

AMERICAN SMART POWER FOR AFRICA'S KIDS

BY

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USAWC PROGRAM RESEARCH PROJECT

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ABSTRACT

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US National Security Strategy identifies respect for universal values at home and around the world as an enduring national interest. In pursuit of its national interests, Armitage and Nye suggest that the US must become a smarter power by investing once again in the global good. The issue of children affected by armed conflict, including children compelled to bear arms, to act as spies, suicide bombers, or human shields, or to become sexual slaves by armed groups, is both a threat to international peace and security, and a human rights concern which never ceases to shock and horrify. This essay analyzes two anti-child labor projects of the US Department of Labor, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking – the Opportunities for Reducing Adolescent and Child Labor through Education (ORACLE) and the Livelihoods, Education, and Protection to End Child Labor (LEAP) – in Uganda, and explains how these programs, if applied in Sudan, can contribute to enhancing US reputation as an agent of global good, thereby expanding American influence and establishing the legitimacy of American action on the African continent and beyond.

AMERICAN SMART POWER FOR AFRICA'S KIDS

[We are] unwilling to...permit the...undoing of those human rights to which this Nation has always been committed...at home and around the world.

—John F. Kennedy¹

US National Security Strategy establishes respect for universal values at home and abroad to be an enduring national interest.² In pursuit of its national interests, the US should employ a combination of hard and soft power, commonly called smart power.³ Smart power requires an integrated strategy which is not solely focused on military might, but incorporates other sources of American strength – political values enshrined in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, US economic and educational systems, personal contact and foreign student exchanges, and US participation and leadership in international organizations.⁴ By using American smart power to invest in the global good – what other states need, but cannot attain on their own – the US can foster goodwill and facilitate acceptance for its actions among the community of nations.

The US Department of Labor (USDOL), Bureau of International Labor Affairs (ILAB), Office of Child Labor, Forced Labor, and Human Trafficking (OCFT) (“the means”) has funded two successful anti-child labor projects in Uganda: the Opportunities for Reducing Adolescent and Child Labor through Education (ORACLE), and the Livelihoods, Education & Protection to End Child Labor (LEAP) projects (“the ways”). By working to eliminate the worst forms of child labor, these projects illustrate an effective use of American smart power in furtherance of the global good, and provide a replicable template for application in Sudan, the site of the signature humanitarian crisis of our time.

This paper will demonstrate how the ORACLE and LEAP projects, translated to Sudan, can serve to enhance US reputation as an agent for global good, thereby expanding American influence and establishing the legitimacy of American action on the African continent and beyond (“the ends”). It will first introduce US national interests, including respect for universal values at home and abroad, and the concept of smart power. Next, it will identify the problem of children affected by armed conflict, and explain how the ORACLE and LEAP projects successfully addressed the problem in Northern Uganda. Finally, this paper will analyze how the ORACLE and LEAP projects can be applied in Sudan, and why their successful application can have a positive impact on US foreign policy by fostering goodwill and support for US action worldwide.

US National Interests: The Proliferation of Universal Values

American national interests are enduring.⁵ They are: the security of the US, its citizens, and US allies and partners; a strong, innovative, and growing US economy in an open international economic system that promotes opportunity and prosperity; respect for universal values at home and around the world; and an international order advanced by US leadership that promotes peace, security, and opportunity through stronger cooperation to meet global challenges.⁶ The US strategic approach in pursuit of these interests is not singularly focused; the goals of lasting security and prosperity need not be achieved at the expense of universal values. US support for the proliferation of universal values worldwide is both fundamental to American leadership, and a source of US strength and influence in the world.⁷

The US recognizes that certain values are universal, and remains committed to promoting these values worldwide.⁸ Such values not only include an individual’s freedoms of speech, assembly, worship, and choice of leaders, but also dignity,

tolerance, and equality among all people, and the fair and equitable administration of justice.⁹ The US supports those who seek to exercise universal rights around the world, and will continue to engage nations, institutions, and peoples in pursuit of these values worldwide, not only because it is right, but because the proliferation of universal values worldwide fosters an international environment that supports US national interests.¹⁰ Governments that respect such values are more just, peaceful, and legitimate, and ultimately more stable, successful, and secure, making them good partners with whom the US can more effectively forge consensus to tackle shared global challenges.¹¹

