

U.S. Agency for International Development

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

“Foreign Aid in the National Interest:
Promoting Freedom, Security, and
Opportunity”

Meeting Report

Public Meeting - February 11, 2003

U.S. Agency for International Development

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February 11, 2003

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ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON VOLUNTARY FOREIGN AID

Public Meeting

February 11, 2003

“Public Diplomacy and Foreign Aid in the National Interest”

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The February 11, 2003, public meeting of the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid was convened at 9:05 a.m. by Mr. William Reese, Committee Chair, at the National Press Club, 13th Floor, 529 14th Street, NW, Washington, DC. The meeting agenda and list of participants are attached.

OPENING REMARKS: WILLIAM REESE, *ACVFA CHAIR*

Opening the meeting, Mr. Reese referenced President Bush's recent State of the Union Address in which the President made a commitment to increase funding to fight HIV/AIDS. Mr. Reese further articulated the President's endorsement of the Millennium Challenge Account. He also cited conflict management and conflict prevention as a USAID pillar of particular significance in light of current events in the Middle East.

Mr. Reese suggested that the upcoming presentation by Secretary Beers be incorporated into later discussions about the *Foreign Aid in the National Interest* report.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: CHARLOTTE BEERS, *UNDER SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE*

***“Public Diplomacy and Development Assistance:
Key Partners in America’s Foreign Policy”***

Under Secretary Beers polled the participants, asking them if they believe Americans are a generous people. Through a show of hands, people indicated they did in fact believe Americans are charitable. She then asked if people in the countries in which participants work perceive that to be true. There were many fewer positive responses from the audience. Ms. Beers affirmed that, in fact, many recipient countries are uninformed about American aid. She cited a lack of awareness, as well as an increase in anti-American sentiment, as major factors inhibiting opportunities for dialogue.

The charter of the State Department's Public Diplomacy Bureau is to inform, engage, and influence. Under Secretary Beers described the bureau's three priorities:

- 1) To inform people all over the world swiftly, clearly and accurately - that is the top priority.
- 2) To engage government officials, leaders, and communities in dialogue.
- 3) To influence governments and citizens, particularly the young, by defining the message of the United States not in terms of statements, but rather in terms of what people will actually hear.

The universal values of people all over the world can be identified as family, faith, and the chance for children to thrive, according to Ms. Beers, who also emphasized that these are shared values. She asserted that a perception held by Muslim-majority countries, however, is the belief that Islam is regarded with suspicion and hostility in the U.S., that there are no common values, and that Islam cannot flourish in America.

To counter these beliefs, the Bureau for Public Diplomacy put together five mini-documentary videos to show Muslims around the world what Muslim life in the U.S. is actually

like. The meeting participants were shown a video segment, which incorporated statements from ordinary people of Muslim faith living and working in various professions and occupations in America.

The mini-documentaries were circulated to Muslim countries around the world. When researchers polled viewers in Indonesia five weeks later in order to measure the videos' effectiveness, they determined there was an amazingly high 67 percent recall factor and a deeper message recall than is usually found with other types of communication.

Ms. Beers introduced a second video in which reactions to the mini-documentaries were discussed by the viewers. Viewers expressed surprise at the quality of life and the freedom of the Muslim community in America, as reflected by the documentaries. Most indicated a positive perception of American society.

Ms. Beers stressed the need to continue this type of dialogue beyond the scope of the documentary project, and cited recent examples as a means of illustrating the point: In Egypt, USAID made a video in collaboration with a local television station and the local government to promote understanding of USAID's assistance work in that country. In Afghanistan, a video documentary was made of the reconstruction efforts of the United States and other countries. A third video presentation chronicled several USAID projects in Egypt, specifically the restoration of school buildings, the education of young girls, as well as a teacher training and exchange program. Another video segment demonstrated international participation in efforts to rebuild the infrastructure in Afghanistan, including a highway project co-sponsored by the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Japan. These communications aired in 25 countries and eight languages through direct feed from Embassy Networks.

Ms. Beers reiterated the goal of making others aware of the concerns that American citizenry, not just the American government, has for the world. She cited, as a need for further outreach and communication, a mosque sermon that attributed the crash of the space shuttle, Columbia, to a divine act of retribution. Ms. Beers emphasized that the community involved in international humanitarian and development assistance can be an enormous asset in achieving greater awareness and understanding of American good works by telling stories that show real people leading better lives. There is no moment more critical to spread this message than this time of unprecedented anti-American sentiment. Despite this sentiment and all of the policy issues, "the United States is still an indispensable force for good," Ms. Beers said.

To demonstrate America's commitment to foreign assistance, Ms. Beers outlined the following new initiatives:

- 1) An additional \$5 billion, by 2006, for the new Millennium Challenge Account.
- 2) A new \$200 million-plus for a Famine Fund for special humanitarian crises.
- 3) An allocation of \$1.2 billion, in 2004, for the alleviation of world hunger.
- 4) An allocation of \$100 million in emergency funds for humanitarian aid to the poorest of the poor countries suffering from complex crises.
- 5) An allocation of \$15 billion for a new plan for HIV/AIDS relief.

As a means of increasing awareness about America's efforts to improve lives around the world, Ms. Beers urged members and participants to spread the word and engage the media. She declared that, as Americans, we must establish global foundations of trust. She affirmed President Bush's statement that the United States is defined by its belief that we should aid the hungry, sick, and impoverished.

The full summary of Ms. Beers' remarks with links to the slide presentation is attached.

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

When asked by a participant if there were any difference in ability to recall the videos' messages that could be attributed to gender, Ms. Beers said no significant differences were found in male/female recall of the documentaries.

In response to a question on whether viewers thought the videos were credible, Ms. Beers affirmed that real people were interviewed and no scripts were used.

A participant commented about the low percentage of GNP that the United States devotes to official development assistance compared with other donor countries, and asked if that affects the perception of the generosity of the American people. Ms. Beers suggested that the sheer amount of money given is what the United States should be held accountable for, but it is far more important to move beyond numbers and focus on the quality of the work and the individuals benefited.

In responding to a question about possible civil rights violations in the course of trying to avert further terrorist attacks, Ms. Beers said that our first responsibility is to protect our country and no apologies should be made for that. Part of what must be done is to raise the profile of what is positive while recognizing that there is a tension between our openness and generosity and the post-9/11 climate.

Two participants emphasized the need for the public diplomacy stories to be told in the United States. Ms. Beers stated that this does not fall within her bureau's charter, but the NGO community, the immigrant communities, and the private sector can be helpful in telling the story.

PANEL PRESENTATIONS: "FOREIGN AID IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST: PROMOTING FREEDOM, SECURITY, AND OPPORTUNITY"

OVERVIEW: ANDREW NATSIOS, ADMINISTRATOR, U.S. AGENCY for INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Administrator Natsios briefly summarized the history of the *Foreign Aid in the National Interest* report, also known as the Woods II report after a similar document commissioned by former USAID Administrator Alan Woods. That report laid out a blueprint for development in the decade of the 90s. Former USAID Counselor Janet Ballantyne suggested that USAID update the report in response to the enormous changes in the U.S. strategic environment over the past 10-15 years. Mr. Natsios pointed out that while *Foreign Aid in the National Interest* is not a formal

policy document, it reflects the U.S. national security strategy laid out by President Bush, and is an official USAID document that is being taken seriously. The report has generated some controversy, which is a good thing, Mr. Natsios said, because that indicates it is a work of substance. He told participants that USAID would hold a series of events to obtain the development community's reaction and to stimulate further public discussion and debate about the report.

The Administrator announced to participants that President Bush requested \$1.3 billion for the initial launch of the Millennium Challenge Account, a fund that would add \$5 billion to America's foreign assistance budget by 2006, the largest single increase in 40 years. Mr. Natsios went on to describe other foreign aid initiatives: a proposal to scale up funding to \$3 billion for HIV/AIDS programs; a new \$100 million fund for USAID to address complex emergencies; and another \$200 million account to improve food security in countries with hunger-afflicted populations.

Turning to the discussion of *Foreign Aid in the National Interest*, Mr. Natsios said that he would focus on Chapter 6, which addresses development funding from non-government sources. In contrast to the foreign aid policy of donor countries that believe money should be given directly to developing country governments, the United States espouses a different, broader model, which supports civil society as well as governments. The Administrator noted that funding for civil society is a way of enhancing and building institutions broadly, and cited Kenya as an example of civil society holding the country together despite government corruption. He emphasized that there are different models for distributing foreign aid and democratically elected developing country governments should have the right to choose among them.

The Administrator pointed out that while some European countries promote the idea of funding humanitarian projects by giving the money directly to governments, Chapter 6 of *Foreign Aid in the National Interest* reflects a more decentralized, less statist and state-driven American model of how to distribute assistance.

The value of non-government resources that flow to developing countries is enormous, Mr. Natsios said. A generation ago, Official Development Assistance accounted for 70 percent of all resource flows from the United States to the developing world. Over the last 30 years, this has changed so that now some 80 percent of the resource flows are from private sources: private investments, foundations, NGOs, universities and colleges, faith-based organizations, and private individuals. Personal remittances sent from the United States alone account for an estimated \$18 billion. These remittances are often constructively spent in recipient countries as investments in their social sectors by building schools and roads, and not just buying material goods, Mr. Natsios reported.

