

Rethinking US Foreign Aid

AU/SIS 596.004 (Fall 2006)

Irving Rosenthal

Course Description

Course reviews the changing political basis, institutional infrastructure, program goals, delivery systems, and issues of U.S. foreign aid from the Marshall Plan enunciated by President Truman in 1947, to the Millennium Challenge Corporation established in 2004, to the creation in 2006 of the new position of a Dep Asst Sec. of State for Foreign Assistance, who is also the Administrator of USAID. The course reviews the politics and history of U.S. foreign aid under different administrations, which began primarily as development assistance, but where funding has increased for humanitarian and disaster aid, political and military aid, and more recently, to resolve post-conflict issues. Program changes include reduced emphasis on economic development to increased emphasis on democratization, freedom, and free-market economics goals and, following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the U.S., foreign policy issues of fighting terrorism, and rebuilding weak and failing states. We will discuss recent issues such as the increase of private investment and the growing impact of globalization and world trade. The course will discuss how present US Government programs and structures for carrying out foreign aid are in disarray and struggling to meet today's US foreign policy and security objectives.

Goal of the Course

The goal of this course is to give students the background to put into context foreign aid issues of today and the opportunity for students to suggest improvements so that the US government might better use foreign aid, and particularly development aid, as an effective foreign policy tool.

Major Course Themes

1. The concept of *American exceptionalism* has guided much of US foreign policy and US foreign aid. Two somewhat overlapping doctrines within this concept further describe the relations of the US to the rest of the world - and, therefore, the goals and purposes of US aid. The class will discuss where within this framework various reforms have fit.
 - *The idealist (liberal)* - The belief that it is the mission of the US to lead the world by domestic example, and through its foreign policy and foreign assistance tools, and multilateral cooperation into a more democratic, free market, and prosperous future. It is the moral position that foreign aid is "the right thing for the US to do" - to reduce world poverty and spread American and Western values
 - *The realist (conservative)* - A virtuous America, prosperous and democratic, is threatened by anti-democratic, corrupt, antagonistic cultures, ideologies, and nations against whom the US must be on guard. The US must manage its foreign policy, military power and foreign aid relations with other countries primarily on the unilateral basis of securing and protecting our own national security.
- 2 *Specific goals and purposes of US foreign aid have changed over time and continue to change, and fit variously into the two doctrines.* These include:

- promote the economic, social, political, and institutional development of LDCs;
 - change the political behaviour of another country to support US foreign policy;
 - foster globalization and create international markets for the US's, commercial benefits;
 - respond to short term disaster, emergency, refugee, humanitarian events;
 - help failing and weak states;
 - resolve national and international conflicts that impact on the United States;
 - reconstruction and stabilization following national and international conflicts;
 - fight international terrorism;
3. Presidential foreign aid initiatives have become so numerous and overlapping, Congressional earmarks have become so constrictive to the use of funds, and organization and management has become so diffused among an estimated 40 US domestic and foreign affairs agencies carrying out aid programs, that the U.S. government foreign aid effort today is in a chaotic policy, financial, programmatic and organizational condition. The international terrorist attacks of 9/11 have added an additional national security threat to consider in determining how to organize and manage US foreign aid.
4. Recent (2004/5/6) reforms to improve management of US foreign aid through new USAID policies, by creation of the Millennium Challenge Corporation, an increased role for the Department of Defense and greater integration of USAID into State need to be reconsidered. Longer-term “development” and shorter-term “defense” and “diplomatic” goals and forms of aid have become conflated with a potentially negative impact on all three. “Development” aid must be reinvigorated as a long-term “soft-power” tool which can also serve humanitarian and US national security and international economic goals.

Required Reading

Butterfield, Samuel H., *U.S. Development Aid - An Historic First: Achievements and Failures in the Twentieth Century*, Praeger Publishers, 2004.

Lancaster, C, *Transforming Foreign Aid: United States Assistance in the 21st Century*, Institute for International Economics, 2000.

Books on Reserve - Summary of books on reserve in Appendix at end of syllabus.

Packet of Papers and Journal Articles on e-Reserve

Summary in Appendix at end of syllabus. Physical Packet contains articles not separately listed.

Course Requirements

Each students will prepare a weekly **Reading Issues Paper (RIP)**. The RIP, not to exceed one page, will summarize the main points in the required readings for the week. Each RIP will end with questions which the student wishes to discuss or seek answers to in class.

Each student will complete:

- a **take-home midterm** will cover US foreign aid experience from 1943-2000. See class # 7.
- a **take-home final** in the form of a final paper which will propose a reform to a US foreign

- aid issue. Suggested final paper topic is due to Professor at Class 10.
- **thesis of the final paper will be presented to the full class** and defended in sessions 13/14. Presentation, with questions and discussions, nte 20 minutes

Guidance for Take-home Final Paper - 15-20 total pages (Due nlt Dec 16)

- Statement of the foreign aid program/structural problem needing reform - One page
- Statement of proposed solution, reform, or reorganization - One page
- Details and implementation of the reform and how it will resolve the problem - Body of the paper
- Assumptions and rationale for success of the reform - One page
- Downside and potential problems with implementing the proposed reform - Two pages
- Bibliography (Not counted in page total.)

Note: 2-3 students will form teams to write and present **final papers**. All members of the team will receive the same grade. Final paper will be assessed on its ability to be implemented.

Graduate students will make **one class presentation**, in addition to the final paper.. Presentations nte 10 minutes. Suggested topics in syllabus Appendix. Proposals to professor by class 4.

Newspaper Articles: Students are expected to read daily newspapers for relevant articles. Students should report back to the class for extra credit. Prior newspaper articles, not separately identified, are included in hard copy in library reserve for each class..

Think Tanks in Washington. D.C. is the headquarters of a number of international think tanks and professional associations. Students will attend and report to class for extra credit. .

