

U.S. Agency for International Development

**Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid**

“The Changing Face of Foreign Assistance:  
New Opportunities and Challenges”

# Meeting Report

Public Meeting – February 25, 2004

**ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON VOLUNTARY FOREIGN AID**

**Public Meeting  
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***"The Changing Face of Foreign Assistance: New Opportunities  
and Challenges"***

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## **OPENING REMARKS**

**William S. Reese**, *ACVFA Chair*

William S. Reese, ACVFA Chair, welcomed the ACVFA members, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) staff, and the meeting participants. Mr. Reese noted the timeliness of the public meeting agenda. He said there are currently new resources, new needs, new threats, new Presidential Initiatives, and even a new entity, the Millennium Challenge Corporation. There is also a renewed commitment to development effectiveness, both in the U.S. and abroad.

Mr. Reese outlined the meeting agenda, including the discussions of the new White Paper from USAID, the Fragile States Strategy, the HIV/AIDS Initiative, and the DOS-USAID Joint Policy Council. Breakout sessions in the afternoon were designed to provide feedback to USAID on the White Paper. Mr. Reese introduced Andrew Natsios, Administrator of USAID, and commented that Mr. Natsios had been present either in person or by video at every ACVFA public meeting since he took office.

## **KEYNOTE ADDRESS**

**Andrew Natsios**, *Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development*

Mr. Natsios began his remarks by stating that the new directions in foreign aid are dramatic and the commitment is large. The catalytic event was September 11, 2001. Mr. Natsios commented that the budget at USAID rose from \$7.9 billion in fiscal year 2001 to \$14.2 billion in fiscal year 2003. In two years, the budget nearly doubled. The Africa Bureau budget increased from \$790 million in 2001 to \$1.04 billion in 2003. That figure does not include the President's new HIV/AIDS Initiative or the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA). Mr. Natsios stressed that there are increases in almost every account, and this is not simply a function of an increase in funds for Iraq or Afghanistan.

Adjusting to a post-September 11 world is an imperative for all agencies in the government. The White Paper, "U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century," is the fruit of the best policy minds at USAID on how to bring the agency in line with the challenges of today. President Bush defined this new role as he called on development to play an integral part in the nation's foreign policy. He said it would share center stage with defense and diplomacy in implementing the national security strategy.

This is not the first time in the nation's history that development aid has been profiled. It happened at the end of World War II when the parent agencies of USAID undertook the reconstruction of Western Europe. It also happened with President Kennedy when he launched the Alliance for Progress for Latin America, and when USAID formally came into existence.

Mr. Natsios emphasized that the U.S. has been in the development business for over half a century. There have been successes and failures and lessons learned from these experiences. The prospects for world peace are enhanced when the family of democratic nations grows. He said that the MCA was designed by the President to consolidate the democratic and economic gains of selected countries so that they can graduate into the family of democratic nations as autonomous and self-sustaining members. Recipient nations will be held accountable to achievable goals according to strict standards. This guiding philosophy is one that USAID fully supports.

Mr. Natsios said that any institution of long duration tends to operate within the inertia of accepted practices. Habit gives rise to established mindsets that are difficult to dislodge. Diverse mandates accumulate, and coordination is lost. Mr. Natsios stated that USAID is not exempt from the pitfalls that affect all government agencies of such size and complexity.

The White Paper is an effort to refocus the Agency on the urgent problems that the country faces in a new century, and to use the unique strengths, accumulated over fifty years, to the best advantage. The White paper distinguishes among five core operational objectives of U.S. foreign assistance. Aid effectiveness is conceived differently in each of the five objectives. The goals cover aid directed toward a continuum of countries with a diversity of needs, as well as of different strategic importance to the U.S.

The five core operational goals:

### *1. Promoting Transformational Development*

Mr. Natsios commented that the term "transformational development" implies a transformation of the social, political, and economic order of the country. Sustainability is one aspect of transformation, but it should not define the term. This category includes the dozen MCA threshold countries.

The Agency mantra for too long has been that lack of development assistance is the major reason that poor countries remain poor. This is simply not true. Bad government and bad policies are the real reason. Funding is necessary, but it is not sufficient for accelerated development.

This category of transformational development also includes the thirty to thirty-five countries outside of the group that will qualify for the MCA. USAID will direct its development resources in new ways that will prepare countries for MCA status in the future. He noted that many countries are already attempting to make changes in their legal structures and democratic institutions in an effort to become eligible for MCA funding.

### *2. Strengthening Fragile States*

Fragile and failed states would be eligible for a range of assistance. This category also includes recovering failed states, such as Afghanistan. Assistance would provide the foundation for

effective development. Mr. Natsios stated that President Bush iterated the importance of effectively addressing the challenges of these states in the national security document:

"The events of September 11, 2001 taught us that weak states like Afghanistan can pose as great a danger to our national interest as strong states. Poverty does not make poor people into terrorists and murderers. Yet poverty, weak institutions, and corruption can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders."

### *3. Humanitarian Assistance*

Consistent with the traditions of the U.S. and the moral imperatives it recognizes, aid to countries will continue to be allocated on the basis of need, not performance. However, assistance will be structured to address the systemic failures that can be the source of chronic neediness.

### *4. Strategic States*

The level of assistance for some countries will be based on foreign policy priorities, rather than development criteria. The survival of a state like Pakistan and its continued alignment with U.S. foreign policy priorities takes precedence in the disbursement of aid over development considerations.

### *5. Global and Transnational Issues*

Issues such as HIV/AIDS, drug cartels, and human trafficking across national borders cannot be dealt with simply by a national program. These issues affect the national security interests, broadly defined, of the U.S. Mr. Natsios said that Secretary of State Colin L. Powell likened the HIV/AIDS pandemic to a terrorist threat.

The White Paper follows on the "Foreign Aid in the National Interest" report, for which an array of outside experts was engaged to assist USAID with its new mission and the increased importance of development assistance in the nation's strategic interests. It follows on the Joint Strategic Plan, a collaborative effort between the Department of State (DOS) and USAID to align diplomacy and development.

Mr. Natsios suggested that foreign aid is no longer a stand-alone operation. For USAID to be effective, it must partner with its sister agencies within the government, as with non-governmental and private organizations, to help define and implement the tasks of the new century.

Mr. Natsios commented that some people question whether USAID funding levels should be connected to America's foreign policy interests. The fact is that they have been connected for a very long time, but since USAID has been seen by many as resistant to this connection, it has not been funded consistently or robustly. He said that if USAID wants more resources, it must be relevant to what is happening in the world and how it is affecting U.S. national interests. USAID does not do pure development. For years, USAID has been held accountable using

only one yardstick, even though it has had multiple objectives and thus should have different standards of performance.

Mr. Natsios suggested that USAID embrace, rather than deny its foreign policy role. Without development, the foreign policy objectives of the U.S. will not be accomplished. Those who have the knowledge and skills to achieve change in the developing world have an opportunity to bring development into the mainstream of foreign policy decision-making. In fiscal year 2003, USAID spent \$14.2 billion, only 20% of which was development assistance. USAID must adjust to reality, or it will be left in the dust. The White Paper acknowledges the principle that USAID has multiple missions and objectives that should be integrated into the fabric of the Agency.

Mr. Natsios remarked that the White Paper was written by career officers focused on the long-term interests of USAID. It is thus likely to become a permanent part of the direction of the Agency. The White Paper is not a final document, and he invited comments from private voluntary organizations (PVOs) and the private sector.

## **QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

**Mary McClymont**, ACVFA Member, commended USAID on the White Paper. She inquired about the coordination of the different pieces of foreign assistance and asked Mr. Natsios to discuss the difference between transformational and fragile states.

**Mr. Natsios** responded that one of the criticisms of development assistance in general has been that it is not transformational. Mr. Natsios said that there is a need to change the discussion by changing the terms. "Sustainable development" came into use twenty-five years ago, but has many different meanings. There is now an important recognition that changes don't end when the project ends. Projects must contribute to changes in the larger, democratic issues so that society is transformed.

Mr. Natsios stated that the MCA is a revolutionary way of approaching an issue. It was not a structural approach, but a policy approach. Without even having spent money, the MCA is already having a profound effect on the system. USAID is now represented at the highest level of foreign policy meetings.

**A participant** asked how USAID is addressing the changing dynamics of the European Union countries.

**Mr. Natsios** answered that program coordination is done primarily at the national level in country. Often USAID field staff works with other development agencies that are already established in country, frequently the European aid agencies. Mr. Natsios stated that assistance to the Baltic countries is winding down as they show signs of accelerating growth rates.

## **WHITE PAPER**

### **"U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century"**

**Barbara Turner**, *Acting Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development*

Ms. Turner remarked that the career staff in the Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination developed the White Paper. She echoed Mr. Natsios' comment that it is a discussion paper. It was written in response to the new environment and new challenges of the day. Globalization and September 11<sup>th</sup> have both had a tremendous impact on development thinking.

According to Ms. Turner, USAID saw a unique opportunity to deal with the multiple goals of foreign policy. People have begun to realize that the developing world is important to trade, national security, business, and even health. It is imperative that USAID begin to deal with the multiple goals of foreign assistance.

Ms. Turner stated that USAID has a long relationship with the DOS, but not with many of the other government agencies. It is necessary to take advantage of these opportunities for coordination at senior levels.

Ms. Turner said that it is important to ensure that USAID programs are aligned with the five goals of U.S. foreign assistance and that the budget is justified and programs evaluated against those purposes. The White Paper is an attempt to be realistic about the purpose of assistance and the expected outcomes. Accountability must be measured against the goals of assistance.

Ms. Turner remarked that development is key in every one of the goals. This is as true in fragile states or countries with humanitarian programs as in the transformational countries. However, in fairly stable democracies investments are more likely to result in successes. There is a need to identify these countries and contribute to their success. Successful countries will serve as models for neighbor countries.

USAID will continue to work with fragile or failing states. Last year, nearly \$3 billion of USAID's budget went to fragile states. However, the tools and approaches needed in fragile states are different than those needed in other countries. USAID is now developing a strategy for the fragile states. Ms. Turner noted that while most, but not all, humanitarian assistance goes to fragile states, it is important to recognize humanitarian goals in their own right.

With regard to strategic countries, Ms. Turner remarked that many development programs take place in countries that receive assistance due to their strategic importance. She provided the

example of development programs in Egypt and emphasized the importance of building development concerns into foreign policy decision-making.

The fifth goal, that of global and transnational issues, addresses those concerns for which decisions cannot be made on a policy or humanitarian basis. It is necessary to step back and approach these broad issues in a fairly stovepipe approach. She cautioned, however, against putting too many issues into this category and thus diluting the effort.

Ms. Turner remarked that USAID must be able to show that development assistance can be effective. However, effectiveness must be measured against the actual objectives of the assistance in order to demonstrate impact.

Ms. Turner outlined some of the implications of this strategy for USAID programs. First, USAID needs to better target its programs. In transformational development, there is a need to identify those countries that are transforming in which USAID can make a difference. Decisions need to be made among countries, but also within countries, about which programs should be supported.

Policy coherence is key. USAID finds increasingly that other agencies and entities are involved in development work. Ms. Turner remarked that USAID needs to have the ability to do broad analysis to understand the policy arena. There is a need to integrate across sectors. No issue can be looked at in a vacuum.

Ms. Turner stressed the need to embrace other partners. The Global Development Alliance has been a good start, but there is a need to expand upon that and work with other donor countries as well. Improving coordination across the U.S. government is one implication of this process. The Joint DOS-USAID strategic plan has been completed. There is a new Joint Policy Council as well as a Joint Management Council. USAID must continue to work closely with the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC).

Ms. Turner commented that there is a need to look at the USAID portfolio, review the budgeting process, and plan strategically. There is a need for better analytical tools for determining the best kind of assistance for fragile states. In addition, there is a need to address the graduation issue. Rather than just walking away at the end of a program, there may be some very specific types of assistance that should be continued after graduation.

In regard to future possibilities, Ms. Turner remarked that there is a need for discretionary funding to provide more selective and strategic assistance. Possibly a new funding account structure aligned with operational goals would be in order. The White Paper also suggests that legislative reform may be necessary.

## **QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

**Sarah Lucas** from the Center for Global Development commented that the White Paper is framed in a national security way. She inquired if there are any long-term dangers about using this as an overarching frame.

**Ms. Turner** replied the White Paper was written in response to the sense that this is the reality of foreign assistance. The idea that USAID makes decisions on purely humanitarian grounds simply isn't reality. Also, it is important that others in the U.S. government understand that the only way to achieve national security is for these countries to develop. There is a need to change the way the U.S. thinks about national security.

**Michael Crosswell** from USAID added that there are three goals in the framework that have to do with supporting national security - strategic states, transformational states, and fragile states. The geo-strategic states are of direct and immediate interest to national security. However, one cannot afford to ignore other countries. The U.S. should not have ignored Afghanistan in the 1990's. All three of these goals address national security concerns, although the transformational development and fragile states goals are longer-term in nature. Mr. Crosswell said that the paper begins with national security, but it goes on to mention other interests, including economic and humanitarian interests. All of the goals serve the broader concept of national security.

**Peggy Curlin**, ACVFA member, remarked that the White Paper seems to equate institutions and institutional capacity with government. She asked the panel members to comment on the role of civil society institutions.

**Ms. Turner** responded that USAID views the framework of institutions as a whole system and not just the government part. Clearly, institutions work because there is a system of checks and balances. She said that the White Paper may not have been explicit enough about the roles of non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

**Letitia Butler** from USAID replied that there is a footnote in the paper that notes that institutions include more than government. In the case of fragile states, USAID has tended to withdraw assistance from government institutions that are not functional. Often, however, development requires strengthening state institutions. In transformational countries there is a need to find the right balance between government, NGOs, and the private sector to strengthen society.

**Ted Weihe**, ACVFA member, remarked that development programs in transformational states and fragile states often look similar. Failed and fragile states need everything. He remarked that some issues are not on the table at all, for example infrastructure. In the case of failed states he suggested that the real issue is phasing and deciding what issues to tackle first.

**Ms. Turner** noted that one of the most useful outcomes of this White Paper has been the recognition the USAID needs to have a good strategy for failed states. She remarked that Leonard Rogers has been working on that issue and will present the current USAID thinking on fragile states in the next session.

**Charlie MacCormack**, ACVFA member, asked if USAID has begun to discuss the structural implications of the White Paper.

**Ms. Turner** responded that the hope is to impact legislation and the budget process. USAID will certainly have to look at how it is organized around budget categories. Ms. Turner stated that USAID is not abandoning any sectors; it has the right set of tools on the ground. However, it isn't organized as effectively as it could be. There is a need to reorient analytical capabilities, skills, budgets, and reporting.

**Ms. Butler** added that in the drive for clarity USAID does not want to lose sight of flexibility on the ground; it seeks to support the work in the field with the right tools.

**Margaret Goodman** from World Learning asked the panel to comment on the goal of global and transnational issues, and how USAID would set priorities for this kind of work.

**Ms. Turner** replied that this goal was created in recognition of the fact that sometimes issues cannot be "shoehorned" into other categories. USAID wants to create a very selective way to determine what is included in this global objective. Initiatives that transcend the country-specific goals will be included in this category.

**Stephen Moseley**, ACVFA member, suggested two underlying themes. First, the American people and aid recipients have trusted USAID because they have been transforming people. He noted that the White Paper does not talk a lot about transforming people and how that transforms institutions and society. Second, most USAID work has been in partnership with NGOs, universities, and businesses. The paper does not address partnerships in relation to the five goals.

**Ms. Butler** responded that these comments are important as USAID moves forward with implementing the principles put forth in the White Paper. Transforming people is embedded in the idea of transformational development. She noted that Americans are a very generous people as the investment in humanitarian work demonstrates. However, the discussions of development and national security are really about the enlightened self-interests of the U.S. One of the purposes of the White Paper is to move from the notion of global charity to the idea of global interdependence. Ms. Butler also said that USAID cannot work effectively without the many partnerships with the private and non-governmental sector.

**Mr. Crosswell** added that one must look at the role of partnerships as they pertain to each goal.

**A participant** commented that the White Paper seems to cede the funding for the top performers to MCA. He asked how this will work within a particular country.

**Ms. Turner** replied that the MCA is not yet fully defined. There is no intention for USAID to abandon its programs when the MCA enters. However, USAID may not increase its budget for that country or may choose to fold its programs into a larger MCA program. Each country will have to make an assessment about how the MCA will impact the USAID program.

**Mr. Reese** inquired about plans for countries that don't quite meet the MCA requirements.

**Ms. Turner** said that one of the purposes of the White Paper is to highlight the need to work with those countries that are moving in the right direction. These countries are in the transformational category. She also remarked that the principles of the MCA are relevant to development assistance in general.

**Ms. Butler** said the legislation allowed for the use of up to ten percent of MCA funding to help prepare countries for MCA eligibility.

