

U.S. Agency for International Development

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

“U.S. Foreign Assistance Strategy – A
New Role for NGOs and USAID?”

Meeting Report

Public Meeting – May 14, 2003

U.S. Agency for International Development

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for NGOs and USAID?”

May 14, 2003

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ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON VOLUNTARY FOREIGN AID

Public Meeting

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“U.S. Foreign Assistance Strategy - A New Role for NGOs and USAID?”

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OPENING REMARKS: WILLIAM REESE, *ACVFA CHAIR*

William S. Reese, ACVFA Chair, welcomed the ACVFA members, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) staff, and meeting participants. Mr. Reese expressed pleasure at the attendance for the meeting; registration topped 400. The large turnout is critical to the work of the ACVFA as a sounding board for discussion about key issues that affect the quality and effectiveness of U.S. foreign aid programs. The forum brings together representatives of the U.S. government, non-profit organizations, and private for-profit groups. The meeting agenda and list of participants are Annexes 1 and 2, respectively.

Mr. Reese remarked that USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios is very engaged with the ACVFA and its work. Mr. Natsios has attended every ACVFA public meeting, either in person or via videotape, since he took office. Mr. Reese reminded the audience that the ACVFA has been in existence, in one form or another, for sixty years, facilitating an ongoing dialogue between the government and the third sector.

Mr. Reese commented that he has never seen the think tanks in Washington, DC, spend as much time dealing with foreign aid issues as they have in the last 18 months. That has a lot to do with the challenges of the world, but also the sense that USAID is on the right track and is open to the rich dialogue that it will take to meet these challenges. Mr. Reese noted that there is also an increased sense of partnership between governments and NGOs, not only in the U.S., but in the U.K. and other countries as well.

Mr. Reese remarked that Mr. Natsios has probably been given more resources, more challenges, and more headaches than any Administrator in recent times. He noted that each morning Mr. Natsios meets with Colin Powell, U.S. Secretary of State, about the pressing issues of the day. Mr. Reese introduced Mr. Natsios and thanked him for his continued support.

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: ANDREW S. NATSIOS, *ADMINISTRATOR, U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT****"Trade Capacity Building: A Key Tool For Sustainable Growth In Developing Countries"***

Mr. Natsios remarked that he likes to keep in touch with the development community -- NGOs, universities, and think tanks, all of which are well represented in the ACVFA.

Mr. Natsios commented that some people do not agree with USAID's focus on economic growth. They think that USAID is diverting attention and resources from the social service aspects of development.

Mr. Natsios remarked that it would be difficult to find people in developing countries who would agree with that view. Poor people tell him they are poor because they have no income. They can't keep their families fed, educated, and healthy. The governments of most poor countries believe in the power of economic growth. It is difficult to argue that poor countries become prosperous simply through development of social services. Social services are an essential part of development but economic growth is necessary as a broad goal to lift people out of poverty.

Mr. Natsios presented a series of PowerPoint slides entitled "Economic Growth and Trade: The Development Challenge" (Annex 3). At the outset, he read a quote from the National Security Strategy of President Bush: "America is now threatened less by conquering states than we are by failing ones." According to Mr. Natsios, that sentence indicates that there is a profound shift in U.S. foreign policy. Mr. Natsios pointed out that USAID carries out most of its programs in failed or failing states.

The National Security Strategy identifies three pillars of foreign policy: defense, diplomacy, and development. Mr. Natsios stressed that the terrorists of September 11 were not poor people; most were middle-class and educated. However, there is clearly a relationship between the platforms from which terrorists groups operate, and failed states. It's easier to function in a country where there is no national government, than in a nation with a competent, functioning state. There is a relationship between terrorism, failed states, and risks to the U.S.

Development, Mr. Natsios pointed out, does beget stability. He referred to a chart by Collier at the World Bank. The chart demonstrates that there is a high correlation between income level and risk for conflict. Two-thirds of the countries in which USAID has missions have experienced some sort of conflict in the last five years.

Furthermore, there is a direct relationship between economic growth and gains in productivity, particularly in agriculture, because most of the poorest countries in the world are agricultural economies. The only way poor people become prosperous is for family incomes to rise.

Mr. Natsios stated that research shows that there is a relationship between good governance and economic growth. Conflict management, conflict mitigation, and even conflict prevention programs have an impact on economic growth. Stability is needed in order for investment to take place. Businesses will not invest in countries that are involved in civil wars.

Mr. Natsios remarked that the "Asian giants" made two important investments that paved the way for economic success -- primary education and health. Mr. Natsios gave three examples of HIV/AIDS and malaria having a direct impact on the work force and economic development.

According to Mr. Natsios, some people in the environmental community believe that economic growth can be detrimental to the environment. However, the countries that protect the environment the most are wealthy, developed and democratic countries. Mr. Natsios provided examples of environmental destruction in the former Soviet Union and Iraq where governments mismanaged natural resources.

The biodiversity of the planet has been damaged by the destruction of the rain forests. Mr. Natsios pointed out that there is a direct relationship between agricultural productivity and biodiversity. He gave an example of sorghum growers in Texas thanking USAID for new sorghum varieties from Africa that allowed them to significantly reduce herbicide and pesticide use. Improved sorghum varieties are also being used in a number of African countries. Mr. Natsios stated that the Third World is rich in biodiversity in a way that can help science solve some of its most serious problems. Natural resource management is directly related to responsible growth.

Mr. Natsios showed a slide describing the determinants of productivity and productivity growth, the "Porter Thesis." Michael Porter argues that there is a direct relationship between the productivity of firms and productivity improvements in the national economy.

Mr. Natsios emphasized the importance of agricultural development. In the 49 least-developed countries in the world, 80% of the people are farmers, herders, or live in rural areas. In many cases these people are moving to the cities because the agricultural systems are so unproductive. There is a definite relationship between science and technology, and increasing incomes in rural areas. As incomes rise in rural areas and poverty diminishes, the tendency to move to the large urban areas also diminishes. Rural electrification also has a profound impact on growth rates, bringing new opportunities to remote areas. Mr. Natsios cited examples of the impact of electrification on rural villages.

Mr. Natsios remarked that USAID's report *Foreign Aid in the National Interest* demonstrates that productivity and competitiveness depend on a favorable business climate. People in the business community recognize the importance of civil society. One of the priorities in Iraq is to develop civil society in a robust and flourishing way, to bring stability that comes from the grassroots.

Mr. Natsios commented that heads of state in the developing world recognize the importance of a stable, growing economy. As Michael Porter argues, the importance of the NGO community, health, the environment, and worker rights are important for a stable, growing economy. Porter's theory is that development must take place at the microeconomic level. Mr. Natsios cited the example of Bolivia, which made macroeconomic reforms, but did not experience much economic growth as a result. Without microeconomic reforms in the tax system, without training for entrepreneurs, without microfinance institutions to develop new businesses at the grassroots level, and without helping the rural areas process agricultural commodities, there is a risk of failure. Democracy, Mr. Natsios said, is not sufficient; there must also be microeconomic reform.

Mr. Natsios remarked that the global economy now presents an opportunity to link development to the Doha round of trade negotiations. There has been criticism of agricultural policies, because the U.S. has not put forward a serious proposal for a completely free market in agriculture.

Mr. Natsios speculated that there would not be a famine in Ethiopia if there were free trade and market systems. Farmers grew a surplus last year in Ethiopia, but prices collapsed because they could not export the food due to trade barriers in East Africa. The farmers lost money and had no incentive to grow further surpluses, even in areas unaffected by the drought. There is, indeed, a direct relationship between humanitarian crises and economic policy.

Mr. Natsios showed a slide on economic integration and progress. Those countries that have integrated into the global economy are the normal integrators. Slow integrators are countries that, for a variety of political reasons, refuse to reduce trade barriers and integrate into the global economy. Mr. Natsios pointed out that a country's growth does not depend on the availability of natural resources. What is more important is a stable democratic system, as in Costa Rica and Chile.