A key component of the US strategic approach in proliferating universal values worldwide is supporting the rights of women and girls.¹² Countries are more peaceful and prosperous when women are accorded full and equal rights and opportunity, and when those rights are denied, countries often lag behind.¹³ Since women and children often disproportionately bear the burden of crises and conflict, the US will work with nongovernmental (NGO), regional, and international organizations to prevent violence against women and children, especially in conflict zones, to combat human trafficking, and to support education, employment, and micro-finance aimed at empowering women globally.¹⁴

American Smart Power

The pursuit of national interests in today's volatile, uncertain, complex, and ambiguous environment demands the skillful exercise of a combination of both hard and soft power, what is now commonly referred to as smart power.¹⁵ Power is the ability to influence the behavior of others to get a desired result, and has traditionally been characterized as either hard or soft.¹⁶ Hard power is measured in terms of economic strength and military force, and enables nations to wield carrots and sticks to get what

they want.¹⁷ Soft power, on the other hand, is the ability to attract people to a nation's side without coercion, for which the perception of legitimacy is central.¹⁸ If a nation's objectives are believed to be legitimate, it is more likely to persuade others to follow its lead without using threats and bribes, and can, in certain circumstances, replace dependence on carrots and sticks.¹⁹

In pursuit of its national interests, including respect for universal values at home and abroad, the US must become a smarter power by investing once again in the global good – providing things that people and governments in all quarters of the world want, but cannot attain without American leadership.²⁰ By complementing US military and economic might with greater investments in its soft power, America can build the framework it needs to tackle tough global challenges.²¹ The concept of smart power underscores the necessity of a strong military, but also invests heavily in formal treaties and alliances, partnerships with NGOs, and participation with international and regional organizations to expand American influence and establish the legitimacy of American action.²² Providing for the global good is central to this effort because it helps America reconcile its overwhelming power with the rest of the world's interests and values.²³

America's education system is one of its greatest soft power assets.²⁴ Providing educational opportunities abroad to those that have none has the potential for making the greatest impact in people's lives. While countries with a higher percentage of 15-to-29 year olds relative to the adult population are more likely to descend into armed conflict, hundreds of millions of children in the developing world are either not in school, or else attend schools with inadequate teachers or facilities.²⁵ Education is the best

hope of turning young people away from violence and extremism, and presents a tremendous opportunity for the US to invest effectively in the global good.²⁶

The Problem: Children Affected by Armed Conflict

The issue of children affected by armed conflict is both a threat to international peace and security, and a human rights concern, and is among the most shocking and horrifying global problems that warrants the use of American smart power in furtherance of the global good.²⁷ Appalling numbers of children are being killed and maimed, many more are left orphans; thousands are raped, sexually abused, and left profoundly traumatized.²⁸ Children are compelled to bear arms as child soldiers; act as spies, suicide bombers, human shields; or become sexual slaves by armed forces or groups.²⁹ They are disproportionately affected by displacement and forced to flee their homes to ensure their survival.³⁰ They are deprived of education, health care, and access to justice mechanisms.³¹

Armed conflict often forces people to flee their homes, but remaining within their homelands as internally displaced persons (IDP). Displacement is especially destabilizing and traumatic for children as it exposes them to risks at a time in their lives when they most need protection and stability.³² The recruitment of children by armed forces or groups and internal displacement are closely linked, as evidence suggests that refugee and IDP camps are often prime recruiting grounds for child soldiers, owing to the convenient concentration of vulnerable children.³³ The lack of security around some camps increases the likelihood of child recruitment, and IDP children are also at increased risk of suffering from rape and other forms of sexual violence in the camps, or during flight, as they are preyed upon by soldiers, armed groups, traffickers, border guards, and other opportunists.³⁴