Secretary of State Colin Powell was one of the first people to recognize the transformative nature of these flows. In response, he announced the Global Development Alliance (GDA), established by USAID in May of 2001. Since then, USAID has formed 85 alliances and contributed \$185 million to them. The Administrator cited examples of public-private partnerships involving Chevron Texaco, the Gates Foundation, and others, all of which contribute to development assistance. In another example, he talked about several credit unions that have

offered low-cost money transfers to Mexico in order to enable more of the remittances to actually reach the villages.

To demonstrate the priority he places on this new way of doing business in partnerships, Administrator Natsios included the GDA as one of USAID's four defining pillars: 1) Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, that addresses failed and failing states; 2) Global Health; 3) Economic Growth, Agriculture, and Trade; and 4) the Global Development Alliance.

Administrator Natsios concluded his remarks with the assertion that monetary foreign assistance contributions from private organizations should be included in the total when assessing the amount of assistance funds provided by the United States to developing countries. Quoting Carol Adelman in Chapter 6, he said, "The size and impact of private international giving creates new opportunities for development agencies. By learning more about this vast private army for assistance, USAID can enhance its effectiveness and define its comparative advantage and role in the 21st Century."

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

An ACVFA member commented that the report seems to imply that USAID has broadened its definition of "governance" programs to include a focus on civil society. He inquired whether this represents a policy change. Administrator Natsios stated that the report does not provide policy guidance to USAID field missions; however, USAID is working on its governance policy and is using the research in the report to inform programs. Mr. Natsios opined that the larger, broader definition would be the one that is finally agreed upon.

In response to a question about the relationship between the report and plans for the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), especially with regard to host country ownership of the programs and the role of civil society, Mr. Natsios replied that some MCA programs are likely to include NGOs; some are not. As an example, he said that the more democratic developing countries are more willing to ask for help from NGOs and use local revenues in doing so. In any case, it is important for NGOs to be part of the process and to work with countries' ministries and authorities on development plans for the MCA.

A participant questioned the report's lack of focus on the environment and on water, which are two important factors in health and economic growth. Mr. Natsios replied that these are mentioned in the microeconomic discussion and in the chapter on conflict, but he emphasized that the report purposely did not address each sector separately because a more integrated approach was desired.

Another participant stressed the importance of including the local government level in the discussion of governance, particularly with regard to the capacity of local governments to work with civil society and the private sector. Mr. Natsios agreed and indicated that this concept is woven through the report. It is an area in which USAID is doing a lot of work and expects to do more, since it is at the local level that partnership relationships often flourish and ideas are introduced more effectively.

In response to a question about USAID's role in the MCA and the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) that will be set up to run it, Administrator Natsios explained that the MCC would be limited to 100 or 125 employees. He suggested it would be virtually impossible to carry out the work required to program the MCA effectively without relying on other agencies and on USAID staff in the field, since in-depth local knowledge and discussions will be essential to making funding commitments.

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS: CAROL ADELMAN, SENIOR FELLOW, THE HUDSON INSTITUTE

"The Full Measure of Foreign Aid"

Ms. Adelman began by asserting that the importance of helping develop democracies and increasing economic growth in developing countries, particularly in the Middle East, could not be more important than now. She alluded to the changes in the international context that have taken place in the past 12 years, specifically the increase in open markets and open societies that has resulted in an increase in the delivery of goods and services through the private sector. The creation of more jobs in the private sector has led to new wealth and power outside of governments, which in turn, has led to less repressive government systems.

Another change is the enormous growth in private giving and local charities abroad, which is known to be significant, although there is very little hard data on this. Finally, she noted, our expanded communication technologies, such as the Internet, have created a worldwide demand for better services and better quality, as well as improved safety in products and services.

As these changes have been occurring, the trend lines of official development assistance versus private investment have been altering as well. Ms. Hudson showed charts demonstrating that total private development flows now represent almost 80 percent of total development aid, while official development aid is only about 20 percent. This type of private aid is the kind of investment that brings about lasting and sustainable development through the creation of jobs, income, investment, and choice, she averred.

In Chapter 6 of *Foreign Aid in the National Interest*, Ms. Adelman has quantified the amount of international giving by various categories of private institutions. Originally estimated at \$12 billion in the first Woods report in 1989, private international giving now stands at \$33.6 billion, very conservatively estimated. Of this, foundations contribute \$3 billion, corporations \$2.8 billion, and colleges and universities \$1.3 billion. The data, particularly for the amount of contributions by religious organizations, is not easy to obtain, but is based on actual references.

Ms. Adelman explained that the privatization of foreign aid has resulted in greater quantity and diversity of players and projects that are meeting a market test. USAID is a much smaller part of total funding, and thus has a new and different role to play. Ms. Adelman submitted that USAID's role should include leveraging the private assistance, helping to increase local philanthropy, and helping governments create a favorable environment and tax structure for private and corporate charity. She concluded by briefly describing the elements of public-private partnerships. In closing, Ms. Adelman emphasized that private international giving, coupled with official U.S. assistance, represents the true measure of the generosity of the American people.

A copy of Ms. Adelman's slide presentation is included as an attachment.

***CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS: SHARON MORRIS, SENIOR ADVISOR, OFFICE of
CONFLICT MANAGEMENT and MITIGATION, BUREAU for DEMOCRACY, CONFLICT,
and HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, USAID***

"Conflict Management"

Ms. Morris began her remarks by noting that two-thirds of the countries USAID works in are affected by widespread, deadly violence, either directly or indirectly. To address this, USAID and its partners need to understand the underlying causes of conflict and then move from analysis to concrete development assistance programs that address the causes, as well as the consequences, of violence. Chapter 4 of *Foreign Aid in the National Interest* attempts to lay out the best current thinking on what is known about the causes of civil conflict and widespread deadly violence.

Ms. Morris stated that research shows that large pools of unemployed or underemployed, educated young people are linked to political instability and violence, though they are not necessarily the cause. Engaging these young people politically, socially, and economically would empower them as a constructive force, rather than as a destabilizing force, as they are used in so many conflict-affected countries. For example, a recent USAID program in Sierra Leone recognized that young people were alienated in the lead-up to elections, and trained many at-risk young people to be election monitors. Instead of feeling shut out of the political process, they felt they had a stake in the elections.

There are other programs that attempt to provide hope for a better economic future to unemployed and underemployed educated young men. The private sector can reach out to young people to engage them in a more direct way in building their economic future in order to reduce the chance that they will be susceptible to recruitment for violence. Other programs concentrate on trying to bring educational training in line with available job opportunities. Microfinance programs also can be brought to bear on the problem of youth unemployment, although these programs currently are geared toward women, and it is very difficult to shift the focus. In large part this is because the success of these programs is defined in terms of repayment rates, and women are obviously better risks than young unemployed urban men. If we wish to engage the young men, we will need to rethink how we define success and risk in these programs.

Ms. Morris suggested that environmental problems and population pressures also are contributing factors to conflict. She emphasized that all development programs, regardless of sector, can bring something to bear on conflict, even though they haven't traditionally been thought of as relevant to conflicts. She concluded with the hope that this discussion would continue in order to understand as much as possible about how to promote the goal of helping nations build a more peaceful and sustainable future.

CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS: WILLIAM GARVELINK, SENIOR DEPUTY ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU for DEMOCRACY, CONFLICT, and HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE, USAID

"Humanitarian Assistance"

Mr. Garvelink described the three objectives of the chapter on humanitarian assistance. It attempts to:

- trace the evolution of humanitarian aid through the 1990s;
- discuss the kinds of humanitarian activities that will be seen in the future; and
- suggest a few possible courses of action the U.S. government could take.

To illustrate the context, he described the conflicts of the 1990s that resulted in 25 million internally displaced persons throughout the world, primarily in Africa, and 14.5 million refugees. During that decade funding for humanitarian assistance tripled while developmental assistance funds declined. NGOs and their funding increased dramatically. Organizations such as the U.N., UNDP, World Food Program, and UNICEF had to adjust and increase their focus on displaced persons and conflict management, and the military and private sector became more involved in humanitarian assistance.

Mr. Garvelink emphasized the importance of striking a balance between political, military, and humanitarian strategies. He pointed out that urban migration and resulting slums, the spread of infectious disease, and the threat of nuclear, chemical, and biological terrorism, as well as population pressures and environmental consequences, would lead to a continuing need for humanitarian aid. As a result of these new realities, the humanitarian aid community has begun to take stock and to clarify roles and responsibilities, as well as revisiting the linkages between disaster and development.

In concluding his remarks, Mr. Garvelink said that the report contains some suggestions about a humanitarian assistance strategy for USAID. The new Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance Bureau is now focused on failed and failing states and not just on humanitarian assistance. The assumption is that complex emergencies, human rights violations, and internally displaced persons are all symptoms of state failure. The bureau's job is to provide assistance and also to work on the root causes of the failure.

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

A participant offered the opinion that conflicts are not just internal problems, but that cross-border factors may shape those problems and/or their solutions. Mr. Garvelink agreed that this was true and applies to internally displaced persons as well.

