

GLOBAL SOLUTIONS

QUARTERLY

SPRING 2004

THE NEWSLETTER OF
 Citizens for
Global Solutions

It's the World, Stupid!

Foreign Policy debate stirs up the presidential race



U.S. foreign policy is front and center in policy debates leading up to the 2004 elections, more so than it has been since Vietnam. Senator John Kerry's Super Tuesday win, combined with the withdrawal of Senator John Edwards from the primary race, has secured Kerry the Democratic nomination in August. The future direction of U.S. global engagement is clearly up for grabs in the contrasting positions staked out by candidates Bush and Kerry. What does this mean for the U.S., the United Nations, and the rest of the world?

MULTILATERAL ENGAGEMENT AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

With a few exceptions, President Bush has downgraded or renounced U.S. participation in multilateral treaties and organizations. Notably, he set a historical precedent by un-signing the International

Criminal Court treaty and he withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty, the Kyoto Climate change process, and a U.S. commitment to sign the Ottawa Land Mines treaty. He also derailed the Small Arms convention and has stalled ratification of the Women's Convention (CEDAW).

Although the Bush Administration has recently acknowledged the importance of the United Nations to negotiate the terms of restoring sovereignty to the Iraqis, it has done so reluctantly. Nor has President Bush publicly repudiated his labeling of the organization "irrelevant," even as he seeks its support.

The Bush Administration has promoted a policy of preemption in Iraq. As a result, a June 2003 PEW report indicates that in

Foreign policy will be one of the key issues differentiating Bush and Kerry in the 2004 election - is either on the right track?

"most countries, opinions of the U.S. are markedly lower than they were a year ago. The war [in Iraq] has widened the rift between Americans and Western Europeans, further inflamed the Muslim world, softened support for the war on terrorism, and significantly weakened global public support for the pillars of the post-World War Two era - the U.N. and the North Atlantic Alliance."

When German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder questioned the legality of the U.S. excluding opponents to the war from participating in reconstruction efforts, Bush's sharp retort summed up his opinion of international law: "International law? I better call my lawyer."

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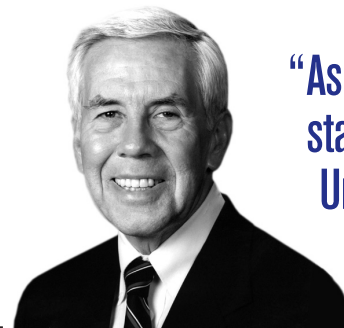
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Senator Richard Lugar

Comments on the Law of the Sea Treaty



“As the world’s state with one United States of the

On February 25th, under the chairmanship of Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN), the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously sent the Law of the Sea Treaty to the Senate floor for ratification.

This is an important treaty which lays down an inclusive set of laws governing the use of the approximately two-thirds of the Earth surface that is covered by oceans. Citizens for Global Solutions’ members have worked to create and ratify this treaty since negotiations began in 1973. Below is *Global Solutions Quarterly’s* interview with Chairman Lugar regarding the treaty and the upcoming vote for U.S. ratification.

GS What is the Law of the Sea Treaty?

LUGAR The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea is an international agreement that establishes a comprehensive set of rules governing the uses of the world’s

oceans. Among the central issues addressed by the Convention are the use of the oceans for navigation and overflight; exploitation and conservation of ocean-based resources such as oil and gas and fisheries resources; protection of the marine environment from pollution; and marine scientific research. 145 countries are parties to the Convention.

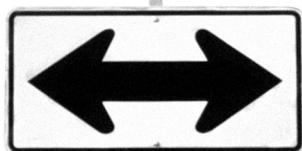
GS Citizens for Global Solutions supports the creation of international laws that will help solve those global problems that nations cannot tackle alone. What global problems does this treaty address?

LUGAR The Convention creates a careful balance between the interests of coastal states in controlling activities off their own coasts and the interests of all states in protecting the freedom to use the oceans without undue interference for a range of purposes, including transportation, communications, and exploitation of ocean-based resources. It also addresses the problem of pollution of the

marine environment by creating binding obligations on all states to preserve and protect the marine environment from pollution from a variety of sources.

