

Security and development in fragile states

The Netherlands' strategy 2008-2011

Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction

- 1.1 What are fragile states?
- 1.2 Why devote more attention to fragile states?
- 1.3 Aims of the policy on fragile states

Chapter 2 A new approach to fragile states

- 2.1 An integrated approach
- 2.2 Local partners, local priorities
- 2.3 Sensitivity to context and political issues
- 2.4 Speed, flexibility and long-term commitment
- 2.5 Multilateral where possible, bilateral where necessary
- 2.6 Prevention
- 2.7 Taking responsible risks

Chapter 3 The Netherlands' work in partner countries

- 3.1 Afghanistan
- 3.2 Burundi
- 3.3 Colombia
- 3.4 Democratic Republic of the Congo
- 3.5 Guatemala
- 3.6 Kosovo
- 3.7 Pakistan
- 3.8 Palestinian Territories
- 3.9 Sudan

Chapter 4 The Netherlands' work with the international community

4.1 The United Nations

4.2 The World Bank and other international financial institutions

4.3 The European Union

4.4 Regional organisations

4.5 OECD/DAC

4.6 Responsible investment and small arms reduction

References

1 Introduction

'Fragile states are experiencing great difficulty in attaining the Millennium Development Goals. For this reason, the government will invest more in these countries.' Speech from the Throne 2008

This strategy sets out the principles governing Dutch policy on fragile states for 2008-2011. It follows the policy letter 'Our Common Concern: investing in development in a changing world,' published in October 2007 (31250, no. 1), which presented attention to fragile states as an enhanced policy focus. The Netherlands wants more attention to be given to fragile states, home to many of the world's poorest peoples, to protect their human rights and help limit regional and global threats. We are doing so partly in the interests of human security. Without a more effective international effort, the Millennium Goals will not be attained in fragile states and threats to human rights and the international rule of law will remain. It is in our enlightened self-interest to combat global instability, which undermines our own national security.

The Netherlands will therefore back measures to improve security, state-building and development efforts (the peace dividend) in fragile states. In doing so, we must be pragmatic and modest: after all, the issues are complex and our influence is often limited. Yet the problems are so urgent that the Netherlands and other donors must take up the challenge. Investments in these countries and more effective action by the international community are crucial. The Netherlands is therefore making funding available more quickly, has specific plans to create a flexible pool of experts, and is taking steps to improve the work of international organisations in these countries.

This chapter explains what fragile states are, why we need a policy on fragile states and in what areas the Netherlands wants to achieve results. Chapter 2 explains why policy on fragile states requires a different approach and how this will be translated into specific activities. Chapter 3 outlines Dutch efforts in the partner countries. Finally, chapter 4 outlines Dutch efforts in international forums.

1.1 What are fragile states?

Fragile states are undermined by serious political and social tensions that have a highly detrimental effect on their populations. The governments of these countries often cannot guarantee the safety of their citizens and either fail in their duty to uphold their rights or are themselves guilty of violent acts.

These governments often lack capacity and legitimacy, sometimes throughout the country, sometimes only in parts of it. Lawlessness is widespread. There is little or no delivery of basic services such as infrastructure, education, health care, clean water or basic sanitation. The economy is at a standstill or in decline and there are few economic prospects for the population. All these problems affect all fragile states to some extent.

The OECD defines states as fragile when their governments lack the political will and/or capacity to fulfil the basic conditions for poverty reduction, development, security and human rights.

Fragility has many causes: ethnic and religious tensions, poverty, unemployment, notably among young men, exclusion and discrimination, and the unequal distribution of wealth. Political conflicts, intrastate violence, the misuse of power and the presence of armed militias are also major contributory factors. Some groups may have a vested interest in ongoing instability, for example where lawlessness facilitates the illegal extraction of minerals or trafficking in drugs. Such activities are referred to as 'economies of war' and can lead to the exploitation of ethnic tensions.

In his book *The Bottom Billion*, Paul Collier discusses the problems confronting the world's poorest nations. He cites conflict, natural resources, lack of access to seaports and weak governance as major factors leading to poverty and fragility. He claims there is a strong link for people in societies in the bottom billion between poverty and conflict: 'Seventy-three per cent of them have been through civil war.' Collier also argues that weak economies make for weak states, adding that 'without growth peace is considerably more difficult.' Heavy reliance on the exploitation of natural resources helps finance conflict and prevents governments from being

called to account. Moreover, all these factors make it more likely that countries will miss out on the opportunity to benefit from globalisation. Collier also points out that under such circumstances, good governance is only of limited help in influencing economic opportunities: 'Good governance and policy help a country to realize its opportunities, but they cannot generate opportunities where none exist.'

Such tensions are present in a number of developing countries. The international community must tackle these problems in a more carefully considered way. Some may be acute; others may be simmering beneath the surface. They must be addressed promptly as part of the political dialogue. Targeted development programmes can also help to ease tensions between communities.

Box 1 gives an overview of the countries in the 'security and development' category, as defined in the policy letter 'Our Common Concern'.

Box 1: Countries in the 'security and development' category

Which fragile states is the Netherlands focusing on?

- ❖ Country-specific measures to tackle fragility focus mainly on those partner countries that correspond to the 'security and development' policy profile outlined in the policy letter 'Our Common Concern': **Afghanistan, Burundi, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Guatemala, Kosovo, Pakistan, the Palestinian Territories and Sudan.**
- ❖ Fragility is a less dominant issue in other Dutch partner countries and will therefore be tackled as part of the political dialogue and other efforts to speed up attainment of the Millennium Development Goals.
- ❖ In non-partner countries, the Netherlands will, where necessary, focus on catalytic activities and on more effective action by international organisations and coalitions.

1.2 Why devote more attention to fragile states?

The problems experienced by fragile states have a major impact on their populations, regional stability and the international community. It is therefore important to give more attention to these countries for several reasons:

- **Human security and development are under threat in fragile states.** This is especially true for the poorest population groups. The Millennium Development Goals are hardest to attain in fragile states. According to the World Bank, fragile states account for 36% of all people living in extreme poverty, 33% of children with no primary education and 39% of all infant deaths. Fragile states are also less successful than other developing countries in achieving equal school attendance for girls and boys.
- **There are often widespread human rights abuses in fragile states.** The governments of fragile states are often unable or unwilling to take responsibility for security, the rule of law, basic services or economic development, and have no effective system in place for protecting human rights. The international community must therefore make respect for fundamental human rights a starting point for the relationship between these states and their citizens.
- **The problems of fragile states often lead to regional instability.** The problems experienced by fragile states can all too easily spread to neighbouring countries. As World Bank President Robert Zoellick put it recently: 'As we have seen most recently in South Asia and Africa, fragile states can create fragile regions.' Outbreaks of violence, crime, refugee flows and economic crises all have direct cross-border repercussions, sometimes even for countries many hundreds of miles away. The Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and the Middle East are examples of regions where fragile states are having a major impact on surrounding countries and on regional stability.
- **Instability in fragile states also threatens the Netherlands.** When they give rise to cross-border terrorism, refugee flows and international crime, fragile states pose a global security risk and a direct threat to international, and therefore Dutch, interests. There are many

examples: Al Qaida's use of Taliban-controlled Afghanistan to prepare the 9/11 attacks on the United States; militant groups that fund their activities through the illegal drugs trade in Colombia and Afghanistan; refugees from Sub-Saharan Africa who generate a constant flow of illegal migrants to Europe. In that sense, the security of people in fragile states is in the Netherlands' interests. Dutch investments in conflict-affected countries may be lost and exports of raw materials from these countries may be disrupted. Increasing global mobility and economic interdependence means we are all inevitably affected by what happens in fragile states. The Netherlands' efforts on behalf of such countries can however help to minimise or even prevent such adverse effects. Active involvement by the Netherlands therefore creates scope to protect Dutch interests in fragile states.

- **The international community is not doing enough to help fragile states.** The only way to reduce fragility is through better international cooperation and stronger leadership. International organisations must mobilise political support for activities in fragile states and help to spread the risks and costs of interventions more evenly. They should also take more of a lead in combining political dialogue, measures to improve security, humanitarian assistance and development cooperation into a single concerted effort. Prevention must be tackled more effectively. As the saying goes: 'The more you sweat in peace, the less you bleed in war.' The quality of international cooperation itself requires substantial improvement. Dutch initiatives to make the international community more effective are discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

1.3 Aims of the policy on fragile states

In fragile states, the challenge is to improve the security of the population under difficult circumstances. The ultimate aim is for the government to be able to protect people from conflict, so that the rule of law functions properly, human rights are upheld and basic services are delivered. This also serves the Netherlands' interests. Where possible, the Netherlands will therefore support state-building initiatives in fragile states. If governments are unable or unwilling to embrace such initiatives, international leadership will be needed and international and civil society organisations will have to assume these responsibilities themselves. If it is

impossible to work with the government for moral reasons or due to corruption, civil society organisations could take the lead instead.

The Dutch government's policy on fragile states targets three dimensions:

- A. enhancing the security of citizens;
- B. contributing to a legitimate government with sufficient capacity;
- C. creating a peace dividend.

The Netherlands also provides substantial humanitarian relief based on humanitarian needs. Most of this aid goes to fragile states. The form it takes will depend on the situation in the countries concerned and on cooperation with international and civil society partners.

