

# A New Roadmap for U.S. Engagement with the World



## **Core Framing Principles and Implementation Recommendations**

for the 2008 Presidential Transition Team  
and Leadership of the 111<sup>th</sup> Congress



**American Friends  
Service Committee**

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# The Five Core Principles

*of A New Roadmap for U.S. Engagement with the World*

PRINCIPLE ONE

## **Federal Budget Priorities**

A federal budget that invests more in long-term tools for diplomacy, development, and conflict prevention across U.S. government agencies is a cost-effective way to foster peace and improve human, national, and global security.

PRINCIPLE TWO

## **Civilian Structures**

Expanded U.S. government capacity for civilian-led and implemented foreign assistance and crisis response offers a more strategic and cost-effective alternative to military-led involvement.

PRINCIPLE THREE

## **Diplomacy**

A well-resourced and field-present diplomatic infrastructure will enhance U.S. ability to prevent and resolve conflict through dialogue, and restore U.S. credibility and trust in the world.

PRINCIPLE FOUR

## **Multilateralism**

U.S. recommitment to constructive participation in international institutions and partnerships is necessary to address key global challenges that include conflict prevention, peacebuilding and peacekeeping, nonproliferation, climate change, migration, public health, and poverty.

PRINCIPLE FIVE

## **Development and Trade**

U.S. development and trade policies that reflect a long-term commitment to gender-equitable human welfare, poverty alleviation, and sustainable use of natural resources will enhance aid effectiveness, contribute to national interests, and ensure a stable global environment.

# Endorsing Organizations

The five core principles outlined in *A New Roadmap for U.S. Engagement with the World* have been endorsed by the following organizations:

3D Security Initiative	Mennonite Central Committee
Africa Action	Methodists United for Peace with Justice
Agricultural Missions, Inc.	NETWORK, A National Catholic Social
American Friends Service Committee	Justice Lobby
(AFSC)	Population Action International
Better World Campaign	Presbyterian Church (USA) Washington
Beyond War	Office
Bread for the World	Refugees International
Church Women United	September 11 <sup>th</sup> Families for Peaceful
Church World Service	Tomorrows
Citizens for Global Solutions	True Majority
Common Cause	Unitarian Universalist Association of
Enough: the Project to End Genocide and	Congregations
Crimes Against Humanity	United Church of Christ Justice and
Foreign Policy in Focus	Witness Ministries
Fourth Freedom Forum	United Methodist Church, General Board
Friends Committee on National	of Church and Society
Legislation (FCNL)	The White House Project
Gender Action	Women Thrive Worldwide
Global Works Foundation	Women's Action for New Directions
The International Rescue Committee	(WAND)
Islamic Society of North America	World Learning
Jubilee USA Network	

The development of the *Roadmap* has been a tremendously collaborative process, and its contents represent expert input from a broad range of people committed to changing the course of U.S. engagement with the world.

**The recommendations that follow are offered as a distillation of specific proposals advanced from groups among the endorsing organizations – not individually endorsed by all organizations, but vetted among them – that could offer concrete means to bring the principles to fruition.**

# Acknowledgements

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*\* Organizational affiliation provided for identification purposes only and does not indicate organizational endorsement of the principles or all recommendations.*

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## I.

# Executive Summary

The consensus is in: Americans favor a new direction in U.S. foreign policy that recognizes the intersection of national and global security and favors multilateral, cooperative approaches to global challenges.<sup>1</sup> The public recognizes that a foreign policy advancing human dignity and opportunity lays a deeper foundation for lasting security than policies based on cycles of fear and aggression.

The U.S. has the resources and national will to play a uniquely constructive role on the global stage. Yet current U.S. foreign policy approaches have damaged international relationships and diminished U.S. credibility, often prioritizing short-term political objectives or access to natural resources over long-term human well-being and international cooperation. The U.S. approach has neglected constructive non-military tools of diplomacy and development, chronically under-funding critical civilian agencies while the military budget continues to grow. Efforts to reshape tools of U.S. engagement with the world have been obstructed by incoherence within government structures and lack of political momentum to address the breadth of changes needed to make way for broad shifts in policy.

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) facilitated a series of meetings with representatives from a diverse group of policy, faith-based, development, and direct service organizations and individual experts. This group reached consensus on a set of guiding principles and concrete recommendations for changes in U.S. foreign policy. These principles and recommendations comprise *A New Roadmap for U.S. Engagement with the World*.

The guiding principles and key recommendations in the Roadmap are listed below. We encourage you to read the complete document for the group's analysis and comprehensive recommendations for changes to the structure and strategy of U.S. foreign policy.

### PRINCIPLE ONE

#### **Federal Budget Priorities**

A federal budget that invests more in long-term tools for diplomacy, development, and conflict prevention across U.S. government agencies is a cost-effective way to foster peace and improve human, national, and global security.

- Implement a consistent budgeting and evaluation process to institutionalize long-term strategic planning for U.S. engagement with the world.
- "Fence" development assistance accounts to prevent long-term resources from being redirected to support short-term political objectives.

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<sup>1</sup> See WorldPublicOpinion.org, *U.S. Role in the World*: [http://www.americans-world.org/digest/overview/us\\_role/usrole\\_summary.cfm](http://www.americans-world.org/digest/overview/us_role/usrole_summary.cfm) and Better World Campaign and UN Foundation, *Opinion Research Project*: [http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/assets/pdf/unf\\_national\\_survey2007.pdf](http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/assets/pdf/unf_national_survey2007.pdf).

- Create a National International Affairs Strategy (NIAS) document that details U.S. international affairs objectives and the government-wide capabilities and resources required to achieve them. This document should include development and security objectives and contain input from the National Security Council and the Office of Management and Budget.
- Establish additional oversight mechanisms for national security and international affairs budgeting, such as a Select Committee on National Security and International Affairs or a government-mandated Commission on Budgeting for National Security and International Affairs.

#### PRINCIPLE TWO

##### **Civilian Structures**

Expanded U.S. government capacity for civilian-led and implemented foreign assistance and crisis response offers a more strategic and cost-effective alternative to military-led involvement.

- Restore the institutional capacity of USAID or a successor development agency by supporting a larger, well-trained, and well-resourced direct-hire workforce and field presence.
- Reduce the amount of U.S. Official Development Assistance (ODA) controlled by Department of Defense (DoD), and clarify the roles and responsibilities for DoD, the Department of State, and USAID (or successor development agency) in the provision of foreign assistance.
- Ensure that there are increased authorities, resources, and personnel in the Office of Transition Initiatives, the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, and the Office of Conflict Mitigation and Management, currently at USAID.