- The Brookings Institution American Enterprise Institute,
- The Center on Global Development Heritage Foundation
- Council on Foreign Relations CATO Institute.
- Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars Society for International Development
- Carnegie Endowment for International Peace US Institute for Peace
- Center for Strategic and International Studies interaction and ACVFA
- U.S. Global Leadership Campaign

Course Grading

Reading Issue Papers (RIP)	20 %
Mid-term take home examination	20%
Participation in class discussions/graduate student presentation	20 %
Final paper on proposed reform of US foreign aid	40%
Extra credit	As appropriate

Course Outline

Part I (Classes 1-7) - Early Political and Economic Roles of US Foreign Aid

Part I examines 50 years of history and leadership of the US foreign aid program from the

Marshall Plan to 1990/2000 contemporary era . Attention will be directed to the types of foreign aid programs and organizations and to the US domestic political and foreign policy that spawned them. We will review congressional attitude to these reforms and examine the changing emphasis - primarily of development aid - from concern with infrastructure to basic human needs “when progress for poor countries seemed assured in a golden age of simplicity in development economics.” (3 /11/06 obituary for economist Hans Singer.) Part I will familiarize students with the debates that influenced the early direction of US foreign aid. Was aid originally provided for “realist” or “liberal” reasons? Students will study the cycles of reforms of the past that influence aid reforms of today.

Class 1 The Course Setting and Theses, Directions and Jargon of Foreign Aid

(Aug 31)

Opening lecture: In this first class we will review the overall approach to the course. Class will touch on the major theses of US foreign aid to be covered during the semester. Students will be introduced to foreign aid jargon and definitions and a recognition that international aid is a most volatile element of US foreign policy and developing country budgets Part I of the course reviews the early history of US foreign aid. Parts II review changes in US foreign policy and approaches to foreign aid since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990. Part III reviews reforms proposed by President G. W, Bush after he came into office in 2000. In Part IV students present their own recommendations for reform of foreign aid.

Readings:

Recommended: Fukuyama, *America at the Crossroads*, pp 7-11, 37-39, 95-113
Newspaper Articles

Class 2 World War II Aid to Europe, Marshall Plan, the Truman Years, and Point 4 (1941-1955)

(Sept 7)

This class, and the next two, will review the path by which the early US foreign aid programs were developed by different US administrations. Issues that face us today in 2006 began at the birth of the US aid program in 1941. The World Bank, IMF, DAC and regional development banks were also created at this time, under the leadership of the US. While US contributions to International Financial Institutions come out of the US foreign operations budget, this course will focus primarily on US foreign aid policies, programs, and organizational structures.

Readings:

Required: Butterfield, Forward, Preface, Chap 2-5
Ruttan, Chap 1, 3 (x 42-47), 4, 11 (339-348)
Judt, pp 82-89
Recommended: Easterly, pp 3-33

Class 3 Aid Reforms Under Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. The Alliance for Progress. (1955-1968)

(Sept 14)

This class will review the political and organizational issues leading to the creation of the

Foreign Operations Administration under Eisenhower and the International Cooperation Administration and Development Loan Fund. We will review key points of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, which as amended, is still the basic US government foreign assistance authorizing legislation. We will discuss President Kennedy's "Decade of Development" and focus on his attention to Latin America through the Alliance for Progress. We will explore special programs in Latin America and their successes and failures. Using the works of Harrison and Montaner we will discuss socio-cultural factors of development in Latin America.. What is the changing role of US aid to Latin America today resulting from rising anti-Americanism and a swing to left-wing autocracy and populism? We will consider President Johnson's "War on Hunger" and briefly cover the relationship between the US civilian and military effort in Vietnam

Readings:

Required: Butterfield, Chap 7-9

Harrison, L.E., Chap 1, 2, 8 (pp 57-82), 9. Skim rest of book

Montaner, C.E. "Culture and Behavior of Elites in Latin American," in Harrison and Huntington, pp 56-64

USAID/LAC Budget Request to Congress for FY 2006

Recommended: Birdsall, N. and R. Menezes, "Toward a New Social Contract in Latin America,"

Castanada, J., Foreign Affairs, May/June 2006, pp 28-43.

Ruttan, Chap 5 (ex 81-91), 10 (253-278), 13 (439-450, 426-433)

Newspaper article

Speaker from USAID LAC Bureau

Class 4 Aid Reforms Under Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush (1) and Clinton After the Cold War. Aid to sub-Saharan Africa (1969-2000)

(Sept 21)

Consideration of Nixon's "New Directions," the recommendations of the Peterson Task Force on Foreign Assistance, and the increased involvement of the Congress in foreign aid. Review the shift, from attention to the rural poor in Third World countries to issues of national debt, economic policies of national governments, new macro-economic policy, and private sector development. Beginnings of the recognition that foreign aid was being carried out by many US government agencies and the creation under Carter of IDCA to help coordinate the disparate US aid programs. Under Bush USAID development policy shifted to promoting market forces as the engine of development. Lack of concern with foreign aid after the end of the Cold War by Clinton led to the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998 which shrank of aid funds and staff. This was matched by prohibitive Congressional earmarking of the funds that remained. Special attention will be given in his class to US aid to sub-Saharan Africa after the European colonial period - mostly French, British, Belgians, and Germans. Early US programs in Africa were influenced by the East-West Conflict and reduced as the conflict was reduced. Did US aid to Africa achieve national security objectives? Why has African development become such a major issue with the new ideas proposed by the UK at the June 2005 meeting of EU countries and the July meeting of the G8.

Readings

Required: Butterfield, Chap 11 (pps 113-114), 12 13, 15, 16
Lancaster, C. *“Aid to Africa: So much to Do.”* Chapters 2-5, 9.
USAID Primer, pp 2-7
“Our Common Interest,” Report of the Commission for Africa, pp 1-79
Recommended: Ruttan, Chap 7, 10 (439-471)
Newspaper articles
Speaker from Council on Foreign Affairs/Georgetown University

Class 5 Selected Development Aid Techniques and Substantive Approaches (1940s to 1990s)

(Sept 28)

This class will discuss selected aid approaches that fall mostly under the “development aid” category. Some of these approaches were noted in the history of aid reviewed in classes 2-4. This is by no means a complete list, but an attempt to show major nuts and bolts of foreign aid. Many of the techniques and approaches can help accomplish more than one foreign aid goal. But as the number of US agencies providing aid has increased, as Congress and new administrations with new ideas came to power, as USAID has expanded its efforts under the pressure of outside influences, and as USAID experts experiment with new ideas, fragmentation of aid has continued. The different goals and approaches of aid is the basis of a thesis of this course that the US foreign aid program today is in disarray.. While students may initially become specialists in some of these approaches, to become a true development and foreign aid expert, students must understand the breadth of the many components of aid and the linkages among them.