The Dutch government will pursue an integrated approach, as outlined in the 2005 'Memorandum on Post-Conflict Reconstruction' (30075, no. 1). There already is a close working relationship between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence aimed at promoting peace and security, and we will consider ways of contributing to the integrated approach in close consultation with the other ministries. The integrated approach is discussed in more detail in section 2.1.

A. Public safety and security

One important goal of the policy on fragile states is to increase public safety and security. In post-conflict situations, priority must be given to peacebuilding. This means preventing violence and promoting lasting peace by enhancing stability and security. The basic principle is that the state must have the capacity to regulate the use of force in a responsible way. Security can only be achieved if countries have both the capacity and the will to uphold the rule of law. The Netherlands and the international community can help boost security in fragile states by sending out international peace missions and implementing programmes on Security Sector Reform (SSR), Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) and Armed Violence Reduction (AVR).

- **International missions:** International crisis management operations can promote stability and restore the rule of law. They can also lay the foundations for reconstruction. The Netherlands therefore takes part in UN, NATO and EU missions. Examples include the EUFOR mission in Chad to protect refugees, the EULEX capacity-building mission in Kosovo and the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) stabilisation and reconstruction mission in Afghanistan. The Netherlands is promoting overall security in Afghanistan and in Uruzgan province in particular through military involvement in ISAF and development initiatives, such as making available civil expertise for institution-building and the security sector, and encouraging input by NGOs and the business community. Another example is the use of a Dutch navy frigate to protect food transports to Somalia. According to research by Paul Collier, the benefits of peace missions (economic growth and reducing adverse external effects) far outweigh their costs. However, there are also risks attached to such operations. Their mandate and the resources allocated to them must be sufficient for them to be effective, as noted in the 2001 Brahimi Report and the *Global threats and challenges* report of 2005. To this end, the Netherlands pursues an integrated approach.
- **Security Sector Reform (SSR):** The aim of security sector reform (SSR) is to enable armed forces, police, the justice system etc. to carry out their tasks and ensure democratic control over the security sector. According to Collier, this form of technical assistance should be specifically targeted at the security sector since a monopoly on the legitimate use of force lies at the heart of good governance. If the state can only guarantee sufficient security in the long term, cooperation is possible with neighbourhood committees or clan and tribal heads to improve the safety of the population. Yet even this is not without risk. It can undermine the state, and traditional systems of law enforcement and administration of justice can lead to discrimination and human rights violations, for example against women. SSR programmes are highly politically loaded, since control over the security sector is vital for the balance of power in a country. Sometimes it will be necessary to strengthen the security sector at strategic level, for example by advising political or military leaders. However, activities can also be used to help build specific capacity from the ground up. The Netherlands can contribute to SSR programmes as a relatively minor player, since we have fewer geopolitical ambitions and are therefore trusted. For example, the Netherlands currently has SSR programmes in Burundi and Lebanon, including specialists from the Ministry of Defence. It is

also promoting research and actively participating in the development of policy by international organisations. In April 2008 the Netherlands hosted the international conference on whole-of-government approaches to SSR, which it organised jointly with the OECD and NATO.

- **Disarmament, Demobilisation, Reintegration (DDR):** DDR programmes seek to return security organisations to a size that is more appropriate to their mandate and the financial resources available to them. The Netherlands provides support and funding to multilateral organisations for DDR programmes and works with International Alert, the Netherlands Institute of International Relations Clingendael and the Institute for Security Studies to develop better models for reintegration. The Netherlands is a core donor of the Multi-Country Demobilisation and Reintegration Programme (MDRP) in the African Great Lakes region, which is being translated into national programmes in the DRC, Rwanda and Burundi. Former combatants must be offered alternative sources of income so that demobilisation and disarmament can remain effective. Unfortunately, the resources required are often lacking, preventing communities from reabsorbing ex-combatants. DDR programmes should also not focus exclusively on former combatants but should embrace all social groups, including women and children.
- **Armed Violence Reduction (AVR):** Reducing the number of weapons in circulation lessens the risk of armed conflicts in fragile states. This in turn aids development. The Netherlands is supporting programmes run by civil society organisations to remove arms from the streets and improve security in local communities. It is funding the implementation of the UN Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons and UN Mine Action Service (UNMAS) programmes for the storage and destruction of arms and ammunition. It is also helping to draw up a UN arms trade treaty and to develop arms control instruments such as the UN Firearms Protocol. The Netherlands is one of the countries leading the implementation of the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development, which seeks to integrate security issues into development planning. Potential interfaces with demining programmes in relevant countries must be identified.

B. A legitimate government with sufficient capacity

The key problem in fragile states is often that the government lacks capacity and legitimacy and there is no effective system in place to protect human rights. The rule of law is under threat. Former Afghan finance minister Ashraf Ghani says that people in failing states 'know that it is the dysfunctional state that stands between them and a better life'. He argues for decisive, legitimate governments which have strong social contracts with their own citizens and the international community: 'The first – and most critical – compact is between a state and its citizens, providing and enforcing citizens' rights.... The second compact is between a state and the international community to ensure adherence to international norms and standards of accountability and transparency.' At the High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Accra, Ghana which took place on 2-4 September 2008, representatives of fragile states acknowledged the importance of legitimate government.

A legitimate government with sufficient capacity gives societies the political ability and social resilience to resolve conflicting interests without resorting to violence. However, many fragile states are organised into networks of social and religious organisations, families, clans and enterprises based on clientelism or patronage. These networks are often far from being democratic in the Western sense of the word, yet they can constitute an important social safety net. In network-based societies, large sections of the population can be excluded. It is therefore essential to build a legitimate government with sufficient capacity. The Netherlands and the international community can promote the political process between the state and its citizens and strengthen the capacity of government through dialogue and targeted programmes.

- **Strengthening the capacity of government:** The aim of capacity-building is to ensure that the core functions of the state are carried out and to strengthen the rule of law. The donor community has considerable experience in strengthening the capacity of state institutions, and many of the existing programmes being implemented in regular developing countries can also be applied to fragile states. Yet capacity-building is often a process lasting several years. The risk is thus that too many external consultants may be brought in without the capacity of local institutions being developed. Parallel structures involving international and civil society organisations should therefore only be applied in the short term so as not to

undermine the role of the government. The Netherlands can support capacity-building programmes for state institutions, preferably via multilateral channels, for example through the provision of technical assistance and training. It can also make a direct contribution to strengthening state institutions that scrutinise the workings of government, such as the judiciary, parliament or national human rights agencies. The Netherlands feels that the UN and the World Bank should take the lead in this. The provision of budget support in fragile states can sometimes have a strong catalytic effect, but the risks must be carefully weighed in each case (see also section 2.7).

Box 2: The ten functions of the state according to Ashraf Ghani

In their book *Fixing Failed States*, the former Afghan Minister of Finance, Ashraf Ghani, and Clare Lockhart list the ten functions required for an effective state. Ghani's approach is an important illustration of current thinking, which emphasises the need for a strong, legitimate state. According to Ghani and Lockhart, improving these state functions will create a legitimate state and win the trust of its people. This in turn will lead to what they refer to as the sovereignty dividend. The ten functions of the state are:

1. establishment of the rule of law;
2. a monopoly on the legitimate use of force;
3. administrative control;
4. management of public finances;
5. investment in human capital through education and health care;
6. social policy and citizenship rights;
7. provision of infrastructure services;
8. formation of a market economy;
9. management of public assets;
10. effective public borrowing.

- **Promoting a legitimate government through a political process:** Legitimacy can be increased by working on an open political process in which social conflicts are resolved through peaceful means. International partners such as the Netherlands can try to move this

process forward through political dialogue. Unfortunately, not all partners are able or willing to conduct such a dialogue. Sometimes there is no alternative other than to enter into dialogue with the drivers of change: those individuals or organisations that *are* open to reform. Criticisms by other countries are often regarded as unwanted interference in internal affairs. The Netherlands therefore prefers to develop the political dialogue at multilateral level or in close cooperation with like-minded countries. Second track diplomacy is also a possibility: this is informal diplomacy conducted through individuals who are close to the government but have no official status. The Netherlands supports the UN Department of Political Affairs in its role as intermediary. It also implements democratisation projects, for example via the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy, by funding civic education projects for elections, local election committees or, indirectly, training for political parties. Legitimacy is also fostered through a transparent and responsible budget policy. The Netherlands can help by providing technical support for the management of public finance and measures to promote macroeconomic stability.

- **Support for prevention and transitional justice:** More attention must be given to the phases that precede and follow conflicts. Prevention is better than cure, and this means devoting more attention to avoiding conflicts. Based on his experiences, the international community's former High Representative in Bosnia, Paddy Ashdown, has written that 'all major conflicts are preceded by a period of instability If we can control these better ... we may make it easier to avoid a wider conflict.' Societies emerging from conflict often have to balance the need to punish human rights violators with the need to make a new start. In principle, these countries should themselves decide what balance should be struck. Victims must be given a major voice in these decisions and the choice that is eventually made must help to restore the rule of law. The Netherlands is encouraging national ownership in the search for a satisfactory, context-specific balance between justice, the search for truth, and reconciliation. However, lasting peace cannot be achieved without justice. Those who are guilty of crimes against humanity as defined by the Rome Statute cannot go unpunished. Countries must therefore hold trials at national level. If they do not, international courts will have to step in. Human rights must be part of the dialogue between the international community and the country in question from the outset. The Netherlands will at all times urge

its dialogue partners to respect fundamental human rights and restore the rule of law. The Netherlands will hold a conference on transitional justice and SSR in 2009.