An ACVFA member noted that non-governmental resource flows generally are not concentrated in failed and failing states and asked for clarification of the role of Official Development Assistance (ODA) in the 40-50 developing countries with the most challenging environments and the least resource flows. Ms. Adelman noted that the resource flows are spread over many countries, but less so in Africa. It is expected that ODA will be directed toward the

least developed countries, particularly those most affected by HIV/AIDS. The private sector also wants to work in these areas if the environment allows it.

A participant inquired about coordination of conflict management work among USAID, the Department of State, and the U.S. Institute of Peace. Ms. Morris replied that work on conflict is a total U.S. government effort. USAID collaborates closely with other agencies, think tanks, and other organizations, but the important question is what can development assistance bring to the table. Identifying this is a key factor in solving the larger puzzle of conflict.

**PANEL DISCUSSION: "THE MILLENNIUM CHALLENGE ACCOUNT:
LEGISLATIVE AND POLICY UPDATE**

MODERATOR: ROBERT CHASE, ACVFA MEMBER

Mr. Chase opened the session with a summary of events related to the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), since it was announced in March 2002 and discussed at ACVFA's May 2002 public meeting. He noted that another important milestone occurred last week with the submission of proposed MCA legislation to the Congress. The legislation would create a basic framework for the MCA that needs to be filled in with many details. Mr. Chase expressed the hope that ACVFA and the broader development community would have the opportunity, as the process moves forward, to help mold this new and vitally important tool in the development arsenal. He then introduced Alan Larson, Edward Fox, and Patrick Cronin.

***SPEAKER: ALAN LARSON, UNDER SECRETARY for ECONOMIC, BUSINESS, and
AGRICULTURAL AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT of STATE***

Mr. Larson reported that the legislation presented to Congress by President Bush would authorize the Millennium Challenge Account and create the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), a new organization that will administer it. The vision of the MCA affirms the ability of the poorest people in the poorest countries to improve their lives. It emphasizes mutually responsible and accountable partnerships, and reaffirms the lessons of the past that show that broadly shared economic growth, coupled with participatory and just governance, both on the political and economic side, is essential for lasting progress. Mr. Larson quoted the key goal of the MCC: "To reduce poverty through promoting sustained economic growth in developing countries committed to implementing good policies." He stressed that the MCA authorization bill contains a clear commitment to poverty alleviation, a goal that has been advocated by the development community. The draft legislation was based on numerous consultations with the NGO community, and a serious effort made to take the NGOs' views into account.

Mr. Larson explained that the MCA would grant funds to eligible countries committed to achieving benchmarks on a time-limited, businesslike contract basis. The MCC will administer the contracts by drawing on the best and brightest staff from the public and private sector, business and non-profits alike. The Administration has requested \$1.3 billion in Fiscal Year 2004 funds to implement the first stage of the MCA. Enumerating the President's other development initiatives, Mr. Larson calculated that these represent a 20 percent increase in developmental assistance in 2004 over 2003.

In discussing MCA eligibility indicators, Mr. Larson explained there would be 16 indicators under three broad categories: ruling justly; investing in people; and encouraging economic freedom. In order to qualify, countries would have to do better than the median in at least half of the indicators in each category. Special attention would be paid to the corruption indicator. The sources of the indicators and the data for evaluating them are available to the public.

Under the MCA, countries would be expected to set their own priorities and areas for U.S. assistance in consultation with their citizens, their businesses, and their NGOs. Final decisions on assistance proposals would be made by the MCC board, chaired by the Secretary of State. Mr. Larson concluded by affirming the "continuing essential critical role" of USAID in the U.S. development strategy. Under the inspirational leadership of Andrew Natsios, he noted, USAID is revitalizing its programs and, as a result, will play a larger role in development strategy as a key partner of the MCC and as the implementing agency for many MCA programs. In conclusion, Mr. Larson called for the help, thoughtful advice, and support of NGOs on the new development assistance initiatives of the past year.

SPEAKER: EDWARD FOX, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR for LEGISLATIVE and PUBLIC AFFAIRS, USAID

Mr. Fox reported on next steps in moving forward on the MCA legislation. The President submitted a draft bill to Congress. At the same time, the House International Relations Committee (HIRC) has been working on similar legislation. There also exist legislative proposals from other organizations, all of which will be considered by the congressional oversight committees. While the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is interested in the legislation, given its busy schedule this year it is likely that the bill will initially be debated in the House of Representatives. Before actually getting to work on the legislation itself, the House International Relations Committee plans to hold oversight hearings. Mr. Fox encouraged participants to express their comments, criticisms, and ideas on the MCA to the HIRC staff. While difficult to predict, if the legislation moves forward as planned between now and September, the MCA might be able to start with Fiscal Year 2004 funds.

Mr. Fox acknowledged that the timing will present a challenge, but it is not the only challenge faced by the MCA planners. To gain widespread support for the MCA, there is a need to elucidate clearly how this approach differs from current programs, but at the same time, is complementary to our current foreign assistance program and does not substitute for it. The MCA, in fact, is an additive approach to increase our abilities to help countries achieve development success, Mr. Fox noted. He pointed out that in the long run it is in the best interest of the United States to support the MCA for security, political, and economic reasons. The debate on the MCA provides a venue that has not existed before for working toward a new national consensus on foreign assistance. In the past, foreign aid legislation was enacted on a piecemeal basis, resulting in an amalgamation of policy and procedural steps that have evolved over 50 years of thinking about foreign assistance. There has not been a new foreign aid authorization in the past 15 years. With the MCA, Congress and the Administration have the opportunity to shape the debate in different terms that are understandable to Americans and will draw bipartisan support.

There will always be a need for development assistance for countries that do not meet the MCA criteria, Mr. Fox noted, and the United States will continue to help them as it has in the past. Mr. Fox concluding by saying that he looked forward to working with the NGO community to ensure that the legislation structures the MCA in a way that enables it to achieve the President's goal of bringing poor countries into the community of prosperous, friendly nations.

SPEAKER: PATRICK CRONIN, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR for POLICY and PROGRAM COORDINATION, USAID

Mr. Cronin called the MCA a "critical landmark opportunity...to both increase the amount of resources going to development and at the same time improve dramatically the effectiveness of development assistance." He advanced the notion that MCA would revolutionize development assistance, building upon the experience of the past decades. Mr. Cronin enumerated some of the lessons that will be incorporated into the MCA:

- It is not just the quantity of aid, it is the quality of aid that counts.
- Good policies, institutions, and political commitment are critical.
- Country ownership of programs is essential.
- Partnerships must be based on businesslike principles for real accountability.
- The investment process must be transparent.

Mr. Cronin affirmed that USAID would play a strong partnership role and a strong supporting role in the MCA, including some implementation. The MCA will also cause USAID to shift its role and rethink its mission, he noted. Rather than a single developing world, there are different tiers within the developing world that would be addressed in different ways, he suggested. The first tier consists of MCA-recipient countries in which the United States can help promote sustainable development and attract the trade, investment, and private resource flows that will outstrip official development assistance. The bottom tier consists of countries with an urgent need for humanitarian assistance, or transition countries suffering from or emerging from conflict. The second tier consists of the vast number of countries in between the other tiers and includes two subcategories: (1) the "near-miss" countries that aspire to be MCA recipients, and (2) those countries that are unlikely to qualify for MCA assistance in the near term. USAID might, and should, increasingly focus on how to help this group of countries become more competitive for MCA funds. In the other group of countries, USAID could focus on key areas of basic education and health, economic growth, and governance, which are impediments to longer-term productivity.

Mr. Cronin suggested that USAID's predominant focus in the future would be to help countries qualify for MCA assistance and to help states in distress or in transition. Reflecting on the possible impact of MCA funds on the USAID program in a recipient country, he predicted that, first, a full review of all foreign assistance programs within the country would be carried out. It is possible that USAID programs might be phased out in part, or key regional efforts such as HIV/AIDS activities might be continued, or some elements of the existing program could be subsumed into an MCA program. Such issues will be analyzed carefully and worked out on a case-by-case basis. Mr. Cronin emphasized that decisions have not been predetermined, and the administration will seek the views of NGOs and others for advice on these and other important

implementation issues. He concluded by urging the participants to seize this golden opportunity to redefine development assistance by helping to make the MCA a reality.

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

An ACVFA member noted that programming the large amount of funds that MCA countries are expected to receive would be an enormous challenge. He asked Mr. Larson to discuss how the U.S. Ambassadors in MCA countries should advise the countries' leaders to design programs. Mr. Larson acknowledged that the MCA would potentially make available large amounts of resources to relatively few countries. Thus, he said, programs should be based on extensive analysis and participatory processes and should focus on a sound development priority that has the support of the people and can be scaled up for maximum impact and sustainability. He emphasized that it will be a challenge to measure impact and monitor activities in a way that is more rigorous than in the past, but is also sensible, and it is not clear yet how this will be done. USAID has extremely valuable experience to offer in this regard, Mr. Larson noted.

