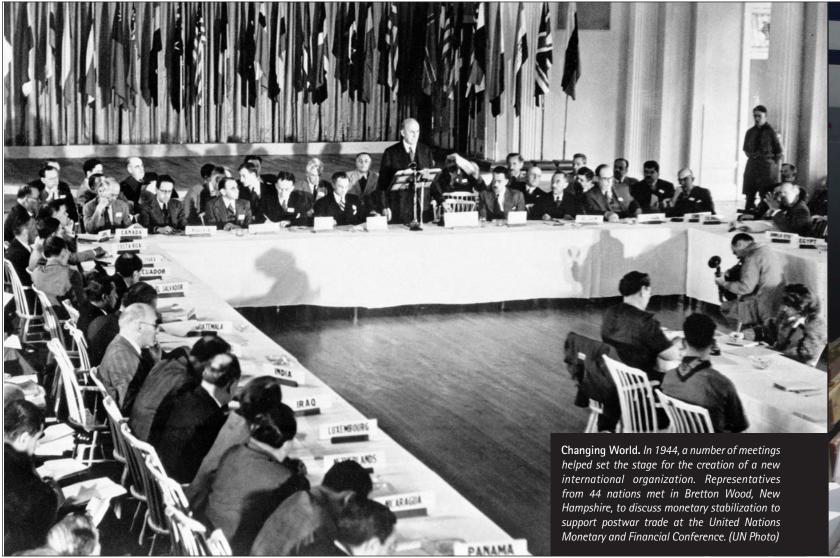
COULT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



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America at a Crossroads

vmerican Leadership US foreign policy must adapt to a rapidly changing world; the next US president will be responsible for that evolution

ince before the end of World War II, the United States has played a significant role in global leadership. Sometimes assertively, sometimes reluctantly, and sometimes adversely, American actions have shaped the international landscape. But seismic changes in the global order are contributing to a growing sense that neither US foreign policy nor the existing international institutions of global governance are adequate to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world.

In 2006, then Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice launched a program she called "transformational diplomacy" to recalibrate infrastructure and the placement of US diplomats around the world. Of this effort, Rice said, "Our world is changing, and we must change diplomacy as a result: to work in new ways, in new places, with new

partners, and for new purposes." Likewise Secretary of State Hillary Clinton announced a similar theme in her 2010 reform effort called the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review. She said, "This is a sweeping effort that asks a simple question: How can we do better? How can we adapt to a world of rising powers, changing global architecture, evolving threats, and new opportunities? How can we look ahead, prepare for, and help shape the world of tomorrow?"

These evolutions in US foreign policy, while welcome and well-intentioned, still leave much to be accomplished. The Stanley Foundation has a longstanding goal of fostering improved American multilateral engagement. The foundation seeks US decision makers, citizen leaders, and media gatekeepers who will have a



good working understanding of the changing global order (and its significance) and will then be led to participate actively in the exploration of cooperative solutions to global problems, promote even broader public understanding of the implications of these changes, and integrate the new global realities into their actions.

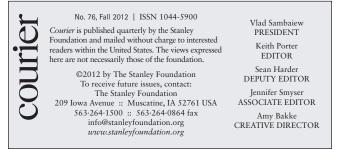
This issue of *Courier* examines how this effort is progressing in the three global challenge areas where the foundation focuses the bulk of its programming. The articles here also highlight key remarks from President Barack Obama and his main rival for the White House, former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, on these critical issues.

Rachel Gerber reminds us, "From Somalia, Rwanda, and Bosnia to Darfur, Sri Lanka, Libya, and Syria, every US president of the last two decades has faced the prospect of genocide on his watch." And every president has tried, often with disappointing results, to improve the system of early warning and response to these crises and potential mass atrocities.

As with genocide prevention, securing vulnerable nuclear material enjoys wide bipartisan support in Washington, DC, but that support has not always translated into policy success. While American efforts in this field began almost immediately after the end of the Cold War, the job of keeping weapons-usable nuclear material secure is never complete. Jennifer Smyser describes why this will remain a top security concern regardless of who occupies the White House next year.

