



HUMANITY
UNITED

A PRESIDENTIAL AGENDA FOR ENDURING PEACE AND FREEDOM

2025-2028

ABOUT HUMANITY UNITED

Humanity United is a foundation dedicated to cultivating the conditions for enduring peace and freedom. Using a variety of tools including nonpartisan policy advocacy, strategic communications, and grantmaking, we seek to change the systems that contribute to violent conflict and human exploitation. Working with and supporting an array of civil society organizations, advocates, local peacebuilders, workers, businesses, and journalists, we are committed to helping create tools, policies, and behaviors that promote human dignity and peace. For the past 21 years, and working closely with our 501(c)(4) sister organization Humanity United Action, we have also worked to foster U.S. government attention and action on these issues.

Humanity United is part of The Omidyar Group, a diverse collection of companies, organizations, and initiatives, united by a desire to improve the lives of people and societies. We were founded to address some of the most persistent global issues facing mankind, challenges such as violent conflict, mass atrocities, and human trafficking. Our work sits at the intersection of peace and justice; we work tirelessly to foster reconciliation and heal the divisions that drive conflict and polarization, while simultaneously holding accountable those perpetuating human rights abuses and advocating for structural change.

At Humanity United, we are guided by our value of shared humanity, which affirms the interconnectedness and intrinsic dignity of all human beings. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu said, “My humanity is bound up in yours, for we can only be human together.” Even in a time of extreme polarization and attacks on pluralism in the U.S., as well as extreme violence and hatred, we remain hopeful that humanity is also capable of coming together to ensure every person is afforded the peace and dignity they deserve.

THE NEED FOR U.S. GLOBAL LEADERSHIP CREDIBILITY ON PEACE AND FREEDOM

As the Trump administration returns to office and seeks to redefine the U.S.' role globally, Humanity United urges a commitment to foreign policy that prioritizes the values of advancing human rights and human dignity at home and abroad. Consistently upholding these principles across all policy areas will enhance the U.S.' positive influence and contribute to a more stable and just world.

The United States' role as a global leader advancing peace and freedom is critical to ensuring the security, prosperity, and dignity of people in the United States and around the world. Over the two decades that Humanity United has worked on issues of peace and freedom, we have seen the credibility of the U.S. as a global leader ebb and flow—however, allies have consistently sought this leadership.

The decline in U.S. credibility has been most precipitous when U.S. foreign policy is not aligned with its stated values. For instance, in Israel's war on Gaza, the U.S. government has been criticized because of its unwavering ideological and financial support to the Israeli government while it perpetuates what is widely believed to be a genocide. Additionally, withdrawing from the Global Compact for Migration and the Paris Climate Agreement further tarnishes U.S. credibility and is seen as a retreat from global leadership during a period of critical transnational challenges. At home, persistent systemic racism within our justice system has undermined U.S. moral authority on human rights.

This inconsistency between values espoused overseas and the domestic reality has weakened the U.S. position in advocating for human rights globally. Shifts in immigration enforcement have exacerbated vulnerabilities while contradicting principles of international humanitarian law. Unfortunately, the decline of U.S. credibility has created opportunities for authoritarian regimes and adversarial governments to expand their influence in regions across the globe—including on the African continent. This shift could lead to increased instability and further weaken democratic norms in affected areas.

As a U.S. based funder, Humanity United recognizes that addressing racial justice domestically enhances our credibility as a leader on peace and freedom globally. It demonstrates a willingness to address issues in our own backyard, not just abroad. This same consistency between domestic and international efforts would strengthen the U.S.' moral authority and ability to shape world events. Bipartisan efforts like the Global Fragility Act and the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act provide an example of the kind of commitment and vision that is needed to confront such monumental challenges and reinforce U.S. credibility as a global leader.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Much of the world is in a precarious situation, living in a state of fragility and in need of imagination and collective action. The Freedom in the World 2024 [report](#) finds that global freedom declined for the 18th consecutive year. Similarly, the 2024 Global Peace [Index](#) indicates that the world has become less stable and far more violent in the past 17 years, with a substantial increase in political instability and militarization. Furthermore, [recent](#) global estimates of modern slavery highlight that adult migrant workers are three times more likely to be living in forced labor than adult non-migrant workers.