An ACVFA member questioned whether USAID assistance to "near-miss" countries would be targeted on helping them to qualify. Secondly, if such a country does meet the qualification requirements, would funds be available to support their entrance into the eligibility pool?

Mr. Larson responded that the administration is committed to assisting the "near-miss" countries, partly because of the American belief in a "second chance," but mainly because of the incentive the MCA provides for countries to improve in important areas so that they can develop. He noted that the system of indicators that the MCA is proposing to use would help countries identify their weak areas that could be improved with current forms of development assistance. Mr. Larson concluded by affirming that there will be ample opportunity to bring countries into the program that didn't qualify in the first or second year. The CEO and board would be expected to plan expenditures accordingly.

Mr. Cronin added that one of the new missions of USAID is to help those "near-miss" countries, particularly in the area of good governance and democracy and open, accountable government. By shifting some of its development assistance toward those objectives, USAID can help countries achieve success. With regard to the continued availability of funds for new MCA programs as more countries begin to qualify, Mr. Cronin predicted that resources would be available. Mr. Fox noted that countries will be in the MCA program because of their commitment to providing good governance and care for their people, and those are the ingredients for success. Congress may be skeptical at first, but once the program works and there are checks and balances to ensure the money is well spent, future funds will be available.

Mr. Chase asked Mr. Fox whether he thought there would be bipartisan support for the MCA, and whether a conscious effort would be made to keep the MCA structure lean and flexible. Mr. Fox indicated that there may be differences of perspective within Congress with respect to implementation issues, but that there is bipartisan understanding of what the MCA is trying to accomplish. He noted that there has been a deliberate effort to keep the MCA streamlined and flexible, so as not to end up with a predetermined approach or an amalgamation of objectives and procedures.

An ACVFA member inquired about the considerations that have been given to the procurement process. Mr. Larson replied that flexibility in that process is needed to respond to the development priorities of the best development performers and to get the work done efficiently. The proposed authorization legislation for the MCA provides broad authority to contract.

An ACVFA member asked Mr. Fox to comment on the possibility that the core development and humanitarian assistance accounts would be reduced given budgetary constraints, and that poor-performing countries would fall further behind, since they are considered bad investments. He pointed out that aid programs in areas such as girls' education, child survival, microenterprise, and smallpox eradication have been very successful even in countries with weak national governments. Mr. Fox replied that USAID would be gaining new responsibilities in helping countries prepare for the MCA, and it would be reasonable to argue that its budget should be increased, not decreased. He emphasized that the MCA has not been conceived of as the "right" way to do development to the exclusion of other programs. In the 95 percent of countries that will not be eligible for the MCA at first, there is great need, as well as a variety of U.S. interests - economic, commercial, political, social - that make assistance to these countries a must. Mr. Fox reiterated his hope that the MCA would create a broad new vision of foreign assistance, including traditional development aid that Congress and the American people would support. Mr. Larson noted as an example that HIV/AIDS programs are being carried out in many countries that would not qualify for MCA assistance.

Another ACVFA member reiterated the concern about protecting the traditional development accounts and emphasized that successful development requires a balance between macro- and microeconomic investments and long-term human and social development investments. He queried whether the MCA would be able to strike this balance and withstand pressure from special interest groups that would define the program in narrow terms. Mr. Larson replied that the MCA planners recognized this point in devising eligibility criteria that include investment in people, and in writing into the draft legislation education, health and agricultural development as types of programs that might be supported by the MCA. He added that the participatory process required by the MCA is also meant to ensure that social investments of benefit to the majority of the population do not get left out of a country's development plan. Mr. Cronin responded that the administration recognizes the multiple objectives of development assistance and realizes that the United States will support activities, whether investing in people or providing for sustainable development, in non-MCA recipient countries. There is also embedded in the MCA, he noted, the principle that proposals should come from the ground up to be responsive to the needs of the people.

A participant asked what kind of impact the principles of the MCA might be having on the thinking of other bilateral and multilateral donors. Mr. Cronin replied that reactions to the plan in terms of the U.S. commitment are positive but are mixed on the specifics of the program. Some donors appreciate the attempt to try to apply criteria for economic growth; others are not interested in considering any criteria but their own. Mr. Larson pointed out that the British government has expressed interest by sending two teams here to learn about the MCA. The MCA's emphasis on measurable results has helped to advance discussions with the World Bank about measuring success.

A participant questioned how much influence the U.S. ambassadors would have over the programming of MCA funds. Mr. Larson explained that decisions will be made by the Millennium Challenge Corporation's board of directors, chaired by the Secretary of State, who is committed to the criteria that have been developed. He noted that USAID mission directors and ambassadors can play a positive role in MCA implementation, without steering aid money into their favorite projects, because the MCA decision-making structure will not allow it.

A participant asked whether a specific strategy is being developed in parallel with the MCA to address the needs of the poor in countries that score low on MCA indicators and to ensure that funds remain available for these countries. Mr. Cronin responded that USAID would be ready with a variety of programs to assist countries that have the political will to put in place the open and accountable systems necessary for development. Mr. Larson stated that the U.S. would continue to be the world's largest provider of humanitarian assistance when needed regardless of a country's policies, as long as the government is not interfering.

A participant commented that the draft MCA legislation and background documents seem to imply that MCA funding will be short-term, up to three years, whereas development experience shows that long-term, sustainable development requires a much larger time investment. He also asked whether the extensive monitoring and reporting requirements might lead to unintended paperwork burdens, as has happened with implementation of the Government Performance and Results Act. In response to the first comment, Mr. Larson clarified that the program is designed to respond in a time-limited frame to specific initiatives that will result over the long term in a new level of sustainable development, not necessarily to graduate from the MCA overall. Responding to the concern about monitoring and reporting requirements, Mr. Cronin acknowledged that measurement and data collection have been large issues, but the MCA accountability requirements will be focused, streamlined, transparent, and public. The aim is to measure only what is really critical and not to encumber the program with requirements that are not necessary to ensure accountability to the taxpayers and public officials.

Mr. Chase concluded the session by thanking the panel members and expressing the hope that the administration would continue to engage in dialogue with the NGO community as the MCA evolves. He emphasized that the sense of being in partnership with the administration is vital to the NGO community's support of the MCA.

CONCURRENT DISCUSSION GROUPS

The plenary session was recessed at 3:05 p.m. in order to convene Discussion Group 1: Linking U.S. Foreign Aid with Private Foreign Aid; Discussion Group 2: Mitigating Conflict; and Discussion Group 3: Redefining Humanitarian Assistance.

Following the conclusion of the discussion group session, at 4:35 p.m., the plenary session was reconvened, during which a brief summary report was given by the moderator of each group. Full summaries of each group discussion are attached.

GROUP 1: "LINKING U.S. FOREIGN AID WITH PRIVATE FOREIGN AID"
RAPPORTEUR: SALLY MONTGOMERY BRUMBAUGH, ACVFA MEMBER

Ms. Brumbaugh reported that Carol Adelman led off the discussion with examples of partnership models and new partners. She also made several recommendations, most importantly, the need for USAID to involve the private sector in the strategic planning process from the beginning. This discussion group included presentations by Norm Braksick, Executive Director of the Foods Resource Bank, and James Smith, Executive Director of the American International Health Alliance, both of whom have been involved in successful partnerships that leverage private resources for development.

Ms. Brumbaugh summarized the group's recommendations:

- Create better rules of engagement to avoid disputes between partners.
- Jointly design programs with and expand outreach to the private sector.
- Improve synergy between humanitarian and development programs in the health sector.
- Work on USAID procurement and programmatic requirements.
- Find a way to document U.S. private foreign assistance accurately.

GROUP 2: "MITIGATING CONFLICT"
RAPPORTEUR: TED WEIHE, ACVFA MEMBER

Mr. Weihe reported that the group discussion focused on how to translate what is known about conflict management and reconciliation and integrate it into economic development work in crisis-affected countries. Two issues that were repeatedly acknowledged as sources of conflict included ethnicity and underemployed urban youth. Dialogue between conflicting groups was frequently mentioned as a key to mitigating conflict.

Among the new strategies needed are:

- More holistic coordination.
- Applied, as opposed to academic, research.
- Creative thinking about how to evaluate conflict programs.
- Ways to develop social capital and to provide opportunities for dialogue and political space for the parties to conflict.

GROUP 3: "REDEFINING HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE"
RAPPORTEUR: CHARLES MacCORMACK, ACVFA MEMBER

Mr. MacCormack reported that the group discussed the increase in humanitarian crises during the 1990s, and the tremendous learning that took place in the humanitarian assistance field during that time. The group inquired how this learning is being disseminated and shared. Mr. MacCormack noted that another concern of the group was that the Millennium Challenge Account could draw attention, funds, and legitimacy away from assistance to the more difficult countries. The group suggested that a better rationale is needed for when, where, and how the United States should involve itself in long-term reconstruction and development efforts.

Mr. MacCormack conveyed the sense of the group that the United States carries a large share of the burden of humanitarian response, from responding to food insecurity, to natural disasters, to political crises. The group concluded that a way must be found to elicit greater involvement on the part of other bilateral donors. The group also called for development of criteria for assisting failed and failing states that are not expected to receive assistance from the Millennium Challenge Account.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. Reese thanked the committee members and audience for their attendance and participation. The meeting was adjourned at 5:00 p.m.

“Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom,
Security, and Opportunity”

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

MEETING AGENDA

ANNEX 1

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

Public Meeting

Tuesday, February 11, 2003

8:30 a.m. – 5:00 p.m.

National Press Club

529 14th Street, N.W., 13th Floor

Washington, D.C.

AGENDA

"Public Diplomacy and Foreign Aid in the National Interest"

- 8:30** **Registration**
Ballroom
- 9:10** **Welcome: *William S. Reese*, ACVFA Chair**
Ballroom
- 9:15** **Keynote Address: "*Public Diplomacy and Development Assistance: Key Partners in America's Foreign Policy*"**
Ballroom
- The Honorable Charlotte Beers, Under Secretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs, U.S. Department of State*
Ballroom
- 9:45** **Questions and Answers**
- 10:15** **Break**
- 10:30** ***"Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom, Security, and Opportunity"***
Ballroom
- Overview: Andrew S. Natsios, Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development*

Highlights by Section Authors of Specific Themes in the Report:

"The Full Measure of Foreign Aid," Carol Adelman, Senior Fellow, The Hudson Institute

"Conflict Mitigation," Sharon Morris, Senior Advisor, Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, U.S. Agency for International Development

"Humanitarian Assistance," William Garvelink, Senior Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, U.S. Agency for International Development

11:30 Questions and Answers

12:00 Lunch (*participants on their own*)

1:15 *"The Millennium Challenge Account: Legislative and Policy Update,"*

Moderator: *Robert Chase, ACVFA MCA Subcommittee Chair*

Speakers: *Alan P. Larson, Under Secretary for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs, Department of State; Edward Fox, Assistant Administrator for Legislative and Public Affairs, USAID; Patrick Cronin, Assistant Administrator for Policy and Program Coordination, USAID; Peter Smith, Professional Staff Member, Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives (invited)*

2:15 Questions and Answers

2:45 Break

3:00 Concurrent Discussion Groups on Select Themes of the Report: (*corresponding to 10:30 a.m. plenary session*)

1. Linking U.S. Foreign Aid with Private Foreign Aid

Principal Speaker: *Carol Adelman, Senior Fellow, The Hudson Institute*

Guest Speakers: *Norm Braksick*, Executive Director, Foods Resource Bank

***James P. Smith*, Executive Director, American International Health Alliance**

Moderator/Rapporteur: *Sally Brumbaugh*, ACVFA Member

White and Murrow Rooms

2. Mitigating Conflict

Principal Speaker: *Sharon Morris*, Senior Advisor, Office of Conflict Mitigation and Management, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, USAID

Moderator/Rapporteur: *Ted Weihe*, ACVFA Member

The Holeman Lounge

3. Re-defining Humanitarian Assistance

The First Amendment Lounge

**Principal Speakers: *Tamra Halmrast-Sanchez*, Deputy Director, Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, USAID
Peter Morris, Chief, Technical Assistance Group, Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, USAID**

Moderator/Rapporteur: *Charles MacCormack*, ACVFA Member

4:30 Reports from Breakout Groups - *Ballroom*

5:00 Adjournment

“Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom,
Security, and Opportunity”

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

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ANNEX 2

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“Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom,
Security, and Opportunity”

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

REMARKS OF
CHARLOTTE BEERS

ANNEX 3

**Remarks to the
Advisory Committee for
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Charlotte Beers
Under Secretary for
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National Press Club
Washington, D.C.
February 11, 2003

I am delighted to be here, and I would like to start by asking you a question -- if you don't mind raising your hand like school time.

The first question is an easy question: do you think the American people are a generous people?

I see that most are "yeses" on that.

Now, do you think the countries in which you work know that? Whoops. Only one or two hands.

[Graphic: Awareness of programs sponsored by America is very low.]

The truth is -- and this is from a country into which we put \$2 billion of aid annually, and these are ordinary people -- they don't really know what we're doing.

So we have a problem, and although we have learned how much anti-Americanism is growing, we are still often left wordless and defensive in our dialogue.

Let me show you the mission of public diplomacy, because it will affect the conversation we're going to have:

- Inform (policies in context)
- Engage (programs, interaction, partners)
- Influence (understanding, constructive disagreement, active support)

Our job is to inform, engage, and when we're very good at our work, influence -- in a positive way -- the interests of the United States.

It is very clear to us that our first priority is to inform. We have get the word out. We have to get all these messages out swiftly, clearly, accurately, and in 30 languages.

When Secretary Powell spoke to the U.N., we had that message -- and the visuals -- on every embassy and mission Web site around the world. In addition, the public diplomacy bureau at the State Department puts all the foreign-policy communications from all the officials of the government on this same kind of communications platform.

So our daily work will always be grounded in the need to discuss, defend, and disseminate the foreign policy of the United States. That's job one.

And all over the world, every day, in countries and embassies and posts we are making a communication effort. Some of these conversations are very formal and ritualized and intimate, and others are involved in just getting the word out.

But engagement, the second element of the public diplomacy charter, is a lot harder. It's a lot like the work we do together. It's both our jobs, really.

I think yours is more up-front and personal and that's a great advantage -- because you and your people are the ones who have on-the-ground "consumer research." And I think the State Department and many departments in the government do not have the kind of research that any good marketer anywhere in the world would have access to.

So a thousand projects and moments of interaction add up to engagement. But when engagement moves up the ladder to influence, we have to learn a new set of skills.

And I'll tell you why we must be about this job. We have to reach broader and younger audiences. We have to get the conversation beyond the government and the leaders in the country. And I must say that our embassy teams do a spectacular job of making those conversations as frequent and as genuine as they can.

But the conversations that are taking place in far greater numbers are among everyday people, and especially among the young.

One of the disciplines in reaching people is always to look at the communication from their perspective. Now, this is very odd for the State Department, because we have to talk from our perspective. We have to clear those words, make sure they work, make sure they're not open to casual or careless misinterpretation. So there is a very, ritualistic formal way of communicating in that case.

But in order to talk to a broader group of people, you have to switch gears in terms of communication skills.

It's not what you say, it's what they hear.

Everybody who has done business anywhere in the world knows this is the ultimate discipline. The question for us is to come around the other end and say, "So what will they hear? What is the message?"

Now that's the catch. I'm asked all the time by reporters in newspaper and television interviews: "Why are you wasting your time on the "soft stuff" when you should be talking about the policy?"

Well, in fact, the "soft stuff" -- called religious tolerance, or religious intolerance -- is central to all those values and belief systems that inform and inspire the policies of the United States. It's not soft. It's a vital part of public diplomacy, and everyone who represents the U.S. government has to part of that effort.

[Chart: What Matters Most in Your Life]

http://www.state.gov/cms_images/rankorderofconcerns.jpg

We use this chart all the time in the State Department, which happens to be part of a very large study in the Middle East. Yet I can't imagine that the numbers would be very different anywhere else in the world. You can't imagine what a surprise this is to reporters deeply interested in foreign policy. They can't imagine these other factors weighing in so importantly.

It's an important change in mindset when talking to a broader audience. Of course, people care most about family, faith, and, above all, the chance for their children to thrive. We should be able to start right there and have a conversation with people around the world with whom we share such universal values.

But now, let me show you how we approached the question of preparing special messages for the Middle East and the Muslim world. And I know that you here represent many regions around the world, and that we always need to be concerned with many other issues and countries outside the Middle East. But the initiatives that we have developed had to start, necessarily, with the war on terrorism and the discussions in the Middle East and South Asia.

One of the things we start with is this: What is it that we have in common? And fortunately, we had these kind of data available, including these "ratings of value attributes." These happen to be Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, and the U.S.

[Rating of value attributes -- far apart]

http://www.state.gov/cms_images/farapart300a.jpg

[Rating of value attributes -- in common]

http://www.state.gov/cms_images/ncommon300.jpg

Not too surprisingly, we view a lot of things very differently. And words like "freedom," as you know, as very emotionally laden. We often have very different perspectives when it comes to these words.

On the other hand look at the value attributes when it comes to the "big three": faith, family, and learning.

The U.S., Saudi Arabia, and Indonesia -- the most populous Muslim nation -- all share a recognition of the importance of these values.

So the question is: Does this mean that we can automatically start talking about our mutual interests in faith? And if there was ever a time when religious tolerance should be brought into the conversation, it might be now.

But here is a fascinating fact. There is no recognition on the part of everyday people in these Muslim-majority countries that we actually share this kind of perspective. Let me show you what this looks like.

[Chart: Growing belief that US is anti-Islam]
http://www.state.gov/cms_images/belief.jpg

The chart can be a little misleading. These percentages are the people who believe that Americans respect Arab and Islamic values, and they are so small, they are frightening.

[Chart: Islamic perception of West as decadent, irreligious]
http://www.state.gov/cms_images/viewofwestlifestyle.jpg

This other chart is interesting — it's another side of the same coin. In these key countries, people believe, very strongly, that there is so much decadence and faithlessness in the United States that there is no way that the practice of Islam could thrive here.