In our closing feature, we note that American leadership has played a key role in creating institutions that foster global peace and prosperity. However, this global order is showing significant signs of stress as challenges mount and emerging powers seek a greater voice. Shoring up these systems and developing 21st-century approaches will demand as much vision from US leaders today as we saw from them in the middle of the 20th century.

> —Keith Porter Director of Policy and Outreach, The Stanley Foundation



Saving Lives Requires US Leadership Preventing genocide or mass atrocity means the next administration must coordinate internally, and internationally



Preventing Atrocities. Too often the United States and the international community have reacted to, rather than prevented, mass atrocity situations. A policy of prevention requires coordination within government and with other nations. Here, Assistant Secretary of State Johnnie Carson, former US Secretary of State Colin Powell, US Ambassador to the UN Susan R. Rice, and Ambassador R. Barrie Walkley inaugurate the new US Embassy in Juba, South Sudan on the country's Independence Day. (USAID Photo)

Solution of the Holocaust, few US presidents have left the office unburdened with the memory of mass atrocities they proved unable—or unwilling—to prevent.

For decades, bipolar power struggle monopolized presidential focus and political will. As the Cold War ebbed, fresh campaigns of violence revealed genocide, crimes against humanity, ethnic cleansing, and war crimes for what they really were: pervasive and consistent features of global politics.

From Somalia, Rwanda, and Bosnia to Darfur, Sri Lanka, Libya, and Syria, every US president of the last two decades has faced the prospect of genocide on his watch. All have made tough decisions, some openly regretted. Tellingly, each ultimately instructed his administration to better prepare for future decisions that awaited him and his successors.

In the wake of Rwanda, President Bill Clinton created the State Department's Office of War Crimes Issues, now known as the Office on Global Criminal Justice. Headed by its first ambassador-at-large, David Scheffer, the office sought to better link relevant policymakers across the US government and to focus their attention on global mass atrocity threats. The administration of President George W. Bush retained this office and created additional capacities for post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction. President Bush also incorporated the first mention of genocide in his 2006 National Security Strategy, professing the "moral imperative that states take action to prevent and punish genocide."

The Obama administration has expanded these efforts, buoyed also by UN member states' affirmation of their collective responsibility to prevent and halt mass atrocities through the doctrine known as the Responsibility to Protect. Expanding his 2010 National Security Strategy to explicitly reinforce this doctrine, President Barack Obama has created a directorship at the White House for mass atrocity and war crimes issues. Earlier this year, he established a high-level Atrocities Prevention Board to focus the attention of key US government policymakers on developing a wider, more effective range of policy options to anticipate atrocity threats, diffuse them before they emerge, and ultimately protect civilians against those that could not be prevented.



International Justice. An international system exists for bringing to justice those who kill innocent civilians. Here, US and Ugandan forces join in a coordinated hunt for warlord Joseph Kony, who has been indicted by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity. (AP/Ben Curtis)

Complex Challenge

Even as these efforts are under way, global events highlight serious challenges that will continue into the next administration. The ongoing fighting in Syria—perhaps the most politically and logistically complex case of the last two decades—has come early in the history of this Atrocities Prevention Board. While attention is high, most US policymakers feel their choices lie between a small set of unpromising options. Beyond Syria, the global policy community still has much to learn about the choices that drive elites to target civilians, how those choices can best be countered, and how preventive diplomacy, stabilization, and development assistance can help build societies with stronger internal checks against them.

The moral roots of atrocity prevention, and its consistent relevance as a policy challenge, have kept it one of the few bipartisan—or even nonpartisan—issues in US politics. Many of the recent internal reforms made by the Obama administration, for example, share much with proposals made in a congressional resolution on genocide prevention passed last year.

Yet while the problem may inspire general agreement across the political spectrum, solutions provoke fierce debate in the midst of crisis. Consensus is often lost as specific policy choices are bandied, assessed, and disputed.

In presidential campaigns, such debates dominate the few policy statements candidates make on atrocity-related issues. In the midst of inevitable squabbles over what defines "leadership," voters should listen for indications that candidates (1) understand the link between mass atrocities, global stability, and US national security, (2) place clear priority on preventing atrocities, particularly before crises develop, (3) are willing to invest in better understanding the drivers of atrocity violence and maximizing the US government's ability to address them, and (4) recognize the political ramifications of their policies at the international level and value multilateral action in full accordance with international law.