GS Why is ratifying this treaty in America’s national interest? Who supports this treaty?

LUGAR As the world’s preeminent maritime power and as a state with one of the world’s largest coastlines, the United States has enormous interests in the uses of the oceans. The Convention advances U.S. national security interests by protecting rights of navigation and overflight that ensure that our military has the mobility it needs to protect U.S. security interests worldwide. The Convention advances U.S. economic interests by enshrining the right of the United States to explore and exploit the vast resources of the oceans out to 200 miles from our coastline. Becoming party to the Convention will also advance the ability of the United States to play a leadership role on global oceans issues.



Will America be viewed as a bully or work with other nations to build a safer future for us all?

The Global Solutions RATING GUIDE

107th Congress 2nd Session & 108th Congress 1st Session

VOTES INCLUDE:

- + Iraq and the United Nations
- + Space-Based Missiles
- + International Criminal Court
- + Nuclear-Tipped Interceptors
- + International Civilian Policing
- + International AIDS Funding
- + Global Environment
- + And more...

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preeminent maritime power and as a of the world's largest coastlines, the has enormous interests in the uses oceans."

At hearings of the Foreign Relations Committee I chaired last fall, the Convention received statements of support from the Departments of State and Defense and the U.S. Coast Guard; from industries with interests in the oceans including the oil and gas, commercial shipping, and fishing industries; from the environmental community; and from experts in oceans law and policy including Admiral James Watkins, the Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Ocean Policy.

GS We have asked the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to support hearings on this treaty since President Clinton sent it to the Senate in 1994, after U.S. concerns were taken care of in negotiations. Why did you decide to hold hearings last fall?

LUGAR When I became Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in 2003, I believed it important that the Convention, which had been pending before the Committee for nearly a decade, finally receive a hearing. Through the Committee's hearing process, I was reinforced in my view that ratification of the Convention advances important U.S. interests and is long overdue. Because the Convention's rules will permit the Convention to be amended for the first time later this year, it is particularly important that the United States ratify it quickly. If we do not do so, we won't have a seat at the table if efforts are made to change the Convention's rules in ways that would harm U.S. interests.

GS What are the next steps for the treaty, and how can concerned citizens for global solutions get involved?

LUGAR The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved the Convention by a vote of 19-0 on February 25. The treaty must now be approved by the full Senate. This will require a two-thirds vote of the entire Senate. Citizens can call, write, or email their respective Senators to voice their support for the Convention. 🌐

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

To his credit, President Bush has supported U.S. re-entry into United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) as well as ratification of the Law of the Sea Treaty.

In contrast, Senator Kerry has argued, "Americans deserve better than a false choice between force without diplomacy and diplomacy without force." He has called for a "third path in foreign policy - a bold, progressive internationalism - backed by undoubted military might - that commits America to lead in the cause of human liberty and prosperity." In Iraq he has called for the U.S. to "reach out to the U.N. and our allies - and internationalize the reconstruction of Iraq."

Kerry's pursuit of a "third way" is supported by his voting record. He voted for the Levin amendment that would authorize the use of force against Iraq if it failed to comply with a proposed U.N. resolution that demanded unrestricted access for U.N. weapons inspectors in Iraq. When it failed, Kerry did ultimately support the final resolution authorizing the unilateral use of force in Iraq.

Kerry also supported an amendment advocated by Senator Dodd that would allowed U.S. assistance to the International Criminal Court (ICC) "in cases involving Saddam Hussein, Slobodan Milosevic, Osama bin Laden, Islamic Jihad, and the al Qaeda terrorist network or any nationals accused of genocide, war crimes, or crimes against humanity." Kerry did, however, vote for the anti-ICC American Servicemembers Protection Act which has penalized countries that ratified the ICC treaty.

GLOBAL AIDS AND THE ENVIRONMENT

The unilateral vs. multilateral contrast between President Bush and Senator Kerry also extends to global health and environmental issues. President Bush has supported funding to fight AIDS and delighted many AIDS advocates when he announced a five-year, \$15 billion global AIDS initiative in his 2003 State of the

Union address. Unfortunately, his actions have not matched his rhetoric. Only \$2.8 billion was allocated in his FY05 budget for programs to fight global AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. Of this, just 7% (\$200 million) went to the multilateral Global Fund, a decrease of 64% of the \$550 million appropriated by Congress in 2004.