Mr. Natsios presented the three pillars of USAID's trade capacity building strategy: (http://www.dec.org/pdf_docs/PDA13X241.pdf)

1. *Strengthening developing country participation in international trade negotiations.* USAID helped the Jordanian government make changes to national laws in order to join the World Trade Organization (WTO). Jordan's economy has been growing at a rate of 4.5 to 5%. Mr. Natsios pointed out that a growing economy that creates jobs, particularly for young men, can help reduce the likelihood of political instability.
2. *Implementing international trade agreements.* Mr. Natsios provided an example of phytosanitary regulations in Europe that were a barrier to importation of cheese from Mali. USAID can train countries how to comply with regulations and codes of importing countries.
3. *Supporting trade, investment, and other market activity.* USAID works with countries in developing uniform commercial codes and regulations, and in taking advantage of legislation such as the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA). Most USAID activities are focused on this third area where USAID works to improve the business climate by strengthening policies, institutions, and economic governance -- thereby promoting competitiveness and growth.

Mr. Natsios remarked that the World Bank estimates that if there were no trade barriers anywhere in the world, the incomes of Third World countries would be increased by \$300 billion a year. Two-thirds of that increase would be in regional trade.

Mr. Natsios pointed out that the U.S. is the world's largest provider of TCB, and USAID delivers more than 70% of the U.S. TCB programming. Many Ministers in Africa and Latin America want more assistance in TCB, and USAID staff want to be able to respond.

In Mr. Natsios' view, USAID does not have enough TCB funds to allocate what is needed for the world's poorest countries. However, USAID has begun to roll out more programs in the poorest countries. There are now three regional trade centers (in Kenya, Botswana, and Ghana) training people from throughout Africa in TCB skills and strategies.

Mr. Natsios remarked that some people believe that the TCB program just creates more competition for American businesses. According to Mr. Natsios, that is not the case. U.S. trade with the developing world is increasing in both directions. More than 40% of U.S. exports now go to the developing world.

Mr. Natsios noted that some people believe that if countries experience the kind of growth that has taken place in Latin America, it will lead to more inequality and income imbalance. Mr. Natsios referred to research that compared growth and development in Latin America with that of Asia. The conclusion was that development programs that equally benefit the whole society (as in Asia), rather than favoring certain regions or urban areas (as in Latin America), can eliminate income disparities and ensure equitable growth. That, Mr. Natsios stressed, is USAID's goal.

In closing, Mr. Natsios remarked that as family incomes increase, there will be far fewer famines. It will be easier to do agricultural work if there is an export market for the surpluses, whether in

neighboring countries or through North-South trade. TCB is in the interests of poor people of the developing world. Mr. Natsios stated NGO and university communities can play an important role in implementing effective TCB programs.

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

George Folsom, ACVFA Member, remarked that to segue TCB programs to democracy building programs might provide additional beneficial spin-off effects.

Mr. Natsios replied that this would be beneficial. The USAID Mission Director of a southern African country recently told Mr. Natsios that more money was needed to build stable, independent and transparent political parties. There is a relationship between political party development and stable institutions and reforms.

Peggy Curlin, ACVFA Member, asked if there is a need to make sure that women are completely able to participate in these programs, and how that could be done.

Mr. Natsios responded that it is not a question of the objective, but how to reach the objective. Mr. Natsios stressed that women must be included in the educational system from kindergarten through the university. Education has a tremendous impact on potential for participation in the economy. Agricultural productivity is affected profoundly by education level. Child survival rates, productivity, and population rates are all directly related to the education rates of women. USAID is also working in other sectors with interventions that can affect the status of women. Rather than look at gender in isolation, USAID programs take a holistic approach to ensuring women's participation and ultimate improvement in their status.

Ted Weihe, ACVFA Member, asked if USAID could play a leadership role for rural electrification in Africa. He pointed out that one of the reasons Mali can't export more cheese is that there is a lack of electricity to pasteurize it.

Mr. Natsios agreed that electrification is very important; however, the USAID budget is highly segmented. USAID does not have resources for rural electrification. The proposed Millennium Challenge Account offers some hope because decisions will be made locally and local governments may place a priority on basic infrastructure to enable growth.

PANEL PRESENTATIONS: "HELPING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PARTICIPATE IN GLOBAL TRADE"

Moderator: Nick Eberstadt, *ACVFA Member*

Mr. Eberstadt remarked that USAID, practically since its inception, has been helping countries participate in international trade. USAID's first great success was in South Korea. In 1962, USAID informed the new junta that American foreign aid was going to be terminated in the next several years. Seoul's response to the risk of losing American foreign aid was to make a move towards international economic participation, export orientation, and the rest is history. This was a case in which the prospect of reduced aid had a very dramatic impact on trade participation. Mr. Eberstadt then introduced the members of the panel.

Emmy Simmons, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, USAID

Ms. Simmons remarked that USAID has been committed to providing TCB programs since about 1998, in response to the demands of partner countries, the demands of globalization, and the feeling on the part of many developing countries that they were being marginalized. That perception was correct. In the 1990s the least developed countries in the world saw their share of global trade cut in half.

USAID also heard from U.S. private sector colleagues about this issue. For example, the cocoa industry discovered that developing country cocoa producers were no longer able to assure a supply of high-quality cocoa. The cocoa buyers saw a need to get involved in the supply chain, and pay attention to cocoa producers, their income, and support systems.

In 1997-1998, as USAID began to enter into discussions with field staff about TCB, the program began to grow. However, in 1999, USAID's Economic Growth Office sank to a budget level of \$800,000 to support economic growth programs worldwide. Ms. Simmons remarked that after Mr. Natsios took office there began to be more support for TCB programs. Now, USAID has a modest, but robust, technical assistance program for TCB.

Ms. Simmons commented that USAID is looking forward to the WTO ministerial summit in Cancun. It is said that not enough progress has been made to assist developing countries in the global marketplace. The U.S., however, will be able to stand on its record for providing assistance for TCB in developing countries. Ms. Simmons remarked that USAID TCB assistance falls into three categories: participation, implementation, and economic responsiveness.

1. *Participation*--participating in the world governance structure for trade, including the WTO, and regional rulemaking bodies. Support for participation accounts for about 3% of USAID's TCB budget. USAID is very careful to follow the lead of the U.S. Trade Representative in the WTO discussions. However, USAID is also careful to make sure that the counterparts in partner countries are able to participate as well. USTR now recognizes that having negotiators on the other side of the table that understand the issues makes for more satisfactory negotiations.

Ms. Simmons gave the example of a recent training program in Morocco conducted by USAID at the request of USTR and the Moroccan government. The training program focused on U.S. expectations in the free trade agreement between U.S. and Morocco. Ms. Simmons stressed that USAID did not tell the Moroccans what position they should take in the negotiations, but rather how they could more effectively prepare, present, and support their own positions in consultation with the private sector in the country.

2. *Implementation*--the facilitation aspects of trade, what a national government must do in order to assure that the environment for trade is suitable. This area includes customs, tariffs, infrastructure, public infrastructure, phytosanitary regulations, and commercial law. These are public responsibilities and public goals that must be met in order for the private sector to be able to respond to trade opportunities. Implementation work accounts for about 7% of USAID's budget for TCB.

3. *Economic Responsiveness*--enabling countries to respond to opportunities and solve problems that block their abilities to respond to economic opportunities in both regional and international markets. The economic responsiveness arena includes a very broad range of issues. Ms. Simmons remarked that 90% of USAID's TCB resources are devoted to economic responsiveness.

According to Ms. Simmons, economic responsiveness is addressed at three levels: *sector*, *cluster*, and *firm*. The sector level includes those engaged in production at the microeconomic level. It also includes infrastructure sectors such as information communication technologies and energy; as well as services such as education, workforce development, and financial services.

The cluster level includes self-selected groups of firms, individuals, and to some extent government counterparts. One popular cluster area is ecotourism, which brings together agriculture interests, environmental/natural resource management interests, and trade interests.

The third level of engagement, the firm level, is one in which USAID must exercise caution because the level of resources going directly into the private sector can sometimes be questioned. Ms. Simmons pointed out that one area that has been important historically is that of American business volunteers providing support to counterpart business firms in developing countries. The Farmer-to-Farmer Program provides important assistance for agribusinesses. Volunteers have been critical in keeping up the firm-level engagement that then builds up in some cases to the cluster level and even to the national or sector level.

Constance Newman, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Africa, USAID

Ms. Newman remarked that one important way that the U.S. is helping African countries participate in global trade is through the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). AGOA has created new jobs and has brought millions of dollars in investment into the region. In Senegal, for example, entrepreneurs have partnered with U.S. and Asian investors to revitalize spin-yarn weave factories and create over 2,000 jobs.