- **1940s** - Technical Assistance
- **1950s** - Public Administration
- **1960s** - Capital Assistance and Physical Infrastructure
 - PL 480 Food Assistance
- **1970s** - The Stages of Economic Growth (Rostow)
 - Bottom-up Basic Human Needs
 - Agriculture, Food Production, and Rural Development
 - Health and Nutrition
 - Education, Training and Human Capital
 - Population and Family Planning
 - Cultural Influences and Social Soundness Assessments
 - Environmental Analyses
 - Gender Issues and Women in Development
- **1980s** - Private Sector Development
 - Economic Policy Reform
- **1990s** - the Washington Consensus
 - Democracy and Governance

Speaker from World Bank on social soundness analysis

Readings:

Required: Butterfield, Chap 10-11,14,17.
“Foreign Aid in the National Interest.”
Chap 2 (as regards stages of economic growth in agriculture)

Chap 3 (as regards health and nutrition)
 Grondara, M., "A Cultural Typology of Economic Development," in Harrison and Huntington, *Culture Matters*, pp 44-55. (On social soundness analysis)
 Raffer, Kunibert and H. W. Singer, *The Foreign Aid Business*, pp 73-87 (food aid)
 Rondinelli, D.A., "Reforming Public Administration in Post-Conflict Societies."
 Rostow, Walter, *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*
 Ruttan Chap 5 (86-93) 6, 8, 14 (On basic human needs, agriculture and food aid)
 Timmer, C. Peter, "Agriculture and Pro-Growth: Reviewing the Issues," CGD.
 Newspaper Articles

Graduate students presentations on Rostow, Washington Consensus and Culture Matters

Class 6 The International Affairs Account of the US Budget and Aid Managed by US Government domestic agencies other than USAID

(Oct 5)

US foreign aid is delivered by many mechanisms, domestic and international, that make up the total US foreign operations budget. This class will focus on two topics. The first will be a review of the US foreign aid legislative authorization and budget appropriation processes of the foreign aid agencies.. We will look at the 150 Foreign Operations Account of the US Budget. We will note how Congress oversees the process, and perhaps complicates aid management by numerous "earmarks" and "set-asides."

Second, we will review foreign aid activities managed by some of the 40 or so "non-foreign-aid" US government agencies. Nearly every department of the US government now has its own foreign aid program, some included within the 150, but mostly from their regular appropriations. How do these "other" agency's country and program selection criteria and work on the ground and impact on overall US foreign aid.. We will use, as examples, the Treasury Department and USDA. We will discuss Justice Department in the next class. Aid related activities of State and the Defense Departments will be covered in class 11.

Readings:

Required: Budget references on Foreign Operations Budget - 150 Account

Lancaster, C. "*Transforming Foreign Aid*," Chap 1, 2, 3.

"USAID Primer, pp 13-17. (Class 4 reference)

Radelet/Adleman's papers on levels of Government vs Private Aid,

U.S. Department of the Treasury, OTA, Technical assistance Overview.

U.S. Department of the Treasury, International Affairs Technical Assistance, Report to Congress for the period January 1 - December 31, 2004

USDA Support for International Development Assistance Efforts, USDA, FAS, 2005

Recommended: Ruttan, pps 116-119.

Speakers from Treasury and USDA

Class 7 Mid-term Exam - Assessing 40-50 years of the US Aid Effort

(Oct 12)

Answer 3 questions - nte 2 pages per question. Responses should be factual and descriptive. No

recommendations. Exam papers due at start of this class. Options:

- Describe the *idealist* vs. the *realist* approach to the provision of US foreign aid
- Give examples of successes and failures of US foreign aid over the 50 years 1946-2000.
- What lessons have been learned by the US Government over the last 50 years about improving the programs and delivery mechanism of foreign aid?
- Discuss the program and management characteristics of various US aid organizations
- How do local cultures and value systems impact on the effectiveness of foreign aid
- Discuss linkages between US foreign aid activities and US foreign policy issues.
- Discuss relationships between the various US aid agencies and the State Department.
- What are the views of the American public on the size and purpose of US foreign aid?.
- Review the limitations on development aid to Africa and/or Latin America. And Vietnam.
- Describe some changing foreign aid paradigms under different US presidents.
- Describe the foreign aid budget authorization and appropriation process.
- Discuss the foreign aid role of US domestic agencies other than USAID.
- Discuss the impact on US aid of the “cold war” and the “end of the cold war.”

Readings:

Required: Butterfield, Chap 18

Beinhart, E., “A Fully Integrated Rule of Law Initiative for Sub-Saharan African Countries: A Concept Paper” U.S. Department of Justice, Undated

Speaker from Justice Department

RIP not required for session #7. Class will review responses to exam questions.

Part II (Classes 8 - 9) Foreign Aid Since the Collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s.

Part II covers a decade of shifts in foreign aid away from emphasis on political aid based on competition with the former Soviet Union. This Part will examine the democratic “revolution” which has seen many aid-receiving countries attempting to become full democracies and the role the US has played in promoting this revolution. Why are democracy and strong democratic institution considered important in achieving economic growth. What pressures do new democracies place on governments in poor countries? How successful have US aid programs been in promoting democracy? This issue have taken on new foreign policy significance when, during the 2000 Presidential election, candidate Bush said the US should not become involved in “nation building.” However, in his 2002 National Security Strategy Statement and 2004 inauguration address, President Bush said he would support “the growth of democratic movements and institutions in every nation and culture.”

