



U.S. LEADERSHIP AND THE CHALLENGE OF STATE FRAGILITY

WILLIAM J. BURNS • MICHÈLE A. FLOURNOY • NANCY E. LINDBORG

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**Destruction in Homs, Syria
resulting from the violence that
has ravaged the country since
2011, June 3, 2014.**





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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

At the very moment when challenges to the post-World War II U.S.-led international order are growing in number and complexity, Americans are asking hard questions about the type of global leadership role they want their country to play. After a decade and a half of unceasing war and sustained economic unease in the wake of the worst financial crisis in a generation, Americans—and their elected representatives—are increasingly looking homeward. The temptation to hunker down and wait for this moment of disorder to pass is understandable, but shortsighted. We simply do not have that luxury. There is too much at stake—for American interests, for the interests of our allies and partners, and for global peace and security.

The simultaneity of proliferating challenges and constrained appetite and resources to address them will require the incoming administration to demonstrate remarkable discipline and imagination in where and how it chooses to deploy American leadership.

Nowhere is this more urgent than in the U.S. response to the challenge of state fragility. Given the inbox awaiting the next administration, fragile states may seem like a distant and abstract concern. They are not. They are at the center of much of today's regional disorder and global upheaval. And the driver is the absence—or breakdown—of a social compact

between people and their government. The challenge is only likely to become more acute over time as states struggle to keep pace with rising citizen demands.

The United States and its international partners have made notable progress in coming to grips with the fragility challenge. There is a more nuanced understanding of the problem and a growing convergence around the essential elements of sound policy. The hard truth, however, is that for all the progress and hard-won experience of the past two decades, our performance is falling short of the mark, handicapped by bureaucratic politics; the pursuit of

not—try to fix every fragile state. We can—and should—articulate sound and realistic policy principles to determine where and how to invest scarce resources and attention to maximum effect. And we can—and should—play a leadership role in shaping the global response and strengthening the capacity of key institutions and partners to do their part.

As the chairs of the Fragility Study Group, the three of us come at this problem from different professional backgrounds and experiences, but we all agree that when the defense, development, and diplomacy communities talk past one another, U.S. policy

Given the inbox awaiting the next administration, fragile states may seem like a distant and abstract concern. They are not. They are at the center of much of today's regional disorder and global upheaval.

maximalist objectives on unrealistic timelines; the failure to balance short-term imperatives with long-term goals; the habit of lurching from one crisis to the next; missed opportunities to act preventively; and too much of a focus on how our bureaucracy looks, and not enough on how it works.

There is no simple prescription to address fragility. The United States cannot—and should

suffers. With inputs from a distinguished and diverse Senior Advisory Group, we suggest four principles of engagement to guide a more disciplined approach to the challenge of fragile states. Taken together, we believe these principles will position the United States to make a more meaningful difference at lower cost and with manageable risk. We recommend the following Four "S" Framework.

STRATEGIC



Concentrate efforts where America's interests are greatest, paying special attention to states whose fragility could upend regional order. Work closely with international organizations and partners to strengthen their capacity to respond effectively where their immediate interests are at stake and where second- and third-order effects of fragility and instability increasingly have global repercussions. Prioritize prevention by addressing the festering root causes of fragility before they bubble over into conflict and instability. Invest in resilience, which will reduce demands on the United States by enhancing the ability of fragile states and societies to manage shocks locally and nonviolently. Be vigilant against short-term actions that may undermine long-term objectives and further exacerbate fragility.

SYSTEMIC



Tackle security, political, and capacity challenges in relationship to one another and not in isolation. It is one thing to bring the entire toolkit of statecraft to bear. It is another thing entirely to make sure that toolkit works in concert toward shared goals.

SELECTIVE



Focus on cases where U.S. interests and leverage are greatest, where goals are attainable, and where those goals also align with the interests and capacities of local partners. Empower international partners and institutions to lead where they have greater stakes and influence. When our interests are high, but our leverage is low, we should insist that, at minimum, our engagement does not make things more fragile, while exploring and refining available sticks and carrots to alter the incentives of elites and other key actors.

SUSTAINED



Domestic political support is essential to achieving desired outcomes. It takes decades for a country to transition from fragility to health; policy frameworks must acknowledge this reality and invest patiently and flexibly over time. We cannot sustain the present pace of reactive and expensive crisis response. Nor can we dive headfirst into complex environments without a shared sense of what can be achieved and greater confidence that it will have the required political backing and budgetary resources. We must be straight with the American people and our partners about both the limits of our means, and the costs and consequences of inaction.

Translating these principles into action will be a formidable test for the next administration. Mutual responsibility and accountability will be essential to reframing our engagement with fragile states and with international partners and, just as importantly, within our own government. Three priorities stand out:

1. Getting our own house in order by ensuring greater coherence and alignment among executive branch agencies and between the executive and legislative branches;
2. Building more effective partnerships among international partners and between them and fragile states; and
3. Sharpening the tools to help fragile states more meaningfully strengthen state-society relationships.

We believe these recommendations would allow the administration to deliver a more disciplined, realistic, sound and ultimately effective approach. This paper will be accompanied over the coming months by a series of policy briefs to explore specific policy, political, and bureaucratic aspects of this challenge in greater depth.¹

We have no illusions about the complexity of this challenge or about the limits of U.S. influence. But we are confident about the continued promise of principled American leadership to help states and societies write their own future.



Presidents Clinton (above) and Bush (below) meet with advisors in the White House Situation Room.



AT A GLANCE

DEFINITION

Fragility is the absence or breakdown of a social contract between people and their government. Fragile states suffer from deficits of institutional capacity and political legitimacy that increase the risk of instability and violent conflict and sap the state of its resilience to disruptive shocks.

FOUR “S” FRAMEWORK

STRATEGIC



Concentrate efforts where America’s interests are greatest, paying special attention to states whose fragility could upend regional order.

- **Prevent or mitigate future crises**
- **Couple prevention with resilience**
- **Be rigorous about trade-offs**
- **Strengthen international partnerships that promote openness and transparency**

SYSTEMIC



Tackle security, political, and capacity challenges in relationship to one another and not in isolation.

- **Develop a more proactive, adaptive, and synchronized interagency policy planning and implementation process for fragile states**
- **Foster an awareness that interventions focused on only one dynamic will have unintended consequences**
- **Work toward a shared understanding among interagency actors about how best to deploy America’s foreign policy tools and work with one another**

SELECTIVE



Focus on cases where U.S. interests and leverage are greatest, where goals are attainable, and where those goals also align with the interests and capacities of local partners.

- **Identify the most effective sources of U.S. leverage to incentivize local change**
- **Play to complementary strengths of international partners to avoid costly and counter-productive duplicative efforts**
- **Align American interests and actions with local aspirations and solutions**
- **Work together where interests align, but do not overlook divergence**

SUSTAINED



Domestic political support is essential to achieving desired outcomes. It takes decades for a country to transition from fragility to health; policy frameworks must acknowledge this reality and invest patiently and flexibly over time.

- **Avoid getting involved too late and leaving too early**
- **Structure realistic, flexible, and politically feasible plans**
- **Invest in success**



SUPPORTING PEACE AND STABILITY IN FRAGILE STATES: THE COLLECTIVE WISDOM

1. Invest in **security and justice** for all citizens.
2. Support **legitimate government**, characterized by inclusive politics, accountable institutions, and reconciliation.
3. Cultivate **locally-led and locally-owned solutions** where partnership is possible.
4. Create inclusive, equitable **economic growth**.
5. **Sustain engagement**.

PRIORITY ACTIONS

DOMESTIC COMPACT

Ensure that the U.S. government works in a more integrated fashion, rather than at cross purposes, to address and mitigate fragility.

1. Build strategic foresight into the regular decision-making process at the National Security Council (NSC) and schedule regular senior-level discussions about fragility that elevate early warning and preventive action.
2. Work with Congress to identify specific fragile states for long-term investment and engagement strategies, and resource for success.
3. Reform human capital and management strategies to reflect policy needs, promote unity of purpose, and prioritize relationship-building in fragile states.

INTERNATIONAL COMPACT

Better synchronize efforts between the United States and international partners in fragile states.

1. Expand the partnership model pioneered by the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States.
2. Develop partnership strategies based on shared interests in fragile states and unique sources of expertise and capability.
3. Build the capacity of key international and regional organizations to face the challenge of fragile states.

FRAGILE-STATES COMPACT

Invest in the tools and approaches for U.S. government use that are needed to help fragile states foster legitimate state-society relations.

1. Broaden the base of information used to inform decision-making by building local knowledge networks and making them more accessible in real time to U.S. and international policymakers.
2. Develop critical, under-resourced capabilities to address the needs of fragile states: security sector engagement; anti-corruption; civil society support; public-private partnerships; leadership influence and coercion tools; elections; education and exchanges; learning and evaluation.