Ms. Newman pointed out that in most countries that have benefited from AGOA, the investors are not from the U.S. Chinese and Taiwanese investors have invested over \$30 million in a denim factory in Swaziland. This and other businesses in Swaziland have created over 10,000 new jobs. And, for the first time in 100 years Uganda is exporting coffee as a processed product. AGOA has also resulted in increased investments by Africans.

Ms. Newman commented that these and other individual stories reflect growth for Africa. As a result of AGOA, imports by the U.S. from Africa have increased between 2001 and 2002 by 10%, to \$9 billion. The 2002 report on AGOA highlighted the creation of over 190,000 AGOA-related jobs in Kenya, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, and Swaziland.

Ms. Newman emphasized that AGOA is not the only vehicle for bringing about economic growth. The President's initiative on trade led to the development of three regional trade hubs in Africa. Those hubs bring in technical experts on WTO, AGOA, and multilateral trading systems. They also match African entrepreneurs with entrepreneurs in the U.S. The hubs are currently developing toolkits for governments and businesses.

According to Ms. Newman, one area of great difficulty has been the importation of vegetables and fruits into the U.S. USAID has been working with the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) on this issue. USAID has also been helping African partners understand the import regulations and requirements. Moreover, USDA has agreed to place technical experts at each of the hubs to assist with agricultural diversification.

Ms. Newman noted that the regional program in Botswana is participating in the evolution of the Southern Africa Development Community Free Trade Area. There is a need for technical assistance to ensure that free trade in the region comes about. The hub in Botswana is also working with the Southern Africa Customs Union on the Free Trade Agreement.

Ms. Newman presented the following statistics to support the position that trade capacity building in Africa is critical. Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for only 1.4% of world trade. Over the last decade, sub-Saharan Africa's trade has grown 39%, while world trade has grown 85%. Sub-Saharan Africa accounts for less than 1% of U.S. merchandise imports. Two-way traffic between the United States and sub-Saharan Africa fell in 2002, down 15% from a year earlier. While progress is being made with AGOA and at the trade hubs, there is still a long way to go.

Ms. Newman ended with some positive news. At the end of 2001, the United States' direct investment in sub-Saharan Africa amounted to \$10.2 billion. That represents an increase of 5.8% above the 2000 level. Direct investment generated income of \$1.3 billion for the U.S. According to a U.S. Department of Commerce survey in 1999, U.S. affiliated companies in Africa reported estimated total assets of nearly \$42 billion.

J. Michael Deal, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, USAID

Mr. Deal remarked that trade and creating an enabling environment for trade investment is the top priority of the Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). Through the Summit of the Americas process, all 34 democracies in the hemisphere bought into the objective of creating a hemisphere-wide free trade area.

With the U.S.-Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) that the President announced last year scheduled for completion by the end of 2003, and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) scheduled to begin in 2005, USAID is placing the highest priority on assisting the Latin American countries in building trade capacity.

Mr. Deal said that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in Mexico can be seen as a beacon of hope for the rest of the hemisphere. NAFTA and economic policy reforms in Mexico brought unprecedented levels of foreign investment to the country, resulting in the creation of some 2 million new jobs in seven years and propelling growth to an average of 4.6% between 1996 and 2001. For the Latin America and Caribbean region, the promise of the CAFTA and the FTAA offers an historic opportunity for consolidating democratic reforms and accelerating the pace of economic and social reforms.

According to Mr. Deal, there has been a growing realization that USAID has a role that complements that of the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative (USTR). In the 1980s, USAID was involved in the Caribbean Basin Initiative, supporting non-traditional agricultural exports. Over the past decade, USAID trade programs in the region have diminished in size and in scope. To meet this challenge, LAC has put together a regional mechanism in Washington, DC, to complement the various mechanisms that USAID's Bureau of Economic Growth, Agriculture, and Trade (EGAT) has to offer. At the same time, LAC is trying to build up a capacity in the field missions.

Mr. Deal remarked that recently USAID/LAC's program has come to be characterized by its emphasis on trade and drugs. Mr. Deal explained that USAID does not view trade as an end in itself. Rather, trade and investment are seen as means to further develop economic growth and improve the general standard of living. There is a strong synergistic relationship between good governance, education, health, environmental stewardship, and enhanced economic growth.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, most Latin American countries realized that their economic growth models were not sustainable. As a result, many Latin American policymakers changed course, implementing positive reforms, including becoming signatories of the World Trade Organization and opening their economies. But, while growth rates in the region have generally increased, only six countries have experienced annual growth rates over 4% since 1990. Despite the adoption of these reforms, today the region is faced with contracting economic growth rates. The region's GDP shrunk by approximately 1% in 2002, the worst economic performance since 1983.

Mr. Deal commented that the region faces extensive poverty, unemployment, and skewed income distribution. Crime and lawlessness are on the increase, and there is a thriving narcotics industry. In addition, the natural resource base is deteriorating. All of these elements undermine the stability of the region.

USAID is concerned with the fact that citizens' confidence in the ability of democratically elected governments to provide security and prosperity is waning. There is a resurgence of populist sentiment throughout the region, endangering the region's commitment to market-based reform and the establishment of the FTAA.

Mr. Deal noted that business executives in the region are realizing that they cannot continue to operate effectively in an environment that is increasingly unstable. While free trade and the competition it engenders will propel economic growth, this growth cannot move forward over the long run without the right mix of social and economic conditions. Business executives are becoming increasingly aware that it is not only their corporate responsibility, but also crucial to their economic survival, to find ways to work together with government, labor, and civil society to improve conditions for society in general.

Likewise, the governments in the region, through their TCB national action plans, reflect an overwhelming concern with measures to ensure that the benefits of a free trade agreement extend to agriculture, small business, and other sectors that have benefited least under the NAFTA experience in Mexico.

Mr. Deal stated that it is becoming clear that governments need markets to function, and markets cannot function without effective, legitimate, and law-abiding governments. Trade will strengthen good governance and good governance will enable countries to experience greater economic growth through expanded trade and investment. Foreign investments will continue to elude the impoverished countries of Latin America unless corruption is diminished and international firms believe that they will be accorded fair treatment.

Mr. Deal emphasized that USAID programs are in a position to play a pivotal role in increasing the competitiveness of the LAC region by bringing together the private sector, civil society, labor, and government, so that trade and investment in trade will be sustainable.

Mr. Deal shared some examples of trade outreach programs. In support of the CAFTA process in Central America, USAID worked with the Ministry of Economy of El Salvador to develop a national Civil Society Outreach Program that includes both outreach and feedback mechanisms for different sectors of society. The Ministry formally announced the strategy to the country in March. For Brazilian media and legislators skeptical of the FTAA process, USAID sponsored a trip to Mexico to observe first-hand the impact of NAFTA. The Brazilians went home with better understanding of what could be accomplished.

Overall, USAID's TCB program is trying to help the region participate in trade. However, most countries are going to need much greater help in preparing to negotiate successfully, to implement the free trade agreements, and to make that conversion to free trade and free markets. The region's commercial and legal frameworks, especially related to competition, contract enforcement, and government procurement, must be made more compatible with international standards. Customs procedures, phytosanitary certifications, compliance with international standards for labor and environmental protection, and other systems essential to efficient trade must also be improved. Mr. Deal remarked that if small and medium enterprises, especially those in the rural sector, are to be competitive, they must have greater access to financial services and reduced costs in getting products to market.

In closing, Mr. Deal emphasized that trade capacity building is the top priority in the LAC region. In Central America, USAID has increased its resources for TCB from \$20 million last year to \$40 million in 2003. USAID is working very closely with the InterAmerican Development Bank, the Organization of American States, and the Economic Commission of the United Nations for Latin America in support of these programs.

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

Dan Norell of World Vision asked how one could address income disparities through trade, and how to link the formal and informal sectors.

Ms. Simmons replied that the issue of linking poor, small entrepreneurs, particularly women entrepreneurs, to local, regional and world markets is a major concern and an area in which USAID is making some progress. USAID is in the process of issuing a new Title XII report describing USAID activities worldwide for 2001. The theme for that report is bringing global trade opportunities to farmers. The annual microenterprise report, *Linking the Poor to Trade Opportunity*, will also be available soon.

Ms. Simmons went on to say that there are two key challenges, organization and market information. Farmers need to organize and establish a critical mass of product for export. The NGO community has been absolutely critical in providing skills in organizational development, management, marketing, and to some extent literacy.

