

# SWP-WebMonitor

## Nordamerika

Nr. 18/2023, 06.12.2023 – 20.12.2023

### SWP-Informationsservices

Katrin Schumann

*Der SWP-WebMonitor Nordamerika ist ein kompaktes Informationsprodukt mit ausgewählten Hinweisen auf aktuelle Stellungnahmen, Dokumente und Analysen zu relevanten Fragen und Entwicklungen der US-amerikanischen Verteidigungs- und Sicherheitspolitik, Außenpolitik, Wirtschafts- und Handelspolitik sowie Innenpolitik. Beigeordnet sind die Themen Foresight und ein Blick auf kanadische Think-Tank-Publikationen.*

*Bei allen Titeln gibt es einen Link, oft direkt zum Volltext. Grundlage der Erstellung ist ein überwiegend festgelegtes Set an diversen Webquellen aus den USA, Europa und Kanada. Der WebMonitor Nordamerika erscheint in der Regel ein- bis zweimal monatlich.*

### USA Defense

Critical Questions

#### **The Impact of Ending Military Aid to Ukraine: Gradual Decline, Then Collapse**

As Congress dithers about aid funding, Ukrainian military capabilities decline. Equipment deliveries are now less than half what they were last summer. By next summer, they will be only 20 percent. Without additional U.S. aid, Ukraine will have to acquiesce to a harsh peace.

by Mark F. Cancian

December 19, 2023

<https://www.csis.org/analysis/impact-ending-military-aid-ukraine-gradual-decline-then-collapse>

CSIS Brief

#### **NATO's Role in Protecting Critical Undersea Infrastructure**

NATO has not proven capable of preventing Russian interference with European critical undersea infrastructure. But a new NATO center can help the alliance prepare for, deter, and defend against Russia's increasingly prevalent use of hybrid tactics.

by Sean Monaghan Otto Svendsen Michael Darrah and Ed Arnold

December 19, 2023

17 S.

[https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2023-12/231219\\_Monaghan\\_NATO\\_CUI.pdf?VersionId=6Usacn9I00IkjF6t4s4XhehMIVROp74W](https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2023-12/231219_Monaghan_NATO_CUI.pdf?VersionId=6Usacn9I00IkjF6t4s4XhehMIVROp74W)

Report

#### **The Cost of the Ukraine War for Russia**

RAND researchers estimated what the invasion of Ukraine is costing Russia and concluded that, despite significant economic decline and the high cost of Russian military operations, Russia can sustain these costs for the next several years.

Dec 18, 2023

Howard J. Shatz, Clint Reach

82 S.

[https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research\\_reports/RRA2400/RRA2421-1/RAND\\_RRA2421-1.pdf](https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/research_reports/RRA2400/RRA2421-1/RAND_RRA2421-1.pdf)

Report

**A security strategy for the Black Sea**

This report outlines the strategic setting, regional challenges and threats, key planning assumptions, risk and risk mitigation, and finally DIME (diplomatic, informational, military, and economic) based recommendations for enhancing security and stability in the Black Sea region.

By Atlantic Council Task Force on Black Sea Security

Dec 15, 2023

32 S.

<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/A-security-strategy-for-the-black-sea.pdf>

Working Paper

**Why Do We Need a Defense Authorization?**

By Elaine McCusker | John G. Ferrari

December 14, 2023

6 S.

<https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/McCusker-and-Ferrari-Working-Paper.pdf?x91208>

Paper

**For a secure and stable Europe, put Ukraine on a definitive path to NATO**

The Talbott Papers on Implications of Russia's Invasion of Ukraine

Steven Pifer

December 13, 2023

23 S.

<https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/FP-20231213-ukraine-nato-pifer.pdf>

New Atlanticist

**A pivotal contest for strategic islands in the Pacific is upon us—and it's not about Taiwan or the South China Sea**

Time is running out for Congress to take concerted bipartisan action on agreements with Micronesia, Palau, and the Marshall Islands.