**Mary McClymont**, ACVFA member, commented that it was her recollection that the ten percent was only for the first year. She also said that while USAID's resources have generally grown, the resources for development assistance have actually diminished. These resources are needed now more than ever. Ms. McClymont asked the panel to comment on donor coordination.

**Ms. Turner** responded that the White Paper is being shared with other donors. She noted that on the ground USAID does a pretty good job of donor coordination, but it is on the broader level that more donor coordination is needed. USAID is committed to working with other countries on the issue of donor coordination.

**A participant** asked about the new Commission and how it will affect USAID.

**Ms. Turner** answered that the Commission is not yet formed, and its scope is fairly broad and vague at this point. USAID is poised to present the White Paper and the background analysis to the Commission.

**Ms. Butler** added that USAID is required to report to Congress by April 1 with an assessment of the effectiveness of aid and the performance of every country that receives more than \$5 million in assistance. USAID is working with the DOS and other agencies to prepare this report. Ms. Butler said that reporting on results is important but does not constitute effectiveness. She is hopeful that this process will promote a better understanding of effectiveness.

**Kenneth Wollack**, ACVFA member, asked if there has been consideration of adding indicators other than economic indicators to the definition of countries ready to graduate from U.S. assistance programs.

**Ms. Turner** said that at the present time USAID does not have a serious enough graduation strategy. USAID is now looking at this issue. She said that there is a need to look closely at governance as a driving force. In countries that are more sophisticated, it is necessary to look at key issues and specific needs for assistance. There may be ways to continue to support good development work in some particular sectors as the country moves forward to graduation.

**A participant** asked how these policies will be linked to USAID operational and administrative procedures. For example, in fragile countries more flexible tools and practices are needed.

**Ms. Turner** agreed that USAID's traditional ways of working are not always effective in fragile states, and there is a real need for something very different. The White Paper is designed to help USAID define particular objectives and determine which operational procedures make sense for each objective.

**Ms. Butler** remarked that the White Paper is available on-line at [www.usaid.gov/policy](http://www.usaid.gov/policy). Comments may be addressed to [whitepaper@usaid.gov](mailto:whitepaper@usaid.gov)

## **FRAGILE STATES STRATEGY**

**Leonard M. Rogers**, *Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, USAID*

Mr. Rogers commented that the White Paper broadly defines two groups of countries - those that are relatively stable and those that are at risk of failure. Each group has unique challenges and calls for different strategic approaches. USAID is at the beginning of developing its strategies, and the ACVFA public meeting provides an opportunity to involve the PVO community in that process. USAID recognizes that extensive consultation with the PVO community and other donors is going to be extremely important. Mr. Rogers said that USAID will also be in close consultation with the DOS on this issue. It is a complex subject and it will take a great deal of creative thinking to come up with a solid strategy.

Mr. Rogers remarked that once the process is complete, USAID hopes to have a strategy that will improve understanding of what makes a state vulnerable to failure, and how the U.S. government can support stability and recovery. USAID is looking for a strategy that identifies new programs for addressing sources of fragility and outlines how USAID can improve its operational responsiveness to fragile states. USAID recognizes that it must improve its ability to act quickly in politically charged and dangerous situations. Mr. Rogers predicted that this will result in significant operational changes at USAID.

Mr. Rogers said that USAID first called this group "fragile, failed, and failing states" but that didn't really capture the dynamism and possibility of success. USAID does see the possibility of success in these states. Now, USAID is calling this group of countries "failing, failed, and recovering." They hope to be able to move countries into the recovering category as quickly as possible.

According to Mr. Rogers, this new strategy is being developed in response to a changing world. Globalization is real; there are winners and losers as a result of globalization. Those losers are frequently fragile states and they are frequently subject to catastrophic failure. Mr. Rogers remarked that in the world today there is more violent conflict. The world was also changed by September 11.<sup>th</sup> At one time many people felt that the U.S. could protect its people by turning inward; that is clearly not the case today. The U.S. is inevitably involved with the world and with many fragile states.

Mr. Rogers suggested that there are several factors pushing USAID to focus more on failed states. First, state failure is a major development problem resulting in lost investment, lost economic participation, and lives lost to poverty. Second, it is a major humanitarian problem. There are more refugees and more internally displaced people than ever before. The humanitarian assistance budgets of the international community are skyrocketing. Third, state failure is a U.S. security concern, as it provides fertile ground for terrorism, drugs, and the like. Finally, there is a proliferation of foreign aid actors in the world. Some are concentrating on specialized delivery of assistance or on specialized technical problems such as HIV/AIDS. Together, these factors have caused USAID to rethink its position and role in fragile and failed states.

In addition, there are a number of factors that give USAID pause for thought. First, these are inherently high-risk operations. There is a great deal of uncertainty about what USAID should be doing in fragile states. It is easy to recognize fragility but much more difficult to promote recovery. Detailed country knowledge in these situations is essential. There is an opportunity to bring in the expertise of PVOs in developing that knowledge. These countries are often afflicted by conflict. Once violent conflict begins, it is very difficult to promote stability and progress. Mr. Rogers emphasized that dealing with conflict is going to be a big problem.

He remarked that USAID also recognizes that it needs new mechanisms, new procedures and means of intervening in these countries. Inevitably, work in many of these countries involves working with non-state actors. USAID needs to find better ways of working with the non-governmental actors to contribute to the recovery of failed and failing states. Again, this is a good opportunity to collaborate with the PVO community.

Mr. Rogers remarked that the development community has often compensated for failed governance by providing assistance through civil society. However, civil society groups are often advocacy groups that oppose the government. He stressed the importance of developing

effective governments and the role of civil society in helping to make governments stronger and more effective.

Mr. Rogers said that inevitably USAID is going to be involved with these countries and should be one of the leaders in this arena. He remarked that the question lies in how to address this group of countries in which the risk of failure is high. USAID recognizes that they need to be specific about which countries fall into this category. Categorizing these countries is not simple. In some ways all developing countries are fragile. Conflict is often key, but it is not always a marker for fragility. All countries, including the U.S., are changing all the time. There is a need for continual monitoring and assessment of the situation.

He remarked that USAID recognizes that there are no bright lines to divide countries into categories. As a result, they have developed a framework for thinking about fragility and assessing vulnerability to failure. Mr. Rogers presented the framework as a chart. USAID worked with academics at the University of Maryland and George Washington University to develop this framework. Effectiveness and legitimacy of the government are the two main indicators of whether or not a state is stable. Effective states are those that provide their people with economic opportunity, ensure public safety, and deliver government services efficiently. Legitimate states reflect the interests and the values of their citizens, treat different groups within society equitably, and are governed justly and honestly. It is almost always the case that legitimate states are democracies. Democracy is the key to legitimacy.

The framework assesses effectiveness and legitimacy across four different dimensions: economic, social, political and security. This analytical tool will be used to examine individual countries and determine their vulnerability to state failure.

Mr. Rogers stated that once the analysis is done, decisions about the risk of failure need to be made. The key seems to be change. If a state seems vulnerable to failure and there is deterioration in that state, then that is an indicator that there is a major problem. Changes in legitimacy and effectiveness are seen as being mutually supported, for good or for bad. When there is a decline, particularly if it is accompanied by conflict, then the risk of state failure is high. Conversely, when recovery is stimulated, both legitimacy and effectiveness can come together and be a powerful movement toward recovery. Mr. Rogers said that it is clear that there will be some significant operational implications for USAID.

**Melissa Brown**, *Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, USAID*

Ms. Brown said that it is important to get the analysis right, but USAID is an operational organization. It is important to translate these ideas into more effective operations in fragile states. Ms. Brown highlighted nine areas that have been presented and discussed to date. She welcomed feedback on these areas or on areas that have been missed.

1. Fragile states are different, and they require different goals. Initially, USAID is looking at three interrelated goals: stabilizing the situation, reforming where possible, and advancing recovery towards stability.
2. Achieving these goals will be dependent on commitment from the fragile states. Where a country is lacking in effectiveness, but strong on legitimacy, the commitment is more likely to be there. The more vexing situation is when there is a major legitimacy gap; then commitment will be an issue. However, USAID will also be looking at actors outside of government to drive recovery.
3. Progress on these goals is dependent on collaboration and joint approaches within the U.S. government, and on effective donor coordination.
4. Integrated analysis is important to understand the larger picture of what is driving fragility. It is important to have program priorities and focus development actors on the key issues. Because of the large numbers of countries that could fit into the fragile states category, analysis will help to inform a discussion about priorities for intervention.
5. The integrated analysis will need to be connected with integrated decision-making. Inter-bureau efforts within USAID will need to be connected to other U.S. government agencies, as well as PVOs and other donors.
6. Selectivity is a challenge. The same principles cannot be applied to fragile states as to transformational countries. Better integrated analysis will provide for better cross-country analysis and can provide a basis for selectivity. Need, commitment, ability to make a difference, and foreign policy priorities are all likely to feed into the issue of selectivity.
7. USAID should move away from measuring effectiveness in fragile states by traditional development standards and look at effectiveness from the perspective of stability, key reforms, and recovery.
8. USAID is looking at ways of gaining greater flexibility in the application of funding in fragile states in order to maximize responsiveness.
9. It is important to look at procedures, including a range of procurement, administrative and personnel procedures. USAID is looking at how Missions can be more flexible as the environment changes, how they can redirect their strategies, and how they can maximize program flexibility. This also includes looking at the constraints that PVOs face in being more responsive.

Ms. Brown emphasized that this is a work in progress and USAID is actively seeking feedback from those on the front lines of dealing with fragile states.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Mary McClymont**, ACVFA member, asked about the number of fragile countries and what it will mean to give a country this label.

**Mr. Rogers** replied that what may drive the numbers is the opportunity to make a difference. The analysis will yield a substantial number of fragile countries, but after looking at many of those countries USAID may conclude that there is an opportunity for change in only a few. He

said that his guess is that there are fifteen to twenty-five countries in which U.S. assistance could make a difference.

**Peggy Curlin**, ACVFA member, remarked that civil society organizations need to be encouraged to play a greater part in policy development, and women need to be full participants. She emphasized that civil society organizations that advocate for the people they serve are essential to bringing about effective development.

**Mr. Rogers** agreed and clarified that the point he was trying to make was that it is also important for civil society to be supportive of effective and legitimate government.

**Ted Weihe**, ACVFA member, asked Mr. Rogers to address the issue of infrastructure development in fragile states.

**Mr. Rogers** responded that USAID has recently been involved in some large infrastructure projects, particularly in Afghanistan and Iraq. USAID is now rethinking the role of infrastructure in its development programs.

**A participant** expressed concern about U.S. involvement in failed states, particularly the diffusion of resources, the exit strategy, and the opportunity costs.

**Mr. Rogers** replied that the U.S. is already involved in many failed and failing states, often with very large resources. USAID hopes to reorient its focus to promote recovery and move towards long-term development. Flexibility to shift resources is one of the big issues. USAID doesn't always have the right kind of resources to be responsive to the particular country needs.

**Ms. Butler** said that there is often significant overlap between the categories of failed states and strategic interests. It is an important dialogue. While one may be the primary driver of the engagement, it is important to use the lens of fragile states to shape the goals of the assistance.

**Ms. Turner** remarked that USAID would like to have the flexibility to manage foreign assistance with a longer-term vision. For instance, some of the money that is being poured into Liberia now might be used more effectively for development in a year or two, after some of the government institutions are in place.

**Robert Chase**, ACVFA member, remarked that for many fragile states the root problem is law and order. He asked what consideration has been given to either expanding the authorities of USAID or enhancing the coordinating relationships with the institutions that provide security.

**Mr. Rogers** responded USAID recognizes that security is a big problem in these countries and that the U.S. government does not have a strong capacity to respond in all situations. Post-conflict reconstruction has been identified as a problem area and the U.S. government is attempting to find ways to establish this capacity. This issue will be examined by the DOS-

USAID Joint Policy Council. Mr. Rogers remarked that it is his perception that USAID has limited inclination to be heavily involved in police or military work.

**Ms. Brown** added that experts have identified security and political concerns as key issues for effectiveness and legitimacy. In the recovering arena, when there is legitimacy and effectiveness, infrastructure is probably a good investment.

**A participant** inquired how the strategy addresses the building and rebuilding of governments and the lessons learned in this area.

**Ms. Turner** remarked that in the writing of the White Paper, one of the initial thoughts was that maybe USAID had moved too far from governance issues. It is clear that some form of government is needed in order for development to happen. In the fragile states this is a particularly important issue. Humanitarian aid can often be carried out without a strong government, but in the long-term, governance issues are key.

**Mr. Rogers** said that Somalia is the most difficult challenge. There are a lot of other countries that have failed, but which retain a nucleus of a government to work with. When the state collapses entirely, as in Somalia, it is hard to put it back together again.

**A participant** asked about USAID's role or potential influence in policy intervention based on early warning systems of conflict prevention.

**Mr. Rogers** replied that the challenge is to provide a fuller vetting of all issues in these countries so that the DOS can play its leadership role. The DOS-USAID Joint Council sets up a mechanism to ensure this cooperation.

**Ms. Butler** remarked that USAID needs to work effectively with other donors and partners, in addition to the DOS, on the prevention of conflict situations.

**A participant** inquired about the coordination with other agencies and organizations around the issue of migration.

**Ms. Brown** replied that USAID is trying to focus on the dynamic between state and society, but they are also looking at external factors. It is important to examine the response of a society to shocks and how that affects a country's vulnerability.

**Laura Henderson**, with CARE, asked if USAID envisions the broadening of any of the mandates of the USAID bureaus or offices. She asked about new thoughts on working with youth or education in fragile states.

**Mr. Rogers** said that he hopes that the White Paper will result in significant changes for USAID. One of the areas that has been identified for further discussion is youth in conflict. However, the organizational response remains to be seen.

**Ms. Butler** remarked that there has been a great deal of discussion about how the U.S. government as a whole can best array itself on the issue of conflict mitigation. It is important not to rush into what it means for structure without some sense of where other deliberations are going.

**Mr. Reese** commented that the White Paper is really aimed at transforming USAID; aligning goals with resources is transformational.

## **UPDATE: U.S. HIV/AIDS STRATEGY**

**E. Anne Peterson, M.D.**, *Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Global Health, USAID*

Dr. Peterson stated that the President's HIV/AIDS Initiative has a strong focus. The Initiative aims to provide treatment for two million people, prevent seven million new infections, and provide care for ten million people living with AIDS. There is also a focus on a new way of doing business.

There is a new strategy that builds on the lessons learned and focuses on how USAID can collaborate with other agencies to have the most impact. She stressed that this is a great initiative -- lives can be saved. It is imperative that it is successful; there may not be another opportunity.

Dr. Peterson commented that HIV/AIDS is one of Administrator Natsios' top priorities. USAID brings strengths to the effort, particularly its field presence, lessons learned, relationships with NGOs and governments, and contracting and procurement abilities. There are also challenges to USAID's participation in the Initiative. Staffing up and moving fast is a challenge for USAID, just as it would be for any bureaucratic system.

Dr. Peterson remarked that USAID is continuing to work in countries other than those that are part of the President's Initiative. USAID is working in HIV/AIDS in more than one hundred countries. The pillar Bureau for Health has a number of roles within USAID. These include technical assistance to the field, research, and global leadership. The technical assistance to the field relative to the President's HIV/AIDS Initiative includes all of the teams that are helping to move the strategy forward.

In research, USAID has done some of the initial studies on the abstinence, be faithful, and condom use strategy, providing a strong database for the ABC paradigm. USAID is continuing to do research to show that this is a viable and effective intervention. USAID has also done operations research to make sure that implementation is working well, specifically within the mother to child prevention programs. Operations research that was done several years ago

identified outreach to men as absolutely vital to overcoming stigma so that women would be tested and receive therapy. Dr. Peterson said that vaccine research years ago led to the development of "uni-jet," a single dose injection mechanism. It is now available to reduce medical transmission of HIV/AIDS. More importantly, if USAID had not invested in this research fifteen years ago, they wouldn't have developed a way to bring single-dose drugs into the home for use with infants. A long-term investment in research has led to a quick turn around in tools needed to implement the HIV/AIDS Initiative.

Dr. Peterson described other research currently being done in the area of safe drinking water, as well as tuberculosis and malaria prevention and treatment and the impact on people living with HIV/AIDS. She said that these are all the pieces from the research portfolio that allow USAID and U.S. government strategy to be at the cutting edge of intervention.

USAID also brings to the table a multi-sectoral approach. USAID is attempting to wrap the interventions that can assist in the HIV/AIDS arena around the HIV/AIDS programming. For example, USAID is trying to link food aid with communities that have high HIV/AIDS rates. Because HIV/AIDS causes harm in every area, the multi-sectoral approach is particularly important.