Ms. Simmons also remarked that the information communication technology (ICT) sector is critical for market information. Again, many NGOs are very familiar with ICT innovations that enable small farmers and entrepreneurs to participate in local, regional, and world markets. Information about sanitary and phytosanitary measures, market niches, specific product information, and pricing information have all proven to be critical to world market access.

Mr. Deal remarked that the LAC region has put together a rural prosperity strategy that is trade-led, but also addresses equity in terms of off-farm income and the informal sector.

Nancy Boswell with Transparency International remarked that a concern of government negotiators in CAFTA is signing legally enforceable provisions that they don't have the capacity to implement. Ms. Boswell asked how countries learn to do public hearings, bring in civil society, create impartial tribunals, and so forth. She also asked what support there might be for civil society groups to participate in the capacity building. USTR has put out a call for ideas, but they are supposed to be self-financed, which puts a burden on NGOs that is probably not realistic.

Mr. Deal responded that USAID is very sensitive to trade outreach so that civil society and all the various constituency groups have an opportunity to get their issues on the table. In the rule of law program, there is increased emphasis on the commercial side, administrative law, and how to level the playing field. USAID has had several meetings to explain how to encourage public hearings and ensure ample opportunities for civil society participation. Mr. Deal remarked that he was familiar with the USTR call for NGO participation, an unfunded bid.

Ms. Newman noted that trade and economic development will not happen without a strong rule of law, the participation of civil society, transparency, and an educated and healthy society. Ms. Newman emphasized the need for investing in democratic governance efforts because good governance is essential for trade and economic growth programs to work.

Dena Fisher from Seeds of Peace and board member of a sister city project in Central America remarked that she was very disturbed by the conditions in a free trade zone in Nicaragua, which she recently visited. Conditions may be an improvement over what existed in the past, but are certainly not up to U.S. labor and human rights standards.

Mr. Deal responded that there is a real need to get industry and labor to come together on this issue. USAID has been supporting labor legislation reform in the LAC region, but clearly the implementation of those codes is unacceptable. USAID is working to develop a public-private partnership that will provide training to ensure compliance with acceptable labor standards.

Michael Johnson, a Mickey Leland International Hunger Fellow, asked Ms. Newman why the African share of world trade is still so small if AGOA is so successful.

Ms. Newman replied that AGOA is still very new and everyone is learning what is needed to build capacity and remove trade barriers in order to make it more successful on a larger scale. Part of what has happened in the last year is the decrease in the U.S. import of petroleum from Africa, particularly from Nigeria. USAID is encouraging diversification, but it is a longer term process.

Joe Weinstein from Georgetown University asked Ms. Simmons to name the three biggest challenges facing USAID as it tries to advance its TCB agenda.

Ms. Simmons replied the first big challenge is flexible funding. As Administrator Natsios stated earlier, funding is often earmarked and USAID is not able to respond as quickly as it would like to the range of country-specific needs. Another challenge is staffing. Many missions are thinly staffed in terms of understanding the larger trade issues and the country specific implications. The third challenge is coordination. There are many organizations interested in helping to build trade capacity; it is important to ensure that all groups work together.

PANEL PRESENTATIONS: "NGOs AND THE PRIVATE SECTOR: BUILDING TRADE CAPACITY THROUGH PARTNERSHIPS"

Moderator: Elise Smith, ACVFA Member

Ms. Smith introduced the panel members and commented that the discussion is now moving away from government to what other groups are doing to bring equity to people at the bottom of the economic ladder, as well as positive economic growth at the macro level.

Stephen J. Hadley, Director, Office of Economic Growth, Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, USAID

Mr. Hadley proposed four roles for NGOs in the trade arena, including capacity building and trade policy.

1. Suppliers of trade capacity building

Mr. Hadley noted that many of the groups represented at the ACVFA public meeting are already involved in this effort. USAID views this as an important role for NGOs. A new sub-role is helping countries to participate in the machinery of global trade institutions. There are a number of universities that are working with African universities and think tanks to develop the analytical capacity to help governments define their trade negotiation agendas. Mr. Hadley encouraged the meeting participants to consider getting involved in this area of TCB.

2. "Resource partners"

This is a concept developed by USTR. Mr. Hadley pointed out that there is a notice in the current *Federal Register* asking for NGOs, corporate sponsors, and private foundations to come forward if they are prepared to contribute resources or expertise to the TCB discussions accompanying the CAFTA negotiations. Mr. Hadley noted that this is a new initiative and, if the results are positive, it will probably be extended to other U.S. trade negotiations.

3. Host country trade policy consultations

Most trade negotiations place a requirement on the negotiating parties to involve NGOs in the consultation process leading to decisions. U.S. NGOs, working with their associated parties overseas could strengthen the role of host country NGOs in the trade policy process.

4. Partnering with the private sector on trade processes and practices

There are many opportunities in this area, including well-known examples of partnerships in sustainable timber and fair trade coffee.

Ritu Sharma, Co-Founder and Executive Director, Women's EDGE

Ms. Sharma remarked that saying that "international trade is the key to reducing poverty" is a bit like saying "taking vitamins is the key to living to be 100." There may be a relationship between those two elements, but there are many other factors involved.

Women's EDGE is interested in global trade for several reasons. First, women are the vast majority of the poorest people around the world. In addressing issues of poverty it is very important that women's organizations consider economic policy and trade. Second, trade is impacting the lives of women around the world, both positively and negatively, much more than official development assistance. The mission at Women's EDGE is to focus on both aid and trade to maximize the inclusion of women.

Ms. Sharma remarked that there are ten conditions that must be met for international trade to have a direct relationship on poverty reduction. Some of these areas are addressed by the new USAID TCB strategy; others are not.

First, when countries eliminate tariffs on trade, it represents an important loss in government revenue. For many of the 49 lesser-developed countries around the world, tariff revenue makes up 10-20% of their annual budget revenue. It is imperative that this loss in revenue *not* be accompanied by cuts in social services to the poor. The revenue needs to be made up in other ways, hopefully by generating more business activity. It is important that safeguards be in place. The USAID strategy does not address this particular issue.

Second, countries must reserve the right to protect vulnerable domestic industries that are important sources of jobs and income to the poor. The U.S. protects its own interests. Ms. Sharma pointed out that the new USAID strategy specifically states that the TCB program will comply with existing legislative measures intended to protect U.S. trade investment and employment. It is important that the U.S. TCB program include the kind of relationship with developing countries that allows them to protect industries in which the poor are concentrated.

Third, when jobs are created through investment, it is very important that these jobs pay an anti-poverty wage, so that employees can actually escape poverty. In addition, this extra disposable income will create a beneficial multiplier effect for purchasing goods and services in the community, as well as for purchasing U.S. exports. It is stated in the USAID report that low wages are still better than unemployment or the prevailing wage in the country. However, if the goal is to reduce poverty through trade, it is important to ensure that anti-poverty wages are part of the strategy.

Fourth, foreign-owned factories should be encouraged to use local labor and local materials. Ms. Sharma commented that a negotiation factor in many trade agreements, which USAID reinforces, is an exemption from using local employment, local labor, or local materials. This essentially creates an investment island that is not linked to the local economy. This practice reduces the likelihood that trade investments will benefit the poor.

Fifth, investors should stay in country long enough to benefit local economies and create stable jobs. Manufacturers should not be hopping from one country to another in search of the lowest wages. It is important for governments to have some regulatory power to manage the flow of investment into and out of their countries, so that they don't lose thousands of jobs overnight.

Sixth, countries should not become heavily dependent on export crops. Such a dependency makes the economy vulnerable to a crash in world prices, as evidenced by the coffee sector. There is also a detrimental effect on food security when small farmers, primarily women, shift their labor from growing food for home consumption to growing export crops. Ms. Sharma stated that a very good element of the USAID strategy is to promote crop diversification. However, the strategy could do more to address the issues of food security.

Seventh, countries must not only produce raw crops or raw materials, but also add value to their production. This creates more jobs, more economic growth, and more stimulation for the economy. Ms. Sharma noted that the USAID paper is very clear in its strong focus in this area.

Eighth, the service sector is one of the most important growth sectors. It is important to ensure that privatized service companies do not exploit or exclude the poor by charging user fees. Even the smallest user fees can bar the poor from access to basic services, such as health care and education. The USAID strategy very strongly encourages the government sell-off of services to private businesses, but it does not address the issue of access for the poor.