FRAGILITY

WHAT IT IS AND WHY IT MATTERS

The next administration will have to navigate an international landscape filled with daunting national security challenges: ambitious and revisionist states, transnational terrorism, new cyber threats, and fears of nuclear proliferation, among others.

Fragile states lie at the root of today's global disorder, from chaos in the Arab world to the refugee crisis and from pandemic diseases to economic malaise.² Fragility has contributed to the spike in violent conflict since 2010, with a record 65 million people displaced from their homes at the end of 2015.³ Fragility can make it more difficult

to address public health emergencies, as seen with the precipitous spread of Ebola, and to counter transnational criminal networks that deprive citizens of their dignity and economies of their potential. In short, in a world that is more complex and interconnected than ever, fragility is pushing us closer to a new normal of "unpredictable instability."⁴

U.S. efforts to prevent fragility and mitigate its consequences continue to fall short. Meeting this growing challenge head-on will require a re-imagined approach—one defined by careful prioritization, shared frameworks for action, and effective partnerships.

FRAGILITY DEFINED

This Study Group defines fragility as the **absence or breakdown of a social contract** between people and their government. Fragile states suffer from **deficits of institutional capacity and political legitimacy** that increase the risk of instability and violent conflict and sap the state of its resilience to disruptive shocks.

HISTORICAL POLICY APPROACHES

Addressing fragility has been an evolving bipartisan priority for more than two decades.

In the late 1990s, the Clinton administration's *National Security Strategy for a New Century* recognized that states "unable to provide basic governance, safety and security, and opportunities for their populations" could potentially "generate internal conflict, mass migration, famine, epidemic diseases, environmental disasters, mass killings and aggression against neighboring states or

ethnic groups—events which can threaten regional security and U.S. interests."

President George W. Bush's first *National Security Strategy* (NSS) reiterated that warning and listed "failed states" as one of six "threats to U.S. interests." After 9/11, the Bush administration prioritized the need to address the exploitation of weak states by terrorists. As the 2002 NSS explained, "The events of September 11, 2001, taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to national

interests as strong states." The 2006 NSS took the point further, recognizing that "Weak and impoverished states and ungoverned areas are not only a threat to their people and a burden on regional economies, but are also susceptible to exploitation by terrorists, tyrants, and international criminals."

The Obama administration has sustained a focus on state fragility, naming it in the 2015 NSS as one of "the top strategic risks to our interests" and pledging to prioritize efforts to address it.



A refugee camp in Rwanda, July 6, 2006.
There are 65 million displaced globally
in 2016, including 21.3 million refugees.

THE ONGOING CHALLENGE

Despite the decades of scholarship and hard-earned experience, we have yet to come up with an effective and sustainable approach to fragile states. Conflicts spread and crises continue to catch us by surprise. For all the good work within and outside government, there is still no shared understanding across U.S. government agencies about the best way to approach fragility. Fragility itself lacks a prescriptive element—it does not always help identify where the stakes are highest, where or how we should invest scarce resources, and where we can make the most meaningful difference.⁵ Furthermore, across the U.S. government there is no clear or shared view of *why*, *how*, and *when* to engage fragile states.

Notwithstanding efforts to achieve a more coordinated response, different U.S. agencies continue the injurious habit of talking past one another. Despite important progress, security, development, economic, humanitarian, and political stovepipes persist in every stage of effort, from assessment to decision-making and lessons learned. The result is the lack of a shared

understanding of strategies and goals for fragile states and the absence of the integrated, sustained effort required to balance short-term imperatives with longer-term objectives. It also is tempting to become distracted by emergent crises rather than focus where our interests and opportunities are greatest. We often lurch from one crisis to the next, limiting our

flexibility, and focus. And efforts to improve our response have too often been cosmetic—rethinking how our bureaucracy looks, but not how it works.

These problems are not unique to the United States; no state or international body has fully cracked the fragility code, nor organized and equipped itself to address effectively such a complex challenge.

“Across the U.S. government there is no clear or shared view of why, how, and when to engage fragile states. These problems are not unique to the United States; no state or international body has fully cracked the fragility code.”

ability to act preventively, or maintain a long-term strategic focus. The U.S. policymaking process has few incentives for early action in response to early warning or longer-term perspective, and much of our prevention toolkit is likewise poorly resourced and understood. We embark on complex endeavors with insufficient understanding, strategy, funding,

In fact, the growing number and diversity of stakeholders, national agendas, technical priorities, authorities, and politics have at times confused as much as clarified the response. The World Bank and the United Nations have begun to embrace the need for new approaches to tackle fragility and build resilience, but these reform efforts are still in their early days.

PRINCIPLES FOR ENGAGEMENT

A NEW APPROACH

The new administration, a coming change in leadership at the United Nations, and an emerging global consensus about the fragility challenge make this an opportune moment to recalibrate our approach. The United States cannot and should not try to “fix” every fragile state. Nor can we ignore this challenge; all fragility has the potential to affect U.S. interests to some extent, especially when left to fester. There is simply too much at stake for our interests, our partners, and the global order. A sound and realistic policy framework is urgently needed to help our policymakers determine where, when, and how to invest scarce resources and attention to maximum effect.

Flags of the world outside of the United Nations headquarters in New York, March 21, 2007.



COLLECTIVE WISDOM: WHAT IS NEEDED IN FRAGILE STATES

There is growing recognition that at its core, fragility is about the failure to forge a minimally inclusive, legitimate, and accountable compact between the state and society.

Previous landmark efforts, including the 2003 report of the Commission on Post-Conflict Reconstruction, have warned against pushing for change from the outside when there is insufficient internal support.⁶ Developing local partnerships and supporting locally led solutions, and giving such efforts time to work, is paramount for success.

The World Bank's 2011 *World Development Report* argued that institutional legitimacy is the key to stability and counteracting what the bank's leader at the time once called the "witches' brew of ineffective government, poverty, and conflict" found in fragile states.⁷ Also in 2011, a landmark global policy agreement, the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States, identified new mechanisms to coordinate financial and political investments in fragile states. The agreement, between self-identified fragile-state governments, international donors, and civil society organizations, was designed explicitly to create a framework for mutually accountable, internationally coordinated action, based on the principles of more locally owned, inclusive, accountable systems of governance.⁸

More recently, in 2015, the Organization for Economic

Cooperation and Development (OECD) published its annual fragility report, *States of Fragility*, underscoring that fragility occurs on a continuum, and that it occurs not just across states but also within them.

Goal 16 of the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) announced at the 2015 U.N. General Assembly calls on the international community to "promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all, and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels."⁹ Goal 16 recognizes that

agreed outcomes—can serve as an effective approach for making progress toward these longer-term aspirations. Compacts have become an established method by development actors to incentivize economic growth and poverty alleviation. They have not, however, been designed or managed to explicitly target and address the vulnerabilities most relevant for counteracting fragility. For example, the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) takes a principled approach to offering financial and technical assistance to select partner countries that meet a minimum threshold of

It is time to think as imaginatively about how to escape the fragility trap as we have about how to escape the poverty trap.

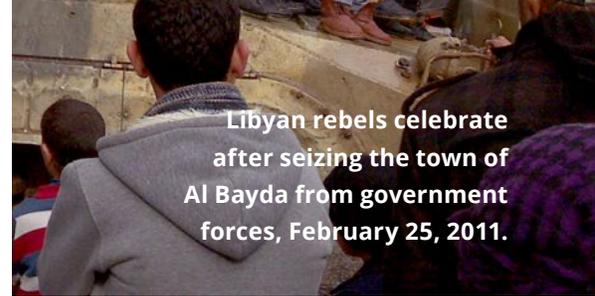
global development efforts will stall absent a more serious effort to tackle pervasive fragility.

These are enormously ambitious and complex aims—far more easily stated than implemented. Nevertheless, they are based on accumulated evidence and research, and serve as useful guideposts for sound policymaking and effective structures of engagement.

Compact models—or agreements among parties designed for mutual accountability toward

development and good governance, but many fragile states cannot qualify for MCC assistance. And the Partnership for Growth, a compact-based alliance between the United States and "high-performing developing countries," aims to "accelerate and sustain broad-based economic growth" but does not address deficiencies in the political compact.¹⁰

It is time to think as imaginatively about how to escape the fragility trap as we have about how to escape the poverty trap.



Libyan rebels celebrate after seizing the town of Al Bayda from government forces, February 25, 2011.

SUPPORTING PEACE AND STABILITY IN FRAGILE STATES: THE COLLECTIVE WISDOM

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The Tunisian National Dialogue Quartet in Vienna. The Quartet received a Nobel Peace Prize for their work moving Tunisia towards participatory democracy, February 29, 2016.