Southern Sudan and Darfur combined is site to the largest number of parties per region listed by the United Nations (UN) as recruiting or using children, killing or maiming children, and/or committing rape and other forms of sexual violence against children, in situations of armed conflict.³⁵ In Southern Sudan, the Sudan's People's Liberation Army (SPLA) is identified as a party that recruits and uses children, while the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) is identified as recruiting and using children, committing rape and other forms of sexual violence against children, and killing or maiming children.³⁶ In Darfur, the UN has identified a long list of parties that recruit and use children, including Chadian opposition groups; police forces; pro-government militias; Sudan Armed Forces (SAF); signatories to the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), specifically the Justice and Equality Movement (Peace Wing), the Movement of Popular Force for Rights and Democracy, the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA)/Abu Ghasim/Mother Wing, the SLA/Free Will, the SLA/Minni Minnawi, and the SLA/Peace Wing Justice; and non-signatories to the DPA, namely the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), the SLA/Abdul Wahid, and the SLA/Unity.³⁷

The Means: USDOL Role in Assisting Children Affected by Armed Conflict

The use of child soldiers represents one of the worst forms of child labor.³⁸ An estimated 200,000 to 300,000 children under the age of eighteen are fighting as soldiers for government forces or armed groups in over thirty countries worldwide.³⁹ While some child soldiers are as young as seven, most are between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, and many are abducted from their families or from the streets, with orphans, refugees, and other displaced children at particular risk.⁴⁰

In 1992, the International Labour Organization (ILO), a UN agency comprised of government, employer, and worker representatives, with 183 member states, including

the US, Uganda, and Sudan, created the International Program on the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC).⁴¹ The overall goal of IPEC is the progressive elimination of child labor through strengthening the capacity of countries to deal with the problem and promoting a worldwide movement to combat child labor.⁴² In 1999, the ILO defined the worst forms of child labor in ILO Convention No. 182, to include, among others, all forms of slavery or similar practices, such as the sale and trafficking of children, and forced or compulsory labor, including recruitment of children for use in armed conflict; the use, procuring, or offering of a child for prostitution or pornography; the use, procuring, or offering of a child for illicit activities, particularly for drug production and trafficking; and work which, by its nature or circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety, or morals of children.⁴³ The Convention mandates that each member design and implement programs of action to eliminate as a priority the worst forms of child labor, and take appropriate steps to assist one another in giving effect to the provisions of the Convention through enhanced international cooperation and/or assistance, including support for social and economic development, poverty eradication programs, and universal education.⁴⁴

In 1999, the US ratified the Convention, and established its commitment to assisting children involved in armed conflict through the OCFT of USDOL's ILAB.⁴⁵ USDOL has funded over 28 projects to protect children from exploitation, and offers them access to educational opportunities in over fourteen countries experiencing armed conflict or in post-conflict situations.⁴⁶

From August 2003 until November 2007, USDOL funded the work of the International Rescue Committee (IRC) and a subcontracting NGO, *Associazione*

Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale (Association for Volunteers in International Service, or AVSI), with a \$3.2 million grant toward implementing the ORACLE project, designed to address the worst forms of child labor in war-torn Northern Uganda.⁴⁷ Founded in 1933, the IRC works globally in areas that are frequently in, or recovering from, conflict, providing relief and rehabilitation, promoting civil society, and addressing human rights issues, and has been working in Northern Uganda since 1998.⁴⁸ AVSI is an international NGO founded in 1972, and supports human development in developing countries with special attention to education and the promotion of personal dignity, and has been working in the area of education in Northern Uganda since 1984.⁴⁹ In just over four years, the IRC and AVSI, in partnership with USDOL, withdrew or prevented 5,657 children from exploitative labor in Northern Uganda through ORACLE.⁵⁰

Building upon ORACLE's success, USDOL again partnered with the IRC and AVSI to improve the lives of vulnerable children in Northern Uganda by funding approximately \$5.5 million toward the implementation of the LEAP project in Uganda in September 2007.⁵¹ LEAP targets 2,825 children for withdrawal, and 8,450 for prevention, from the worst forms of child labor in Northern Uganda.⁵²