C. Creating a peace dividend

The aim of creating a peace dividend is for the populations of fragile states to enjoy the benefits of peace and stability through better living conditions and employment. Where possible, this process should begin before or during the conflict, since getting young men into work can help to curb or prevent violence. The peace dividend is designed to remove the factors that fuel conflicts and to build public support for stability. Short-term results are essential. It is therefore important to link development cooperation as closely as possible to humanitarian assistance. The peace dividend must lead to the development of social services such as infrastructure, health care, education, clean water and basic sanitation. It must also generate employment and economic opportunities through activities in the agricultural or small and medium enterprise sectors. Another important aspect is the removal of obstacles to legal certainty and land registration. Women must be included in development programmes.

Not everyone will benefit from the creation of new economic opportunities. Militant groups and corrupt officials, for example, could lose sources of income. Socioeconomic development will therefore not happen automatically. Nevertheless, there are good opportunities for the Netherlands and the international community to launch socioeconomic activities in fragile states. They can often use existing programmes and instruments that are being implemented in other developing countries as well. Where necessary, special arrangements and new programmes can be devised for fragile states. In the long term, it is important to attain the macroeconomic conditions for economic development. The following aspects are key to generating a peace dividend:

- **Gap between humanitarian aid and reconstruction:** Post-conflict and fragile states are still extremely vulnerable in the period immediately following the end of a conflict or crisis. Many activities must be pursued in parallel at this stage: humanitarian assistance is often still required and measures must be taken to ensure the safety of the population. Capacity for good governance must be strengthened and the foundations laid for reconstruction and

socioeconomic development. It is during this period between emergency relief and reconstruction that the leadership and responsibilities of the international community are often unclear. To bridge this gap between humanitarian aid and reconstruction, it is necessary to build on existing networks and investments for humanitarian aid. Ongoing funding must be secured for the initial phase of reconstruction. The Netherlands feels this gap can best be bridged through a multilateral approach and the creation of flexible funds. The UN humanitarian coordinator OCHA should take a clear lead during the humanitarian phase. The World Bank and regional banks are in the lead once a stable development process is under way. The UN development organisation UNDP could play a major role during the transition phase, as suggested by the report on UN reform, 'Delivering as one'. The Netherlands is therefore funding practical pilot projects to ensure the smooth progression of the initial development phase in priority countries. Examples include the successful pilot project for early reconstruction in the eastern DRC and the Sudan Recovery Fund. The Netherlands is also backing efforts to narrow the gap between humanitarian aid and reconstruction by helping to strengthen the UNDP's Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery and the UNICEF education programme for post-conflict countries. Chapter 4 discusses the role of international organisations in the various phases in more detail.

- **Development for men and women alike:** It is especially important for women to see the effects of growing stability in their daily lives and to take an active part in the search for peace and stability . In fragile states it is often women who are most familiar with the needs of local communities, who identify the social obstacles to development and who tend to be economically active. As the World Bank has noted, gender is smart economics. But this is not the only issue to be addressed. In many countries, maternal mortality rates are still unacceptably high, sexual violence is widespread and a high proportion of widows are having to raise their families in difficult circumstances. Girls are still excluded from education more than boys. The Netherlands is therefore working to ensure that socioeconomic programmes in fragile states focus on an equal role for women, in accordance with the action plan to implement Security Council Resolution 1325. This includes tackling the issue of sexual and reproductive rights and health. To this end, the Netherlands continues to provide substantial funding to the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) and supports its activities in fragile states. The

Netherlands will also look for other ways to promote positive moves in this direction, such as making gender part of SSR and funding hospitals for female rape victims in the eastern DRC.

- **Private sector development, employment, growth and equity** are especially important in fragile states due to the often high levels of unemployment and unequal opportunities. These can be sources of conflict. Specific groups should not be given preferential treatment based on ethnicity, religion or gender. Both the winners and losers in a conflict must be able to benefit from peace. Special attention must be given to women, young people, former combatants and displaced persons. Unequal distribution of natural resources, such as land rights and energy sources, can give rise to conflicts since it often goes hand-in-hand with illegality and crime. The Netherlands is supporting private sector development in various countries through loans to small and medium-sized enterprises and the funding of employment programmes. It is arguing for the World Bank to act as a catalyst in partnership with regional development banks. Capacity-building will improve economic legislation and widen market access for commodities. Infrastructure also needs to be built. During the first few years of the post-conflict period, the role of the international private sector will often be limited by an unfavourable investment climate and lack of purchasing power. However, Dutch companies can still make a valuable contribution. The Netherlands therefore wants to help businesses launch activities in fragile states through incentive schemes like the Private Sector Investment Programme-Plus facility (PSI+), the Development-Related Infrastructure Facility (ORIO) and the Reconstruction of Uruzgan Grant Framework. Examples of projects in partner countries include the saffron project in Afghanistan and the flowers project in Gaza. The policy letter on agriculture, rural development and food security, which was sent to Parliament by the Minister for Development Cooperation and the Minister of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality, contains further views on this topic.
- **Improving basic services** is an important part of creating the peace dividend. However, the benefits of improved education, health care, water and basic sanitation and infrastructure projects are generally only felt in the medium term. Despite this, visible investments in these areas can give a clear positive signal to local populations and thus help to promote stability. The Netherlands is funding a special UNICEF facility to develop education capacity and schools in conflict areas and is contributing to various trust funds for socioeconomic

development, for example in Sudan and Afghanistan. These investments are mainly channelled through multilateral funds. Effectiveness is the main priority. The Netherlands has therefore recently urged the World Bank and the UN to exercise leadership and make more capacity available in fragile states. This is discussed in more detail in chapter 4. In addition to multilateral funds, the Netherlands may also make a contribution to basic services through programmes run by civil society organisations.

- Sustainable development calls for a strong **civil society** to uphold human rights and protect the disadvantaged. In many difficult situations, NGOs are often the only functioning organisations. They are key partners for Dutch intervention in fragile states, for example when it is not possible to work with the government. NGOs can organise social services and are ideally placed to build civil society from the ground up. This boosts the legitimacy of the political process. However, activities must be properly coordinated so as not to undermine the role of a weak government. In southern Sudan and the eastern DRC, for example, development initiatives must help to create a stronger government based on an effective social contract. The Netherlands is taking steps to support and work with NGOs in fragile states. To this end, it has launched a Knowledge Network for Peace, Security and Development under a so-called Schokland public private agreement. To encourage regular consultations, it will establish country platforms in which civil society actors and government institutions are represented. The Netherlands helps NGOs to deliver basic services, mainly during the transition stage from humanitarian aid to sustainable development. It also funds projects to promote independent media. Strategic cooperation with the cofinancing system and the Strategic Alliances with International NGOs (SALIN) will be intensified with the aim of targeting efforts at countries which match the security and development profile. Where necessary, strategic cooperation will be extended to new NGOs. Attention will also be focused on NGOs which are themselves under attack due to the activities they engage in. The Netherlands will back the implementation of the EU Guidelines on the Protection of Human Rights Defenders in such countries.

2 A new approach to fragile states

Effective engagement in fragile states calls for a new approach. This requires concepts and instruments which adequately address the stubborn, complex problems that affect fragile states. The guidelines underpinning this new approach are the OECD/DAC Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations. The key focus areas are:

1. an integrated approach;
2. local partners, local priorities;
3. sensitivity to context and political issues;
4. speed, flexibility and long-term commitment;
5. multilateral where possible, bilateral where necessary;
6. prevention;
7. taking responsible risks.

These priorities are translated into specific foreign policy instruments below. Some are still being developed.

2.1 An integrated approach

Many of the problems in fragile states are due to a wide range of factors. Measures to improve security, strengthen government institutions and promote socioeconomic development must therefore be mutually supportive. The need for an integrated approach applies not just to donor countries but also to the governments of fragile states and the international community. Good international donor coordination is vital in fragile states. One example of a practical coordination mechanism is the Joint Donor Office in southern Sudan (Juba). The integrated policy adopted by the Netherlands is outlined in the 2005 'Memorandum on Post-Conflict Reconstruction' (30075, no. 1). When it is applied to fragile states, it uses the 'whole-of-government' approach, in which several ministries work together. Whenever work is being done in fragile states, the goals and activities in the various sectors must tie in closely with one another. The principle underlying the integrated approach is to identify how ministries can help to implement the policy on fragile states and the Multi-Annual Strategic Plans, based on local needs. Specifically how this will be achieved is outlined in the following steps:

- The interministerial **Steering Committee for Security Cooperation and Reconstruction (SVW)** has been expanded to include the Ministries of Justice, Interior & Kingdom Relations

and Finance. The Ministries of Defence, Economic Affairs and Foreign Affairs (including Development Cooperation) were already members of the committee.