Senator Kerry voted for the Durbin amendment that would have increased the U.S. contribution to the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria by \$400 million. Candidate Kerry has pledged to fight AIDS, "through increased resources, programs driven by science not ideology, and tangible and meaningful support for multilateral efforts, particularly the Global Fund to Fight AIDS."

President Bush has said he "opposed the Kyoto [Climate Change] Protocol." Instead, he has proposed his own "Clear Skies" initiative. His goal is to address "long-term global climate change by reducing the greenhouse gas intensity of our economy by 18 percent over the next 10 years." Although overall domestic spending increased in the FY05 budget, spending on environmental programs is targeted for disproportional cuts of \$1.9 billion from FY04 levels.

In comparison, Kerry has voted for a Lieberman amendment that would have required U.S. greenhouse gas emissions to be reduced to 2000 levels by 2010. A participant of the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, Kerry said he "will reengage in the development of an international climate change strategy to address global warming, and identify workable responses that provide opportunities for American technology and know-how."

According to Citizens for Global Solutions Executive Vice-President, Don Kraus, "the outcome of the 2004 elections will impact every single human being on this planet. It could be a referendum that will decide if the United States will act like a bully, or work with other nations to build a safer future for us all." 🌐

First challenge for the ICC

The International Criminal Court Looks to Central Africa

After ten years of intense global effort, the International Criminal Court (ICC) – the only permanent court for genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity – is up and running. Contrary to the doomsday predictions of the Court’s detractors in the United States, the ICC is comprised of expert staff, internationally renowned judges, and a Prosecutor who is working carefully to build the Court’s credibility. The Court has broad support among the world’s democracies; currently, 92 countries are full members of the Court. Already the ICC has received hundreds of communications about alleged crimes from around the world. However, most of these communications do not fall under the Court’s jurisdiction, and only five situations have been identified by the Court’s Prosecutor, Luis Moreno-Ocampo, as being suitable for the Court to follow. He has made his interest in two of these situations public:

- The ongoing atrocities in the Ituri District of the Democratic Republic of Congo
- The war in neighboring northern Uganda.



**DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF
THE CONGO**

Ituri District, on the eastern border of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, is home to one of the worst humanitarian crises of recent times. The current civil war in the Congo has been ongoing for five years, claiming an estimated 3.3 million lives due to violence, disease and starvation. This is the largest death toll of any war since the Second

(and for seeking Congolese cooperation) if the Congo makes a referral.



UGANDA

Across the border from Ituri, another conflict has ravaged northern Uganda for eighteen years. The war between the forces of the Ugandan government (the UPDF) and the armed rebel group the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) has progressively worsened, making

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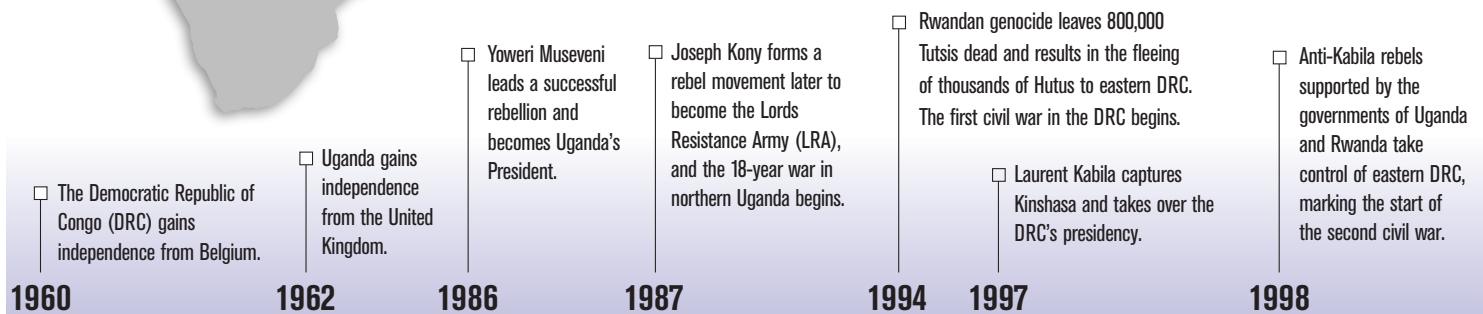
World War. In Ituri, the hardest hit area in the country, human rights organizations have reported widespread torture, mass rape, mutilation, indiscriminate killing and the forced recruitment of child soldiers.