The Ways: The ORACLE Project

Ugandan children have been long engaged in the worst forms of child labor through such activities as stone quarrying, brick making, market vending, and demanding agricultural activity as a natural expression of traditional cultural practices.⁵³ Since the LRA launched its rebel campaign in Northern Uganda in 1986, the region has been terrorized by conflict. It is estimated that 1.8 million have been displaced, out of a total population of 2.7 million, in Northern Uganda.⁵⁴ The conflict has been characterized by atrocities including murder, rape, mutilations, and mass abductions of boys and girls

of school age.⁵⁵ Roughly 20,000 Ugandan children have been abducted by the LRA to serve as porters, soldiers, and concubines for this rebel group.⁵⁶ Once abducted, they experienced heinous treatment, including being forced to kill other children, parents, and relatives, or repeated rapes.⁵⁷

Within this chaotic society, the ORACLE project contributed to the prevention and elimination of child labor by targeting the extremely vulnerable population of child beneficiaries, including orphans due to war, poverty, or Humane Immunodeficiency Virus-Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS); returned abducted children; girls who had been forced into marriage and childbirth due to war or harmful traditional practices; children who head households of siblings and other relatives affected by the war; and children from destitute families.⁵⁸ ORACLE had three objectives. First, ORACLE sought to improve community awareness of, and attitudes toward, the educational and developmental needs of children through capacity-building of child protection and education networks in the communities by way of sensitization, mobilization, and participation.⁵⁹ Project-organized Child Protection Committees, Child Rights clubs, and Community Volunteer Counselors; local dance and theater troupes; commemorative days; and posters, T-shirts, and graphics with positive and directive slogans painted on and around school compounds, called “talking compounds,” were among the multiple tools successfully used by ORACLE to promote child protection and rights, and girls’ access to education.⁶⁰

ORACLE’s second objective was to enrich the quality of the educational environment for children at risk of economic exploitation by augmenting the number and skill base of teachers through training and material support.⁶¹ ORACLE endeavored to

strengthen the quality of teaching through improved skills, such as Child Centered Methodologies, and Classroom Management and Learning, and the provision of scholastic aids, uniforms, equipment, and textbooks to primary and secondary schools, teachers' colleges, and unqualified teachers under the Teacher Development and Management system.⁶² Teachers and educators received training in psychosocial skills, child-centered methodologies, hygiene and sanitation, and reproductive health.⁶³

The third objective was to ensure access to children at risk of exploitation through material support, transitional and non-formal education programs, and family-based poverty-reduction strategies.⁶⁴ ORACLE provided direct support to primary and secondary school students who otherwise would have been fully engaged in child labor or at risk to begin working.⁶⁵ School kits, containing educational supplies and personal hygiene items, were distributed to needy primary and secondary school students, and resulted in diminished rates of dropout, better discipline, and improved academic performance.⁶⁶ Vocational skills training in carpentry and joinery, bricklaying and concrete practice, tailoring, catering, house and sign painting, pottery, and hotel management were offered, as was alternate and remedial education programs, especially for child-mothers.⁶⁷

After four years, ORACLE successfully reached 5,657 direct child beneficiaries who, due to war-related calamities, had been shut out from the school system and involved in the worst forms of child labor, and made it possible for them to attend school or receive vocational or alternative educational support programs.⁶⁸ ORACLE enabled 1,969 teachers and educators to receive training, and provided equipment and supplies to 182 schools.⁶⁹ Additionally, approximately 98,821 people attended sensitization

events and received pro-child messages through ORACLE, but this number does not include the large peripheral audiences exposed to various awareness-raising materials and media.⁷⁰ In Northern Uganda, ORACLE made a difference in the lives of school-age children who were engaged in the worst forms of child labor or were at risk of exploitation, and provided consistent immediate and long-term solutions in that war-torn region.⁷¹

The Ways Continued: The LEAP Project

LEAP is the follow-up project to ORACLE, similarly funded by USDOL for four years, and implemented by the IRC and AVSI.⁷² The three major components of the project are livelihoods, education, and child protection.⁷³ Based in part upon the experiences of ORACLE, LEAP seeks to provide critical priorities and strategies for the sustainable prevention and withdrawal of children from exploitive child labor in Northern Uganda.⁷⁴ Where ORACLE focused on ensuring that children were withdrawn or prevented from the worst forms of child labor through enrollment and retention in appropriate educational programs, LEAP additionally focuses on activities promoting livelihoods and child protection.⁷⁵