Ninth, in the area of intellectual property rights, governments should be able to protect community-based knowledge and income sources of the poor. This is very important for millions of craftspeople around the world, primarily women, who need intellectual property protection so that foreign companies cannot replicate their crafts. Kenya has lost significant market share in crafts because Taiwanese manufacturers have begun to produce replicas and import them into Kenya. Ms. Sharma stressed that the poor need intellectual property protection just as much as the big pharmaceutical companies.

Ms. Sharma stated that it is also important for countries to be able to exercise the rights that they already have, to override intellectual property rights rules in cases of public health or national emergencies. HIV/AIDS medications are a very well known example of this. The USAID strategy is silent on the issue of intellectual property rights of the poor around the world.

Tenth, the U.S. must have a reciprocal open market arrangement with developing countries. In the Doha development round, one of the most important issues on the table was U.S. agricultural subsidies, which make it almost impossible for developing countries to compete with U.S. products. It is critical that the U.S. open its markets to products from developing countries.

Ms. Sharma described a Women's EDGE initiative on trade impact. Over the last two years, Women's EDGE developed, with the support of the Rockefeller Foundation, an econometric tool called the *Trade Impact Review* to systematically analyze how trade will impact the poor. The intent is to be able to forecast unintended negative consequences for the poor in specific countries, thus averting negative consequences in trade negotiations. Women's EDGE strongly believes that this kind of impact review process should be a normal part of trade negotiations and TCB efforts.

In closing Ms. Sharma remarked that Women's EDGE believes that trade has the potential to reduce poverty, but it needs to include a systematic analysis of how it will help or hurt the poor.

Don Crane, Executive Vice President, ACDI/VOCA

Mr. Crane remarked that he shares Mr. Natsios' obsession with agriculture and his belief that microeconomic development is the key to economic growth. The vision of ACDI/VOCA is to be an international leader in empowering farmers and other entrepreneurs worldwide to succeed in the global economy.

Mr. Crane described USAID-supported trade capacity building projects that deal with coffee and cocoa. The Specialty Coffee Association of America, a non-profit U.S. trade association representing all aspects of the specialty coffee industry, and ACDI/VOCA initiated a program in 2000 to promote coffee production and improve the quality of coffee for export for small-holder farmers and farmer organizations in developing countries. The parties share the goal of promoting private sector approaches that are environmentally friendly, socially just, and economically sustainable. Although ACDI/VOCA is working with coffee quality in several countries, including Colombia, Rwanda, and Malawi, Mr. Crane focused his remarks on Ethiopia.

Mr. Crane commented that Ethiopia, considered the birthplace of coffee, produces 220,000 metric tons of coffee annually, accounting for more than 60% of Ethiopia's export earnings. Small-holder farmers produce over 90% of the coffee. Yet, until recently, Ethiopia's small-holder coffee producers' returns have been among the lowest, at 42-47% of world market price. Since 1997, ACDI/VOCA has worked to empower the small-holder farmers of Ethiopia by forming professionally managed cooperatives. U.S. volunteer specialists conducted training programs in cooperative structure, management, accounting, bookkeeping, marketing, finance, and credit.

The Oromia Coffee Farmers' Cooperative Union, launched in June of 1999, received permission from the government to become a direct exporter of the members' coffee, bypassing the central auction and giving more control and market share to the producer. This was followed by the founding of the Sidama Coffee Farmers Cooperative Union in 2001, and the Yirgacheffe Coffee Farmers Cooperative Union in 2002. The three unions represent 95 primary producer cooperatives with a membership of 148,000 farmers. Annual production is approximately 83,000 tons of both washed and sun-dried coffee. All three unions now export directly to the international market.

The unions' primary objective is to sell quality coffee directly to the international market. In addition, the unions provide related services, such as warehousing, market information, and

access to inputs, machinery, and financial services. The unions continue to study the intricacies of exporting coffee and improving quality production through consultation with industry experts.

Mr. Crane remarked that ACDI/VOCA sponsored the participation of the three coffee unions in the annual meeting of the Specialty Coffee Association of America. This has been an opportunity for the unions to identify potential buyers and establish business contacts. As a result of the conference in 2000, several clients from the U.S., France, the Netherlands, and Uganda imported 72 tons of coffee, valued at \$152,000, from Ethiopia. Since then, the export tonnage has continued to increase.

For coffee farmers, the union was the first step in establishing credible business links with international customers. Through the unions, they have been able to respond to the gourmet sector's keen interest in Ethiopian coffee and command a premium price in the world market.

Mr. Crane provided a second example involving cocoa in Indonesia. The major cocoa consuming countries are in North America and Europe. The centers of production are distributed throughout the less developed tropical countries. This creates an interesting development dynamic whereby the livelihood and productivity of small-holder cocoa farmers in tropical countries is a commercial concern to the food companies in developed countries.

Indonesia is the second-largest producer of cocoa. In 2000, the supply of cocoa beans to American chocolate manufacturers was valued at over \$140 million. About 85% of these beans were from the Indonesian island of Sulawesi. Unfortunately, the infestation of cocoa pod borer threatens the livelihood of small-holder farmers. This infestation also reduces the quality of cocoa produced, creating concerns for buyers and processors.

To improve cocoa production and overcome the pest infestation, ACDI/VOCA partnered with USAID, Masterfoods (formerly Mars candies), and the World Cocoa Foundation to form the "Success Alliance." This project promotes an integrated approach to farmer training, exchange, and applied research through a domestic and international research network to improve the control of cocoa pests and increase production. One of the keys to success of the project is that each of the partners involved has a very well defined role.

Mr. Crane stated that until recently the project concentrated on the supply side of the equation, but it is now moving into marketing. ACDI/VOCA has negotiated with private sector partners who have agreed to purchase \$10 million of cocoa beans annually from Sulawesi. This will ensure that farmers have strong markets for their cocoa, and that buyers have access to a high quality supply of beans.

Julia K. Hughes, Vice-President, International Trade and Government Relations, U.S. Association of Importers of Textiles and Apparel (USA-ITA)

Ms. Hughes remarked that USA-ITA is a non-profit organization based in New York City. USA-ITA works with U.S. companies, large and small retailers in textiles and apparel, who do business around the world.

Ms. Hughes noted that textiles and apparel is considered a politically sensitive sector. Since the 1960s there have been quotas, quantitative limits on what countries can produce overseas. Even though those restrictions are being phased out, there still are 47 countries that have restrictions on trade to the U.S. There are more than 1300 quotas that restrict where goods are made, predominantly in developing countries.

Ms. Hughes stated that in some ways the U.S. textile restrictions have been one of the most successful foreign aid programs because they have forced the expansion of production into countries where U.S. companies might otherwise not have gone. For instance, today there are production facilities in Fiji and Nepal. According to Ms. Hughes, the value of the imports to the U.S. today is more than \$75 billion. More than 150 countries ship goods to the U.S. China may be the largest supplier, but small countries like Sierra Leone and other developing countries have a piece of the market.

USA-ITA became involved in TCB during the AGOA negotiations. USA-ITA helped fight the battle to keep a textile and apparel benefit in AGOA because it is a sector in which one can see an immediate impact in expanded employment. USA-ITA member companies were very supportive of AGOA.

Ms. Hughes remarked that after AGOA passed, USA-ITA funded training in the three countries that were deemed most likely to be immediate successes: Mauritius, South Africa, and Kenya. Training seminars focused on explaining provisions of the law and how to do business with U.S. companies. Since that time, USA-ITA has visited Cameroon, Uganda, Ghana, Senegal, Lesotho, and Botswana. USA-ITA made a presentation at the AGOA Business Forum in January, after which there was a rush of people wanting to talk about how to develop their businesses. Ms. Hughes commented that it is easy to manufacture a T-shirt; the real issue is how to develop long-term partnerships for trade.

According to Ms. Hughes, USA-ITA member companies, have codes of conduct with respect to workers rights and the work place environment. Manufacturers in developing countries must comply with these codes of conduct, which include such elements as child labor, fire safety, and rest room facilities.

Ms. Hughes stated that USA-ITA has been tremendously glad to work with USAID, USTR, the State Department, and Commerce Department to try to develop these trade programs because textiles has often been a problem area. Ms. Hughes commented that quotas for WTO members will end on January 1, 2005. For some countries, which never reached their full potential because of restrictions on shipping to the U.S., this is an opportunity. Ms. Hughes remarked that there is a critical need now for TCB, a discussion of how to market to the U.S., and how to remain viable when the quotas end. Companies are looking at these issues with an eye to developing long-term partnerships.