#### PRINCIPLE THREE

##### **Diplomacy**

A well-resourced and field-present diplomatic infrastructure will enhance U.S. ability to prevent and resolve conflict through dialogue, and restore U.S. credibility and trust in the world.

- Increase the number of U.S. Foreign Service Officers and diplomatic personnel and provide them with enhanced training in a full range of skills, from management and budgeting to conflict prevention and development.
- Establish clear policy to approach open dialogue and principled negotiation as a means rather than a reward in international conflicts, with preconditions not placed as official obstacles to talks.
- Support a multi-track diplomatic approach that encourages civil society, business, media, academic, and religious leaders to engage in people-to-people exchanges and increases resources for all aspects of citizen diplomacy, from the internationalization of U.S. education to strengthened public diplomacy.

#### PRINCIPLE FOUR

##### **Multilateralism**

U.S. recommitment to constructive participation in international institutions and partnerships is necessary to address key global challenges that include conflict prevention, peacebuilding and peacekeeping, nonproliferation, climate change, migration, public health, and poverty.

- Fulfill all U.S. financial obligations to the UN, UN agencies, and multilateral development banks to demonstrate renewed U.S. commitment to meet its obligations under the UN Charter, to act as a partner in global efforts to reduce poverty, and to repair relations with international institutions.
- Restore faith in U.S. policy on the treatment of prisoners and detainees by upholding U.S. commitments under the Geneva Conventions and the UN Convention Against Torture.
- Uphold the U.S. commitment to disarmament under Article VI of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) by substantially reducing the U.S. nuclear stockpile with the aim of eventually eliminating it. In particular, fulfill the 13 steps toward implementation of Article VI agreed to by the nuclear powers at the 2000 NPT Review Conference.
- Prioritize efforts to develop and conclude a comprehensive post-2012, international treaty on climate change that Congress will ratify.

PRINCIPLE FIVE

**Development and Trade**

U.S. development and trade policies that reflect a long-term commitment to gender-equitable human welfare, poverty alleviation, and sustainable use of natural resources will enhance aid effectiveness, contribute to national interests, and ensure a stable global environment.

- Enact a new Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) that rationalizes related authorizing legislation (including the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), The President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), and food aid), provides the foundation for more coherent foreign assistance structures; and makes addressing the causes and consequences of poverty the primary objective of U.S. development assistance.
- Reevaluate the U.S. framework for bilateral, regional, and multilateral trade agreements and require assessments to determine their impact on domestic and international communities, particularly indigenous people, women, and communities living in poverty.
- Enact measures to curtail the practices of so-called “vulture funds” by supporting changes in U.S. law to outlaw profiteering by U.S. individuals or in U.S. courts; committing funds to the World Bank Debt Reduction Facility; and encouraging bilateral and private creditors to adopt policies against “on-selling” their claims to vulture funds.

If you would like more information about *A New Roadmap for U.S. Engagement with the World*, please contact the initiative coordinators at the Washington Office of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC):

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## II.

# New Roadmap for U.S. Engagement with the World

Recommendations to the 2008 Presidential Transition Team  
and Leadership of the 111<sup>th</sup> Congress

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### PRINCIPLE ONE

## Federal Budget Priorities

*A federal budget that invests more in long-term tools for diplomacy, development, and conflict prevention across U.S. government agencies is a cost-effective way to foster peace and improve human, national, and global security.*

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### I. Invest in Tools for Diplomacy, Development, and Healthy Multilateral Relationships

Every year, policymakers have an opportunity to demonstrate U.S. commitment to human, national, and global security by making informed choices about the allocation of billions of dollars in federal funding. Recent federal budgets, however, have not reflected U.S. rhetorical commitments to a more balanced approach to foreign policy, one that elevates diplomacy and development alongside defense. Instead, policymakers have neglected constructive non-military tools of diplomacy and development, chronically under-funding critical civilian agencies and core development accounts while military spending continues to grow. According to Foreign Policy In Focus, the FY 2009 federal budget request proposes to spend 18 times the money engaging the rest of the world through the military as by any other means, excluding expenditures for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> Only by addressing this resource imbalance and investing more in civilian agencies will the U.S. be able to expand its diplomatic capacities, build the expertise and capabilities to provide critical long-term development, respond to crises in a timely fashion, and work effectively in partnership with multilateral organizations.

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<sup>2</sup> Miriam Pemberton and Anita Dancs, "Bush Budget Adds to Military, Cuts Prevention," (Foreign Policy In Focus, February 6, 2008). Available online at: <http://www.fpif.org/fpifxt/4943>.

## **Recommendations:**

- Rebalance the budgets for international engagement to put greater emphasis on non-military tools.
- Devote significant funding to increase the number of qualified Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) within the Department of State and expand specialized training programs in foreign languages and conflict resolution skills.
- Provide U.S. embassies, consulates, and diplomatic missions with adequate resources to conduct robust diplomatic initiatives, particularly in countries at risk of, emerging from, or rebuilding after violent conflict.
- Increase investment in public non-governmental diplomacy, particularly citizen diplomacy, through international education and exchange programs, as well as volunteer opportunities, such as the Peace Corps.
- Substantially increase U.S. Official Development Assistance (ODA) that focuses on long-term development for the world's poorest to levels at or above internationally accepted development assistance goals.<sup>3</sup>
- Meet full U.S. funding obligations to the UN, including regular dues, contributions to UN peacekeeping, paying back substantial and growing U.S. debt, and lifting the legislative "cap" on U.S. contributions to UN peacekeeping.
- Resynchronize U.S. budgets to ensure the U.S. is no longer chronically behind in paying its treaty-based obligations, including dues to the UN, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), World Health Organization (WHO), and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).

## **II. Improve Strategic Planning Processes for National Security and International Affairs Budgeting**

The next Administration and Congress need to complement the aforementioned funding increases with improved methods and materials for planning and considering national security and international affairs budgets. A more strategic and consistent approach to budgeting for essential non-military tools of engagement will help break cycles of chronic under-investment in development, diplomacy, and multilateral relationships, and ensure that a broad set of civilian resources is available as needed by U.S. leadership. To help improve the coherence and effectiveness of the U.S. foreign policy toolkit, the Executive and Legislative branches need to work together to develop a consistent

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<sup>3</sup> See the UN Millennium Development Goals (<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>) and the 0.7% of GNP target for developed countries' contributions to Official Development Assistance (ODA) (<http://www.unmillenniumproject.org/press/07.htm>).

strategic planning and evaluation process that includes the multitude of agencies involved in national security and international affairs.<sup>4</sup>

“Unified security budget” analytical documents, along with improved congressional mechanisms for considering international affairs and national security appropriations as an integrated whole, would help facilitate better comparative analysis of how the U.S. spends its vast resources to engage with the world. Incorporating this funding analysis into the budget process would help improve Executive-Congressional coordination, as well as provide policymakers with a tool to consider overall security spending priorities and potential trade-offs. In highlighting the current imbalance between military and non-military resources, this funding analysis would elevate development and diplomacy and demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of investing in tools that further human, national, and global security. Ultimately, a unified security budget analysis would enable policymakers to rebalance the budgets for international engagement to put greater emphasis on non-military tools.<sup>5</sup>

### **Recommendations:**

- Create a consistent budgeting and evaluation process to institutionalize long-term strategic planning, along with mandated supporting documents to clearly articulate U.S. national security and international affairs objectives and the overall balance of resources needed to achieve them.

