

U.S. Presidential Elections:

New Nationalisms, Return to Realism, or Internationalism?



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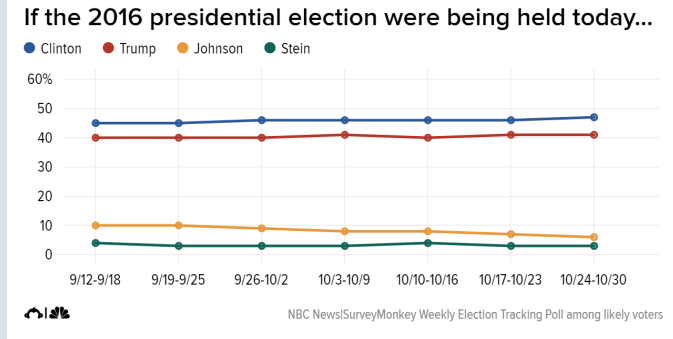
Syracuse University



Presentation for the Edward R Murrow Program for Journalists
US Department of State Bureau of Education & Cultural Affairs
Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs | Nov. 4, 2016

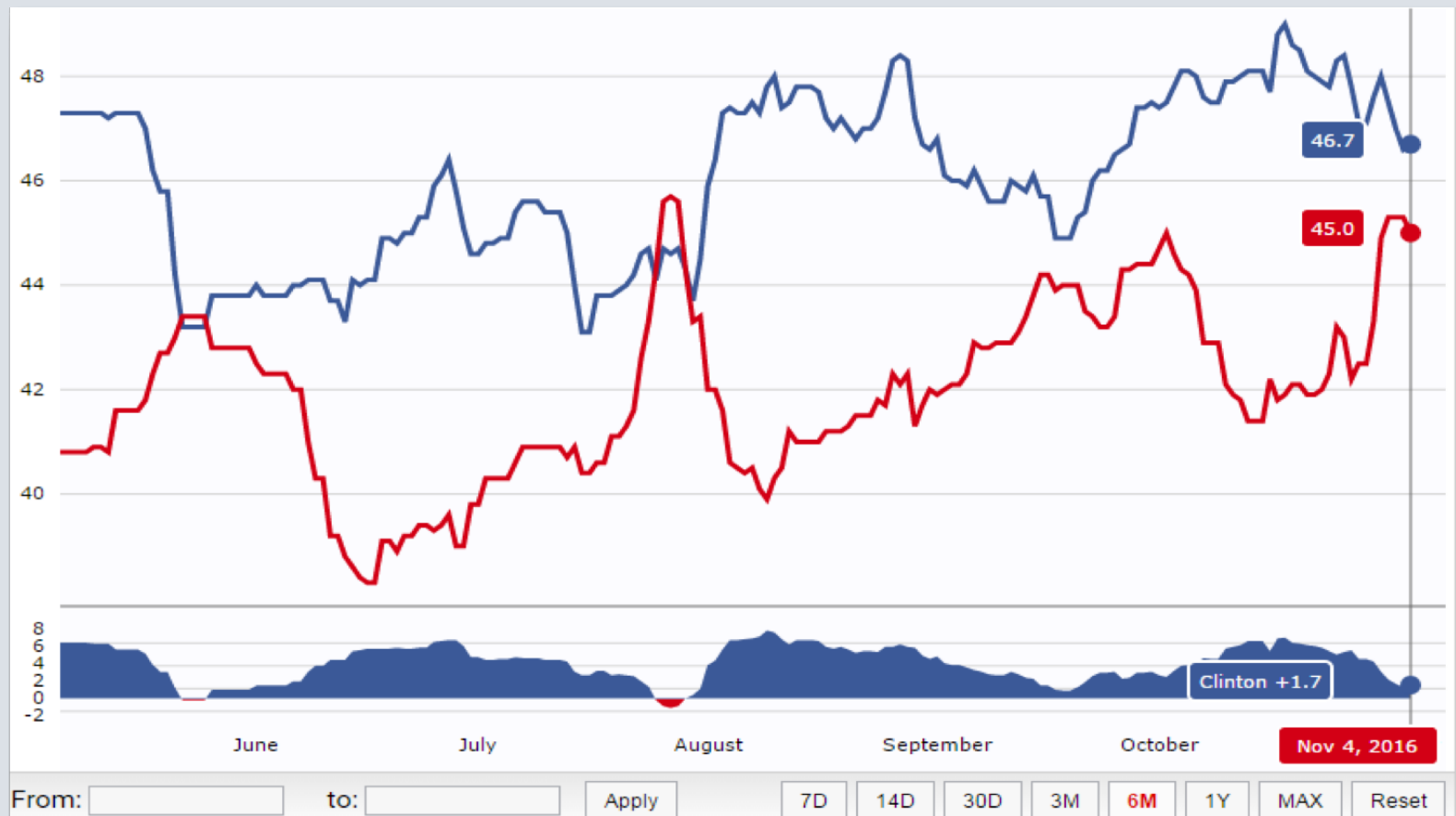
Chapters

1. US General Elections:
National Polling/Simulations
2. Nationalism on the March?
Globalism's Retrenchment
3. Security Challenges: Low-
Tech Terrorism and
Pervasive Organizations
4. Responses/Q&A