U.S. OBJECTIVES IN FRAGILE STATES: TOWARD A MORE DISCIPLINED APPROACH

Four principles should inform decisions about when and how to engage fragile states: *strategic*, *systemic*, *selective*, and *sustained*. This Four “S” framework should help the next administration invest scarce resources and attention to maximum effect.

STRATEGIC



A *strategic* approach to addressing fragility begins with the recognition that not all fragile states affect U.S. national interests to the same degree. We should prioritize action in fragile states where stakes in regional order are greatest. A number of fragile states sit on major geopolitical fault-lines with a real impact on regional order and key U.S. interests like terrorism, mass displacement, and energy security. This would require attention to places like Tunisia, whose future matters for regional order in the Maghreb, just as Nigeria’s matters to West Africa and Ukraine’s to Europe. A strategic approach also would invest in building the capacity of key partners to meet the fragility challenge.

- **Prevent or mitigate future crises** by identifying and addressing sources of fragility before they boil over into conflict and instability.
- **Couple prevention with resilience** by investing in states and societies with the will and potential to respond to internal or external shocks.
- **Be rigorous about trade-offs** between long-term objectives and short-term actions that risk undercutting strategic aims.
- **Strengthen international partnerships that promote openness and transparency**, which are crucial antidotes to fragility (e.g., the Open Government Partnership).¹¹

SYSTEMIC



A *systemic* approach to fragility would help us make sense of complexity and more effectively address fragility in all of its interconnected dimensions. This would include seeing each individual effort as just one piece of a broader puzzle; viewing threats and opportunities as dynamic, evolving, and interdependent; and considering how specific tools and approaches interact with one another. This means developing strategies and programs that tackle security, political, and capacity challenges in relationship to one another and not in isolation. Such a systems mindset should be supported by new or strengthened tools, processes, and approaches that enable policymakers to identify relevant patterns and leverage points against which the United States can plan, act, and adapt accordingly.

- **Develop a more proactive, adaptive, and synchronized interagency policy planning and implementation process** for fragile states, predicated on a locally informed, holistic understanding of the challenges and leverage points for U.S. engagement.
- **Foster an awareness of unintended consequences** caused by interventions that focus on only one dynamic within a broader system.¹²
- **Work toward a shared understanding among interagency actors** about how best to deploy America’s foreign policy tools and work with one another: Diplomacy and security must be achieved *locally*; development and security are *political* concerns; and diplomacy and development cannot be separated from *security* and *stability*.

SELECTIVE



A *selective* approach would calibrate American support to instances where our interests and leverage are greatest, where goals are achievable, and where those goals also align with the interests and capacities of local partners. This means empowering international partners and institutions to lead where they have greater stakes and influence. Where the United States lacks a willing partner, we will need to avoid taking steps that exacerbate fragility while employing a suite of tools to entice, isolate, or bypass obstinate partners and make progress where we can.

- **Identify the most effective sources of U.S. leverage** to incentivize local change. U.S. leverage can take many forms beyond financial assistance, including participation in regional or global economic and security architectures, training and exchanges, diplomatic support, and the enormous contributions of our private sector and civil society organizations.
- **Play to complementary strengths of international partners** to avoid costly and counterproductive duplicative efforts—and be transparent about weaknesses and gaps. We should also allow partners to take the lead where their influence and interests are greatest.
- **Align American interests and actions with local aspirations and solutions.** The goal for U.S. policy must be to help people write their own future on their own terms. Local partners define the range of the possible and help determine what is “minimally acceptable.” The degree and scope of our support—and rhetoric—should ideally reflect the ambition, will, and objectives of a broad base of the local population.
- **Work together where interests align, but do not overlook divergence.** We must be careful not to overestimate alignment with partners, to ensure that our efforts do not inadvertently exacerbate conflict dynamics in fragile states.

SUSTAINED



A *sustained* approach requires sound and adaptable policies based on the realities of the slow and uneven pace of change, as well as the recognition that broad political support is an indispensable prerequisite for success. Fleeting engagements can exacerbate fragility, waste resources, and undermine our credibility. Different fragile states and different U.S. interests and influence will call for differentiated approaches. At times, the most that can be achieved in the near- to medium term is preventing complete state breakdown or humanitarian catastrophe (e.g., Burundi). At other times, stakes and potential will call for a significant and comprehensive engagement (e.g., Colombia), or encouraging positive progress and selectively filling the gaps (e.g., Tunisia). There will also be cases where our main objective will be to help build and sustain regional coalitions that can take the lead (e.g., Africa’s Great Lakes region).

- **Avoid getting involved too late and leaving too early.** Complete state failure and descent into violence cannot be the only call to action, just as “free and fair” elections cannot be the sole barometer of success.
- **Structure realistic, flexible, and politically feasible plans.** Use these plans as a basis for building the bipartisan political consensus necessary to sustain continued resourcing for the duration of the engagement. We should aim to protect key foreign policy interests from short-term politics that threaten to undermine financing and support for those interests. Engaging Congress early and often is critical.
- **Invest in success.** Make sure that partners pursuing reform receive sustained support and assistance.
- **Avoid the trap of maximalist goals on unrealistic timelines.** Building pluralistic, vibrant democracies can be a generational effort. We must align expectations around outcomes and time frames to ensure a realistic measure of success and ability to sustain efforts over time.

FOUR “S” ENGAGEMENT

TWO CASE STUDIES

Against the backdrop of seemingly intractable challenges posed by fragility, a few examples of notable success stand out.



Secretary Kerry and Ambassador Whitaker meet with Colombian President Santos and Foreign Minister Holguin in Bogota, Colombia, December 12, 2014.

PLAN COLOMBIA

Colombia's experience recovering from near state failure serves as a powerful example of what sustained, integrated, and disciplined engagement in a fragile state can achieve. In 2005—the first year of the Fragile States Index—Colombia was listed as the 14th most fragile state, one spot behind North Korea.¹³ Colombia was beset by violence perpetrated by both a Marxist insurgency and drug kingpins who used cocaine revenues to hollow out the state and capture its security forces. Through decades of engagement, the United States created a strategic, systemic, selective, and sustained partnership with Colombia, resulting in a much more stable and prosperous country that today ranks as the world's 61st most fragile state.¹⁴

Such an engagement is not easily replicable and does not come cheaply. The United States spent over \$8 billion on Plan Colombia from 2000 to 2012 to safeguard regional stability.¹⁵ Such comprehensive, enduring endeavors are not possible in all cases and must be reserved for those countries of top strategic import. But Colombia is an example of how they can succeed when properly conceived, executed, resourced, and sustained across administrations. Even constructive partnerships such as this one have their share of blemishes, from human rights abuses to ongoing narco-trafficking in Colombia and in other regions driven by market forces resulting from Colombia's success.¹⁶

STRATEGIC



In the 1990s, Colombia was awash in narco cash. This money fueled a guerrilla insurgency, imperiling an elected government. Colombia's fragility threatened regional stability, and the drug trade produced violent spillovers in neighboring states and in the United States itself. This posed an unacceptable threat to American security and offered a clear rationale for action. The United States asked itself two critical questions that would frame its approach: *"What was Colombia prepared to do?"* (What was the local appetite for change?); and *"In what way could we organize ourselves to help Colombia reform and rebound successfully?"* (How could the United States be a good external partner?)

SYSTEMIC



As a result of effective prioritization and policy development, the United States was able to marshal a unified, systematic approach to assisting Colombia to achieve shared priorities. In Colombia, deep historical, institutional relationships between the U.S. State Department and the Colombian National Police, as well as between the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) and the Colombian military, laid the groundwork for the partnership. The United States possessed an array of foreign assistance tools that were of great interest to the Colombian government. The United States was therefore able to construct a unified plan based on what it knew the Colombian government was already doing and what the U.S. government could do to strengthen that effort. Given the long-term, iterative nature of the task, the United States sought to institutionalize the policy by creating a system whereby each participating U.S. agency brought its own resources to the table. The State Department's Bureau of Inter-American Affairs (now the Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs) served as the central coordinating body, which ensured that people would not be worn out as they typically were through interagency secondments. The collaboration worked because of the shared recognition that multidisciplinary efforts were needed to address Colombia's challenges.

SELECTIVE



The U.S. approach evolved over the years to match the will of local partners. At first, the United States attempted to coerce Colombia to the negotiating table. The U.S. government exerted political pressure on President Ernesto Samper, who was beholden to the traffickers, by revoking his visa privileges in 1996 and cutting off most foreign assistance to Colombia. But the 1998 election of President Andrés Pastrana brought a more willing partner to the table. Colombia wanted to rid itself of the "narco-state" label and to end the cycles of torturous violence that had plagued it for decades. To build trust and confidence, the United States cooperated to address the highest priority counternarcotic and security objectives, and over time expanded the collaboration to the social, economic justice, and rule of law objectives.