*At the Executive level:*

- Institute a biennial National Security Planning Guidance (NSPG) process – led by the National Security Council (NSC) and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), with the participation of other international affairs and national security agencies – that is integrated into the budget process to provide guidance on strategy and funding priorities.
- Create a National International Affairs Strategy (NIAS) document that details U.S. international affairs objectives and the government-wide capabilities and resources required to achieve them. This document should include development and security objectives and contain input from the NSC and OMB.
- Conduct a Quadrennial Development and Humanitarian Assistance Review (QDHR) to evaluate and propose appropriate changes to U.S. development objectives and approaches every four years.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See Henry L. Stimson Center, *Budgeting for Foreign Affairs and Defense Research Program*, directed by Distinguished Fellow Gordon Adams. Available online at: <http://www.stimson.org/budgeting/programhome.cfm>.

<sup>5</sup> See Miriam Pemberton and Lawrence Korb, "A Unified Security Budget for the United States, FY2008," (Foreign Policy In Focus, Washington DC, April 26, 2007). Available online at: <http://www.fpiif.org/fpiftxt/4175>.

<sup>6</sup> For the previous three recommendations, see: The United States Commission on Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People (HELP) Around the Globe, "Beyond Assistance, the HELP Commission Report on Foreign Assistance Reform," (December 2007, p. 90 – 91). Available online at: <http://www.helpcommission.gov/>.

*At the Congressional level:*

- Congressional Budget Committees should provide greater scrutiny of overall military and non-military security priorities through hearings and in cooperation with congressional authorizing and appropriations committees.
- Establish additional oversight mechanisms for national security and international affairs budgeting, such as a Select Committee on National Security and International Affairs or a government-mandated Commission on Budgeting for National Security and International Affairs.
- Create “unified security budget” analytical documents to better facilitate comparative analysis of the overall balance of U.S. security resources, including military, international affairs, and homeland security spending and breakdowns of funding by agency and country.
  - OMB should add a “Unified Security Funding Analysis” to the “Analytical Perspectives” volume of the budget to facilitate congressional consideration of the overall balance of U.S. security resources.
  - The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) should incorporate a similar consolidated security budget analysis into its annual Budget and Economic Outlook report.

### **III. Preserve Distinctions Between Developmental and Non-Developmental Foreign Assistance**

As part of a more coordinated, balanced approach to U.S. foreign policy, both developmental and non-developmental foreign assistance can contribute to human, national, and global security. When considering the overall balance of resources for U.S. national security and international affairs objectives, however, long-term development funds should remain distinguished from and not be diverted to short-term political, economic, or military assistance accounts. Increased funding for core development accounts should be protected and reflect a primary goal of addressing the causes and consequences of global poverty. Priorities of development accounts should be set by civilian development leadership, respond to the priorities of recipient populations, and focus primarily on the needs of sustainable development for the world's poorest. Non-developmental foreign assistance should be directed to programs that help reduce armed violence, which can help open the space for long-term development initiatives to succeed.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The reduction of armed violence is crucial to the success of development initiatives. In addition to increased funding for development, more resources should be directed toward security assistance programs that contribute to demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, security sector reform, destruction of weapons surpluses, and control of weapons stockpiles. These types of programs help reduce the avenues for armed violence to undermine development programming. They also require strong oversight to ensure that funds are not misdirected to achieve short-term political objectives. Congress should require the Administration to clearly articulate the amount, type, and objective of all security assistance requested in the foreign assistance budget.

**Recommendations:**

- “Fence” development assistance accounts to prevent long-term resources from being redirected to support short-term political objectives.
- Ensure that control over non-developmental foreign assistance (e.g., Economic Support Fund (ESF), International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLE), Nonproliferation, Antiterrorism, Demining, and Related Programs (NADR), International Military Education and Training (IMET), and Foreign Military Financing (FMF)) is retained by the Department of State, maintaining the principle of civilian control while differentiating between long-term development and short-term security assistance.
- Institute appropriate measures of effectiveness for different types of U.S. foreign assistance – i.e., programs that are geared toward economic development should be judged by development metrics and programs that are essentially political in nature should be judged by political metrics. These appropriate measures should be developed by and used in systematic evaluation conducted by the U.S., recipient countries, and independent experts.

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## PRINCIPLE TWO

### Civilian Structures

*Expanded U.S. government capacity for civilian-led and implemented foreign assistance and crisis response offers a more strategic and cost-effective alternative to military-led involvement.*

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#### I. Improve and Strengthen Structures for Civilian-led and Implemented Foreign Assistance and Crisis Response

The capacity of the U.S. government for civilian-led and implemented foreign assistance and crisis response has significantly eroded over the past twenty-five years. The current U.S. interagency “partnership” is far from equitable, with permanent DoD employees outnumbering those of USAID by a ratio of 750:1.<sup>8</sup> The Department of State is often unable to provide even advisory support to essential governmental functions in post-conflict states, and declining USAID staff levels have resulted in the agency’s increased reliance on contractors to promote its various development objectives. U.S. civilian agency capacity to operate overseas remains very thin but there are opportunities to move in a new direction.

Several high level task forces and commissions have reported on different aspects of U.S. foreign aid effectiveness in recent years, emphasizing the need to modernize foreign assistance infrastructure, including elevating development as a core element of U.S. engagement with the world.<sup>9</sup> There are signs that policymakers, too, are beginning to recognize the need to reinvest in and strengthen civilian agency capacities. The FY 2009 budget request seeks to increase the size of the diplomatic corps with 1,100 new positions for the Department of State and 300 new positions for USAID. The Department of State has also launched a *Civilian Stabilization Initiative* based on the establishment of three tiers of civilian response capabilities: an Active Response Corps of selected and specially trained diplomats and interagency federal employees; a Standby Response Corps of federal employees; and a Civilian Reserve Corps that will be comprised of private sector, local government and civil society personnel with relevant specialized skill sets. The next Administration and Congress should invest in building these capabilities with a focus on development, conflict prevention, and civilian crisis response.