- The Netherlands' medium-term bilateral policy on individual fragile states is outlined in the **Multi-Annual Strategic Plans**. Embassies play a leading role in drafting and implementing these plans, which will be coordinated with the other steering committee members. Countries in the 'security and development' category will be regularly analysed, after which the policy can be intensified or adjusted where necessary.
- The Ministries of Defence and Foreign Affairs have a close working relationship. This is reflected most notably in civil-military cooperation in Afghanistan. The Ministry of Defence plays an important role in international crisis management operations, for example in Uruzgan and briefly in Chad. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is working closely with the Royal Netherlands Navy to safeguard shipments of humanitarian aid to Somalia. The Ministry of Defence plays a key advisory role in Security Sector Reform through the secondment of experts. A good example is Burundi, where the Netherlands is a major contributor to SSR. Where necessary, it supports joint analysis and planning for civil-military cooperation.
- A series of business incentive instruments, the Private Sector Investment Programme-Plus facility (PSI+), the Development-Related Infrastructure Improvement Facility (ORIO) and the Reconstruction of Uruzgan Grant Framework, have been launched in partnership with the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Businesses are also being helped to finance and implement reconstruction activities. The Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality can be called in to help with the development of the agricultural sector in fragile states. In many countries, farming is one of the first sectors to generate employment and growth. The government and the Ministry of Agriculture, Nature and Food Quality are therefore considering whether alternative projects can be developed in Afghanistan,
- The government can send police and criminal justice experts to fragile states, subject to availability, in consultation with the Ministries of Justice and of the Interior and Kingdom Relations. For example, officers from the Dutch National Police are currently helping with police training and counter narcotics in Uruzgan, and criminal justice experts are regularly sent out as part of EU missions.
- To provide a more effective response to demand for expertise and to boost capacity, the government plans to establish a **pool of civilian experts** to advise on policing, justice, capacity-building, private sector development and other relevant areas. Further progress with

this initiative will depend on its practical and organisational implications and on a forthcoming inventory of costs, supply and demand. The pool could be created alongside the existing SSR pool of the Ministry of Defence.

- The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has established a **Peace Building and Stabilisation Unit** to support the enhanced policy focus on fragile states. It will coordinate and support the Netherlands' work in fragile states, working closely with embassies, ministries, NGOs and international organisations. The unit will be supported by experts sent out on secondment.

2.2 Local partners, local priorities

External players cannot decide how to rebuild fragile states; this is primarily up to their own peoples. Wherever possible, international interventions must tie in with the priorities of these states' governments and societies. If a government lacks the capacity or political will to tackle reconstruction, international leadership will be needed. Sometimes, in the interests of the population, the international community has no choice but to impose a temporary transitional administration based on a Security Council mandate. However, local ownership, in fragile states as elsewhere, is the ideal. Depending on the situation, it is vital to strike a satisfactory balance between local ownership and effective international leadership. How is this to be achieved?

- The international community can pursue a critical **political dialogue with the government** based on an appraisal of that government's political will. Wherever possible, the Netherlands will bring influence to bear through multilateral forums such as the UN or EU, or else apply bilateral instruments.
- Often, however, this will not be enough and **partners outside the government** (drivers of change) will also need to be found to take part in the dialogue. Issues such as equity, human rights and corruption can then be addressed and the activities of these organisations can be financed. Good examples include support for anti-corruption organisations, such as AMAN in the Palestinian Territories, and organisations in Guatemala to combat racism and discrimination.
- The international community must tie in with **local priorities** (alignment) wherever possible. A good national policy dialogue is therefore needed. This can be achieved by supporting

projects to strengthen the legitimacy and effectiveness of governance. Attention to aspects such as decentralisation and the role of civil society are crucial.

- Supporting **civil society** in fragile states themselves not only provides a socioeconomic safety net but also makes it possible to give a voice to specific interest groups which the government must take account of in the political process.

2.3 Sensitivity to context and political issues

The problems of fragile states are largely historically determined. Each has its own specific characteristics. There is therefore no universally applicable solution. More than in other, more stable developing countries, we must, as the economist William Easterly puts it, be 'searchers' not 'planners'. We must modestly seek solutions, not set unreachable targets. A detailed analysis of the local political situation should dictate the mix of interventions. This requires information from a wide variety of sources, including the local population, government bodies, civil society and international organisations. How is this to be achieved?

- Where necessary, greater use will be made of **local experts and informants**. A good example is the appointment of tribal advisers in Afghanistan, who are providing valuable information.
- **Analysis** of this information must yield ongoing insight into the development of, and cohesion between, political, socioeconomic and security factors in a country. This will give direction to the policy, enable it to be adjusted where necessary and reduce risks. Experts will be asked to make action-based analyses in a number of fragile states. The Post-Conflict Needs Assessment instrument developed by the UN and the World Bank provides an overall framework for such an analysis.
- Based on cooperation in the framework of the Schokland agreements, the possibility of compiling a **database** recording the experience of the Netherlands' interventions in conflict areas will be considered. It will be used to improve policy, reduce risks and improve monitoring and evaluation.

2.4 Speed, flexibility and long-term commitment

According to the OECD, international assistance is still too heavily reliant on the legislation and budget cycles of donor countries. As a result, the international community is often unable to respond quickly or flexibly enough or to enter into longer-term commitments. The progression from the provision of humanitarian aid to the funding of national reconstruction is often inadequate. In fragile states in particular, it is often vital to act quickly and to promote stability. It takes time to make a difference in these countries. Capacity-building calls for dogged determination. Effective cooperation between donors in the sphere of analysis, political dialogue and implementation is essential. Practical structures for donor coordination are also needed, since the capacity of governments in fragile states is often even weaker than in other developing countries. How can the Netherlands contribute to this process?

- **Swift and flexible deployment of people and resources:** The Netherlands will begin by evaluating whether the policy on fragile states can be implemented using the existing staff complement at the embassies. If extra capacity and expertise are needed, embassies in fragile states can be permanently strengthened. This has already been done in Kabul, Kinshasa and Bujumbura. Where necessary, the embassies' human resources will also be increased through the recruitment of temporary staff.
- In 2008, **Stability Fund** procedures were simplified following an evaluation. In future, there will also be a greater focus on the positive role that women can play. The overall criteria will be tightened to make this a more specific requirement and the Netherlands' international partners will be lobbied intensively to generate more attention for gender issues when considering project proposals.
- Some embassies will be given **flexible resources** from the Stability Fund so that they can respond more readily to acute needs.
- The Netherlands can increase the effectiveness of its policy through the exchange of ideas and close cooperation in the field with **partners** such as international and Dutch civil society organisations and the private sector. Examples include the agreements on security and development which were concluded under the Schokland Pact.

2.5 Multilateral where possible, bilateral where necessary

The international community is often reluctant to get too closely involved with fragile states. As a result, multilateral aid is frequently given fairly late in the day. Nevertheless, the rule of thumb for the Netherlands' efforts on behalf of these countries is: **multilateral where possible, bilateral where necessary**. It is often coalitions of like-minded donors that make multilateral support possible. For example, the EU and UN are currently discussing what further steps to take in Somalia. Preference is being given to a multilateral framework since this offers benefits of scale, opportunities for coordination, more political weight, a better guarantee of long-term structural commitment and a spreading of costs and risks. However, there is still a great deal to be improved. Humanitarian aid and development cooperation must be more closely aligned. The international community's responsibilities should be more clearly apportioned. The Netherlands sees the UN as the natural leader during the initial phase of reconstruction (early recovery). The UN and the World Bank must also improve the multilateral funds' performance. Control mechanisms are being developed to limit the adverse effects of industrial enterprises in fragile states arising from the illegal trade in raw materials and small arms. Chapter 4 discusses the Netherlands' contribution to the international community's work on fragile states in more detail.

2.6 Prevention

Preventing conflicts and crises is far from easy. Negative developments are often identified or tackled too late. The international community is often incapable of reacting quickly or adequately to initial signs of trouble, as recent events in Kenya have shown. In that instance, a relatively prosperous developing country proved unable to control and defuse serious social unrest. Improving our ability to prevent conflicts is essential. Once they have broken out, conflicts are difficult to suppress and the work of reconstruction that follows is costly. Effective conflict prevention depends on acknowledging problems early on, an international community with the will to intervene where necessary and receptive local partners. The number one rule is of course: do no harm. International aid must not fuel tensions between population groups. How can the Netherlands help to ensure this?

- Conflicts can be avoided through early warning and early **mediation** and by ensuring that problems are discussed by international organisations. The UN should take the lead in this, in conjunction with regional organisations like the African Union. The Netherlands is considering how to strengthen the UN's role in this area, in consultation with the UN Department of Political Affairs.
- Where necessary, the Netherlands will raise the issue of latent conflicts by **putting them on the agenda in multilateral forums**, such as the EU or UN, or calling for them to be addressed in close cooperation with like-minded countries.
- The Netherlands can provide support for **civil society organisations** which contribute to the independent supply of information about developments in a country and implement projects to resolve the underlying causes of problems in fragile states. This can be done in the context of the Schokland agreements mentioned above. **Islands of stability** can sometimes be given support to prevent conflicts from spreading.

2.7 Taking responsible risks

The risks involved in working in fragile states are greater than those in other developing countries. Staff who are sent to these countries face significant risks. The political risks are also greater due to the fact that these are weak states with unstable political situations. Management risks are also considerable since the capacity of the government and implementing organisations is often more limited than in other developing countries. There is consequently a higher risk of misspending and corruption. There are also risks of interventions proving ineffective, since the overall situation could worsen rather than improve, thus undoing the interventions' effects.

Yet although the risks are greater, so potentially are the benefits. International commitment is vital to ensure that the necessary changes are made. Fragile countries have shown that they cannot manage on their own. Policy on fragile states therefore calls for a satisfactory balance between working towards results, a willingness to accept risks and the capacity to limit these risks. How is the Netherlands doing this?

