegal. Looking the other way undermines the rule of law.	Legal Issues	The US does not issue visas to unskilled workers, which forces them to break the law.
Legalizing immigration could unleash a flood of immigrants to the US.		
Less stringent border security undermines US national security and efforts to keep terrorists out of the US.	Security Issues	It would free resources and personnel for the war on terrorism.
		Overtly stringent border security alienates foreign governments and people.

# Immigration Statistics and Legislation

Of the 8 to 12 million undocumented immigrants estimated to be living in the US, the Pew Hispanic Center reports that some 6.3 million are from Mexico. States receiving the largest amounts of undocumented Mexican immigrants include Texas, Arizona, California, Washington, and Illinois, according to a February 6, 2006 TIME Magazine article.



Country or region of birth of illegal immigrants in the US (Estimates, March 2004)

Taken from TIME Magazine Feb. 6, 2006, p. 38

The goals of the Bush administration, as outlined in a November 28, 2005 press release, include:

- Secure the border
- Prevent illegal crossings
- Strengthen enforcement of immigration laws
- Create a viable Temporary Workers Program

## IMMIGRATION LEGISLATION

*A sample of immigration legislation proposals currently being debated in Congress.*

- On December 16, 2005, the US House of Representatives passed bill HR4437 sponsored by James Sensenbrenner (R-Wis) that would make illegal immigration a felony. It punishes employers for hiring illegal workers and orders the construction of fences along the US-Mexico border.
- Senators John McCain (R-Ariz) and Edward Kennedy (D-Mass) co-sponsored a bill that allows undocumented immigrants holding low-skilled jobs to apply for temporary residency if they pass a background check and pay a fine. After six years, they may apply for permanent residency.
- Senator Arlen Specter (R-Pa) presented a 305-page immigration bill to the Senate that calls for stricter border security and a workers program.
- Senators John Cornyn (R-Texas) and Jon Kyl (R-Ariz) proposed a bill that allows undocumented immigrants to apply for a three-year work visa renewable once.

## An Immigration Policy for a Different America and Different Times

*Steven Camarota*

When the history of the last three decades is written, the most important story may not be the end of the Cold War or even the conflict with Islamic extremism. Instead, the unprecedented level of immigration in recent years may prove to be even more important. It is a social phenomenon effecting everything from our nation's schools and health care system to national security and potentially the very cohesion of our nation. In many ways the problems that current immigration is creating stem from the nature of our modern society.

Data collected by the Census Bureau indicate that in 2005 the immigrant or foreign-born population reached 35.2 million in 2000; roughly 10 million are thought to be illegal aliens. Perhaps 1 million additional illegal aliens were missed by the Bureau, along with another 1 million legal immigrants. This is by far the largest number in American history—a 45 percent increase since 1995. Even during the height of the great wave of immigration from 1900 to 1910, the foreign-born population grew by about 3 million (or 31 percent) from roughly 10 million to 13.5 million. Since 1970 the number has more than tripled. We have never had a situation in which the immigrant population grew this much this fast.

It is true that, as a share of the total population, the foreign born are smaller today (12.1 percent) than in 1910 (14.7 percent). However, in evaluating its effect on a modern society, it seems more reasonable to compare today's immigration with the recent past. From 1940 to 1990, the foreign-born population averaged 7 percent, and as recently as 1970 it was less than 5 percent of the total population. If current trends are allowed to continue, the foreign-born

share of the total population will in fact pass the all-time high within about a decade.

Consider just some of the implications of mass immigration for American society. Immigrants and their young children now account for nearly one-fourth of all persons in poverty. While a good deal of attention has been given to the nation's persistently high poverty rate, immigration's central role in this has been generally overlooked. Newly arrived immigrants and their young children also account for nearly two-thirds of the increase in the population lacking health insurance over the last decade and a half.

The primary reason so many immigrant families live in poverty or are uninsured is that a large percentage have very little education. Newly arrived adult immigrants, for example, are more than three times as likely as natives to lack a high school education. The modern American economy offers limited opportunities to less-educated workers. Impoverished people often cannot afford health insurance and typically make use of a host of social programs. It is not a problem of legal status per se because unskilled immigrants in the country legally have the highest welfare use of any group. Rather, we have an immigration policy that is, in many ways, incompatible with our modern economy and the existence of a well-developed welfare state.

The impact on public schools is even more significant. Immigration accounts for virtually all of the increase in school enrollment in the last two decades. Most observers agree that this increase has strained the district resources across the country. Because immigrants are on average much poorer than natives, the increase in school enrollment has not been ac-

accompanied by a corresponding increase in local tax revenue.

As far as assimilation, numbers matter at least as much as percentages. A quarter of a million immigrants in a metropolitan area are enough to create linguistic or cultural isolation, providing immigrants with neighborhoods where they can live and work with only limited connection with the larger society. Of course, ethnic enclaves are nothing new. But there are other factors in modern America that buttress this sense of separateness that did not exist in the past. First, numbers are what create the economies of scale needed to support foreign-language TV and radio. Perhaps even more important than language, large numbers create politically influential ethnic-based organizations whose leadership often adhere to an anti-assimilation, multicultural ideology. Large numbers are what matter most, and the numbers are already well over twice what they were in 1910.

Not only have the numbers grown to levels heretofore unknown in American history, the diversity of the flow has actually declined. In one sense today's immigrants are more diverse than ever before, in that significant numbers arrive from all continents and races. In a more important sense, it is considerably less diverse than prior waves because Spanish speakers dominate the flow in a way that no other groups ever have.

While German speakers accounted for a little over a quarter of all immigrants in the late 1800s and Italians about one-fifth of the foreign-born in the first decades of the 1900s, such concentrations were transitory. In contrast, the domination of immigrants from Latin America has grown continually. In 1970, 31 percent of

the foreign-born were from Latin America. By 2000 more than half hailed from that region. One ethno-linguistic group can now predominate in schools, neighborhoods, entire metropolitan areas, and even whole states. Mexico alone accounts for nearly one-third of the foreign-born.

One institution that helped immigrants and their children acquire an American identity in the past was public schools, bringing children from different immigrant backgrounds into contact with natives, helping to forge a common American culture. Today, basic demographics make this much more difficult. Immigrants now have significantly many more children on average than natives, which means kids from immigrant families very quickly predominate in public schools. For example, although about 11 percent of Illinois' population are immigrants, children from immigrant families account for one-fifth of kids in the public schools; in California they comprise half the student population. This

**“Because immigrants are on average much poorer than natives, the increase in school enrollment has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in local tax revenue.”**

is a perfect example of how our country has changed and how this change makes immigration much more problematic. Of course, neighborhood schools in 1910 saw heavy immigrant concentrations. But because of the differences in fertility rates, immigration today creates many more districts in which the cultural norms are set by children from immigrant families.

There is, of course, another problem with expecting public schools to play the role they did in the past in assimilating immigrants — they simply do not want to do so. A significant share of the elite in the US has embraced an anti-assimilation ethos, which regards America as a collection of peoples each with its own distinct culture that vie for political power as groups. America's educational establishment has embraced this multicultural vision of American society. It is why American history textbooks look as they do and why bilin-

gual education remains widely popular with educators. In fact, ongoing large scale immigration provides further justification for this perspective by creating an ever larger aggrieved class, whose culture must be preserved in the face of an oppressive majority culture.

Of course, most immigrants do learn to speak at least some English. But assimilation is much more than learning a language. It involves what John Fonte of the Hudson Institute calls “patriotic assimilation,” the belief that American history is one’s own history. A century ago there was a high degree of consensus among both the American public and that period’s elites that immigrants and their children were supposed to see America’s past as something “we” did and not something “they” — white people of European ancestry — did. Now, many in the elite deride this kind of assimilation as Anglo conformity.