LEAP has three objectives: to promote an enabling environment to increase awareness on child labor at government, community, family, and caregiver levels; to increase access to education for children engaged in, or at risk of engaging in, child labor; and to improve the quality of basic education through curriculum improvement and teacher support.⁷⁶ The project implemented direct action interventions to withdraw and prevent children from the worst forms of child labor by enrolling at risk children into the relevant primary, secondary, remedial, and non-formal vocational educational programs, or in alternative learning programs for livelihoods, which advanced the

beneficiaries' and wider community's knowledge of the adverse effects of child labor.⁷⁷

Ongoing, LEAP also addresses education and livelihoods through an apprenticeship program, where students simultaneously learn and work with local small businesses, such as hotels, tailors, cobblers, or hairdressers; through vocational course training in brick making/laying and cement practices, tailoring, carpentry and joinery, motor vehicle maintenance, catering, and hairdressing in community-based centers or government institutions to gain marketable employment skills; and by supporting primary school teacher trainees, especially women, at four Primary Teachers' Colleges to increase the number of teachers, particularly female teachers, in schools.⁷⁸

Two LEAP programs warrant particular note. First, LEAP uses a comprehensive and holistic approach to school improvement, known as the Whole School Improvement Program.⁷⁹ The program includes technical support, such as livelihoods training; management guidance; training, such as classroom management and innovative teaching and learning methodologies; awareness-raising on child labor and child protection issues to beneficiaries, line ministries, and the wider community; some classroom or structural rehabilitation of school, dormitory, and laboratory facilities; provision of school equipment and materials; encouragement of community participation in school development activities; and involvement of School Management Committees and Parent Teacher Associations.⁸⁰

To provide livelihood support for families, LEAP introduced Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLA), which awarded loans to members to start small businesses, predominantly selling groceries at the market.⁸¹ Through LEAP, VSLA groups received training, as well as a toolkit consisting of bookkeeping supplies,

padlocks and a metal cashbox, and regular, follow-up refresher training, and action audit.⁸² By potentially increasing family income, the project aims to free families from their dependence on children's work and enable parents to send their children to school.⁸³ In addition to improving their individual financial situation, VSLA groups also established a kitty to fund education development projects, thus benefiting individuals and communities alike.⁸⁴

As of September 2009, LEAP was on track to meet its targets for withdrawing and preventing 11,275 children at risk of, or involved in, exploitive labor.⁸⁵ At the midterm, the project had enrolled 7,538 students, which constituted 67% of the target and 2% more than the planned or expected enrollment.⁸⁶ LEAP expected that its beneficiaries would comprise 25% withdrawn and 75% prevented from exploitive labor, and was on target at the midterm to achieve that balance by having withdrawn 1,903 and prevented 5,635 students from the worst forms of child labor.⁸⁷ The project's aim was to target 5,768 girls, or 51% of its beneficiaries, and, at midterm, had enrolled 3,805 girls, or 50.5%, and was on track to meet its objective.⁸⁸ Although the final independent evaluation of LEAP is not expected until September 2011, all indications suggest that LEAP will successfully achieve its objectives toward ending the worst forms of child labor in Northern Uganda.

Application of the ORACLE and LEAP Projects in Sudan

Despite a dramatic difference in size and stability, the current situation in Sudan, especially in Southern Sudan, is not completely dissimilar to the situation then existing in Northern Uganda when ORACLE was launched in 2003. With Southern Sudan set to emerge as an independent state, and implementing partners already well-established within its borders, conditions are ripe for the application of the ORACLE and LEAP

projects in Southern Sudan. Furthermore, recent developments toward ending the use of child soldiers in Darfur are encouraging that ORACLE and LEAP may be applied there in the near future as well.