In July 2003, Moreno-Ocampo announced that the ICC is closely following the situation in Ituri. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is an ICC member state, so Moreno-Ocampo is working with the transitional government to help it investigate and try these cases domestically or else refer the situation to the ICC. In this situation, the Prosecutor could initiate an investigation on his own, with the approval of a three-judge panel, but it is easier under the ICC’s Statute

the situation in northern Uganda a desperate one. A major tactic of the LRA is to abduct children, both boys and girls, and use them as soldiers and sex slaves in their army. It has been estimated that as many as 20,000 children have been abducted since the beginning of the conflict in 1987. These children are forced to commit horrific acts of violence under the threat of death. Thousands of people have been forced to flee their homes and move to internal displacement camps, where living conditions are overcrowded and squalid. In addition, thousands of children in northern Uganda trek to the cities at night to sleep in public places to avoid abduction, yet this increases their vulnerability to other forms of abuse.



TIMELINE *Democratic Republic of the Congo & Uganda*





While the LRA tactics are brutal, the UPDF has also been accused of rape, torture, extrajudicial execution, and the use of child soldiers.

Uganda is also an ICC member country, and in January 2004, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni referred this situation to the Court. The ICC will look at the actions of all sides in the conflict; Prosecutor Moreno-Ocampo emphasized that any investigation "will be carried out in an independent and impartial way, with paramount importance being given to the interests of victims."

NEXT STEPS

The ICC can only look into crimes committed since July 1, 2002, when the Court's statute took effect. If the Prosecutor does determine in these two situations that there is reasonable basis to launch an official investigation, it will still take a while for any case to come to trial. After a thorough investigation, the Prosecutor must get judicial approval for an arrest warrant. The charges have to be confirmed in a hearing, ideally after the person in question has been arrested. And no trial can begin before those charged are in custody. In addition, this process can be halted or deferred for numerous reasons (see sidebar). All of this will probably take longer to sort through with the first cases, as the judges will want to ensure that careful and judicious precedents are set. For now, Moreno-Ocampo has appointed Christine

ICC: LONG ROAD TO TRIAL

Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo has not yet announced formal investigations into the situations in Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. If and when he does, it will still be a long journey to trial. Possible deferrals and hurdles include:

COMPLEMENTARITY Any country that would normally have jurisdiction over these crimes can try the cases in their national courts. This principle of "complementarity" – that the ICC complements, not replaces, national courts – is the basis of the ICC's structure. If the national trial is meant to shield the person accused, however, or otherwise "is inconsistent with an intent to bring the person concerned to justice," the ICC judges can return jurisdiction to the ICC. The same applies if the country's judicial system has collapsed or is otherwise unable to investigate and prosecute the case.

CHALLENGES TO JURISDICTION AND ADMISSIBILITY If the ICC determines that a country is unwilling or unable to try a case domestically, that country can challenge the decision, and then further appeal that decision. Other challenges can include whether the crime in question falls under the ICC's jurisdiction, or if another country with jurisdiction is willing and able to take over the case.