In addition to multiculturalism, there is a growing tendency among our elite to become “post-Americans.” My colleague Mark Krikorian has coined this phrase to describe those who do not necessarily hate America but who have moved beyond a “narrow” loyalty to the US and instead see themselves as “citizens of the world.” All of this gives conflicting messages to immigrants about what is expected of them. It also creates an increasingly dissatisfied public, who, for the most part, still seem to believe in a more robust notion of assimilation that goes beyond relatively superficial things like paying taxes, driving on the right side of the road, or watching MTV.

If our society cannot agree on what it means to be an American, then welcoming tens of millions of newcomers from outside is likely to create enormous social tensions. But it must be emphasized that native-born Americans are the underlying reason for this development — a development that is likely to be permanent.

Technology also makes it much more difficult to assimilate immigrants. It is possible to call or visit one’s home country with a frequency that simply was not possible even 50 years ago. One can listen to a hometown radio station or read the local newspaper on the Internet. In such a world, it is less likely that immigrants will develop a deep attachment to the US.

“It is not just technology or elite attitudes toward assimilation that has changed — the American economy is also fundamentally different.”

It is not just technology or elite attitudes toward assimilation that has changed — the American economy is also fundamentally different. A century ago, manufacturing, mining, and agriculture, the so-called primary sector of the economy, employed the vast majority of the workforce, creating plentiful work for unskilled immigrants. These jobs eventually led to solid working class incomes for immigrants and their children. Though most people were poor by today’s standards, most historians agree that there was not a very large economic gap between the standard of living of natives and immigrants a century ago. This is no longer the case. While a number of today’s immigrants are quite skilled, immigrants are significantly less educated than natives overall. As a result, if we look at average income, poverty rates, welfare use, or other measures of economic well-being, today’s immigrants are much worse off than natives.

In addition to the transformation of the economy, the size and scope of government has profoundly expanded over the last century. Spending on everything from education and infrastructure maintenance to health care and public schools is many times what it was 100 years ago. In practice, the middle and upper classes in America pay most of the taxes. The poor, immigrant or native, generally consume significantly

more in public services than they pay in taxes.

This means that the arrival of large numbers of relatively poor immigrants has a significant negative effect on public coffers. In 1997, the National Academy of Sciences estimated that immigrant households consumed \$20 billion more in public services, at all levels of government, than they pay in taxes each year. Continually allowing in large numbers of unskilled immigrants has very negative implications for taxpayers.

Even if one ignores elite attitudes, the lack of immigrant diversity, technological innovations, the structure of the modern economy, and the existence of a welfare state, one undeniable fact remains: The last great wave of immigration was stopped by the World War I and restrictive legislation in the early 1920s. Relatively modest levels of immigration until the 1960s greatly facilitated the integration of immigrants and their descendents. If the past is to be our guide, then we should do what was done in the past and significantly reduce the number of immigrants allowed into the US.

Finally there is the new phenomenon of terrorism. Since modern America is unsurpassed on the battlefield, our enemies best hope is to enter the country and attack us on our soil. Thus, our immigration system is of critical importance to national defense. The immigration bureaucracy is completely overwhelmed by the current workload. A more moderate pace to immigration would make it much easier to weed out terrorists. Moreover, large immigrant communities are ideally suited for terrorists, and cuts in permanent immigration are especially important to reduce the size and insularity of enclaves. As the *New York Times* pointed out on September 27, 2001 “The hijackers’ stay in [Paterson, N.J.] also shows how, in an area that speaks many languages and keeps absorbing immigrants, a few young men with no apparent means of support and no furniture can settle in for months without drawing attention.” It is not

that Muslim immigrant communities or immigrant communities in general are willingly shielding terrorists, but rather that the insularity intrinsic to immigrant communities creates an ideal environment for terrorists to operate.

The world has changed in so many ways; our immigration policy must change with it. None of this means we should have no immigration. Rather, we simply need a policy that comports with the world we actually live in. Ignoring the fact of the welfare state or the risk from foreign-born terrorists is a grave mistake. Most of the problems can be avoided if we have a more moderate level of legal immigration and enforce our laws to reduce illegal immigration. □

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# Immigrants and Immigration Policy: A National Dilemma

*Oscar Chacón*

**O**n December 16, 2005 the US House of Representatives approved an immigration reform bill entitled Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005 (H.R. 4437). Among many harsh provisions, the Act would criminalize unauthorized physical presence in the US, and turn anyone who would help unauthorized foreigners into felons as well. In a provision that has appalled our neighbors and allies around the world, the Act also provides for the construction of a 700 mile-long wall on the US southern border.

H.R. 4437 passed the House with 239 votes in favor and 182 opposed, with 36 Democrats voting in favor and 17 Republicans against. This vote exemplified how extreme the national debate about immigrants and immigration policy in the US has become. It is somewhat ironic for a nation that proudly describes itself as a nation of immigrants to find itself immersed in such a bitter controversy over the future of immigration policy.

A quick review of history can help us understand how we got to this point. It turns out that fears about newcomers to America are as old as the nation itself. At many points in our history, politicians and opinion leaders have raised concerns about new arrivals, in particular those who did not speak English, had “foreign” cultural practices, hailed from an “inferior” country, or practiced a “strange” religion. This pattern of xenophobia, or fear and prejudice against foreigners, has been directed at Germans, Italians, Irish, Asians, and, more recently, at Latin Americans as the country has experienced successive waves of immigration.

However, the undercurrents of today’s highly-charged and polarized national policy de-

bate over immigration cannot be reduced neatly to racism and xenophobia. Another key factor that has come into play in recent years is the pattern of increasing socio-economic inequities in American society.

Put simply, many working people find it increasingly difficult to keep up the middle-class lifestyle that their parents took for granted. The trend is a sobering one: 50 million people in the US lack health insurance; hundreds of thousands have seen retirement benefits withdrawn or curtailed; tens of thousands of well-paying manufacturing or technology jobs have vanished in just the past few years. A growing segment of US society has failed to participate in the long-term overall growth that our economy has enjoyed over the past three decades. The deep sense of insecurity, fear, and confusion caused by these changes leaves many people looking for someone to blame. Unfortunately, foreigners have proved an easy target.

Objectively, the foreign-born population residing in the US bears little responsibility for the economic policies that are causing millions of middle-class American families so much anxiety. In fact, many immigrants found themselves obliged to leave their homes due to the same policies that contribute to an ever more unfair distribution of wealth in their countries of origin. But the facts have not stopped those who find it convenient to blame immigrants for the ills of globalization. Politicians from both parties have found immigrants to be a convenient scapegoat for policy failures they would prefer their constituencies not examine carefully.

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 fueled the fire of anti-immigrant sentiment. The fact that the terrorists were all foreigners

has added one more item to the list of fears that Americans harbor about immigrants. Many of the anti-immigrant measures taken by the federal and many state governments since 9/11 have been justified under the banner of national security and anti-terrorism, as the title of H.R. 4437 exemplifies.

The vast majority of immigrants, many of whom have experienced terrorism and lack of public security in their countries, share the native-born American's fear of renewed terrorist violence on US soil. Most would welcome sensible measures aimed at separating would-be terrorists from hardworking immigrants and their families. For example, if every single foreigner residing in the US without proper authorization were granted an opportunity to become legal permanent residents, going through all the screening such a process involves, we would have a much better idea of who is living among us. Those who choose to stay out of a permanent residence program would automatically become prime suspects of harboring ill will toward the US. This would allow authorities to focus their energies on detecting and removing those individuals from the country. Unfortunately, hardly any federal policymakers dare suggest anything along these lines.