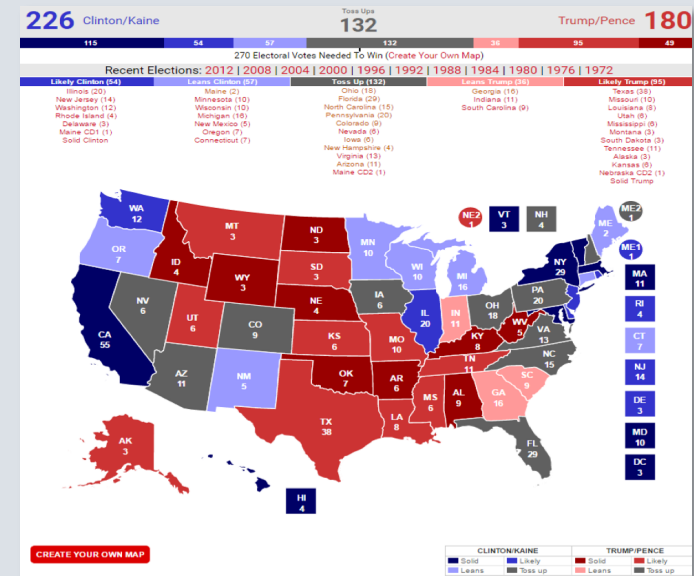
Ch. 1: US General Elections

National Polling/Simulations/Role of the US Media



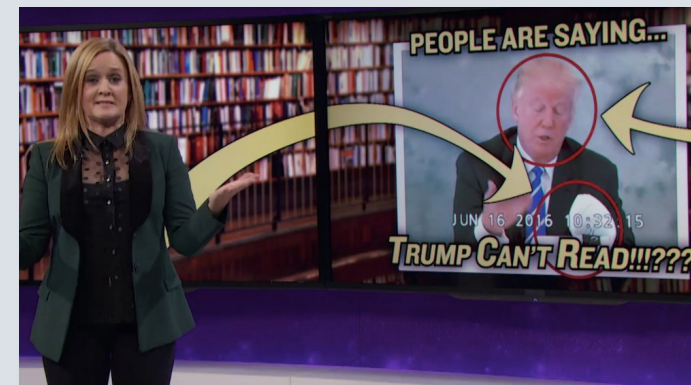
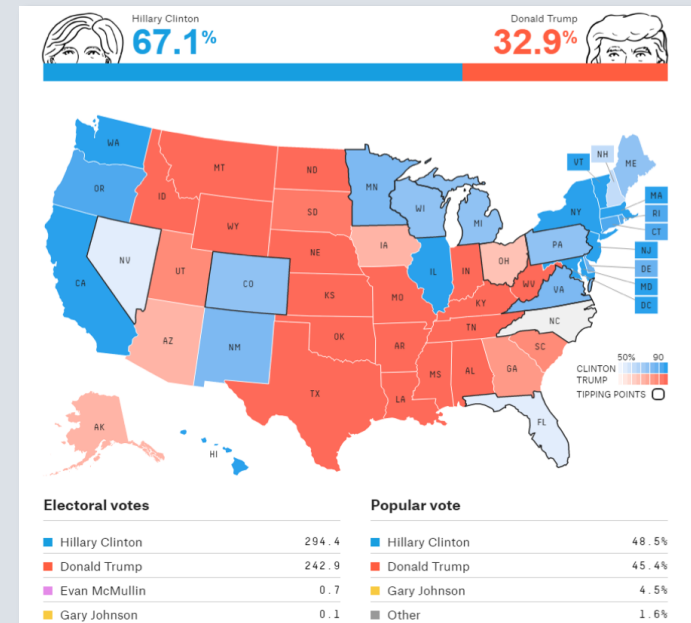
Primer on the US Electoral College Voting System:

- The Electoral College elects the president/VP every 4 years
- That is, US citizens do not directly elect the the president/VP, even though we vote for individuals
- Instead, electors are apportioned to each of 50 states and DC: Senators + Representatives = 538 total *Art.2(1)(2)*
- In two states, there is a “winner takes all” system: Maine and Nebraska



The (Unusual) 2016 Presidential Election:

- High polarization and strong criticism of “The Media”
- 80% Americans “disgusted” with the process
- 60% “strongly dislike” both candidates
- **Experience:** The Republican candidate has no political/public service experience.
- **Ethics:** The Democratic candidate is under federal investigation in multiple capacities
- **At least there’s a comedic windfall ...**

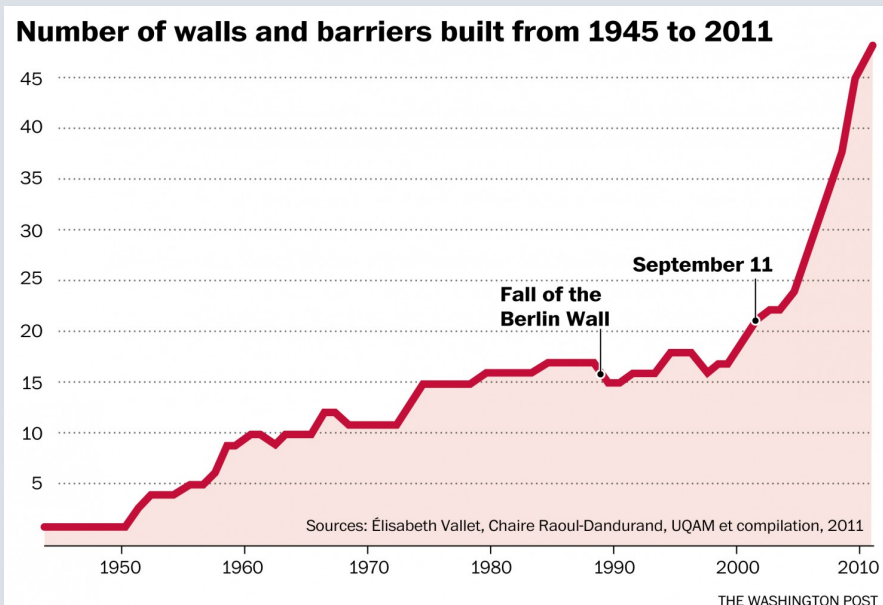


Ch. 2: Nationalism on the March; Globalism's Retrenchment?