SUSTAINED



While historically the United States had provided aid on a year-by-year basis, under Pastrana it agreed to commit funding for programs and personnel for an initial three-year period. Furthermore, resources for Plan Colombia were provided through a supplemental Congressional appropriation, meaning that no departments or agencies had to take funds from elsewhere within their budgets. Crucially, burden-sharing and Colombian buy-in enabled success. Local commitment ensured that Colombia would carry more than its fair share, making the effort sustainable and expanding it beyond basic security objectives to a shared agenda for transformational change. Remarkably, Plan Colombia has endured across three administrations with strong, consistent bipartisan support in Congress and with billions of dollars in uninterrupted financing.



President Barack Obama hosts a town hall in Yangon, Myanmar, on November 14, 2014.

MYANMAR

Myanmar, also known as Burma, a reclusive military dictatorship since 1962, offers another example of a strategic, systemic, selective, and sustained approach. Today, Myanmar is undergoing a fragile but hopeful transition after the 2015 election of the National League for Democracy (NLD) under the leadership of Aung San Suu Kyi. With U.S. and international support, the future holds promise for meaningful reform and transformation in the long-suffering country.¹⁷

STRATEGIC



Although not a major power, Myanmar sits at the geopolitical crossroads of Asia, between India to the west, China to the north, and fellow Southeast Asian states to the east and south. Myanmar is a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a critical body to U.S. regional interests. Myanmar's coast includes sea lanes that link the Indian Ocean with the Pacific Ocean. Myanmar is also the epicenter of drug-resistant malaria and tuberculosis, is a major global and regional source of opium and methamphetamine, and has been a leading trading partner and arms market for North Korea in the past decade. Furthermore, in a region where democratic development has receded in recent years, the success of Myanmar's transition may serve as an important model for other regional nations, as democratic failure may bolster the credibility of autocratic narratives. For all these reasons, the United States has a keen interest in the success of Myanmar's nascent reform effort.

SYSTEMIC



Beginning with the establishment of a "special representative and policy coordinator" for Myanmar, and extending into the operations of the U.S. Embassy after installation of an ambassador in 2012, the United States pursued an integrated, coordinated, systematic approach to Myanmar policy. An assistance-coordination group was formed in early 2012. The group was chaired and directed by the special representative's office, with extensive guidance and support, including detailed staff, from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). Later in 2012, Ambassador Derek Mitchell and US-AID Mission Director Chris Milligan worked closely together in the field to implement assistance tailored to Myanmar's unique local conditions. This work proceeded according to an explicit strategic vision developed in part through the Integrated Country Strategy process. The rest of the embassy country team, including the deputy chief of mission, defense

attaché, public affairs director, and Office of Transition Initiatives representative, among others, also adhered to a disciplined process that included the establishment of a number of internal joint working groups to address, *inter alia*, Rakhine State (Rohingya), inter-communal conflict, the peace process, and the 2015 election. In that way, the embassy remained united in approach, systematic in implementation, and responsive to new developments. The “one post, one mission” partnership mindset reinforced by embassy leadership prevented the kind of sectoral stovepiping that would have undermined policy effectiveness as well as U.S. leadership among international missions in the country.

SELECTIVE



Although—and in some ways because—the United States pursued a policy of diplomatic and economic isolation of the former military regime for more than a decade, the people of Myanmar welcomed its re-engagement as reform gained momentum beginning in 2011. Key figures in senior levels of the quasi-military government were open to learning about the Open Government Partnership, signing up to the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), and accepting workshops (and private advice) on a full spectrum of issues geared toward conforming to international standards. At the same time, the government released virtually all political prisoners, began serious peace talks with ethnic armed groups, broadened space for civil society, vastly expanded media freedom, and addressed its illicit arms trade with North Korea. These actions were all confidence-building measures that demonstrated serious interest to reform and work with the United States. The exception was military-to-military engagement, which proceeded slowly given the continued civil war and ongoing concerns (raised by both ethnic minority groups and the NLD, the political opposition) about the military’s role in the country’s democratic future.

SUSTAINED



After 50 years of systematic degradation of every institution in the country (except the military), patience, persistence, and increased bureaucratic and financial resources devoted to Myanmar will remain critical for some time. Myanmar’s government and people have demonstrated a clear desire for a long-term relationship with the United States, viewing U.S. public and private investment as important to their continued reform and development and to our credibility as a partner in their time of need. U.S. official assistance increased substantially after 2011. Priority attention was given to health, rural development, democratic development, humanitarian assistance, peace support, promotion of interreligious tolerance, and public-private partnerships in the information and communications technology sector and among U.S. universities. Fulbright, Humphrey, and other educational scholarships expanded, and the Peace Corps opened an office with the intention to place volunteers on the ground in 2016. However, the level of USAID assistance flattened out over time, and after the historic 2015 elections, the United States did not increase funding to assist the new democratic government. (Others, including Japan, the United Kingdom and the European Union, did increase their assistance support after the election.) Regular visits by the U.S. secretary of state, the 2012 appointment of the first U.S. ambassador to Myanmar in 22 years, and two presidential visits in two years have reflected priority interest in Myanmar during the Obama administration. However, in the future, political symbolism will be less important than assisting the country’s economic development, peace process, military reform, religious and ethnic unity, and other urgent needs, to enable Myanmar to successfully transition to a less fragile and more coherent, peaceful, and democratic nation.

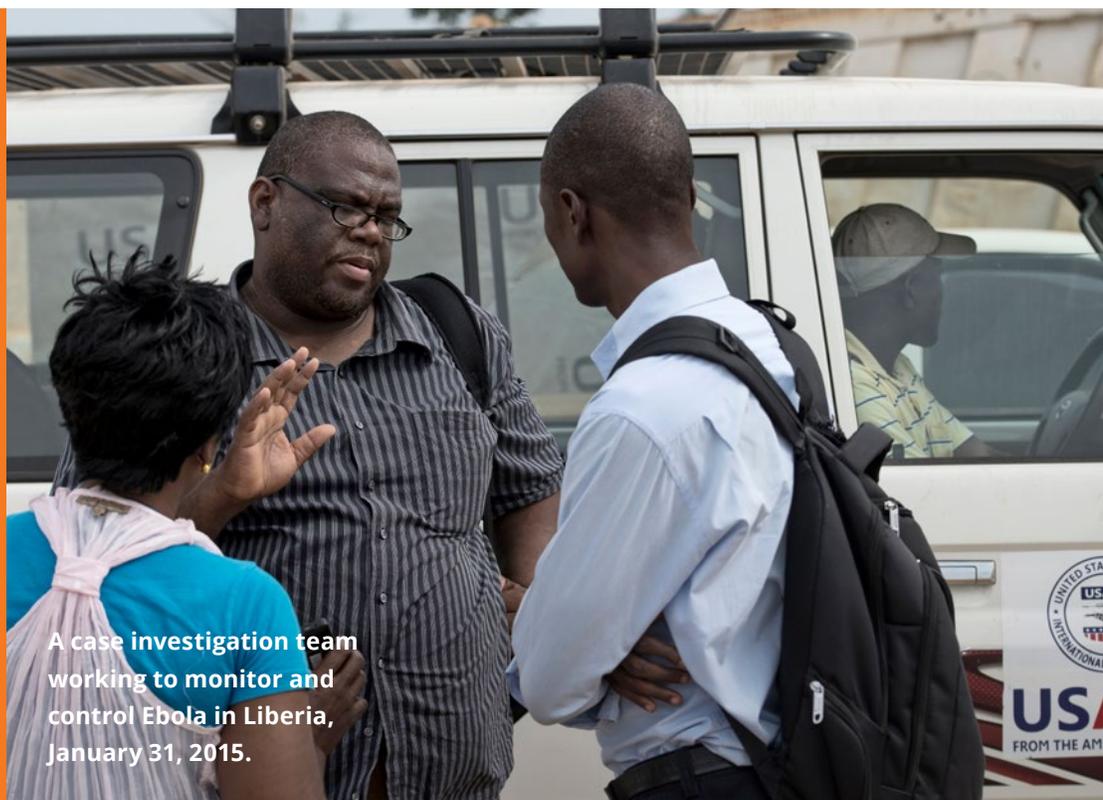
FROM PRINCIPLES TO PRACTICE

PRIORITY ACTIONS FOR THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION

Translating these principles into action will be a formidable task for the next administration. We recommend focusing on three principal lines of effort, or compacts, each of which is defined by mutual responsibility and accountability: *Domestic Compact*: getting our own house in order by ensuring greater coherence and alignment among executive branch agencies and between the executive and legislative branches; *International Compact*: building more effective partnerships among international partners and between the international community and fragile states; and *Fragile-States Compact*: sharpening the tools to strengthen state-society relationships within fragile states.

