

Summaries

STRENGTHENING U.S. SECURITY

1. Work to Institutionalize the International Fight Against Terrorism

By Daniel Benjamin, Senior Fellow, Center for Strategic and International Studies

The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, galvanized not only world leaders but also intelligence and law enforcement agencies around the globe. These attacks produced a new, genuinely shared perception of the threat jihadist terrorism poses. As a result, international cooperation in the fight against terrorism improved dramatically. Unfortunately, however, this cooperation has not extended beyond the tactical level, and it has not been anchored in international institutions. In order to foster multilateral cooperation against international terrorism, the administration should propose a new multilateral antiterror organization, open to all nations that have ratified and implemented key antiterrorism treaties. In its bilateral aid, the United States should increase financial and technical assistance to countries that support this effort and are working to build their capacity to fight terrorism. The president should also publicly reaffirm U.S. support for UN efforts to combat terrorism, especially efforts by the Security Council to enforce antiterrorism measures using Chapter VII authority.

2. Promote Multilateral Nuclear Nonproliferation Efforts

By Jon Wolfsthal, Deputy Director, Non-Proliferation Project, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The United States must take effective steps to stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It should begin immediately to improve the existing nonproliferation regime and redouble efforts, especially with Russia, to ensure that existing nuclear weapons and materials do not fall into terrorist hands. The administration should accelerate and expand efforts to secure nuclear weapons and materials through the G-8 Global Partnership. The president should also appoint a respected, internationally recognized presidential ambassador who will work to reinforce the global nonproliferation consensus and enhance the prospects that the 2005 Nonproliferation Treaty Review Conference will succeed. In addition, the administration should press for a 50 percent increase in the safeguards and security budget of the International Atomic

Energy Agency and push for a UN Security Council resolution to establish firm international legal grounding for the Proliferation Security Initiative. Finally, the administration should announce new bilateral efforts with Russia to further reduce nuclear arsenals in both countries below the levels set in the 2002 Treaty of Moscow.

3. Uphold the Geneva Conventions and the Convention Against Torture

By Eugene R. Fidell, President, National Institute of Military Justice

The Bush administration has repeatedly committed to treating prisoners humanely and to acting in a manner consistent with the principles of the Geneva Conventions and other international treaties. A number of recent decisions, however, have caused concern both inside and outside the government. Many have cautioned that the United States may be violating the letter and the spirit of laws protecting prisoners under its care, including members of al Qaeda and captured military personnel in Iraq. These actions are fueling the perception that international laws governing prisoner care and interrogation are not being respected. President Bush should publicly reaffirm the U.S. commitment to adhere to the Geneva Conventions, the Convention Against Torture, and all other applicable principles of the laws of war. The president must state unambiguously that he has no authority to authorize the torture of any person and that he has an obligation to prevent cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment of all prisoners. The secretary of defense should also conduct timely hearings to determine whether each detainee in U.S. custody is being properly detained and whether he or she is entitled to protections afforded to prisoners of war. In addition, an executive order should be issued prohibiting the detention of any prisoner outside of publicly identified detention facilities and announcing that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) will have access to all prisoners in U.S. custody. These steps would ensure a U.S. policy that is legally sound and politically wise—and that will protect Americans who might fall into enemy hands.

4. Protect U.S. Interests More Effectively by Supporting the International Criminal Court

By Stephen Rickard, Director, Washington Office of the Open Society Institute

America's interests are better served by guarded but constructive engagement in the ICC, since without a voice at the table the United States will be unable to influence the Court's development. The president should announce a high-level commission to examine whether the United States should join the Court in time to participate in the critical 2009 review conference, which will likely amend the Rome Statute. The president should also announce that when it is in the national interest the United States will cooperate with the Court on a case-by-case basis. The United States should contribute to the ICC's Victims Fund, support a UN Security Council resolution referring the Darfur crisis to the ICC, and review U.S. law as it pertains to war crimes in order to close any potential gaps or loopholes. Without committing the United States to join the Court, President Bush can craft a policy toward the ICC that will remove the issue as a significant source of controversy between the United States and the world's other democracies while simultaneously enhancing important U.S. interests.

5. Help Develop Institutions and Instruments for Military Intervention on Humanitarian Grounds

By Anne-Marie Slaughter, Dean, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University

The administration has an extraordinary opportunity to put humanitarian intervention on a firmer legal footing and create the instruments and institutions necessary to make actual intervention easier and more effective. These actions would demonstrate to the world that the United States cares about fighting both terrorism and genocide. The president should start by giving a major speech that endorses the emerging norm of an international responsibility to protect populations against genocide and other large-scale killing in cases where individual governments have failed to fulfill their own obligations toward their people. The United States should also establish a commission of high-level defense and humanitarian experts to examine the feasibility of creating a NATO rapid reaction force tasked to intervene in cases of humanitarian crisis. The administration should endorse Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin's proposal to create an informal group of G-20 leaders to coordinate diplomacy on urgent international issues and humanitarian crises. A flexible, manageable network of representative world leaders could quickly coordinate diplomacy on urgent international issues where

a difference of weeks can literally save thousands of lives. The administration should task the U.S. national security advisor with reviewing the 2002 National Security Strategy and recommending ways of incorporating an emphasis on human security, as well as state security.