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<sup>8</sup> Mark Malan, “U.S. Civil-Military Imbalance for Global Engagement: Lessons from the Operational Level in Africa,” (Refugees International, July 2008), p. 11.

([http://www.refugeesinternational.org/files/10761\\_file\\_RI\\_CivMil\\_imbalance.pdf](http://www.refugeesinternational.org/files/10761_file_RI_CivMil_imbalance.pdf))

<sup>9</sup> For example, the 2007 HELP Commission (<http://www.helpcommission.gov/>), the 2007 CSIS Commission on Smart Power (<http://www.csis.org/smartpower/>), the 2006 Brookings-CSIS Task Force on Transforming Foreign Assistance for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century ([http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2006/fall\\_foreign\\_assistance\\_reform\\_brainard.aspx](http://www.brookings.edu/articles/2006/fall_foreign_assistance_reform_brainard.aspx)), and the 2004 Center for Global Development Commission on Weak States and U.S. National Security (<http://www.cgdev.org/section/initiatives/archive/weakstates>).

## Recommendations:

- Establish a more unified and effective structure for U.S. foreign assistance that elevates development, with a primary focus on poverty alleviation, as a key element of U.S. national security alongside diplomacy and defense. Inclusion of an independent Cabinet-level agency for development, such as a Department of International Sustainable Development recommended by the minority report of the HELP Commission, should be a key component of such reforms.<sup>10</sup>

*Please refer to Principle 5 for additional recommendations addressing the policies, practices, and programs carried out within a revamped development assistance structure.*

- Restore the institutional capacity of USAID or a successor development agency by supporting a larger, well-trained, and well-resourced direct-hire workforce and field presence.
- Increase authorities, resources, and personnel in the Office of Transition Initiatives, the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, and the Office of Conflict Mitigation and Management, currently at USAID, as well as initiatives within the United States Institute of Peace, for programs that are specifically designed to help countries transition out of conflict and build sustainable peace.
- Establish within the aforementioned development agency a highly-placed office on gender integration that is well resourced (in terms of budget and staff) and has the budgetary authority and mandate to fully integrate gender within budgeting and planning processes, program design and implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and agency capacity building.
- Establish a high-level Executive Office position to coordinate government-wide strategy, planning, and resource allocation for preventing and responding to conflict, such as a Deputy National Security Advisor for Conflict Prevention and Response.<sup>11</sup>
- Pledge Executive support for and fully fund the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS) as the lead government agency for civilian stabilization and reconstruction missions.
- Pledge Executive support for and fully fund Active, Standby, and Reserve components of a Civilian Response Corps (CRC) made up of U.S. civilians who are trained in conflict prevention and post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction skills. The CRC should be deployed at the invitation of a host country and, when possible, in coordination with the UN or regional bodies.
- Authorize and appropriate permanent contingency funds to provide flexible resources for effective civilian responses to humanitarian and natural disasters, to prevent a country from

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<sup>10</sup> See HELP Vice Chairman Leo Hindery, Jr. and HELP Commissioners Jeffrey D. Sachs and Gayle E. Smith, "Revamping U.S. Foreign Assistance," (Appendix 11: Additional Views by Commissioners in "Beyond Assistance", December 2007, p. 167 – 199). Available online at: <http://www.helpcommission.gov/>.

<sup>11</sup> As recommended in: Stewart Patrick and Kaysie Brown, "The Pentagon and Global Development: Making Sense of the DoD's Expanding Role – Working Paper 131," (Center for Global Development, November 2007).

descending into violent conflict, and to perform post-conflict reconstruction and stabilization efforts.<sup>12</sup> Options include:

- A permanent *Humanitarian Crisis Response Fund* to ensure readily available resources for quick and effective civilian responses to natural disasters;
- A permanent *Conflict Response Fund* to allow for rapid, flexible, and effective civilian responses to prevent violent conflict and state collapse.

## II. Reverse the Militarization of Civilian Agencies and Foreign Assistance

The desire of the Department of Defense for a “unity of effort” among all U.S. government agencies to work toward achieving the objectives of the “war on terror” is changing the ethos and manner in which weakened civilian agencies operate. The Pentagon has greatly increased its role in the provision of foreign assistance traditionally under the authority of USAID and the Department of State and overseen by the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. It has handled a greater share of U.S. Official Development Assistance (ODA) and expanded its involvement in the training and equipping of foreign military forces. Budget numbers reflect this trend toward the militarization of foreign assistance: the percentage of ODA the Pentagon controls leaped from 1998 to 2005, growing from 3.5% to nearly 22%, while USAID's percentage of ODA decreased from 65% to less than 40% during the same period.<sup>13</sup> Improved civil-military and interagency coordination to create a “whole of government” approach to U.S. foreign policy should reinforce civilian primacy in foreign affairs, not perpetuate the militarization of civilian agencies or their missions.

### Recommendations:

- Reduce the amount of ODA controlled by the Department of Defense (DoD), and clarify the roles and responsibilities for DoD, the Department of State, and USAID (or successor development agency) in the provision of foreign assistance..
- Reverse the expansion of the DoD’s authority to provide foreign military assistance and conduct “train and equip” programs outside the scope of activities traditionally funded and implemented under Department of State authority, and eliminate efforts to give the DoD permanent authority to circumvent existing laws under the Foreign Assistance Act governing these activities.

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<sup>12</sup> See The United States Commission on Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People (HELP) Around the Globe, “Beyond Assistance, the HELP Commission Report on Foreign Assistance Reform,” (December 2007, p. 38-39). Available online at: <http://www.helpcommission.gov/>.

<sup>13</sup> See Stewart Patrick and Kaysie Brown, “The Pentagon and Global Development: Making Sense of the DoD’s Expanding Role – Working Paper 131”, (Center for Global Development, November 2007, p. 4). Available online at: <http://www.cgdev.org/content/publications/detail/14815/>.

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## PRINCIPLE THREE

### Diplomacy

*A well-resourced and field-present diplomatic infrastructure will enhance U.S. ability to prevent and resolve conflict through dialogue, and restore U.S. credibility and trust in the world.*

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#### I. Enhance and Sustain U.S. Diplomacy to Prevent and Resolve Conflict

Diplomacy is a key instrument of U.S. foreign policy, but in recent years has been neglected as an approach to preventing and resolving conflict in the international community. Open dialogue and principle-based negotiations can play a direct role in addressing the underlying causes of global insecurity and preventing conflicts from descending into violence. A multi-track diplomatic approach that involves official U.S. government initiatives, increased citizen diplomacy and people-to-people exchanges, and revived public diplomacy can help the U.S. build the international partnerships and mutual understanding necessary to address key issues of U.S. and global security, such as weapons proliferation, climate change, global health, and poverty alleviation.<sup>14</sup>

Neglect of the tool of diplomacy has also been exacerbated by shrinking numbers of diplomats, lackluster funding, inadequate training, and, at times, the erosion of authority in foreign policy matters for diplomatic representatives in U.S. missions abroad. Roughly 700,000 civil servants work for the Department of Defense; approximately 6,500 career Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) and 5,000 Foreign Service specialists occupy 265 U.S. posts abroad and at the Department of State in Washington, DC.<sup>15</sup> FSOs are often outnumbered in U.S. embassies, which can contain personnel from as many as 30 government agencies. In some larger posts, representatives from the Department of State may occupy less than a third of the positions filled by U.S. personnel.<sup>16</sup> To build diplomatic capacity at home and abroad, the number of U.S. FSOs and diplomatic personnel should be greatly increased and they should receive enhanced training in a full range of skills, from management and budgeting to conflict prevention and development.