**Immigration today as compared to other moments in our history**

Contrary to what many people may think, immigrants today make up a smaller percentage of the US population than they have at other times in our history. Those who oppose immigrants today and who call for more restrictive US immigration laws consistently fail to mention the fact that during the great European

migration wave, which took place between 1890 and 1910, immigrants represented 16 percent of the nation's populace, as opposed to about 12 percent today.

“The real problem is not the fact that millions of foreigners have made the US their new home, even when it meant ‘breaking the law.’ The real problem is that our immigration laws are obsolete and profoundly dysfunctional.”

What has changed is the face of today's foreigners. The vast majority of those who have made the US their new homeland over the past 30 years come from Latin America and the Caribbean. As a result, most immigrants, including those from Latin America and the Caribbean, are not white, nor are they native English speakers. Another key difference between the migration of the past 30 years

and the one that took place between 1890 and 1910 is the regulatory context. In practical terms, the US did not have a comprehensive immigration policy until 1924.

Until the early 1900s, the US practiced a *de facto* “open door” policy to those who managed to arrive on our shores. Many of those who oppose immigrants and who call for highly restrictive US immigration laws claim that the new immigrants should be punished for breaking the law. They contrast “illegal immigrants” with the “legal” immigration of previous generations. The simple truth is that during the great European migration, there were no immigration laws to break. The rhetorical tool of referring to all unauthorized immigrants as “illegals” obscures the fact that millions of people are currently living, working, paying taxes, raising families, and contributing to the progress of America without proper immigration authorization.

The real problem is not the fact that millions of foreigners have made the US their new home, even when it meant “breaking the law.” The real problem is that our immigration laws are obsolete and profoundly dysfunctional. If anyone should be held strictly accountable for

negligence in failing to bring our immigration laws into sync with our economic, social and national security interests, it is our national political leaders—both the US Congress and the White House.

**Socio-economic significance of immigration**

Most European nations, as well as Japan, are experiencing a demographic change in which the segment of the population over 60 years old is rapidly increasing. Of all industrialized nations, the US is the one country least affected by this trend. The single most important factor behind this is immigration. In the 1990s, 50 percent of all new workers between 25 and 54 years old who entered our labor force were born outside of this country. Even more striking, demographers project that during the 20-year period between 2000 and 2020, every single new worker who enters our labor force in the 25 to 54 age range will be a foreigner. If estimates placing the unauthorized foreign-born population at 10 to 12 million workers are correct, the impact of not having had these workers would have been devastating for our macro-economic health. In states with a high concentration of foreign-born, such as Illinois, the economy would simply cease to function without these immigrant workers.

Those who would blame immigrants for social problems in the US often claim falsely that immigrants represent a burden on US taxpayers. The vast majority of studies made by reliable research institutions conclude that when one takes into account all taxes (local, state, federal, Social Security, Medicare, real estate, sales, etc.) paid over a period of 20 years by immi-

grants, including those living and working in the US without authorization; the foreign-born population ends up contributing significantly more that they use in the form of public services, including public aid and public education. From a fiscal perspective, therefore, immigrants represent a net gain to US society.

Many Americans are unaware that unauthorized foreign-born workers make substantial contributions to our Social Security and Medicare systems, contributions that these workers will never recoup. Undocumented immigrant workers pay an average of 7 billion annually in Social Security and Medicare taxes alone. When these taxes are withheld from workers who lack valid social security numbers, the Social Security Administration places the funds into a special account. By the end of 2004, this account reported a balance in excess of 400 billion.

Most immigrants place a high priority on family values. Children and the elderly are cherished and cared for in close family networks. Many immigrants have a strong religious compass, which guides their actions at work and in their communities. The immigrant work ethic is broadly appreciated by US employers. In short, immigrants hold and practice the very values that our leaders tell us we should aspire to as a society. Those who aim to demonize immigrants should take a closer look at the opportunity that immigrants can offer America for positive moral renewal.

“Those who would blame immigrants for social problems in the United States often claim falsely that immigrants represent a burden on US taxpayers.”

**What should citizens do to instill rationality in the national debate about immigrants and immigration policy?**

Over the past several years, anti-immigrant extremists have succeeded in polarizing the public debate about immigration policy. As of this writing, a new immigration reform bill is being introduced in the US Senate. Sadly, it misses the opportunity to move toward a reasonable, commonsense, and efficient solution to

our nation's dilemmas when it comes to immigrants and immigration policy.

What we need now is an exercise in democratic accountability. Missing from the national debate are the wise and practical, solution-oriented voices of local elected officials, businessmen, religious leaders, immigrant community leaders, law enforcement officers and others who truly care about these matters and who are often misrepresented by those who claim to speak for them.

A real solution to our nation's challenges concerning immigrants and immigration policy requires us to go beyond the surface. Here are some of the things these local leaders are saying. These sensible ideas could take us a long way toward a long-term solution to our immigration dilemmas:

- We should work with our neighbors south of the border in identifying a new social and economic development strategy capable of elevating the standard of living for most people in Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean within the next ten years. After all, these are the countries from which most immigrants originate.
- We should make a national investment intended to better the quality of our national workforce, including the foreign-born segment. An initiative of this sort would put us on the right path toward restoring America's competitiveness in today's global economy. Acquiring English-language proficiency should be an immediate goal of the foreign-born segment of our workforce.
- We should grant every foreigner residing in the US without the proper authorization the opportunity to become a legal permanent resident, with the opportunity to become a naturalized US citizen in the future. Anyone who, having been given this opportunity, decides to remain outside the margin of the law, should be identified, investigated, and, if proved to be a threat, deported from the US.

- Family unity should remain a central consideration in our overall immigration policy. Every relative of a US citizen or a legal permanent resident who has been waiting for more than one year to become a legal permanent resident should be fast-tracked to permanent residency. We must correct, once and for all, the long, painful waiting periods that break up immigrant families.

Policy considerations like these are the best way to ensure the national security of the US in a way that is humane, efficient, and effective. However, in order for this to happen, the American people need to take back this debate from those who want us to embrace fear and hate as the way of the future. This proud nation of immigrants needs its citizens to reclaim the best traditions of our nation and to build a better America for all. □

**Oscar Chacón** is Director of Enlaces América, a program of the Chicago-based Heartland Alliance for Human Needs & Human Rights.

# Understanding Counterterrorism Technology and Privacy

*Richard E. Friedman*

**I**n drafting the Constitution, Benjamin Franklin and the other founders paid special attention to protection of civil liberties; they also provided that the federal government protect the nation against invasion. At that time, Franklin had no way of knowing that his 1752 kite experiment with the mysteries of electricity would lead to the computer age with super-computer capability and the ability to pinpoint many personal details of our daily lives. Today, there exists major tension between counterterrorism technology and the privacy guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment of the US Constitution, which is the subject of this essay.

There are passionate, reasonable arguments on both sides regarding the recent revelation of warrantless, electronic eavesdropping on suspected terrorists. Recent revelations that a blogger purchased the cellphone records of a 2004 presidential candidate for less than \$100 sounds a warning about privacy, secrecy, and anonymity. A cellphone was a novelty less than 10 years ago. It is likely that new, innovative uses of computers will continue to expand.

Recent revelations of presidential authorization of electronic surveillance of US persons within the US without a warrant or court order serve to frame a critical strategic issue: how to keep the US safe from catastrophic terrorism incidents while protecting citizens' right to privacy.

The warrantless wiretap matter floats on conjecture and speculation. Many of the facts are unknown. There are complex legal issues embedded, such as the jurisdictional scope of the Foreign Surveillance Intelligence Act (FISA), the limits of presidential power under Article II of the Constitution, and the unresolved conflict

between the executive and legislative branches of government regarding primacy in time of war. Cogent arguments will be advanced on these issues, and they may have to be resolved by the US Supreme Court.