> —Rachel Gerber Program Officer, The Stanley Foundation

CANDIDATES' POSITIONS

While presidential campaigns typically elicit little from which to determine candidates' positions on atrocity-related issues, both President Barack Obama and his Republican challenger, former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, have expressed some thoughts on related issues and cases. In his speech launching the Atrocities Prevention Board at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Obama declared that "national sovereignty is never a license to slaughter your own people" and described preventing genocide and mass atrocities as a "core national security interest and core moral responsibility" of the United States.

Romney's statements have been primarily crisis-specific. During the Republican primary debates, he supported the idea of arming the Syrian rebels in their struggle against the government of President Bashar Hafez Assad. The Romney campaign Web site includes an issues page on Africa indicating he would "lead on the issue of Sudan's ongoing atrocities" and is "committed to protecting innocents from war crimes and other atrocities, ensuring that humanitarian aid reaches those desperately in need, holding accountable those leaders who perpetrate atrocities, and achieving a sustainable peace for all who live in Sudan and the Republic of South Sudan." While his stance beyond these cases is not yet clear, he has appointed Ambassador Richard Williamson, former special envoy to Sudan under the George W. Bush administration and a well-known atrocity-prevention advocate, as a top foreign policy adviser to his campaign.

Whatever the candidates' platforms, mass atrocities remain a stark reality of global politics that any US president must confront. Both candidates should ensure that the next US administration builds on the work of its predecessors to better enable US policymakers to cope effectively with atrocity threats.

A Common Cause. Preventing a nuclear terrorist attack anywhere in the world is a cause most nations readily support. Above, the large plenary session takes place at the 2012 Nuclear Security Summit in Seoul, South Korea. (UN Photo/Eskinder Debebe)

Securing Nuclear Material Must Continue Preventing a nuclear terrorist attack should remain a bipartisan priority, no matter who is president

The US-led Manhattan Project developed what is without question the world's most dangerous weapon. The United States is the first, and only, country to have used nuclear weapons. The bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan, in 1945 ended World War II. Then, during the Cold War, the United States and Soviet Union stockpiled large numbers of nuclear weapons as part of a mutually assured destruction doctrine. After the end of the Cold War, the United States was one of a handful of nations possessing nuclear weapons, and, aside from Russia, it had one of the largest stockpiles.

US leaders quickly recognized that the fall of the Soviet Union left large numbers of weapons and significant quantities of weapons-usable nuclear material widely scattered and potentially unsecure. With the birth of the Cooperative Threat Reduction program, or the Nunn-Lugar Act, the United States took on a global leadership role in securing the world's nuclear materials. The efforts made over the last 20 years, through Democratic and Republican administrations, have made the world a safer place.

However, the world is a different place than it was at the end of the Cold War. More countries have nuclear weapons, which means the materials needed and the knowledge of how to build the weapons are spread more broadly. There is an increased demand for nuclear energy, which often uses the same material used in weapons. This, too, means more material in more locations and the spread of knowledge and technology. And there are nonstate actors, especially terrorists, who desire to possess or use a nuclear weapon, so protecting the material (and weapons) from theft or diversion and containing the know-how of nuclear-weapons development is more important than ever.

Today's global effort to secure weapons-usable nuclear material requires strong US leadership. We've been using our diplomatic, technical, and other resources to lock down these materials for two decades, but today's world demands that US (and other countries') efforts be stepped up. It is in our national security and other interests to ensure that a nuclear terrorist event never occurs, especially on US soil.

Challenges Ahead

The president and his administration, Congress, and the American public all have roles to play. If we are to attain effective, sustainable nuclear materials security, the next



Reducing Material. Eliminating or securing material like highly enriched uranium is the easiest way to prevent a nuclear terrorist attack. The effort began more than a decade ago following the collapse of the former Soviet Union when US Senators Sam Nunn and Richard Lugar passed legislation to help eliminate and secure the world's supply of nuclear materials. Here, Nunn, left, and Lugar, center, turn two keys to ignite explosives to destroy a former Soviet nuclear missile silo in Ukraine in 1996. (AP/Efrem Lukatsky)

administration must work to build upon efforts of the last few years, particularly the Nuclear Security Summits, which brought together leaders of more than 50 countries to address the issue. Our own commitments from this year's Nuclear Security Summit need to be fulfilled before the next summit, in the Netherlands in 2014. We also need an administration committed to building a strong and unified global nuclear security regime that goes beyond the national protection and control systems of the nations that possess these materials and facilities. Our leading by example is crucial to our ability to leverage other countries' actions.

