# **Congressional** Budget Justification Fiscal Year 2019:

# Budget in Brief







### UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

February 12, 2018

Hon. Hal Rogers, Chairman House Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs United States House of Representatives

Hon. Nita Lowey, Ranking Member House Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs United States House of Representatives Hon. Lindsey Graham, Chairman Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs United States Senate

Hon. Patrick Leahy, Ranking Member Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs United States Senate

Dear Chairmen and Ranking Members:

On behalf of the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), we are pleased to present the Institute's FY 2019 Congressional Budget Justification for \$37,884,000. This request is equal to the enacted FY 2017 USIP appropriation and represents a vital investment in reducing violent conflicts abroad that threaten U.S. national security.

Congress created USIP in 1984 as an independent, nonpartisan, congressionally funded institute to promote nonviolent solutions to violent international conflict. USIP's contribution to U.S. security interests is distinct from that of other U.S. agencies or nongovernmental organizations. The Institute's specialized teams of mediators and trainers work amid violent and dangerous situations—in Iraq, Tunisia, Afghanistan, Ukraine, Nigeria, and elsewhere. This work builds other countries' abilities to resolve their own conflicts, preserves America's hard-won advances for stability abroad, and reduces the need for more costly interventions. The Institute also works in partnership with U.S. military, diplomatic, and development agencies to share costs and increase the ability of USIP programs to buttress U.S. security.

We are honored to serve as stewards of the congressional vision for USIP. Congress prohibited the Institute from seeking non-federal funding for its work, a protection of the principle that America's national security must not be subject to private or foreign interests. Congress mandated a direct appropriation for USIP to ensure an Institute that is independent of any particular administration, able to operate nimbly in fast-moving conflict environments, and able to sustain its work over the time needed to have impact.

We respectfully request \$37,884,000 in FY 2019 direct funding for USIP. The Institute's FY 2019 budget priorities will continue investments that are cost-effective contributions to our national security.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Lindborg President

Atom

Stephen J. Hadley Chairman of the Board

## FY 2019 Budget Request

Appropriation	FY 2017 Enacted	FY 2018 Request	FY 2019 Request	Increase/ (Decrease)
United States Institute of Peace Appropriation	37,884,000	37,884,000	37,884,000	-
Comprehensive Plan on Extremism and Fragility	1,500,000	-	-	-
Total Appropriations	39,384,000	37,884,000	37,884,000	-

## Summary

The United States Institute of Peace requests \$37,844,000 for Fiscal Year 2019, equal to its most recently enacted appropriation in Fiscal Year 2017. The Institute requests these funds to sustain its congressional mandate to prevent and resolve violent conflict abroad, a capacity vital to our nation's security. USIP's work saves lives and money by reducing or averting crises that, once they have metastasized, are orders of magnitude more expensive to manage through military or humanitarian operations.

Congress created USIP in 1984 as a nonpartisan, national institute to strengthen America's capacity to promote "the resolution of conflicts among the nations and peoples of the world without recourse to violence." Since then, USIP has regularly adjusted its priorities to meet the evolution of threats to U.S. security and international stability.

In 2017 and 2018, threats from China, North Korea, and Russia have risen to join the persistent dangers from a web of civil wars, humanitarian crises, forced migrations, and violent extremism across much of Africa, the Middle East, and parts of Asia. USIP sustains its focus on these upheavals from "fragile" states—those too weak or authoritarian to manage their internal conflicts peacefully. At the same time, where feasible and useful, the Institute has turned its capabilities of dialogue and independent analysis to better understand and manage the new threats. For example, the Institute researches and recommends U.S. policy options on China's growing role in conflicts from North Korea to Africa.

The U.S. National Security Strategy, released in December, notes that critical threats to U.S. security arise from crises and wars in fragile states, many of them in Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia. These violent upheavals have doubled the world's displaced population to an unprecedented 65 million people, more than in World War II. Fragile states have bred more virulent forms of extremism and terrorism, and have heightened risks of pandemic threats to Americans abroad and at home. Current wars have driven global humanitarian needs to more than \$20 billion annually, with U.S. humanitarian spending ballooning to an average of \$7 billion annually over the past four years.