Counterterrorism technology and privacy is a critically important strategic issue. This subject was addressed in June, 2004 at a conference organized and conducted by the National Strategy Forum and the American Bar Association Standing Committee on Law and National Security, and underwritten by the McCormick Tribune Foundation as part of their Cantigny conference series. The following observations are drawn largely from the balanced discussion at that conference. The post-conference report may be accessed via the NSF website, [www.nationalstrategy.com](http://www.nationalstrategy.com).

Information technology is a critical counterterrorism tool. Technology permits government and business to collect, store, analyze, and disseminate an enormous amount of information about how we conduct our daily lives. This information is collected and stored primarily by commercial entities and, to a lesser extent, by government. Computers can be used to correlate information from multiple databases. Today, technology exists that can identify one's shoe size, style preference, place purchased, and the presence of athlete's foot. The expense of collecting and storing this data is constantly decreasing.

Our society is ambivalent, or strongly opposed, to the use of information technology because of personal privacy concerns. The expectation of privacy that existed a mere 30 years ago is gone. We know, for example, that credit card transactions will become part of a commer-

cial database. This constitutes a voluntary surrender of personal information – a tradeoff between convenience and personal privacy.

Society has a legitimate interest in identifying sexual predators who prey on children, which is a crime in all jurisdictions. A law enforcement investigator will look for a known sex offender in the vicinity of the crime using “street informants,” credit card transactions, and phone records. The positive result could be a successful prosecution of the offender after the crime has been committed. Counterterrorism is a reverse of this process. Counterterrorism involves deterrence and prevention – the objective is to intercept and neutralize terrorists who have not yet committed an act of terrorism.

The federal government is responsible for deterring and preventing a catastrophic terrorism incident. To that end, it relies on counterterrorism technology. The law enforcement and counterterrorism communities deal with the same information but for different purposes and use different methodologies. Law enforcement begins with a focus on an individual; counterterrorism looks for patterns that lead to individuals or groups of individuals. The common source used by law enforcement and counterterrorism investigators is a universe of information – a “mine.” The methodology used to distill and synthesize information is “data mining.” The nuggets of information in the mine are composed of bits of information derived from the daily, mundane activities of law-abiding citizens and the intermittent actions of bad guys.

Three different concepts are in play: privacy, secrecy, and anonymity. In contemporary society anonymity has largely disappeared. Moreover, personal privacy has been vastly diminished in the past two decades and will continue to diminish in the future. The rationale for this contention is that if one uses a telephone or credit card, we have tacitly accepted a high degree of intrusion on our privacy. If personal privacy has already been greatly reduced, the

concern shifts to notions of secrecy and how to prevent government from abusing what is deemed to be personal secrecy.

So, we have the interests of individuals and their desire for privacy, and the interests of the government to protect society by preventing acts of terrorism. To do this, the government must “connect the dots” to identify bits of relevant information and to perceive patterns of behavior. To achieve this, vast amounts of information are collected, arrayed, sorted, collated, and ultimately used or ignored. There is general agreement that most information is rejected and never surfaces.

There is a strong contra-argument that the mere act of government acquiring personal information is a denial of civil liberties. Another civil liberties concern is that data mining for terrorist activity may uncover non-terrorist-related criminal activity, major or minor criminal offenses that in the normal course of events would not have been discovered without a search warrant as required by the Fourth Amendment. The US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) routinely uses data mining techniques, without warrants, to determine the source of an epidemic or pandemic, notwithstanding stringent personal health privacy laws. This practice has been met with negligible objection. Yet, there is public outcry when the government uses similar methodologies for counterterrorism purposes.

Expectations of privacy are in imminent jeopardy of being eroded by new technology. The discussion may shift away from abstract discussion towards concrete rules designed to protect privacy. However, technology-specific legislation may not be the answer because it is likely that rapid advances in technology will outpace, bypass, and invalidate even the most balanced and farsighted legislation.

Technology provides neither total security nor total privacy. Technology is neutral. It is part of a system that can be used to protect

personal security – to protect citizens from a catastrophic terrorism incident or a suicide bomber wreaking havoc at a wedding reception. A second value is that a reasonable policy, one that is widely supported by the public, will effectively manage the technical system to conform to another value, which is protection of civil liberties. The goal is a policy that balances government’s and society’s need for information, with personal needs for protection against surveillance.

The meaning of personal privacy these days is dynamic and, to some degree, imprecise. A new era of uncertainty has arrived. One approach is to attempt to restrict the development of new technology and severely limit its use. However, for better or worse, the barn door is open. Thus, the debate shifts to the abuse of technology. The Cantigny conference on Counterterrorism Technology and Privacy reached no conclusion, but it outlined the elements of a strategy.

- Clear legal limits on the uses of data mining and related technology.
- Clear and understandable oversight mechanisms.
- An open process allowing for the participation of interest groups.
- Mechanisms for the redress of grievances for those who may have been adversely affected by the application of the technology.
- Positive explanations of technological proposals to the public and press.
- Restraint in public statements (i.e., using care in communications and restraining the urge to over-promise or over-criticize).

Civil liberties concerns include:

- Existing laws do not regulate the government’s use of commercial data for counterterrorism purposes.
- The purposes of law enforcement and coun-

terterrorism.

- How is personal information being collected and used? What appropriate safeguards are in place?
- The need for effective Congressional oversight and government agency accountability.
- Does the mere viewing of personal records – even if there are no consequences from the inspection – constitute an invasion of privacy? (Profiling and focus on people of the Islamic faith are examples.)
- Transparency of government data collection and methodology
- In the event of misidentification of an individual, is there adequate redress?

Virtually all Americans want to be secure, personally and nationally. But we also cherish the civil liberties found in the US Constitution. It is important for all Americans to be informed and to understand legitimate concerns regarding actual and potential incursions into civil liberties – “trampling on civil liberties.” This requires critical evaluation and civil discussion among all parties to reach a conclusion on a complex and vital issue. □

**Richard E. Friedman** is President and Chair of the National Strategy Forum.

# NEW GLORY: Expanding America's Global Supremacy

By **Ralph Peters**  
Penguin Group USA, 2005, 292 pages

Reviewed by **Gerald B. Mullin**

The following is the wording of the statement that Neville Chamberlain waved as he stepped off the plane on September 30, 1938, the day after the Munich Conference: "We, the German Führer and Chancellor, and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting today and are agreed in recognizing that the question of Anglo-German relations is of the first importance for our two countries and for Europe. ... and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference, and thus to contribute to assure the peace of Europe." Chamberlain read the statement in front of 10 Downing St. and said: "My good friends, for the second time in our history, a British Prime Minister has returned from Germany bringing peace with honour. I believe it is peace for our time... Go home and get a nice quiet sleep."

Ralph Peters, a retired Army intelligence officer, in his recent insightful exploration of the challenges and opportunities facing America in this first decade of the 21st century, might well have made note of Chamberlain's injudicious advice to help us examine our vacillating response to fundamentalist terrorism. Peters seeks to illuminate the debate over American strategy: "Despite our stunning military power, there is no sphere in which we have fallen prey to wishful thinking more profoundly than in the realm of warfare..." There is one region that gives grounds for the deepest concern; while we have faced more dangerous enemies than Islamic ter-

rorists, rarely have we had an enemy more ruthless and cruel, who regard death as a promotion. If we are not resolute, "Allah's executioners will become the most dangerous of our enemies, armed with weapons of mass destruction and the mad conviction that they serve their God."

Peters argues that most Americans still do not realize the intensity or the dimensions of the struggle with Islamist terrorism. While he supports the administration's efforts in Iraq and around the world, in his view the president has failed the American people by not sufficiently emphasizing that America is engaged in a war.