Now, when you sit down and talk to, let's say, the ambassador from one of these countries, he will tell you that everyone in his country understands that the United States is a tolerant society. And so will his country's leaders, because they travel here, they've read the history, they're very educated.

The rest of the people, however, are really reflecting the points of view shown in these charts. Every single time we have been on the road in these countries, the question we are always asked is: "How badly are the Muslims being treated in your country?" And they're not kidding.

So the question is, if this is the perception, how can we answer, since we have this value of faith in common?

Speaker-Messenger-Listener

We think, in terms of policy – and we're right – that the speaker has a message, and there is a listener. But to have a conversation that is intended to engage another person, we have to recognize the second step.

Speaker-Stimulus-Response-Listener

The minute you speak, or show a picture, which is your stimulus, the person receiving it is modifying it instantly: "He's a liar. I don't believe that. These people make me nervous. There must be a bias working here."

So there is no way you are going to safely make a communication unless you think about this: "Not what you say, but the response you hope to evoke."

Our desired response for these countries carrying these negative perceptions of the U.S., is: I'm going to give them some new information.

So, one desired response is: "I didn't know that." A second one might be, "Maybe we heard wrongly about Muslims in the United States." And a third, "Tell me more."

So we prepared a series of mini-documentaries about real Muslims living in America and how they felt about it. Now the way this works in the United States is, you're not allowed to tell people what to say, and it wouldn't work anyway — only the truth works. We found them and filmed them for an hour-and-a-half and cut the tape down to usable form, and we offered them in communication in the Muslims nations that I have referred to.

We also had been visited often by a very interesting and talented group of people who organized themselves around the Council on American Muslim Understanding. So they shared with us the selection of the people, the way the communication worked, and in all these countries, they set up a Web site so that they could continue the dialogue that we hoped to start.

What I'm going to show you is a collage, a little piece of four of the five documentaries we put together.

[Shared Values "collage" clip]

[View the clip formatted for [DSL/cable](http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/16632.aspx) or [dial-up](http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/16657.aspx) modems, listen to the [audio-only](http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/16655.aspx) file, or read the [transcript](http://www.state.gov/r/pa/obs/vid/16555.htm).]

The young Indonesian student, who is becoming a TV star, was added later, so you didn't see a reference to her there.

The mini-documentaries turned out to be a bit of test of perception between the post and the people who watched them. To a person, the people in the embassy preferred the dignified Dr. Elias Zerhouni [director of the National Institutes of Health].

The people preferred the baker who gets up and talks about building his business and his family and working and the freedom he has in prayer.

The reason I'm going on about this in some detail is that this a model for the work we will do in the future.

We certainly were heard in Indonesia, and we very carefully measured the results. We talked to 183 Muslims two to three times a week during Ramadan. There is no program that we've had recently that would have had that kind of "reach," to use a marketing term.

In only five weeks, we reached a percentage of "recall" that soft-drink company could not reach in six months. Here is what that looks like.

[Chart: Prompted Recall – from CD provided to PA]

This is broken down by several of the mini-documentaries, but it is important hard data for us in the State Department as we move forward to talk about these kinds of programs and present the results to Congress.

Sixty seven percent recall on a program that just ran for five weeks is just an amazing number -- and it means that there was an inherent interest in the subject matter.

Now, the other question is: What did they hear? And now we talk about "message recall."

[Chart: Message Recall – from CD]

And they played back much deeper message recall than we usually get in any kind of communication — and I've been doing this kind of work for over 40 years.

In addition to the hard data, we need to let our people understand, what does it look like when people take in this kind of information, and what are their thoughts when they hear it. So we did interviews on the street, and here are the results.

[Video clip: Indonesian interviews – from CD]
(text transcript provided separately)

What you're hearing here is a small transformation. And when you have exchange visitors to this country, one of things we've been able to document is what a transforming event these exchanges are.

But since we can't do more than 25,000 to 35,000 of those transfer students or International Visitors into this country, we're going to have to take aspects and dimensions of this country to them. And this is one way to do it.

We bought the time ourselves, which was very controversial with the governments. The outcry was so loud that you might think we were recommending something far more controversial than telling the story of Muslim life in America.

The Muslim Life in America booklet went out with these documentaries and has become "the best-selling booklet" we've ever put out. There is a great interest, people are

concerned, and they're very pleased that someone would bother to address them personally.

Now the measure of this will also come in extended dialogue. So right now in Indonesia, they are filming a panel of 50 Americans and 50 Indonesians in an open dialogue for one hour on the biggest television channel, the state channel, will be broadcast this February. And so, it is important that we continue the dialogue. We can't just do one or two communications and then quit.

So for us, it's a time of partnership and collaboration. And I am very proud of a new partner that we have in the public diplomacy arena, and that's USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios. He and I sat down one day and decided that we had to make the sum larger than the parts. And housed in his agency are some of the most talented people who know more than we ever could about the nature of aid work.

I am amused because one time I asked his assistant if I could have a list of all the aid projects and she said, "What?" I said I just wanted an inventory of all the projects, and she said it would take you weeks just to read it. So I decided that maybe I would start with just a smaller summary.

But the point is — I'm not too unlike the rest of the world in lack of understanding of aid and how it functions.

When Andrew made his speech at the Heritage Foundation, he talked about health and society. But he didn't just cite numbers. He tells the story of seeing a bountiful harvest being eaten entirely by birds. Why? Because the entire village was sick and incapacitated by malaria. That's story telling, and that's what we really have to do.

So our first project is trying to address what we're doing into Egypt. How many Egyptians have any understanding of the scope and duration of our assistance work in a whole range of fields in their country?

So first, our Public Affairs Officer there go in touch with the local television channel and asked if they would help us tell this story, which included the saving of a mosque and a water project.

These aired because the local station and the local governments were also part of the success story. And then USAID went down and took even more initiative and worked closely with different kinds of television people, and I'm going to show you just one clip that's come out of this work. (We now have a series of three stories, but understand I'm only showing you a small part of it.)

[Video clip: Egypt TV – from CD]
(text transcript provided separately)

I want to comment on a couple of things. This is a model for the future, in the sense of telling stories about the people who benefited. Second, the reporter mentioned that there were American teachers who were brought in. It would have been much more interesting if those teachers had also been on camera — so that you have sense of being connected.

But what's encouraging about this is that it's going to get on the air, and the stories are being told and the recognition is being made.

I personally think that the generosity of the American people and their willingness to put money, time, and effort into such countries is a real unsung story. And coming from the outside, it startles me how little is known and how little is recognized.

In addition to that story from Egypt, another way we can tell our story is not to count on any outside service to do it. Our public affairs team has gotten much more sophisticated about film production and story telling.

We recently went into Afghanistan and made an 18-minute documentary on the work that is underway there, and all the people involved. It was not intended to talk about just the United States and our work, but to recognize the fact that there is a real world effort going on there. This is just a piece of the documentary.

[Video clip: Reconstruction of Afghanistan – from CD]
(text transcript provided separately)

Now just in case you think this is known or even, by your standards, dry, look at the kind of coverage this got as we offered it on something we call American Embassy Television.

[Chart: Rebuilding Afghanistan – overseas placement – from CD]

All over the world there are television and radio stations that are thirsty for content. So, for the first time, we tracked where this particular feed went. It was produced in eight languages, it aired in 25 countries.

In my mind, you represent a very important sector of this communication. The international humanitarian and assistance community can be an enormous asset in what I hope will be an era of storytelling. We would like to hear your thoughts about where the good stories are — stories that show people living better lives.

We want to focus on the people, not necessarily the official handing the ambassador a check. We want to acknowledge the role of the local government where there is one. For instance, in Afghanistan, it is very important that we share the limelight with other countries.

But our main purpose is to make others aware of the care and concern of the American people.

When President Bush or Secretary Powell or USAID Administrator Natsios talk about these programs, they always say that this is an agreement with the American people. It's not some disembodied, self-serving U.S. government or large company.

As we begin to shape the next stages of Shared Values, we're looking specifically at how we can achieve greater awareness and understanding of American good works.

Now your reaction might be that this is precisely the wrong time to publicize all of this, given the anti-Americanism, the hostilities in the world.

I would say to you that there is no better time. And the one thing that worries me more than anything is silence, lack of awareness, indifference -- the ability to tack on bias and cynicism onto everything.

Just to give you some perspective on what the voices are saying if we don't speak out, this is last week's pick-up from a mosque sermon:

"Look at the Colombia shuttle that America was bragging about. It exploded in front of everybody. The Colombia shuttle that America was challenging the world with, its military capabilities, and everybody died, including the Jewish pilot. Oppressors make a mistake is they think they will escape from God this kind of revenge."

Now the people in that room are not bad people, but they have no counter to those kinds of messages.

This may be a time of unprecedented anti-Americanism. It presses upon us all. We've had a lot of meeting with businesses, and one of their reactions is to go local and not even refer to the United States.

But to me, this is all the more reason to hang onto the things we believe in, that we stand for. The United States, despite all the polarization, even with the threatening Iraq story, is still an indispensable force for good in the world.

Now, we are very sensitive to the fact that your membership has to have a certain kind of independence. It's not in your interests to be portrayed as an instrument of the U.S. government.