- The Netherlands tries to **make resources available faster** when this is vital for reducing fragility. It will therefore sometimes commit itself to plans that may still require further development. This is resolved by means of a phased approach in which clear conditions are attached to early commitment. A good example is the Netherlands' contribution, as first donor, to the stabilisation programme in the eastern DRC. The contribution was used to finance a peace agreement between the warring parties, which helped to stabilise the situation.
- Risks can be spread if donors work together. The World Bank can act as supervisory body. The Netherlands will sometimes contribute to **multilateral trust funds** even though the precise liquidity requirement and the results that can be claimed by each donor are unclear. Yet contributions to such funds, such as the Peacebuilding Fund, are nevertheless justified. If the Netherlands works with others in multidonor trust funds, this will have to be made clear in accounting for results.
- Risks must be identified in advance so that adjustments can be made in good time where necessary. The aim is to clarify the risks and gauge the level of risk acceptance and capacity for risk management. This will be done in the context of the **Multi-Year Strategic Plans** and the track records, and as part of the evaluation and monitoring of programmes.
- Sometimes the Netherlands will need to be more willing to **manage risks**. A good example is the African Union in Ethiopia, which has a major role to play, but is having difficulty meeting its reporting deadlines due to lack of capacity. In such situations, the Netherlands can justify waiving its sanctions policy in favour of agreements on how to assist capacity-building, for example by engaging external experts.
- In fragile states, **budget support** can be used to assist capacity-building, for example by funding the salaries of teachers, medical personnel and civil servants. This is open to discussion provided minimum conditions are met and the payment helps to boost the capacity of the government. The partner country must demonstrate a clear commitment to poverty reduction and there must be an effective dialogue in place. The contribution must also be shown to be genuinely vital to stability and security. Finally, budget support can in principle only be provided multilaterally and there must be assurances given that the funding will reach its intended destination. A recent example of this approach is Burundi, where Dutch budget support via the World Bank is helping the government to demonstrate the

peace dividend to the population. This approach ties in with the principles agreed in Accra that local governance structures must be used and strengthened.

- A risk-based approach should also include a clear evaluation of **financing channels**. If the scope for budget support for fragile states is limited, the enhanced policy focus will have to be implemented largely through multilateral channels. Support can also be given to civil society organisations if this is needed to combat fragility.

3 The Netherlands' work in partner countries

The Netherlands is contributing to development in fragile states through direct activities in partner countries. As in other developing countries, medium-term bilateral policy for fragile states is set in the Multi-Annual Strategic Plans. The government intends to step up its efforts in these countries. The degree to which this intensification takes place over the coming years will depend on specific opportunities in these countries. Box 4 outlines the Netherlands' financial contribution to priority fragile states in 2008.

Box 4: Financial resources for fragile states in 2008 (in €)

The total contribution to the bilateral country programmes for fragile states is listed below. This expenditure is targeted at the different dimensions of policy on fragile states: not just direct expenditure for reconstruction but also expenditure to promote good governance, improve the position of women and strengthen the investment climate.

Afghanistan	57.5 mln
Burundi	21.1 mln
Colombia	18.1 mln
DRC	6.9 mln
Guatemala	15.9 mln
Kosovo	0 mln
Pakistan	20 mln
Palestinian Territories	33.8 mln
Sudan	70.6 mln
Total	243.9 mln

In addition to the country programmes, there is also a central budget of €228 mln available for 2008, to cover activities or contributions specifically to promote regional stability and crisis management. This budget is used for contributions to the Stability Fund, MFS and SALIN organisations working for peace and security, the OSCE and crisis management operations. Expenditure on humanitarian assistance is not included in this overview.

The country programmes are assessed each year based on current insights and financing opportunities. The nature of cooperation in fragile states means that spending is difficult to plan far ahead. Circumstances in these countries call for a constant readjustment of planning to take account of the latest developments. The Netherlands' work in fragile states obviously does not take the form exclusively of additional finance. Other avenues are also pursued, as explained in chapter 2.

In the policy letter 'Our Common Concern', the Netherlands made a pragmatic choice to focus on countries in the 'security and development' category. This decision took account of the aims of policy on fragile states, the Netherlands' past involvement in these countries and the degree to which the international community and the Netherlands can make a positive contribution to their development. A brief overview follows of the country programmes in the nine countries in the 'security and development' category.

3.1 Afghanistan

Afghanistan is one of the world's most fragile states. In 2001, following 22 years of conflict the signing of the Bonn Accord provided Afghanistan and the international community with a road map for security, good governance and reconstruction. However, the situation in Afghanistan proved intractable. The Netherlands' view is that the international mission in Afghanistan should not be directed at a military victory over the Taliban but at strengthening the Afghan government, helping to improve the security situation, partly through the deployment of Dutch troops in Uruzgan, and stimulating reconstruction and good governance. This is also the essence of the Netherlands' integrated approach in Afghanistan: securing a lasting peace will take time and cannot be achieved simply through military means. Building up the national security forces, tackling corruption and drug trafficking and improving the quality of governance are the main challenges. Improving governance in particular will be a lengthy process; this is the

key to sustainable reconstruction. The role of the UN also needs further strengthening. The Netherlands is a small yet relatively important partner, chiefly due to its military involvement. Dutch efforts will concentrate on the following areas:

- The security dimension: The presence of the Taliban and other armed groups and illegal poppy growing have led to permanent instability. This is hampering the reconstruction programme of the Afghan government and the international community. The aim of the ISAF mission is to enable the Afghan government to take the lead in tackling its country's security problems. The Netherlands is also contributing funding and staff to strengthen the Afghan army and police, for example through the Law and Order Trust Fund and training courses for the army and police in Uruzgan. The Netherlands is taking steps to create alternatives to poppy growing; for example, an innovative saffron cultivation project has been launched with the help of Dutch growers to provide an alternative source of income for farmers in Uruzgan.
- The legitimacy and capacity of the Afghan government are undermined by corruption, tribalism and the drugs trade. The government's own efforts to improve the quality of governance are deficient in many respects. The Netherlands is therefore pursuing an ongoing political dialogue with the Karzai government and encouraging contact between local stakeholders, sometimes with the help of tribal advisers. It also supports the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission. The World Bank is an important partner in capacity building and the fight against corruption. The Netherlands supports capacity building in Uruzgan through cooperation with GtZ, UNDP and the local administration. This has yielded a number of capable Afghan advisers for the governor. The international community is also supporting voter registration.
- The Netherlands is promoting the peace dividend at national level through support for the Afghan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF), and humanitarian aid where necessary. The ARTF supports the Ministry of Education's Equip programme and the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development's National Solidarity Programme. Dutch support has now enabled the extension of these programmes to Uruzgan, where they have gradually helped to improve living conditions for the local population. The Netherlands is also funding agriculture, health care and infrastructure programmes in the province. It will devote extra attention to the position of women in education and health care. A special grant framework has been created to encourage Dutch companies to become more involved in reconstruction work in Uruzgan.

3.2 Burundi

The Arusha Accords were concluded in 2000, ending years of conflict between the Tutsi and Hutu communities. In 2004 a national army was established, composed of the Tutsi-dominated military and six Hutu rebel forces. A constitution was adopted in February 2005, laying the foundations for the formal political order in Burundi. The challenge now is to strengthen the government's inadequate institutional capacity, increase macroeconomic stability, participation and accountability, and address the problem of instability in neighbouring states. The Netherlands is a major donor to Burundi and is committed to effective coordination with other international stakeholders. It will not be able to act alone; a broader international presence is needed.

- Challenges in the security dimension include the need to reduce regional instability, complete the DDR programme and tackle the inadequate security apparatus. The Netherlands has therefore been focusing on Security Sector Reform for several years. A good example of the new approach to this theme are current Dutch-Burundian initiatives to strengthen the army and police for many years to come through a strategic partnership. The Netherlands is seen as a reliable partner and has a good relationship with the Burundi government. The Dutch contribution is therefore having a clear impact.
- In political terms, Burundi is currently relatively stable, although compliance with international standards of civil and political liberties needs permanent monitoring. Key factors that could strengthen the legitimacy and capacity of the government are the recent agreement and resumption of talks between it and the rebel movement FNL, and the forthcoming elections in 2010. The degree to which the media and civil society can continue to be involved is also crucial. The Netherlands is supporting the peace dialogue through the good offices of South Africa as part of the Regional Initiative. It is also prepared to support preparations for the elections to help anchor multiparty democracy. Civil society organisations and the media will also be funded.
- Demonstrating the peace dividend to the population is crucial for lasting stability. However, the economic outlook for the average Burundian is sombre due to the combination of high population growth and density, new and returning refugees and a shortage of agricultural

land. Due to lack of economic vision, unemployment and an influx of returning refugees, there has been little improvement in the average standard of living. The Netherlands is therefore firmly targeting private sector development, with a focus on land rights, microcredit and measures to improve the investment climate. It is contributing to security of energy supply and agricultural development through a regional programme. Regional economic integration of Burundi into the East African Community is also generating opportunities. Finally, budget support and support for public finance management are boosting all three dimensions. Converting a conflict budget into a development-oriented budget through affordable government spending is further strengthening legitimacy and capacity. The peace dividend is also being delivered through rising government expenditure on basic services.