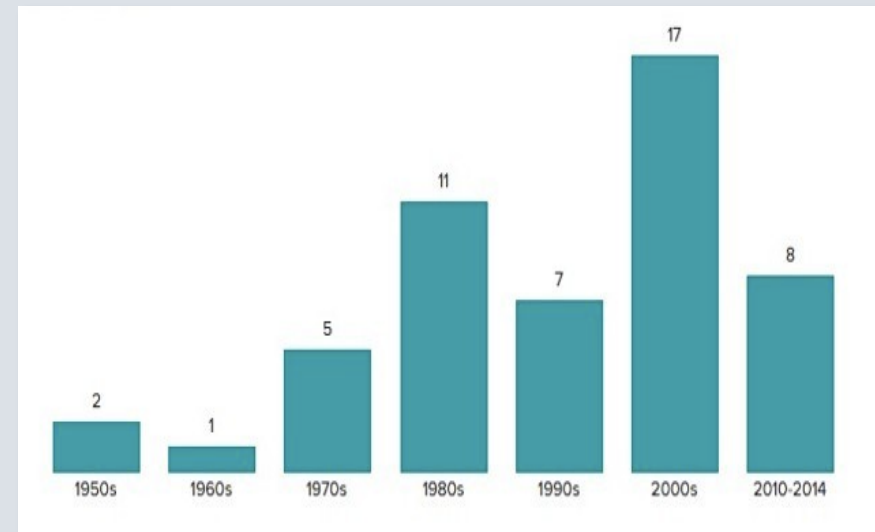
Indicators: Brexit, “Build that Wall,” Criticism of Global Trade, Rise of Donald Trump, Disdain for “Cosmopolitan Political Elites”?



Building Walls: A growing trend ...



Number of walls and barriers built, 1945-2011 (*The Washington Post*).



Number of “Separation Barriers” initiated around the world, 1945-2014 (Ron Hassner and Jason Wittenberg/*The Atlantic*).

Building Walls: A growing trend ...



Building Walls: 65 countries & counting ...



U.S.-Mexico border fence, near Naco, AZ.



Moroccan border with Western Sahara: the "Berm" is surrounded by mines to stop Polisario Front fighters and is second in length only to the Great Wall of China.



Migrants try to cross from Morocco into the North African Spanish Enclave of Melilla.



Israeli West Bank Barrier.

Building Walls: 65 countries & counting ...



Rafah Crossing: Egypt/Gaza Strip.



Georgia and South Ossetia, guarded by Russian Forces.



UN Cyprus "buffer zone" in Nicosia: Cyprus is split, with ethnic Greeks living in the south and Turks in the north.



Macedonia-Greece, 2015

Building Walls: 65 countries & counting ...



Migrants in Hungary, 2015.



Between India and Pakistan.



Between North and South Korea.



Between India and Bangladesh.

But Are Walls Always Bad?



Ukrainian border guards patrol the Senkivka border post. This barrier is 125 miles north of Kiev and seals Ukraine's porous 1,200-mile frontier with Russia (it was announced in March 2014 after Moscow seized the Crimean Peninsula from Kiev and began its support of Russian separatists in the Ukraine).

But Are Walls Always Bad?

Turkey is just “months” from finishing a 900km southern border wall with Syria.



TURKEY'S BORDER SECURITY TO BE BOOSTED BY CONCRETE WALL

The Turkish Armed Forces are boosting security on the Turkish side by putting up concrete walls and, on the Syrian side with coalition air forces, through Operation Euphrates Shield

Turkish Armed Forces units are erecting modular walls along the Turkish-Syrian borderline between Suruc, Sanliurfa and Karkamis, Gaziantep

The wall will be 3.60 meters high and include barbed wire



Source: Middle East Eye.

So, Is Globalization Over?



In 1989 the iconic Berlin Wall (built 1961) was torn down, considered a moment at the start of globalization.


So, Is Globalization Over?

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WTO cuts 2016 world trade growth forecast to 1.7%

Tuesday, 27 Sep 2016 | 4:57 AM ET

REUTERS



The World Trade Organization cut its forecast for global trade growth this year by more than a third on Tuesday, reflecting a slowdown in China and falling levels of imports into the United States.

The new figure of 1.7 percent, down from the WTO's previous estimate of 2.8 percent in April, marked the first time in 15 years international commerce was seen lagging the growth of the world economy, the trade body said.

The figures should be a wake-up call for governments, WTO Director-General Roberto Azevedo said in the six-monthly trade outlook report.

"We need to make sure that this does not translate into misguided policies that could make the situation much worse, not only from the perspective of trade but also for job creation and economic growth and

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WP/15/6

IMF Working Paper

Strategy, Policy and Review Department

The Global Trade Slowdown: Cyclical or Structural?

Prepared by Cristina Constantinescu*, Aaditya Mattoo^, Michele Ruta*

Authorized for distribution by Martin Kaufman

January 2015

This Working Paper should not be reported as representing the views of the IMF.

The views expressed in this Working Paper are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily represent those of the IMF or IMF policy. Working Papers describe research in progress by the author(s) and are published to elicit comments and to further debate.

Abstract

This paper focuses on the sluggish growth of world trade relative to income growth in recent years. The analysis uses an empirical strategy based on an error correction model to assess whether the global trade slowdown is structural or cyclical. An estimate of the relationship between trade and income in the past four decades reveals that the long-term trade elasticity rose sharply in the 1990s, but declined significantly in the 2000s even before the global financial crisis. These results suggest that trade is growing slowly not only because of slow growth of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), but also because of a structural change in the trade-GDP relationship in recent years. The available evidence suggests that the explanation may lie in the slowing pace of international vertical specialization rather than increasing protection or the changing composition of trade and GDP.

JEL Classification Numbers: F14, F40

Keywords: Global Trade Slowdown, Trade Elasticity

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* International Monetary Fund; ^ World Bank.