Class 8 Shift in Aid from Development to Humanitarian, Conflict Prevention and Post-Conflict Transition, Political and Special Interests such as Environment, and influence of the NGO/PVO Community

(Oct 19)

Early AID goals were usually measured in economic terms. While economic measures continue to be important indicators of input and output, democratic governance and institutional effectiveness came to be seen as crucial to achieve economic development and important goals in their own right. New measures were introduced. But there have been further shifts in the goals and purposes of

foreign aid. There has been increased use of foreign aid for political, disaster and humanitarian purposes and away from economic and social development - although some of these other aid efforts also impacted on development. What was the role of the Congress, Presidential domestic and national security politics, and influence of the NGO/PVO community in these shifts?. How has the US government reorganized itself to meet the new goals of foreign aid? For example:

- **Development assistance** - the early goal of foreign aid was long term economic and social development. Within development aid there have been changing thrusts - by economic sector, different economic theories, different geographic emphases, different delivery mechanisms and new goals, e.g., the UN's Millennium Development Goals, new ideas in the British Commission Report on Africa, and new idea proposed by the Congress, NGOs and the private sector.
- **Disaster/emergency/humanitarian assistance** - as a result of more intensive international communications, pressures from the UN, NGOs and other special interests, and increased politicization of foreign aid, larger amounts of aid funding has gone for shorter term disaster and humanitarian activities, at the expense of longer term economic and social development, e.g., Rwanda, Darfur, Kosovo, Asian tsunami, West African drought.
- **Political/security assistance** - while US political interests have always been one justification for the provision of foreign aid, pressure from the White House and State Department have increasingly led to support of shorter term US foreign policy interests, e.g., Israel/Egypt, Colombia drug traffic, Uzbekistan air base.
- **Military assistance** - grants managed by the Department of Defense, to improve militaries of allies through training and provision of some equipment. Not considered as ODA by OECD, but part of larger US national security strategy.-
- **Post conflict stabilization and reconstruction and assistance to weak and failing states** - the enlarged role of the Department of Defense in Iraq and Afghanistan and the increased role of the State Department under the "war on terror" has led to more aid funding going for shorter term pre and post conflict programs - reducing the funding for longer term economic and social development.
- **Other foreign aid** - aid for peacekeeping, transnational problems like infectious disease and environmental protection, human rights issues such as protection against trafficking in women. Under this category are the aid programs of US domestic agencies and special Presidential and Congressional initiatives

Readings:

Required : "A Strategic Framework for the Office of Private and Voluntary Cooperation: FY 2003- 07," USAID/PVC, December, 2002. (On role of PVOs)

Atwood, J. Brian, "After Iraq, What?"

Carothers, Chap. 8. (On role of PVOs)

"Foreign Assistance in Focus: Emerging Trends," InterAction, Washington, DC, 2003.

"Foreign Aid in the National Interest" Chap 5 (as regards humanitarian aid):

Lancaster, Carol, *Transforming Foreign Aid*: " Chap 4.pp 57-76, Chap 5.

OECD/DAC, Peer Review of the United States Development Assistance Program through 2000, Main Findings and Recommendations, Paris, 2002.

USAID material on Darfur Humanitarian Emergency and Tsunami Reconstruction

USAID Primer, p 10-12.

Recommended: "Commitment to Development Index:2005," CGD, 2005.

"U.S. Assistance for Global Development," CGD, Campaign 2004.

van de Walle, Nicolas, Chap 4

USAID ADS 251, (on international disaster assistance) www.usaid.gov.

"Why Global Development Matters for the U.S.," CGD, Campaign 2004.

Newspaper articles

Class 9 Shift in Aid from Economic Development to Democratic Development, Governance and Institution Building

(Oct 26)

The early economic paradigms of aid could not succeed, without reform and development, as well, of democratic governance and the improved capability of public sector institutions necessary to analyse, design, implement, and monitor program in economic, social, and political areas. Although countries always needed to reform their human capital and public institutions to enable them to apply new development approaches - reform of public sector implementation and service institutions was originally not considered or given lower priority than economic theory and policy. President Bush (2) has made democratization a key thrust of US foreign policy. This class will review how the US has tackled democratization, good governance, elections, the rule of law, and corruption and given some attention to the need for improving public sector administration.

Readings:

Required: "At Freedom's Frontiers: A Democracy and Governance Strategic Framework," USAID, December 2005.

Carothers, Thomas, Chap 2, 12; Class assignments for presentations on Chap 5, 6, 7

Chassy, Aaron M., "Promoting Democracy," *Foreign Service Journal*, Sept. 2004.

Easterly, pp- 112-157.

"Foreign Aid in the National Interest," Chap 1.(As regards promoting democracy)

Fukuyama, Francis, *State Building*, Chap 1, 2

Lancaster, *Transforming Foreign Aid*, pp 82-87.

Siegle, Joseph T, M. M. Weinstein, M H. Halperin, "Why Democracies Excel,"

van de Walle, Nicolas, Chap 1-3

Recommended: Fukuyama, *America at the Crossroads*, pp 114-149.

"State Building and Global Development," A Guide to Global Development, CGD.

Easterly, pp 42-44.

Newspaper articles

Speaker from USAID's Democracy and Governance Office.

Graduate student presentation on corruption and on selected cases in Chassy

Part III (Classes 10 -12) The Administration of President G.W. Bush, the Rise of Terrorism, Stabilization and Reconstruction, Weak and Fragile States

Part III reviews programmatic and organizational changes in the delivery of foreign aid since 2000 during the term of President G. W. Bush, the new domestic politics of aid, and the impact on aid of a newly aggressive and unilateralist U.S. foreign policy strategy. This Part

considers the impact of failure of states to function well politically, socially, and economically, and the continued difficulty to eliminate poverty, political, and ethnic conflict. It considers how the turmoil within dysfunctional, weak, and failed states spills over to neighbors, morphs into negative ideological movements, impacts on the larger international community, and affects the security of the United States through wars, refugee flows, upset local and international markets, and the cost and energy to respond to humanitarian crises and acts of terrorism. This Part accepts that the world is technologically and commercially more integrated today, that the US can no longer escape the consequences of local chaos, but that the US continues to be confused in its response.