As a global power, the United States has historically played a crucial role in promoting peace and freedom abroad. The need for U.S. global leadership remains and will require substantial efforts across the federal government. Humanity United outlines six specific recommendations that the Trump Administration can take to make important strides in reinforcing U.S. global leadership in efforts toward enduring peace and freedom at home and abroad.

Adopt and implement policies that benefit impacted communities at home and abroad.

1. Expand the United States' decades-long leadership of advancing locally-led development: Every administration over the past two decades has built on its predecessors' commitment to funding local organizations. The localization agenda promises to strengthen collaboration with local peacebuilders across the entire ecosystem of peacebuilding and development, while navigating complex power dynamics. This administration should: 1) Continue to adapt its current policies and programs to foster locally-led development that is tied to unique country contexts; 2) Continue to support USAID's Powered by the People (PxP) initiative; and 3) Increase the percentage of direct U.S. funding to local actors.

2. Proactively focus on the African continent and specifically address critical conflicts, given the opportunity for outsized impact: The United States has a long history of bipartisan support and engagement with African nations, rooted in deep cultural connections and shared goals. As the Trump administration works with African counterparts, certain countries present unique opportunities for significant impact. Sudan, for instance, faces unprecedented levels of mass atrocities and famine, with the crisis threatening regional stability. Addressing the war in Sudan is crucial to preventing spillover in South Sudan and other neighboring areas. To effectively respond to the crisis in Sudan and South Sudan, the administration should: 1) Adopt a whole-of-government approach to end the war in Sudan; 2) Increase unrestricted funding to mutual aid groups like the emergency response rooms; and 3) Critically support the South Sudan Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Healing (CTRH).

3. Develop a comprehensive policy agenda for addressing racial justice and equity with resourcing outlined in the President's first budget: The previous Trump administration introduced and implemented policies targeted toward Black Americans that focused on higher education, criminal justice reform, and economic opportunity. If the Trump administration seeks to truly realize a more prosperous America for all Americans it should: 1) Invest in youth leadership development; 2) Address the housing crisis; 3) Work with Congress to develop a concrete plan for the proposed caregiver and child tax credits; and 4) Provide federal support to state and local governments for anti-carceral approaches to gun violence prevention.

Prioritize efforts to support survivors of trafficking and forced labor.

4. Prioritize survivors of trafficking, migrant workers at risk of forced labor, and communities with lived experience in U.S. government policymaking: While the establishment of the U.S. Advisory Council on Human Trafficking in 2016 was a positive development, more can be done to build on the work of the previous Trump and Biden administrations. The administration should: 1) Develop a mechanism for the inclusion of survivors of forced labor and human trafficking in all U.S. government policy and program development and implementation; 2) Protect migrant workers and survivors of human trafficking in any potential immigration reforms; 3) Empower the State Department's Office of Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP) to ensure the U.S. government is leading global efforts to prevent and address human trafficking.

5. Enforce Section 307 of the Tariff Act and the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, and robustly implement trade agreement provisions in the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) to combat forced labor in trade: The first Trump administration took vital steps in broadening the scope of enforcement by incorporating forced labor import bans as part of the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), signing the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act (UFLPA), and issuing 20 Withhold Release Orders (WROs). However, the issuance of WROs has significantly declined since 2022. The Administration has an opportunity to demonstrate global leadership on combating forced labor in supply chains and should: 1) Immediately increase enforcement actions on pending Withhold Release Orders (WRO); 2) Advocate for global harmonization on import ban enforcement; 3) Include supply chain transparency and traceability requirements in trade agreements; and 4) Strengthen USMCA protections for workers.

6. Advance a whole-of-government approach to managing trafficking risks in federal contracts and procurement processes: With the largest buying power in the world, U.S. taxpayer funds should not be used to procure goods made with forced labor. The administration should: 1) conduct a whole-of-government review of federal contracts; and 2) Work with the FAR Council and U.S. Customs and Border Patrol Forced Labor Division to create a framework for the use of suspension and debarment for entities subject to WROs.

FULL RECOMMENDATIONS

Adopt and implement policies that benefit impacted communities at home and abroad.