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<sup>14</sup> 3D Security Initiative, "A New Vision for U.S. and Global Security, Diplomacy as a Security Strategy." Available online at: [http://www.3dsecurity.org/diplomacy\\_as\\_strategy](http://www.3dsecurity.org/diplomacy_as_strategy).

<sup>15</sup> Gordon Adams, "The Politics of National Security Budgets," (The Stanley Foundation, Policy Brief, February 2007, p. 5). Available online: <http://www.stanleyfdn.org/publications/pab/pab07natsecbudget.pdf>. Thomas R. Pickering and Chester A. Crocker, Project Co-Chairs, and Casimir A. Yost, Project Director, "America's Role in the World: Foreign Policy Choices for the Next President," (Georgetown University Institute for the Study of Diplomacy, 2008, p. 35). Available online at: [http://isd.georgetown.edu/Americas\\_Role\\_in\\_the\\_World.pdf](http://isd.georgetown.edu/Americas_Role_in_the_World.pdf).

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

## **Recommendations:**

### *Supporting Open Dialogue, Principled Negotiations, and Citizen Diplomacy*

- Establish clear policy to approach open dialogue and principled negotiation as a means rather than a reward in international conflicts, with preconditions not placed as official obstacles to talks.
- Focus diplomatic efforts on negotiating the core interests of the involved parties and avoid concentrating on specific positions.
- Support a multi-track diplomatic approach that encourages civil society, business, media, academic, and religious leaders to engage in people-to-people exchanges and increases resources for all aspects of citizen diplomacy, from the internationalization of U.S. education to strengthened public diplomacy.
- Increase support and resources for cultural and academic exchange programs designed to further dialogue and understanding between the U.S. and the world, and establish policies that facilitate the entry of qualified foreign scholars and students into the U.S.. The Department of Homeland Security should make public their reasons for visa cancellations, and establish an appeal process that will afford timely review of visa denials.

### *Building Diplomatic Capacity at Home and Abroad*

- Institutionalize training programs for FSOs and Department of State personnel that develop strategic planning, budgeting, program management, and congressional relations skills.
- Review and revise incentives so that FSOs who focus on conflict resolution, development, public diplomacy, and humanitarian assistance are rewarded equally with traditional diplomatic negotiators regarding advancement within the Department of State.<sup>17</sup>
- Enhance training for FSOs on how to recognize early warning signs of genocide and mass atrocities, including critical outbreaks of violence against women and girls in situations of armed conflict, and develop policy options and civilian tools to respond to those warnings effectively and in a timely fashion.
- Dramatically increase the number of qualified, language-capable Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) and diplomatic personnel positioned in U.S. Embassies, Consulates, and Diplomatic Missions in countries and regions at risk of, emerging from, or rebuilding after violent conflict.
- Create a “surge capacity” of available diplomats to augment U.S. diplomatic capacity during times of crisis and conflict resolution opportunities, to ensure sustained support for peace negotiations, and to provide on-the-ground support for Presidential Special Envoys.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> For the previous two recommendations, see Gordon Adams, "Findings and Recommendations," Project on National Security Resources, Briefing Slides, July 2007.

- Establish forums for institutionalizing U.S. government interface with civil society actors involved in conflict prevention, multi-track diplomacy, and peacebuilding efforts on the frontlines of regions in crisis.

## **II. Promote Proactive U.S. Diplomatic Engagement within Multilateral Institutions**

Opinion polls show that Americans want to be represented at the UN. They also show that Americans view the UN as a way to share the financial and programmatic responsibilities of engagement with the world.<sup>19</sup> Yet the U.S. remains behind in its payment of dues to the UN, and Government Accountability Office studies in 2006 and 2001 reported that Americans were underrepresented at a staff level in three key UN agencies. Greater support for and engagement in multilateral institutions would help to boost U.S. influence, rebuild U.S. relationships with the global community, achieve U.S. development and security goals, and respond to the desires of American citizens. Efforts to enhance U.S. diplomatic engagement within multilateral institutions should emphasize the importance of helping people from the U.S. build an even deeper long-term understanding of and investment in the success of these organizations.

### **Recommendations:**

- Ensure the next U.S. Ambassador to the UN takes a proactive and positive role in engaging with the international community as he or she represents the U.S. at the UN.
- Place greater importance on and devote increased resources to the technical side of the Department of State's Bureau of International Organization Affairs and Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.
- Promote proactive engagement with the African Union (AU) and other regional bodies to deepen U.S. understanding of African peace and security concerns, and work in partnership with African governments and civil society to determine what types of political, financial, and technical support would help enhance their capacities to prevent, mitigate, and resolve conflicts and promote human security.
- Increase the number of people from the U.S. engaged with the UN system through guidance in navigating the UN system and better linguistic and technical training opportunities through the Department of State.

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<sup>18</sup> See Gayle Smith, co-chair of the ENOUGH Project, "Senate Subcommittee on African Affairs Hearing Testimony," (October 24, 2007). Available online at: <http://www.enoughproject.org/node/635>.

<sup>19</sup> Deborah Derrick, Better World Campaign, "Building a Stronger American Presence at the UN," (Testimony Before U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, August 1, 2007). Available online at: <http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/resources/derrick-testimony-08-01-07.pdf>.

- Increase funding to place people from the U.S. in Junior Professional Officer (JPO) and Associate Expert positions within the UN system to build a deeper long-term understanding of and investment in the success of key multilateral institutions.

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PRINCIPLE FOUR  
**Multilateralism**

*U.S. recommitment to constructive participation in international institutions and partnerships is necessary to address key global challenges that include conflict prevention, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, nonproliferation, climate change, migration, public health, and poverty.*

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**I. Rebuild and Sustain U.S. Relations with Multilateral Organizations**

To help meet growing needs and demands in a changing world, the U.S. needs to recommit to sustaining healthy and effective relationships with the global community. This should include pursuing constructive policies, in a spirit of global partnership, updating and reforming international organizations, including the UN and international financial institutions, and meeting all U.S. financial obligations to these organizations.