Dr. Peterson remarked that her office is engaged in child survival revitalization. There is an effort to pull together the work of donors to meet the Millennium Development Goals for child survival. Thirty thousand children die every day. Two-thirds of those deaths can be prevented with the tools and resources that are available today. Children most likely to die of preventable childhood diseases are the poorest of the poor, children with sick parents, or those who have been orphaned. The HIV/AIDS epidemic puts more children at risk for preventable diseases. Therefore, child survival revitalization is integrally linked to the HIV/AIDS Initiative. Ms. Peterson commended Save the Children for the fabulous January newsletter that outlines these issues.

USAID is looking at how it can bring the child survival issues to international attention. Dr. Peterson shared her experience in Ethiopia in December. The government officials wanted to talk about child survival and what they could do within their current resources. USAID will continue to follow-up on this effort. She said that the Gates Foundation has joined USAID on these high level trips to promote child survival.

**Ambassador Randall Tobias**, *U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator, U.S. Department of State*

Mr. Tobias opened his remarks with a salute to all of the organizations that have been working in HIV/AIDS and have made critical contributions to turning the tide against this terrible disease. Mr. Tobias said that he is the first U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator. He has the responsibility and privilege of leading a five-year, \$15 billion effort to combat global AIDS. The President's Emergency Plan represents the largest commitment ever by a single nation for any international

health initiative. There has been nothing like this for any humanitarian purpose since the Marshall Plan.

In October 2003, Mr. Tobias traveled to Africa and visited a number of HIV/AIDS locations in South Africa, Botswana, and Namibia. In December, he visited Rwanda, Uganda, Kenya, and Zambia. On both of those trips, he was struck by the amazing work that is being carried out in partnerships by communities, NGOs, faith-based groups, governments, and donors of all kinds. He was also struck by how terribly much more there is to do. Regardless of the barriers imposed by stigma, science, lack of leadership, or limited resources, he saw repeatedly that results can be achieved in the battle against HIV/AIDS and that new possibilities for intervention are being constantly illuminated. Mr. Tobias remarked that in part, the President's decision to launch this Initiative is a testament to the work of many of the organizations represented at this public meeting. Those organizations brought voice to the devastation of the pandemic, developed strategies to combat the disease, and provided armies of women and men serving people in need.

Mr. Tobias presented some of the statistics of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. During 2003, three million people died from the complications of AIDS, leaving behind anguished loved ones, orphaned children, and ravaged communities. At the same time, five million people became newly infected, bringing the estimated total to forty million infected worldwide. Mr. Tobias remarked that "we are losing the war." In claiming the lives of society's most productive citizens aged 15-45, HIV/AIDS threatens a basic principle of development - that each generation should do better than the one before it. This disease has deepened poverty, reduced life expectancy, diverted resources, and left a generation to grow up without the love and guidance of parents and teachers. This year, however, may bring the hope of a new approach.

Mr. Tobias said that the global community is coming together to focus on HIV/AIDS as never before. With virtually every sector - public, private, religious, non-governmental, and multilateral, all are coming together to bring a renewed focus to this fight. Nowhere is that resolve greater than in the Oval Office. In his State of the Union address last year, President Bush called for an unprecedented act of compassion to halt the ravages of AIDS. The President committed \$15 billion over five years to address the global HIV/AIDS pandemic, more money than has ever been committed by any nation to anything like this. Nine billion dollars will go to new programs to address HIV/AIDS in fourteen of the world's most affected nations, with a fifteenth country to be added in the next few weeks. These countries account for more than fifty percent of the world's HIV/AIDS infections. Five billion dollars will go to provide continuing support in the approximately one hundred nations where the U.S. currently has bilateral HIV/AIDS programs. One billion dollars will go to support the Global Fund for HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria. This brings the U.S. commitment to the Global Fund to nearly \$2 billion through 2008.

Mr. Tobias said that the President's vision is becoming a reality. Four and a half months after launching the Office of the Global AIDS Coordinator and less than one month after Congress

appropriated funds for the plan, \$350 million moved out the door to go into the hands of service providers in the fourteen focus countries. The money will be used to scale-up programs providing anti-retroviral (ARV) treatment, prevention programs targeted to young people, safe medical practices programs, and programs to provide care for orphans and vulnerable children. It is also expected that several national safe blood programs will be funded.

These targets were chosen because they are at the heart of addressing the treatment, prevention, and care goals that are the focus of the President's Emergency Plan. The specific recipients of funding were chosen because they have existing operations on the ground, a track record, and the capacity to scale-up rapidly. Mr. Tobias said that his intent is to move as quickly as possible to bring hope and relief to those who are suffering from the devastation of AIDS.

Just as importantly, with the next round of funding, there will be a great deal of emphasis on attracting new partners, partners who can bring expanded capacity, new thinking, and innovation to the effort. With the first round of funds, an additional fifty thousand people living with HIV/AIDS will begin to receive treatment. As small as that is relative to the need, it will nearly double the number of people currently receiving treatment in all of Sub-Saharan Africa. In addition, prevention through abstinence messages will reach about 500,000 additional young people, and resources will be provided to assist in the care of about 60,000 additional orphans.

Mr. Tobias said that this week his office submitted to Congress a comprehensive, five-year strategic plan for the President's Initiative. He commented that in an effort to focus the resources on what they were intended to do, very few copies of the plan will be printed. It will be available on-line at [www.state.gov/s/gac](http://www.state.gov/s/gac). This strategic plan is an important step, a road map that will guide the deployment of resources for maximum effect. The plan should be viewed as a work in progress. It will continue to be informed by lessons learned along the way. As the plan outlines, there will be a concentration on prevention, treatment, and care, the core of the President's Emergency Plan. Over the five years, the focus of the plan is to provide two million people with treatment, prevent seven million deaths, and provide care for ten million who are affected by the disease, including orphans and vulnerable children. As the plan is launched, it will capitalize on the existing core of strengths and capabilities across the government. These capabilities include established funding and disbursement mechanisms, two decades of experience in fighting HIV/AIDS, lessons learned about what works, field presence and strong relationships with host countries in over 100 countries, and well-developed partnerships with many NGOs who can help to deliver the programs.

Mr. Tobias remarked that the Office of the U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator is not a large bureaucracy. When fully staffed he anticipates having at most fifty people on board. He expects that in many ways it will be a virtual organization, a new leadership model bringing together all the resources that already exist within the U.S. government. It is a model that is intended to bring together into a single effort the programs and personnel of all of the agencies

of the U.S. government who are engaged in this effort, without moving them into a new organization.

Mr. Tobias commented that multilateral efforts are also an important part of the strategy. The most prominent example is the U.S. support of the Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. The U.S. helped to create the Global Fund and was its first contributor. The U.S. leads the world in donations to the Global Fund, accounting for 37.4% of total pledges and 31.1% of the contributions delivered to date. Mr. Tobias said that the Global Fund has a unique partnership structure and has the potential to achieve great results against HIV/AIDS. The U.S. is committed to building its capability. It is a very important element of the overall U.S. strategy. Secretary Thompson is currently the chairman of the Board of the Global Fund and through his commitment to the issue, is giving special leadership to the Fund in its formative stages. Mr. Tobias remarked that the U.S. needs to do a more persuasive diplomatic job in engaging the rest of the world in committing resources to fight the global HIV/AIDS pandemic.

In 2002 and 2003, international HIV/AIDS contributions by the U.S. government totaled more than all the other donor governments combined. If one assumes that the contributions of other donor governments will remain flat in 2004, the U.S. contributions to HIV/AIDS will be approximately twice those of the rest of world's donor governments combined. The budget request for combating global HIV/AIDS, announced last month in the President's budget, is 16% above what has just been appropriated for 2004. Mr. Tobias stressed that the developed world is focusing more on this issue and hopefully the resources will follow. Increasingly, national leaders of the most afflicted nations of the world are recognizing the problems and will devote more time and resources to fighting it. He said that, in general, they are welcoming the assistance of those who want to help.

Global and national leadership is essential. Early and effective action can contain and even roll back epidemics and reduce the burden of disease on families, communities, and nations. While the President's Emergency Plan has a particular focus on turning the tide in some of the most highly impacted countries of the world, there is also a recognition that no country in which the U.S. currently supports HIV/AIDS activities is unaffected by the problem. Some are facing enormous emerging epidemics. The President's Emergency Plan offers a fresh opportunity to harmonize HIV/AIDS policy across all bilateral programs to create the momentum that truly can turn the tide against HIV/AIDS.

The Emergency Plan begins in fiscal year 2004 with \$2.4 billion in funding, rising to \$2.8 billion in 2005, and steadily increasing until the total over five years reaches \$15 billion. Mr. Tobias added that these annual budget requests in the start-up years have been a source of contention that in his view are unfair to the President. Some people simply look at the magnitude of the global need without regard to the steps required to effectively put resources to work and have suggested that more money should be committed immediately. The President committed to \$15 billion in five years to be deployed in a way that increases expenditures over time in order to

spend the money as efficiently and effectively as possible. Mr. Tobias said that he hopes the speed with which the first funds have been utilized is an indication of the sense of urgency of this endeavor.

Mr. Tobias remarked that this is not enough money to solve the global problem, but the U.S. is doing as much as possible, as rapidly as possible. This is an effort unprecedented by any other nation. The focused health care approach will require working with target countries to develop the necessary human and technical infrastructure in order to use these funds effectively. Mr. Tobias remarked that he is pleased with the progress in laying the foundation for the President's vision - to bring prevention, treatment, and care to millions of adults and children living with HIV/AIDS, and to begin to replace despair with hope.

Mr. Tobias quoted Albert Einstein: "Stupidity is doing the same thing over and over again, and expecting different results." He said it is very important to look carefully at what works and what does not work. To do this job effectively will require new paradigms. The battle against HIV/AIDS has historically been fought with only the weapon of prevention. The integration of prevention, treatment, and care represents an important new paradigm. This comprehensive and unparalleled approach is essential.

Mr. Tobias reminded the audience that HIV/AIDS is 100% preventable. Prevention is the chief weapon in the spread of HIV/AIDS, and it must be the number one priority. Tragically, most of the 40 million people worldwide who are infected with HIV/AIDS do not know their status. Far too few people are being tested. Without knowing their status, people cannot get the assistance they need. Stigma, denial, and fear remain enormous barriers to testing. The provision of treatment can provide hope and the incentive for people to be tested. That, in turn, can contribute to prevention efforts. Thus, where there used to be a treatment versus prevention debate, today few dispute that it is not an "either-or" issue. There are no bright lines between prevention, treatment, and care. They are interconnected and achieving results requires addressing all three.

Mr. Tobias said that another new paradigm is the focus on evidence-based, results-oriented approaches to prevention, treatment, and care. It is important to take a fresh look at the evidence of what has worked and what has not worked in HIV/AIDS programs. One of the cornerstones of the President's plan is the ABC prevention model, which has been much discussed but not always understood. The program focuses different messages on different age and population groups. The "A" is for the message of abstinence to young people. "B" stands for being faithful to a single partner for those who reach an appropriate age to marry or become sexually active. "C" is the correct and appropriate use of condoms.

Research indicates that the ABC approach, when correctly understood and implemented, can be a powerful tool against the spread of HIV/AIDS. The ABC approach was pioneered with success in Uganda. Mr. Tobias recently had the opportunity to see this program at work in a primary school in Uganda. He said it is straightforward, relatively inexpensive, and enormously

effective. The message for young people has three components. The program starts with helping young people develop self-esteem, helping them know that they can take charge of their own lives and their own futures. Part of taking care of their own futures is being abstinent until marriage. The second part of the message that is being delivered in the schools is to not associate with people who could harm them. The third part of the message is that the school will help them learn the necessary skills to keep them safe and healthy.

Mr. Tobias remarked that the battle against HIV/AIDS will ultimately be won or lost locally. The implementation of the programs must be field driven against the policies and principles set out in the strategy. People on the ground can be responsive to particular circumstances and available resources in each country and can leverage the innovations of field staff. The Ambassador in each focus country has been asked to provide leadership in the development of an integrated implementation plan to carry out this initiative at the country level.

Mr. Tobias said that there is also a new paradigm around organization. All of the agencies and organizations have come together to form a single U.S. government team. He has received strong support from USAID for moving in this direction. Coordination with non-governmental organizations that are making a contribution to the fight against HIV/AIDS is also critical. The crisis of HIV/AIDS is greater than any one organization can solve. Turning the tide will require a sustained collaborative effort from a multitude of international, national, and local organizations leveraging their comparative strengths.

Mr. Tobias emphasized that fighting HIV/AIDS will require the coordination of diverse resources and diverse actors. It is necessary to find ways to coordinate and harmonize the HIV/AIDS Initiative activities with all of the other elements that need to surround it to get the job done. The President's Emergency Plan focuses unprecedented resources on achieving the targeted goals of prevention, treatment, and care while focusing heavily on strengthening capacity and infrastructure in health care systems. It is important to coordinate this effort broadly while maintaining a focus on the task.

Mr. Tobias has witnessed amazing work being carried out through partnerships of diverse organizations. In closing, Mr. Tobias shared his experiences on a recent visit to Uganda. The U.S. government is partnering with a community-based support organization for people living with AIDS. This program provides patients with safe water, a daily antibiotic, and ARV therapy. Community health workers visit each patient weekly. Adherence to the therapy regimen is nearly 95%, higher than in the U.S. Some have opined that ARV treatment is too complex for these types of environment. Mr. Tobias' experience demonstrated that this is not the case. Community health workers have imparted very complicated information that seems to be fully comprehended by the people in the program. Mr. Tobias remarked that these programs can, indeed, bring hope to people living with HIV/AIDS.

## **QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

**Ted Weihe**, ACVFA member, made the comment that ARV drugs will not work without a nutritional boost. There is \$1 billion worth of dairy surplus in the U.S. Land 'O Lakes designed a functional food to provide this nutritional boost. Mr. Weihe asked Mr. Tobias to comment on how nutritional programs such as this could be combined with the HIV/AIDS Initiative.

**Mr. Tobias** replied that this program is very focused on prevention, treatment, and care, but it is important to find ways to collaborate with other supportive activities.

**Charles MacCormack**, ACVFA member, asked Mr. Tobias to comment on how to rally the leadership in other countries around the world to support HIV/AIDS efforts.

**Mr. Tobias** replied that leadership is very important, and his office is trying to mount a concerted effort in that regard, starting with utilizing diplomatic resources to communicate with and encourage the leaders of other countries. Mr. Tobias advised the President that he could help with this effort by raising the issue every time he communicates with the leadership of another country.

**A participant** asked about plans for involving other organizations that are not already operational at the field level in the effort in the longer-term.

**Mr. Tobias** replied that the best way to get things started quickly was to scale-up what was already happening. However, new ideas and new capacities are needed. There is an enormous opportunity to build relationships with many diverse groups and develop broad-based support.

In closing, Mr. Tobias asked the meeting participants to do the same thing that he asked the President to do -- spread the word to the American public. Every day the equivalent of twenty fully loaded 747 airplanes crash, killing everyone on board. There is a critical need for broad-based public support to make this a success.

## **UPDATE:**

### **DEPARTMENT OF STATE-USAID JOINT POLICY COUNCIL**

**Letitia Butler**, *Director, Office of Policy Planning, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, USAID*

Ms. Butler, echoing the comments of other speakers, remarked that the context of foreign assistance has changed dramatically in the past decade. The U.S. strategy for providing foreign assistance must change to keep pace. The new post-cold war and post-September 11 world requires adjustments in how the U.S. conducts foreign policy. Fifteen to twenty years ago national security and policy discussions centered on the Soviet Union, Western Europe, Israel and Egypt. Now, discussions focus on fragile and failing states like Afghanistan, Iraq, and Sudan, as well as global pandemics, and transnational criminality.

From the perspective of USAID, the DOS is very much in the process of redefining its diplomatic mandate and evolving from the historic role of political observation and analysis to active engagement in political, economic, and social issues in the developing world. DOS has a growing assistance budget and a growing appreciation for the complexities and challenges of development. USAID's ability to insert relevant development issues into cabinet level policy formulations is often dependent on the DOS.

The reality of this changing relationship was recognized when a new Joint DOS-USAID plan was developed for 2004-2009. The plan outlines a common mission to create a more secure, democratic, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community. It identifies four very broad strategic objectives, twelve strategic goals, and thirteen current priorities to be targeted jointly by DOS and USAID. The plan also calls for the creation of two deliberative bodies, the Joint Management Council and the Joint Policy Council. The Joint Management Council is up and running and examining administrative and management issues that the two institutions share. The Joint Policy Council had its first meeting with the Executive Committee on January 13,<sup>th</sup> so it is still relatively new.

Ms. Butler remarked that the Joint Policy Council represents an important potential for three reasons. First, the impetus from this Council has come from very high levels within DOS and USAID. From her perspective the leadership within DOS is very committed to a closer and more productive relationship with USAID. They are also fully aware of the contribution of development to foreign policy and national security. Second, because the Council engages a broad cross-section from both organizations, it creates the expectation of a level playing field for policy discussions, based on mutual respect and open communication. Third, because Joint Policy Council discussions will require a better mutual understanding of the issues and the U.S. interests at stake in policy discussions, it should lead to complementary roles for DOS and USAID, roles based on comparative organizational advantages. It should not contribute to a blurring of the lines between the two agencies.