Through the departments of Energy, State, and Defense, the United States operates key programs that assist those nations that want and need help in securing or disposing of or interdicting illicit transfer or sale of nuclear material. These programs require an investment authorized by Congress in the US budget that pales in comparison to the estimates of the costs of dealing with a nuclear terrorist event. The US investment in these programs, and other multilateral efforts, is a demonstration of leadership in locking down these dangerous materials that must continue under the next administration.

Voters need to understand the potential threat we face from a nuclear terrorist threat. It is not necessary to understand the technical aspects of securing weapons-usable material in order to recognize how our leaders can work to combat nuclear terrorism. The most important thing for voters to understand is that our government can take concrete steps to reduce the risk of a nuclear terrorist attack happening. This understanding will hopefully help voters identify the policies that will most likely lead to effective and sustainable nuclear material security.

> —Jennifer Smyser Program Officer, The Stanley Foundation



Swedish Police Baffled by Explosives Near Nukes. Pakistani Air Force Base With Nuclear Ties Is Attacked. Tennessee: More Charges in Breach at Weapons Plant. These recent headlines are very real reminders of the need for effective, sustainable nuclear material security worldwide.

At the second Nuclear Security Summit, in March 2012, President Barack Obama "ticked off several accomplishments—including improving security at nuclear sites and removing tons of nuclear material—since the last summit," in 2010, according to USA TODAY. When contrasting this statement heralding the success of the more than 50 leaders who gathered at the summit with recent headlines, it becomes clear that governments, especially ours, cannot become complacent about taking steps toward greater nuclear security.

In 2009, Obama used much of his newly minted political capital to draw attention to the threat of nuclear terrorism by calling for the first heads-of-state-level Nuclear Security Summit. The historic and unprecedented gathering of world leaders in 2010 to consider the security of the world's supply of weaponsusable nuclear material was an important step forward. However, the lack of significant outcomes of the second summit earlier this year seems to indicate that the momentum generated through this new summit process might already be fading.

Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney, in a fact sheet laying out his foreign policy objectives, offers one statement related to nuclear security, in the context of efforts to combat the threat of radical Islamic jihadism: "In a world in which weapons of mass destruction can fall into the wrong hands, the United States faces a set of national security dilemmas that are as urgent as they are complex."

US efforts to secure weapons-usable nuclear material and improve global nuclear security governance must remain a top policy priority, regardless of which party controls the White House and Congress after the elections in November.



Leadership Matters. Presidents not only represent the United States to the rest of the world, they also have wide latitude to carry out their own foreign policy priorities. From left, Presidents George H. W. Bush, Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Jimmy Carter pose for a 2009 photo. (AP/J. Scott Applewhite)

American

Greating Global Order The international system has contributed to peace and prosperity for many. Will it be preserved?

lmost 70 years ago, the United States took a leading role in creating an international order that ultimately led to a world that was more peaceful, prosperous, and safe. Although the world is far from perfect, there is great value in a global system that has prevented World War III, sharply limited the spread of nuclear weapons, and created a worldwide marketplace.

Americans, including Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, led the charge for creating the United Nations and ensuring the United States was one of only five members with a permanent seat in the UN Security Council and a permanent veto over all actions of that body. While war is still an everyday part of our world, the system achieved its primary goal of preventing another great power conflict.

The global financial system was institutionalized at a 1944 international conference held in Bretton Wood, New Hampshire. The meeting gave us the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. It also cemented the US dollar as the premier global currency for decades to follow.

At a time when many experts thought nuclear-weapons technology would spread around the world, creating

scores of nuclear powers, American leadership was vital in creating the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. As a result, fewer than ten countries worldwide have nuclear arsenals today.