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION:

Nancy Alexander from the Citizens Network on Essential Services asked Mr. Hadley to address the areas identified in Ms. Sharma's presentation where USAID falls short.

Mr. Hadley replied that USAID plans to measure success in terms of the diversity of markets and products for sale. A growing export market for oil would not be a success as far as USAID is concerned.

Alexandra Spieldoch with the Center of Concern asked Mr. Hadley to address the disconnect between U.S. foreign policy emphasis on free trade and tariff reduction, and U.S. protectionism of its own products. Ms. Spieldoch asked Ms. Hughes about codes of conduct for USA-ITA member companies.

Mr. Hadley replied USAID is part of a much larger policy process that sometimes does not seem to be coordinated. If one stands back from the process, the larger trend of U.S. policy is towards market liberalization and policies that will benefit a large number of people.

Ms. Hughes responded that nearly all major U.S. companies have a code of conduct, most of which are posted on the Department of Labor website. Some are monitored by the groups in which they participate; others are monitored internally by people visiting the factories and making inspections. Ms. Hughes pointed out that the codes are very specific and encompassing. If there is a difference between the International Labor Organization standard and the standard within a particular country, the U.S. company would generally meet the higher standard of the two.

Ann Stone, consultant, asked the panel to address basic property rights and global trade.

Ms. Sharma replied that putting private property rights into law in developing countries is a very strong message in the USAID TCB paper. However, it is critical to make sure that women's property rights are codified as part of the process. There is also a need to pay special attention to communally owned resources and ensure that property rights of the poor are safeguarded.

Lynn MacDonald from the AFL-CIO Solidarity Center asked Ms. Hughes to address how corporate behavior with regard to fair labor standards will be regulated after the expiration of the multi-fiber agreement.

Ms. Hughes responded that USA-ITA member companies are hoping to expand production with their partners who are already meeting the standards. They are not going to abandon codes of conduct. However, there are many other companies that USA-ITA does not represent. Some will be looking for the lowest cost.

Alvaro Gaetano asked how USAID TCB strategy would assist countries address issues such as price disparity between processed and unprocessed materials, and competition between multinational companies and nascent companies.

Mr. Hadley replied that USAID would like to mitigate the issue of price disparity by helping countries diversify their economies and be more competitive in a broader range of industries.

"POST-CONFLICT RECONSTRUCTION: MOVING TOWARD A NEW VISION"

Moderator: Roger Winter, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, USAID

Mr. Winter introduced the panel members, noting that the report under discussion (<http://www.csis.org/isp/pcr/playtowin.pdf>)

Frederick D. Barton, Senior Advisor, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project Co-Director,

Mr. Barton remarked that the past decade has seen the emergence of the issue of post-conflict reconstruction. The U.S. has gone in militarily to six countries in the last 12 years, but there have also been other international events that the U.S. did not address. There has been a progression from small problems in small places, to small problems in big places, to big problems in small places. Mr. Barton commented that the U.S. is not ready for the next stage.

Mr. Barton elaborated that post-conflict reconstruction work cuts across all disciplines of the foreign policy community in ways that are sometimes uncomfortable. The military doesn't like to get involved in things other than combat, but as is evident in Baghdad, there are huge, non-combat needs that must be addressed. For diplomats, there is a requirement to be much more operational and "get their hands dirty." For development groups, there are volatile, insecure marketplaces that require rapid deployment. For the humanitarians, there is an intensely political element to this work that is uncomfortable.

The Association of the United States Army and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) put together a bipartisan Commission on Post-Conflict Reconstruction. A diverse group of distinguished Americans, headed by John Hamre and Gordon Sullivan, examined this issue and developed a framework with a four-pillar structure:

- Security
- Justice and Reconciliation
- Social and Economic Well Being
- Governance and Participation

Mr. Barton stated that there is a second element to the framework, the enabler issues – issues that keep us from improving our practices. Enabler issues include a lack of strategic planning, the absence of any kind of standby capacity on the civilian side, late and slight funding, and little training and preparation.

The Commission developed 17 recommendations, 10 legislative recommendations and 7 administrative recommendations. Some of the recommendations suggest having "standby capacity" within USAID and the State Department. This would involve having rosters of people who would be available for last minute assignments. The recommendation for the Marshall Security Development Account suggests a \$350 to \$450 million per year revolving fund that would guarantee a liquidity, to help eliminate the constant rush to supplemental appropriations or the letting of contracts that are not fully funded.

Mr. Barton commented that there was an interagency process underway that the Commission recommended for continuation. There were tough issues, such as the disarming, demobilizing, and reintegrating of fighters. The Commission recommended the appointment of a Director of Reconstruction, one individual who would have the lead responsibility for the U.S. government's response. Depending on the crisis, that lead has moved around from office to office in the past.

As a result of these recommendations, four U.S. Senators have agreed to co-sponsor legislation that is similar to the text of the report. Similar legislation is expected to be introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives in the near future. Mr. Barton remarked that real progress is being made in moving towards implementation.

In conclusion, Mr. Barton stated that the issue of post-conflict reconstruction is not going away. It is critical for USAID to step in, and to step up, on this issue.

Mr. Barton posed the following two questions for discussion:

1. Don't the sacrifices of war deserve the investments of peace?
2. Is there any good reason why the U.S. has to do this important work badly?

Julia Taft, Assistant Administrator, United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

Ms. Taft's presentation focused on security sector issues, and justice and reconciliation. Having been a member of the Commission on Post-Conflict Reconstruction, Ms. Taft stated that it was a very intense and well-staffed effort. She encouraged the meeting participants to read the final report, *Play to Win*. UNDP is using the document as a guidepost for designing its post-conflict involvement.

Ms. Taft remarked that the study was designed to be relevant to the U.S.; however, it is quite clear that the U.S. cannot, and should not, "do it all." The U.S. should do what it can do better, but this is a very useful instrument for everyone who is engaged in post-conflict issues.

With regard to security, Ms. Taft stated that while the campaign of the U.S. Coalition forces was quite amazing, the military cannot deal with the insecurity of communities. The issue of security is not just macro security, border security, and dealing with major belligerence, but also has to be addressed at the community level.

Ms. Taft commented that the gaps in civilian policing are well articulated in the report. The report recommends a packaging of civilian protection and security of infrastructure, such as hospitals and power plants and public institutions. The more sensitive community policing and public border enforcement are not appropriate activities of the military. The U.S. has addressed this issue in the past through the Department of Justice, the Intergovernmental Science, Engineering, and Technology Advisory Panel (ISETAP), and with contractors. One has to question the cultural sensitivity, training, language skills, and credibility that these organizations have with local populations.

Ms. Taft suggested that it is time to get very serious about improvements in civilian policing in post-conflict situations. She suggested the establishment of a constabulary of standby civilian police. The European Union is developing a corps of 5,000 people who will serve as troops and

constabulary in future post-conflict situations. Until recently, however, NGOs have not been very vocal on the question of how to call upon the international community. Refugees International has just come out with some material on this issue, and Ms. Taft encouraged others to do as well.

Ms. Taft highlighted another element of security, the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of excombatants. According to Ms. Taft, if DDR is not done well, 65% of peace agreements will fall apart, and there will be renewed conflict. It is important in program design that the military not have 100% responsibility for this element. Reintegration strategies must be designed to help route people back into communities and have communities willing to assist them.

On justice and reconciliation, Ms. Taft remarked that the report recommends early deployment of a transitional justice package. That includes police, judges, court administration personnel, codes and procedures, and the capacity to develop correction facilities. If there is an imbalance or an absence of any one of those elements, nothing will work. This is a sector in which there is a real opportunity for broader private sector and NGO involvement.

Ms. Taft said that the U.S. State Department has had a futures group on Iraq, which has prepared a large compendium of laws developed by a panel of Iraqi jurists. Now that the war is abating, unfortunately, these jurists don't seem to have an entry point into the administration in Baghdad.

Ms. Taft noted that sometimes in the justice system too much early attention goes into the area of transitional justice, such as international tribunals. Often in post-conflict situations there is general chaos, and petty criminals need to be restrained as much as the perpetrators of major crimes. The International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia has spent \$500 million since 1991, resulting in only 20 convictions. Sierra Leone is planning to spend about \$100 million, and may get 25 convictions. It is important for those working in the field of development to consider the issue of justice, and how best to spend the money to create solid justice systems in these countries. There is a disconnect between the international contributions for huge tribunals and developing justice systems that will really benefit the populations.