Class 10 U.S. Politics, National Security Strategy, and Foreign Aid Under President George W. Bush

(Nov 2)

This class will focus on how the international security environment has transformed US foreign policy under President GW Bush and the resulting impact on foreign aid. How has the increase in the potential for violent national and international conflict been viewed by those pursuing US foreign policy and aid goals? How has the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on the US changed US political attitudes toward foreign aid? Has the newly stated national security strategy been supported by Administration actions? How has the role of the State and Defense Departments changed vis a vis USAID's aid activities? From earlier responsibility by the DoD primarily for military operations and military assistance programs, has there been a forward creep in the aid role of DoD?. Has there been a forward creep in the aid role of State? This and the next class discusses some of the shifts in the aid system as a result of the shifts in US foreign policy, internationalization of foreign aid., and US government organizational reassignments of responsibility. Class 12 will cover the creation in March 2006 of the new position of Dep Sec State for Foreign Assistance which is in the process of further reforming the changes made in the 2000-2005 period.

Readings:

Required: Daalder, I H. and J M Lindsay, "Bush's Revolution," *Current History*, 11/2003.

. Radelet, Steven, "Bush and Foreign Aid," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 82., Sept/Oct 2003.

"Status of Presidential Initiatives FY 2004," USAID, May 2005.

"Transition To and From Hostilities," DoD, Defense Science Board, 2004 Summer Studies, Executive Summary, www.defenselink.mil/dodsrbch/docView.

"National Security Strategy of the United States of America," The White House, September 17, 2002.

S/CRS Material

Statement of the Press Secretary, "Implementation for reconstruction and stabilization." The White House, Dec. 14, 2005.

Recommended: Easterly, pp 332-335.

"Inaugural Address," President GW Bush, White House, 1/22/05

Korb, and Eberle., "Do Democrats have a better game plan for protecting U.S. national security." The Century Foundation, 2004

"National Strategy for Combating Terrorism," White House, Feb 2003

Rosenthal, I., "Rethinking the Role of International Development Assistance," Paper

for Senator Kerry Foreign Policy Task Force, Sept. 2004.
Rosenthal, I., "Making Foreign Aid More Effective." Letter to the Editor, 1/17/06
Newspaper Articles

Speakers from USAID's DoD contact office and State Department (S/CRS).
Students submit one-page proposal for final paper, with initial bibliography.

Class 11 Fighting Terrorism as a New Goal of US Foreign Aid. A New Focus on Nation Building, Weak, Failing, Fragile, Unstable and Stagnating States

(Nov 9)

State resilience or fragility and the relationship between people and their state are qualities that help determine the effective development of local political, economic, social and security institutions. This class reviews the arguments that 9/11 resulted from the alienation of citizens in weak and failing states so that fighting international terrorism by improving fragile states is a crucial US national security goal that should be included as a new objective of US foreign aid. What have foreign aid programs done, particularly in the Muslim and Arab world, to handle these issues? The Class will discuss how US foreign aid should help make future US military actions less necessary, restore a positive international image of the US, prevent and reduce conflicts, enable diplomatic negotiations to be conducted in an environment more favorable to the US, and assure the economic and trade advantages of globalization for the US and the world. Are the new aid programs structured and managed in an effective way to best achieve positive results? A second topic to be discussed in this class, will be the effort, initiated in 2004 by USAID, to review the internal management systems by which it carries out its work. The purpose was to improve internal efficiency of the means and organizational structure USAID uses to plan, carry out, and monitor assistance programs.

Readings:

Required: "Foreign Aid in the National Interest," Overview, Chap 4.

"Fragile States Strategy," USAID, January 2005.

Kvitashvili, Elisabeth, "Using Development to Prevent Violent Conflict: New Approaches from USAID," Presentation at CGD, May 17, 2005.

Lancaster, Carol, *Transforming Foreign Aid*: " Chap 5.

"U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century," USAID, (whitepaper@usaid.gov), February 2004.

"Policy Framework for Bilateral Foreign Aid: Implementing Transformational Diplomacy Through Development," USAID, January 2006

Recommended: Atwood, J. Brian, Hubert Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, "The Link Between Poverty and Violent Conflict," *New England Journal of Public Policy*. 19

"On the Brink: Weak States and US National Security," Commission on Weak States and the US National Security, CGD, June 2004. pp 1-38.

Fukuyama, *State Building*, Chap 3

"The Failed States Index," *Foreign Policy*, May/June 2006, pp 50-58.

Newspaper articles - "The Wreckage in the China Shop," Bob Herbert, NYT

Readings on Reform of Internal USAID Management

Required: "USAID Business Transformation," March 2004, www.usaid.gov.

"The Business Model Review Group Report," USAID, May 26, 2004.

Recommended: "Notes from Natsios" *Front Lines*, July/Aug 2004

Radelet, Steven, "U.S. Foreign Assistance After September 11," Testimony for the House Committee on International Relations, February 26, 2004.

Easterly, Chap 1, pp-3-33, Skim rest of book

Speakers from USAID Management and Dir. of Office Conflict Mitigation

Class 12 Recent Reforms US Foreign Aid Programs

(Nov 16)

Reforms were taking place in US foreign aid as this course was being put together. New reforms include creation of the Millennium Challenge Corporation and the creation of a new position in the State Department of the Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Assistance who would also fill the position of Administrator of USAID. The books have not yet been written on these subjects. The Professor has assembled basic documents and journal articles as the basis for class discussions.

Readings:

A. The Millennium Challenge Authority/Corporation

Required: Packet of MCC Papers

Assessing the MCC, WWIC Forum, 3/2/04

Radelet, Steven, "The Millennium Challenge Account: Making the Vision a Reality," Testimony for the House Committee on International Relations, 4/27/05.

GAO Report GAO-06-805, "MCC: Compact Implementation Structures are Being Established; Framework for Measuring Results.....," July 28, 2006, Skim.