Globally, the UN provides the most suitable institutional framework for reducing poverty and strengthening failing states because of its comparatively low cost of work, high level of expertise, and magnitude of international legitimacy. In the arena of security, U.S. contributions to UN Peacekeeping received the highest rating by the White House Office of Management and Budget for their cost effectiveness, achievement of stated goals and promotion of American objectives. UN Peacekeeping shares the task of protecting civilians so U.S. soldiers do not need to deploy to conflict zones and strengthens failing and insecure states so they are less likely to be used as staging grounds for terrorist activity. UN institutions are also doing strong work on gender and development. The U.S. needs to support this work by promoting the integration of gender issues into the development and security strategies of all multilateral organizations.

**Recommendations:**

- Fulfill all U.S. financial obligations to the UN, UN agencies, and multilateral development banks to demonstrate renewed U.S. commitment to meet its obligations under the UN Charter, to act as a partner in global efforts to reduce poverty, and to repair relations with international institutions.
- Make UN Security Council reform a priority and commit to support steps to update the power structure within the UN in order to better reflect the world we live in, including giving major contributors to the UN and newly developed and developing countries a seat at the table.

- Support UN efforts towards enhancing its capacity for civilian policing and security sector reform, including improved training and expansion of the existing, pilot Standing Police Capacity (SPC).<sup>20</sup>
- Strengthen UN efforts to bridge the relief-development gap, including active participation in the Peacebuilding Commission and funding for the Peacebuilding Fund.
- Strongly support the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) to help ensure the UN is fully capable of meeting its mandates and to enhance U.S. current knowledge of UN peacekeeping operations' needs and challenges.
- Increase U.S. support for UNIFEM and the UNIFEM-managed Trust Fund to Eliminate Violence Against Women as effective, multilateral mechanisms to integrate gender in the UN system and empower women and girls in developing countries.

## II. Support International Humanitarian and Human Rights Law

U.S. support for international law is in line with the longstanding tradition of U.S. rule of law promotion around the world. Unfortunately, U.S. decisions regarding international humanitarian and human rights law have recently concerned even the closest of allies. In 2007, the UK House of Commons Human Rights Report stated that the UK could not trust U.S. assurances that it did not engage in torture due to the U.S. government position on the legality of water-boarding.

Effective use of international law can both dissuade individuals from violating internationally agreed upon standards of action and help ensure consequences for violators. In certain cases, such as the prosecution of crimes against humanity in weak or failed states, strong international law institutions are cost effective and efficient compared to ad hoc tribunals. The Administration and Congress can also use international law to promote the rights of women and children by supporting international legal regimes related to these groups.

### Recommendations:

- Restore faith in U.S. policy on the treatment of prisoners and detainees by upholding U.S. commitments under the Geneva Conventions and the UN Convention Against Torture.
- Demonstrate U.S. commitment to international law by taking steps toward full cooperation with the International Criminal Court (ICC); this includes the "re-signing" and ratification of the Rome Statute and the donation of resources for the ICC's upkeep.

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<sup>20</sup> See Joshua G. Smith, Victoria K. Holt, and William Durch, "Enhancing United Nations Capacity to Support Post-Conflict Policing and Rule of Law," (Henry L. Stimson Center, November 2007). Available online at: [http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/Stimson\\_UNPOL\\_Report\\_Nov07.pdf](http://www.stimson.org/fopo/pdf/Stimson_UNPOL_Report_Nov07.pdf).

- Support ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child to make clear U.S. support for the protection of women’s and children’s human rights around the world.

### **III. Support Multilateral Efforts to Curb Nuclear and Conventional Weapons Proliferation**

The American people and foreign policy experts agree on the importance of reducing the U.S. nuclear arsenal. Over the last 10 years, 70% or more of the U.S. public has supported the abolition of nuclear weapons. Top foreign policy experts are also increasingly coming to consensus around the idea that the U.S. can and should work with the international community to support the global nuclear nonproliferation regime and take multilateral steps toward a nuclear weapons-free world.

The trade and development of conventional weapons must also be addressed. The majority of civilians killed in armed conflict today are the victims of small arms. These weapons are often directly or indirectly sold to regimes that have records of human rights abuses. It is essential that the U.S. support systems that prevent the illicit trade of all conventional weapons by standardizing their import, export, and transfer.

#### **Recommendations:**

##### *Nuclear Nonproliferation*

- Uphold the U.S. commitment to disarmament under Article VI of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) by substantially reducing the U.S. nuclear stockpile with the aim of eventually eliminating it. In particular, fulfill the 13 steps toward implementation of Article VI agreed to by the nuclear powers at the 2000 NPT Review Conference.
- Increase financial support for and cooperation with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) in order to adequately detect and respond to nuclear proliferation.
- Support ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and remain committed to halting all nuclear weapons testing.
- Oppose nuclear deals with NPT non-signatory states.
- Begin immediately formal negotiations with Russia on a legally binding, effectively verifiable follow on to the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) that reduces Russian and U.S. strategic nuclear stockpiles well below levels envisioned under the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty (SORT).
- Work through bilateral and multilateral channels within the Conference on Disarmament to start negotiations on the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT), which would halt the production of

bomb-making materials, and take a lead in developing a binding multilateral commitment to prohibit the militarization of space.

### *Conventional Weapons Control*

- Strengthen implementation of the UN Program of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects, and play a positive role in strengthening the multilateral and regional mechanisms that will support national implementation.
- Participate in international efforts to develop an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) establishing common international standards on the import, export, and transfer of conventional weapons, including through good faith U.S. participation in the UN Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) examining the feasibility, scope, and content of the proposed treaty.
- Support the completion and implementation of a legally binding treaty to prohibit the use, production, transfer, and stockpiling of cluster munitions that cause unacceptable harm to civilians.
- Accede to the 1997 Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction, and commit to cease plans for production of new types of landmines.