Taken alone, any one of these recommendations will be insufficient. But taken together, a process of coordinated horizon-scanning, prioritization, early warning, early action, strengthened partnerships, and refined tools can significantly improve U.S. engagement in fragile states.

“Taken alone, any one of these recommendations will be insufficient. But taken together ...they can significantly improve U.S. engagement in fragile states.”



DOMESTIC COMPACT

Ensure the U.S. government works in a more integrated fashion, rather than at cross purposes, to address and mitigate fragility.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Build strategic foresight into the regular decision-making process at the National Security Council (NSC) and schedule regular senior-level discussions about fragility that elevate early warning and preventive action.

Every NSC faces the challenge of balancing urgent crises with important long-term considerations. Early warning and more proactive, preventive action is critical to a more disciplined and effective approach. This will require analysis, assessments, and processes at the most senior levels of government that incentivize discussions about joint strategic, resource, and personnel planning and action.

Illustrative Actions

- Establish a strategic foresight cell within the Directorate of Strategic Planning of the National Security Council. Direct the foresight cell to identify top-tier fragile states of concern to U.S. interests (i.e. a “fragile-states watch list”), building on and integrating the work of the USAID Fragile States Alert List, the Political Instability Task Force (PITF)¹⁸ and other indices.
- The foresight cell should lead regular joint assessments of priority countries to determine whether criteria for effective engagement are present.
- Develop shared diagnostics for fragile states that bring together regional and subject-matter experts from the interagency to inform planning and decision-making.
- Building on lessons learned from the Atrocities Prevention Board, establish a new quarterly NSC Deputies Committee meeting that uses the “fragile-states watch list” and the work of the foresight cell to consider policy implications of new developments in priority watch-list states and to monitor implementation of relevant strategies and planning.
- As a part of this process, establish a working-level forum, to coordinate comprehensive assistance and programming to high-priority fragile states.
- Institute regular interagency tabletop exercises on priority fragile states focused on both early warning *and* crisis response scenarios, to build a deeper shared understanding of drivers of crisis and effective responses.
- Ensure that all relevant agencies are included in such meetings and exercises (including USAID as outlined in Presidential Policy Directive-6, Treasury, Justice, and others with key expertise and tools)¹⁹ to develop a shared understanding of the challenge and the available responses.

2. Work with Congress to identify specific fragile states for long-term investment and engagement strategies, and resource for success.

Resetting relations with Congress is an essential prerequisite for improving policy effectiveness, sustaining a level of resourcing that matches what is needed in fragile environments, and strengthening

our confidence in our ability to effect progress in such environments. In a time of scarce resources and reduced congressional appetite for foreign engagement, the administration should

work with key members to focus on the most critical fragile states, and to agree on the level, type, and length of funding required for success. Just as Congress was able to sustain military and development

financing for Plan Colombia for more than a decade, the future Congress can generate sustained political will for long-term strategies when aligned with clear strategic imperatives, achievable objectives, and realistic timelines outlining incremental steps toward progress. Without this mutual commitment, well-planned interagency efforts have been hampered by piecemeal funding with serious policy consequences.²⁰

Illustrative Actions

- Use the Four “S” framework to select a portfolio of priority fragile states for congressional engagement, informed by
- the strategic planning effort at the NSC and dialogue with members.
- Work with Congress to create a multiyear, flexible funding mechanism (such as an expanded Complex Crises Fund) for these priority fragile states to allow for predictable and adaptable programming. This mechanism should help increase flexibility and responsiveness that is currently hampered by voluminous legislative earmarks on assistance budgets.
- Organize periodic, multiagency fragile-states briefings before Congress, focusing on these
- priority states and on the authorities that need to be reformed and refined to improve the quality of our engagements.
- Support expanded interagency transfer authorities for joint programming for priority fragile states, taking lessons from past efforts such as the 1207 Security and Stabilization program. A useful model might be an authority considered, but not incorporated, in the FY17 Senate National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) that would have enabled resource transfers between DoD and USAID for specific challenges.



President Obama convenes a National Security Council meeting, April 19, 2013.

3. Reform human capital and management strategies to reflect policy needs, promote unity of purpose, and prioritize relationship-building in fragile states.

Systemic responses to fragility require a shared understanding of the combined U.S. government toolkit and capabilities. Too few government officials have relevant, cross-functional experience within the interagency that facilitates the shared sense of purpose and understanding needed to achieve the government's strategic priorities in fragile states. This reality is driven, in part, by interagency promotion criteria and practices that deprioritize assignments outside home agencies. Finally, finding a balance between embassy security and the inevitable risks that come with local engagement will be crucial to enabling our personnel to develop requisite understanding and access.

Illustrative Actions

- Learn from past efforts (e.g., the Civilian Response Corps and ongoing DoD efforts to track service member expertise) to develop an interagency mechanism to identify and track personnel expertise in relevant functional and regional areas.
- Conduct a capabilities audit and catalog all relevant U.S. government tools and capabilities available to address fragility, and make the information easily accessible across the interagency.



U.S. Special Operations Task Force provides security for local shura, Uruzgan province, Afghanistan, March 16, 2013.

- Increase the shared understanding of the national security workforce by continuing and significantly increasing emphasis on the National Security Professional Development (NSPD)²¹ program, with a particular focus on interagency rotations as a key component of leader recruitment, development, and promotion.
- For priority fragile states, identify assignment practices that will ensure continuity of critical relationships and expertise, including through incentives for extended hardship deployments.
- Provide civilians serving in high-risk environments with standardized cross-agency training to conduct mission-critical work.

INTERNATIONAL COMPACT

Better synchronize efforts between the United States and international partners in fragile states.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Expand the partnership model pioneered by the New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States.

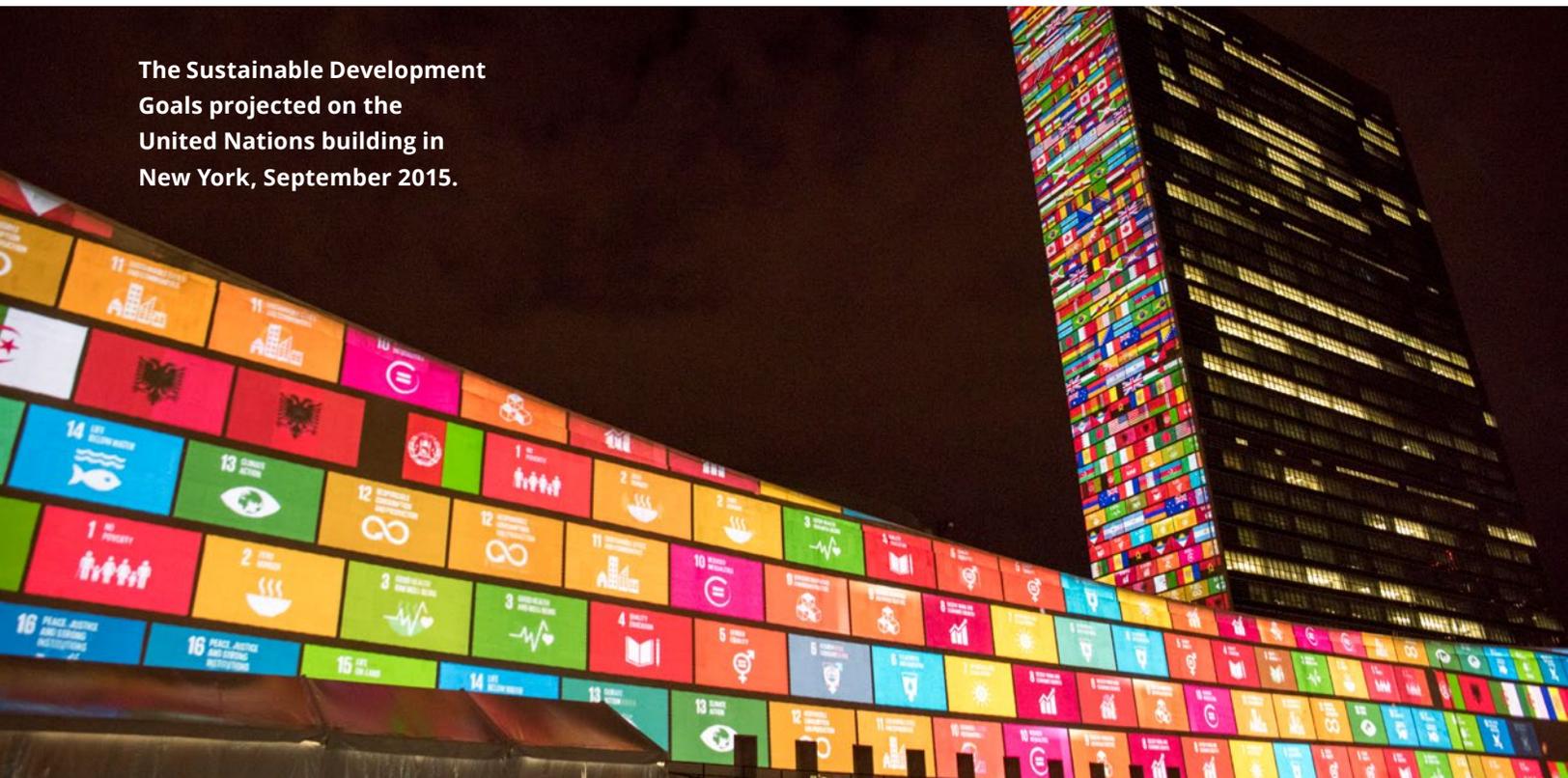
The New Deal effectively captures the conceptual basis for a sound approach to fragile states, in support of five Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSG): legitimate politics, security, justice, economic foundations, and revenue and services. A common criticism of the New Deal is that it has remained in the sole domain of finance and planning ministries, which has undermined its effectiveness. The New Deal “TRUST principles”—Transparency, Risk sharing, Using country systems, Strengthening capacities, and