Sudan's increased size, both in terms of territory and population, and its political instability, relative to Uganda, presents certain implementation challenges to applying ORACLE and LEAP. Sudan, at 967,500 square miles, is more than ten times larger than Uganda (93,072 square miles), and is populated by more than 41 million people to Uganda's population of 32.7 million, making implementation less manageable and more difficult.⁸⁹ During more than 20 years of conflict between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), violence, famine, and disease killed more than two million people, forced an estimated 600,000 people to seek refuge in neighboring countries, and displaced approximately four million others within Sudan, creating the world's largest population of IDPs.⁹⁰ Moreover, Sudan's political situation is less stable than Uganda, with Southern Sudan set to emerge as the world's newest independent nation in July 2011, and the conflict in Darfur still yet unresolved and no closer to a peaceful solution.⁹¹

While greater size and instability exacerbate the problem, Sudan's economic and infrastructure capacities, compared to Uganda, improve the potential for successful application of ORACLE and LEAP in Sudan. Economically, Sudan has an estimated gross domestic product of \$92.81 billion, more than five times that of Uganda at \$15.7 billion.⁹² Additionally, the US has contributed more than \$8 billion in humanitarian, development, peacekeeping, and reconstruction assistance for the people in Sudan and eastern Chad since 2005, including more than \$2 billion in FY 2009 alone.⁹³ Although

both countries lack substantial transportation and communication infrastructure, having been ravaged by years of war and neglect, Sudan has approximately 3,714 miles of railways, sixteen airports, and about 7,394 miles of paved and gravel road, primarily in North and East Sudan, to Uganda's approximately 200 miles of railways, one airport, and around 1,864 miles of paved roads.⁹⁴

ORACLE's final evaluation cautioned that, given the unique, frequently changing, and often dangerous circumstances of Northern Uganda in which the project functioned, ORACLE may not be replicable in normal education and anti-child labor projects.⁹⁵ However, the humanitarian situation in Sudan, particularly in Southern Sudan, is not unlike that existing in Northern Uganda after the LRA last launched attacks there in August 2006, albeit on a much grander scale. Since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed in 2005, officially ending the North-South conflict, the UN estimates that nearly two million displaced persons have returned to Southern Sudan and the Three Areas of Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile, and Abyei.⁹⁶ Furthermore, as of September 2009, the UN estimated that LRA-related violence had displaced approximately 85,000 people in Southern Sudan, including more than 18,000 refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic.⁹⁷ In Sudan, many children have been displaced for years, and, due to lack of security, livelihoods, and basic services, few IDP families manage to return to their place of origin.⁹⁸

The well-established presence of the ORACLE and LEAP projects' implementing partners in Southern Sudan, coupled with USDOL's existing portfolio of funded international technical cooperation programs, greatly enhance the projects' potential for success there, and eventually in Darfur as well. The IRC has been one of the largest

providers of aid in Southern Sudan for more than 20 years, supporting communities devastated by war with emergency relief and reconstruction assistance, as well as programs focusing on healthcare, education, rights and reintegration, and ways to reduce violence against women.⁹⁹ The IRC currently works in six Southern Sudan states, and had been delivering humanitarian aid to around two million people in Darfur, North, and East Sudan until March 2009 when the Government of Sudan expelled the IRC and twelve other international aid agencies in response to the International Criminal Court's indictment of President al-Bashir.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the IRC continues to assist approximately 60,000 refugees who have fled from Darfur into neighboring Chad.¹⁰¹

AVSI first began supporting the people of Sudan in 1993 by managing a Sudanese refugee camp in Northern Uganda on behalf of the UN High Commission for Refugees, and did so for many years.¹⁰² Based upon these contacts, AVSI was able to facilitate humanitarian interventions in Southern Sudan.¹⁰³ After the CPA was signed in 2005, AVSI opened a structured base of operations in Southern Sudan, and is opening another base as well.¹⁰⁴ AVSI has been officially registered with the Government of Southern Sudan since 2007, and currently runs multi-sector projects involving livelihood advancement, and formal and informal education in Eastern Equatoria State.¹⁰⁵

In FY 2010, USDOL awarded nearly \$60 million in grants to eliminate the worst forms of child labor worldwide, and these operations have been funded at the same level in FY 2011.¹⁰⁶ For FY 2012, USDOL has requested an increase of more than \$7.3 million in technical assistance and other programs, including grants to address child labor, in countries with which the US has free trade agreements or trade preference programs.¹⁰⁷ Although resources exist, the biggest challenge to the implementation of

ORACLE and LEAP is Sudan's designation as a state sponsor of terrorism and the accompanying imposition of US economic sanctions.¹⁰⁸ However, in recognition of Southern Sudan's successful referendum for independence and Sudan's continuing implementation of the CPA, the US has initiated a review of Sudan's state sponsor of terrorism designation as the first step in the process of withdrawing that designation and lifting economic sanctions.¹⁰⁹ US support for Southern Sudan's independence bodes well for the normalization of trade relations between the two countries in the near future, thus removing the greatest hurdle for implementing ORACLE and LEAP in Southern Sudan.