6. Improve Coordination with Allies to Promote Democracy

By Theodore Piccone, Executive Director, Democracy Coalition Project

President Bush has pledged Washington's support for "effective multilateral action" to promote democracy. In his inaugural address, the president called for a "concerted effort of free nations to promote democracy" as the antidote to tyranny. The president should start by working with the United States' democratic allies, old and new, to develop a common, consistent strategy to nurture the growth of democracy in priority states by applying diplomatic pressure and providing financial incentives. The United States should continue to strengthen the Community of Democracies, particularly through the creation of a multinational secretariat and a Democracy Transition Center to assist democratic reformers. The United States should also move ahead with plans to establish a global fund to foster democracy in priority states, and to change aid criteria so that good performers are rewarded with enhanced financial aid, debt relief, and trade privileges. The United States should support reform in the UN's human rights system by endorsing criteria for membership on the United Nations Human Rights Commission and by forming a caucus secretariat to coordinate common positions on democracy and human rights issues in United Nations bodies.

7. Support Ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

*By Alexandra Arriaga, Director, Government Relations,
Amnesty International, USA*

CEDAW provides an international standard for protecting the rights of women, addressing topics as diverse as ending violence, stopping trafficking, and supporting girls' education. Despite broad domestic support and ratification by 179 countries, the United States—along with Iran, Somalia and Sudan—has yet to ratify the treaty. By voicing support for CEDAW ratification, President Bush could reaffirm the long tradition of U.S. support for human rights and promote global respect for women. President Bush should call for Senate ratification of the treaty and require that U.S. government reporting on human rights include CEDAW compliance.

8. Extend and Reinforce American Leadership of the Multilateral Response to HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria

By Anil Soni, Founding Executive Director, Friends of the Global Fight

President Bush has shown unprecedented leadership in the global fight against AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. But despite clear strides forward, the administration can improve its leadership of the global fight by extending U.S. leadership for the multilateral response. First, the president should support a \$1.1 billion appropriation in FY06 for the Global Fund, the United States' fair contribution toward a mechanism that has proven extremely effective and transparent. In addition, the United States should ensure adequate support of multilateral organizations providing technical assistance to developing countries to fight the three diseases. Finally, the president should take immediate steps to exclude from new free-trade agreements any TRIPS-plus provisions that restrict full access to generic medicines needed to fight the three diseases. The administration should seize the opportunity to extend and reinforce its leadership of the multilateral response to these three diseases.

9. Reassert United States Leadership on Women's Health and Human Rights

By Adrienne Germain, President, International Women's Health Coalition

Securing women's health and human rights will make a significant contribution to alleviating poverty, promoting global economic progress, and ensuring international stability. The United States, both through the diplomatic and the budgetary process, should focus on accelerating multilateral cooperation on women's health issues. During 2005, the administration should reaffirm the U.S. commitment to women's health and human rights at key international conferences; the global HIV/AIDS pandemic necessitates strong U.S. leadership to galvanize international support. Furthermore, the president should order the State Department to form a bipartisan, expert team to review the controversy surrounding the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) with the aim of restoring United States funding for UNFPA. The president should sign the World Leaders Statement in Support of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) and fully fund the United States' financial commitments established at the ICPD for fiscal 2006. The administration should also provide \$10 million to support the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence Against Women, and the World Health Organization's multicountry study on violence against women.

10. Meet the Challenge of Climate Change with U.S.-EU Cooperation

By Philip Clapp, President, National Environmental Trust

The science of climate change has convincingly shown that man's ever-increasing emissions of heat-trapping gases are raising atmospheric temperatures and that these rising temperatures can have potentially devastating consequences. The president's second term actions will be a high-profile test of whether he is serious about dealing with the devastating potential of atmospheric warming and about addressing the rift in the Atlantic alliance over what to do about the problem. The United States should join negotiations to craft a successor agreement to the Kyoto Protocol—the cornerstone of the international effort to curb emissions-induced climate change, which expires in 2012, and should support a 2007 goal for completing a new global warming treaty. Domestically, the president should support Senator John McCain's and Senator Joe Lieberman's proposed Climate Stewardship Act (S.139), and call on Congress to pass it by the end of 2005. These measures would send a strong message that the United States is seeking to renew cooperative relationships and repair critical alliances.