Recognizing that the example of American success is humiliating to those who cling to traditions that our success reveals as inadequate, he quotes a reference to A. W. Klinglake, who compiled an important history of the Crimean War, "...in eastern countries hate and veneration are very commonly felt for the same object." That quote, however, may subtly express a double entendre: One might note also that the Crimean War, about which Klinglake wrote, became infamously known for military and logistical incompetence. In a recent interview, Peters said, "The Bush administration has done great and necessary things – but all too often they've done those things badly. And only the valor and blood of our troops has redeemed the situation, time after time, from Fallujah to the struggles of the future."

In this critical and far-reaching survey, the divide between our society and the Middle East's rejection of women's equality is set in bas-relief: "...societies that deny women competitive

opportunities invariably reject meritocracy among males as well.” In a somewhat caustic lecture he spares no criticism for defense contractors, or for the media who can “no longer sustain their pretences of being aloof, objective observers... Our own media’s capacity to damage our struggle lies in their appetite for sensation, their lack of context and their partisanship.” In a piercing critique of think tanks, he skewers “defense intellectuals who wish to prescribe... how the general should command and the infantryman fight... We have been plagued by adult children who want to play Army without doing a push-up.”

Peters has sufficient credentials for analysis of the problems faced by the intelligence community: “Pundits who have never worked in intelligence and political operatives intent on damage control thunder about the incompetence of our intelligence agencies... No matter how many structural changes we make and how much money we spend, if we do not bring actual intelligence work back to the forefront of the vast intelligence community, we will never give the American people the intelligence capability they deserve.” For Peters, archaic diplomatic notions of the principle of inviolability of the king’s (and today, a nation’s) sovereignty become vividly foolish when it is asserted that no matter how gruesome the actions of a state apparatus within its own borders may be, these are a sovereign matter. “According to such a doctrine Hitler might have been deemed a splendid fellow had he confined himself to killing German Jews.”

On a more positive note, Peters asserts that to expand America’s global supremacy we should pursue a web of alliances anchored on Australia, and running from Indonesia (a model for a humane Muslim state) to India (the strategic Manhattan) to South Africa (the progressive exemplary southern third of a long-troubled continent) to all of Latin America (finally approaching political and economic maturity). Of Iran, he wrote, (apparently before the recent vitriol spewed by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadi-nejad), “If Tehran is not quite Washington’s

natural ally, Washington is nonetheless Tehran’s natural ally.” If old Europe is sick, and democracy has disappointed us elsewhere in the world, we should be encouraged by the way the many nations in eastern Europe – the Estonians, Latvians Lithuanians, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Rumanians – are drawn to the United States, by both affection and their view that only Washington could and would protect them from another burst of Russian aggression.

Peters, is a prolific writer of twenty books, who, in a stark style, provides commentaries to media outlets as diverse as Army Times and National Public Radio. *New Glory* is an ambitious, potentially profound, and yet potentially risky examination of where we are and where we might go. As most predictions of foreign relations and strategy, his views have a deserved respect but are, in the longer term, as capable of surprises as predictions about the weather next year.□

**Gerald B. Mullin** is an attorney in Chicago and member of the National Strategy Forum.

## RECENT SPEAKERS

The National Strategy Forum hosts a series of monthly luncheons and events featuring guest speakers who lecture on relevant national security and foreign policy issues.

*On September 14, 2005, Ilai Alon, a professor of political science at Tel Aviv University, visiting professor at University of Chicago, and negotiations advisor to former Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, addressed the National Strategy Forum on the subject of Western-Islamic relations.*

“We might know every cavity in the Muslim’s mouth, but if we do not know how they feel and how they think, then we know nothing,” said Ilai Alon, Professor of Islamic Studies at Tel Aviv University and a visiting professor at the University of Chicago.

Alon stated that Americans’ interpretation of the differences in Western and Islamic culture has implications for the Global War on Terror and the challenge to stabilize Iraq. Non-Muslims must gain insight into Islamic civilization and the mindset of Muslims, he asserted. A framework for dealing with conflict between the West and Islam should be established – it can begin with greater understanding between the two cultures, he said.

The differences between American and Islamic world views are instructive. First, Americans perceive themselves first and foremost as individuals, while a Muslim’s self-perception involves an array of qualities: generosity, goodness, loyalty to homeland, courage, simplicity, maintaining good friendships and relationships, intelligence, and love of knowledge. Secondly, Muslims integrate Islam into state and constitution; Americans separate religion and state.

Another cultural difference is how time and schedule are perceived. Muslims view time in relation to events – time is related to the event occurring in the present moment. Americans,

however, work on “clock time” and set time limits or deadlines. Americans generally believe that “time is money,” but there is no relationship between time and money in Islamic culture. For Americans, time starts when you are born and ends when you die. Muslims have no perception of an “end of time” – time goes on for eternity. “Anyone who has all the time in the world has everything to gain,” Alon explained.

Finally, language is used and understood differently by Americans and Muslims. “For Westerners, the responsibility of making ourselves understood is the transmitter’s responsibility; but for them, it is the person who is listening who must make sense of the conversation,” Alon said.

How should Westerners understand Islam? Alon stated that we must first acknowledge Islam as all-encompassing – it is present in one’s private and social life. It may be additionally important to understand how Muslims perceive Westerners. The embedded worldview of Muslims is strictly religious. The “other” is viewed by Muslims as a “non-believer.” One interpretation of the Quran says that a Muslim is not allowed to befriend Christians and Jews due to events during the Crusades, when they cooperated to form a coalition against Muslims, Alon said.

There now exists a “clash of civilizations” between the West and Islam, Alon stated, and the well is deeper than most people can imagine. If Americans understand the Islamic view of time, language, and culture, they will have, at least, a “tool kit” for understanding the complexity of the “clash” and will gain useful soft intelligence for dealing with extremist Islamic terrorists and the challenges in Iraq.

*On October 17, 2005, Robert Merry, president and publisher of the Congressional Quarterly, discussed the ideas that drive US foreign policy.*

Robert Merry explained that his book, *Sands of Empire: Missionary Zeal, American Foreign Policy, and the Hazards of Global Ambition*, is based on ideas that drive foreign policy. He concluded that there is a need to examine the premises and sustainability of present US foreign policy.

Merry stated that the rise and fall of the Roman Republic is an analogy for the idea of American exceptionalism. Romans did not share the same American universalistic zeal. Hegemony risks failure when it seeks to alter the status quo, which, in the case of the United States, is the “crusade” to remake the world in its image, he explained.

Merry discussed US foreign policy through the lens of two diverging views of history: the “Idea of Progress” – in which one worldview triumphs over others to form an ideal system, thus reaching the end of history – and the “Cyclical View of History,” which is characterized by the continuous evolution of civilizations that rise, flower, and decline.

Merry asserted that the Idea of Progress is imbued in American ideology and has driven US foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. This view of history provides context for understanding current US foreign policy, derived from Woodrow Wilson’s ideal of promoting Western liberal democratic values around the world. The Idea of Progress is based on the Western worldview of striving for a Utopian society, Merry explained. He cited Hegel’s concept of civilizations advancing until they reach an “endpoint,” culminating in a perfect world order and society.

Merry sees the Idea of Progress as a constant theme in the rhetoric and actions of the Bush administration. The objective of President Bush’s foreign policy is to seek the universal growth of democratic institutions in every culture, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny. Merry cited the goal or “endpoint” of democrati-

zation in Iraq as an example. He found several contradictions in the formulation of the administration’s foreign policy: first, history may never reach a final stage in which liberalism is universally accepted, and secondly, the idea of American exceptionalism may be flawed.