But we can, and should talk -- and remember that we are re-presenting this idea about the values we embody as a nation and people, values of freedom, human rights, rule of law, individual opportunity, educational and economic advancement. In other words, every single thing you're working on.

The good work we do, government or private, at USAID or PVO, are simply not known, and I think that's unacceptable.

Here are some opportunities that are new, which you probably know more about than I do. But I was quite struck by this list:

- The United States will provide \$5 billion more by 2006 through the New Millennium Challenge.
- A new \$200-million-plus Famine Fund for special humanitarian crises;
- An additional \$1.2 billion in the FY 2004 for emergency aid to alleviate world hunger;
- Formation of a new \$100 million "Emergency Fund for Complex Foreign Crises" to meet food and other humanitarian needs of the poorest of the poor nations;
- Creation of a new "Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief" totaling \$15 billion.

We would really like to work with you, as well as through USAID and U.S. businesses to develop print, video, television stories about how the organizations you represent work to improve the lives of people around the world.

We should do so in ways that would not compromise your independence, but nevertheless, all of us can be emissaries of such messages.

This is no time to let just the ambassador represent the United States. And what we say to our posts is that every person in that post has the capacity to talk about the American way of life.

We all have to get out there. We don't have enough messengers to be satisfied that just our officials can carry the weight. We need conversations, conferences, and dialogue of every form.

As you formulate your marketing and public affairs plan, please think about ways you can promote the universal values of freedom. Now you might say, what do you think we're doing? But, in fact, the word "promote" is the important one. Don't assume that the world out there knows what we're doing.

Believe me, if the world understands better, and we don't get dreary charts like the ones you've just seen, all of your leverage with your various constituencies will be improved.

Every time I have a hearing, the Senate or the House asks me, "Do people know?" And I have to say, "They really don't know much." We're working on it.

We need to establish global foundations of trust. Our president asks of us to make vivid and memorable this connection. President Bush said, "The qualities of courage and compassion that we strive for in America do determine our conduct abroad."

President Bush goes on to say in one speech:

"More than 60 percent of international emergency food aid comes as a gift from the people of the United States. You know what? Americans believe we should come to the aid of the hungry, the sick, the impoverished.

"We will do so with compassion and generosity. These things have always defined the United States."

So here we have the one story that no other country in the world can tell. It's the truth, and it's exceptional. It seems to me that it's worth telling.

And it's been a real pleasure to be in the room with people who embody these truths in action.

Thank you very much.

“Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom,
Security, and Opportunity”

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

U.S. FOREIGN AID:
GOVERNMENT AND
PRIVATE

ANNEX 4

“Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom,
Security, and Opportunity”

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

BREAKOUT GROUPS

ANNEX 5

“Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom,
Security, and Opportunity”

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

LINKING U.S. FOREIGN
AID AND PRIVATE
FOREIGN AID

GROUP 1

Opening Remarks: Sally Montgomery Brumbaugh, ACVFA Member, Moderator

Ms. Brumbaugh convened the meeting by welcoming guests and panelists. She briefly outlined the agenda, then introduced Dr. Carol Adelman, Senior Fellow at the Hudson Institute. Dr. Adelman gave the first of three presentations.

Presentation: Carol Adelman Senior Fellow, The Hudson Institute

The definition of "partnership" within the USAID community has been updated since the '70s. Previously, there were "donors" and "target groups" and the recipients of funding lacked autonomy in administering the resources. That is changing as USAID is moving increasingly toward leveraging and real partnerships, although 20 years from now, the word "partner" may even be out of date.

Dr. Adelman noted that there is some development work that has to be done on a contractual basis, but more and more NGO projects are involving volunteer time and private dollars. This leveraging, Dr. Adelman posited, is the market test of a project, and from that standpoint the project represents a good investment for USAID. This is the sort of activity that USAID should be supporting under the rubric of grant funding for private voluntary organizations, Dr. Adelman suggested.

Dr. Adelman predicted that USAID would gradually adopt a facilitative role in its approach to partnerships in the future, choosing instead to match organizations with other sources of funding and putting together partnership arrangements to which it might contribute just a small amount of seed funding.

Peer-to-peer project relationships that bring U.S. experts together to provide technical assistance to host country professionals in like fields should be cultivated and encouraged. Too often, this type of activity is supported by consultants who aren't necessarily experts in the field that they are advising on.

Dr. Adelman noted that this type of partnership concept was inspired by established, long-term relationships that existed between hospitals and health care organizations in central and eastern Europe, which had been initiated despite limiting political and social factors.

Dr. Adelman praised the new definition of "partnerships" exemplified by USAID's Global Development Alliance, that incorporates project relationships between USAID and private companies and foundations, as well as non-profits.

Presentation: Norm Braksick Executive Director, Food Resource Bank

The Foods Resource Bank was modeled on the Canadian Food Grains Bank, started in the early 1970s by six Mennonite farmers in western Canada. The farmers wanted to do something about world hunger. They dedicated portions of their land and collected donations of labor, seed, fertilizer, and chemicals. They approached churches in urban areas

to support costs that were not donated. The farmers grew barley and wheat that was used in projects around the world. Eventually, annual land use was incorporated as a feature of the program, greatly expanding the organization. Last year, the program raised \$6.1 million in grain and cash contributions, which was matched four-to-one by the Canadian International Development Agency.

Since its inception in the United States in 1998, the Foods Resource Bank has amassed 2,200 acres of land nationwide dedicated to the production of crops that supported 53 projects. The crops are sold in the United States, and the proceeds are committed to world hunger projects aimed at achieving sustainable food security in one village at a time.

The Foods Resource Bank initiated a dollar-for-dollar matching funds program after receiving a \$500,000 grant award from USAID for a program in The Gambia. In addition to contributing to food security overseas, projects such as these help the American people understand world hunger and also help them learn about USAID. Each project has a sign indicating that it is being carried out "In cooperation with USAID."

Presentation: James Smith, Executive Director, American International Health Alliance

The American International Health Alliance, AIHA, is a nonprofit corporation whose mission is to advance American interests and global health by promoting and supporting organized partnerships between health care institutions and professionals in the United States and overseas. AIHA programs directly relate to the U.S. foreign policy objectives of enhancing national security and promoting democracy.

AIHA has developed 101 health care partnerships in 22 countries in eastern and central Europe and the former Soviet Union. Currently, 45 of those partnerships are still active, having been established since 1998. AIHA's partnerships involve over 150 U.S. hospitals, health care systems, hundreds of NGOs, and 58 schools of health professionals in 60 communities in 31 states and the District of Columbia. They have leveraged over \$200 million in resources consisting of volunteer time, supplies and equipment.

AIHA is committed to health reform in the region and is collaborating with strategic partners in a "bottom-up" approach to engage policymakers at the regional and national levels. AIHA focuses on the community base and the democratic process that occurs locally. The idea is to establish long-term institutional relationships.

Mr. Smith made several suggestions for building more effective partnerships:

- Understand what the term "partnership" means and create rules of engagement to avoid conflicting goals and strategies (this applies to both the public and private sector)
- Develop truly collaborative country and regional strategic planning whereby USAID actively engages private sector groups.
- Design programs that utilize the private sector's role and contributions.

- Develop skills to effectively manage the partnership process.
- Expand outreach to the private sector.
- Develop a common vision between USAID and private sector partners.
- Improve synergy between humanitarian and technical aid.
- Develop procurement and programmatic policies that encourage and support private sector involvement.
- Develop ways for the NGO community and the volunteer sector to work together more productively.

There followed questions from participants regarding sources of data on private contributions for development, the factors related to sustainability of the partnerships, and the rules of engagement for working with the private sector.

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MITIGATING CONFLICT

GROUP 2

Opening Remarks: Ted Weihe, ACVFA Member, Moderator

Mr. Weihe noted that historically, there has been a deficiency of institutions and social support for dealing with conflict around the world. Montenegro and Serbia are examples. Commerce between Palestinians and Israelis illustrates the fact that trade does not necessarily have a dampening effect on conflict, and, in actuality, border populations involved in trade are often the targets of violent confrontations. Conversely, linking hostile populations through shared utility services and technologies can have the effect of mitigating conflict. There are good examples of this in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Mr. Weihe proposed that the group discuss how economic development activities that involve cross-ethnic groups can help to mitigate conflict. He cited Southern Sudan and Colombia as places that exemplify the deleterious effect of crisis on economic development.

Presentation: Sharon Morris, Senior Advisor, Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, U.S. Agency for International Development

Ms. Morris noted that USAID and its partners have a tendency to focus on like-minded groups and organizations already committed in principle to peace. This is a narrow approach to mitigating conflict. An interesting study that examined urban violence in India demonstrated that volatility is reduced in urban areas where there are cross-division trade and business associations. USAID should raise awareness that groups not necessarily focused on peace and reconciliation, but rather on economic subsistence, are effective in managing conflict. Currently, there is an increased interest in exploring the economic dimensions of violence, as well as the dynamics of ethnicity and its function as a powerful organizing tool.

There is a need for a more holistic approach to understanding conflict; less focus on resolution; greater emphasis on the causes of hostility and violence; and better understanding and practice of the ways in which all development programs can contribute to reducing conflict. USAID and its partners should strive to deploy a combination of appropriate programs in high-risk areas.