1. Expand the United States' decades-long leadership of advancing locally-led development.

Localization is essential to international development because it entails an inclusive approach that is more sustainable in the long term. It also ensures communities have the power to take charge of their development, promotes social cohesion and leverages local resources and knowledge. By embracing community-driven approaches, localization enhances the effectiveness of development initiatives and contributes to peace, stability and the well-being of local populations.

Through PEPFAR and the creation of the Millennium Challenge Corporation under President George Bush, USAID Forward under President Obama, the Journey to Self-Reliance under President Trump, and Locally Led Development and Humanitarian Response under President Biden, every administration over the past two decades has built on its predecessors' commitment to funding local organizations. In a second Trump administration, this long-term commitment to the localization of humanitarian response and development will be essential to ensuring a safer world and more effective solutions to global challenges. The localization agenda promises to strengthen collaboration with local peacebuilders across the entire ecosystem of peacebuilding and development while navigating complex power dynamics.

Specifically, the Trump administration should:

- **Continue the USG effort to adapt current policies and programs to foster locally-led development that is tied to unique country contexts.** This will enable a shift toward more impactful and efficient outcomes while also fostering more meaningful partnerships with local actors.
- **Continue to support USAID's Powered by the People (PxP) initiative,** a pathway that strengthens the agency and resilience of local actors. PxP initiatives include organizations and a larger citizen-led collective-action ecosystem that are advancing human rights, social justice, democracy, and inclusive development around the world.
- **Increase the percentage of direct U.S. funding to local actors.** Local communities know best what initiatives will be successful and they know how best to implement programs. Supporting locally-led development will also be cost efficient and will allow more funding to get to those most affected by crises.

2. Proactively focus on the African continent and specifically address critical conflicts, given the opportunity for outsized impact.

The United States has a long and proud history of bipartisan engagement with African countries, built on a foundation of deep cultural connections and pursuit of shared goals. During the past three decades, U.S. policy, backed by strong bipartisan Congressional support, has prioritized development, including public health; trade and investment; democracy and governance; and peace and security.

The Trump administration has the opportunity to further elevate the African continent, building on the narrative reframe from the previous administration. In its engagement, the Trump administration can affirm African agency as well as elevate African voices in the most consequential global conversations. There is already significant progress from the U.S. government with supporting the addition of two new permanent seats for African countries, the African Union becoming a permanent member of the G20, and the assignment of a new Executive Director seat at the International Monetary Fund for Sub-Saharan Africa. As the Trump administration engages with its African counterparts, it should encourage the continent's leadership in global affairs by amplifying Africa's voice on global governance reforms.

Within the continent, specific countries present unique opportunities for the Trump administration to have outsized impact. Sudan, for instance, faces unprecedented levels of mass atrocities and famine, with the crisis threatening regional stability. Addressing the war in Sudan is crucial to preventing conflict spillover in South Sudan and other neighboring areas.

The U.S. has officially determined that atrocities have occurred in Sudan, acknowledging that the Sudanese Armed Forces and Rapid Support Forces have both committed war crimes. This dire situation underscores the immediate need for a resolution to the conflict and sustained international support for humanitarian relief efforts. The United States is the largest donor to Sudan's humanitarian response, providing more than \$920 million in humanitarian assistance in FY 2023, including approximately \$600 million from USAID. In addition to being the largest donor, the U.S. continues to advocate for an end to the war in Sudan and for unhindered humanitarian access. Unfortunately, these efforts have not been able to secure a ceasefire or lasting peace in Sudan.

Across the border in South Sudan, the humanitarian crisis continues to escalate as famine and flooding continue to devastate the country. The continued postponement of the elections for another two years means that South Sudanese will continue to bear the burden of rampant corruption and economic collapse with no hope in sight. Skyrocketing inflation has made even the most basic goods inaccessible. Political tensions and regionalized conflict are at risk of igniting widespread conflict at any moment as the transitional government fails to lay out a plan for action. This risk is not isolated to South Sudan—with the conflict in Sudan, and other regional crises, the spillover effect could have a critically destabilizing effect.