The Idea of Progress devalues the power of culture and “leads us astray,” Merry said. The struggle to conform Islamic civilizations to Western ideals may present a formidable challenge. Rather, Merry agreed with Samuel Huntington that the West is engaged in a cultural clash with Islam. According to him, the Cyclical View of History, including Huntington’s thesis on the “Clash of Civilizations,” is likely to dominate international relations in the 21st century.

Merry believes that Americans need to understand Islam in order to avoid planting the “underpinnings of one culture inappropriately into the soil of another.” To craft a measured policy, he said, it is necessary to consider cultural and geographic realities and think critically about the future of US foreign policy.

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*On November 14, 2005, Andrew K. Semmel, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Nuclear Nonproliferation, discussed US national strategy for future nuclear nonproliferation challenges.*

Andrew Semmel stated that the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, including but not limited to nuclear weapons, is the “preeminent threat to international security.”

The status of Iran, Libya, and North Korea is noncompliant with nonproliferation obligations, he said. The US has a strategy to deal with each of the states. The goal is to prevent rogue states and terrorists from acquiring and using arsenals of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), Semmel said.

Semmel explained that the strategy of the Bush administration regarding WMD is based on

three objectives: proliferation prevention, counterproliferation, and consequence management.

Various tools – particularly “effective multilateralism” – are being used to reduce illicit trafficking and proliferation of nuclear weapons, Semmel stated. Multilateral export control regimes, namely the 45-member Nuclear Suppliers Group and the Zangger Committee, are examples of international resources. These regulatory bodies establish rules to prevent states from acquiring plutonium or highly enriched Uranium (HEU), and set international standards for all nuclear suppliers.

Effective multilateralism is rooted in collaborative commitments from international actors to strengthen and support existing nonproliferation controls, such as the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and the UN International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and to develop new tools, including the April 2004 UN Security Council Resolution 1540, which established mandatory obligations for UN member states to criminalize WMD proliferation, Semmel explained. To enforce international compliance, multilateral action based on strong intelligence, cooperation, and interdiction is necessary, he said.

Semmel cited examples of multilateral action success: the dissolution of the A.Q. Khan supply network and Libya’s WMD program. Setbacks have been characterized by late detection of clandestine weapons programs, as occurred in Iraq in the late 1990s. Members of the nonproliferation regime addressed setbacks by adopting the “Additional Protocol,” which was designed to detect clandestine weapons programs through expanded access to facilities and information.

Semmel believes that the NPT and other IAEA safeguards, such as international inspections and inspection procedures, have “had more success than setbacks in 35 years of attempting to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons.”

Recent developments reflect the implementation of the Bush administration’s strategy. For example, in June, President Bush issued an Executive Order wherein the government froze

assets and blocked transactions of 16 entities – 11 from North Korea, four from Iran, and one from Syria. Additionally, the Bush administration agreed to full civil nuclear cooperation with India in July. India, he said, has agreed to adopt strong and effective export control legislation.

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*On January 25, 2006, Ambassador L. Paul Bremer III, Former Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, spoke to the National Strategy Forum about his experience in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein.*

“I am optimistic about Iraq...The people want to be free, they want to be liberated, they don’t want to go back,” said Paul Bremer, former administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) in Iraq. “The balance of power in Iraq is with democracy.”

But when he first arrived in Iraq in May 2003 to oversee postwar reconstruction, Bremer found the country lying “flat on its back.”

Decades of corruption, terror, and violence under Saddam Hussein’s Ba’ath regime profoundly impacted Iraq’s infrastructure and the Iraqi people, he said. Bremer recalled encountering some 300 mass graves – some containing victims of a chemical weapons attack Saddam Hussein had ordered against a Kurdish town – and torture rooms where he found “human shredding machines.”

When he arrived in Iraq, the economy and critical infrastructure were failing.

- Healthcare was severely under-funded; Saddam had cut healthcare spending by 90 percent. Iraqis had a short life expectancy and a high infant mortality rate.
- Education was inefficient. A single classroom sometimes contained 180 students.
- Unemployment had increased.

- There was a budget crisis.
- A payroll system for civil service did not exist.
- The banking system was not functioning.
- There was a shortage of dinars, the Iraqi currency.
- Electricity outages were commonplace.

Under these challenging conditions, CPA officials, including American and international experts, faced a daunting mission: to install democracy and lay a foundation for lasting political freedom, jump start the economy, and create lasting security and stability.

Bremer said he made three miscalculations:

1. The reconstruction of Iraq was focused on large-scale, infrastructure projects. He said the CPA should have focused on smaller projects with immediate, discernible results that would raise morale.
2. He delegated the implementation of de-Baathification to Iraqi political leaders, who used it to settle old scores and further political aims.
3. He did not adequately train Iraqi security forces, which collapsed in April 2004. Subsequently, the CPA re-vamped training of security forces.

Since 2003, there have been questions about the decisions the CPA made to deal with the Iraqi Army and security situation. “There was no army to disband,” Bremer said. “Shia conscripts went home because they were tired of being brutalized by the Sunni officer corps.” The army had been an instrument of repression against the Kurds and Shia, he said. The goal of the CPA was not to alienate the Shia, the largest segment of Iraq’s population. The CPA took initiatives to mold a new army that was “de-Baathified” and to train Iraqi security forces.

Bremer worked with General John Abizaid, head of US Central Command, and George Tenet, former CIA Director, to reorganize intelli-

gence, engage experts on counterinsurgency, and target insurgent and terrorist groups. In the early phase of the occupation, intelligence agencies were focused on uncovering weapons of mass destruction (WMD); investigating insurgent attacks was a secondary mission.

The CPA appointed a governing council with ministries to run the government until elections were held. Bremer said he felt the Iraqis needed a constitution before the CPA handed sovereignty over to the government. Instilling democracy in Iraq was crucial to the overall success of reconstruction, he said.

“Democracy is the bedrock of that political strategy... The stakes, in my view, could not be higher,” Bremer said.

Bremer posited that a relatively stable, democratic Iraq could be a model for other countries in the region. He cited progress already in Lebanon, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. Bremer was confident that success in Iraq will bring huge geopolitical benefits – not just to the 27 million Iraqis – but to people throughout the region. □

## SPRING 2006 NSF UPCOMING SPEAKERS

**APRIL 19: General Robert Magnus**, Assistant Commandant of the US Marine Corps, will discuss how the armed forces are adapting to 21st century challenges, including small wars and insurgencies.

**APRIL 28: General Anthony Zinni**, former head of US Central Command, will discuss his forthcoming book, *The Battle for Peace: The Frontline’s Vision of America’s Power and Purpose* (available April 2006).

Please visit the National Strategy Forum website for more details on upcoming events and speakers: [www.nationalstrategy.com](http://www.nationalstrategy.com)

## RESEARCH REPORTS

### *A Summary of Recent Articles on Global Affairs*

#### **Is Washington Losing Latin America?**

By Peter Hakim

*Foreign Policy* January/February 2006

pp. 39-53

Peter Hakim is President of the Inter-American Dialogue. He argues that US policy towards Latin America lacks direction. US-Latin American relations, which improved in the 1980s due to regional democratic and economic reforms in various Latin American states, have since waned. Hakim examines US loss of interest in Latin America and the converse antagonism of Latin America toward the US, predicting continued deterioration in relations.

Latin America has not been a high US foreign policy priority since September 11, when national focus shifted toward the Global War on Terror. Neither the US nor a significant number of Latin Americans view the relationship as a dependable partnership.

The Bush administration has been disappointed by setbacks in the region, including stagnant economic conditions and high rates of crime and violence. "The United States could end up paying a stiff price for the region's economic reversals and unsettled politics," Hakim writes.

