

To: Secretary of State; Mike Pompeo

From: Christa North

Date: 6/4/2020

Re: U.S. Support for Democracy Abroad

Executive Summary:

Global democracy has been on the decline in recent years which poses a threat to peace and security within the borders of the United States and those of our democratic allies. U.S. efforts to support the spread of democracy and transitioning democratic states have diminished since 2016 in a variety of ways. Democracy abroad would benefit from not only renewed commitment from U.S. institutions but an increase in support. This memo proposes a number of multilateral efforts to promote ongoing stability within democratic transitions.

The United States must address its own immigration policy changes in recent years and renew our commitment to asylees and refugees. Our example of democracy has historically been a centralizing force around the world so we must, at minimum, match the efforts of our allies on a per capita basis. Additionally, we must offer economic and security support in an effort to reduce the flow of migration from those countries generating the most asylees and refugees.

Militarily the U.S. should increase support programs for states undergoing democratic transitions. This would come in the form of infrastructure planning and development as well as the training of troops. These efforts will increase support for democracy and decrease the threat of future coups.

The U.S. must invoke heightened support of USAID and U.N. partnerships to strengthen election integrity for unconsolidated democracies. There is also a need to assist with constitutional design and create minimum requirements beyond elections to qualify as a liberal democracy. Additionally, the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor should increase its effort, in partnership with our allies, to help build upon, create and organize functional institutions in transitioning regimes. This would include NGO assistance such as banking and medical assistance to build legitimacy among the citizenry.

In order to meet these needs, the Department of State must request a series of budget increases from the Congress of the United States. These budget adjustments will need to be multifaceted and reviewed incrementally to assure the financial commitment is reflective of the global need ongoing. Congress should also be called upon to implement economic sanctions on states where democracy has been subverted.

The proposed multilateral approach to the United States' official policy of democratic promotion abroad will strengthen our democratic alliances and renew confidence in our commitment to democracy around the world. We will resume representation of our longstanding belief that the

advancement of democracy is vital to the spread of global peace.

The third wave of democratization indicated global democracy was growing and would continue this course quite naturally. During the last decade, however, we have seen a steady decline in the annual number of democratic regimes rather than growth. At this time, a transitioning democracy has a mere 36% chance of consolidation. This is an alarming trend and must inspire action on the part of the United States.

Mass migration of refugees from their homeland has grown to epidemic proportions. This is the result of civil wars, drug cartel violence, genocide, governmental persecution, widespread famine, etc. The U.S. Human Rights policy has been that our nation will provide sanctuary for asylees and refugees who are running from such conditions. In the last three years we have heavily restricted refugee entry unlike any other modern era. We have also implemented a policy of detaining and deporting asylum seekers. Nations experiencing the upheaval that is causing the mass flow of immigrants to our borders and those of our allies are receiving limited international support or consequences when appropriate.

Potential Solutions:

The State Department recommends a budgetary increase of 1% of our Defense Spending to facilitate an increased democratic effort abroad. This would increase our annual support for aid by 7 billion which would finance:

- Increased Military Assistance for Transitioning Democracies
 - Security Assistance, Training, Institution and Infrastructure Development

Problem Statement:

Many transitioning democracies backslide to authoritarianism due to economic instability and poor institutional infrastructure. The United States has proven it can be very effective in developing programs to assist in building democratic institutional stability and security. Nations where there is a history of military coups are much more likely to revert to authoritarianism. They need additional training and education to facilitate greater commitment to democratic principles and reduce this threat.

Developing programs to assist democratic transition such as constitutional design and electoral integrity are also challenges that can lead to an early demise of transitional democratic regimes. Budget cuts in recent years, such as the 33% cut to USAID in 2018 has reduced our ability to keep Americans safe and minimize terrorism globally. USAID, the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, International IDEA and non-profit NGOs like the National Endowment of Democracy are all imperative for building strong democratic regimes worldwide.

- **Budget:** 5.5 billion
- **Benefits:** Security would reduce violence in war torn states which will slow migration and calm nationalist movements that threaten democracy. Training of troops will strengthen the transitioning state's ability to defend itself. Development of military institutions and infrastructure will help grow troop and officer commitment to democracy and deter future coup de tats.
- **Risk:** There is a risk to U.S. troops anytime they are sent into military engagement. Strengthening the military too soon without ensuring democratic commitment could lead to a military coup. The uncertainty is whether the state will need continued aid at a greater expense down the line.
- **Evaluation Methods:** An impact evaluation will be conducted to measure effectiveness of intervention versus non-intervention in the past and elsewhere. Baseline data will be collected initially and then outcome data will be collected and compared. This will be conducted annually.
- **USAID Funding**
 - Will develop programs for: Constitutional Design, Election Integrity, Citizen Civics Education, Refugee Intake, Asylum Expansion.
 - Will provide funding for NED and International IDEA to assist in program development and implementation.
 - **Budget:** 1.5 billion
 - **Benefits:** Assisting in initial constitutional design helps new democracies benefit from knowledge accumulated by consolidated democracies. This helps to ensure longevity of new institutions. Election integrity and citizen civics education helps build legitimacy and promotes participation. Refugee intake programs and asylum expansion will renew U.S. reputation as a safe haven in the world and will repair relationships with our allies which has been strained by our lack of support.
 - **Risk:** constitutional design, election integrity and civic education programs could be seen as invasive actions rather than assistance. This could persuade political elites to organize a coup rather than support the development of liberal democracy. Expanding refugee and asylee intake programs could contribute to strengthening nationalist movements here is the United States.

- **Evaluation Methods:** Evaluation teams will conduct a process evaluation and a participatory evaluation. The process evaluation will be conducted after the first three elections are carried out to measure the success or failure of the programs in relation to the progress of the elections. The participatory evaluation will allow state officials to contribute to the research gathering and connect with citizens.

Prescription:

- For Transitioning Democracies under ten years old:
 - The military will implement troop training exercises.
 - The military will implement officer training and civics education to build commitment to democratic institutions.
 - USAID will implement election assistance programs in partnership with International IDEA.
 - USAID will implement citizen civic education programs in partnership with NED.
- For Transitioning Democracies under five years old:
 - The military will help build infrastructure.
 - The military will help develop defense institutions.
 - USAID will implement constitutional design programs.
- General Policy Proposals:
 - The military will offer security assistance where violence is impacting civilian migration.
 - Congress should consider imposing harsh sanctions to states subverting democracy and contributing to increased migration.
 - USAID will develop and implement more expansive refugee intake programs.
 - USAID will develop and implement more expansive asylee intake programs.

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