## **IV. Support Multilateral Mechanisms to Reduce Poverty and Meet Global Health Needs**

The U.S. can improve the effectiveness of its development assistance, avoid duplication of programs, and maximize international aid efforts by working to improve coordination and harmonization with international donors. The U.S. has already committed to the construction and support of several multilateral poverty reduction schemes such as the Millennium Development Goals and Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. It should completely fulfill these commitments and work with international financial institutions to promote equitable economic policies that allow developing country economies to grow

Poverty reduction goals would benefit greatly from debt relief measures. Loan obligations have significantly reduced the ability of many countries to meet their citizens' education and public health needs. They have also decreased countries' abilities to navigate the current financial and food crisis. In order to ensure that debt relief nations do not return to their current situations, the U.S. must support the international community in addressing "vulture-funds" and predatory lending schemes.<sup>21</sup> Finally, no work on poverty reduction and development can be successful without recognizing the importance of global health. Work on global health is imperative on moral grounds because health is

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<sup>21</sup> "Vulture funds" are companies that purchase sovereign debt at highly discounted prices from low income countries, and subsequently try to recover multiple times the purchase price, often by suing the country in a U.S. or European Court. See [http://www.jubileeusa.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Resources/Policy\\_Archive/408briefnotevulturefunds.pdf](http://www.jubileeusa.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Resources/Policy_Archive/408briefnotevulturefunds.pdf).

a human right. It is also important on development grounds since sustainable development requires a healthy workforce.

## **Recommendations:**

### *Sustainable Development Assistance*

- Improve the coordination of U.S. development assistance with international goals and efforts, including operational support of progress toward the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness process.
- Undertake high-level U.S. leadership in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness process and prioritize commitments to development effectiveness. This work should involve low-income country governments as well as civil society organizations, in the creation of an inclusive framework for international aid effectiveness beyond 2010.
- Urge the multilateral development banks to provide emergency grants to low-income countries most vulnerable to and affected by the current global financial crisis and rise in food and fuel prices, as well as to fund locally inspired and planned long-term development strategies that prioritize food security and support small farmers.
- Work to ensure that low-income countries are treated as full and equal participants in multilateral trade negotiations and respond to their concerns and recommendations about agricultural subsidies, intellectual property rights, sensitive products, and non-agricultural market access as part of trade negotiations.
- Condition increased funding to the International Development Association (IDA) arm of the World Bank on key reforms at the World Bank including an end to harmful economic policy conditionality, improved institutional transparency and accountability, altered staff incentives, expanded external monitoring and evaluation, and the development of a more equitable internal voting structure that includes significantly increased representation from developing countries. Similar reforms should be promoted at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other international financial institutions.
- Promote policies at the international financial institutions that advance human rights, gender equality, and environmental stewardship; enhance country ownership of programs and projects; and contribute to political, economic and social stability in fragile states, while opposing all that do not, including imposition of harmful loan conditionalities that force onerous cuts in spending on human security.

### *Debt Relief*

- Pay outstanding U.S. arrears to the International Development Association (IDA) and regional development banks to support international debt relief efforts for low-income countries.

- Support efforts to expand debt cancellation to all low-income countries eligible for “IDA only” assistance from the World Bank, provided they demonstrate the commitment and capacity to direct released funds toward poverty reduction programs.
- Advocate within the IMF, World Bank, and other international financial institutions for an end to policy conditionality on debt cancellation, except for requirements on transparency and accountability for use of funds released by debt cancellation.
- Enact measures to curtail the practices of so-called “vulture funds” by supporting changes in U.S. law to outlaw profiteering by U.S. individuals or in U.S. courts; committing funds to the World Bank Debt Reduction Facility; and encouraging bilateral and private creditors to adopt policies against “on-selling” their claims to vulture funds.
- Work within international forums to develop a new global framework for responsible financing in order to avoid debt re-accumulation and the creation of new odious and/or illegitimate debt. Such a framework should address both the quantity and quality of lending to impoverished countries.

#### *Global Health Needs*

- Increase support for and direct more resources through multilateral channels to address global health issues, such as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria.
- Cooperate with the international community to develop and implement a Vaccine Purchase Fund that would provide advanced market commitments for medical breakthroughs for globally neglected diseases borne by the most poor such as malaria, tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, and other infectious diseases.
- Elevate prevention and recognize the role of women in international HIV/AIDS efforts by supporting and implementing gender equality guidelines and commitments made by the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria and the UN Joint Program on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS).<sup>22</sup>
- Support the World Health Organization (WHO), UNICEF, and other organizations’ efforts aimed at strengthening the capacity and quality of national healthcare delivery, access, and affordability, without further privatization, and direct funds toward programs that increase the number of trained healthcare workers in developing countries.
- Restore funds for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) to help reduce maternal and infant mortality, and increase U.S. funding for family planning and reproductive health programs to help improve maternal health and achieve universal access to reproductive health by 2015.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> See Adrienne Germain, “A New Agenda for Girls’ and Women’s Health and Rights,” (International Women’s Health Coalition and Better World Campaign, 2008, p. 3). Available online at: <http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/resources/women-germain-feb08.pdf>.

<sup>23</sup> “Millennium Development Goal Four: Reduce Child Mortality” calls for reducing by two thirds the mortality rate among children under five, and “Millennium Development Goal Five: Improve Maternal Health” calls for reducing by three

## **VI. Join International Efforts on Climate Change and Sound Stewardship of Natural Resources**

U.S. environmental decisions have a global impact due to the country's disproportionately high use of natural resources and production of waste, when compared to the rest of the world. Environmental degradation has already resulted in the pollution of global land and water resources and had significant effects on the everyday lives of many communities. This includes a decrease in the ability of developing countries to grow cash and/or subsistence crops, which has a negative impact on public health, development and trade. Unfortunately, the U.S. has not institutionalized robust measures to respond to this environmental crisis. The U.S. Climate Action Report transmitted to the UN in 2007 explained that U.S. carbon dioxide emissions over the next ten years will be almost identical to those of the last ten years. The Administration and Congress need to work on both domestic and international fronts to make the U.S. a better steward of the environment, which will help achieve multiple U.S. foreign policy goals.

### **Recommendations:**

- In coordination with Congress, the U.S. Administration should prioritize efforts to develop and conclude a comprehensive post-2012, international treaty on climate change that Congress will ratify.
- Invest in international funding efforts designed to support adaptation and resiliency of people and wildlife in vulnerable developing countries.
- Support ratification of the UN Convention on Biological Diversity and the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.
- Increase U.S. replenishment contributions and pay down arrears to the Global Environment Facility, and other international institutions that ensure sound stewardship of natural resources and protect against conflict over resource scarcity.
- Increase diplomatic efforts for multilateral engagement, cooperation, and tension reduction on common threats related to climate change, and foster an infrastructure for conflict prevention at all levels of society to address conflicts and security concerns stemming from climate change induced displacement or instability due to resource scarcity, droughts, floods, disease, rising sea waters, or other environmental disasters.