Ms. Butler said that as development, humanitarian efforts, and the fragile states all become more central to the execution of foreign policy, so also will the role of NGOs as partners. She commented that USAID and DOS would very much like to find ways to tap into the pool of knowledge and experience represented by the NGO community.

**Don Steinberg**, *Director, Joint Policy Council, U.S. Department of State*

Mr. Steinberg remarked that the Joint Policy Council was established in November 2003 by Deputy Secretary of State, Richard Armitage and USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios. Both have put their weight behind this initiative. The Council has its origins in the DOS-USAID Strategic Plan for 2004-2009, which fully stressed the need to coordinate and align foreign policy and development assistance. The strategic mission is "to create a more secure,

democratic, and prosperous world for the benefit of the American people and the international community."

To achieve this mission, the Joint Policy Council is charged with reviewing existing DOS-USAID coordinating mechanisms, creating new procedures where there are gaps, and addressing crosscutting issues that are currently falling between the cracks. It is already helping to create new habits of cooperation between the two agencies, giving DOS officials new insights into USAID's assistance priorities, and USAID officials insight into DOS policy priorities.

An Executive Committee that is chaired by Deputy Secretary Armitage and Administrator Natsios directs the Council. The overall coordinator is Under Secretary Mark Grossman. The real work of the Council takes place in twelve policy working groups that cover the principle geographic regions and six functional areas. The functional areas include the promotion of democracy and human rights, economic development, humanitarian response, social and environmental issues, security and regional stability, and public diplomacy. These groups recently prepared work plans, highlighting joint policy goals and resources, existing coordination mechanisms, and priority policy coordination issues for future consideration. Combined, the groups identified seventy different issues to be addressed over the next year.

As an example, the security and regional stability group will be looking at five specific areas:

1. Whether to propose a formal interagency coordination mechanism for international law assistance
2. How to better align anti-corruption efforts with development assistance
3. How to ensure that USAID's alternative development programs are consistent with DOS counter-drug goals
4. Considering what formal role economic development and governance assistance should play in the fight against terrorism
5. Better coordination with the Department of Defense on programs for conflict areas and humanitarian emergencies

In addition to the twelve working groups, there are also four crosscutting groups that address issues related to Muslim outreach, law enforcement assistance, effectiveness of aid, strategic use of resources, and budget and planning synchronization. The Joint Council is also open to addressing new issues in the future, such as the implications of the MCA, the Fragile States Strategy, food assistance and famine relief and prevention, and health issues in humanitarian crises. Mr. Steinberg emphasized that there is full buy-in for this effort at the DOS. In closing, he said that the Joint Council looks forward to cooperation with all of the groups present at the public meeting.

## **QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS**

**Ted Weihe**, ACVFA member, asked about plans for involvement of the PVO community in various policy issues.

**Ms. Butler** replied that the policy issues will be debated and hopefully resolved at the working group level. To the best of her knowledge the working groups have not yet discussed outreach beyond the working group membership. The crosscutting issues represent natural points for which there should be outside input. Ms. Butler remarked that there is a need to look at mechanisms for reaching out more broadly.

**Mr. Reese** commented that he hoped the Joint Policy Council sees the ACVFA, not only as a public relations mechanism, but also as a good resource.

**Mr. Steinberg** replied that the Joint Policy Council very much wants to open a dialogue with the ACVFA and the PVO community.

**Elise Fiber Smith**, ACVFA member, asked how DOS and USAID will maximize impact and minimize redundancies between the two agencies.

**Mr. Steinberg** responded by saying that the Joint Policy Council will not duplicate efforts if they are already working well.

**Ms. Butler** added that the Joint Policy Council represents a very broad structure within both DOS and USAID that could potentially be used for distributing information and mutual education. In the beginning, though, the intention is to use the Council as a venue for resolving policy issues.

**Don Crane** from ACDI/VOCA asked for comments about the necessity of preserving the continuity of resources as the purpose of the assistance changes.

**Ms. Butler** answered that one of the issues to be addressed by the Council is a common view of aid effectiveness. The issue of long-term/short-term will be central to the discussion.

**A participant** asked how the Council will interact with the field organizations.

**Mr. Steinberg** remarked that a message has already been sent to ambassadors and USAID Directors worldwide asking for their input. Additionally, some of the working groups have asked the missions for input into the proposed work agenda.

**Mary McClymont**, ACVFA member, asked for comments on the role of the Council vis-à-vis the new efforts based at the DOS, including the HIV/AIDS Initiative, the Middle East Partnership Initiative, and the MCA.

**Mr. Steinberg** replied that there were originally fourteen working groups, including the MCA and HIV/AIDS. However, these initiatives are already being coordinated by program offices and there was not a need to "coordinate the coordinators." The crosscutting group on aid effectiveness will look at the MCA "near-miss" countries.

**Ms. Butler** remarked that the Joint Policy Council is a bilateral effort, but the issues will require the engagement of other agencies and groups, including the Development Policy Coordination Committee (PCC).

**Robert Chase**, ACVFA member, asked Mr. Steinberg to comment on the perception that the move towards shorter-term time frames in development assistance is related to the closer integration of DOS and USAID.

**Mr. Steinberg** responded that there is a clear understanding that DOS and USAID have different time horizons. There is a need to coordinate these two points of view into a strategy that responds to the crisis of the day, but maintains a long-term development perspective.

**Ms. Butler** added that both DOS and USAID cultures need to change so that they are more agile and responsive. She said that the Joint Policy Council is not the beginning of the merger between USAID and DOS. This Council ensures that there is a seat at the policy table for both agencies.

**Stephen Moseley**, ACVFA member, pointed out that increasingly people who are participating in U.S. government sponsored programs are being stopped at the border or encounter other problems related to national security efforts. There is a growing frustration with lack of coordination with U.S. government entities responsible for security, and it is undermining many good programs of DOS and USAID.

**Mr. Steinberg** replied that there is a working group on public diplomacy that is looking at getting the word out about the good work that the U.S. is doing around the world. That working group is looking at educational and cultural exchange programs and how to maximize the benefit from those. It has taken on the issue of sending mixed signals.

**Mr. Reese** remarked that some of these issues are a reflection of how the U.S. government is organized. One must keep in mind that the U.S. is not the only country that is dealing with these issues.

## **BREAKOUT SESSIONS ON THE WHITE PAPER**

**Discussion questions :**

1. Do you think that the five core goals taken together will allow us to meet the challenges of foreign aid in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?
2. What can we do to be more effective in pursuing “transformational” development?
3. Selectivity is an important guiding principle and means setting priorities among and within countries. What would be the priority actions in fragile states?
4. What can we do to improve our effectiveness in fragile states?
5. In what ways would the ideas discussed in the morning presentations affect the work of the non-governmental community in foreign assistance?

### **Breakout Group 1**

**Moderator:** Robert Chase, ACVFA Member

**USAID Resource Staff:** Joan Atherton  
Tjip Walker

**Ms. Atherton** opened the discussion by pointing out three principles behind the White Paper:

1. Effective development is primarily the responsibility of the country itself. Development assistance is most effective in countries that are investing their own resources in development.
2. A recognition that national security is an important driver behind foreign assistance today.
3. There are multiple U.S. agencies involved in foreign assistance, pursuing multiple objectives. The White Paper is an attempt to look at the big picture.

**Mr. Chase** asked about the game plan; what is next for the White Paper?

**Ms. Atherton** responded that there is a plan to bring in other perspectives. The White Paper will be presented on Capitol Hill soon. The Fragile States Strategy is being worked on at this time. She said that USAID is looking at scenario planning. Where this strategy goes will depend somewhat on resource allocation.

**A participant** asked how the five categories of goals address the lack of coherence of U.S. foreign policy and the specifics such as procurement and employment practices. He said the paper does not set priorities. It is difficult to view the five goals as "goals" and not just categories of foreign assistance.

**Ms. Atherton** responded that three of the goals are distinctive and two are crosscutting. The goal of humanitarian assistance is to meet human needs. She said that the five goals reflect what foreign assistance does, regardless of which U.S. government agency is funding or implementing the program.

In the area of transnational issues, assistance is based on severity of the problem, not performance. She stated that sectoral goals don't demonstrate how the country as a whole is performing. There is a need to incorporate all of the different goals into planning for effective programs.

**A participant** asked how basic education fits into the five goals. Ms. Atherton answered that education is included under each of the five goals. The expectations for outcomes will be different depending on the overall goal of the assistance. For instance, one would expect different educational outcomes in fragile states and transformational states.

**Mr. Chase** noted that one of the key changes proposed by the White Paper is the alignment of resources with goals. There are separate objectives and tools for each goal. However, one country could fall into as many as four categories.

**Mr. Walker** responded that the idea is to determine the principal manner in which the U.S. should relate to a particular country. Although a country may fall into more than one category, a decision should be made about which one is the priority for foreign assistance.

**Ms. Atherton** added that the line between fragile and transformational states is often unclear. There is a need to remain flexible so that assistance can be targeted appropriately as countries move from fragile to transformational.

**Mr. Chase** asked if a move from fragile to transformational status would require a change in funding sources. Mr. Walker responded that resources might have to come from another source. However, the intent is to remain flexible and responsive to country needs.

**A participant** asked if the thinking in the White Paper represents a retreat from dealing with the world's poorest countries.

**Ms. Atherton** replied that country need is definitely a criterion of the MCA. Some very poor countries are on the MCA list. However, there is recognition that countries must demonstrate a willingness to put in place policies and programs that will move them in the right direction. Country commitment is extremely important.

**A participant** asked about benchmarks for graduation from U.S. foreign assistance.

**Mr. Walker** answered that the intention is to develop specific criteria for graduation. It is important to have the right criteria and be evaluating progress within a realistic time frame.

**Ms. Atherton** added that the White Paper lays the graduation issue squarely on the table. USAID has used eligibility for IDA funding as a criterion in the past; this includes both social and economic indicators. She noted that there are a number of countries ready to graduate from development assistance, but they may still have some specific needs for outside help, such

as in the area of HIV/AIDS. USAID is looking at how to phase out its major programs while remaining flexible enough to provide targeted assistance.

**Mr. Chase** remarked that many would like to see the principles of the MCA carried over to the development accounts. A participant asked if USAID's close association with DOS might derail development assistance.

**Ms. Atherton** said that USAID manages a lot of resources from DOS. USAID and DOS need to work together to be more analytical about how assistance is targeted.

**Mr. Walker** added that one of the intentions of the paper is to recognize that there are a number of goals of foreign assistance but to clearly define long-term development as a legitimate goal.

**Mr. Reese** commented that there are dangers in working closely with the DOS, but there are good things also. He stressed that the MCA is a development dream -- an enormous amount of money going to the world's poorest countries. He remarked that it is important not to load up the category of global and transnational issues or it will risk diluting the whole effort.

## **Breakout Group 2**

**Moderator:** Ted Weihe, ACVFA Member

**USAID Resource Staff:** Michael Crosswell  
Melissa Brown  
Letitia Butler

## **Discussion**

### **Question 1**

**Participants** remarked that they see no problem with the five goals; they are inclusive but do not overlap. One participant noted that it might be difficult to achieve the goals on a country-by-country basis in a globalized economy where jobs, diseases and technologies migrate easily.

**Mr. Crosswell** noted that some of the goals assume a level of interdependence; this guided the Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination in delineating global and transnational issues in the White Paper. Development progress is primarily a result of recipient self-help. It is important to note that some countries have been able to make progress in adverse settings, while neighboring countries have failed to develop (e.g., Chile succeeds while Argentina flounders). Good governance is always a critical factor in a country's success, but circumstances and the pace of change will vary in each country.

**A participant** noted that the White Paper does not set forth goals in population, reproductive health or the environment. How do these areas fit in with the other priorities in the paper? India

is a good example of a country that needs assistance in child survival and family planning as its population increases.

**Mr. Crosswell** said the White Paper deliberately avoids discussion of individual sectors and their role in development. These issues are addressed under particular goals, in the context of fragile states and transnational concerns, for example.

**Ms. Butler** remarked that the White Paper is a follow on to USAID's "Foreign Aid in the National Interest" report, which addressed particular sectors. The two papers should be seen as complementary.

**Ms. Brown** conceded there is tension between broad articulation of development problems and focusing specifically on individual country circumstances. The White Paper framework takes into account the sources of fragility, which can include governance, health and security issues. The World Bank has conducted a lot of research on the environment and economics in fragile states; these can be major drivers of instability.

**A participant** remarked that the White Paper does not address how to empower and educate people in developing nations.

**Ms. Brown** said USAID invests in developing country leaders. The difficulty lies in identifying them; some work within government and some work in the non-governmental sector.

## **Question 2**

**Mr. Weihe** asked the group for their reactions to the term "transformational" development in lieu of "sustainable" development. About half the group indicated they preferred the new term.

**A participant** noted that the word transformational does reflect USAID's commitment to change perceptions of society and roles and responsibilities of developing country citizens.

**A participant** asked if the U.S. has the right to define what is transformational for a particular country. Aren't there negative moral overtones to this phrase? There is a risk that the term will be misunderstood. USAID must ensure that developing country citizens are included in decision-making processes.

**A participant** stated that USAID's American Schools and Hospitals Abroad (ASHA) Program is a good example of transformational development. A former Minister of Education in Guatemala was educated at an ASHA institution.

**Ms. Butler** said transformational development means having enough flexibility to recognize local ownership. The concept embraces participatory decision-making and local leadership,

which President Bush emphasized when he announced the MCA. “Transformation” requires greater responsiveness to local conditions.

A **participant** stated that USAID should focus on growing local leaders instead of training them.

**Ms. Brown** said many of USAID’s civil society programs are growing leaders.

**Mr. Crosswell** said transformational development is about change and how to help poor countries become non-poor. USAID assumes that most countries do not want to remain poor, but want to make progress.

**Mr. Weihe** noted that there are problems with how USAID defines transformational development; USAID staff should work to refine the definition.

### **Question 3**

**Mr. Crosswell** noted that USAID makes choices based on where it can get the best results. The White Paper divides countries into three groups:

- 1) Countries that are relatively stable;
- 2) Countries that are fragile, with no medium-term development prospects; and
- 3) Countries of special geo-strategic interests to the United States (e.g., Turkey, Egypt). For the last group, foreign aid levels will be determined based on foreign policy criteria.

**Mr. Weihe** asked to which group USAID would give priority.

**Ms. Brown** said USAID grapples with the question of where to put resources to achieve a basic level of stability. Short-term indicators might include youth unemployment and level of natural resources.

A **participant** asked how USAID selects the best of the fragile states. These states are either descending into crisis or emerging from it and intervening at either end of the spectrum involves risk.

**Ms. Brown** said USAID focuses on identifying signs of vulnerability in order to intervene sooner rather than later. USAID wants to give Missions more flexibility to respond to these situations but does consider, at the same time, foreign policy priorities, level of need, and targeting states in which resources can make a difference. It is important to note that most countries in conflict will return to conflict within five years.

**Ms. Butler** said selectivity is not a binary concept. USAID is not walking away from a whole category of countries.

**Mr. Weihe** advised USAID staff to make sure that they match skill with the magnitude of the problem in each country.

#### **Question 4**

**Mr. Weihe** asked USAID staff how they are promoting the relief-to-development continuum.

**Ms. Butler** said that this is a challenge. Both the relief and development cultures need to change to focus on medium-term results. The Fragile States Paper will address this issue.

**A participant** asked how USAID plans to support middle-of-the-road states like Niger.

**Mr. Crosswell** said USAID would favor better performers but it will be a question of resources.

#### **Question 5**

**Mr. Weihe** asked participants to list one or two ideas each had found of interest during the day's discussions. Issues, suggestions, and questions included:

- What impact will the increased focus on global, transnational issues have on USAID's work?
- How can USAID use the expertise of NGOs/PVOs in implementing the new strategy?
- USAID has clearly delineated a change in its growth strategy.
- USAID needs to listen to NGOs.
- USAID's focus on the legitimacy of governments will be critical.
- How will the White Paper be implemented? Will it involve new procedures?
- How will the new strategy affect work in countries that aren't selected for assistance? NGOs will not want to stop work in these countries.
- USAID must make itself understood to the American public and on Capitol Hill.
- Who will participate in implementing the new strategy?
- The more clarity within USAID, the better.
- The DOS-USAID Joint Strategy is as important as the White Paper.
- How will national security interests be integrated into USAID priorities?
- How will USAID's emphasis on good governance square with the MCA strategy?