By Markus Garlauskas, Parker Novak

Dec 8, 2023

<https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/blogs/new-atlanticist/a-pivotal-contest-for-strategic-islands-in-the-pacific-is-upon-us-and-its-not-about-taiwan-or-the-south-china-sea/>

Blog Post

Congress should find the commensurate courage to debate this mission, and should they decide on war with Syria or Iran, the Constitution provides them the option of declaring war on Syria or Iran.

By Justin Logan

7. Dezember 2023

<https://www.cato.org/blog/rand-pauls-bill-taking-new-look-unlawful-mission-syria>

Report | CNAS

### **Resisting China's Gray Zone Military Pressure on Taiwan**

By: Jacob Stokes

December 07, 2023

14 S.

[https://s3.us-east-1.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/GreyZone\\_Final.pdf](https://s3.us-east-1.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/GreyZone_Final.pdf)

### **Proxy Wars**

Strategika | Issue 88

In this issue of Strategika, scholars address the intricate challenges facing the United States amidst Russian aggression and broader global issues. Bing West argues that US reluctance to provide long-range weapons and treating Russia as a nuclear sanctuary weaken Ukraine. West urges decisive American support for the embattled nation. Jerry Hendrix predicts that Ukraine will resort to asymmetric tactics in the war against Russia due to Kyiv's inability to reclaim lost territory. A key Ukrainian strategy, Hendrix asserts, should be to exploit Russian President Vladimir Putin's political vulnerabilities and delegitimize him as a leader. And Chris Gibson provides a broad perspective about the conflict, warning against unnecessary escalation, while advocating a historical, realist, and diplomatic approach to reshape global alliances and deny Russia's victory.

December 7, 2023

12 S.

[https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/issues/resources/Strategika88\\_final-file\\_WebReadyPDF.pdf](https://www.hoover.org/sites/default/files/issues/resources/Strategika88_final-file_WebReadyPDF.pdf)

### **BICC Global Militarisation Index 2023**

Markus Bayer, Stella Hauk

December 2023

28 S.

[https://www.bicc.de/Publikationen/GMI\\_2023\\_GB\\_231204.pdf~dr2712](https://www.bicc.de/Publikationen/GMI_2023_GB_231204.pdf~dr2712)

## National Security

Commentary

### **Lawmakers Will Need to Own the Consequences of Letting Section 702 Lapse**

Congress needs to act quickly to protect the nation from espionage and other threats. It should pass a long-term renewal of Section 702 or at least extend the program until April to allow time for detailed negotiations and legislative procedure.

by Emily Harding

December 11, 2023

<https://www.csis.org/analysis/lawmakers-will-need-own-consequences-letting-section-702-lapse>

Report | CSIS

### **Reforming Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act for a Digital Landscape**

Ahead of the approaching sunset date of Section 702 of FISA, this report analyzes the statute's history, debates over privacy and civil rights, and potential policy reforms.

by Caitlin Chin-Rothmann

December 8, 2023

15 S.

[https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2023-12/231208\\_Chin\\_Reforming\\_Section702.pdf?VersionId=DBwaRgbHsn7UDU28SeyCbYtpb\\_JIP\\_kh](https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2023-12/231208_Chin_Reforming_Section702.pdf?VersionId=DBwaRgbHsn7UDU28SeyCbYtpb_JIP_kh)

## Foreign Policy

DGAP Policy Brief

### **Transatlantic Cooperation on Ukraine**

#### **How Europe Could Respond to Uncertainty over US Assistance**

The difficult negotiations in the US Congress over a new aid package for Ukraine show that support has become a contested political issue in the US. Given the uncertainty over US assistance, European states should further strengthen their long-term commitment to Ukraine in terms of military and financial assistance. At the same time, given its own military shortcomings, Europe should seek avenues that could help convince Republicans in Congress to maintain US security assistance.