Violent conflicts, once ignited, often confront the United States with bad options: either intervening with costly military or humanitarian operations, or abstaining at the risk of higher costs later, including the gestation of new, deadlier generations of conflicts in the future. USIP creates better options. It deploys small teams of experts who apply practical, cost-effective solutions to help nations **solve their own problems** peacefully. This work reduces the risks of violent conflict that could require costly U.S. or international interventions.

#### IMPROVING U.S. SECURITY BY REDUCING VIOLENCE

USIP works to prevent or resolve violent conflict in targeted, high-priority countries, from Tunisia and Iraq to Colombia and Burma. Research and experience informs the Institute's commitment to work both "from the top down," engaging with government leaders and other elites, and "from the bottom up," with community, grassroots, and faith-based groups. This approach is critical for interrupting cycles of violence and sustaining peace. USIP experts mentor local mediators who help negotiate local peace accords. USIP guides government officials, police, and civil society leaders to collaborate in redressing public grievances that otherwise provide openings for violent extremists to radicalize youth and promote terrorism. The Institute's experts produce analyses and guides for every level of government, from stud-

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USIP has a long and robust record of working closely with its federal partners – including the Department of Defense – to focus on national security priority areas where it brings distinctive capabilities to bear. ... No other agency provides these services, and USIP's approach is highly cost effective."

—Gen. George Casey, Jr, USA (Ret.); Lt. Gen. Karl Eikenberry, USA (Ret.); Gen. Carter Ham, USA (Ret.); Lt. Gen. Douglas Lute, USA (Ret.); Gen. Gregory Martin, USAF (Ret.); Gen. Raymond Odierno, USA (Ret.); and Gen. Charles Wald, USAF (Ret.)

ies for senior policymakers to training curricula for police abroad and field manuals for peacekeeping soldiers.

Even the most determined diplomatic, military or conflictresolution efforts cannot always end bloodshed in the short term. Some conflicts seem intractable—as in Afghanistan or between Israelis and Palestinians. Where national-level peace processes are impeded, USIP lays foundations for eventual peace by working on parts of the conflicts that can be addressed. In Afghanistan, the Taliban exploit land disputes, so USIP helped the government build a system to register settled disputes and provide clear titles to lands. In Syria, the Institute is leading community-level peace processes that can form the building blocks for wider reconciliation in the future. In the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, USIP quietly



Marine Corps General Thomas Waldhauser, the commander of U.S. Africa Command, speaks at USIP in 2017. (USIP)

builds cooperation between police on both sides, improving security and reducing the potential for violence and extremist recruitment.

The most consistent appraisals of USIP's contribution to America's security come from military and civilian professionals who have witnessed the Institute's work abroad. "USIP has a long and robust record of working closely with its federal partners—including the Department of Defense—to focus on national security priority areas where it brings distinctive capabilities to bear," according to military flag officers writing in September 2017. "No other agency provides these services, and USIP's approach is highly cost effective," according to the officers, who include former theater commanders in Iraq and Afghanistan (see list, above).

Other current or retired theater commanders, U.S. Combatant Command commanders and service branch chiefs—including Army General John W. Nicholson, Marine Corps General Anthony Zinni, Army General and CIA Director David Petraeus, and Supreme Allied Commander Europe and Navy Admiral James Stavridis—are among the national security professionals who have stated America's need to sustain USIP's specialized capacities to contribute to the protection of America's security and interests abroad. Civilian leaders of both parties, such as former Secretaries of State George P. Shultz and Madeleine Albright, endorse USIP's value in reducing the causes of conflicts abroad and preventing them from erupting into violent crises.

#### USIP'S DISTINCTIVE ROLE: INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT PARTNER

Congress established USIP as a national institute, apart from any agency, to ensure the independence of its analyses, training, and other work. At the same time, Congress guaranteed USIP's role as a trusted partner of gov-

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USIP has a record of cost-effective contributions to U.S. national security that saves lives while protecting our military, diplomatic, and development investments worldwide. ... No national security actor or private nonprofit organization can perform USIP's congressionally mandated mission, and certainly none has ever done so at such a small cost to the American taxpayer."