The success of ORACLE and LEAP in Northern Uganda demonstrates how aspects of those projects can be applied in Southern Sudan, where the overall literacy rate is 24%, but only 12% for women, and a 15-year old girl has a greater chance of dying in childbirth than completing her education.¹¹⁰ The Government of Southern Sudan has identified its greatest challenges for education to include a critical shortage of qualified teachers, especially female teachers; high dropout rates in primary, secondary, and alternative education schools, especially for girls; and a shortage of classroom, sanitation, and teacher accommodation facilities.¹¹¹ ORACLE can strengthen the quality of teaching in Southern Sudan by training and providing support to its teachers' colleges, and providing scholastic aids and personal hygiene items directly to needy students, which has shown to result in diminished dropout rates, better discipline, and improved academic performance.¹¹² LEAP's Whole School Improvement Program not only can provide teacher training in classroom management and innovative teaching

and learning methodologies, but also structural rehabilitation of school, dormitory, and laboratory facilities.¹¹³

The IRC is already working with Southern Sudan's Ministry of Education to construct classrooms, train teachers, and develop and improve educational policy and administration in six Southern Sudan states.¹¹⁴ AVSI already sponsors primary school children, teacher and vocational training, and school construction and expansion in Southern Sudan's Eastern Equatoria state.¹¹⁵ If past performance is a good measure of future success, aspects of ORACLE and LEAP applied in Southern Sudan over a four-year period may potentially result in the sustainable prevention and withdrawal of nearly 12,000 children from the worst forms of child labor.

While Southern Sudan currently appears to be a good candidate for application of ORACLE and LEAP, there are hopeful signs emerging from Darfur that these projects may someday be applied there as well. The Special Representative of the UN Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict has recently reported encouraging developments toward the end of the use of child soldiers in Darfur. In November 2009, the SPLA signed an action plan to end the use of children as soldiers, and non-state armed groups, such as the SLA/Abu Ghasim, SLA/Free Will, and JEM/Peace Wing indicated a commitment to releasing children and to developing action plans in collaboration with the UN.¹¹⁶ Additionally, SLA/Minni Minnawi has agreed to grant unimpeded and immediate access to areas under their control for verification of compliance with the action plan they signed in 2007.¹¹⁷ The Special Representative commended the Government of Sudan for the progress made in the last two years to strengthen protection for children, through the establishment of family and child

protection units in Darfur, Khartoum, and other states in Northern Sudan.¹¹⁸ As the successful application of ORACLE and LEAP in Northern Uganda supports applying the projects in Southern Sudan, it is certainly conceivable that the projects' potential success in Southern Sudan may be readily applied in Darfur when conditions improve.

The Ends: Impact on US Foreign Policy

Investing in the global good is not charity; it is smart foreign policy.¹¹⁹ Since its founding, the US has demonstrated a willingness to fight for the universal ideals of liberty, equality, and justice, which has attracted people and governments to our side for nearly a century, even when our interests may not completely align with their own.¹²⁰ A reputation for furthering the global good fosters international goodwill and brings acceptance for unpopular ventures.¹²¹ Helping other nations and people achieve their aspirations is the best way to strengthen America's reputation abroad, and increase its security and prosperity at home.¹²²

Africa provides the greatest opportunity for investing in the global good. The people of Africa, by and large, view the US as a positive force in the world.¹²³ The continent's strategic importance is rising as an increasing source of energy supplies; a potential safe haven for terrorists; a transit node of illegal trafficking in drugs, arms, and people; and a growing voice in international and multilateral organizations.¹²⁴ Additionally, the HIV/AIDS crisis and the conflict in Darfur constitute two signature moral issues of our time that tend to generate both domestic and international support for the US in the proliferation of universal values worldwide.¹²⁵