Ms. Taft presented the following question for audience discussion:

How willing is the private sector, and particularly NGOs who pride themselves on neutrality, impartiality, and humanitarian principles, to engage with the military and to work on police issues?

Peter Bell, President and CEO, CARE USA

Mr. Bell expressed his pleasure in working with Mr. Barton and Ms. Taft on the Commission on Post-Conflict Reconstruction. The Commission, made up of people with diverse perspectives and from diverse backgrounds, provided an opportunity to talk freely and come to agreement on some key issues. Mr. Bell thought the process was very worthwhile.

Mr. Bell stated that there are some contextual issues that are well beyond the purview of the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA), USAID, or the State Department. Mr. Bell gave the example of the tendency of the U.S. at times to isolate states, and even countries, with which it finds itself in sharp disagreement. Later, the lack of internal ties in the country impedes post conflict reconstruction. Mr. Bell also noted that when additional resources are needed, they will generally be available for defense, but resources are scant for the State Department and USAID.

Mr. Bell remarked that if the Commission's recommendations had been followed in the case of Iraq or Afghanistan, the relief to reconstruction phases would have gone better. One of the problems in the case of Iraq, and to some degree in Afghanistan and Kosovo, has been the difficulty in assigning clear roles and responsibilities. Within the context of the report, it is quite clear that overall authority needs to rest with the civilian authority. Mr. Bell commented that there has been general confusion and bewilderment in the U.S. Congress in recent weeks about the lines of authority in Iraq. From the NGO standpoint, the comparative advantage of the military is in security. NGOs, the UN, and other civilian actors have the comparative advantage in relief and reconstruction.

It is important for civilian groups to maintain impartiality and independence from the military. Mr. Bell cited some examples from Afghanistan. Initially yellow food packages were dropped that were confused with yellow cluster bombs. Later, U.S. Special Operation Forces, dressed in civilian clothes and carrying concealed weapons, engaged in building schools and other humanitarian-oriented projects. This caused a great deal of confusion. The NGOs registered their complaints that by such acts the military was in fact putting NGO staff at risk. Mr. Bell said that the same kind of confusion could arise in Iraq. For that reason, a group of NGOs have come together and articulated a set of principles and guidelines that have been accepted by USAID. This has helped to clarify the basis on which the NGOs operate.

Mr. Bell remarked that one of the great advantages of NGO involvement is that in many cases the NGOs have been working in the country before, during, and after the conflict. As an example, Mr. Bell cited CARE's work in Afghanistan since 1960. CARE has been working in central and southern Iraq under the management of CARE Australia for the last 12 years. That placed CARE in a position to rapidly implement programs and address critical needs. Helping to reinforce and facilitate local capacities is absolutely critical to reconstruction.

Mr. Bell echoed the comments of Ms. Taft with regard to the importance of security. In both Afghanistan and Iraq it is evident just how absolutely critical security is for allowing everything else to happen.

In conclusion, Mr. Bell emphasized the important roles of NGOs in serving as a bridge to civil society and facilitating peacebuilding initiatives at the community level.

Richard L. Greene, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees, and Migration, U.S. Department of State

Mr. Greene reminded the meeting participants that the post-conflict stage in Iraq is still very new. Mr. Greene focused his remarks on a practical new vision for post-conflict and beyond, from a State Department perspective. He elaborated nine points of the vision:

1. Expanded emphasis on civil-military cooperation

The State Department is facilitating access of humanitarian organizations and setting up a more robust set of humanitarian operation centers, as well as sharing assessment information.

2. Reliance on the expertise of international humanitarian organizations and NGOs

In planning for Iraq, the State Department has been in daily conversations with UN officials, primarily focused on the relief agencies. Mr. Greene shared a statement from the latest UN resolution:

"Request the Secretary-General to appoint a special coordinator for Iraq whose responsibilities will involve coordinating activities of the UN in post-conflict processes in Iraq. It includes coordination of humanitarian and reconstruction assistance, support for safe, orderly, voluntary return of refugees, respect for national and local institutions and representative governance, human rights, basic civil administration functions, economic reconstruction."

3. Security is an absolute precondition for the delivery of humanitarian assistance

This is a recognized responsibility of coalition forces.

4. Improved coordination among all humanitarian agencies and with host governments

Mr. Greene pointed out that the emphasis is on quickly improving the capacity of host governments. He cited the program secretariat model in Afghanistan that tried to twin UN agencies and other institutions with their respective Afghan ministries. This model had a mechanism for including NGOs.

5. Early and significant funding

Mr. Greene noted it took only 10 days to negotiate, pass, and have the President sign a \$2.4 billion supplemental for relief and initial reconstruction in Iraq.

6. Needs-based assessments

There is strong support for assessments done by the international community, including NGOs, and a recognition that funding decisions must be tied closely to those needs-based assessments.

7. International burden sharing

The State Department has been involved in soliciting support from other countries involved with Iraq and Afghanistan. There is also discussion of a possible donor conference. The State Department wants to respond favorably to the UN flash appeal.

8. *Protection*

Mr. Greene remarked that there is a focus on protection, utilizing those agencies that have experience and international mandates in protection.

9. *Reintegration*

There is a recognition that

- Many refugees have waited a long time to go home
- Refugees have skills to offer to their home countries
- Successful reintegration of returnees is one of the keys to improving stability and security
- When reintegration doesn't work it can mean further violence and conflict
- The keys to reintegration include security, jobs, getting children into normal situations as quickly as possible, respect, reconciliation, and taking care of unfinished business.

In conclusion, Mr. Greene remarked that the key question he is struck with every day is "How can we do a better job of filling the security vacuum?"

James Kunder, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Asia and the Near East, USAID; former USAID Representative, Kabul, Afghanistan

Mr. Kunder stated that the Commission's final report represents a landmark. Its arrival, along with the creation of the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) in Iraq, led him to the conclusion that every Chief Executive Officer (CEO) in the non-profit private sector ought to read the report. He shared five reasons to read the report:

1. The report reiterates the notion that U.S. foreign policy has increasingly become concerned with post-conflict management.
2. The report provides a fundamental challenge to the commonly held view of the supremacy of civil society. In post-conflict reconstruction, the nation-state governments are retaking some ground, moving into an area that has been primarily the province of civil society. This redirection raises some fundamental questions for the non-profit, private sector.
3. The report highlights security issues. Humanitarian assistance and capacity building cannot be isolated from security and policing issues. Mr. Kunder remarked that this has profound implications for the non-profit, private sector in terms of deciding how much involvement with the military and nation-building NGOs are willing to accept.
4. In the emphasis on structure, system, and planning, this report suggests a fundamental challenge to the basic grass roots, independent nature of non-profit engagement. It suggests a need for integrated political and military plans. That provides a challenge to the notion of an ad hoc coalition of international organizations pulling together in a voluntary fashion to address post-conflict reconstruction.
5. The report includes a discussion of standby capacity, an absolutely critical component of post-conflict reconstruction, in Mr. Kunder's view. The current situation, in which humanitarian and development organizations have to wait until the crisis is underway or past to hire staff, results in delays and sometimes disorganization in the immediate post-conflict situation. This raises

another fundamental challenge--how to develop a standby capacity within the non-profit, private sector.

Mr. Kunder noted that although this report came out at about the time the ORHA was being developed, the ORHA is implementing much of what is suggested in the report. In conclusion, Mr. Kunder once again urged every CEO in the non-profit, private sector to consider the challenges embedded in the report.

QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

Aziz Ansary, a volunteer with the Children of War, remarked that as an Afghan he applauds the U.S. government for its intervention in Afghanistan. However, as time has passed, much of the hope has receded into disappointment and anger. Mr. Ansary asked for advice on how an Afghan NGO could successfully compete for reconstruction funding.

Ms. Taft responded that one of the actions in a post-conflict situation must be a clearinghouse of who is doing what, and where. This must include an NGO registration process. NGOs need to make their skills known to the UN or the entity conducting the needs assessments.

Jennifer Brinkerhoff from George Washington University asked Mr. Barton to discuss the role of diaspora networks.