Ch. 3: Security Challenges

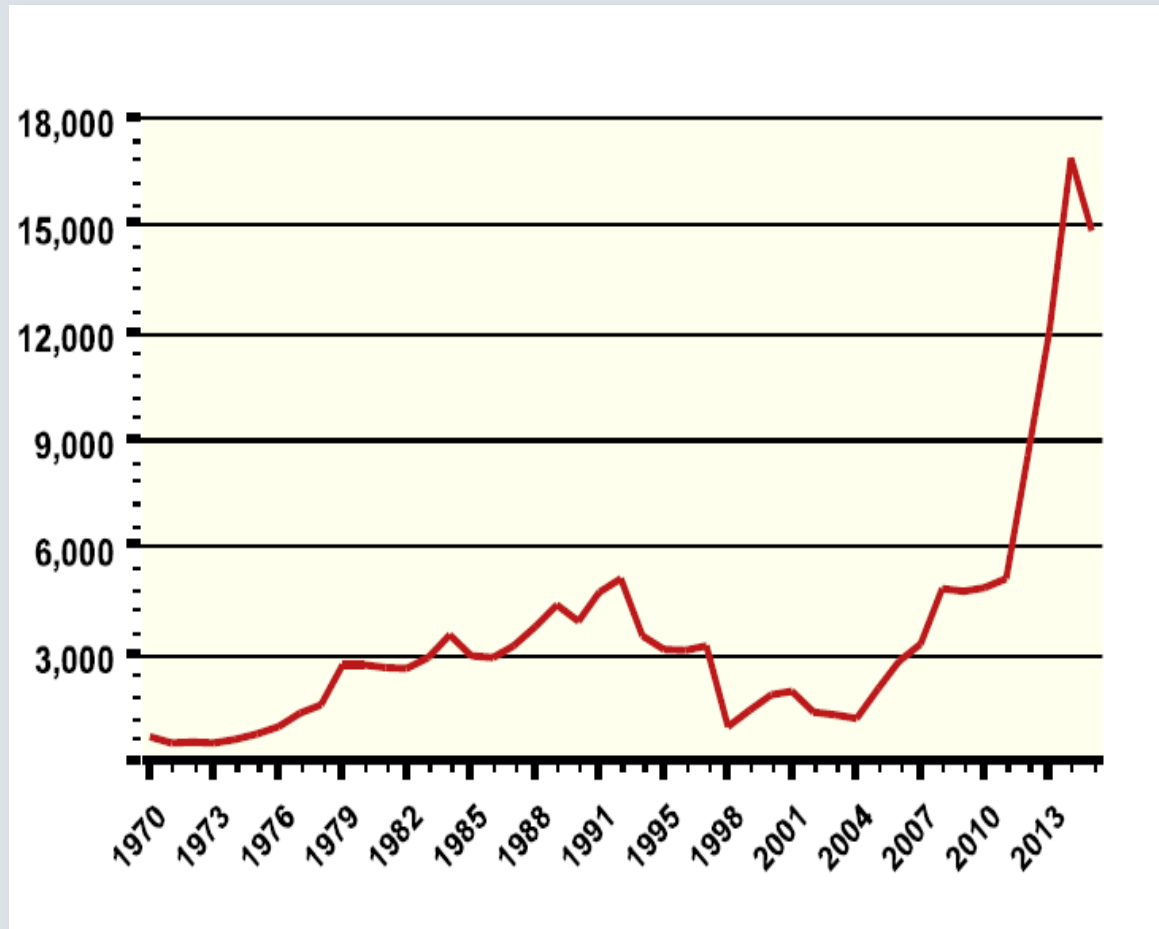
Indicators: Radicalization; Democratic
Retreat: Low-Tech Terrorism