Group Discussion

A participant asked if the Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation (CMM) has developed an analytic agenda that includes conflict studies as well as a review of the existing literature. Ms. Morris indicated that there is an analytic agenda. She described an agenda item currently being implemented called "Conflict Assessments" in which CMM visits missions for extended periods and coordinates with mission teams to address multiple factors affecting conflict. She explained that it's important to understand environmental, health, and political factors in order to construct a more comprehensive picture of the region.

Ms. Morris said that new information about the role of youth and women in violent conflict is surfacing, but that the reasons for their increased participation is not yet understood. She made the observation that political elites are often responsible for inciting violence. While a more robust analytic agenda might be desirable, Ms. Morris cited human resource limitations as a constraining factor and remarked that NGOs may be better positioned to pursue studies in the field.

ACVFA member Jane Pratt made reference to studies that show that between 60 and 86 percent of armed conflict is centered in the mountainous areas of the world. Two reasons for this are that mountain regions are typically inhabited by ethnically diverse populations, and that resources generally flow out of mountain areas, leading to a greater incidence of ethnic tensions and economic inequity that often result in violent conflict.

Dr. Pratt offered four recommendations for effective conflict management:

- 1) Collect spatially disaggregated data.
- 2) Persuade donor groups to abandon cost/benefit criteria in assessing projects.
- 3) Invest in public-private partnerships.
- 4) Exploit opportunities for public outreach through donor consultative group meetings.

Mr. Weihe asked the ACVFA members from the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) to share with the group their experience in dealing with political violence in ways that could be applied to development programs.

Ken Wollack of NDI emphasized the impact of political empowerment as a means of conflict prevention, and cited a program in Sierra Leone in which youth are enlisted to monitor domestic events. He also talked about a program in Kenya that supports the participation of women and youth in political parties, saying that the international community has not learned to place value on the political participation of youth.

Citing Cote d'Ivoire as an example, Mr. Wollack cautioned that a focus on prevention generates the challenge of correctly interpreting early warning signs, as well as of capturing the attention of policymakers.

Ms. Morris outlined several strategies for identifying areas of potential conflict:

- CMM networks with watch groups in order to develop a composite watch list.
- Conflict assessments are now routinely performed by missions.
- Geographical targeting is a critical element in identifying conflict danger zones.

George Folsom of IRI gave several examples of countries in which post-conflict reconstruction projects have been implemented. He noted that IRI is searching for ways of using tools common in the United States, such as polling and focus groups, to find out where there is common ground among groups. The knowledge can be used in preparation for elections; to build space for political dialogue; to design post-conflict activities; as well as to

support a variety of other activities to help countries prevent and recover from violent conflict. IRI, NDI and other groups also work with civil society in many countries to foster a cooperative spirit and create political space. They also train local citizens in techniques for peaceful mediation and negotiation of disputes. Regarding the point about conflict fomented by political elites, Mr. Folsom commented that people in the democracy field are acutely alert to the manipulation of the population, specifically with regard to inter-ethnic rivalry issues.

A participant endorsed the use of the term "conflict mitigation," explaining that "conflict prevention" conveys the assurance of conflict elimination. He cautioned that promising too much could adversely affect the appropriation of funds by Congress. He also noted that while he believes research is needed, a disproportionate amount of resources are expended on research instead of on programs in countries where we actually could start working.

Ms. Morris concurred, saying there needs to be more analysis and implementation of existing research by development practitioners, as well as applied research.

A participant directed a question to the group: How much research has been done on the effectiveness of our own programs?

Reiterating that the research has already been done, Ms. Morris said the goal is to evaluate and identify effective programs, and eliminate programs that are ineffective.

Mr. Wollack cited the example of a program in the Middle East involving the use of focus groups. The program was designed to elicit the thoughts and opinions of Palestinians by providing a safe environment in which to address political issues. The success of the program spawned an international program of moderated discussion groups called "Civic Forum."

ACVFA member Bill Reese lauded the success of this program and added that education and employment are also needed as strategies for reducing the potential for violence among the vast numbers of unemployed young people in countries such as Palestine.

A participant added that land is an important factor in conflict, especially in the Middle East. He also noted that it is extremely important to understand religious and cultural aspects, and to promote tolerance based on deep understanding.

Another participant emphasized that development workers can become paralyzed by these larger issues, and that it is important to focus on specific activities that can make a difference in behavior over time.

A participant called for a more integrated approach among all U.S. agencies - USAID, Peace Corps, Defense Department, the CIA - and NGOs in dealing with conflict. Another noted that this might not be realistic.

A participant pointed out that the workplace can be an environment for conflict and described several successful approaches for dealing with conflict in the workplace.

Several participants commented on the importance of using conflict resolution techniques and incorporating the "Do No Harm" approach into development activities.

Framing modern conflicts in the context of history, Mr. Weihe endorsed the book entitled "Paris 1919" (a current bestseller), a historical narrative of world conflict in the 20th century.

He concluded by reaffirming the sense of the group that further dialogue on this subject is necessary and that USAID, in conjunction with other groups, should convene a one- or two-day conference to look at research findings, models, best practices, and perhaps even skill-building sessions. Such a meeting could be funded by the registration fees.

Mr. Weihe thanked the group and adjourned the meeting.

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REDEFINING
HUMANITARIAN
ASSISTANCE

GROUP 3

Opening Remarks: Charles MacCormack, ACVFA Member, Moderator

- In the late 1980's the number of new humanitarian assistance emergency operations was 5/year
- In the late 1990's this grew 500% to 20-25/year
- The operational response to complex emergencies has been studied from a number of these experiences, notably Bosnia, Rwanda to determine lessons learned
- The qualitative and quantitative study of emergency response is a key feature of the past 12 years of humanitarian assistance

Presentation: Tamra Halmrast-Sanchez, Deputy Director, Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, USAID

- Chapter 5 of "Foreign Aid in the National Interest" focuses on the transitions undergone by USAID's Disaster/Humanitarian Operations in response to 21st Century Conflict
- The Chapter addresses future trends for Disaster Response
 1. Standardizing Methodology
 2. Reviewing Development Programs – creating them to address disaster prevention
 3. Expanding staff when disasters occur to include economists and technical people in addition to Disaster Relief specialists

Discussion:

A participant inquired about the extent to which USAID is developing a Millennium Challenge Account-like strategy to address failed and failing states. Ms. Halmrast-Sanchez replied that the MCA would allow USAID to focus more on those countries that need technical assistance. To address the issues of failed and failing states, USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios created a new bureau, the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, which has been charged with integrating its programs and focusing more closely on these states.

The same participant followed up by asking whether USAID is working with the World Bank and other and whether USAID has any plans to promote dialogue on failed and failing states, perhaps by sponsoring a forum to bring together the best thinking on the subject. Ms. O'Meara, ACVFA Director, reported that the DCHA Bureau, under the sponsorship of the Office of Private and Voluntary Cooperation and in cooperation with InterAction's Conflict, Transition, and Peace Working Group, had just had this sort of forum aimed at improving USAID-PVO dialogue on conflict.

Another participant pointed out that the countries eligible for the MCA would receive a substantial increase in assistance, but since the budget for fiscal year 2004 is not encouraging, it seems that failed and failing states would be further left behind. He inquired about the criteria that would be applied to these states. Ms. Halmrast-Sanchez provided a summary of the budget, including proposed presidential initiatives that would

substantially increase funding for famine relief, food security, and programs in conflict-affected countries.

A participant inquired whether Colombia could qualify for USAID assistance, and if so, how? This is a clear case of a failing state that will not qualify for MCA support. Ms. Halmrast-Sanchez replied that in the past year USAID provided Colombia with \$25 million in humanitarian assistance, and the State Department provided another \$25 million.

Ms. Halmrast-Sanchez asked the group for reactions to the *Foreign Aid in the National Interest* report. The overwhelming concern expressed by the participants was that the MCA would edge out funding for non-eligible countries in need. A participant expressed the opinion that there would not be any chance of getting any additional funding passed by Congress that did not include the criteria laid out in the MCA. On the other hand, a participant pointed out that the MCA might provide an opportunity for USAID funds to be freed up for the non-MCA countries. It was clear from the MCA presentations earlier in the day that MCA funding is to be an add-on to USAID's regular funding. The conclusion of the group was clear that a parallel strategy for MCA and non-MCA countries, particularly failed and failing states, needs to be developed.

A participant inquired how the War on Terrorism has affected the work of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA). Ms. Halmrast-Sanchez replied that there has been a heightened sense of security for personnel on the ground, but it has not resulted in the cutting of any programs.

Another participant inquired about USAID's coordination with other donors. Some group members pointed to a perception that the United States bears the greatest burden of humanitarian assistance, that other countries do not do their share, and thus, USAID and its partners are "spread thin" around the world.

Ms. Halmrast-Sanchez replied that OFDA actively seeks to coordinate with other donors, and that the Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, Roger Winter, has worked hard to encourage disaster response among his European counterparts, particularly to motivate greater involvement in the current situation in Sudan.