-George P. Shultz, former secretary of state

ernment, with full visibility by the Executive Branch into its operations, by including the secretaries of state and defense on the Institute's bipartisan Board of Directors. Congress further mandated that the Institute's work be federally funded through direct congressional appropriations to ensure that USIP serves national priorities rather than any private or foreign interest.

- USIP provides a sustained, steady presence and agile approaches in conflict zones. To reduce violence in complex conflicts such as Afghanistan or Nigeria, USIP's small teams must build steady relationships among local communities, civil society, religious groups, and government. This requires USIP personnel to move widely, beyond U.S. government security perimeters, and to remain in the field for years, far beyond the one- to two-year staff rotations that are common for State and Defense Department and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) personnel. In Irag, USIP's independent status and consistent appropriation have enabled the institute to develop sustained, focused programs and partnerships over 15 years that have been vital to its successes-an approach that would not be possible with the short-term nature and vicissitudes of private funding. "Free from the bureaucratic and security strictures of U.S. government civilian operations, USIP's personnel remain longer, and range further, in conflict zones," according to Ambassador James Jeffrey, who witnessed USIP operations in Iraq.
- In the field and in Washington, USIP's status and direct appropriation help ensure the Institute's ability to provide independent and comprehensive analyses for policymakers. USIP's capacity for deeper, sustained engagement in conflict zones strengthens its field research and analyses, which U.S. embassies and military stabilization missions seek and receive from the Institute. USIP's independent-but-national status also broadens its convening power, which plays an essential

role in conducting comprehensive assessments of pressing challenges. USIP's unique capability to gather government agencies, scholars, non-profit organizations and private-sector specialists enables the Institute to harness a broad range of relevant perspectives, which informs policies and practice. One example: USIP's annual tabletop exercises with the Defense Department convene military and civilian officials with nongovernmental and international organization leaders to enhance coordination of their responses to complex, violent crises. And USIP's direct appropriation ensures that the Institute and its analyses are in service of the national interest, free of the private or foreign influences that would come with any private sources of funding.

• For Congress, USIP's mandated status enables it to conduct high-level foreign policy reviews. Recognizing USIP's status as an independent, federal, and nonpartisan entity, Congress frequently entrusts USIP with examining vital national security problems to identify practical solutions. USIP engages all perspectives: from across agencies and branches of government, from nongovernmental sectors, and from across party lines. At Congress' direction, USIP in 2004 convened a bipartisan task force on United Nations reform (chaired by former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senator George Mitchell). In 2006, the Institute facilitated the Iraq Study Group (led by former Secretary of State James Baker and former Representative Lee Hamilton). In 2008-2009, USIP facilitated the bipartisan commission appointed by Congress to review the U.S. strategic nuclear posture (led by former Defense Secretaries William Perry and James Schlesinger). In 2017, Congress instructed the Institute to develop "a comprehensive plan to prevent extremism in the Sahel, Horn of Africa, and Near East" (a project to be co-chaired by former Governor Tom Kean and former Representative Lee Hamilton). Such independent policy inquiries would not be possible within a privately funded or policy-implementing agency.

USIP's direct appropriation from Congress funds the steady, long-term programming needed to help nations build their capacities to manage internal conflicts peacefully. Where possible, the Institute partners with U.S. government agencies to leverage costs and scale programs through shortterm interagency agreements. Such agreements can complement, but not replace, direct funding for USIP programs.

#### **COST-EFFECTIVE CRISIS PREVENTION**

Current wars typically exact global costs in the tens of billions of dollars for shattered countries and economies in the immediate region. These conflicts have driven the need for the billions of dollars America spends each year on humanitarian emergencies and peacekeeping. By comparison, USIP's violence reduction work costs pennies on the dollar, relying on small, low-cost teams of specialized mediators, trainers, and analysts. USIP mediation efforts that halted or prevented communal warfare in regions of Iraq over the past decade-Mahmoudiya, Tikrit, Yathrib, Hawija and Bartella—cost as little as a million **dollars** each, even including long years of preparatory research, analysis, and training, and the implementation of the accords. These peace accords were achieved by small teams of USIP experts and local mediators they trained and supported. The accords saved American and Iraqi lives, and reduced military costs. They allowed hundreds of thousands of displaced people to return home, eliminating emergency aid costs and giving local economies the chance to revive.