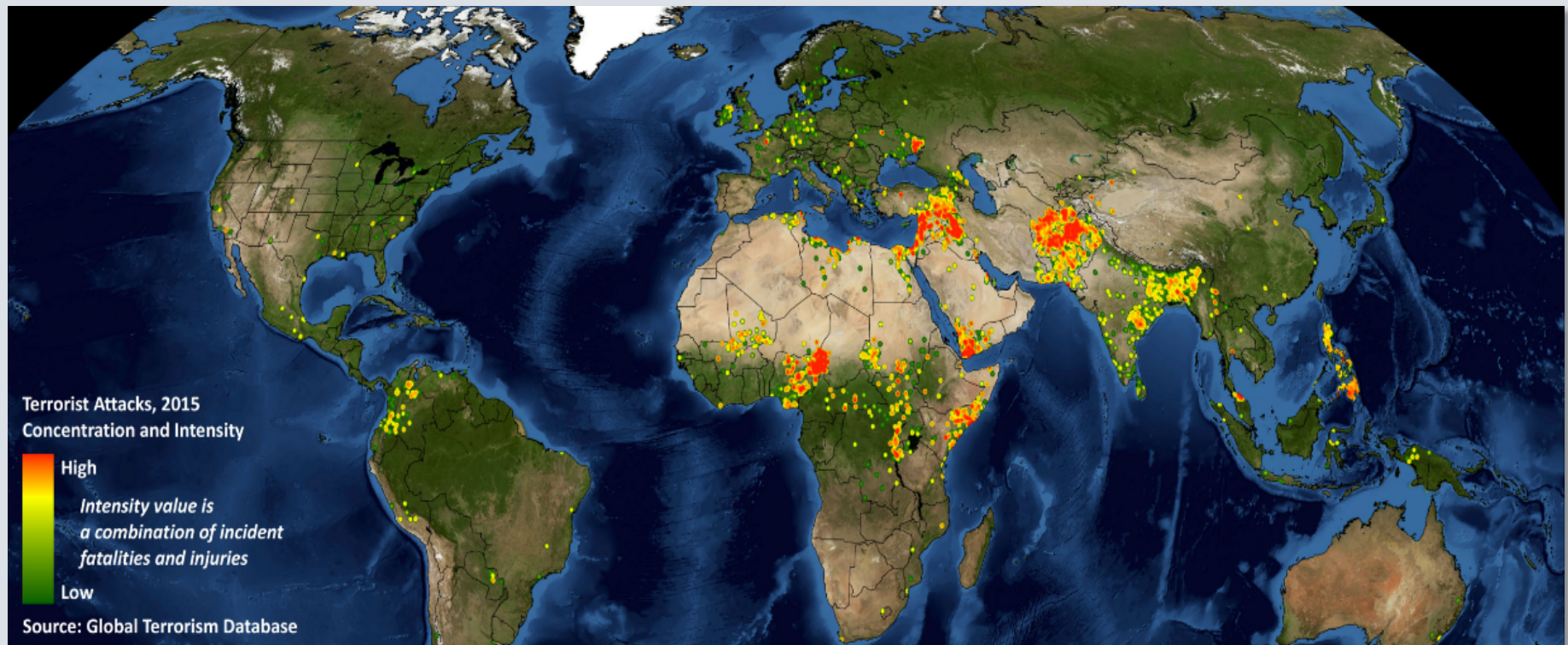
Patterns of Terrorist Incidents

- 2000: 1,777
- 2010: 4,784
- 2015: 14,806

*(UMD-START
Global Terrorism
Database)*



Our World Today: Radicalization affects us all...



Our World Today: Radicalization affects us all...


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Hard-Line Strain of Islam Gains Ground in Indonesia, World's Largest Muslim Country

Rally against Christian governor of Jakarta draws estimated 100,000 people



An aerial view of a protest Friday called by hard-line Muslim groups against Jakarta's incumbent governor, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama, an ethnic Chinese Christian running in the upcoming election. PHOTO: REUTERS

By **BEN OTTO** and ANITA RACHMAN
Nov. 4, 2016 4:29 a.m. ET


109 COMMENTS

JAKARTA, Indonesia—The biggest street protest in years shook this sprawling capital on Friday in a stark display of the more conservative, **militant strain of Islam taking hold** in the world's largest Muslim country.

Police said an estimated 100,000 people turned out for a rally called by hard-line Muslim groups against the capital's Christian governor, whom they accuse of having committed blasphemy.

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Is life getting worse for women in Erdogan's Turkey?

4 March 2015 | Europe

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The murder of 20-year-old Ozgecan Aslan, who was stabbed while resisting a rape attempt, has unleashed a storm of outrage in Turkey.

There have been mass street protests, and hundreds of thousands of women have tweeted #sendeanlat - "tell your story" in Turkish - to share their experience of sexual abuse. Human rights groups say there has been a dramatic rise in violence against women during the rule of the current president, Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Leader of the AKP, he was elected as prime minister in 2002 and last year as the country's first elected president. He has called violence against women a "bleeding wound of Turkey", and vowed to launch a new campaign against it. He has also said that **women are not equal to men**.

So is life getting worse for women in Erdogan's Turkey? Four expert women spoke to the BBC World Service's **The Inquiry**.

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35 women killed in September in Turkey

ISTANBUL

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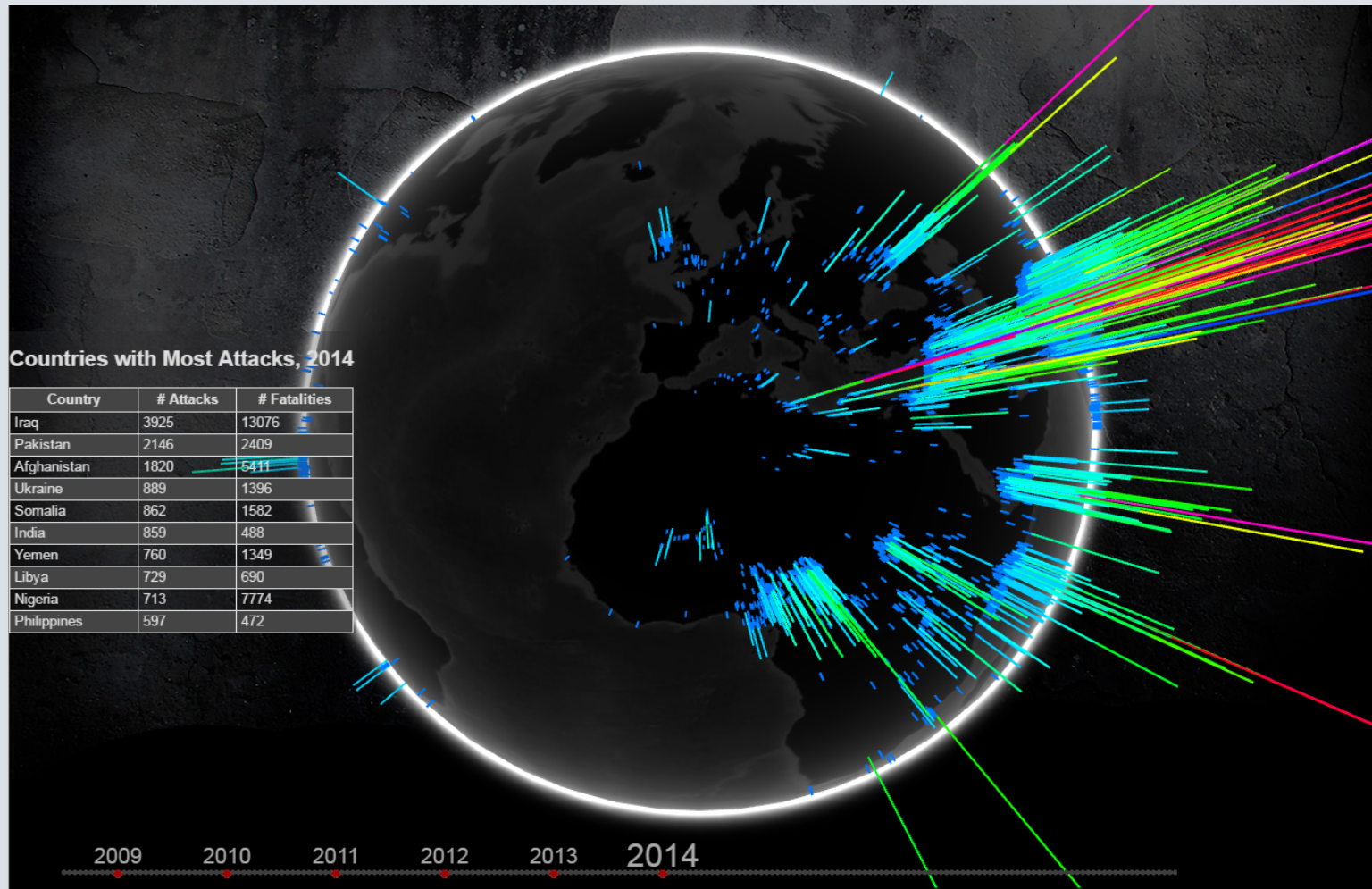