providing Timely and predictable aid—are essential to the effective functioning of all state systems.

Illustrative Actions

- Champion support of and engagement on the New Deal beyond USAID within the U.S. government.
- Incentivize expanded support of the New Deal in fragile states beyond ministries of finance and planning, to include all security, political, and development departments as well as across civil society.
- Apply New Deal “FOCUS principles” for engagement (Fragility assessment; One vision, one plan; Compact; Use Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals to monitor country progress; and Support political dialogue and leadership) to countries that might not embrace the “fragile” label (such as Nigeria, Myanmar, Ukraine and Georgia), but where the core approach remains valid.
- Support mentoring state-to-state and society-to-society relationships between fragile states to share lessons and ideas.

The Sustainable Development Goals projected on the United Nations building in New York, September 2015.



2. Develop partnership strategies based on shared interests in fragile states and unique sources of expertise and capability.

Regardless of U.S. strategic interests, there are instances where we have limited resources and limited leverage. In other cases, efforts are not coordinated among donors, leading to a cacophony of assistance that fails to help or may even harm fragile states. Based on the principles outlined in the New Deal, and countries' strategic interests, allies and partners should build on each other's strengths to make progress in a greater number of states than otherwise possible. Furthermore, by conceptualizing partnerships broadly, the international community can allow those with the greatest interests and most relevant capabilities to take the lead, resulting in more efficient, less expensive, and more effective strategies.

Illustrative Actions

- Build upon past and ongoing efforts to track capability and capacity across specific donors and functional areas, and organize a comprehensive effort to collate and publicize a map of the landscape of actors (including states, nongovernmental organizations, and the private sector) as well as their respective comparative advantages (e.g., police training, mediation, etc.) for building integrated fragile-state strategies. While the resource should be accessible to all parties, it ultimately should be owned, managed, and updated by an international, multilateral entity such as the United Nations, the World Bank, or the Organization

for Economic Cooperation and Development.

- Institute a U.S. government-wide commitment to inclusion of key civil society stakeholders in ad hoc multilateral mechanisms (like "Friends of" coalitions and the Bonn/Chicago/Tokyo meetings for Afghanistan²²) which are critical for long-term success.
- Establish harmonized priorities and reporting systems that encourage the participation of nongovernmental organizations in such forums, such as the "Grand Bargain" between donors and aid agencies, announced at the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit, to reform humanitarian assistance.²³

3. Build the capacity of key international and regional organizations to face the challenge of fragile states.

International bodies such as the United Nations and regional institutions such as the African Union (AU), the Association for Southeast Asian Nations, the Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC), and the Central American Integration System (SICA), among many others, are potentially well-positioned to address fragility within a regional context. As the challenges of fragility are often transnational, working within these international and regional institutions can help foster more complete regional solutions to regional problems.

Illustrative Actions

- Work with each regional organization to establish local capabilities for monitoring fragility and developing mitigation plans.
- Provide active support for initiatives and partnerships (e.g., Community of Democracies, Open Government Partnership, Inter-American Democratic Charter, Sustainable Development Goal 16 and other normative, values-based efforts) that offer clear evidence and incentives for legitimate and capable governance.

- Work with the United Nations and key regional organizations (e.g., African Union) to develop strategies for increased regional peacekeeping and peace-building capacity, and continue efforts to improve the training, equipping, and resourcing of peacekeepers.²⁴
- Encourage United Nations member states to direct their investments into multilateral funding streams for counterterrorism, governance, rule of law, and resilience initiatives to support regional capacity-building efforts.

FRAGILE-STATES COMPACT

Invest in the tools and approaches for U.S. government use that are needed to help fragile states foster legitimate state–society relations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Broaden the base of information used to inform decision-making by building local knowledge networks and making them more accessible in real time to U.S. and international policymakers.

Non-governmental organizations, civil society, the humanitarian community, and the private sector have deep roots and local networks in all fragile states, but their perspectives rarely inform or influence policy decisions. Additionally, non-reporting U.S. government entities, such as USAID, cultivate unique data in fragile states but do not have the institutionalized mechanisms to systematically share it across the interagency. Such agencies and departments should be enabled to provide as well as consume fragility-relevant information; likewise, packaging it to identify long-term trends and

opportunities, rather than simply informing crisis response, is critical to policymaking related to fragile states.

Illustrative Actions

- Adapt formal assessment, planning, and evaluation tools and processes currently used across the interagency to be more responsive to sources of fragility and resilience, in line with the new proposed “fragile-states watch list” and NSC assessments (e.g., charge State and USAID to jointly adapt such tools as Conflict Assessment Framework 2.0, Interagency Conflict Assessment

Framework, Conflict Assessment System Tool, etc.).

- Establish formal processes and requisite expectations for all agencies to regularly share fragility-relevant data and reporting with their interagency counterparts, without undue classification that hampers their ability to work with non-government partners.
- Expand investment in, and cross-agency access to, big-data analytics tools to better organize, learn from, and apply data on fragility challenges.

2. Develop critical, under-resourced capabilities to address the needs of fragile states.

The United States has often under-resourced capabilities that have proved essential to effectively reverse fragility, mitigate its externalities, or increase willingness or ability of partners to take on these challenges. Success in assisting fragile states with their transitions will require rethinking when and how such capabilities are applied but also reconsidering the capabilities themselves.

Security Sector Engagement:

Much of the conceptual

groundwork for effective and evidence-based security sector engagement has been laid in Presidential Policy Directive 23, but leadership investment is needed for its implementation. Rather than starting anew, the next administration should build upon this progress to ensure that the United States has the capacity to engage effectively not only with partner militaries but also ministries, police, and judicial systems. In fragile states in particular, emphasis on equal provision of security as a

public good, respect for human rights, and access to justice must be strengthened in security assistance programming. In countries where such reform is not yet possible, U.S. policymakers should seriously consider whether security assistance programs can be effective. To support such decision-making, implementing agencies should continue to strengthen still-nascent security monitoring and evaluation approaches, ensuring such efforts are used to inform relevant planning and policy decisions.²⁵

A child admires election artwork, Afghanistan, March 2014.



Conflict Mediation: The United States urgently needs to strengthen and grow its bench of trained and tested conflict mediators within the State Department to prevent and resolve violent conflicts more effectively. The current demand for these professionals, both for U.S.-led and international efforts, also provides an opportunity to reconsider the traditional role and profile of mediators, including what role non-traditional mediators might play. Likewise, the State Department should revisit how such mediation efforts are stood up, staffed, organized, and supported to ensure they have access to the greatest possible leverage, expertise, flexibility, and expeditionary enablers.

Anti-Corruption: In fragile states, corruption is a corrosive force

that erodes the social fabric of the state, weakening government legitimacy. Therefore, efforts to mitigate fragility must meaningfully address systemic corruption to give other investments in local capacity and legitimacy the opportunity to succeed. Countering corruption requires a deeper understanding of the power dynamics, motivations, and means of state and non-state actors, including recognition of both formal and informal power structures that govern society. Comprehensive understanding of kleptocratic networks in fragile states needs to be developed and shared as a matter of course, starting with strengthening relevant intelligence requirements supported by technical and expert staff across the U.S. interagency. Likewise, anti-corruption efforts should figure into U.S. policy

approaches to fragile states more broadly—whether security or economic assistance, trade or exchanges—rather than be assigned to specialized personnel with narrow missions.²⁶

Elections: Long considered a milestone in democratic reform, elections can also have a polarizing and destabilizing impact in fragile environments, particularly when rushed, conducted in the absence of appropriate political inclusivity, or when lacking foundational elements to ensure a secure, safe, and transparent election. State and USAID should jointly conduct a systemic review of the role and impact of elections conducted in states across the fragility spectrum, as well as the effectiveness of international assistance in setting conditions for safe and

secure political transitions. These assessments should be used to inform the portfolio of U.S. and partner assistance, as well as to establish political benchmarks for fragile states.