USIP's own cost-effectiveness is rooted in its organizational agility as a small, national institute. When new crises arise, USIP can respond more quickly than typically is possible in larger, federal government agencies.

#### USIP PRIORITIES: THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, ASIA

USIP works on the ground to reduce violent conflict, prioritizing areas where such instability threatens vital U.S. security interests. Here is an overview of current USIP priorities, including new Institute efforts to address the rising threats from China, North Korea, and Russia.

The Institute focuses on a distinct facet of **China's** widening global role: the way in which Chinese activities and investments affect countries facing violent conflicts—from **Afghanistan** to the **Korean Peninsula** to Africa's **Sahel region**. USIP researches and recommends to U.S. policymakers steps that can address the corrosive effects of China's role and, where interests align, can advance U.S.-Chinese collaboration to stabilize fragile regions. Amid crisis over **North Korea**, USIP stepped up analysis on China's role to offer options for U.S. policymakers. With the official, international peace process stalled in the war between **Russia** and **Ukraine**, USIP, in close coordination with the State Department and the National Security Council, explored ways to end the conflict. On the basis of those efforts, USIP has made policy proposals to senior administration officials. To promote Ukraine's stability, USIP conducted a pilot project, which can be scaled up, to help refugees from the war mediate tensions and prevent violence with their host communities.

While turning its capabilities to new threats, USIP has sustained a sharp focus on priority countries affected by violence across Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

USIP promotes stability in **Iraq** by mediating local peace accords—in five cities or districts so far—with an Iraqi partner organization mentored by the Institute. This local peacemaking has become more urgent, (1) to prevent the re-escalation of communal fights in areas freed from the brutal rule of the Islamic State (ISIS), and (2) to preserve the military gains by preventing extremists from exploiting communal conflicts to fuel new rounds of terrorism.

Iraq's local peace accords have yielded demonstrable, outsized returns in terms of stability, human welfare and lives and dollars saved. The USIP-backed 2015 **peace accord among tribes around Tikrit** has allowed more than 390,000 uprooted residents to return home—a reduction of more than 10 percent in Iraq's burden of internally displaced persons and a significant saving of humanitarian aid costs that the United Nations counted at nearly \$1 billion for 2017 alone.

The peace negotiations in Tikrit and other locales are modeled on the decade-old peace accord that still stabilizes the district of Mahmoudiya (see box, page 6). This series of agreements helped to develop the Iraqi peacemaking organization established and trained by USIP, giving Iraq a national resource with which to **increasingly resolve its own domestic conflicts**. The group, known as Sanad, has won independent international funding, leveraging USIP's investments. Sanad's success is a model—along with other peace accords in Tunisia, Colombia, Nigeria and elsewhere—of USIP's distinctive, grass-roots work to help countries resolve their conflicts and thus reduce the need for costly military or humanitarian interventions.

Amid **Syria's** war, USIP trains community leaders in mediation and supports them to advance reconciliation in local disputes. In northeastern Syria's Hasaka region, USIP trained a Syrian civil society group to mediate in conflicts. With that partner group, the Institute brokered an agreement that eased a conflict between ethnic Arab and Kurd-



USIP Board Chairman and former National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley, left, with Colonel (Ret.) Mike Kershaw of the Army's 10th Mountain Division, right, joined in a commemoration of the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the "Triangle of Death" peace accord (see box, opposite page) in 2017. (USIP)

ish residents. The Arab-Kurdish divide is one of the most prominent and destabilizing in Syria and neighboring countries—but the détente achieved in al-Qahtaniya can serve as a model for reducing that conflict. Within Syria, this project builds experience, leadership and organizations that can serve as building blocks for an eventual national peace process.

In **Afghanistan**, as in most countries, USIP works with both grassroots civil society and the government. The Institute helped the government land authority build a property registry system to help reduce land disputes that are exploited by the Taliban. It established, with Afghan universities, the country's first conflict resolution courses, promoting moderation among the country's future leaders and discouraging intolerance. From USIP's office in Kabul, its primarily Afghan staff works deep within Afghan civil society—often with partners who live in close proximity to Taliban supporters to help local citizens and groups oppose Taliban extremism and violence.