Sustained political strife and a burgeoning anti-American, leftist movement are also disconcerting to US leaders. Hakim writes that the region's "democratic progress is failing." In 2006, at least nine states will hold national elections. The mounting support for left-wing, populist regimes does not bode well for US interests in the region.

One such political challenge to the US is Venezuela President Hugo Chavez, who, the author states, could destabilize the region at large. The US cannot find an ally in Latin Amer-

ica to challenge him. The US must counter Chavez's push to export his anti-American "Bolivarian Revolution" throughout the region. Other politicians, particularly in Bolivia and Nicaragua, are garnering popular support by touting a similar line.

Hakim attributes this surge in anti-Americanism to Latin Americans' general aversion to the Bush administration's foreign policy, particularly its unilateralism and lack of international consensus building. Political discord could threaten vital US regional interests.

According to Hakim, the US should engage Latin America for the following reasons:

- International support and allies
- Faltering democratic progress in the region
- Market opportunities – the US exports more than \$150 billion per year to the region
- Oil and natural gas reserves
- Destabilizing drug activity, money laundering, and other crimes

What does Latin America want and need from the US? Hakim offers several examples:

- Economic ties and free trade agreements; reduced tariffs and quotas
- Greater compromise on issues such as support payments to farmers, US antidumping rules, and US demand for new standards of intellectual property protection
- Less stringent immigration laws

Hakim considers China's budding relationship with Latin American leaders to be "the most serious challenge to US interests in the region since the collapse of the Soviet Union."

China's imports from Latin America have increased by nearly 60 percent, according to Hakim. Latin America may begin to view China as a viable economic and political alternative to US hegemony in the region, he writes.

Hakim concludes that most Latin American governments remain receptive to free trade agreements, immigration accords, and security assistance from the US, but challenges in the region will persist, rather than improve, in the near future.

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### **Iranian Beliefs and Realities**

by Clifford Kupchan

*The National Interest* Fall 2005

pp. 106-110

Clifford Kupchan is Research Director at the Eurasia Group and former official at the State Department. Kupchan condemns a hasty US reaction to Iran's refusal to halt its nuclear program. He argues for US policymakers to consider the realities on the ground in Iran, including the aspirations of Iranian policymakers, elites, and citizens, before taking action.

Kupchan argues for the US to engage Western allies in a diplomatic front to address Iran's uranium enrichment activities. Various incentives, he believes, could persuade Iran to drop its nuclear program.

According to Kupchan, US policymakers should understand that Iranian leaders want the following, specifically from the US: recognition that Iran's security needs are legitimate; respect for its role regarding regional security; gradual unfreezing of Iranian assets in the US and lifting of sanctions; and guarantees that the US will not attempt regime change. Kupchan states, "Beginning to put them on the table, either privately with Tehran or through the EU, would at least keep the diplomatic option alive through the rocky road that approaches."

There are actions Washington should avoid. For example, he states that US surgical strikes or other pre-emptive military action against Iran could result in Tehran targeting US troops in the region, increased terrorism in Israel, and the alienation of European allies. Imposing sanctions may not yield the desired effect, as Iran could muddle through economic hardship, and sanctions may cause the US to lose the support of China and European countries, which have embedded economic interests in Iran.

The author's analysis is based on interviews with top-ranking Iranian policymakers, meetings with academics, and discussions with ordinary Iranian citizens. According to Kupchan, the realities on the ground in Iran are as follows:

- Supreme Leader Khamenei has the final word on nuclear and foreign policy matters, and he has constrained Iranian presidents in the past.
- President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who Kupchan calls a "foreign policy and bureaucratic novice," was elected on an economic populist platform. His mandate does not extend to foreign policy.
- Iran's economy is stable – it has a \$10 billion stabilization fund and other budget funds at its disposal.
- A mass opposition does not exist. Iranians care about economic improvement, not political reform.
- Iranians are nationalistic. A military attack against Iran would cause a "rally around the flag" effect.
- Iranian policymakers are constantly insecure due to past events, such as the 1953 coup that ousted Prime Minister Mossadeq.

According to Kupchan, the US should consider that Iranians will "rally around the re-

gime;” negotiate with Iran over incentives to halt its nuclear program; and utilize “friendly intermediaries” such as Iraqi Prime Minister Ibrahim al-Jaafari. Tehran seeks nuclear capabilities as a deterrent against potential attacks and to warrant respect from the international community, he states. US policy needs to deal with these realities because Iran’s political and economic state is not likely going to change.

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### Europe Inside Out

By Robin Niblett

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Robin Niblett is Director of the Europe Program and executive vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. He examines the state of European Union strategy for greater integration and cooperation following the French and Dutch rejection of the proposed EU constitution. Niblett states that even though its constitution did not pass, the EU may still become a strong force in the global arena.

As EU plans for economic integration hit a wall and social strains within Europe intensify, Niblett argues that enhanced domestic security policies and adoption of a greater global leadership role will become new drivers for building common ground among EU member states.

Since the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, which led to the creation of the EU, the three pillars of EU solidarity have been economic integration, foreign policy coordination, and internal security. Niblett states that EU member states will increasingly converge on the latter two pillars of the European coordination plan in the near future. This shift may already be underway. EU strategy and policy toward Iran, China, Afghanistan, and the Middle East peace

process are areas of policy agreement among EU members.

Niblett states that EU coordination plans are changing due to the failure of its economic integration scheme (traditionally its main pillar) to rally member states around a common EU agenda. Economic policy has shifted away from reforms at the EU level toward “national-level experiments” oriented to tackle specific national issues, such as societal stability and market incentives.

A new EU strategy will strengthen its global posture *vis-a-vis* other global powers, including the US, he argues. The EU may present an alternative to US global leadership, he states. China, India, and Russia are already looking to the EU as a potential partner. Niblett argues that some states may seek partnership with the EU, rather than the US, to express accord with its policies of consensus building and cooperation.

Niblett concludes that it could take at least a decade for a transformation in EU capabilities to “act more proactively than reactively” and to collectively engage the world. He states, “an EU that is asked to be, and feels it needs to be, more assertive will inevitably have a growing impact on international relations.” □

# STRATEGY WATCH

*A summary of recent events*  
January – March 2006

## AFRICA

United Nations peacekeepers struggle to contain violence between ethnic groups in Eastern **Congo**. In mid-January, international agencies issue an appeal for food to be sent to **Kenya**, where some 2.5 million people suffer from starvation due to droughts in **Ethiopia, Somalia, and Tanzania**. In early February, more than 1,000 people die in the overturning of an Egyptian ferry crossing the Red Sea from the Saudi Port of Duba to **Egypt's** Port of Safaga. In February, **Nigeria** reports an outbreak of bird flu virus H5N1. Doctors screen workers at infected farms in northern Nigeria. The UN urges action to control further spreading throughout the region.

## ASIA

A Shia religious procession in Northwest **Pakistan** is hit by a suicide bomb attack that kills 22 people. Riots follow the attack. In the **Philippines**, President Gloria Arroyo declares a state of emergency after the military announced it uncovered plans for a coup to overthrow the president. Police in the Philippines have charged 16 people in the alleged coup plot. In **Thailand**, an estimated 50,000 to 100,000 people demonstrate for the resignation of Thailand's Prime Minister, Thaksin Shinawatra. Following the protests, Shinawatra dissolves Parliament, forcing national elections

**Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh welcomes President Bush to discuss the US-India strategic partnership in early March. Anti-Bush demonstrations in India precede the visit.**

three years early. Some 10,000 people have been arrested in **Bangladesh** to halt the country's poor from staging mass demonstrations, according to Human Rights reports.