Civil Society Support: The United States needs sharper and more innovative tools and strategies to help create and preserve open space for civil society across a broad range of issues, including democracy and good governance, public health, education for girls, and equitable service provision. Support for civil society must include effective leverage with leaders as well as new tactics for supporting and working with organizations under threat.²⁷

Public-Private Partnerships: Private-sector investments, if not understood and harnessed as a powerful incentive for action, may have a pernicious effect in fragile states. In May 2016, the World Economic Forum Global Agenda Council on Fragility, Violence, and Conflict published a report, “Responsible Investment in Fragile Contexts,” emphasizing the role businesses can play beyond typical corporate social responsibility interventions, to build resources, knowledge, capital, and networks to mitigate fragility.²⁸ The United States must take into account the important role of the private sector in fragile states and work with corporations, investors, and financial institutions to support sustainable transformation.

Leadership Influence and Coercion Tools: In instances where fragile states may have significant impact on U.S. interests but counterparts are unwilling to take difficult steps to transcend fragility, we should consider carefully whether we have the ability to influence this dynamic, as well as the limits of our own leverage. Over the last several years the United States has developed a growing toolkit of incentives and coercive measures to influence the calculus of leaders worldwide (e.g., targeted financial sanctions, asset freezes, and travel restrictions). While the authorities underlying these tools have grown increasingly sophisticated, our understanding of the specific economic and political effects, impact, and appropriate role in U.S. foreign policy is still quite nascent. The next administration should craft a detailed framework, initiated by Treasury, for when and how such measures are in our national interest, how to apply more sophisticated measures in partnership with regional bodies, and in particular, how to set realistic goals for such efforts when their impacts may reverberate broadly throughout society, localized, and international markets.

Education and Exchanges: In countries with weak institutions and frayed state-society compacts, people-to-people exchanges can have outside impact in the long run. Long-term educational and exchange programs remain a wise and strategic investment and should be fully integrated into our engagement strategies, especially when leverage with existing governments is limited.

Learning and Evaluation: The United States needs a more robust learning agenda to collect data from past fragile-states engagements and incorporate lessons learned into future endeavors.²⁹ Creating a process of consistent, strategic re-evaluation and capability repositioning, as close as possible to key decision-makers, will help ensure that the United States does not apply the wrong tools to the wrong problems. The next administration should direct the proposed NSC foresight cell to commission a series of studies to capture lessons learned from past U.S. engagements with fragile states and ensure that key findings and recommendations inform U.S. policy, approaches, and investment in capabilities going forward.

CONCLUSION

State fragility is a generational challenge that will remain a central feature of the international landscape for the foreseeable future. Our response, however, can and indeed must evolve. We believe that prioritizing engagements that are *strategic, systemic, selective, and sustained* can help U.S. policymakers make wiser decisions about how to direct U.S. leadership at a moment of ever-mounting demands and ever-growing constraints on resources and public appetite for international engagement.

We also recognize that a conceptual policy framework is not enough. Focusing policy changes and institutional reforms across three mutually reinforcing compacts can help bring this framework to life. We remain confident that a focused effort to get our own house in order, build more effective international partnerships, and strengthen key tools in the U.S. toolkit will position the next administration for greater success.



Sunrise over Gammarth,
Tunisia, 2005.

NOTES

1. At the time of this publication, the list of policy briefs and working titles includes: "Gender and Fragility" (Nora Dudwick, CNAS and Kathleen Kuehnast, USIP); "Congress's Role in Addressing Fragility" (Katherine Kidder, CNAS); "First 100 Days Implementation Plan" (Loren Schulman, CNAS); "Transparency and Interagency Decision-making" (Loren Schulman, CNAS); "Fragility and Security Sector Reform" (Rachel Kleinfeld, Carnegie); "Closing Space for Civil Society and State Fragility" (Thomas Carothers, Carnegie); "Corruption and State Fragility" (Sarah Chayes, Carnegie); "The Fragility Learning Agenda: What Do We Need to Know?" (Andrew Blum, USIP); "Resilience and Fragility" (Lauren Van Metre, USIP); "Adopting a Movement Mindset to Address the Challenge of Fragility" (Maria Stephan, USIP); "Implementing a Unified Approach to Fragility: Lessons learned from Burma" (Jessica Davey, Chris Milligan, and Derek Mitchell); "Preparing for Complex Conflicts" (Robert D. Lamb and Melissa R. Gregg, International Peace and Security Institute). For more information, please visit: <http://www.usip.org/programs/projects/senior-study-group-fragility>.
2. Eighty-eight percent of all terrorist attacks in 2015 occurred in countries that were experiencing or involved in armed conflicts. Institute for Economics & Peace, "Global Terrorism Index 2015" (November 2015), <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf>.
3. U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, "Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015" (June 20, 2016), <https://s3.amazonaws.com/unhcrsharedmedia/2016/2016-06-20-global-trends/2016-06-14-Global-Trends-2015.pdf>.
4. James Clapper, Director of National Intelligence, "Worldwide Threat Assessment of the U.S. Intelligence Community," Statement for the Record to the Committee on Armed Services, U.S. Senate, February 2016, http://www.armed-services.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/Clapper_02-09-16.pdf.
5. For example, countries as disparate as Haiti and Iraq rank next to each other on the Fund for Peace's Fragile States Index (11th and 12th, respectively, in 2015).
6. Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Association of the U.S. Army, "Play to Win: Final report of the bi-partisan Commission on Post-Conflict Reconstruction" (January 2003), <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/44A3BEDEFCE6DB54C-1256CD1003449F0-csis-play-jan03.pdf>.
7. Robert Zoellick, "Securing Development," delivered at the U.S. Institute of Peace "Passing the Baton" Conference, January 8, 2009.
8. The New Deal was a product of the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and Statebuilding, a unique multi-stakeholder partnership that includes the "g7+" group of countries affected by conflict and fragility, donors from OECD countries, and civil society organizations. The pact outlined new modes of operation for donor nations, including a commitment to locally owned and led development priorities, and more inclusive planning processes in target countries. This new method of working was designed to promote five foundational Peacebuilding and Statebuilding Goals (PSGs), five FOCUS principles (Fragility Assessment; One Vision One Plan; Compact; Use PSGs to Monitor; and Support political dialogue) and five TRUST principles (Transparency, Risk sharing, Use and strengthen country systems, Strengthen capacities, and Timely and predictable aid): <http://www.pbsbdialogue.org/en/>.
9. United Nations, "Goal 16: Promote just, peaceful, and inclusive societies," <http://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/peace-justice/>.
10. Millennium Challenge Corporation, "Partnership for Growth," <https://www.mcc.gov/initiatives/initiative/partnership-for-growth>.
11. Open Government Partnership "is a multilateral initiative that aims to secure concrete commitments from governments to promote transparency, empower citizens, fight corruption, and harness new technologies to strengthen governance. In the spirit of multi-stakeholder collaboration, OGP is overseen by a Steering Committee including representatives of governments and civil society organizations." <http://www.opengovpartnership.org/about>.
12. For example, successful counternarcotics programs in Colombia pushed drug trafficking routes into Central America and West Africa, which has helped fuel greater violence in Mexico and finance terrorist operations in the Sahel, respectively. Mabel Gonzales Bustelo, "A sense of déjà vu: Illegal drugs in West Africa and the Sahel," TheBrokerOnline.eu, January 28, 2015, <http://www.thebrokeronline.eu/Articles/A-sense-of-deja-vu-illegal-drugs-in-West-Africa-and-the-Sahel>.
13. Fragile States Index 2005, <http://fsi.fundforpeace.org/rankings-2005-sortable>.
14. Fragile States Index 2015, <http://fsi.fundforpeace.org/rankings-2015>.
15. Michael Shifter, "Plan Colombia: A Retrospective," *Americas Quarterly* (Summer 2012). Additionally, Colombia reciprocated, dedicating 1.1 percent of its annual gross domestic product to the war on drugs from 2000 to 2008.
16. This case illustration draws from an article by Senior Advisory Group member Ambassador Tom Pickering: Thomas R. Pickering, "Anatomy of Plan Colombia," *The American Interest*, 5 no. 2 (November 1, 2009), <http://www.the-american-interest.com/2009/11/01/anatomy-of-plan-colombia/>.
17. Ambassador Derek Mitchell contributed immensely to the

development of this case illustration, including penning an initial draft.