## **REPORT FROM BREAKOUT GROUPS**

### **Breakout Group 1 - Report**

**Rapporteur:** Jo Luck, ACVFA Member

*Highlights of the discussion:*

- The issues discussed in the White Paper will continue to unfold in the coming months.
- How the resources fall will determine some of the implications for implementation.
- Collective agreement on these five goals will help bring a common focus to discussions of foreign assistance.
- Education is embedded in a number of the goals, but the outcomes will be different depending on the goal. For example, there will be different expectations and outcomes for fragile or transformational states.
- This paper better aligns U.S. resources and gives a clearer vision of how those resources should be used.
- There is a very fuzzy line between fragile states and transformational development. Criteria is being developed that will give better definition to these groups of countries.
- This approach to development does not exclude the poorest countries, but invests in those that have shown initiative and have made some progress.
- USAID is looking very carefully at graduation or exit strategies. Some countries may be ready to graduate but will still need assistance on particular issues, such as HIV/AIDS.

### **Breakout Group 2 - Report**

**Rapporteur:** Ted Weihe, ACVFA Member

#### *Highlights of the discussion:*

- There needs to be attention to regional issues, not just country focus.
- There was a concern about not enough focus on some specific issues in the White Paper
- The term "transformational development" needs to be better defined.
- Some educators felt that transformation has to do with developing leadership.
- There were concerns about categorizing countries. Selectivity within the category of failed states could be very difficult.
- There is a need to get away from the stovepipes and look at the myriad of issues facing fragile states and how to redesign the responses to best meet the needs.
- The White Paper could provide more clarity to what USAID does.

- The PVO community needs to be engaged in these discussions. It is difficult to determine the implications of the White Paper for particular organizations or field staff.

## **MEETING WRAP-UP**

**Ms. Butler** thanked the meeting participants for their time and their comments on the White Paper. She said that the paper is still at a very conceptual level. The White Paper is an attempt to find clarity without oversimplifying the options for the field.

Ms. Butler emphasized that Administrator Natsios is committed to moving the White Paper forward in every way possible. She welcomed comments and feedback from the PVO community.

**Mr. Reese** thanked the USAID staff and the meeting participants for their time and participation.





## Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

**Public Meeting**  
**Wednesday, February 25, 2004**  
**9:15 am – 5:15 pm**

**National Press Club**  
**529 14<sup>th</sup> Street, NW, 13<sup>th</sup> Floor**  
**Washington, DC**

### **Agenda**

### ***“The Changing Face of Foreign Assistance: New Opportunities and Challenges”***

- 9:15**            **Welcome**  
*Ballroom*
- William S. Reese*  
ACVFA Chairman
- 9:30**            **Keynote Address**  
*Ballroom*
- Andrew S. Natsios*  
Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development
- 10:00**           **Q & A**
- 10:30**           **White Paper**  
***“U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century”***  
*Ballroom*
- Barbara Turner*  
Acting Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development
- 11:00**           **Q & A**
- 11:30**           **Fragile States Strategy**  
*Ballroom*
- Leonard Rogers*  
Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict and Humanitarian Assistance, U.S. Agency for International Development
- 12:00**           **Q & A**

**Resource for the White Paper/Fragile States Strategy Discussion:**

***Letitia Butler, Melissa Brown, and Michael Crosswell***

Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development

**12:30**

**Lunch**

*The First Amendment Lounge*

**1:45**

**Update: U.S. HIV/AIDS Strategy**

*Ballroom*

***E. Anne Peterson, M.D.***

Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Global Health, U.S. Agency for International Development

***Ambassador Randall Tobias***

U.S. Global AIDS Coordinator, U.S. Department of State

**2:30**

**Q & A**

**2:45**

**Update: Department of State-USAID Joint Policy Council**

*Ballroom*

***Letitia Butler***

Director, Office of Policy Planning, Bureau for Policy and Program Coordination, U.S. Agency for International Development

***Don Steinberg***

Director, Joint Policy Council, U.S. Department of State

**3:30**

**Q & A**

**3:45**

**Break Out Sessions on the White Paper: “U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-First Century”**

The First Amendment Lounge

The Holeman Lounge

**Resource:**

**USAID:**

Joan Atherton  
Melissa Brown  
Letitia Butler  
Mike Crosswell  
Anne Phillips  
Tjip Walker

**ACVFA:**

Bob Chase  
Jim Henson  
Ted Weihe  
Bill Reese

**4:45**

**Plenary**

*Ballroom*

**5:15**

**Adjournment**



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(ACVFA)

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**Wednesday, February 25, 2004**

**National Press Club**  
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**Washington, DC**

### Participant List

**Ackerley, Sue**

International Executive Service Corps  
901 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 350  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-0280  
E-Mail: sakerley@iesc.org

**Albert, Casey**

Deloitte Emerging Markets Group  
1001 G Street, NW  
Suite # 90 W  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 572-7093  
E-Mail: calbert@deloitte.com

**Al-Kohlany, Fouad**

Embassy of the Republic of Yemen  
2600 Virginia Avenue, NW  
Suite # 705  
Washington, DC 20037  
Phone: (202) 965-4760  
E-Mail: Fouad@yemenembassy.org

**Amdemaria, Yobi**

Eritrean Development Foundation  
1012 14<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 1030  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 783-3273

**Anastasi, Marie-Christine**

World Vision USA  
300 I Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6327  
E-Mail: manastas@worldvision.org

**Andrushkiw, Vera**

U.S. – Ukraine Foundation  
733 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 1026  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202)347-4264  
E-Mail: vandrushkiw@usukraine.org

**Arseculer, Sonali**

Aid to Artisans  
331 Wethersfield Avenue  
3<sup>rd</sup> Floor  
Hartford, CT 06114  
Phone: (860) 947-3344  
E-Mail:  
Sonali\_Areseculeratne@aidtoartisans.org

**Baanante, George**

Independent Consultant  
9211 Bailey Lane  
Fairfax, VA 22031  
Phone: (703) 385-5194  
E-Mail: Jobaan@aol.com

**Bae, Sujin**

CIVICUS World Alliance for Citizen  
Participation  
1112 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 540  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 331-8518  
E-Mail: [sujin@civicus.org](mailto:sujin@civicus.org)

**Baly, Michael**

International Relief and Development, Inc.  
1621 North Kent Street  
4<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 778-4626  
E-Mail: [mbaly@ird-dc.org](mailto:mbaly@ird-dc.org)

**Barca, Peter**

Aurora Associates International  
1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite # 640  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 588-5884  
E-Mail: [pbarca@aurorainternational.com](mailto:pbarca@aurorainternational.com)

**Basaric-Keys, Jasna**

International Relief and Development, Inc.  
1621 North Kent Street  
Suite # 400  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 248-0161  
E-Mail: [jkeys@ird-dc.org](mailto:jkeys@ird-dc.org)

**Bassan, Betsy**

Chemonics International  
1133 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-7565  
E-Mail: [bbassan@chemonics.net](mailto:bbassan@chemonics.net)

**Bauman, Stephan**

World Hope International  
8136 Old Keene Road  
Suite # 209 A  
Springfield, VA 22152  
Phone: (703) 923-9414  
E-Mail: [stephenbauman@worldhope.net](mailto:stephenbauman@worldhope.net)

**Baxter, Brooke**

Carelift International  
1 Belmont Avenue  
Suite # 425  
Bala Cynwyd, PA 19004  
Phone: (610) 617-0995  
E-Mail: [brooke@carelift.org](mailto:brooke@carelift.org)

**Bawden, Nathan**

Medical Care Development International  
8401 Colesville Road  
Suite # 425  
Silver Spring, MD 20910  
Phone: (301) 562-1920  
E-Mail: [mcdi@mcd.org](mailto:mcdi@mcd.org)

**Beck, Lawrence**

Logistics Management Institute  
2000 Corporate Ridge  
Operational Logistics/International  
Programs  
McLean, VA 22102  
Phone: (571) 633-7862  
E-Mail: [lbeck@lmi.org](mailto:lbeck@lmi.org)

**Bensen, Deborah**

Operation Blessing International  
977 Centerville Turnpikes  
Virginia Beach, VA 23463  
Phone: (757) 226-3440  
E-Mail: [deborah.bensen@ob.org](mailto:deborah.bensen@ob.org)

**Bernstein, Adam**

Save the Children  
2000 M Street, NW  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 530-4380

**Beverly, Kevin**

Social and Scientific Systems  
8757 Georgia Avenue  
Suite # 1200  
Silver Spring, MD 29010  
Phone: (301) 628-3045  
E-Mail: [kbeverly@s-3.com](mailto:kbeverly@s-3.com)

**Bidus, Mark**

Academy for Educational Development  
1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 884-8049  
E-Mail: mbidus@aed.org

**Bolnick, Bruce**

Nathan Associates  
2101 Wilson Boulevard  
Suite # 1200  
Arlington, VA 22201  
Phone: (703) 516-7866  
E-Mail: bbolnick@nathaninc.com

**Bolognese, Kerry**

NASULGC  
1307 New York Avenue, NW  
Suite # 400  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 478-6023  
E-Mail: kbolognese@nasulgc.org

**Borja, Armando**

Jesuit Refugee Service USA  
1616 P Street, NW  
Suite # 300  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 462-0400  
E-Mail: aborja@jesuit.org

**Breslin, Partick**

Inter-American Foundation  
901 North Stuart Street  
Tenth Floor  
Arlington, VA 22203  
Phone: (703) 306-4311  
E-Mail: pbreslin@iaf.gov

**Brinkerhoff, Derick**

Research Triangle Institute  
1615 M Street, NW  
Suite # 740  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 728-2479  
E-Mail: dbrinkerhoff@rti.org

**Brinkerhoff, Jennifer**

George Washington University  
805 21<sup>st</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 601  
Washington, DC 20052  
Phone: (202) 994-3598  
E-Mail: jbrink@gwu.edu

**Brody, Kristen**

Academy for Educational Development  
1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 884-8791  
E-Mail: kbrody@aed.org

**Brown, Courtney**

Food for the Hungry  
220 I Street, NE  
Suite # 230  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 547-0560  
E-Mail: Courtney.brown@fh.org

**Brown, Jennifer**

1500 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite # 600  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 861-2242  
E-Mail: jenbrown@audubon.org

**Brown, Richard**

Winrock International  
1621 North Kent Street  
Suite # 1200  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 525-9430  
E-Mail: rbrown@winrock.org

**Brown, Lena**

Project Hope  
255 Carter Hall Lane  
Millwood, VA 22646  
Phone: (540) 837-2100  
E-Mail: lbrown@projecthope.org

**Brown, Richard**

Winrock International  
1621 North Kent Street  
Suite # 1200  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 525-9430  
E-Mail: rbrown@winrock.org

**Bryant, George**

International Foundation for Education and  
Self-Help  
5040 East Shea Boulevard  
Suite # 260  
Scottsdale, AZ 85254  
Phone: (480) 443-1800  
E-Mail: bryageorge@aol.com

**Burgess, David**

America's Development Foundation  
101 North Union Street  
Suite # 200  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Phone: (703) 836-2717  
E-Mail: dburgess@adfusa.org

**Burke, John**

2825 Park Center Drive  
Alexandria, VA 22302  
Phone: (703) 567-9122  
E-Mail: jburkema@aol.com

**Burns, Richard**

World Learning  
1015 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 750  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 408-5429  
E-Mail: Richard.burns@worldlearning.org

**Buzzard, Shirley**

Heartlands International  
510 N Street, NW  
Suite # 527  
Washington, DC 20024  
Phone: (202) 554-6316  
E-Mail:  
sbuzzard@heartlandsinternational.com

**Caffrey, Patricia**

Save the Children Federation  
2000 M Street, NW  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 261-4687  
E-Mail: tcaffrey@dc.savechildren.org

**Husan, Zafreen**

Aga Khan Foundation  
1825 K Street, NW  
Suite # 901  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 293-2537  
E-Mail: zafreen@akfusa.org

**Campanaro, Giulia**

CARE  
1625 K Street, NW  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 595-2817  
E-Mail: gcampanaro@dc.care.org

**Campbell, Douglas**

U.S.- Ukraine Foundation  
733 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 1026  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 347- 4264  
E-Mail: dcampbell@usukraine.org

**Campbell, Kimberly**

Graduate School USDA  
600 Maryland Avenue, SW  
Suite # 320  
Washington, DC 20024  
Phone: (202) 314-3513  
E-Mail:  
Kimberly\_Campbell@grad.usda.gov

**Catania, Frank**

Americares  
88 Hamilton Avenue  
Stamford, CT 06902  
Phone: (203) 658-9560  
E-Mail: fcatania@americares.org

**Capper, Sarah**  
AMIDEAST  
1730 M Street, NW  
Suite # 1100  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 776-9668  
E-Mail: scapper@amideast.org

**Cardinal, Stephanie**  
CARE USA  
151 Ellis Street  
Atlanta, GA 30303  
Phone: (404) 979-9371  
E-Mail: cardinal@care.org

**Carter, Joseph**  
Medical Care Development International  
8401 Colesville Road  
Suite # 425  
Silver Spring, MD 20910  
Phone: (301) 562-1920  
E-Mail: mcdi@mcdi.org

**Cartwright, Joel**  
TASC  
4801 Stonecroft Boulevard  
Chantilly, VA 20151  
Phone: (703) 633-8300  
E-Mail: joel.cartwright@ngc.com

**Chekara, Monica**  
Institute for International Economics  
1400 K Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 326-7821  
E-Mail: mchekara@iie.org

**Chaker, Amar**  
Civil Engineering Research Foundation  
2131 K Street  
Suite # 700  
Washington, DC 20037  
Phone: (202) 785-6420  
E-Mail: achaker@cerf.org

**Chao, Sandra**  
Academy for Educational Development  
1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 884-8259  
E-Mail: schao@aed.org

**Cheng, Laura**  
American University  
1301 Vermont Avenue, NW  
Suite # 602  
Washington, DC 20005  
E-Mail: garbanzo17@hotmail.com

**Chesky, Edward**  
3176 Upland Terrace, NW  
Washington, DC 20015  
E-Mail: edwch@worldnet.att.net

**Christian, Angela**  
National Institute Health  
459 Massachusetts Avenue  
Washington, DC 20001  
E-Mail: ginebra54@hotmail.com

**Claffey, Joan**  
Association Liaison Office for University  
Cooperation  
1307 New York Avenue, NW  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 478-4700  
E-Mail: claffeyj@aascu.org

**Clarke, Mari**  
CEDPA  
1400 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 100  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 667-1142  
E-Mail: mclarke@cedpa.org

**Claxton, Ann**  
World Vision  
300 Eye Street, NE  
Suite # 270  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6434  
E-Mail: aclaxton@worldvision.org

**Cohen, David**

David Cohen and Associates  
2361 Players Pond Lane  
Reston, VA 20191  
Phone: (703) 742-3340  
E-Mail: d.cohen@cox.net

**Cohen, Donald**

Plan USA  
1730 North Lynn Street  
Suite # 600  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 807-1264  
E-Mail: cohend@childreach.org

**Coles, Julius**

Africare  
440 R Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 328-5323  
E-Mail: jcoles@africare.org

**Coneth, Jamal**

Mercy Children Relief Fund  
18 Wilberforce Street  
Freetown, Jamaica  
Phone: 011 232 766 09752  
E-Mail: maymusjay@yahoo.com

**Constable, Peter**

Catholic Relief Services  
209 West Fayette Avenue  
Baltimore, MD 21231  
Phone: (410) 951-7255  
E-Mail: pconstable@catholicrelief.org

**Cowey, Collette**

Independent Consultant  
4032 Sentinel Drive  
Apartment # 206  
Bethesda, MD 20816  
Phone: (301) 229-1698  
E-Mail: cccowey@earthlink.net

**Covert, Kevin**

Chemonics International  
1133 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-3426  
E-Mail: kcovert@chemonics.net

**Crane, Donald**

ACDI/VOCA  
50 F Street, NW  
Suite # 1100  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 879-0224  
E-Mail: dcrane@acdivoca.org

**Crowley, Susan**

Merck & Co., Inc.  
One Merck Drive  
Whitehouse, NJ 08889  
Phone: (908) 423-7769  
E-Mail: susan\_crowley@merck.com

**Cruz, Ivey**

IMCC  
2101 Wilson Blvd  
Arlington, VA 22201  
E-Mail: ccruz@imcc.com

**Culbreth, Marshall**

Citizens Network for Foreign Affairs, Inc.  
1111 19<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 900  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 296-3920  
E-Mail: mculbreth@cnfa.org

**Dalton, James**

Business Alliance for  
International Economic Development  
700 New Hampshire Avenue, NW  
Apartment # 409  
Washington, DC 20037  
Phone: (202) 333-5743  
E-Mail: jdaltonDC@compuserve.com

**Dar, Kami**

The Development Executive Group  
2501 Calvert Street, NW  
Suite # 806  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 494-5805  
E-Mail: kami.dar@developmentex.com

**D'Aubermont, Natalie**  
International Fund for Agriculture  
Development  
17775 K Street, NW  
Suite # 410  
Washington, DC 20003  
Phone: (202) 454-2154  
E-Mail: n.thompson@ifad.org