A Global System That Works

The list of international institutions that, with active US leadership, have made a vital difference in global affairs is impressive. It includes the World Health Organization, World Trade Organization, International Maritime Organization, and many others. Even the G-8 group of industrialized economies can trace its roots to a White House meeting during the term of President Gerald Ford, and the G-20 group of the world's largest economies met for the first time at the heads-of-state level under the guidance of President George W. Bush.

For these reasons and many more, the United States has a vested interest in the survival, evolution, and efficient functioning of this global system of trade, order, and security. Yet important parts of that system are under threat. World leaders pulled us back from the brink of worldwide recession in 2009, but the structural problems of the global economy remain. And no one is sure the international bodies tackling this issue are up to the task.

Likewise, the UN Security Council has been uneven lately in its ability to prevent regional conflicts and protect civilians targeted by their own governments. Even when the council acts, critics question its credibility because its members, especially those with permanent vetoes, no longer reflect the world's power structure. The global nuclear arms regime is fraying at the edges, and major powers have not lived up to their pledges on nuclear disarmament. The United States in particular has stepped away from its global leadership role in areas where the rest of the world seems united, such as the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea.

—Keith Porter Director of Policy and Outreach, The Stanley Foundation



A System That Works. Established systems and rules that countries abide by help create peace and opportunity for the world's citizens. In 1945, US Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. signed the UN Charter as President Harry Truman stood to his left, thereby committing the US to UN membership. (UN Photo)



The major US presidential candidates have expressed their thoughts on international institutions and the changes they would pursue if given the opportunity. In an Ohio appearance in July of 2012, Republican presidential nominee Mitt Romney responded to a question about the United Nations. He said:

I know that there are some who would say, "Just let's get out of the UN." I know there are many people who feel that. But I actually think you need to have a place to talk to other people even if you know they're lying. So you can at least hear what they have to say and sort of get what their propaganda is. And I appreciate a few of the things the United Nations does, like the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency]. These are the folks who go around determining who is violating the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. So there are some things that are good, but there are a lot of things that are not good.

President Barack Obama, in his address at the 2011 opening of the UN General Assembly, acknowledged both the right of nations to act individually and the collective goal of the United Nations:

We believe that each nation must chart its own course to fulfill the aspirations of its people, and America does not expect to agree with every party or person who expresses themselves politically. But we will always stand up for the universal rights that were embraced by this assembly. Those rights depend on elections that are free and fair; on governance that is transparent and accountable; respect for the rights of women and minorities; justice that is equal and fair. Obama later capsulized the reason for these international institutions to exist and why they are vital to America's well-being:

Conflict and repression will endure so long as some people refuse to do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Yet that is precisely why we have built institutions like this—to bind our fates together, to help us recognize ourselves in each other—because those who came before us believed that peace is preferable to war, and freedom is preferable to suppression, and prosperity is preferable to poverty.

In earlier remarks, Romney also recognized the value of the system and of American participation, but he vowed to reform the institutions and preserve the rights of sovereignty:

[T]he United States will exercise leadership in multilateral organizations and alliances. American leadership lends credibility and breeds faith in the ultimate success of any action, and attracts full participation from other nations. American leadership will also focus multilateral institutions like the United Nations on achieving the substantive goals of democracy and human rights enshrined in their charters. Too often, these bodies prize the act of negotiating over the outcome to be reached. And shamefully, they can become forums for the tantrums of tyrants and the airing of the world's most ancient of prejudices: anti-Semitism. The United States must fight to return these bodies to their proper role. But know this: while America should work with other nations, we always reserve the right to act alone to protect our vital national interests.

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NUCLEAR MATERIAL SECURITY

Beyond Boundaries in the Andean Region: Bridging the Security/Development Divide With International Security Assistance

This "Beyond Boundaries" report aims to analyze the security/development divide in the Andean region in hopes of tailoring capacity-building measures to regional security concerns. August 2012 conference report.

Beyond Boundaries in South Asia: Bridging the Security/Development Divide With International Security Assistance

The capacity needed to prevent weapons-of-mass-destruction proliferation and undermine the conditions conducive to terrorism is intimately connected to the capacity needed to fulfill economic, development, and human-security objectives of national governments throughout South Asia. In this report, the Stimson Center's Brian Finlay, Johan Bergenas, and Esha Mufti examine the strong link between implementing UN Security Council Resolutions 1373 and 1540 and overcoming higher priority challenges of South Asian states. June 2012 conference report.