Recommended: Chassy, A, "The Millennium Challenge Account: Making it Work,"

Nakagawa, Melanie, "The MCA: A Critical Look at the Newly Focused Development Approach and its Potential Impact on U.S.A.I.D"

Radelet, S., Brown, K., Siddiqi, B., "Round Three of the MCC: Which Countries Are Most Likely to Qualify in FY 2006," 10/27/05

"Danilovich: New Aid Program 'Aggressively Engaged' in Reforms for the Developing World," Council on Foreign Relations, July 10, 2006

Parker, M and Ira Ethel "Assessing the Millennium Challenge Corporation," WWIC, Clark, E. S, "The Millennium Challenge Account: Spur to Democracy" Foreign Service Journal, April, 2005.

Newspaper Articles

B. New Policies and Approaches under new Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Assistance

Required :Packet of Papers on new Dep Sec State for Foreign Assistance

" 'Transformational Diplomacy,' and US Foreign Assistance: Is Development Missing," Sewell

Newspaper articles

Speakers from MCC and State/f

Part IV (Class 13 -14) Class Presentations by students of final exam paper briefs. Suggested topics. NTE 20 minutes per presentation and questions.

(Nov 30, Dec 7)

- Integrate programs of economic development with programs to assure political democracy and government institutional effectiveness.
- Improve management of foreign aid by understanding local cultures and systems and working with local populations.

- Better integration of the Millennium Challenge Corporation with the larger US foreign aid establishment, especially USAID
- Reform educational, health, agricultural or other sectoral aid program management so they better respond to US foreign policy and aid goals of impacting on the war on terrorism.
- Improve coordination of foreign aid policy and actions among USG agencies including State, Defense, Treasury, Agriculture, HEW, Peace Corps, etc.
- Improve coordination of US foreign aid policy and management with aid provided by other bilateral and international donors.
- Better coordinate among US disaster, humanitarian, reconstruction, military and development aid organizations.
- Improve US ability to “win the hearts and minds” of the Muslim world, especially in the Arab Middle East.
- Improve the use of research and linkage to the academic and “think tank” community.
- Improve the professionalism and use of US foreign aid personnel and processes.
- Develop new techniques for independent monitoring and evaluation of aid programs.

Readings:

Recommended: Brainard, L., Security by Other Means, “Executive Summary,” Brookings Institution, 2006
 Birdsall, N., “Seven Deadly Sins: Reflection on Donor Failings,” Paper # 50. Easterly, pp367-384.
 Lancaster, C and Ann Van Dusen, *Organizing U.S. Foreign Aid: Confronting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century*, Brookings Institution Press, 2005
 van de Walle, Nicolas, Chap 5

RIP not required for classes 13 and 14

Class 15 US Aid Relationships with International Donor and Financial Assistance Institutions, and a Consideration of the Overall Effectiveness of US Foreign Aid.

(Dec 14)

One focus of this final session will be on changes occurring within international development organizations of which the US is a member, especially the World Bank and IMF and some of the specialized technical agencies and the US attitude to these changes. We may have come full circle in the role of US bilateral foreign aid compared to the work of these IFIs when a Financial Times editorial (1/23/05) could suggest that “(T)he world has come to a ... consensus that certain <problems> ... deserve stronger outside action ... But the right instrument for such ... intervention is the United Nations, not one of its members ...”

The second and final focus of the class will be the overall effectiveness of US foreign aid. This is not about project level input/output ratios but about whether US aid has achieved larger macro-development, foreign policy and political goals, as discussed in Class 1. This evaluation of US foreign aid needs to be considered in view of the changes being made elsewhere in the foreign aid community including the private, non-governmental, institutional sectors and IFIs.

Readings:

A. On Coordination with IOs/IFIs

Required: Ruttan, Chap 11 (pps. 348-380), Chap 12 (pps. 381-436)
Cohn, T. H., *Global Political Economy*, pp 369-375, 393-400.
Birdsall, Nancy and Devesh Kapur, "The Hardest Job in the World: Five Crucial Tasks for the New President of the World Bank," CGD, June 1, 2005.
Einhorn, Jessica, "Reforming the World Bank," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2006, Vol 85 #1

Recommended: Easterly, Chap 6, pp-210-236.
Fukuyama, *America at the Crossroads*, Chap. 6. pp-155-180
Mallaby, Sebastian, "Saving the World Bank," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 84, No. 3, May/June 2005, pp75-85
Newspaper articles
Speaker from the Office of the US Executive Director to the World Bank

B. On Aid Effectiveness

Required : "Promoting Economic Development: A Literature Review," USAID, Development Information Services, June 30, 2005:
Cassen, Robert and Associates, "Does Aid Work," Intro., Chap 10, Skim remainder
Dichter, Thomas, "Time to Stop Fooling Ourselves about Foreign Aid," Policy Brief No. 86, CATO Institute, September 2005.
Easterly, pp 44-58, 165-195.
"Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness: Ownership, Harmonization, Alignment, Results and Mutual Accountability," OECD High Level Forum, Feb 28-Mar 2, 2005.
Radalet, Steven, "Aid Effectiveness and the Millennium Development Goals," Center for Global Development, Working Paper #39, April 2004.

APPENDICES

SUGGESTED TOPICS FOR GRADUATE STUDENT CLASS PRESENTATIONS

US foreign aid cannot be considered in isolation from other development and political events. Graduate students will make 10 minute presentations on how the US foreign aid effort has been effected by such events. . Examples are below. Presenters will seek their own references.

US aid response to globalization and approach to developing countries in international trade

- is there an official US government position on international free trade?
- are there different attitudes toward free trade by the US political parties?
- what are some of the differing impacts on the US domestic economy of international trade?
- what are some of the issues around the relationship between trade and aid?
- what is the nature of the opposition to globalization?
- agreements/disagreements with other developed countries?
- agreements/disagreements with developing countries?
- newly intensified emphasis on the Doha Round of trade agreements in agriculture?
- what are suggestions for improving effectiveness and fairness of globalization and free trade?