A total of 35 women were killed in September and 44 others were subjected to sexual violence, according to a report released by the Kadın Cinayetlerini Durduracağız Platformu, a women's rights activist organization that keeps track of violence against women.

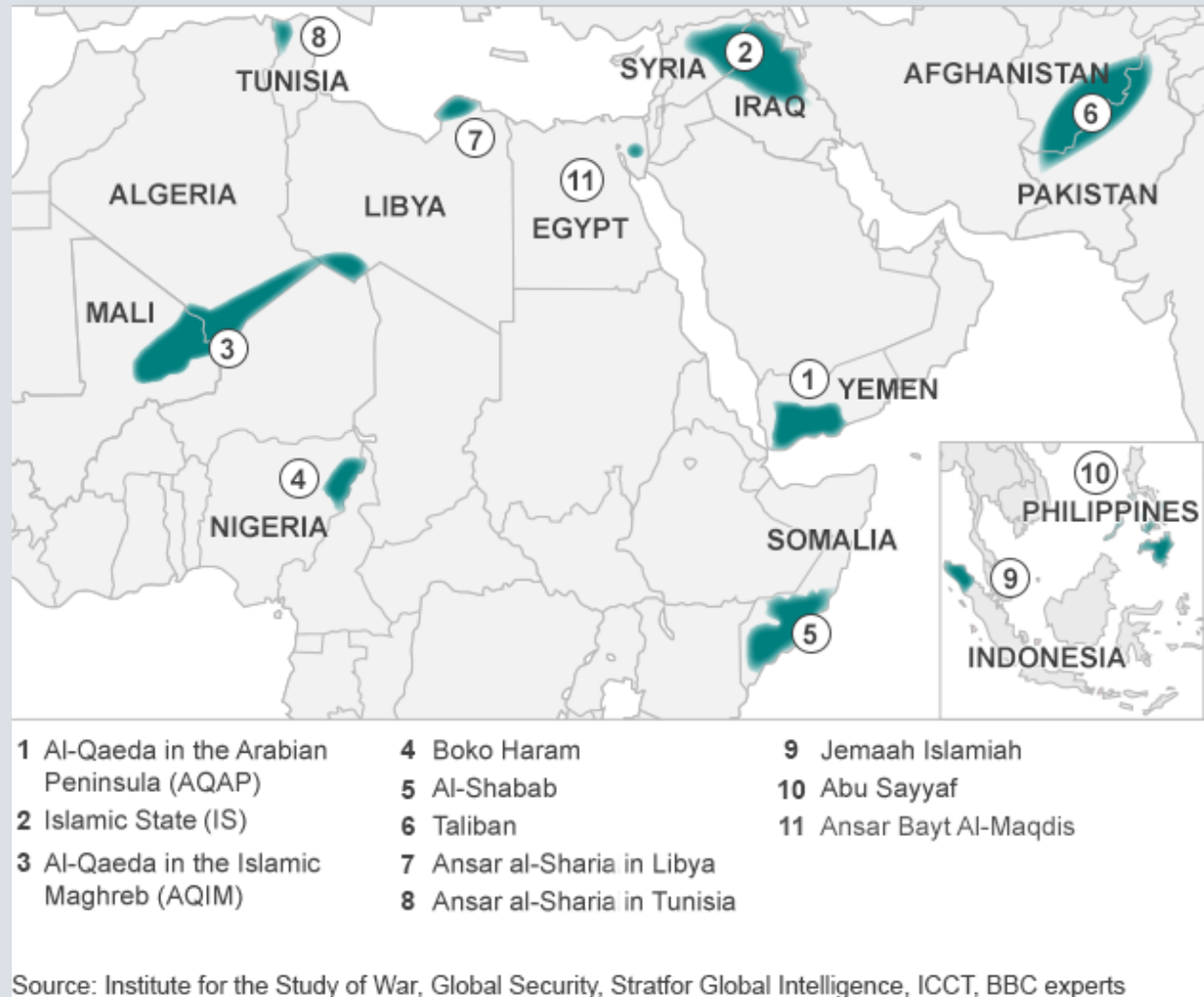
Violence against women and murders have been on the rise and a total of 15 children were abused in September, the report also said.

"Women continue to be killed by the people closest to them when they want to make decisions regarding their own lives," the report said, adding that 59 percent of the murders in September were carried out by women's husbands, boyfriends and relatives.

Hot Spots: By state/region ...