3.3 Colombia

There is instability in a number of problem regions in Colombia. The country has a strong national government but illegal armed groups make it difficult for it to exercise its authority throughout the territory. However, this is not seriously threatening the central government institutions. Colombia therefore shows only some of the characteristics of a fragile state. Democratic stability in a country that borders part of the Kingdom is vital to the Netherlands.

- The main problems facing Colombia lie in the security sector. Illegal armed groups effectively hold sway over some parts of the country. They finance their activities through a well-oiled narcotics industry and cause problems in the region. The Netherlands assists the peace process through support for the National Commission for Reparation and Reconciliation (CNRR) and the Senior Reintegration Advisor. It contributes to various programmes on narcotics, crime reduction and small arms via the UNODC and other agencies. It also supports the government project in the Macarena region, the aim of which is to increase the presence of state institutions in problem regions and end the internal armed conflict and drugs production in this part of Colombia.
- In terms of legitimacy and capacity, Colombia is a democracy with a functioning state governed by the rule of law. The Netherlands can make a meaningful contribution in this area by encouraging dialogue between the government, NGOs and the private sector. This will further contribute to democratisation and a better social climate.

- Colombia is enjoying substantial economic growth. This is reflected in the economic growth figures of the last six years (between 3 and 7%). It is important to enable people in the problem regions to share in this prosperity and to offer them a peace dividend. However, unemployment, poverty and social exclusion remain alarmingly high in parts of both urban and rural areas. The Netherlands is supporting various public-private partnership programmes with an emphasis on good governance. Support for the environmental sector is also directed at improving the quality of governance.

3.4 Democratic Republic of the Congo

Stability in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) has improved in the past few years. However, the peace accords which laid the foundations for security and reconstruction in the eastern provinces remain fragile. The central government in Kinshasa is still weak and the inadequate implementation of the peace agreements means that the eastern DRC continues to be volatile. The risk of a return to large-scale armed conflict is therefore still very real.

- In terms of security, the east of the country is affected by fighting between the various militias and army units. This has now reached a stalemate which is unlikely to be broken in the near future due to lack of political leadership and opposing economic interests. The army and police are also frequently guilty of abuse of power. Another major problem is widespread sexual abuse of women by all armed forces. The United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) is understaffed. Against this background, the Netherlands is concentrating mainly on reducing impunity and sexual violence against women. It is also considering the possibility of further contributions to SSR along similar lines to its support of the EUSEC mission. The Netherlands will continue to support DDR, to encourage militia members to leave militant groups.
- The government in Kinshasa is unable to exercise full control over large parts of the country and the legitimacy and capacity of the government are weak. Even in the capital, it can only deliver a limited level of basic services. Dialogue with the government is difficult due to its frequent shifts of position, lack of administrative transparency and deeply-embedded patronage systems. Moreover, the DRC is roughly the size of Western Europe, with a limited infrastructure. This makes it difficult for central government to exercise its authority

throughout the country. The Netherlands is working with other donors to extend this reach. For example, it is financing the UNDP/MONUC stability plan for the eastern DRC, which invests in the development of administrative and physical infrastructure, following up on the Goma peace accords.

- The socioeconomic challenges facing the DRC are substantial. Major players such as China are making large investments in raw materials extraction and infrastructure. In terms of creating a peace dividend, the Netherlands and other donors are concentrating mainly on the provision of humanitarian aid and on encouraging the sustainable consumption of natural resources. The Netherlands' contribution to security improvements will also focus on creating positive conditions for further development. One example is a road-building programme under the stability plan, which will not only enable the state to extend its influence but also facilitate trade between local markets and give women more opportunities to support themselves.

3.5 Guatemala

The reference framework for reform in Guatemala is enshrined in the 1996 peace accords. In January 2008 a new president, government and parliament took office. They have the difficult task of responding to the country's fundamental problems: the extreme inequality and exclusion of certain groups, especially women and indigenous peoples, widespread impunity, lack of security and limited state capacity.

- The main priority for the new government is security. Guatemala suffers from widespread impunity and organised crime. The International Commission against Impunity in Guatemala (CICIG) is actively fighting organised crime, which has infiltrated almost all government bodies. The Netherlands supports the CICIG both financially and politically, and is supporting the development of a comprehensive plan for reform of the justice system.
- Inadequate legitimacy and capacity of the political system in Guatemala is a major factor in the country's problems. Parallel centres of power continue to exist, elites primarily serve their own interests and state institutions are weak. This has resulted in a lack of fundamental reforms to the social infrastructure, the administration of justice, security and fiscal policy. The Netherlands is therefore trying to encourage dialogue between government and social

and indigenous organisations. It is also funding initiatives to combat racism and discrimination and promote reconciliation. A project to support the presidential office is also being financed.

- Other fundamental problems lie in the socioeconomic sphere (peace dividend). They include severe inequality, which is closely linked to the exclusion of women and indigenous populations in particular, and extreme poverty among over half the population. The Netherlands is concentrating on implementing policy to combat HIV/AIDS, supporting national policy on sexual and reproductive health and rights, and helping to develop the capacity of relevant bodies, for example in the environmental sphere.

3.6 Kosovo

Kosovo declared its independence on 17 February 2008 following eight years of UN administration following the NATO intervention to end the bloody civil war. Many countries have not yet recognised this independent status. Kosovo is a young nation which now faces the challenge of developing its government institutions and economy. There is a large EU mission (EULEX) in the country to support this process. The Serbian minority, which is concentrated in the north, has so far largely refused to take part. Regional developments and the way in which Serbian and other minorities are treated will continue to have a major influence on Kosovo's development. Despite this, a return to armed conflict or serious human rights violations is not anticipated. The Netherlands, in close cooperation with partners like the EU, will consider stepping up its development cooperation relationship with Kosovo.

- In terms of security, Kosovo is relatively stable, although crime is endemic. Support for the further professionalisation and reform of the police force and for the control and reduction of small arms is therefore a key priority.
- There is still much to be done to improve legitimacy and capacity, especially of government institutions. Capacity building is vital, as is the need to further anchor the democratic legitimacy of government bodies. A further challenge lies in accommodating the Serbian minority within the politicised Kosovan society. The Netherlands is making a substantial contribution to strengthening governance in Kosovo through support for the police and justice system, in the form of an integrated contribution to the EULEX mission.

- There is still much to be done to generate a peace dividend. Kosovo has a poor economic outlook with high unemployment and structural problems that offer few prospects to the population. The Netherlands is therefore supporting the private sector, especially small and medium-sized enterprises.

3.7 Pakistan

Pakistan is currently going through a very difficult period. On 18 February 2008 the country elected a new government, marking the return to civilian rule. President Asif Ali Zardari took office recently. However, Pakistan is still riven by major political instability, as shown by the process of impeaching President Musharraf and the growing frequency of terrorist attacks, notably in the capital Islamabad. Conflicts and the presence of extremist and terrorist groups in northwest Pakistan and Kashmir also continue to threaten stability and security.

- The security situation in Pakistan is threatened in several areas. Lack of authority in the northwest has created a haven for terrorist groups, drug trafficking and other illegal activities, which also affect Afghanistan. The situation in Kashmir is fuelling political tensions between India and Pakistan. Where possible, the Netherlands supports regional cooperation between Afghanistan, India and Pakistan to ease these tensions. For example, Dutch funding is being used to develop a joint Afghan-Pakistani water management programme for the Kabul River.
- Pakistan has serious political and administrative problems, for example in the sphere of power-sharing. The legitimacy of the government is under pressure. In the last elections the population voted for a civilian, democratically elected government, yet the army is still playing a major role. The country is also still a long way from establishing an independent judiciary. Yet, the influence of external stakeholders is limited. The Netherlands and its EU partners are pursuing an effective dialogue on these issues with the Pakistani government.
- In recent years, economic growth has mainly benefited the country's elite. Systematic failure to distribute wealth equitably is undermining this growth. The population has seen little of a peace dividend. This puts Pakistan in an alarming 136th place in the 2007/2008 Human Development Report. The Netherlands is concentrating on measures to stimulate the private sector through support for SMEs and chambers of commerce.

3.8 Palestinian Territories

At the end of 2007 in Annapolis under the auspices of the United States, Israel and the Palestinian Authority resumed peace talks to discuss a two-state solution. Until the security situation in Israel improves and it concludes peace agreements with Arab states other than Egypt and Jordan, Palestinians will be restricted in their movements by Israeli security measures. This is preventing the development of a viable Palestinian state and economy. The Palestinian Territories are divided into two geographical and political entities. Gaza is controlled by Hamas while the autonomous parts of the West Bank are controlled by the Palestinian Authority (PA) under President and Fatah leader Mahmoud Abbas.