## LATIN AMERICA

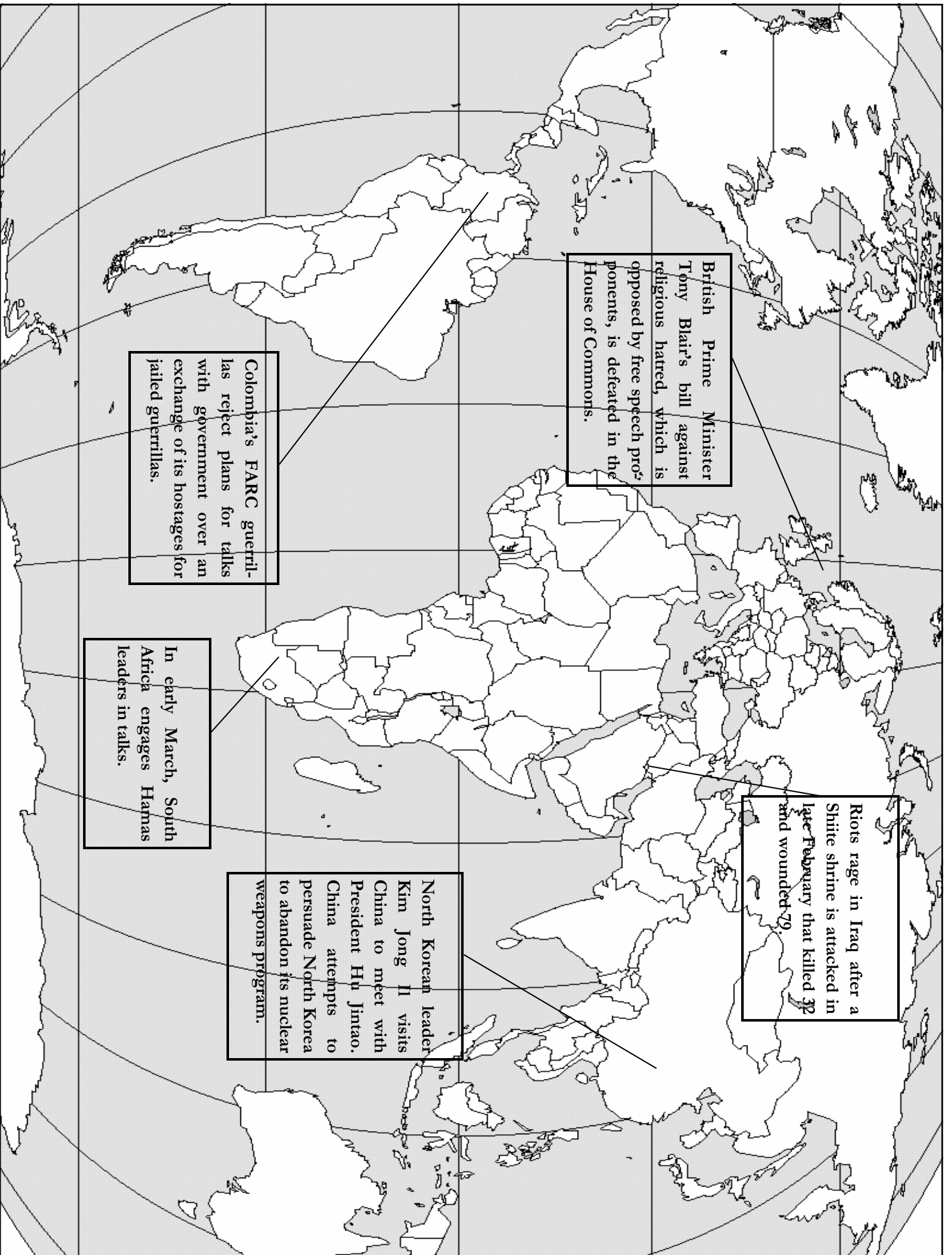
In January, Evo Morales is elected President of **Bolivia**. He signs an agreement with Hugo Chávez, President of **Venezuela**, to trade diesel and political advice for soya and chicken, reports say. Morales calls for an anti-drug alliance

**Nobel Peace Prize winner and former president Oscar Arias wins Costa Rica's February 5 presidential election after a vote recount.**

with the US. Michelle Bachelet, of the Center-Left Concertación coalition, is elected President of **Chile**. In mid-January, **Mexico** and nine Latin American states agree to contest the US House of Representatives bill that would make illegal immigration a felony and orders the erection of a 700-mile long fence along the US-Mexican border. René Préval claims fraud when he does not win an outright majority in **Haiti's** presidential election. Following protests from the UN and others, Mr. Préval is declared the presidential election winner.

## NORTH AMERICA

In January, critics call President Bush's authorization of a domestic eavesdropping program illegal. Civil liberties groups file lawsuits in Detroit and New York to halt National Security Agency wiretaps. Attorney General Alberto Gonzales defends the use of surveillance on the grounds that America is at war. In February, Samuel Alito's nomination to the Supreme Court is



British Prime Minister Tony Blair's bill against religious hatred, which is opposed by free speech proponents, is defeated in the House of Commons.

Colombia's FARC guerrillas reject plans for talks with government over an exchange of its hostages for jailed guerrillas.

In early March, South Africa engages Hamas leaders in talks.

Riots rage in Iraq after a Shiite shrine is attacked in late February that killed 32 and wounded 79.

North Korean leader Kim Jong Il visits China to meet with President Hu Jintao. China attempts to persuade North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program.

approved. In January, **Canada** holds elections in which Stephen Harper of the Conservative Party defeats Prime Minister Paul Martin, ending 12 years of Liberal Party leadership.

### EUROPE

In early January, **Russia** turns off **Ukraine's** gas supply causing gas prices to soar. After protests, Russia turns gas back on. In response to cartoons that caricature the Prophet Muhammad published in a major newspaper in **Denmark** last year, several Muslim nations have recalled ambassadors. One cartoon depicts Muhammad with a turban in the shape of a bomb. In early February, six European states republish the cartoons, provoking protests and widespread violence. Denmark faces pressure from Muslim countries. The Saudi ambassador to Copenhagen is recalled in protest of Copenhagen's position that freedom of expression is a fundamental human right. In mid-February, **Germany**, **Italy**, and **France** report incidents of the bird flu virus.

### MIDDLE EAST

The International Atomic Energy Agency, the United Nations' nuclear watchdog, votes to report **Iran** to the Security Council for non-compliance. Despite reaching an agreement with Russia to enrich uranium jointly, Iran resumes uranium enrichment at its Natanz plant. Islamist group Hamas claims victory in the January 25 **Palestinian** general election. The Bush administration, which views Hamas as a terrorist organization, says it will cut off aid to the Palestinian Authority if Hamas does not renounce violence and recognize

**Israel**. In early January, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon suffers a massive stroke. He remains in induced coma. Ehud Olmert becomes the stand-in leader of Sharon's new Kadima party. Israel's election is scheduled for March 28. Osama Bin Laden threatens more terrorist attacks against the US in an audiotape broadcast by al-Jazeera. Bashar Assad, President of **Syria**, refuses to be interviewed by the UN commission investigating last year's murder of **Lebanon** Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. As-

sad visits **Saudi Arabia** and **Egypt** to shore up support. The United Iraqi Alliance wins a plurality of votes in **Iraq's** January 30 elections, taking 128 of the 275 seats. Kurdish parties have 53 seats and the main Sunni Arab bloc wins 44. An estimated 58 percent of Iraqis vote in the election. In February, a Shi'ite shrine in Iraq is bombed. A mandatory curfew is imposed to halt sectarian violence. □

In early March, Montenegro's parliament unanimously agrees to hold a May referendum on independence from Serbia.

In February, following the publication of drawings that satirize the Prophet Muhammad, Muslims set fire to the Danish embassy in Beirut, and Danish and Norwegian embassies are destroyed in Damascus.

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