**Daughtry-Weiss, Lisa**  
CEDPA  
1400 16th Street  
Suite # 100  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 202-667-1142  
E-Mail: ldaughtry.weiss@cedpa.org

**Davis, Robert**  
The Mountain Institute  
1828 L Street, NW  
Suite # 725  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 452-1636  
E-Mail: bdavis@mountain.org

**Dee, John**  
Cooperative Housing Foundation  
International  
8601 Georgia Avenue  
Suite # 800  
Silver Spring, MD 20910  
Phone: (301) 587-4700  
E-Mail: jdee@chfhq.org

**Deegan, Michael**  
ACDI/VOCA  
50 F Street, NW  
Suite # 1075  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 383-4971  
E-Mail: mdeegan@acdivoca.org

**Derfuss, Monique**  
Conservation International  
1919 M Street, NW  
Suite # 600  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 912-1386  
E-Mail: m.derfuss@conservation.org

**Devlin-Foltz, David**  
The Aspen Institute  
One Dupont Circle  
Suite # 700  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 736-5812  
E-Mail: ddf@aspeninstitute.org

**Dhanani, Qahir**  
Aga Khan Foundation USA  
1825 K Street, NW  
Suite # 901  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 293-2537  
E-Mail: qahir@akfusa.org

**Didion, Catherine**  
Association for Women in Science  
1200 New York Avenue, NW  
Suite # 650  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-8940  
E-Mail: didion@awis.org

**Dixon, Dwan**  
PACT, Inc.  
1200 18th Street NW  
Suite # 350  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 466-5666  
E-Mail: DDixon@pacthq.org

**Dodkhudoev, Gulru**  
Aga Khan Foundation USA  
1825 K Street, NW  
Suite # 901  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 293-2537  
E-Mail: gulru@akusa.org

**Doi, Shari**  
Center for Health and Gender Equity  
6930 Carroll Avenue  
Suite # 910  
Takoma Park, MD 20912  
Phone: (301) 270-1182  
E-Mail: sdoi@genderhealth.org

**Doshi, Reenal**

Global Health Council  
1701 K Street, NW  
Suite # 600  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 833-5900  
E-Mail: rdoshi@globalhealth.org

**Downey, Jack**

Academy for Educational Development  
1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 884-8049  
E-Mail: jdowney@aed.org

**El-Sadek, Sally**

International Relief and Development, Inc.  
1621 North Kent Street  
Suite # 4  
Washington, DC 22209  
Phone: (703) 248-0161  
E-Mail: selsadek@ird-dc.org

**Engman, Mark**

Christian Children's Fund  
1717 N Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-7951  
E-Mail: mgengman@ccfuse.org

**Fadeyi, Toluwanim**

Global Health Council  
1701 K Street, NW  
Suite # 600  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 833-5900  
E-Mail: tfadeyi@globalhealth.org

**Fanning, Marina**

Management Systems International  
600 Water Street, SW  
Washington, DC 20024  
Phone: (202) 484-7170  
E-Mail: mfanning@msi-inc.com

**Farag, Pheobe**

Coptic Orphans  
P.O. Box 2881  
Merrifield, VA 22116  
Phone: (703) 641-8910  
E-Mail: pfarag@copticorphans.org

**Ferguson Colas, Cynthia**

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.  
633 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20004  
Phone: (202) 737-0120  
E-Mail: ccolas@ncnw.org

**Fillinger, Tamera**

Population Services International  
1120 19<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 600  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 785-0172  
E-Mail: tfillinger@psi.org

**Fisken, Bernie**

Gelman, Rosenberg & Freedman  
4550 Montgomery Avenue  
Suite # 650 North  
Bethesda, MD 20814  
Phone: (301) 951-9090  
E-Mail: bfisken@grfcpa.com

**Fitzsimmons, Ian**

Institute of International Education  
1400 K Street, NW  
Suite # 650  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-7789  
E-Mail: ifitzsimmons@iie.org

**Foden, Lynn**

African Wildlife Foundation  
1400 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 120  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 939-3341  
E-Mail: lfoden@awf.org

**Forner, Patricia**

World Vision  
300 I Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6340  
E-Mail: pforner@worldvision.org

**Francis, Kate**

Population Connection  
1400 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 320  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 332-2200  
E-Mail: kfrancis@popconnect.org

**Freedberg, Jean**

National Democratic Institute  
2030 M Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
E-Mail: jfreedberg@ndi.org

**Freeman, Rebecca**

Aga Khan Foundation U.S.A.  
1825 K Street, NW  
Suite # 901  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 293-2537  
E-Mail: rfreeman@akfusa.org

**Garcia, Caryl**

Winrock International  
1621 North Kent Street  
Suite # 1200  
Rosslyn, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 525-9430  
E-Mail: cgarcia@winrock.org

**Garcia, Eloy**

Inter-American Development Bank  
1300 New York, NW  
Washington, DC 20577  
Phone: (202) 623-2213  
E-Mail: Eloyg@iadb.org

**Garuccio, Julie**

Network of East-West Women  
1707 L Street, NW  
Suite # 760  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 299-9001

**Garfinkel, Ruth**

Society for International Development  
1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite # 720  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 884-8590  
E-Mail: sid@aed.org

**Garms, David**

International Center for Soil Fertility  
and Agricultural Development  
12920 Wheatland Avenue  
Fairfax, VA 22033  
Phone: (703) 4786-6400  
E-Mail: dgarms@ifdc.org

**Garner, David**

McConnell International  
1301 K Street, NW  
Suite # 450 West  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (703) 346-0407

**Getz, R.E.**

Contractor  
P.O. Box 7151  
Falls Church, VA 22040  
Phone: (202) 342-0929  
E-Mail: potomac1@juno.com

**Gilley, Cynthia**

International Development Consulting  
816 Cameron Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Phone: (703) 683-5031  
E-Mail: cgilley@aol.com

**Goak, Malakal**

Sudanese American Federation Association  
2028 North 20<sup>th</sup> Street  
Omaha, NE 68110  
Phone: (402) 208-8765  
E-Mail: makaldengny@yahoo.com

**Goforth, Melinda**

Habitat for Humanity  
1010 Vermont Avenue  
Suite # 900  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 628-9171  
E-Mail: mjgoforth@aol.com

**Goh, Suzanne**

National Academy of Sciences  
2101 Constitution Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20418  
Phone: (202) 334-1625  
E-Mail: sgoh@nas.edu

**Goodin, Joan**

Management Systems International  
600 Water Street, SW  
Washington, DC 20024  
Phone: (202) 484-7170  
E-Mail: jgoodin@msi-inc.com

**Goodman, Margaret**

World Learning  
1015 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 750  
Washington, DC 20010  
Phone: (202) 408-5420  
E-Mail:  
Margaret.Goodman@worldlearning.org

**Gore, Jane**

Peace Corps  
1111 20th Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20526  
E-Mail: Jgore@peacecorps.gov

**Gottschling, Beth**

Aid to Artisans, Inc.  
4401 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
PBM 358  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 494-3992  
E-Mail: beth\_gottschling@aidtoartisans.org

**Grabman, Geneviev**

Center for Health and Gender Equity  
6930 Carroll Avenue  
Suite # 910  
Takoma Park, MD 20912  
Phone: (301) 270-1182  
E-Mail: ggrabman@genderhealth.org

**Grace, Roslyn**

International Medical Corps  
1600 K Street, NW  
Suite # 400  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 548-2410  
E-Mail: rgrace@imcworldwide.org

**Graham, Ann**

Independent Consultant  
1021 Grand Street  
Hoboken, NJ 07030  
Phone: (201) 653-8356  
E-Mail: aegraham@rci.rutgers.edu

**Grayzel, John**

USAID  
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20523  
Phone: (202) 712-0732  
Email: jgrayzel@usaid.gov

**Grems, Jennifer**

Winrock International  
1621 North Kent Street  
Suite # 1200  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 525-9430

**Gross, Alan**

Joint Business Development Center, Inc.  
5530 Wisconsin Avenue  
Suite # 1115  
Chevy Chase, MD 20815  
Phone: (240) 497-0700  
E-Mail: apgross@jbdcenter.org

**Guenette, Paul**

Deloitte Emerging Markets Group  
1101 G Street, NW  
Suite # 900 W  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 572-7180  
E-Mail: pguenette@deloitte.com

**Guinand, Adriana**

International Relief and Development  
1621 North Kent Street  
Fourth Floor  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 248-0161  
E-Mail: aguinand@ird-dc.org

**Hamud, Yasmin**

Search for Common Ground  
1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 777-2224  
E-Mail: yhamud@sfcg.org

**Harris, Mary**

Trust for Lead Poisoning Protection  
501 Slaters Lane  
Unit 1410  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Phone: (301) 567-4700  
E-Mail: MaryHarris@verizon.net

**Hart, Lary**

Afghanistan American Foundation  
8 E Street, SE  
Washington, DC 20003  
E-Mail: Larry.Hart2@att.net

**Hassing, Anca**

The Solidarity Center  
1925 K Street, NW  
Suite # 300  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 778-4665  
E-Mail: ahasing@solidaritycenter.org

**Hausman, Laurence**

The Nature Conservancy  
4245 North Fairfax  
Arlington, VA 22203  
Phone: (703) 841-5349  
E-Mail: lhausman@tnc.org

**Hayakawa, Motoky**

Academy for Educational Development  
1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 884-8791  
E-Mail: mhayakaw@aed.org

**Heaton, Sarah**

Center for Health and Gender Equity  
6930 Carroll Avenue  
Suite #910  
Takoma Park, MD 20912  
Phone: (301) 270-1182  
E-Mail: sheaton@genderhealth.org

**Henderson, Laura**

CARE  
1625 K Street, NW  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 595-2806  
E-Mail: Henderson@dc.care.org

**Hendrix, Kathleen**

Development and Training Services  
4301 North Fairfax Drive  
Suite # 215  
Arlington, VA 22243  
Phone: (703) 465-9388  
E-Mail: Kathy.Hendrix@devts.com

**Henn, Carl**

Plan USA  
1730 North Lynn Street  
Suite # 600  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 807-1264  
E-Mail: hennc@childreach.org

**Hise, Sarah Jane**

InterAction  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Suite # 701  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 667-8227  
E-Mail: sh@interaction.org

**Hobbs, Huntington**

Winrock International  
1621 North Kent Street  
Suite # 1200  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 525-9430  
E-Mail: hhobbs@winrock.org

**Hobson, Helen**

SIL International  
Office of International Relations  
2011 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Suite # 250  
Washington, DC 20006  
E-Mail: Helen\_Hobson@sil.org

**Hobson, John**

SIL International  
Office of International Relations  
2011 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Suite # 250  
Washington, DC 20006  
E-Mail: John\_Hobson

**Homan, Benjamin**

Food for the Hungry  
1224 East Washington Street  
Phoenix, AZ 85034  
Phone: (480) 609-7702  
E-Mail: benh@fh.org

**Hosh, Leonardo**

Pact, Inc.  
1200 18<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 350  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 466-5666  
E-Mail: lhosh@pacthq.org

**Hsu, Robert**

International Foundation for Election  
Systems  
1101 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Third Floor  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 872-4819  
E-Mail: rhsu@ifes.org

**Hsu, Victor**

Church World Service  
475 Riverside Drive  
Suite # 700  
New York, NY 10115  
Phone: (212) 870-2373  
E-Mail: vhsu@churchworldservice.org

**Hurd, Robert**

Institute for International Education  
1400 K Street, NW  
Suite # 600  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-7667  
E-Mail: bhurd@iie.org

**Husan, Zafreen**

Aga Khan Foundation  
1825 K Street, NW  
Suite # 901  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 293-2537  
E-Mail: zafreen@akfusa.org

**Husani, Hadi**

Focus Humanitarian Assistance  
7777 Leesberg Pike  
Suite # 303 South  
Falls Church, VA 22043  
Phone: (703) 442-3212  
E-Mail: hhusani@focushumanitarian.org

**Ito, Lucy**

World Council of Credit Unions  
5710 Mineral Point Road  
Madison, WI 53705  
Phone: (608) 231-7130  
E-Mail: lito@woccu.org

**Ito, Susumu**

Japan Bank for International Cooperation  
1909 K Street, NW  
Suite # 300  
Washington, DC 20007  
Phone: (202) 496-2285  
E-Mail: s-ito@jbic.go.jp

**Jackson, Thad**

INMED Partners for Children  
45449 Severn Way  
Suite # 161  
Sterling, VA 20166  
Phone: (703) 444-4477  
E-Mail: tjackson@inmed.org

**Jaffan, Dr. R. Heather**

System Sciences, Inc.  
10281 Hickory Knoll  
Fairfax, VA 22203  
Phone: (703) 273-8264  
E-Mail: rjaffan@aol.com

**Jaggers, Craig**

George Washington University  
School of Public Health  
4010 Van Ness Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20016  
E-Mail: C\_jaggers@hotmail.com

**James, Brioni**

Peace Corps  
Africa Region  
1111 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20526  
Phone: (202) 692-2324  
E-Mail: bjames@peacecorps.gov

**Jesse, Seth**

Institute of International Education  
1400 K Street, NW  
Suite # 650  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-7758  
E-Mail: sjesse@iie.org

**Johnson, Eric**

World Vision USA  
300 I Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6327  
E-Mail: ejohnson@worldvision.org

**Johnson, Susie**

United Methodists  
Women's Division  
100 Maryland Avenue, NE  
Suite # 530  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 488-5660

**Jones, Allen**

American Public Health Association  
800 I Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 777-2486  
E-Mail: allen.jones@apha.org

**Kassis, Jill**

Aid to Artisans  
331 Wethersfield Avenue  
3<sup>rd</sup> Floor  
Hartford, CT 06114  
Phone: (860) 947-3344  
E-Mail: Jill\_Kassis@aidtoartisans.org

**Katz, Jane**

Habitat for Humanity International  
1010 Vermont Avenue, NW  
Suite # 900  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 628-9171  
E-Mail: jkatz@hfhi.org

**Kay, Taylor**

National Democratic Institute  
for International Affairs  
15559 Palatine Avenue North  
Seattle, WA 98133  
E-Mail: tkay@ndi.org

**Kays, Lisa**

InterAction  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Suite # 701  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 667-8227  
E-Mail: lkkays@interaction.org

**Kelly, Terry**

Carelift International  
1 Belmont Avenue  
Suite # 425  
Bala Cynwyd, PA 19004  
Phone: (610) 617-0995  
E-Mail: [terrykelly@carelift.org](mailto:terrykelly@carelift.org)

**Kemp, Tonya**

Wheat Export Trade Education  
415 2<sup>nd</sup> Street, NE  
Suite # 300  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 879-0611  
E-Mail: [tkemp@uswheat.org](mailto:tkemp@uswheat.org)

**Khalidi, Anjum**

Global Giving  
7121 Wisconsin Avenue  
Bethesda, MD 20814  
Phone: (301) 652-8455  
E-Mail: [akhalidi@globalgiving.com](mailto:akhalidi@globalgiving.com)

**Khoury, Anna bel**

Visions in Action  
2710 Ontario Road, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 625-7402  
E-Mail: [visions@visionsinaction.org](mailto:visions@visionsinaction.org)

**Kindervatter, Suzanne**

InterAction  
1717 Massachusetts Ave, NW  
Suite # 701  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 667-8227  
E-Mail: [skindervatter@interaction.org](mailto:skindervatter@interaction.org)

**King, Spencer**

International Executive Service Corps  
901 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 350  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-0280  
E-Mail: [sking@iesc.org](mailto:sking@iesc.org)

**Kirby, Nancy**

US Foundation of the University  
of the Valley of Guatemala  
221 West Church Street  
Elmira, NY 14901  
Phone: (607) 733-5548  
E-Mail: [nancy.Kirby@kbn-cpa.com](mailto:nancy.Kirby@kbn-cpa.com)

**Koshel, Pat**

The National Academy of Sciences  
500 5<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
PGA  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 334-3233  
E-Mail: [pkoshel@nas.edu](mailto:pkoshel@nas.edu)

**Kotin, Elina**

Independent Consultant  
2258 Batchelder Street  
Apartment 1 E  
Brooklyn, NY 11229  
Phone: (718) 934-4414  
E-Mail: [elinanoi@hotmail.com](mailto:elinanoi@hotmail.com)

**Kumar, Raj**

The Development Executive Group  
2501 Calvert Street, NW  
Suite # 806  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 249-9222  
E-Mail: [raj.kumar@developmentex.com](mailto:raj.kumar@developmentex.com)

**Kuennen-Asfaw, Lisa**

Catholic Relief Services  
209 West Fayette Street  
Baltimore, MD 21201  
Phone: (410) 951-7343  
E-Mail: [lkuennen@catholicrelief.org](mailto:lkuennen@catholicrelief.org)