Impact on development of US efforts to develop trade agreements with Latin American countries

Impact of 2006 US. National Security Strategy

“The National Security Strategy of the United States of America,” White House, March 2006

Newspaper articles in packet

Private sector investment and USAID’s Global Development Alliance

- What is the theory and purpose of the GDA activity
- Since the creation of the GDA in 2001
 - how many agreements, and what kinds, of agreements have been signed?
 - how much USAID money is involved?
 - how much private sector money has been leveraged?
- What has been the results of these public-private alliances
 - on developing countries
 - on the corporations which have entered into these agreements
- Have all the agreements and alliances been in economic sector activities, that is, have any been in democratization?

International Remittances as a Source of Development Aid

“International Remittances,” Report to the Senate Comm. on Banking, GAO-06-210, 3/2006.

UN Millennium Development goals and US response;

- What are the MDG substantive and funding goals and how where they established?
- What is the US view on the attainability of these goals within the prescribed time?
- What might be some of the implications for not meeting the MDG goals and targets?
- What action has the US taken to meet/not meet these goals?

- Impact of MDGs on the larger issue of development or other forms of aid?
- What does the MDG system say about country selection for the receipt and effectiveness of aid?
- What are the responsibilities of aid-receiving countries and their governments to achieve MDG goals?
- Does the MDG system say anything about monitoring and evaluation and taking advantage of lessons learned?
- Are there different strategies in different development categories of aid receiving countries to meet MDG goals?
- What does Steve Radelet of CCD say about improving the MDG system?

Review the Argument between Jeffrey Sachs and William Easterly

Jeffrey D. Sachs, "The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for our Time"

William Easterly, "The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good"

Limitations on Development Aid Resulting from Corruption

US Approach to Reduction of Third World Debt

- some background on the size and nature of third world debt?
- the amount and nature of sovereign debt held by the US?
- impact of sovereign (and private sector) debt in/on developing countries?
- categories of indebted countries as defined by the World Bank and IMF, e.g. HIPC
- nature of calls for debt-reduction from UN and EU - under pressure from Blair of UK?
- impact of debt reduction on lending institutions?
- agreements and disagreements over approaches to debt reduction with other bilateral and multilateral donors

SUMMARY OF BOOKS IN LIBRARY RESERVE

Carothers, Thomas, *Aiding Democracy Abroad*, Brookings Institution Press, 1999.

Cassen, Robert and Associates, *Does Aid Work*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, England, 1994.

Easterly, William, *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have done So Much Ill and So Little Good*, The Penguin Press, NY, 2006.

"Foreign Aid in the National Interest: Promoting Freedom, Security, and Opportunity," USAID Policy Paper, 168 pages., 2002, www.usaid.gov/fani.

Fukuyama, Francis, *State Building: Governance and World Order in the 21st Century*, Cornell University Press, 2004.

Fukuyama, Francis, *America at the Crossroads: Democracy, Power, and Neoconservative Legacy*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2006.

Harrison, L.E., *Underdevelopment is a State of Mind: the Latin American Case*, Madison Books, Lanham, MD., 1985.

Harrison, L.E. and Huntington, S.P. Eds., *Culture Matters*, Basic Books, 2000.

Lancaster, C. *Aid to Africa: So much to Do, So Little Done*, University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Lancaster, C and Ann Van Dusen, *Organizing U.S. Foreign Aid: Confronting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century*, Brookings Institution Press, 2005.

"On the Brink: Weak States and US National Security," Commission on Weak States and the US

- National Security, Center for Global Development, June 2004.
- “Our Common Interest,” Report of the Commission for Africa, Tony Blair, Chair, UK Government, March 2005.
- Raffer, Kunibert and H. W. Singer, *The Foreign Aid Business*, Institute of Development Studies, Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK, 1996.
- Rostow, Walter, *Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Ruttan, Vernon W., *United States Development Assistance Policy: The Domestic Politics of Foreign Economic Aid*, John Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Jeffrey D. Sachs, “The End of Poverty: Economic Possibilities for our Time” The Penguin Press, NY, 2005.
- Sustainable Development Law and Policy*, American University Washington College of Law, Vol VI, Issue 1, Fall 2005.
- van de Walle, Nicolas, *Overcoming Stagnation in Aid-Dependant Countries*, Brookings Institution Press, 2005.

COURSE PACKET OF PAPERS AND JOURNAL ARTICLES ON E-RESERVE

- “A Guide to Global Development,” Campaign 2004, CGD, www.cgdev.org.
- “A Strategic Framework for the Office of Private and Voluntary Cooperation: FY 2003- 07,” USAID/PVC, December, 2002.
- “At Freedom’s Frontiers: A Democracy and Governance Strategic Framework,” USAID, 12/05..
- Atwood, J. Brian, Hubert Humphry Institute of Public Affairs, “The Link Between Poverty and Violent Conflict, *New England Journal of Public Policy*. 19, 159-165.
- Atwood, J. Brian, “After Iraq, What?” Opening Statement for a Conference at the Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, April 16, 2004.
- Beinhart, E., “A Fully Integrated Rule of Law Initiative for Sub-Saharan African Countries: A Concept Paper” U.S. Department of Justice
- Birdsall, Nancy and Devesh Kapur, “The Hardest Job in the World: Five Crucial Tasks for the New President of the World Bank,” CGD, June 1, 2005.
- Birdsall, N. and R. Menezes, “Toward a New Social Contract in Latin America,” CGD , 2005.
- Birdsall, N., “Seven Deadly Sins: Reflection on Donor Failings,” Paper # 50.
- Brainard, L., Security by Other Means, “Executive Summary,” Brookings Institution, 2006
- Budget references on Foreign Operations Budget - 150 Account
- Castanada, Jorge, “Latin America’s turn to the left,” *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2006, pp 28-43..
- Chassy, A.M. “Promoting Democracy,” *Foreign Service Journal*, Sept 2004
- Clark, E. S., “The Millennium Challenge Account: Spur to Democracy” *Foreign Service Journal*, April, 2005.
- Cohn, T. H., *Global Political Economy*,
- Clemens, Michael, Kenny, Charles J., Moss. Todd J., “The Trouble with the MDGs: Confronting Expectations of Aid and Development Success,” CGD, www.cgdev.org.
- ”Commitment to Development Index:2005,” CGD, 2005.
- Daalder, Ivo and James Lindsey, “Bushes Revolution,” *Current History*, Vol. 102, Nov. 2003
- “Danilovich: New Aid Program ‘Aggressively Engaged’ in Reforms for the Developing World,” Council on Foreign Relations, July 10, 2006
- Dichter, Thomas, “Time to Stop Fooling Ourselves about Foreign Aid,” Policy Brief No. 86, CATO

Institute, September 2005

Einhorn, Jessica, "Reforming the World Bank," *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb 2006, Vol 85 #1

"Foreign Assistance in Focus: Emerging Trends," InterAction, Washington, DC, 2003.