In October 2009, President Obama released a comprehensive strategy to confront the serious situation in Sudan.¹²⁶ Citing both our conscience and our interests in peace and security, echoing a theme from US National Security Strategy, the

President asserted that the US and the international community was called upon to act with a sense of urgency and purpose, and set forth the US strategy in Sudan which focused on ending the suffering in Darfur, and building a lasting peace.¹²⁷ US strategic priorities in Sudan include: a definitive end to conflict, gross human rights abuses, and genocide in Darfur; implementation of the North-South CPA that results in a peaceful post-2011 Sudan, or an orderly path toward two separate and viable states at peace with each other; and ensuring that Sudan does not provide a safe haven for international terrorists.¹²⁸

The President's Sudan strategy is not simply charity; it is in the US national interest to prevent Sudan's implosion, which could lead to regional instability or new safe havens for international terrorists, both of which significantly threaten US interests.¹²⁹ The US strategic approach to the situation in Sudan embraces the application of American smart power. In order to achieve a definitive end to conflict, gross human rights abuses, and genocide in Darfur, the US will not only work with international partners and regional and international organizations to enhance civilian protection, promote a negotiated solution to the conflict, and encourage and strengthen initiatives for ending violent conflict, but also with NGOs, private donors, and other humanitarian organizations to insist that the Government of Sudan fulfill its obligations to its citizens by improving humanitarian access and coverage in Darfur.¹³⁰

With ORACLE's and LEAP's emphases on education, livelihood promotion, and child protection, the President's Sudan strategy provides both the opportunity and the justification for the application of these projects in Sudan, particularly in Southern Sudan, and eventually in Darfur. Providing educational and livelihood opportunities in

Sudan through ORACLE and LEAP has the potential for making the greatest impact in people's lives, turning children and communities away from violence and extremism, and reinforcing a positive image of the US in the world. By reaching today's children through projects such as ORACLE and LEAP, the US has the opportunity to influence future leaders, and inculcate in them a view of the US as a positive force in the world.

When discussing the impact of investing in the global good, through projects such as ORACLE and LEAP, on US foreign policy, today's domestic political climate warrants mention. It is difficult to forecast how today's populist Tea Party movement will influence US foreign policy, especially since the movement as a whole is yet to coalesce around a unified position.¹³¹ While the Ron Paul-led wing embraces an inward-looking, neo-isolationist approach to foreign policy that would ideally like to end any kind of American participation in the construction of a liberal world order, the Sarah Palin-led wing leans toward the more moderate position of wanting to ensure that whatever world-order-building Washington does clearly proceeds from a consideration of specific national interests, rather than the world's reliance on the US as a kind of disinterested promoter of the global good.¹³² Nonetheless, both groups are united in their dislike for liberal internationalism, that is, the attempt to conduct international relations through multilateral institutions under an ever-tightening web of international laws and treaties.¹³³ It appears that neither wing would support the proliferation of universal values worldwide as a US national interest, and, if given the opportunity to set US foreign policy, would likely discourage US investment in the global good. Such a position would seem to run contrary to the principles upon which this Nation was founded, and deny

the US the international goodwill and support that it needs to tackle today's tough challenges.

Conclusion

Although USDOL does not currently fund ORACLE or LEAP projects in Sudan, the problem of children affected by armed conflict in Southern Sudan and Darfur are no less compelling than in Northern Uganda, where ORACLE and LEAP have had much success. Conditions now appear ripe to apply ORACLE and LEAP in Sudan, which will serve to further US national interests, and enhance US reputation as an agent for global good. This paper recommends that the US seek to normalize trade relations with Southern Sudan soon after statehood, and that USDOL seek to fund anti-child labor projects based upon the ORACLE and LEAP models in Southern Sudan in FY 2012, with subsequent expansion into Darfur when the impediments to implementation there have been removed. Investing in this way in the global good at the site of the signature humanitarian crisis of our time will only serve to expand American influence worldwide, and establish the legitimacy of American action as it takes on tough global challenges on the African continent and beyond.

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