Dr. Dominik Tolksdorf

20. Dez. 2023

7 S.

[https://dgap.org/system/files/article\\_pdfs/DGAP-Policy%20Brief\\_No-37\\_December-19\\_7pp.pdf](https://dgap.org/system/files/article_pdfs/DGAP-Policy%20Brief_No-37_December-19_7pp.pdf)

Commentary

### **The US needs to recommit to conflict prevention**

What we should learn from the Israel-Gaza crisis and why the Global Fragility Act still matters

Allison Minor

December 19, 2023

<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-us-needs-to-recommit-to-conflict-prevention/>

CSIS Report

**2023 DAPA-CSIS**

**Executive Summary**

**ROK-U.S. Defense Industrial Cooperation for a Resilient Global Supply Chain**

By Gregory Sanders and Nicholas Velazquez

December 19, 2023

9 S.

[https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2023-12/231219\\_Sanders\\_2023\\_DAPA.pdf?VersionId=p.lfU14ubZlD4ScYp4pIElem\\_tGt5FgI](https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2023-12/231219_Sanders_2023_DAPA.pdf?VersionId=p.lfU14ubZlD4ScYp4pIElem_tGt5FgI)

Research paper

**Rethinking the role of humanitarian principles in armed conflict**

**A challenge for humanitarian action**

Martin Barber OBE, Mark Bowden CMG

15 December 2023

29 S.

<https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/2023-12/2023-12-13-humanitarian-principles-barber-bowden.pdf>

Article

**Emergency Arms Sale to Israel Undermines Accountability**

The administration's recent use of emergency authority to deliver artillery rounds to Israel undermines effective oversight of weapons transfers and the Biden administration's own policies on civilian protection and human rights.

Allison McManus, Laura Kilbury, Robert Benson

Dec 14, 2023

<https://www.americanprogress.org/article/emergency-arms-sale-to-israel-undermines-accountability/>

Report | CNAS

**Identifying Russian Vulnerabilities and How to Leverage Them**

By: Andrea Kendall-Taylor, Richard Connolly, Siemon Wezeman, Gavin Wilde, Elina Ribakova, Benjamin Hilgenstock, Edward Fishman, Eric Ciaramella, Paul Stronski, Peter Schroeder, Timothy Frye and Maria Snegovaya

December 14, 2023

68 S.

[https://s3.us-east-1.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/CNAS-Report-Russian-Vulnerabilities-Dec23\\_Final-1.pdf](https://s3.us-east-1.amazonaws.com/files.cnas.org/documents/CNAS-Report-Russian-Vulnerabilities-Dec23_Final-1.pdf)

CRS Report

**Israel and Hamas 2023 Conflict In Brief: Overview, U.S. Policy, and Options for Congress**

Jim Zanotti, Jeremy M. Sharp

Dec 13, 2023 - updated

16 S.

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47828>

CRS Report

**Nuclear Negotiations with North Korea**

Mark E. Manyin, Mary Beth D. Nikitin

Dec 11, 2023 - updated

29 S.

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R45033>

Commentary

**The U.S. Has Nothing to Fear from China in the Middle East**

By viewing every development in the Middle East through the framework of zero-sum competition with China, the U.S. is operating on faulty assumptions that result in counterproductive policies.

December 6, 2023

By Jon Hoffman

<https://www.cato.org/commentary/us-has-nothing-fear-china-middle-east#>

## Economics, Trade and Finance

RealTime Economics

**Is geopolitical risk getting worse?**

Cullen S. Hendrix (PIIE)

December 20, 2023

<https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economics/geopolitical-risk-getting-worse>

Report

**Ending Environmental, Social, and Governance Investing and Restoring the Economic Enlightenment**

Key Points

- The environmental, social, and governance (ESG) movement is a modern inclination of ancient systems to usurp earnings from capital and labor to support the environmental and social concerns of a self-appointed elite.
- As presently incarnated, ESG will lower global income, impoverishing many while failing to improve environmental and social outcomes.
- Empirical evidence suggests ESG investing neither does well nor much good. It relies on flawed data, definitions, and divestment measures that directly undermine its stated goals.