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PRINCIPLE FIVE  
**Development and Trade**

*U.S. development and trade policies that reflect a long-term commitment to gender-equitable human welfare, poverty alleviation, and sustainable use of natural resources will enhance aid effectiveness, contribute to national interests, and ensure a stable global environment.*

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**I. Establish Improved Policies and Programs for Effective U.S. Development Assistance**

Investing in sustainable development will improve the effectiveness of our foreign aid and global human security. These efforts will also contribute to long term stability and security in the world. Sustainable development strategies are those which are based on the perspectives and goals of people living in poverty who best know the intricacies of their situations. This includes the experience of women for whom development assistance has been shown to have exponential benefits. Strategies for sustainable development must be designed as part of development rather than trade policy. They should not include “tied-aid” and be linked to the procurement of U.S. goods and services.

**Recommendations:**

- Enact a new Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) that rationalizes related authorizing legislation (including the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), The President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), and food aid), provides the foundation for more coherent foreign assistance structures; and makes addressing the causes and consequences of poverty the primary objective of U.S. development assistance.
- Provide multiyear commitments of U.S. foreign assistance to allow for longer-term development planning, more strategic allocation of funding over time, and increased country ownership over aid.
- Ensure that all U.S. development assistance programs reflect the distinct priorities of men and women living in poverty and include broad civil society participation to the maximum possible extent.
- Ensure that gender is integrated across all sectors of development in the budget and planning processes, as well as in program design, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation.

- Minimize the amount of U.S. “tied aid” linked directly to procurement of U.S. goods and services and reexamine the long-term effectiveness of such assistance.
- Increase the flexibility of U.S. Official Development Assistance (ODA) to improve field-level capability to respond to localized circumstances and opportunities.
- Increase the amount of U.S. ODA provided through multilateral agencies and instruments, such as pooled funds, to help strengthen donor coordination and depoliticize aid.

## II. Pursue Coherence between Trade, Migration, and Development Policies

A more coherent approach between trade and long-term development policies would further social and economic development in developing countries, while preserving and creating good jobs in the U.S. U.S. trade policies should prioritize inclusive development and poverty alleviation, and the next Administration and Congress should adopt a trade framework that advances – not hinders – job creation, gender equality, food security, and environmental sustainability in the U.S. and in trading partner countries.<sup>24</sup> This type of trade framework would be beneficial to economies around the world and help developing countries decrease the push factors of migration since their citizens would have job opportunities and security at home.

### Recommendations:

- Reevaluate the U.S. framework for bilateral, regional, and multilateral trade agreements and require assessments to determine their impact on domestic and international communities, particularly indigenous people, women, and communities living in poverty.
- Recommit to transparent and democratic approaches to negotiating U.S. trade policy, and fully engage Congress in its oversight and accountability capacities.
- Redesign U.S. trade policies to integrate gender needs more fully and address and dismantle the unique barriers that women face in accessing the benefits of global trade.
- Robustly expand duty free-quota free market access preferences for products from the least developed countries, and harmonize and simplify U.S. preference agreements and regulations, such as regional preference acts and the Generalized System of Preferences.<sup>25</sup>
- Assess the impact of U.S. trade policy on economic development and migration flows in both low income and developed countries, and amend policies that can contribute to the displacement of workers and farmers. Implement policies that increase wages in low income countries, while

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<sup>24</sup> Interfaith Working Group on Trade and Investment, *Trade as if People and the Earth Mattered: A Working Document on Alternatives*, (Washington, DC, May 2008). Available at: <http://www.tradejusticeusa.org/resources/alternatives.pdf>.

<sup>25</sup> Some organizations hold the additional view that policymakers should ensure that U.S. preference agreements are not tied to willingness of countries to negotiate a full free trade agreement.

ensuring robust protection for U.S. workers, and enact enforcement mechanisms that guarantee full respect for human and labor rights.

- Fully respect the right of low income countries to safeguard and nurture their own domestic economies through sovereign governance of trade and financial policies, regulations, and mechanisms that promote and protect their own small-holder farmers, vulnerable workers and consumers, and domestic manufacturers.
- Exclude provisions that further liberalization of essential public services, such as water, energy, education, and healthcare, and ensure trade agreements support the development of robust public institutions that contribute to social and economic development.
- Include provisions in trade agreements that strengthen public health services and improve access to and affordability of treatment, and eliminate intellectual property rights restrictions that undermine public health.
- Exclude “investor-state” provisions in trade agreements, in which international investors are able to sue host governments over actual or potential loss of future corporate profits resulting from domestic policies and regulations, particularly those that prioritize the public good and social and human welfare.

*Please refer to Principle 4 for additional recommendations addressing U.S. development assistance as it relates to multilateral mechanisms.*

### III.

## Supporting Resources

### General Resources

Lael Brainard, ed., "Security by Other Means: Foreign Assistance, Global Poverty, and American Leadership," (Brookings Institution Press and Center For Strategic And International Studies, 2006). Available online at: <http://www.brookings.edu/press/Books/2006/securitybyothermeans.aspx>.

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"Just Security: An Alternative Foreign Policy Framework," (Foreign Policy in Focus, June 2007). Available online at: <http://www.ips-dc.org/getfile.php?id=134>.

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The United States Commission on Helping to Enhance the Livelihood of People (HELP) Around the Globe, "Beyond Assistance, the HELP Commission Report on Foreign Assistance Reform," (December 2007). Available online at: <http://www.helpcommission.gov/>.

### Principle One

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Better World Campaign, "U.S. Debt to the United Nations," (Better World Campaign, March 2008). Available online at: <http://www.betterworldcampaign.org/resources/us-arrears-to-un-summary-3-2008.pdf>

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Miriam Pemberton and Lawrence Korb, "A Unified Security Budget for the United States, FY2008," (*Foreign Policy In Focus*, April 26, 2007). <http://www.fpif.org/pdf/reports/0704unifiedsecuritybudget.pdf>

## **Principle Two**

Senator Richard Lugar, "Embassies as Command Posts in the Anti-Terror Campaign," (report to members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 109<sup>th</sup> Congress, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session, December 15, 2006). Available online at: [http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=109\\_cong\\_senate\\_committee\\_prints&docid=f:31324.pdf](http://frwebgate.access.gpo.gov/cgi-bin/getdoc.cgi?dbname=109_cong_senate_committee_prints&docid=f:31324.pdf).

Mark Malan, "U.S. Civil-Military Imbalance for Global Engagement: Lessons from the Operational Level in Africa," (*Refugees International*, July 2008). Available online at [www.refugeesinternational.org/files/10761\\_file\\_RI\\_CivMil\\_imbalance.pdf](http://www.refugeesinternational.org/files/10761_file_RI_CivMil_imbalance.pdf)

Oxfam America, "Smart Development: Why U.S. Foreign Aid Demands Major Reform," (Oxfam America, briefing paper, February 2008). Available online at: [http://www.oxfamamerica.org/newsandpublications/publications/briefing\\_papers/smart-development](http://www.oxfamamerica.org/newsandpublications/publications/briefing_papers/smart-development).

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