In **Pakistan**, USIP has worked to deradicalize former extremist fighters, leading to the return of more than 200 of them to their communities. The Institute shares lessons from this program with other countries facing the return of former ISIS fighters from Iraq and Syria. In Pakistan, USIP partners with government, civil society groups, scholars, teachers, schools, filmmakers, and others to promote communal tolerance and oppose radicalization by extremist organizations.

In **Colombia**, USIP supports both civic groups and the government to strengthen the difficult implementation of the 2016 peace accord that ended a 52-year civil war. For more

## In the 'Triangle of Death,' a Decade of Stability

The brutal armies of ISIS seized much of Iraq in 2014 by inciting Sunni Muslim uprisings in areas weakened by local Sunni-Shia conflicts. But one such region— Mahmoudiya, south of Baghdad—rebuffed ISIS and its violent extremism. Why? The local tribes are committed to a peace agreement, now a decade old, that they signed with mediation from the U.S. Institute of Peace.

In 2007, U.S. troops had nicknamed Mahmoudiya the "Triangle of Death." Nearly 3,500 troops of the U.S. Army's 10th Mountain Division fought constant battles to control Sunni-Shia fighting and terrorist attacks by an al-Qaida force. The soldiers finally locked down the region in mid-2007, but tribal leaders, some of whom had fled to safety in Jordan, continued to direct attacks on their rivals.

"We could see that there were economic needs, political needs" that would be served by a local peace deal, recalls the troops' commander, retired Colonel Mike Kershaw. "But frankly, we didn't have those capacities resident in our organization." Even as the effective military governor of the district, Kershaw notes, he could not access the sheikhs in Jordan. And no Americans had the local knowledge to mediate peace among the tribes.

The Army and the State Department called on the U.S. Institute of Peace. Its small team in Baghdad, able to quietly build local relationships as an independent organization, already had identified and trained a handful of Iraqi peace mediators. USIP and these Iraqi partners went to work, researching the details of the conflict, meeting the leaders, and guiding dialogues among them. They persuaded 31 tribal sheikhs to cooperate in a peace conference that reached an accord to end the fighting.

The peace accord's rules were posted on billboards for all residents to see and follow. U.S. combat deaths dropped from more than 50 per year before the accord to one in the year that followed. The U.S. Army was able to reduce its force in Mahmoudiya by 80 percent, from nearly 3,500 troops to just 650. That drawdown saved military costs at the rate of more than \$150 million per month—achieved by a total investment in peacebuilding of little more than \$1 million. When ISIS arose years later, Mahmoudiya rebuffed the extremists' call for an uprising.

A decade later, USIP has supported its Iraqi partners in guiding peace accords for the cities of Tikrit, Bartella, Hawija and Yathrib. In early 2018, USIP experts are helping the 10th Mountain Division prepare again for deployment—this time to help Iraq's own army stabilize the country against ISIS. Meanwhile, Mahmoudiya's continued stability shows the sustainability, and low cost, of stabilization operations when dialogue can help a community take back responsibility for solving its own problems.

than a decade, USIP provided low-cost technical support and analysis to strengthen the peace process— part of a U.S. effort to bring stability to a country whose weak governance makes it one of the greatest exporters of illegal drugs. Half of all peace processes worldwide fail within five years, often because they exclude significant constituencies. So USIP helped broaden the Colombian process with training and public forums to ensure participation by women, ethnic communities, religious leaders, and war victims who formerly had been excluded.

**Nigeria's** Boko Haram insurgency and other violence have uprooted millions of people and deepened instability in the Sahel region, creating a risk of famine and sending refugees as far as Europe. USIP works through partnerships built over a decade with government, civil society, and religious leaders. USIP's work with a leading Muslim imam and Christian pastor helped bring peace in a district of Plateau State where Christian-Muslim fighting had killed more than 1,000 people as of 2005. The peace has held for 12 years, and the state government recently has established a USIP-style, conflict-resolution office. As Nigerian troops pushed back Boko Haram, USIP convened northern state governors and gathered eminent Nigerian civil society leaders to work with them on a broad effort to return refugees, rebuild communities, reintegrate former militant fighters into society, and reconcile local conflicts to inhibit new radicalization.