- The security situation in both Gaza and the West Bank is undermined by armed conflict between the Israeli army and Palestinian militant groups and by internecine Palestinian violence. Hamas exercises virtually complete control over the security situation in Gaza, while the PA is trying to strengthen its authority on the West Bank. Strengthening the PA security forces on the West Bank is vital for maintaining order and strengthening the rule of law. The Netherlands is playing an active role in the security and justice sectors, partly through support for the EUPOL COPPS mission.
- The legitimacy of the Palestinian Authority is undermined by the fact that both Hamas and Fatah claim legitimate authority. However, the international community is working only with the PA in Ramallah, in accordance with the criteria drawn up by the Quartet of Middle East mediators (the UN, US, Russia and the EU). Parallel administrations have been established in Gaza and on the West Bank. At the moment, the population is looking to the PA mainly to pay their salaries, guarantee security and deliver basic services. However, the PA has insufficient capacity to meet these expectations. Strengthening its capacity is vital for an independent Palestinian state. The Netherlands is therefore providing financial support to PEGASE, the EU mechanism to pay the salaries of Palestinian officials.
- Peace dividend: Israel's practice of regularly closing its border crossings with Gaza in response to Palestinian rocket attacks has resulted in a critical socioeconomic situation in Gaza. A large proportion of the population is dependent on humanitarian aid. The economic situation on the West Bank is less acute. The agricultural projects (flower cultivation) in Gaza are a good example of the Netherlands' innovative policy. These projects are stimulating economic development and efforts are being made to ease the policy on border crossings

through political dialogue with Israel. This will in turn help to create better conditions for the peace talks. The Netherlands will also continue to provide relief for Palestinian refugees through its support for UNRWA.

3.9 Sudan

In 2005, following decades of conflict, the war between northern and southern Sudan was brought to an end by the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). However, the CPA is only an interim measure which expires in 2011. The relationship between Sudan and neighbouring Chad is extremely tense, and the conflict in Darfur is still raging. The possible issuance of a warrant of arrest for the country's president, Omar al Bashir, by the International Criminal Court (ICC) is putting the relationship between the northern National Congress Party (NCP) and the southern Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM) in the government of national unity under severe pressure.

- As regards security and stability in Sudan, neither the NCP nor the SPLM is currently looking to escalate the situation. Neither party would benefit from a return to armed conflict. However, there are sporadic outbreaks of violence between north and south, such as the recent fighting in Abyei. The Netherlands is working closely with the other members of the Sudan Contact Group and contributing to political dialogue, democratisation and reconstruction. Implementation of the CPA is still the main priority. The Netherlands is backing the UNMIS mission and the Joint Integrated Units, the joint force established to keep the peace in the border areas between north and south. Unfortunately there is still no prospect of resolving the conflict in Darfur, despite mediation efforts by the AU and UN. Hope now centres on the new Joint Chief Mediator, Djibril Bassolé. In Darfur, the Netherlands is concentrating its efforts on humanitarian assistance and improved humanitarian access, small-scale reconstruction projects and peace initiatives where the security situation permits (humanitarian-plus), substantial contributions to the AU-UN peace mission UNAMID, the successor to AMIS, and support for AU-UN mediation.
- The development of a legitimate political system and efforts to ensure lasting peace are hampered by the possibility of secession by southern Sudan in 2011. Power-sharing and the distribution of natural resources are seen by north and south alike as a zero-sum game in

which neither gives any quarter. The international community is facilitating dialogue between the two regions and supports implementation of the CPA with a view to fostering unity and, especially in the south, building capacity. The Netherlands' role in the Assessment and Evaluation Commission helped in the development of the Abyei road map. Together with Norway, it is now financing the roll-out of key aspects of the road map, such as the division of oil resources and border demarcation. It is also funding rule-of-law programmes and preparations for the 2009 elections. However, dialogue with the Sudanese government is complicated by the fact that countries like China, Malaysia and India are investing in the Sudanese oil industry.

- In terms of creating a peace dividend, the government of southern Sudan in particular is anxious to tackle poverty reduction. The readiness exists to enter into political dialogue on development. A unique joint discussion partner for southern Sudan has been created through the Joint Donor Office. The Netherlands' contribution targets various reconstruction funds. Innovative contributions include support for the establishment of the Common Humanitarian Fund (CHF) and the Sudan Recovery Fund, which aims to bridge the gap between humanitarian aid and reconstruction. NGOs are given access to reconstruction funds through the Basic Services Fund. Together with the rapid deployment of an arbitration expert in Abyei, these are good examples of the new approach to reconstruction in Sudan.

4 The Netherlands' work with the international community

The problems of fragile states cannot be alleviated without international cooperation and leadership. International organisations have the ability to call for action on behalf of these states and to facilitate action by spreading risks. They also provide a forum for political mobilisation. They can encourage the exchange of best practices and provide the leadership needed to link initiatives in the political, security, humanitarian and development spheres. Nevertheless, a great deal must still be done to improve international cooperation, otherwise the reforms launched at the 2005 UN Summit could lose momentum.

- **Leadership:** Leadership by the international community is often inadequate in fragile situations. Political and financial considerations, rather than actual need, tend to dictate the

choices made. International organisations still do not collaborate enough, despite moves in the right direction since the 2001 Brahimi Report, the 2005 UN Summit and the 2006 UN Panel on System-wide Coherence. A recent report by New York University attributes this to problems of leadership, capacity and financing. International efforts demand close monitoring of local and regional situations combined with swift action. Sufficient capacity and expertise must be made available for intervention in fragile countries. International leadership is also crucial because it is so often lacking at national level.

- **Public safety and security:** International organisations must boost security in fragile states by giving people confidence in the armed forces, police and the rule of law. This should start with an integrated approach based on close coordination between security and development in crisis management operations. This means, for example, that rather than being defined solely in military terms, SSR should be an integral part of a fully functioning political system and should help to uphold the rule of law. This calls for close cooperation between UNDP, the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), and others. It also means building coalitions of countries that support the involvement of international organisations in SSR and DDR. Too often, obstacles to both processes are thrown up, based on a simplistic objection to interference in countries' internal affairs.
- **Legitimate government with sufficient capacity:** Strengthening the capacity and legitimacy of government may be the greatest challenge facing fragile states. Donors must constantly ask themselves how their interventions could affect the distribution of power in these countries. Ownership by the country itself must be encouraged as far as possible. However, civil capacity and an international strategy that provides for adequate leadership are often lacking. It is also important to ensure that the international community does not poach talented people from fragile states ('brain drain').
- **Peace dividend:** The gap between humanitarian aid and reconstruction must be closed through the creation of flexible funds at international organisations. Roles must be clearly allocated. The UN should take charge of coordination during the humanitarian phase, together with NGOs and the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement. It should continue to take the lead during the early recovery phase, but its role should be more thoroughly fleshed

out. The World Bank and regional development banks should head the long-term reconstruction phase, which means that the World Bank should become involved at an earlier stage. The early involvement of international financial institutions (IFIs) is a prerequisite for stabilisation, recovery and reconstruction in post-conflict countries. These countries' arrears with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and regional banks are one factor (in addition to lack of stability and security) standing in the way of normal financial relations, which in turn prevents the adoption of new reconstruction programmes. Such countries are also ineligible for access to the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative and other multilateral (MDRI) and bilateral debt cancellation (Paris Club) schemes. In order to guarantee both the financial capacity of the IFIs and a sustainable reconstruction process for post-conflict countries, the donor community will have to step in to fill this financial gap. The Netherlands welcomes the recent agreement between the UN, EU and the World Bank to improve mutual cooperation. The importance of genuine improvements in the socioeconomic circumstances of people in post-conflict states is still not adequately reflected in integrated UN peace missions. Donors like the Netherlands often have to provide additional funding to implement the humanitarian and development components of peace missions. Although the system will not be altered in the immediate future, steps must nevertheless be taken to promote more effective and flexible financing.

- **Responsible investment and small arms reduction:** Foreign trade and investments can be a major driver for the local economy in fragile states and can help to generate employment. However, industrial activities can also have adverse effects. The Netherlands wants to work with other international stakeholders to alleviate their impact. Clarity is needed about how earnings from the extraction of mineral resources such as oil, gas and diamonds are being used and how this is likely to affect local conflicts. The Netherlands believes the capacity of these countries should be strengthened so that they can negotiate satisfactory contracts and avoid sliding back into debt crises. The Netherlands is therefore supporting the debt management and legal capacity-building initiatives of multilateral institutions. The widespread circulation of small arms is also having a major influence on crime and armed conflicts. The Netherlands is therefore taking steps to foster agreements and establish control systems to reduce the adverse effects of the trade in raw materials and small arms.

- **New partners:** In recent years, countries like China and Malaysia have acquired a role in development financing without taking part in OECD/DAC policy-making processes. Contacts with these countries are therefore crucial. For example, it is important that these new partners abide by the IMF's Debt Sustainability Framework and only buy commodities based on fair and open contracts. Involving these countries in international cooperation is vital for strengthening the international architecture for peace, security and development. The Accra Conference was a step in the right direction, but more are needed.

The Netherlands will tackle these problems with other stakeholders and ensure that a new and innovative approach to fragile states is also embraced at the international level. This section summarises the Netherlands' contribution to each organisation based on the principles outlined in chapter 2 and the considerations outlined above.