18. The Political Instability Task Force (formerly the State Failure Task Force) was a CIA-sponsored effort to identify factors that increase a state's vulnerability to political instability over a six-month to two-year period. The task force has identified more than 250 historical instances of acute instability occurring between 1955 and 2002. Jack Goldstone, Robert Bates, and Colin Kahl, "Political Instability Task Force: New Findings" (February 5, 2004), <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/event/political-instability-task-force-new-findings#sthash.IACDazHe.dpuf>.
19. Presidential Policy Directive 6 (PPD-6) was issued on September 22, 2010 by the Obama administration. The first of its kind by a U.S. administration, PPD-6 stated that "development is vital to U.S. national security and is a strategic, economic, and moral imperative for the United States. It call[ed] for the elevation of development as a core pillar of American power and chart[ed] a course for development, diplomacy, and defense to mutually reinforce and complement one another in an integrated comprehensive approach to national security." It provided clear objectives and an implementation roadmap, including calling for the Administrator of USAID to be included in NSC meetings, as appropriate. The White House, *Presidential Policy Directive/PPD-6: U.S. Global Development Policy Fact Sheet* (September 22, 2010), <http://fas.org/irp/offdocs/ppd/global-dev.pdf>.
20. For example, in a comprehensive interagency plan for Iraq put forth in 2011, Congress decided to fully fund Defense Department lines of effort while cutting civilian agency funding, despite DOD support. Walter Pincus, "Gates pleads for 'critically urgent' funds for State Department's work in Iraq," *Washington Post* (February 17, 2011), <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/02/17/AR2011021706545.html>.
21. The National Security Professional Development program was launched in 2007 by the Bush administration, based on the three pillars of education, training, and rotational service. After a "strategic pause," it was reinvigorated by the Obama administration in 2011. Catherine Dale, "National Security Professionals and Interagency Reform: Proposals, Recent Experience, and Issues for Congress," RL34565 (Congressional Research Service, September 26, 2011), <https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL34565.pdf>.
22. From 2011-2012 the Special Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan team led a diplomatic campaign to connect the military effort with the instruments of non-military power in South and Central Asia, including official development assistance, involvement of the private sector, support for civil society, and the use of both bilateral and multilateral diplomacy.
23. Signed at the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit in Istanbul, the Grand Bargain is a commitment to providing more, longer-term funding and less earmarking, in exchange for greater efficiency and transparency from aid agencies in the way those funds are spent. The deal between 30 representatives of donors and aid agencies includes a commitment to deliver at least 25 percent of humanitarian funding to local and national responders, which currently receive only about 1 percent. Ben Parker, "Is the Grand Bargain a Big Deal?," *irinnews.org*, May 24, 2016, <https://www.irinnews.org/analysis/2016/05/24/grand-bargain-big-deal>.
24. President Barack Obama issued a presidential memorandum to federal departments and agencies on September 28, 2015, reaffirming the strong support of the United States for U.N. peace operations and directing a wide range of actions to strengthen and modernize U.N. operations for a new era. The memorandum—the first presidential guidance on multilateral peace operations in more than 20 years—outlines U.S. efforts toward the following: building partner capacity; expanding U.S. contributions; driving reform; increasing U.S. commitments for officer staffing, specialized logistics and equipment support; and expanding peacekeeper exercises and training. The White House Office of the Press Secretary, *Memorandum for the Heads of Executive Departments and Agencies: United States Support to United Nations Peace Operations* (September 28, 2015), <http://www.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2015peaceoperations.pdf>.
25. For a typology illustrating the improved allocation of security sector assistance and detailed recommendations, see policy brief: Kleinfeld, "Fragility and Security Sector Reform."
26. For insight on the corrosive effect of corruption in fragile states and detailed recommendations on "mainstreaming" corruption analysis, see policy brief: Chayes, "Corruption and State Fragility."
27. For recommendations to counter the closing space challenge and engaging autocracies, see policy brief: Carothers, "Closing Space for Civil Society and State Fragility," and policy brief: Stephan, "Adopting a Movement Mindset to Address the Challenge of Fragility."
28. The report outlines new strategies and offers case studies that illustrate how businesses can effectively operate in fragile settings to support government-led efforts to address inclusive governance, corruption, inequality, and other drivers of fragility. World Economic Forum Global Agenda Council on Fragility, Violence, and Conflict, "Responsible Investment in Fragile Contexts" (May 2016), http://www3.weforum.org/docs/GAC16_Responsible_Investment_Fragile_Context.pdf.
29. For recommendations on a fragility learning agenda, see policy brief: Blum, "The Fragility Learning Agenda: What Do We Need to Know?"

APPENDIX I: SENIOR ADVISORY GROUP

The members of the Senior Advisory Group listed below provided input and feedback throughout the writing process. The opinions expressed in this report are the authors' alone.

General John R. Allen, USMC (Ret.)

Co-Director and Senior Fellow
Center on 21st Century Security and Intelligence
The Brookings Institution

Hon. Howard Berman

Senior Advisor, Covington & Burling, LLP

Amb. Johnnie Carson

Senior Advisor, U.S. Institute of Peace

Jared Cohen

President, Jigsaw

Amb. Elizabeth Cousens

Deputy Chief Executive Officer
United Nations Foundation

Dr. David M. Crane

Former Chief Prosecutor
Special Court for Sierra Leone

Amb. Chester A. Crocker

James R. Schlesinger Professor of Strategic Studies
Georgetown University

Amb. Paula Dobriansky

Senior Fellow, The Future of Diplomacy Project
JFK Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs
Harvard Kennedy School of Government

Diana Farrell

President and Chief Executive Officer
JPMorgan Chase Institute

Stephen J. Hadley

Chairman, U.S. Institute of Peace

General Carter F. Ham, U.S. Army (Ret.)

President, Association of the United States Army

Neal Keny-Guyer

Chief Executive Officer, Mercy Corps

Christopher Kojm

Shapiro Professor of International Affairs
George Washington University

Dr. Stephen D. Krasner

Professor of Political Science and Senior Fellow
Freeman Spogli Institute and Hoover Institution
Stanford University

Clare Lockhart

Director, Institute for State Effectiveness

Rt. Hon. David Miliband

President and Chief Executive Officer
International Rescue Committee

Amb. George Moose

Vice Chairman, U.S. Institute of Peace

Michael Morell

Former Acting Director and Deputy Director
Central Intelligence Agency

Hon. Andrew Natsios

Executive Professor and Director
The Scowcroft Institute, Texas A&M University

Amb. Thomas Pickering

Vice Chairman, Hills and Company

Emma Sky

Senior Fellow, Jackson Institute for Global Affairs
Yale University

Hon. Vin Weber

Partner, Mercury

Dr. Jeremy M. Weinstein

Professor of Political Science and Senior Fellow
Freeman Spogli Institute
Stanford University

APPENDIX II: CHAIR BIOS



WILLIAM J. BURNS

Ambassador William J. Burns is President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He retired from the U.S. Foreign Service in 2014 after a 33-year diplomatic career. He served as Deputy Secretary of State from 2011 to 2014. He previously served as Under Secretary for Political Affairs, Ambassador to Russia, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, Ambassador to Jordan, and Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Near East and South Asian affairs at the National Security Council.



MICHÈLE A. FLOURNOY

Michèle Flournoy is Co-Founder and CEO of the Center for a New American Security. She served as Under Secretary of Defense for Policy from 2009 to 2012. She was principal advisor to the Secretary of Defense in the formulation of national security and defense policy and oversight of military plans and operations. She led the development of DoD's 2012 Strategic Guidance and represented the department in foreign engagements and before Congress. Prior to confirmation, Ms. Flournoy co-led President Obama's DoD transition team.



NANCY E. LINDBORG

Nancy Lindborg is President of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). Prior to joining USIP, Ms. Lindborg served as the assistant administrator for the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance (DCHA) at USAID. Ms. Lindborg led DCHA teams in response to the ongoing conflict in Syria, the droughts in the Sahel and the Horn of Africa, the Arab Spring, the Ebola emergency, and numerous other global crises. Prior to joining USAID, Ms. Lindborg was president of Mercy Corps.

APPENDIX III: CREDITS

STUDY GROUP STAFF

Alexa Courtney, Executive Director

Alexa has spent the last 15 years helping organizations and communities thrive in complex environments globally. She is the founder and CEO of Frontier Design Group, a human security focused strategy and design firm committed to helping organizations and communities think differently, engage meaningfully, and accelerate their impact in the world by harnessing the tools of design and systems thinking.

Noah Sheinbaum, Special Assistant

Noah is passionate about helping government achieve better results through interdisciplinary approaches and long-term strategic thinking. He is the Director of Strategy and Services at Frontier Design Group. Previously he was a management consultant in the private sector.

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