To effectively respond to the crisis in Sudan and South Sudan, specifically the Trump Administration should:

- **Adopt a whole-of-government approach to end the war in Sudan.** The administration should support and fully resource the Office of the Special Envoy for Sudan, support the African Union's efforts to align peace efforts, and renew the temporary protective status for Sudanese currently in the U.S. Additionally, the incoming administration should update the atrocity determination made on December 6, 2023 to include new atrocities committed by both the Rapid Support Forces and Sudanese Armed Forces.
- **Increase unrestricted funding to mutual aid groups like the emergency response rooms** because mutual aid groups play a leading role in the humanitarian response to Sudan's conflict, particularly as rampant insecurity restricts international relief agencies from accessing the most affected areas.
- **Strongly support the South Sudan Truth and Reconciliation Commission (CTRH)** and the other national transitional justice mechanisms that were signed into law this year- these are prerequisites for free and fair elections in two years.

3. Develop a comprehensive policy agenda for addressing racial justice and equity with resourcing outlined in the President's first budget.

Black, Indigenous and People of Color and lower income communities have been historically marginalized, and - in some cases- disproportionately harmed by the systems that influence general welfare in the United States, including healthcare, legal, immigration, housing, and financial institutions. The challenges faced by many in these communities have become intergenerational in nature, requiring interventions that support children, adults, and the elderly.

Policy interventions that acknowledge this history are more impactful and lead to better outcomes; the resulting repair and reformed policies also better serve these communities. The first Trump administration introduced and implemented policies targeted toward Black Americans that focused on higher education, criminal justice reform, and economic opportunity. However, if the incoming Trump administration seeks to truly realize a more prosperous America for all Americans, its policy agenda must be comprehensive and inclusive of these topics.

Specifically, the Trump administration should:

- **Invest in youth leadership development** by providing grants and technical assistance to grassroots organizations at the state and local levels through programs at the U.S. Department of Labor.
- **Address the housing crisis** by working with state and local officials to review federal regulatory frameworks that may increase housing costs, and implement federal tenants rights for renters, recognizing that the current moment does not lend itself to home buying for all communities.

- Work with Congress to develop a concrete plan for the proposed **caregiver and child tax credits, expanded to all families**.
- Provide federal support to state and local governments for **anti-carceral approaches to gun violence prevention**, such as those taking a public health approach.

Prioritize efforts to support survivors of trafficking and forced labor.

4. Prioritize survivors of trafficking, migrant workers at risk of forced labor, and communities with lived experience in U.S. government policymaking.

Communities and individuals with lived experience of exploitation know best how to address issues that affect them. While the establishment of the U.S. Advisory Council on Human Trafficking in 2016 was a positive development, more can be done to build on the work of the previous Trump and Biden administrations. The U.S. government develops policies and implements programs to prevent forced labor and human trafficking; it also provides services to survivors. Each survivor has a different story and experience, and many voices and perspectives should be included in decision making. Additionally, the administration must consider conditions such as poverty that make individuals more at-risk for trafficking and forced labor when proposing new policies or reforms.

Specifically, the Trump administration should:

- **Develop a mechanism for the inclusion of survivors of forced labor and human trafficking in all U.S. government policy and program development and implementation.** It should also require annual agency reporting on survivor engagement to the President’s Interagency Task Force on Human Trafficking as well as in the Attorney General’s Annual Report to Congress.
- **Protect migrant workers in the U.S. and survivors of human trafficking in any immigration reforms by:**
 - **Continuing to strengthen protection for migrant workers.** The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) agreed to extend immigration protections for workers involved in labor disputes to up to four years. This protection helps immigrant and migrant workers speak up against labor abuse by lessening the risk of immigration-based retaliation, by allowing them to stay and work in the United States while helping U.S. authorities investigate workplace abuse and hold employers accountable.
 - **Continuing the T visa program.** The T visa provides temporary protection for survivors of trafficking to access services, continue to work, and engage in U.S. legal processes. In fact, T visas provide law enforcement with a strengthened ability “to detect, investigate, and prosecute human trafficking.” Proposed immigration policies that threaten to remove access to these protections further exacerbate the vulnerability that survivors face and will prevent the U.S. government from holding those who exploit them accountable.