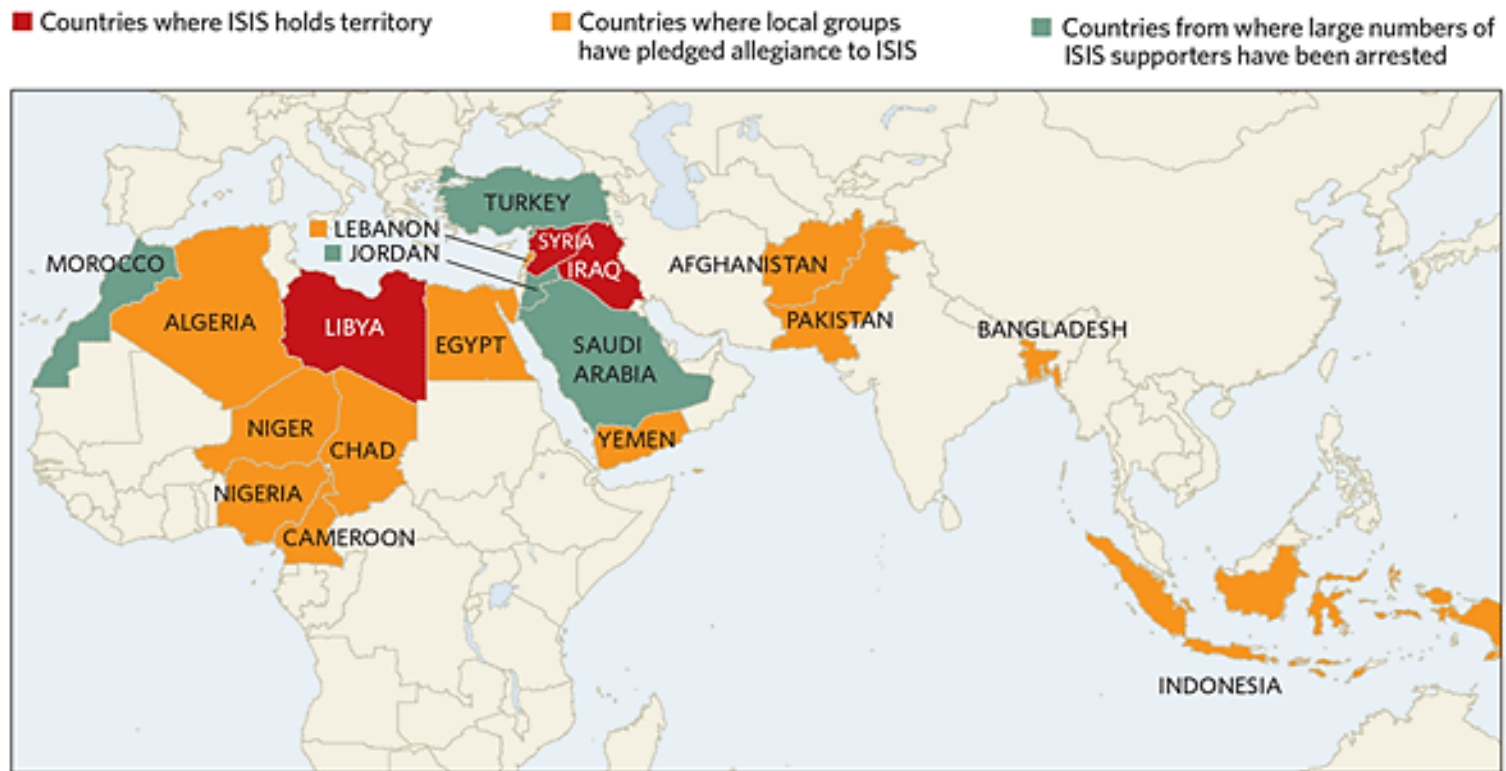


Hot Spots: Presence of well-organized terrorist groups (correspondence with map of Middle East and North Africa)



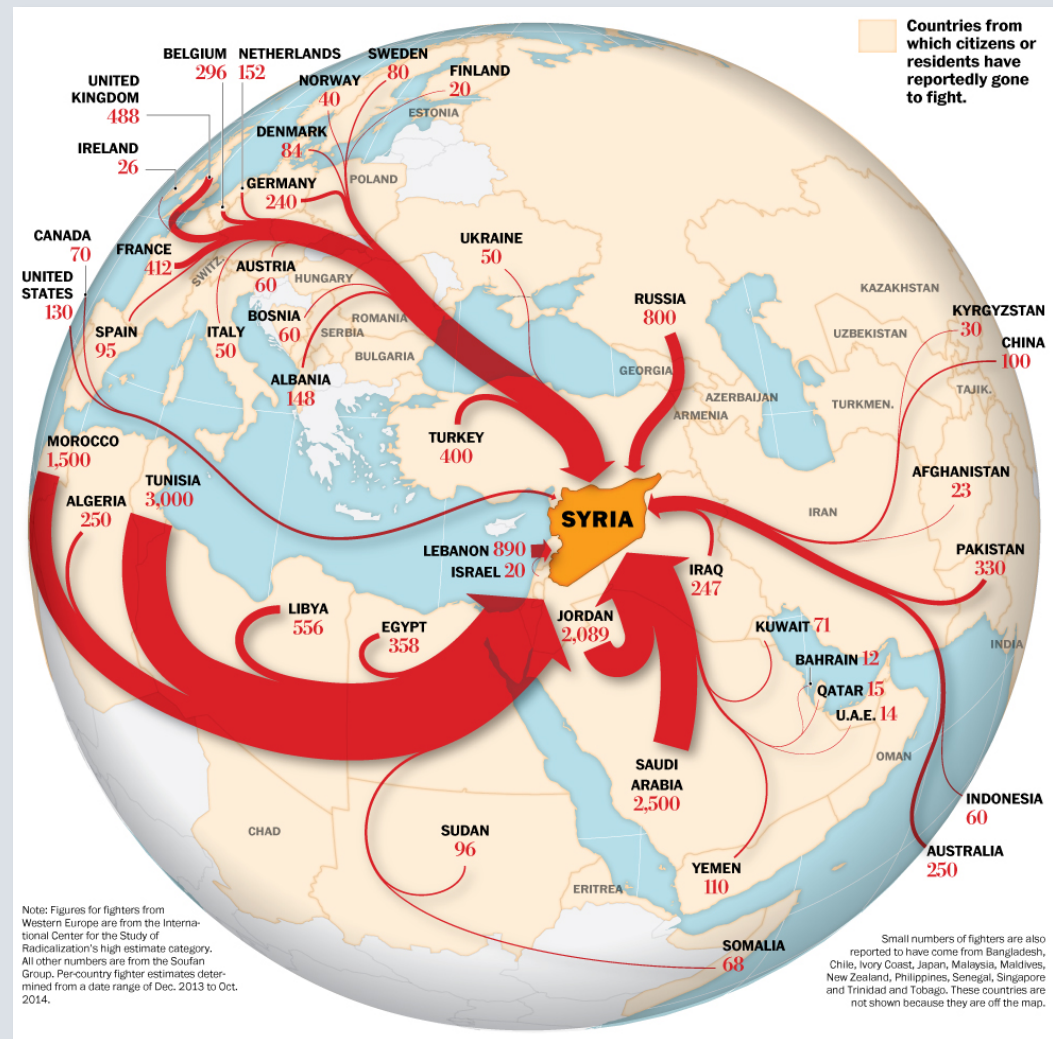
Hot Spots: The spread of Islamic State ...