Mr. Barton replied the diaspora represents a great pool of talent that needs to be utilized for reconstruction. Oftentimes inducements may be needed to encourage professionals to return home.

Ms. Taft remarked that there was an effort to work with the Afghan diaspora. There is a balance that must be struck between tapping peoples' energy and interest, but not expecting people to pick up their families and move on a permanent basis. The UN encourages people to sign up for the UN volunteer programs. Ms. Taft also noted that the International Organization for Migration has a "Return of Talent" program.

Mr. Kunder commented that the Commission's recommendations with regard to diaspora might be somewhat naive. There is a need to link diaspora talent with NGOs and in-country institutions. Having a reverse migration of disconnected individuals isn't very helpful in a chaotic post-conflict environment.

Mr. Greene added that the State Department involved the Iraqi diaspora in charting a future course for Iraq through the "Future of Iraq" project.

Ted Weihe, ACVFA Member, asked how the Commission's report addresses the cultural barrier between the military and the non-profit community.

Mr. Bell remarked that there is a disconnect in Afghanistan between the military defense policy and the State Department/USAID policy. The International Security Assistance Force has not been extended much beyond Kabul, and in effect the U.S. has assisted and strengthened some of

the warlords who are undermining the national government. Mr. Bell stated that the U.S. does not have an overall coordinated policy for the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Mr. Kunder remarked that there is a difference between the way the military approaches its role and the way that the NGOs view the military's role. Civil-military conferences are not the answer. There is a need for a civilian alternative to ORHA, or the provisional reconstruction teams. When the National Security Council sees on the one hand the military plan for reconstruction, and on the other hand a group of well-intentioned civilian organizations without a written plan, their choice is pretty clear. Absent a coherent, organized plan, the military plan is going to trump.

Mary McClymont, ADVFA Member, asked the panel to address the UN role in post-conflict reconstruction.

Mr. Greene answered that the State Department sees a significant role for the UN and has been working to facilitate that role.

Ms. Taft stated that the UN has been in Iraq for 50 years, and is very much present and engaged. Pre-war there were 900 international staff in Iraq; 300 have returned to date. Ms. Taft said that in Afghanistan, the UN pulled together the interim authority and established the procedure whereby there would be a rollout of commissions addressing elections, the constitution, and justice. The UN is waiting to see what its role will be in Iraq. There is also a larger question as to what will happen with regard to conflict in countries where there really isn't superpower interest.

Larry Beck, with the Logistics Management Institute, asked about pre-conflict planning and coordination.

Mr. Greene responded that the effectiveness of pre-conflict planning is a function of many things, including time. For Iraq there was a Humanitarian Planning Team, which involved both civil and military officials. That was a good model for post-conflict planning. In Iraq, however, most of the planning involved a scenario that didn't happen--a large movement of people.

Mr. Barton commented that CSIS is working hard to apply the recommendations from the report in the international setting. Mr. Barton also remarked that standby capacity is critical to help reduce the politics of the debate. Many believe that the UN is the appropriate place to have some standby capacity. However, many donor countries have not been willing to fund activities like this in the past.

Mr. Kunder noted that the Pentagon has plans for emergency situations in every country in the world and the Federal Emergency Management Agency has plans for emergencies across the U.S. There is no such plan for humanitarian and development efforts in the event of conflicts around the world.

Mr. Bell replied that preparing for the aftermath of a war that is initiated by the U.S. without the support of the international community, would be very difficult for NGOs working in those

countries. It would, in effect, be facilitating the war effort, and would put local staff members at risk.

Ralph Getz, former multilateral development programs administrator, asked about UN accomplishment in Iraq.

Ms. Taft cited the latest summary of UN accomplishments in Iraq. The World Food Programme has shipped food, mostly with funding from USAID, to Iraq. Nearly half of the health facilities have been assessed; materials and medicines are being delivered; electricity is operating in the north and much of the south; the water in Basra has been fixed; schools are starting to open; and fuel is being delivered to run generators. In only three weeks, a great deal has been accomplished. Compared to the need, however, Ms. Taft agreed that it is still a small effort.

Mr. Bell added that there is tremendous capacity within Iraq today. There is not a need for outside experts, but rather for facilitation support, and for security.

Laura Henderson with CARE and **Bert Levinson** from CFC, asked the panelists to comment on funding alternatives for standby capacity in conflict situations.

Mr. Greene commented that while there is marginal support within the Administration and the U.S. Congress for creating large, unencumbered contingency funds, the Administration supported and Congress quickly passed more flexible forms of funding for Iraq and Afghanistan.

Nancy Byrd from Enterprise Works Worldwide asked Ms. Taft to comment on pre-conflict planning in other, less visible areas of the world.

Ms. Taft commented that the best thing that the UN system did before the Iraq war was to coordinate humanitarian contingency planning in the surrounding countries. There is no reason that this type of humanitarian contingency planning could not be done with other countries. Ms. Taft suggested that the ACVFA consider developing an approach to humanitarian contingency planning in selected countries. She volunteered to seek buy-in from the UN on such a partnership. Ms. Taft remarked that it is essential that organizations think through who has the capacity and expertise to do which jobs most effectively.

Mr. Barton replied that now is the best time to create a program with the size, flexibility, agility, and endurance that is needed. There is broad public appreciation of the importance of these issues. Polls show that 60-70% of the American people want to contribute to reconstruction in Iraq. However, this support is halved when told that it might cost \$35 billion.

Meeting Wrap-Up

William S. Reese, ACVFA Chair thanked the speakers and staff for their time and commitment. The meeting concluded at 3:50 pm. The next **ACVFA Public Meeting will be held on October 1, 2003.**

“U.S. Foreign Assistance Strategy – A New Role for NGOs
and USAID?”

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

MEETING AGENDA

ANNEX 1

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

Public Meeting
Wednesday, May 14, 2003
National Press Club
529 14th Street, N.W.
13th Floor
Washington, D.C.

AGENDA

"U.S. Foreign Assistance Strategy – A New Role for NGOs and USAID?"

- 9:00 **Registration**
Ballroom
- 9:30 **Welcome: *William S. Reese***, ACVFA Chair
Ballroom
- 9:35 **Keynote Address: "*Trade Capacity Building: A Key Tool for Sustainable Growth in Developing Countries*"**
Ballroom
- Andrew S. Natsios*, Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development
- 9:55 **Questions and Answers**
- 10:15 **Panel: "*Helping Developing Countries Participate in Global Trade*"**
Ballroom
- Moderator: *Nick Eberstadt***, ACVFA Member
- Emmy Simmons*, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, USAID
Constance Newman, Assistance Administrator, Bureau for Africa, USAID
J. Michael Deal, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean, USAID
- 10:45 **Questions and Answers**

11:15 **Panel: “NGOs and the Private Sector: Building Trade Capacity through Partnerships”**
Ballroom

Moderator: Elise Smith, ACVFA Member

Stephen J. Hadley, Director, Office of Economic Growth, Bureau for Economic Growth, Agriculture and Trade, USAID

Ritu Sharma, Co-Founder and Executive Director, Women’s Edge

Don Crane, Executive Vice President, ACDI/VOCA

Julia K. Hughes, V.P. International Trade and Government Relations, U.S. Association of Importers of Textiles and Apparel (USA-ITA)

12:00 **Questions and Answers**

12:30 **Lunch**

1:45 **“Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Moving Toward a New Vision ”**
Ballroom

This session will address the recommendations of the Bipartisan Commission on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and will propose strategies that the U.S. Government, international agencies, and NGOs might adopt to improve relief and reconstruction practices.

Moderator: Roger Winter, Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Democracy, Conflict, and Humanitarian Assistance, USAID

Speakers:

Frederick D. Barton, Senior Advisor, Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project and Co-Director, Center for Strategic and International Studies

Julia Taft, Assistant Administrator, United Nations Development Program

Peter Bell, President and CEO, Care USA

Richard L. Greene, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Population, Refugees, and Migration, U.S. Department of State

James Kunder, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Asia and the Near East, USAID, former USAID Representative, Kabul, Afghanistan

3:00 **Questions and Answers**

3:45 **Wrap Up**

4:00 **Adjournment**

“U.S. Foreign Assistance Strategy – A New Role for NGOs
and USAID?”

Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

ANNEX 2

ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON VOLUNTARY FOREIGN AID

ACVFA

**PUBLIC MEETING
WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 2003**

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Economic Growth and Trade:
The Development Challenge

ANNEX 3