- **Empower the State Department’s Office of Trafficking in Persons (J/TIP) to ensure the U.S. government is leading global efforts to prevent and address human trafficking:**
 - **Prioritizing the nomination of the J/TIP Ambassador:** The J/TIP Ambassador position should be filled as quickly as possible given the tremendous role that J/TIP plays both abroad and within the interagency process. The J/TIP Ambassador is critical to ensuring the U.S. government is able to continue robustly addressing human trafficking and to support the J/TIP staff for the upcoming 2025 TIP Report. Additionally, it is vitally important that whoever is nominated for this position elevates survivor leaders, and takes a holistic approach to combating human trafficking, including all three “P’s”- prevention, protection, and prosecution.
 - **Committing to ensuring the integrity and independence of the annual TIP Report:** The Trump administration should make clear the TIP Report will not be influenced by outside political pressure, and the narratives and country rankings will be based on an objective analysis of the concrete actions taken by a country, including the United States itself, during the TIP Report’s reporting period.

5. Enforce Section 307 of the Tariff Act and the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act, while robustly implementing trade agreement provisions in the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA) to combat forced labor in trade.

The use of forced labor in supply chains exploits workers and creates unfair conditions for American businesses and consumers. Further, American business’ use of forced labor undermines U.S. credibility as a leader in developing regulatory regimes that aim to prevent exploitation. The first Trump administration took vital steps in broadening the scope of enforcement by incorporating requirements for the Mexican and Canadian governments to implement their own forced labor import bans as part of the U.S.-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). It also signed the Uyghur Forced Labor Prevention Act (UFLPA) into law, which authorized the U.S. Customs and Border Protection to enforce a rebuttable presumption that goods made in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region are made wholly or in part with forced labor, thereby prohibiting them from entering U.S. markets.

The first Trump administration issued 20 Withhold Release Orders (WROs) against goods made with forced labor in multiple countries and multiple sectors. However, the issuance of WROs has significantly declined since 2022. The U.S. has an opportunity to reestablish its commitment by fully enforcing U.S. laws that ban the import of goods made with forced labor whether they are produced by U.S. companies or companies based abroad. It also has an opportunity to demonstrate global leadership on combating forced labor in supply chains by continuing to elevate labor protections in future trade agreements, advocating for global harmonization, and robustly implementing innovative workers’ rights provisions in the USMCA.

Specifically, the Trump administration should:

- **Immediately increase enforcement actions on pending Withhold Release Orders (WROs)** across all sectors and geographies, beyond China.
- **Advocate for global harmonization on import bans**, anti-forced labor regulation, and preventing transshipment.
- **Include supply chain transparency and traceability requirements** in all new and renewed trade agreements.
- **Strengthen USMCA protections for workers**, including continued activation of the rapid response mechanism managed by the U.S. Trade Representative and Department of Labor.

6. Advance a whole-of-government approach to managing trafficking risks in federal contracts and procurement processes.

With the largest buying power in the world, U.S. taxpayer funds should not be used to procure goods made with forced labor. This is why Federal Acquisition Regulatory (FAR) guidance bans trafficking-related activities for all products and services. However, significant gaps remain with enforcement of FAR regulations, and loopholes in the Buy American Act. While the U.S. government has been aware of this issue for some time, the agencies that have the most significant spending or heightened risk of trafficking on contracts still reportedly have not taken a 'systematic approach' to managing these risks.

The Trump administration should:

- Conduct a **whole-of-government review of federal contracts**, drawing on the expertise of the Departments of State and Labor and direct Congress to address legislative loopholes, where appropriate.
- **Work with the FAR Council and U.S. Customs and Border Patrol Forced Labor Division to create a framework** for the use of suspension and debarment for entities subject to WROs.

CONCLUSION

The Trump administration has an opportunity to strengthen U.S. global leadership on issues of peace and freedom. Strengthening credibility demands a concerted effort to align foreign policy with values that prioritize human rights and dignity at home and abroad. The recommendations highlighted here, along with recommendations from our partners and allies across civil society, significantly rely on the administration's ability to ensure U.S. credibility as a global leader. Humanity United welcomes the opportunity to partner with the U.S. government on aligned recommendations and will continue to hold the administration accountable for its responsibility to advance global peace and freedom.