4.1 The United Nations

The UN should function as global leader and coordinator in the field of security and development. However, it has not so far managed to live up to this role. It is under-equipped in terms of finance, staff for its field offices and cooperation between its organisations. The Netherlands' diplomatic and financial contribution to the various UN organisations concentrates on the following areas:

- The Netherlands attaches great importance to continuing the integrated UN peacekeeping missions, and will raise this issue during the UN reform process. These concerns relate not only the role of the Security Council but also to coordination between the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), OCHA, DPKO, Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) and UNDP. The Netherlands is encouraging the UN as a whole to work together more closely, for example in the form of 'One UN' pilots and joint missions. It feels that a bigger role will also encourage the UN to render better account for its results.
- Ongoing funding for the early phase of reconstruction must be guaranteed to close the gap between humanitarian aid and reconstruction. OCHA has a clear leading role to play during the humanitarian phase. The World Bank and regional banks are the obvious choices to take charge once a stable development process has been reached. The Netherlands feels that the UNDP is the best agency to head the interim phase, as recommended by the report

'Delivering as One', provided it can generate sufficient capacity and leadership. The Netherlands is supporting a programme of intensive and practical pilot projects to bring about an effective early recovery phase in priority countries. Good examples include the successful pilot project for early reconstruction in the eastern DRC and the Sudan Recovery Fund, which will deliver a peace dividend to the population. The UN urgently needs to build on its successes with the Common Humanitarian Fund in these countries. The Netherlands will continue to press for this, in partnership with the United Kingdom and like-minded countries. Other initiatives the Netherlands will support to close the gap between aid and reconstruction include moves to strengthen the Bureau for Crisis Prevention and Recovery (UNDP/BCPR) and the UNICEF education programme for conflict and post-conflict states. Effective coordination between the UN, World Bank and other stakeholders is essential.

- The Netherlands is supporting the development of preventive measures by focusing more attention on the exclusion of population groups and helping to elaborate the principles of responsibility to protect, early warning and early action. It is backing a strong international regime for controlling the small arms trade. It is also calling for the creation of sufficient capacity for an international presence in potential crisis areas and international capacity for mediation. The DPA will be strengthened to provide more support for prevention and mediation. The Netherlands is also backing moves to establish an international pool of mediators for the purpose of prevention.
- To strengthen capacity in the countries themselves, more attention must be given to the 'state of the state' in regular joint needs assessments. This should be based on an appraisal of the most pressing capacity needs in order to coordinate the national and international resources available.
- The Netherlands is working towards effective cooperation at country level with the offices of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and other human rights mechanisms such as the UN Human Rights Council's Special Rapporteurs.
- Strengthening the PBC's role is necessary to enable the international community to mobilise more quickly during the early post-conflict phase. At the moment, the PBC is responding rather too slowly. The Netherlands will continue to provide substantial contributions to the Peacebuilding Fund and encourage member states to press the PBC to address neglected situations as a matter of urgency.

- Better coordination between the UN and the World Bank on the conditions governing rapid funding and multi-donor trust funds (MDTFs) is needed to ensure the effective financing of short- and long-term reconstruction. The Netherlands will continue to press the World Bank and the UN to adopt mutually acceptable management models.

4.2 The World Bank and other international financial institutions

The World Bank plays a leading role in creating a peace dividend, promoting economic reconstruction and generating a favourable investment climate. The World Bank is in a good position to improve the management of the risks of international intervention. The IMF plays a leading role in restoring macroeconomic and financial stability. Post-conflict countries are often characterised by macroeconomic imbalances such as large budget deficits, high inflation and limited foreign currency reserves. Their existing institutions are often weak. Many of these countries have yet to take part in the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC) for debt cancellation, for which an IMF programme is required.

- The World Bank must respond more quickly and operate more flexibly in fragile states, notably by adapting the procedures it uses to roll out activities in these countries.
- The World Bank must send more specialists to fragile states. Even in countries where there is as yet no major loan programme, the Bank still has a role to play as an adviser and frequently also as financial manager of the international aid effort.
- The World Bank and IMF must take urgent steps to strengthen macroeconomic stability in fragile states. For example, strengthening ministries of finance and planning is vital for a responsible and sustainable financial policy and for tackling corruption. The Netherlands will therefore urge the World Bank to intervene more quickly and flexibly in such situations.
- The World Bank must adopt a more carefully considered approach to potential tensions between population groups. It must acquire a better understanding of the political consequences of its activities and of the risks of exclusion, which can deny the benefits of development to entire communities. The World Bank must make a greater effort to include political factors in its analyses and reports. The Netherlands stressed the importance of this to both the World Bank and the UN at the Conference on the World Bank in Amsterdam in July 2008, in conjunction with like-minded countries.

- In order to re-establish donor relationships with post-conflict countries, it is important to assess the likely costs of stabilisation, recovery and reconstruction as soon as possible. The IMF coordinates a number of crucial multilateral analyses which are needed for this appraisal.

4.3 The European Union

The Netherlands sees the EU as a key forum for formulating a joint policy on fragile situations in developing countries. In November 2007, the EU strengthened its own policy framework through the Council Conclusions on Security and Development. It pursues an integrated policy on security and development which is enshrined in, among other things, the European Consensus on Development and the European Security Strategy. An important factor is that the EU has a broad range of instruments at its disposal for conflict prevention, stability promotion and reconstruction aid, which have already been applied in several developing countries. Since 2003 some 20 civil and military crisis management teams have been sent to three continents in the context of EU Security and Defence Policy. Other instruments include rapid reaction Civilian Response Teams and battle groups. Special Representatives can strengthen the political dimension of EU efforts. The Instrument for Stability (€2 million for 2007-2013) can be used to provide immediate support for EU crisis management activities, while the African Peace Facility (€300 million for 2008-2011) funds support for military and civil operations and African Union peacebuilding and peacekeeping projects. As the world's biggest donor, the EU is also a global player with access to a wide spectrum of instruments for promoting stability, security and development, ranging from 'soft power' to 'hard power'. The Netherlands feels it is important for the EU to continue to work closely with other stakeholders in this area, primarily the UN, but also NATO and other regional organisations such as the African Union.

- An EU with a united purpose can play a major political role on the world stage and is thus of great value to both the Netherlands and the UN. The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy allows it to bring its political and economic weight to bear and reinforces the political dialogue with partner countries.
- The EU has access to substantial financial resources, expertise and practical instruments such as the African Peace Facility and the Instrument for Stability.

- The European Security and Defence Policy also has considerable added value. Useful experience has been gained through police, rule-of-law and military missions to fragile states.
- Coherence between EU policies, development cooperation, military missions and humanitarian aid must be improved, as must coordination between the work of the EU as a whole and that of individual member states. Successful intervention in fragile states requires seamless coordination, speed, flexibility and an integrated policy.
- The Netherlands will, in the context of the EU Code of Conduct on Complementarity and the Division of Labour in Development Policy, contribute to the implementation of pilot projects in the field to improve coordination between the European Commission, the Council Secretariat and the member states. Burundi is an example of such a pilot project.
- Cooperation with the African Union (AU) has been developed further following the recent appointment of an ambassador to the AU who represents all three EU pillars.

4.4 Regional organisations

The AU is a relevant stakeholder in the sphere of security and development, where it can play an important role. Where necessary, the AU's Political and Security Council can intervene militarily in armed conflicts without the need for consensus. However, its capacity must be strengthened if it is to become a more effective peacekeeper in Africa. Other regional organisations such as NATO, the OAS and regional development banks can play a complementary role, based on UN mandates. An adequate international law mandate naturally remains crucial for any interventions by Dutch troops.

- While donors are extremely willing to invest in strengthening the capacity of the AU, the organisation itself has so far provided few openings. Against this background, the Netherlands will continue to work with international organisations and other countries to strengthen AU capacity in the field of peace and security.

4.5 OECD/DAC

The OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) plays an important role in drawing up guidelines for security, development and fragility reduction. In May 2007 it adopted the Principles for Good International Engagement in Fragile States and Situations. The Netherlands endorses these principles and feels that the OECD should take the lead in developing relevant guidelines and best practices for practical cooperation in the field.

- The Netherlands will foster dialogue between the OECD and countries in the 'security and development' category.
- The Netherlands is working on an effective follow-up to the High-Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness which was held in Accra, Ghana on 2-4 September 2008, by concluding practical agreements on donor intervention in fragile states.

4.6 Responsible investment and small arms reduction

Agreements are needed to alleviate the undesirable effects of exploitation of and trade in raw materials and weapons. Major initiatives for fighting corruption, human rights abuses and the sale of raw materials to finance conflicts are the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI), the Kimberley Process, the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights, Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT) and the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC). The following activities will be undertaken:

- The Netherlands will, in relevant contacts, ask countries with earnings from raw materials to accede to international agreements and to actively encourage companies to improve transparency.
- Where possible, the Netherlands will provide civil society organisations in the relevant countries with financial and diplomatic support to help them monitor their governments.
- The Netherlands will continue to give financial and policy support to the EITI and NGOs that are active in this area and will take steps to ensure that, it, too, eventually satisfies the EITI criteria.
- A team of UN experts is looking at opportunities to draft an international agreement setting out criteria for the trade in arms. An effective UN Arms Trade Treaty would ensure that legal arms supplies do not contribute to armed conflict. The Netherlands will press for the adoption of this agreement, in emulation of the EU Code of Conduct on Arms Exports.

- The Netherlands provides support to developing countries which lack the capacity to implement the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons, to help fight the illegal arms trade.

References

Paddy Ashdown, *Swords and Ploughshares: Building Peace in the 21st Century* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2008)

Paul Collier, *The Bottom Billion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)

'Delivering as One', Report of the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on UN System-Wide Coherence, 2006, UN document A/61/583

William Easterly, *The White Man's Burden* (Harmondsworth: Penguin 2006)

Ashraf Ghani and Clare Lockhart, *Fixing Failed States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

OECD/DAC, 'Principles for good international engagement in fragile states and situations', 2007

Robert Zoellick, 'Fragile states: securing development', Speech at the International Institute for Strategic Studies, World Bank, 2008