In **Tunisia**, USIP operates in a polarized political atmosphere that includes constituencies wary of the U.S. government. As in Iraq, USIP has built and trained a corps of Tunisian partners to mediate in conflicts that might turn violent. Members of this network of mediators facilitated peace dialogues to halt significant violence between Islamist and secular students at one of Tunisia's most prom-



Israeli police and community volunteers meet at Mt. Zion in Jerusalem. Shared holy sites in Jerusalem have increasingly become flash points of violence. USIP has supported training for police and community volunteers, along with dialogues among religious community leaders, to reduce interfaith tensions at such sites. (Search for Common Ground)

inent universities. These agreements serve as a model nationwide for moderation to undercut extremism in the country that has been the single greatest recruiting ground for ISIS. USIP also is helping Tunisia to reform police training, a critical need as the country navigates a still-tenuous transition toward stable democracy.

In the **Israeli-Palestinian conflict**, USIP conducted research and dialogues with Israeli and Palestinian security authorities to quietly negotiate changes that gave Palestinian police access to communities they had been unable to reach. This effort brought local policing to more than 200,000 Palestinians in the West Bank. Even with an overall peace process stalled, such Israeli-Palestinian police cooperation is vital to improving security and to sustaining hopes for any broader progress toward peace.

Ethnic violence in **Burma (Myanmar)** continues to threaten the country's incomplete transition from mili-

tary to democratic rule, and thus also to threaten stability for South and Southeast Asia. Burma's army remains beyond the control of the civilian government and has forced nearly 700,000 new refugees, ethnic Rohingya, out of the country. USIP works at the grassroots level to oppose hate speech and communal extremism that fuels such violence. The Institute trains political, ethnic, religious, and civic leaders in mediation skills to help sustain the country's fragile peace process.

USIP has trained more than 5,000 peacekeeping troops, many of them from African nations, in the skills they need to manage local conflicts nonviolently while protecting civilians. In 2017, it trained more than 1,000 peacekeepers from 12 African countries who deployed to missions in **Somalia**, **Sudan's Darfur** region, **South Sudan**, the **Central African Republic**, the **Democratic Republic of the Congo**, **Côte d'Ivoire** and **Mali**.

## ABOUT USIP

#### A Legacy of World War II

Congress established the U.S. Institute of Peace in 1984, led by a bipartisan group of combat veterans of World War II and the Korean War who sought to strengthen America's capacity to prevent and reduce violent conflicts worldwide in accordance with national interests and values.

USIP's founders include Senators Mark Hatfield of Oregon and Spark Matsunaga of Hawaii. In World War II, Hatfield commanded Navy landing craft at the beaches of Iwo Jima and Okinawa, and led an initial U.S. military survey team at Hiroshima following its destruction with the atomic bomb. Matsunaga, an Army captain, fought in Europe and North Africa and was awarded the Bronze Star. In sponsoring legislation for the Institute, these senators were supported by other World War II veterans, including Congressional Medal of Honor laureate and Hawaii Senator Daniel Inouye, and citizen leaders of a nationwide movement. President Ronald Reagan signed the bill creating USIP as an independent, nonpartisan, national institution governed by a board of directors appointed by the president and confirmed by the Senate. (See USIP's current board members, page 42.) USIP's president is Nancy Lindborg, who served previously as assistant administrator for democracy, conflict, and humanitarian assistance at the U.S. Agency for International Development, and as president of Mercy Corps.

By statute, USIP's programs are exclusively federally funded, like those of other national security institutions. Headquartered in Washington, D.C., USIP maintains field offices in Baghdad and Erbil (Iraq), Kabul (Afghanistan), Islamabad (Pakistan), Tunis (Tunisia), and Yangon (Burma). On any given day, 40 percent of USIP personnel are deployed abroad on permanent or temporary duty confronting violent conflict or extremism.



Senators Mark Hatfield of Oregon, Spark Matsunaga of Hawaii and Jennings Randolph of West Virginia greet President Ronald Reagan in 1984 as he prepares to sign USIP's founding legislation. Hatfield and Matsunaga were moved by their World War II combat experiences to create USIP as a way to strengthen America's capacity to prevent, rather than fight, costly wars abroad.