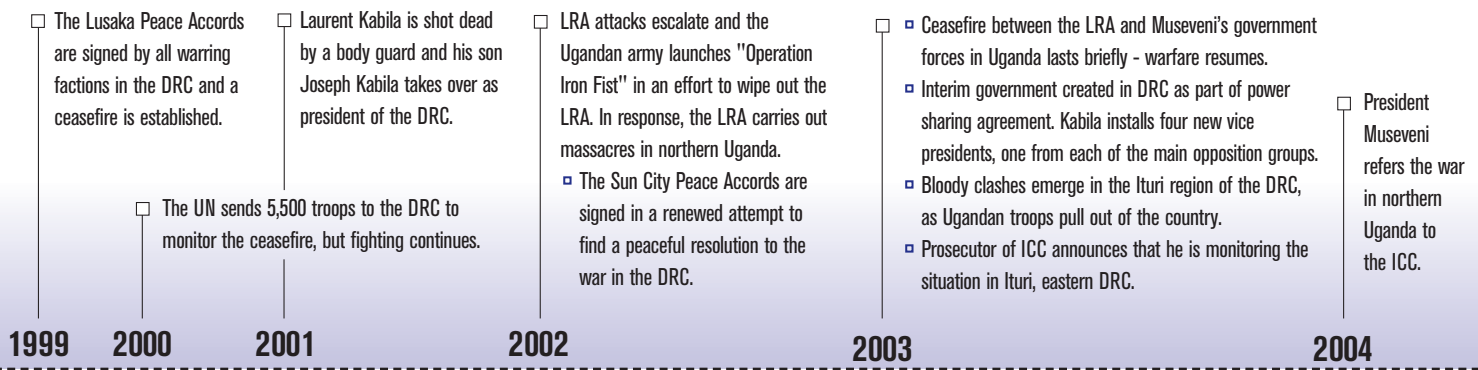
SECURITY COUNCIL DEFERRAL Under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the Security Council can suspend ICC proceedings for renewable 12-month periods if it believes that the Court's actions would jeopardize international peace and security.

ARREST The ICC cannot conduct a trial in absentia, or without the accused present. As a result, if a suspect proves difficult to arrest, the trial can be delayed indefinitely. For such situations, there are special provisions that allow the ICC to continue gathering evidence and recording testimony that would be vital to both the prosecution and defense.

Chung, a former U.S. federal prosecutor, as head of the Ugandan investigation.

How the Court proceeds with these two situations is crucial for the Court's future. If the court is to gain global credibility, it must

demonstrate that it is able to conduct a thorough and fair trial, marked by efficiency, impartiality and careful consideration of the needs of survivors. The people of Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo deserve no less. ●



LEGISLATIVE UPDATE

FISCAL YEAR 2005 BUDGET

In the President's Fiscal Year 2005 Budget (FY05), the International Affairs Budget received \$31.51 billion, a 7 % increase from the amount spent in 2004.

Despite these gains, there is a large disparity between the resources pumped into diplomatic vs. defense spending. A record-breaking \$423 billion has been allocated for defense-related spending, dwarfing the budget request of \$1.2 billion for international organizations and \$650 million for UN peacekeeping operations.

- Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA) was cut from \$695 million to \$650 despite a possible increase in UN peacekeeping operations in the coming months. The budget will most likely have to be supplemented later this year.
- The Child Survival and Health Programs Fund (CSH) has been cut by about 1/2 billion dollars from FY04 despite President Bush's assurance that his new funding initiatives (Millennium Challenge Account and HIV/AIDS) would not come at the expense of previously existing humanitarian programs.
- The Development Assistance Account was reduced from \$1.38 billion (FY04) to \$1.33 billion.
- The Bilateral Global AIDS Initiative (not to be confused with the multilateral Global Fund for AIDS) received a \$1 billion increase from last year's request. However, this is still short of the \$3.6 billion required by the multi-year AIDS authorization bill signed by the President last year.

LEGISLATION TO WATCH

- International Rule of Law and Antiterrorism Act of 2003 (HR1414) - Seeks to establish a professional UN civilian police corps to help quickly stabilize post-conflict societies. The bill currently has 35 co-sponsors in the House; 47 organizations and notables have sent a letter to Congress urging Representatives to support the bill.
- State Department Authorization Bill (2004-2005) - Sponsored by Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL), HR1950 passed the House on July 16, 2003, but the Senate has yet to pass its companion bill, S925. The House legislation increased support for certain developing countries for fiscal years 2004 and 2005, called for the expansion of the Peace Corps, established the Millennium Challenge Account, and provided funding for the UN and other international organizations, including \$72 million for UNESCO. At present it is unclear if the language in the House bill that calls for the creation of a democracy caucus at the United Nations, a policy that Citizens for Global Solutions has actively supported, will survive in the final legislation.