ISIS Global Presence



Note: "Presence" is defined as ISIS holding territory; local groups having either pledged allegiance or actively cooperated with ISIS; or large numbers of ISIS supporters having been arrested.

Sources: Heritage Foundation research and various media reports.



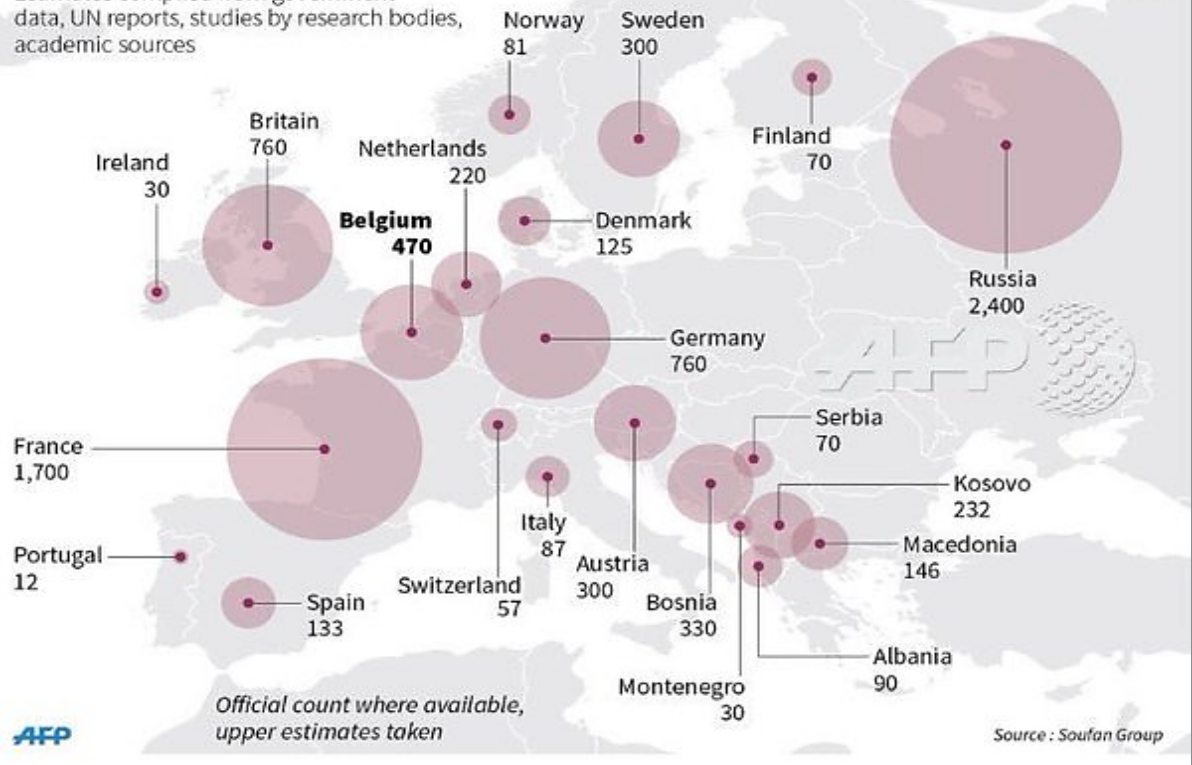
Foreign Terrorist Fighters: Unexpected contributions (European high-output states, via Soufan 2015)

From Europe to Syria and Iraq

Foreign fighters who embarked from European countries in 2014 and 2015

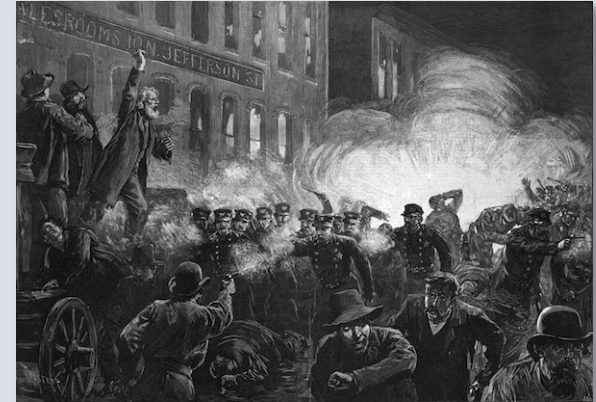
Based on data released December 2015 by intelligence consultancy, The Soufan Group

Estimates compiled from government data, UN reports, studies by research bodies, academic sources



Data-Driven Global Indicators: Phases of Terror

1. Traditional Terrorism: 19th century (The Anarchists)—state officials as targets
2. Modern Terrorism: Cold War behavior—nation states and proxy wars/armies
3. Postmodern Terrorism: Gray zone conflict and campaigns—and the “new normal” ...
 - Leveraging global issues: Migration & migration crisis
 - Global insecurity: Rise of religious persecution (across all sects), identity regimes, tribalisms
 - Exacerbation of existing governance challenges: Development, corruption, institutions, inclusivity, equity, climate/water wars



Haymarket Riot (Chicago 1886)



Aftermath of the Brinks Hotel Bombing (Vietnam 1964)