**Kurjakovic, Vel**

US Foundation of the University of  
the Valley of Guatemala  
221 West Church Street  
Elmira, NY 14901  
Phone: (607) 733-5548  
E-Mail: [vel\\_kurjakovic@yahoo.com](mailto:vel_kurjakovic@yahoo.com)

**Kuruvilla, Nitika**

The Development Executive Group  
2501 Calvert Street, NW  
Suite # 806  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 249-9222  
E-Mail:  
sarah.kuruvilla@developmentex.com

**Kuykendall, Kahlil**

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.  
633 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20004  
Phone: (202) 737-0120  
E-Mail: kkuykendal@ncnw.org

**Lakiza-Sach, Nataliya**

Woodrow Wilson Center for International  
Scholars  
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20004  
Phone: (202) 691-4068  
E-Mail: lakizasn@wwic.ci.edu

**Langin, Cynthia**

Institute for International Economics  
1400 K Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 326-7821  
E-Mail: clangin@iie.org

**Le Ban, Karen**

CORE, INC.  
300 I Street, NE  
1<sup>st</sup> Floor  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6360  
E-Mail: kleban@worldvision.org

**Lehman, Joyce**

MEDA Consulting Group  
1419 R Street, NW  
Suite # 20  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 234-6295  
E-Mail: jlehman@meda.org

**Letson, Perry**

ACDI/VOCA  
50 F Street, NW  
Suite # 110  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 879-0269  
E-Mail: pletson@acdivoca.org

**Levy-Brown, Karen**

International Foundation for  
Election Systems  
1101 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
3<sup>rd</sup> Floor  
Washington, DC 20005  
E-Mail: Klevy@ifes.org

**Lewis, Helen**

Search for Common Ground  
1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite # 200  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 252-4300  
E-Mail: hlewis@sfcg.org

**Like, George**

USAID  
RRB 7.06-084  
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC 20523  
Phone: (202) 712-1766  
E-Mail: glike@usaid.gov

**Lindborg, Nancy**

Mercy Corps  
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW  
Suite # 707  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 463-7383  
E-Mail: nlinborg@mercycorpsdc.org

**Locklin, Lawrence**

Enterprise Development International  
10395 Democracy Lane  
Suite B  
Fairfax, VA 222030  
Phone: (703) 277-3360  
E-Mail: llocklin@endpoverty.org

**Long, Caroline**

Independent Consultant  
2801 Spencer Road  
Chevy Chase, MD 20815  
Phone: (301) 589-4236  
E-Mail: clong@aol.com

**Loosli, Michelle**

Heartlands International, Inc.  
4100 North Fairfax Drive  
Suite # 302  
Arlington, VA 22203  
Phone: (703) 243-8900  
E-Mail:  
mloosli@heartlandsinternational.org

**Lopez de Mesa, Consuelo**

Independent Consultant  
10700 Kings Riding Way  
Suite # 201  
Rockville, MD 20852  
Phone: (301) 231-0623  
E-Mail: consuelopez@att.net

**Loux, Jonathan**

CURE International  
701 Bolster Avenue  
Leymore, PA 17043  
Phone: (717) 730-6706  
E-Mail: jloux@cureinternational.org

**Lowden, Jessica**

Institute of International Education  
1400 K Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-7664  
E-Mail: jlowden@iie.org

**Lucas, Sarah**

Center for Global Development  
1776 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Suite # 301  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 416-0700

**Mac Alister, Bob**

Independent Consultant  
333 University Boulevard West  
Suite 1112  
Kensington, MD 20895  
Phone: (301) 933-0962  
E-Mail: bmaca@earthlink.net

**MacWilliam, Patricia**

InterAction  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Suite # 701  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 667-8227  
E-Mail: pmacwilliam@interaction.org

**Madhani, Falak**

Aga Khan Foundation USA  
1825 K Street, NW  
Suite # 901  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 293-2537  
E-Mail: falak@akfusa.org

**Maha, El-Sheikh**

Chemonics International  
1133 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-3470  
E-Mail: melsheikh@chemonics.org

**Mason, Jana**

International Rescue Committee  
1730 M Street, NW  
Suite # 807  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 822-0166  
E-Mail: janam@theric.org

**Mason, Lawrence**

Institute of International Education  
1400 K Street, NW  
Suite # 650  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-7751  
E-Mail: lmason@iie.org

**Masse, Susan**

CEDPA  
1400 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 100  
Washington, DC 20036  
E-Mail: smasse@cedpa.org

**Maykoski, Jack**  
Graduate School, USDA  
International Institute  
600 Maryland Avenue, SW  
Suite # 320  
Washington, DC 20024  
Phone: (202) 314-3510  
E-Mail: John\_Maykoski@grad.usda.gov

**McCann, Katherine**  
Library of Congress  
Hispanic Division  
101 Independence Avenue, SW  
Washington, DC 20003  
Phone: (202) 707-2006  
E-Mail: kmcc@loc.gov

**McCollin, Elena**  
InterAction  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Suite # 701  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 667-8227  
E-Mail: emccollin@interaction.org

**McGirr, Michael**  
USDA, CSREES  
800 9<sup>th</sup> Street, SW  
Suite # 3328  
Washington, DC 20014  
Phone: (202) 205-3739  
E-Mail: mmcgirr@csrees.usda.gov

**McMahon, Joseph**  
JP McMahon LLC  
617 Steele Street  
Denver, CO 80206  
Phone: (303) 333-1960  
E-Mail: jpmcmahon@jpmcmahon.com

**Merchant, Alefia**  
ACDI/VOCA  
50 F Street, NW  
Suite # 1100  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 879-0611  
E-Mail: amerchant@acdivoca.org

**Millan, William**  
The Nature Conservancy  
4245 North Fairfax Drive  
Arlington, VA 22203  
Phone: (703) 841-4228  
E-Mail: bmillan@tnc.org

**Miller, Andrew**  
Graduate School, USDA  
International Institute  
600 Maryland Avenue, SW  
Suite # 320  
Washington, DC 20024  
Phone: (202) 401-0173  
E-Mail: amiller@csrees.usda.gov

**Miller, Michael**  
America's Development Foundation  
101 North Union Street  
Suite # 200  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Phone: (703) 836-2717  
E-Mail: mmiller@adfusa.org

**Molina Rosal, Carlos**  
International Social Service  
700 Light Street  
Baltimore, MD 21230  
Phone: (410) 230-2738  
E-Mail: cmolina@lirs.org

**Mondori, Lisa**  
World Vision, Inc.  
300 I Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 548-5113  
E-Mail: lmondori@worldvision.org

**Morden, Cheryl**  
International Center for Research on  
Women  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Suite # 302  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 797-0007  
E-Mail: cmorden@icrw.org

**Morgan, Terri**

Partners for the Environment  
333 North Washington Street  
Dallas, TX 75246  
Phone: (214) 828-5190  
E-Mail: terrimorgan@sbcglobal.net

**Morrell, Susan**

Seeds of Peace  
1054 31<sup>st</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 320  
Washington, DC 20007  
Phone: (202) 338-2656  
E-Mail: Suzanne@seedsofpeace.org

**Mosier, Michael**

TASC  
4801 Stonecroft Boulevard  
Chantilly, VA 20151  
Phone: (703) 633-8300  
E-Mail: mike.mosier@ngc.com

**Muir, Karen**

International Executive Service Corps  
901 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 350  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-0280  
E-Mail: kmuir@iesc.org

**Mull, Lynda**

International Initiative to End Child Labor  
1016 South Wayne Street  
Suite # 702  
Arlington, VA 22204  
Phone: (703) 920-0435  
E-Mail: Diane@endchildlabor.org

**Mulumba, Elizabeth**

Dignity, Inc.  
1001 Chillum Road  
Apartment # 4  
Hyattsville, MD 20782  
Phone: (301) 853-7377  
E-Mail: ekmulumba@fordignity.org

**Munson, Robert**

TASC  
4801 Stonecroft Boulevard  
Chantilly, VA 20151  
Phone: (719) 487-1464

**Murfit-Eller, Caroline**

OAS/Unit for the Promotion of Democracy  
1889 F Street, NW  
UDP  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 458-3520  
E-Mail: celler@oas.org

**Myers, Jenny**

Population Council  
4301 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite # 280  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 237-9442  
E-Mail: jmyers@pcdc.org

**Newhall, Sarah**

Pact, Inc.  
1200 18<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
E-Mail: snewhall@pacthq.org

**Ng, Mabel**

World Hunger Education Service  
1608 Rhode Island Avenue, NW  
Suite # 706  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 728-4066  
E-Mail: mng@ucdavis.edu

**Nicolas, Robert**

African Methodist Episcopal  
Church Service and Development Agency  
1134 11<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
2<sup>nd</sup> Floor  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 371-8722  
E-Mail: Rnicolas@ame-sada.org

**Noguchi, Yasushi**

Embassy of Japan  
2520 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 238-6796  
E-Mail: ynoguchi@embjapan.org

**Noor Ali, Tqbal**

Aga Khan Foundation, USA  
1825 K Street, NW  
Suite # 901  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 293-2537

**Norell, Sarah**

World Vision  
300 I Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6300  
E-Mail: dnorell@worldvision.org

**Northrup, Robert**

Project HOPE  
255 Cater Hall Lane  
Millwood, VA 22646  
Phone: (540) 837-2100  
E-Mail: rnorthrup@projecthope.org

**Oberg, Keith**

Pedals for Progress  
3108 North 17<sup>th</sup> Street  
Arlington, VA 22201  
Phone: (703) 525-0931  
E-Mail: koberg@bellatlantic.net

**Ogborn, Tim**

Heifer International  
1112 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 540  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 331-8618  
E-Mail: tim.ogborn@heifer.org

**Olsson, Kurt**

Development Alternatives, Inc.  
7250 Woodmont Avenue  
Suite # 200  
Bethesda, MD 20874  
Phone: (301) 718-8255  
E-Mail: kurt\_olsson@dai.com

**Oosterhous, Leah**

World Vision USA  
300 I Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6458  
E-Mail: loosterhouse@worldvision.org

**Oreilley, Laura**

Institute for International Economics  
1400 K Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 326-7821  
E-Mail: loreilley@iie.org

**Osborn, Kim**

UNCFSP  
2750 Prosperity Avenue  
Suite # 600  
Fairfax, VA 22031-8044  
E-Mail: Kim.Osborne@uncfsp.org

**Outterson, Beth**

Peace Corps  
1111 20th Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20526  
E-Mail: boutterson@peacecorps.gov

**Patel, Apurva**

Partners of the Americas  
1424 K Street, NW  
Suite # 700  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 637-6226  
E-Mail: apatel@partners.net

**Paul, Adrienne**

300 I Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6332  
E-Mail: apaul@worldvision.org

**Pearson, Lori**

Catholic Relief Services  
209 West Fayette Street  
Baltimore, MD 21201  
Phone: (410) 234-2988  
E-Mail: lpearson@catholicrelief.org

**Pelham, Peter**

Pelham Associates  
384 Magothy Road  
Severna Park, MD 21146  
Phone: (410) 647-9274  
E-Mail: pdpelham@aol.com

**Pennington, Eileen**

The Asia Foundation  
1779 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Suite # 815  
Washington, DC 20036  
E-Mail: epennington@asiafoundation-dc.org

**Ponomareff, Lara**

Institute for International Education  
1400 K Street, NW  
Suite # 650  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-7813  
E-Mail: lponomareff@iie.org

**Pyle, David**

JSI  
1616 North Fort Myer Drive  
11th Floor  
Rosslyn, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 528-7474

**Ragan, Kristi**

Development Alternatives, Inc.  
7250 Woodmont Avenue  
Suite # 200  
Bethesda, MD 20814  
Phone: (301) 718-8260  
E-Mail: Kristi\_ragan@dai.com

**Randolph, Mark**

Program for Appropriate  
Technology in Health  
1800 K Street, NW  
Suite # 800  
Phone: (202) 822-0033  
E-Mail: mrandolph@path-dc.org

**Rasmussen, Erik**

Bread for the World  
50 F Street, NW  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 693-9400  
E-Mail: erasmuss@bread.org

**Rastrick, Emilia**

Pragma Corporation  
116 East Broad Street  
Falls Church, VA 22046  
Phone: (703) 891-1528  
E-Mail: erastrick@pragmacorp.com

**Rathjen, Annette**

Management Systems International  
1730 Rhode Island Avenue, NW  
Suite # 715  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 974-6464  
E-Mail: arathjen@msi-inc.com

**Reiser, Mindy**

American Jewish World Service  
4500 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite # 614  
Washington, DC 20008  
E-Mail: mindyr@smdi.com

**Richardson, Yolanda**

CEDPA  
1400 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 100  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 9392707  
E-Mail: yrichardson@cedpa.org

**Reiser, Mindy**

American Jewish World Service  
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 387-2800  
E-Mail: mindyr@smdi.com

**Rivas, Amanda**

American University  
4400 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20016  
Phone: (202) 885-1695  
E-Mail: idpsis@american.edu

**Robbins, Alan**

The Development Executive Group  
2501 Calvert Street, NW  
Suite # 806  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 744-3304  
E-Mail: alan.robbins@developmentex.com

**Robertson, Lawrence**

Partners for Democratic Change  
2121 K Street, NW  
Suite # 700  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 942-9103  
E-Mail: lrobertson@partnersglobal.org

**Robinson, British**

Jesuit Refugee Service USA  
1616 P Street, NW  
Suite # 300  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 462-0400  
E-Mail: brobinson@jesuit.org

**Robinson, Mary**

US-Afghanistan Reconstruction Council  
11543 Links Drive  
Reston, VA 21090  
Phone: (703) 796-6067  
E-Mail: mrobinson@us-arc.org

**Rodriguez, Maria**

Volunteers of America  
1660 Duke Street  
Alexandria, VA 22314  
Phone: (703) 341-5090  
E-Mail: marodriguez@voa.org

**Rojas, Mary**

Chemonics International  
1120 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-3327  
E-Mail: mrojas@chemonics.net

**Rose, Jessica**

Office of HIV/AIDS Policy  
Department of Health and Human Services  
200 Independence Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20201  
E-Mail: jrose@s-3.org

**Runyan, Christopher**

USAID  
1300 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
RRB 7.06.084  
Washington, DC 20523  
Phone: (202) 712-1622  
E-Mail: crunyan@usaid.gov

**Rubeiz, Ghassan**

Christian Children's Fund  
1717 N Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-7951

**Sandstrom, Dana**

Chemonics International Inc.  
1133 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 600  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-3488  
E-Mail: dsandstrom@chemonics.net

**Scarbro, Sara**

Caribbean Central American Action  
1818 N Street, NW  
Suite # 310  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-4089  
E-Mail: sscarbro@c-caa.org

**Schaefer, Peter**

Institute for Liberty & Democracy  
5101 Cathedral Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20016  
Phone: (202) 244-9525  
E-Mail: ILDwashington@aol.com

**Scheffel, Dorothy**

World Vision USA  
300 I Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6300  
E-Mail: dscheffe@worldvision.org

**Schram, Susan**

ACDI/VOCA  
50 F Street, NW  
Suite # 1075  
Washington, DC 20001  
Phone: (202) 879-0600  
E-Mail: sschram@acdiovoca.org

**Schubert, Jody**

ICMA  
777 North Capitol Street, NE  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20002  
E-Mail: jschubert@icma.org

**Schweiter, Glenn**

National Academies of Science  
500 Fifth Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20001  
E-Mail: gschweit@NAS.edu

**Seales, Stephanie**

Deloitte Touche Tohmatsu Emerging  
Markets Group  
1001 G Street, NW  
Suite # 900  
Washington, DC 2001  
Phone: (202) 572-7051  
E-Mail: sseales@deloitte.com

**Sevier, Paul**

Chemonics International  
1133 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-7497  
E-Mail: psevier@chemonics.net

**Sevier, David**

Global Partnership on AIDS & Orphans  
1775 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Suite # 1050  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 463-7744  
E-Mail: dsevier@globalhealthone.net

**Shambaugh, James**

Peace Corps  
1226 N. Kent Street  
Fourth Floor  
Arlington, VA 22209  
E-Mail: jshambaugh@peacecorps.gov

**Shariff, Hajira**

Save the Children  
2000 M Street, NW  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 530-4395  
E-Mail: hshariff@dc.savechildren.org

**Shaw, Carrie**

USAID/OFDA  
1201 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Suite # 200  
Washington, DC 2004  
Phone: (202) 661-9325  
E-Mail: cashew@ofda.net

**Sherman, Karen**

Women for Women International  
1850 M Street, NW  
Suite # 1090  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 737-7705  
E-Mail: ksherman@womenforwomen.org

**Sherman, Tianna**

Management Sciences for Health  
4301 North Fairfax Drive  
Suite # 400  
Arlington, VA 22203  
E-Mail: tsherman@msh.org

**Shissler, Tracey**

CitiHope International  
323 11<sup>th</sup> Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 547-3339  
E-Mail: tshissler@citihope.org

**Shtogren, J. Alex**

Caribbean Central American Action  
1818 N Street, NW  
Suite # 310  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 466-7464  
E-Mail: ashtogren@c-caa.org