- Targeted philanthropy and impact investing are more effective tools for improving environmental and social outcomes.

By Phil Gramm | Terrence Keeley

December 19, 2023

20 S.

<https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Ending-Environmental-Social-and-Governance-Investing-and-Restoring-the-Economic-Enlightenment.pdf?x91208>

Report | CSIS

### **Transatlantic Trade and Climate: Evaluating Differences and Commonalities in Mutual Approaches**

In the latest CSIS Project on Trade and Technology paper, Emily Benson examines the differences and commonalities between U.S. and EU approaches to climate and trade policy.

by Emily Benson

December 18, 2023

10 S.

[https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2023-12/231219\\_Benson\\_Transatlantic\\_Climate.pdf?VersionId=kyyKOcXxDrgG0TaafVEWUyZgDW\\_g\\_W3](https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/2023-12/231219_Benson_Transatlantic_Climate.pdf?VersionId=kyyKOcXxDrgG0TaafVEWUyZgDW_g_W3)

Working Paper

### **Measurable Relationships Between Freedom and Prosperity and the Consequences for the Washington Consensus and New Economic Paradigm**

Freedom is the condition in which we “live our lives as we choose so long as we respect the equal rights of others.”

By John F. Early

December 15, 2023

64 S.

<https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/2023-12/working-paper-79.pdf>

Blog Post

### **China's Economic System Isn't 'Incompatible' with WTO Rules**

The recommendations on trade from the House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party are based in part on the false premise that China's economic system “is incompatible with the WTO.”

By James Bacchus

13. Dezember 2023

<https://www.cato.org/blog/yes-china-violates-wto-rules-doesnt-mean-its-system-incompatible-wto>

Blog Post

**China Raises Real Concerns; Revoking Permanent Normal Trade Relations Would Address None of Them**

Revoking Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) with China will weaken the US economy, fail to change Beijing's legitimately concerning practices, won't do much to prevent Chinese products from entering the US market, make the customs process more opaque, and will not enhance US national security.

By Scott Lincicome and Clark Packard

12. Dezember 2023

<https://www.cato.org/blog/china-raises-real-concerns-revoking-permanent-normal-trade-relations-would-address-none-them>

Publication

**The "China Shock" Demystified: Its Origins, Effects, and Lessons for Today**

The China Shock refers to both a 12-year surge of Chinese imports into the United States and the first series of academic papers that analyzed it.

By Scott Lincicome and Arjun Anand

December 12, 2023

<https://www.cato.org/publications/china-shock#>

Publication

**Global Capital Flows and the Balanced Trade Myth**

Financial markets make it easier for people to produce and buy more of the products and services that improve their lives.

December 12, 2023

By Norbert Michel

<https://www.cato.org/publications/currency-capital-flows-trade-balances-jobs#>

Critical Questions

**USTR Upends U.S. Negotiating Position on Cross-Border Data Flows**

The United States withdrawal of support for the WTO's Joint Statement Initiative on e-commerce is a setback for U.S. economic interests.

by Meredith Broadbent

December 12, 2023

<https://www.csis.org/analysis/ustr-upends-us-negotiating-position-cross-border-data-flows>

DGAP Memo

**Das transatlantische Verhältnis zukunftssicher machen**

**Wie das fünfte Treffen des EU-US-Handels- und Technologierats wichtige Impulse setzen kann**

Dr. Claudia Schmucker, Dr. Dominik Tolksdorf, Dr. Stormy-Annika Mildner

11. Dez. 2023

<https://dgap.org/de/forschung/publikationen/das-transatlantische-verhaeltnis-zukunftssicher-machen>