ADVANCING GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

11. Strengthen Coordination of U.S. Development Assistance with the Millennium Development Goals

By Jamie Drummond, Executive Director, DATA

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are a set of targets aimed at reducing poverty in the world's poorest countries. The MDGs aim to establish a uniform set of benchmarks so that development partners can work toward the same ends and donors can streamline and harmonize their programs, improve mechanisms to deliver measurable results, and reduce wasteful duplication. Developing countries have agreed to work toward reaching these goals by 2015. In partnership, wealthier countries have agreed in principle to support these efforts through debt cancellation, increased and improved development assistance, and trade reform. In order to achieve the MDGs, the administration should pledge at the upcoming G8 Summit and UN Millennium Summit that the United States will do its fair share to help achieve the Millennium Goals. The administration should also finalize an implementation strategy for the proposal by the United States and the UK for 100 percent cancellation of multilateral debts and increased International Development Association grants for the poorest, most indebted countries. The president should use this year's World Trade Organization negotiations to eliminate rich-

country agricultural subsidies and trade policies that undermine efforts in developing countries to achieve the MDGs. Finally, the administration should consider creating a cabinet-level development position with responsibility for better coordinating U.S. development efforts.

12. Fulfill the Promise of the Millennium Challenge Corporation

By Lael Brainard, Senior Fellow and Director, Poverty and Global Economy Initiative, The Brookings Institution

The announcement of the creation of the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) was welcomed as a rare opportunity to create a new blueprint for distributing and delivering aid effectively, increase significantly U.S. development assistance flows, and improve the image the United States presents to people in poor nations around the world. In his second term, the president faces the critical challenge of delivering on the promise of the MCC. The president should concentrate efforts on three priority areas: providing technical support to kick-start the grant proposal process, developing a world-class monitoring and evaluation system to ensure accountability, and implementing the Threshold Program in a timely manner. The administration should ensure full funding of the MCC and make the case for congressional support through faster and stronger implementation. Finally, the United States should take steps to improve coordination of the MCC, at a policy level and in the field, with both multilateral and bilateral donors and with other U.S. government entities. Through the MCC the administration can play a leading role in helping the world's poor onto a developmental path that will provide sustained growth and democratization.

13. Promote Broader Budget Transparency Abroad

By Pamela Gomez, International Policy Analyst, International Budget Project, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

Budget transparency—a government's complete disclosure of all relevant financial information in a timely and systematic manner—is a key element of good governance in all countries. Budget transparency ensures that members of the public can participate in a meaningful way in the processes that set policy and budget priorities; it is vital both to U.S. national interests and to the well-being of hundreds of millions of people around the world. The administration should require that all U.S. representatives to the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other international donor agencies use their authority to ensure that public access to key budget documents is a component of all country assistance and poverty-reduction strategies. The United States should

adopt mandatory disclosure requirements for all payments that oil, natural gas, mining, and other natural-resource extraction companies listed on the exchanges in the United States make to governments and public officials in each country where they operate. Finally, the United States should work to make transparency in the extractive industries a precondition for all lending and other assistance by the World Bank, regional development banks, and export credit agencies.

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Jamie Drummond is executive director of DATA - Debt, AIDS, Trade, Africa, which he cofounded with Bono, Bobby Shriver, and others in 2002. DATA's mission is to help Africa beat AIDS and achieve the Millennium Goals by creating a supportive movement, especially in the United States. DATA has played a leading role in encouraging the Bush administration to propose and Congress to appropriate substantial increases in poverty-focused overseas development assistance over the last three years. DATA, in conjunction with Bread for the World and the Better Safer World coalition, recently started a campaign called ONE, which calls for 1 percent more of the U.S. federal budget to be directed towards effective assistance, as America's fair share of a global effort to achieve the Millennium Development Goals. ONE also calls for deeper debt cancellation, trade reform, and anticorruption measures. Drummond was a global strategist for Jubilee 2000 "drop the debt," and prior to that spokesperson for Christian Aid. He has traveled widely in Africa and Asia, and has an M.A. in development from the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

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The United States today faces a daunting array of international crises and simmering transnational problems. The current administration has committed itself to “effective multilateralism” and a world in which strong alliances play a key role in solving transnational challenges. *Restoring American Leadership* provides analysis and recommendations on 13 critical issues from international cooperation in the war on terror to curbing proliferation of nuclear weapons to advancing the rights of women across the globe. Each paper offers a specific set of recommendations for action by the president consistent with his stated values. *Restoring American Leadership* is offered as a constructive contribution to the ongoing debate about how America can best assert responsible leadership in a new era.