WMD in Iraq?

Looking back, the UN Inspectors Had It Right

A year later the debate continues. It's increasingly clear that U.S. intelligence estimates of Iraq's weapons capacities were, at best, wildly incorrect, or, at worst, deliberately manipulated by the Bush administration to make the case for war. In the midst of the national debate about the rationale for war, little attention has been paid to the fact that the UN inspectors who were in Iraq during the 1990s and early 2000 were actually succeeding in their mission of ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction (WMD, or chemical, biological and nuclear weapons).

Whether motivated by their distrust of international institutions or the belief that their intelligence was better, the administration's decision to ignore the pre-Iraq war reports from inspectors has led, a year later, to a protracted occupation in Iraq that has so far cost the lives of over 550 US soldiers and countless Iraqis.

The administration may have realized that their brusque dismissal of the utility of multilateral approaches to non-proliferation was ill-advised. Certainly, President Bush's February 11 speech on strengthening nonproliferation efforts

The UN's International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), responsible for conducting nuclear inspections around the entire world, has a total budget of approximately \$268 million a year.

The U.S. Iraq Survey Group, set up by the Bush administration post-Iraq war and led by David Kay, spent \$900 million over 15 months seeking weapons of mass destruction in Iraq alone.

As Jessica Matthews, President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, asserted in The Financial Times article, "while governments on both sides of the Atlantic were getting the picture wrong, United Nations inspectors were getting it largely right." The Carnegie Endowment's report, "WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications," details how the inspectors had successfully discovered and eliminated most of the WMD capacities in Iraq before the war. Current reports from the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) on WMD in neighboring Iran further demonstrate that international inspectors continue to play a key role in ferreting out dangerous weapons.

indicated an administrative re-appraisal. It called for, among other worthy initiatives, strengthening the IAEA and expanding successful Nunn-Lugar programs that finance the elimination of WMD in the former Soviet Union. Unfortunately, the reality of administration's actions don't match the rhetoric: President Bush's proposed budget for next year has no increases in funding for the IAEA, and actually slashes funding for Nunn-Lugar by ten percent.

As the nation debates U.S. intelligence failures leading up the Iraq war and mulls how to move forward, it's worth remembering that, this time, the United Nations got it right. ●

Board of Directors Elections

OFFICIAL 2004 BALLOT

In January, the Board of Directors of Citizens for Global Solutions unanimously accepted the nominations proposed by the Leadership Committee. We are delighted that these 15 dedicated and qualified candidates are interested in serving as volunteer leaders in our organization. In order to provide all interested members with the opportunity to review this proposed slate of candidates, their names were announced to all Chapter leaders and brief biographies were posted on our website. Citizens for Global Solutions members are given the opportunity under our Bylaws to initiate a petition process to make additions to the roster of nominees. No petitions were submitted this year, so these nominees are presented to the full membership for its review and vote. Brief biographies of all the candidates are posted at www.globalsolutions.org. Because 2004 is a transition year for the organization, the terms of service for all Directors are staggered to ensure roughly equivalent sized "classes." This year's election also required the recruitment of a large number of candidates, so the 15 people presented on this ballot are being nominated for the 15 open positions.

ONE YEAR TERM
 Mark Epstein
 Anne Fisher
 Bill Fisher
 Dan Orth
 Kermit Rohde

TWO YEAR TERM
 Tom Camarella
 Earl James
 Neal Potter
 Floyd Ramp
 Marjorie Ramp
 Ray Short

THREE YEAR TERM
 Dawn Calabia
 Bill Curry
 Wendell Harter
 Susan Myers

Members of Citizens for Global Solutions check here to accept these nominations and elect this slate of candidates for the terms noted.
PLEASE RETURN THIS BALLOT TO: Citizens for Global Solutions, ATTN: BOARD ELECTIONS, 418 7th Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003. Your ballot must be postmarked no later than May 1, 2004.