**Shunlin, Orli**

Institute for International Economics  
1400 K Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 326-7821

**Simpson, Robert**

Management Sciences for Health  
3401 North Fairfax Drive  
Suite # 400  
Arlington, VA 22066  
Phone: (703) 248-1630  
E-Mail: bsimpson@msh.org

**Sinclair, Tom**

The QED Group, LLC  
1250 Eye Street, NW  
Suite # 802  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 898-1910  
E-Mail: tsinclair@qedgroupllc.com

**Skuba, Charles**

Caribbean Central American Action  
1818 N Street, NW  
Suite # 310  
Washington, DC 20007  
Phone: (202) 256-4351  
E-Mail: cjskuba@c-caa.org

**Smith, Shelly**

Social and Scientific Systems  
1101 Vermont Avenue, NW  
Suite # 900  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 842-2939  
E-Mail: ssmith@s-3.com

**Smith, Ryan**

Chemonics International  
1133 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-4089  
E-Mail: grsmith@chemonics.net

**Solomon, Robin**

Peace Corps  
1111 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 6248  
Washington, DC 20526  
Phone: (202) 692-2653  
E-Mail: rsolomon@peacecorps.gov

**Sourdette, Richard**

International Foundation  
for Election Systems  
1101 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
3<sup>rd</sup> Floor  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 828-8507

**Spang, Edward**

Management Sciences for Health  
165 Allendale Road  
Boston, MA 02130  
Phone: (617) 942-9218  
E-Mail: nspang@msh.org

**Spencer, Rick**

International Relief and Development  
1621 North Kent Street  
Suite # 400  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 248-0161  
E-Mail: rspencer@ird-dc.org

**Stefanski, Elizabeth**

Global Giving  
7121 Wisconsin Avenue  
Bethesda, MD 20814  
Phone: (301) 652-8455  
E-Mail: estefanski@globalgiving.com

**Stewart, Jennifer**

Chemonics International  
1133 20<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 955-3423  
E-Mail: jstewart@chemonics.net

**Stevrealia, Leah**

AMFAR  
1828 L Street, NW  
Suite # 802  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 331-8600  
E-Mail: leah.stevrealia@amfar.org

**Sullivan, John H.**

Development Associates, Inc.  
1730 North Lynn Street  
Suite # 900  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 276-0677  
E-Mail: Jsullivan@devassoc1.com

**Sunley, Traer**

Pact, Inc.  
1200 18<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 350  
Washington, DC 20036  
E-Mail: tsunley@pacthq.org

**Swann, Lisa**

Transparency International USA  
112 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 296-7730

**Takahashi, Yoshi**

Japan Bank for International Cooperation  
1909 K Street, NW  
Suite # 300  
Washington, DC 20007  
Phone: (202) 496-2282  
E-Mail: yo-takahashi@jbic.go.jp

**Takayanasi, Kaori**

Visions in Action  
1400 Eye Street, NW  
Suite # 1125  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (703) 522-4600

**Tenn, Sharyn**

The SEEP Network  
1825 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
8<sup>th</sup> Floor  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 884-8808  
E-Mail: tenn@seepnetwork.org

**Thompson, Natalie**

International Fund for Agricultural  
Development  
1775 K Street, NW  
Suite # 410  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 454-2154  
E-Mail: n.thompson@ifad.org

**Todesco, Danielle**

African Wildlife Foundation  
1400 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 120  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 939-3353  
E-Mail: dtedesco@awf.org

**Toledo, Ana**

4 Musicmaster Court  
Silver Spring, MD 20904  
Phone: (240) 418-4293  
E-Mail: anaytoledo@yahoo.com

**Tondreau, Mary**

Social and Scientific Systems  
1101 Vermont Avenue, NW  
Suite # 900  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 842-2939  
E-Mail: mtondreau@s-3.com

**Treleven, Laurie**

International Executive Service Corps  
901 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 350  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 326-0280  
E-Mail: ltreleven@iesc.org

**Tugwell, Frank**

Winrock International  
1621 North Kent Street  
Suite # 1200  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 525-9430  
E-Mail: ftugwell@winrock.org

**Tun, Show**

World Vision  
300 I Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6352  
E-Mail: stun@worldvision.org

**Tewolde, Almaz**

Eritrean Development Foundation  
1012 14<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 1030  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 783-3273

**Valentine, Shiyon**

1741 Lanier Place, NW  
Apartment # 2  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 299-4088  
E-Mail: shiyanav@yahoo.com

**Van Dam, Johannes**  
Population Council  
4301 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite # 280  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 237-9406  
E-Mail: jvandam@pcdc.org

**Vandervort, Mark**  
World Vision  
300 Eye Street, NE  
Suite # 270  
Washington, DC 20002  
Phone: (202) 572-6434

**Vincent, Christopher**  
Habitat for Humanity International  
1010 Vermont Avenue, NW  
Suite # 900  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 628-9171  
E-Mail: cvincent@hfhi.org

**Vogelgesang, Sandy**  
Everest Associates  
9009 Charred Oak Drive  
Bethesda, MD 20817  
Phone: (301) 365-2347  
E-Mail: everest.associates@erols.com

**Wacek, Rick**  
SIL International  
2011 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Suite # 250  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 785-2441  
E-Mail: rick\_wacek@sil.org

**Waller, W. Jeff**  
Helen Keller International  
352 Park Avenue South  
Suite # 1200  
New York, NY 10010  
Phone: (212) 532-0544  
E-Mail: jwaller@hki.org

**Ward, Kathy**  
International Crisis Group  
1629 K Street, NW  
Suite # 450  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 785-1601  
E-Mail: kward@crisisweb.org

**Warner, Gretchen**  
U.S. Overseas Cooperative Development  
Council  
4301 Wilson Boulevard  
Suite # 617  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 907-5621  
E-Mail: Gretchen.warner@nreca.com

**Warren, Roberta**  
Management Systems International  
600 Water Street, SW  
Washington, DC 20024  
Phone: (202) 484-7170  
E-Mail: rwarren@msi-inc.com

**Webster, Karlene**  
Salesian Missions  
1655 North Fort Myer Drive  
Suite # 450  
Arlington, VA 22209  
Phone: (703) 524-1013  
E-Mail: karlenew@salesianmissions.org

**Weeks, Patricia**  
American Red Cross  
2025 E Street, NW  
Second Floor  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 303-5096  
E-Mail: pweeks@usa.redcross.org

**Weiss, Betty**  
Institute for Sustainable Communities  
888 17<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Suite # 210  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 785-0213  
E-Mail: bweiss@iscvt.org

**Weissburg, Josh**

Global Interdependence Initiative  
One Dupont Circle, NW  
Suite # 700  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: 736-5813  
E-Mail: josh.weissburg@aspeninstitute.org

**Westerink, Andre**

The Embassy of the Royal Netherlands  
4200 Linnean Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 274-2616  
E-Mail: ar.westerink@minbuza.nl

**Wheeler, Harry**

SECID  
1634 Eye Street  
Suite # 702  
Washington, DC 20006  
E-Mail: hhw@secid.org

**Williams, Aaron**

Research Triangle Institute  
1615 M Street, NW  
Suite # 740  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 728-1972  
E-Mail: awilliams@rti.org

**Williams, Ada**

IRG/OFDA  
1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Suite # 200  
Washington, DC 20004  
Phone: (202) 661-9351  
E-Mail: awilliams@ofda.net

**Willsey, Amy**

World Learning  
1015 15th Street, N.W.  
Suite # 750  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 408-5420  
E-Mail: amy.willsey@worldlearning.org

**Wilson, Amy**

Gallaudet University  
800 Florida Avenue, NE  
Suite # 406 F  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 651-5201  
E-Mail: amy.wilson@galludet.edu

**Wood, Susan**

Management Sciences for Health  
4301 North Fairfax Drive  
Suite # 400  
Arlington, VA 22203  
E-Mail: swood@msh.org

**Woodworth, Anne**

Adventist Development and Relief Agency  
12501 Old Columbia Pike  
Silver Spring, MD 10904  
Phone: (301) 680-6399  
E-Mail: awoodworth1@compuserve.com

**Wright, Michelle**

American Council on Education  
1307 New York Avenue, NW  
Suite # 500  
Washington, DC 20005  
Phone: (202) 478-4705  
E-Mail: wrightm@aascu.org

**Wykoff, Randolph**

Project HOPE  
255 Carter Hall Road  
Millwood, VA 22646  
Phone: (540) 837-2100  
E-Mail: rwykoff@projecthope.org

**Yagi, Takayuki**

Embassy of Japan  
2520 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20008  
Phone: (202) 238-6748  
E-Mail: tyagi@embjapan.org

**Yarr, Linda**

George Washington University  
Program for International Studies in Asia  
1957 E Street, NW  
Suite # 530  
Washington, DC 20052  
Phone: (202) 994-4313  
E-Mail: lyarr@gwu.edu

**Yoo, Emily**

SIL International  
2011 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Suite # 250  
Washington, DC 20006  
Phone: (202) 785-2441  
E-Mail: Emily\_yoo@sil.org

**Zarafonetis, John**

InterAction  
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Suite # 701  
Washington, DC 20036  
Phone: (202) 667-8227  
E-Mail: jzarafon@interaction.org

**Zeigler, Margaret**

Congressional Hunger Center  
229 ½ Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20003  
Phone: (202) 547-7022  
E-Mail: mzeigler@hungercenter.org

**Zinet, Joseph**

Embassy of France  
4101 Reservoir Road, NW  
Washington, DC 20007  
Phone: (202) 944-6121  
E-Mail: Joseph.Zinet@diplomatie.fr

**Zyskowski, Alina**

SID Washington  
1875 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Suite # 720  
Washington, DC 20009  
Phone: (202) 884-8590  
E-Mail: alinaz@aed.org

Andrew S. Natsios  
Administrator, United States Agency for International Development  
Opening Address  
Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid  
National Press Club  
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- I am asked today to talk about the new directions in foreign aid. I would like to say at the outset that the new directions are dramatic. There is no secret why. The catalytic event was September 11. Not only are the directions dramatically new, but the commitment is dramatically large. The budget at USAID has risen from \$7.9 billion prior to September 11 to \$14.2 billion in 2003. The Africa Bureau budget alone has increased from \$800 million to \$1.04 billion in FY-03.
- Adjusting to post-September 11<sup>th</sup> is an imperative for all agencies and departments of government. This is no less true at USAID - perhaps even more so. The White Paper which we are discussing today is the fruit of the best policy minds at USAID on how to bring the Agency in line with the challenges that now face us.
- The new role for “development” was spelled out in President Bush’s National Security Strategy document of 2002. It was there that the President called upon “development” to play an integral part in the conduct of the nation’s foreign policy. Henceforth, it would share center stage with “defense” and “diplomacy” in defining and implementing national security strategy.
- This was not the first time in the nation’s history that development aid was so profiled. It happened at the end of World War II under the aegis of Secretary of State George Marshall and President Harry Truman. This was when the parent agencies of USAID undertook the reconstruction of Western Europe. It also happened with Jack Kennedy when he launched the Alliance For Progress for Latin America. USAID came into being mainly to administer this initiative.

- The point I want to make is the following one. We have been in the development business for over half a century now. From a certain perspective, this is a long time. We have had successes and failures, and we have had mixed results. We have learned from these experiences and they have critically prepared us for the tasks ahead. We are no longer engaged in mere theorizing but are accumulating the knowledge of what works and what doesn't. And "necessity is the sternest teacher," as the ancient Greek historian Thucydides reminds us.
- The prospects for world peace are enhanced when the family of democratic nations grows. The Millennium Challenge Account is designed to consolidate the democratic and economic gains of a dozen or so countries so that they can graduate into the family of democratic nations as autonomous and self-sustaining members.
- Aid to these countries will be contingent on indigenous support for mutually agreed initiatives that hold most development promise. Recipient nations will be held accountable for achievable goals according to strict standards. The guiding philosophy is one that USAID fully supports because it is one that animates our own development initiatives and the goals set out in the White Paper.
- Any institution of long duration tends to operate within the inertia of accepted practices. Habit gives rise to established mind-sets that are equally hard to dislodge. Diverse mandates accumulate; coordination is lost. These are the staple themes of scholars of public administration and the common criticism of practitioners in this field.
- I can claim no exemption for USAID from the pitfalls that affect all government agencies of such size and complexity. I say this by way of introduction to the White Paper. It is an effort of our best policy minds to refocus the Agency on the urgent problems that the country faces in the new century and to use our distinct strengths, accumulated over fifty years now, to best advantage.

- The White Paper distinguishes among 5 core operational goals of US foreign assistance. And aid effectiveness is conceived differently for each of the five goals.
- The five goals cover aid directed toward a continuum of countries and a diversity of needs, as well as appropriate consideration of a country's strategic importance to the security of the United States.

1) Transformational Development. This category includes the dozen MCA threshold countries that can launch a country on self-sustaining development. MCA will have a much greater affect on those countries receiving money as those which do not: The aid Agency mantra for too long has been that the lack of development assistance is the major reason poor countries remain poor. This is simply not true. Bad policies and bad governance are the real reasons: funding is necessary, but not sufficient for accelerated development.

It also includes the 30 -35 countries outside the select group where USAID development resources and select assistance can have maximum impact to encourage reforms.

2) Stabilizing Fragile States. These states would be eligible for a narrower range of assistance focused first on stabilization and eventually reform and recovery. This would provide the foundation for effective development and a broader array of appropriate aid.

President Bush iterated the importance of effectively addressing the challenges that come from such states in the National Security Strategy document.

“The events of September 11, 2001, taught us that weak states, like Afghanistan, can pose as great a danger to our national interests as strong states. Poverty does not make poor people into terrorists and murderers. Yet, poverty, weak institutions, and corruption, can make weak states vulnerable to terrorist networks and drug cartels within their borders.”

3) Humanitarian Assistance. Consistent with the traditions of the country and the moral imperatives it recognizes, aid to countries in need will continue to be allocated on the basis of need, not performance. However, assistance will be structured to address the systemic failures that can be the source of chronic neediness.

4) Strategic States. Level of assistance will be based on foreign policy priorities rather than development criteria. The survival of a state like Pakistan and its continued alignment with our foreign policy initiatives takes precedence in the disbursement of aid over development considerations.

5) Global and Transnational Issues. The severity of the problem (HIV/AIDS, for example) and its importance to US security provide the basis for selectivity and allocation of aid.

The importance of the AIDS challenge to the US was underscored by Secretary of State Powell when he likened it to the terrorist threats facing the country.

"There is another threat to the region and the world that already has been more destructive than any weapon of mass destruction, more destructive than any army's activities and any conflict, but which is not generally perceived to be a security threat: HIV/AIDS."

- The White Paper follows upon the FANI report, where the Agency engaged an array of outside experts to assist USAID with its new mission and increased importance of the role of development aid in helping to define and implement the nation's strategic interests. It follows upon the joint strategic plan which was a collaborative effort on the part of the State department and USAID to align diplomacy and development assistance.
- USAID knows that foreign aid is no longer a stand alone operation. For it to be effective it must partner with its sister agencies and departments within government and with the panoply of resources that

exist outside of government, including the NGO community gathered here, to help it define and implement the tasks of the new century.

Some in international development agencies, public and private, question whether USAID's funding levels should be connected to American foreign policy interests. The fact is that they have been for a long time, but since the agency has been seen by many as resistant to this connection to foreign policy we have not been funded consistently or robustly. If we want more funding at this point in American history USAID must be relevant to what is happening in the world and how it is affecting our national interests.

USAID does not just do pure development, if we did our budget would be a lot smaller than it is. What has been happening for too long is that we are being held accountable for results by critics within the Beltway using one yardstick when we have multiple missions with different objectives, and thus should have different standards of performance. If USAID embraces rather than deny our foreign policy and national security interests at this time of heightened awareness, we have the opportunity to assure that development becomes a key theme of these interests. For we all know that without development, the foreign policy objectives in the developing world will not be accomplished. Those who have the knowledge and skills to achieve change in the developing world have an opportunity to bring development into the mainstream of foreign policy decision making. We must guide this transition not run from it.

In FY 2003 before the MCA and the President's HIV/AIDS initiative were funded USAID spent \$14.2 Billion only 20% of which was development assistance. Either USAID adjusts to reality or it will be left in the dust. I don't like dust and I don't intend on having the agency become irrelevant under my watch. A weak and irrelevant USAID will only invite further dispersion and diffusion of foreign aid programs through other federal agencies. What the White Paper does is to acknowledge this principle, accept it, and integrate it into and systems and culture.

While I fully and strongly support the intellectual construct of the White Paper, neither I nor the political appointees wrote it. I personally commented on it, discussed it with senior staff, and edited. It was primarily written by career officers looking to the long term future of the USAID, and is thus likely to become a permanent part of the direction of the agency. It is not final nor is it yet policy and so we invite comment from all of you.