Engaging Whole Community: The Role of Industry and Intergovernmental Organizations in Furthering Nonproliferation Goals and Implementing UNSCR 1540

O'Neil Hamilton, 1540 coordinator for CARICOM, examines the role that Caribbean industry can play in the prevention of proliferation. June 2012 policy analysis brief.

An Assessment of the Nuclear Security Centers of Excellence

Dr. Alan Heyes, a senior visiting research fellow at King's College London, makes recommendations to better realize the potential of centers of excellence, those created before and after the 2010 Nuclear Security Summit, to provide technical, scientific, and educational support for developing a robust nuclear security culture, both nationally and internationally. May 2012 policy analysis brief.

GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

The Future of Liberal Internationalism:

Global Governance in a Post–American Hegemonic Era International relations experts gathered at Princeton University for a workshop that assessed the future of the liberal international order at a moment of transition. The event was cosponsored by Princeton's Project on the Future of Multilateralism, the Council on Foreign Relations' International Institutions and Global Governance program, the Stanley Foundation, and the Global Summitry Project at the University of Toronto's Munk School of Global Affairs. June 2012 conference report.



The Apex of Influence:

How Summit Meetings Build Multilateral Cooperation

With the G-8, G-20, and NATO summits convening in May and June, this event gave expert presenters an opportunity to preview the summits' issues, significance, and likely outcomes. This two-day conference examined the broader role summits play in forging international consensus and cooperation. May 2012 policy memo.

PREVENTING GENOCIDE

Building State Capacity to Prevent Atrocity Crimes: Implementing Pillars One and Two of the R2P Framework

Implementing the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) requires a concerted domestic and international effort to build domestic atrocity-prevention capacity. David Simon focuses on the aspects of state and local capacity building—assisted where appropriate through international cooperation—that offer the best hope of realizing R2P principles before the prospect of adversarial intervention arises. September 2012 policy analysis brief.

Getting Along: Managing Diversity for Atrocity Prevention in Socially Divided Societies

Based on the experiences of Nigeria and South Africa, Pauline H. Baker examines how states may promote a greater level of protection against the threat of mass atrocity violence. An atrocity-prevention lens is used to consider how diversity might be effectively managed through inclusive political processes, institutional mechanisms, and governance policies. September 2012 policy analysis brief.

NOW SHOWING



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This toolkit considers how early preventive strategies by governments and the international community should build much-needed capacities within countries and make it harder for leaders to resort to violence. It aims to encourage discussion of how future efforts might better protect populations under threat, giving new resolve to the promise of never again.

Fragile States, Global Consequences

This toolkit features a DVD that helps viewers examine the global challenge of fragile states. It aims to encourage discussion of the growing movement in the international community to find comprehensive ways to promote stronger nations and more effective ways to deal with those that are already on the brink of failure.

Radioactive Challenge

This toolkit features a DVD that helps viewers examine the challenge of securing vulnerable nuclear materials globally. It aims to encourage discussion of the complexities of the "world's greatest security challenge," keeping nuclear material out of the hands of terrorists.



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American Leadership New Surveys Reveal Americans' Views on US Global Leadership

This newly released survey from the Chicago Council on Global Affairs offers a glimpse into American thinking "after a decade dominated by the nation's responses to the September 11 terrorist attacks." It finds that Americans still want the US to play an active role in world affairs, but they are now increasingly selective about how and where to engage in the world. In this graphic, for example, we see more Americans favor using US troops to stop a genocide or mass atrocity than favor using troops to ensure a steady oil supply. *www.thechicagocouncil.org* In advance of the US presidential election, a new interactive feature from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Pew Research Center illustrates trends in American attitudes on foreign affairs. Drawing on two decades of survey data, the guide charts the evolution of American public opinion on international threats and foreign policy priorities. For example, in this presentation, 59 percent of Americans say the issue is important to them in deciding whom to vote for in the upcoming election. *carnegieendowment.org/publications/inter active/how-do-americans-view/*