NAME

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YOUR MEMBER ID # (A 6-DIGIT NUMBER LOCATED ON YOUR MAILING LABEL)

In addition to the Board of Directors, the Leadership Committee has recruited nominees for the Grassroots Leaders Council of active members. Chapter Chairs, or their designee, will elect this Council on June 10, 2004, during the Citizens for Global Solutions conference in Washington. This list of candidates, plus the names of those who have been nominated to serve on the Board of Citizens for Global Solutions Education Fund, can be viewed at www.globalsolutions.org.

Threats, Challenges and Change

The UN in the 21st Century

JUNE 9-11, 2004

The first national meeting of Citizens for Global Solutions will be an event not to be missed! Electoral politics is where the "rubber hits the road" in our nation. To be a "politically relevant constituency" means that when someone at the White House or on the Hill hears the words "Citizens for Global Solutions," they think dollars, votes, and campaign workers. Your participation in our 2004 lobby effort will help show your Members of Congress that our organization is indeed a force to be reckoned with! A morning will also be devoted to panels consisting of experts on UN reform. The panel will offer a look into the future of the United Nations and present a vision for its important role in our increasingly global world. Come join us for two exciting days of advocacy and policy discussion.

SCHEDULE

WEDNESDAY JUNE 9
 Reception at the Citizens for Global Solutions office

5:00 - 8:00PM

THURSDAY JUNE 10
 Citizens for Global Solutions Lobby Day

8:30AM Lobby briefing to prepare for meetings with Members of Congress

8:30AM - 5:00PM Member Advocacy Visits on the Hill

5:00PM - 6:30PM Lobby debriefing and chapter leaders meeting

6:30PM - 7:30PM Newly elected Grassroots Leaders Council Members meet over dinner

FRIDAY JUNE 11
 A morning of panels speaking on the United Nations

For the latest schedule details, confirmed speakers and a list of hotel options visit www.globalsolutions.org. Return this form with your credit card information or check payable to Citizens for Global Solutions, to 418 7th Street SE, Washington, DC 20003 or fax to 202-546-3749.

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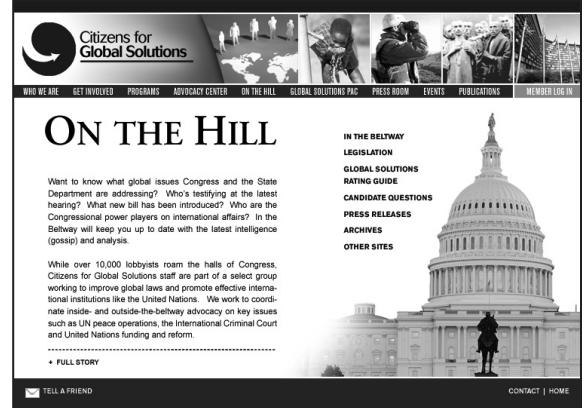
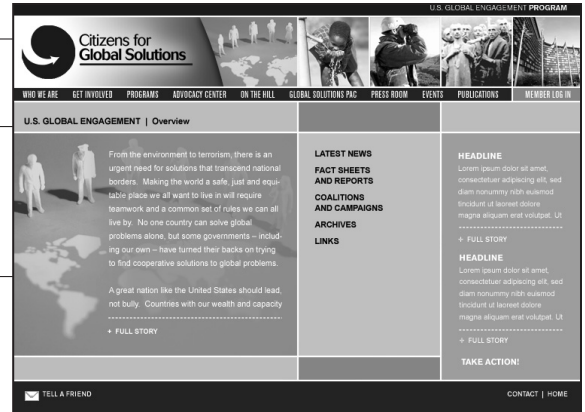
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- Visit our Advocacy Center to email your legislators, sign petitions, and sign up for events
- Donate on-line and keep us running strong



“This is not your ordinary hum drum organizational website. This is a power tool; a next generation in education, advocacy, and citizen action. We're going to make a real difference.”

-Val Schrock, E-Advocacy Team Member, Citizens for Global Solutions

By visiting the site you also play a direct role in helping the E-Advocacy team determine the direction of new campaigns. We have a polling forum for site visitors at our Advocacy Center to help us figure out what international issues to focus on next. Go on-line today and see what www.globalsolutions.org is all about.



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www.globalsolutions.org

Building Peace, Justice and Freedom in a Democratically Governed World

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