RealTime Economics

**USTR abandons the digital rule book—to China's potential benefit**

Gary Clyde Hufbauer (PIIE) and Megan Hogan (PIIE)

December 11, 2023

<https://www.piie.com/blogs/realtime-economics/ustr-abandons-digital-rule-book-chinas-potential-benefit>

## Domestic Politics

Report

**The HUMAN FREEDOM INDEX 2023**

A Global Measurement of Personal, Civil, and Economic Freedom

By Ian Vásquez, Fred McMahon, Ryan Murphy, & Guillermina Sutter Schneider

December 18, 2023

433 S.

<https://www.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/2023-12/human-freedom-index-2023-full-revised.pdf>

Lecture

**Pluralism and the American Constitution**

By Neomi Rao

December 15, 2023

30 S.

<https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Pluralism-and-the-American-Constitution.pdf?x91208>

Report

**Where Are They Now? Former Campus Radicals in the Workforce**

Heritage Foundation

Jason Bedrick und Jay Greene

December 15, 2023

11 S.

<https://www.heritage.org/sites/default/files/2023-12/BG3803.pdf>

## A LOOK AHEAD TO THE 2024 ELECTIONS

The start of voting for the 2024 presidential election officially begins on January 15th with the Iowa caucuses. Attached is an 'all-in-one-place' overview of what to watch for in the coming months.

Doug Sosnik

December 11, 2023

<https://www.politico.com/f/?id=0000018c-5c73-d0ce-a98c-7c7be6b50000>

Commentary

**There is nothing wrong with young voters that the Biden campaign can't fix**

Morley Winograd, Michael Hais, and Doug Ross

December 7, 2023

<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/there-is-nothing-wrong-with-young-voters-that-the-biden-campaign-cant-fix/>

Commentary

**Tracking the invisible primary: It's beginning to look like Haley versus Trump**

Elaine Kamarck

December 7, 2023

<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/tracking-the-invisible-primary-its-beginning-to-look-like-haley-versus-trump/>

Report

**Threats From Political Minority Rule in Wisconsin and North Carolina**

Partisan legislators in Wisconsin and North Carolina are aggressively erecting anti-democracy barriers to lock out a growing political majority and hinder America's progress.

Michael Sozan

Dec 7, 2023

<https://www.americanprogress.org/article/threats-from-political-minority-rule-in-wisconsin-and-north-carolina/>

Report

**Generation Z and the Transformation of American Adolescence: How Gen Z's Formative Experiences Shape Its Politics, Priorities, and Future**

Survey Center on American Life

Key Points

- Generation Z adults spent far less time hanging out with friends during their teen years than did previous generations.
- Gen Z leans liberal, but not necessarily Democratic. Its members are also less likely than most previous generations are to say they grew up in a time of widespread political trust.
- The political divide between Gen Z men and women is larger than that of other generations, especially over gender-related issues. Less than half of Gen Z men identify as feminist, compared to more than six in 10 Gen Z women.
- Despite nearly one in five Gen Z adults identifying as LGBTQ, a greater share than any other generation, the survey reveals a pronounced drop in Gen Z's support for same-sex marriage.

By Daniel A. Cox | Kelsey Eyre Hammond | Kyle P. Gray  
December 06, 2023  
26 S.

<https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/Generation-Z-and-the-Transformation-of-American-Adolescence.pdf?x91208>

CRS Report  
**Congressional Control over the Supreme Court**

Joanna R. Lampe  
Dec 06, 2023 - updated  
50 S.

<https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/R/R47382>

## **Foresight**

Article

### **Visualizing 2024: Trends to Watch**

What trends will shape world events in the year ahead? Five CFR experts weigh in.  
by Matthew P. Goodman, Kat Duffy, Zongyuan Zoe Liu, Liana Fix, and Will Freeman  
December 13, 2023

<https://www.cfr.org/article/visualizing-2024-trends-watch>

## **Kanada**

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