"Fragile States Strategy," USAID, January 2005, www.usaid.gov.

GAO Report GAO-06-805, "MCC: Compact Implementation Structures are Being Established; Framework for Measuring Results Need Improvement," 7/28/06.

"International Development Assistance," USAID, ADS 251, www.usaid.gov.

Judt, Tony, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945*, pp 82-89.

Korb, L. and Bobby Eberle, "Symposium: Do Democrats have a better game plan for protecting US national security," *Insight on the News*, The Century Foundation, March 15, 2004.

Kvitashvili, Elisabeth, "Using Development to Prevent Violent Conflict: New Approaches from USAID," Presentation at Center on Global Development, May 17, 2005.

Mallaby, S, "Saving the World Bank," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2005

MCC Packet of Material for Class 12 A

Nakagawa, M., "The Millennium Challenge Account," *Sustainable Development Law and Policy*, American University Washington College of Law, Vol VI, Issue 1, Fall 2005, pp 13-19

"National Security Strategy of the United States of America," The White House, Sept. 2002.

"National Strategy for Combating Terrorism," White House, Feb 2003

"Notes from Natsios" *Front Lines*, July/Aug 2004.

Parker, M and Ira Ethel "Assessing the Millennium Challenge Corporation," WWIC, 3/2/06.

"Policy Framework for Bilateral Foreign Aid: Implementing Transformational Diplomacy Through Development," USAID, January 2006

"Promoting Economic Development: A Literature Review," SAID/DIS, June 30, 2005: OECD/DAC, *Summary of Peer Review of the United States Development Assistance Program through 2000*, Full report on line at oecd.org/document/23/0,2340,en_2649_34603.

President G.W. Bush, "US development policy for the development," Monterey, 2002

Radelet/Adleman's papers on levels of Government vs Private Aid,

Radelet, Steven, "Bush and Foreign Aid," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol 82, pg 104, Sept/Oct 2003.

Radelet, Steven, "U.S. Foreign Assistance After September 11," Testimony for the House Committee on International Relations, February 26, 2004.

Radelet, Steven, "Aid Effectiveness and the Millennium Development Goals," CGD, Working Paper #39, www.cgdev.org, April 2004.

Radelet, S., Brown, K., Siddiqi, B., "Round Three of the MCC: Which Countries Are Most Likely to Qualify in FY 2006," 10/27/05

Radelet, Steven, "The Millennium Challenge Account: Making the Vision a Reality," Testimony for the House Committee on International Relations, April 27, 2005.

Randinelli, Dennis, "Reforming Public Administration in Post-Conflict Societies: Implications for International Assistance," USAID/CDIE AEP-I-00-00-00025-00, TO No. 8 Jan, 2006.

Rosenthal, Irving, "Rethinking the Role of International Development Assistance," Unpublished paper for Senator Kerry Election Foreign Policy Task Force, September, 2004.

Rosenthal, I., "Making Foreign Aid More Effective." Letter to the Wash Post, 1/17/06

S/CRS Packet of Material

Siegle, Joseph T, Michael M. Weinstein, Morton H. Halperin, "Why Democracies Excel," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2004.

Statement of the Press Secretary, "Implementation for reconstruction and stabilization." The White House, Dec. 14, 2005.

State/F Packet of Papers

“Status of Presidential Initiatives FY 2004,” SAID, May 2005.

“The Business Model Review Group Report,” SAID, May 26, 2004

“The Failed States Index,” Foreign Policy, May/June 2006, pp 50-58.

Timmer, C. Peter, “Agriculture and Pro-Growth: Reviewing the Issues,” CGD, 2005

“Transition To and From Hostilities,” DoD, Defense Science Board, 2004 Summer Studies,
www.defenselink.mil/dodsrch/docView.

“U.S. Assistance for Global Development,” CGD, Campaign 2004

U.S. Department of the Treasury, Office of Technical Assistance, Technical Assistance Overview.

U.S. Department of the Treasury, International Affairs Technical Assistance, Report to Congress for
the period January 1 - December 31, 2004

USDA Support to International Development Assistance Efforts, USDA, FAS, March, 2005.

“U.S. Foreign Aid: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century,” SAID, February 2004.
whitepaper@usaid.gov.

SAID, ADS 251, (on international disaster assistance) www.usaid.gov.

“SAID Business Transformation,” March 2004, www.usaid.gov

USAID/LAC Budget Request to Congress for FY 2006

SAID material on Darfur Humanitarian Emergency and Tsunami Reconstruction

“SAID Primer: What we do and how we do it,” SAID, March 2005, www.dec.org/pdf_docs

“Why Global Development Matters for the U.S.,” CGD, Campaign 2004.

GATEWAYS INTO USAID/CDIE AND STATE/F (TOBIAS) PUBLICATIONS

www@usaid.gov

decexpress@dec.org

www.state.gov/f

COMMISSIONS THAT HAVE REVIEWED THE US FOREIGN AID PROGRAM

Babb, Tony, “Task Force Report for the Administrator, Agency for International Development:
Organization and Structure of AID,” SAID, Oct 1977.

Carlucci, Frank C., “Commission on Security and Economic Assistance : A Report to the secretary
of State,” U.S. Dept. of State. Nov 1983.

”Foreign Aid Review Task Force,” Report to House Foreign Affairs Committee, 24 Jan 1989.

Report to Hon. Lee Hamilton, “Report of the Task Force on Foreign Assistance to the Committee on
Foreign Affairs,” House Comm on Foreign Affairs, 101st Congress, 1st Sess Feb 1989.

Report to Committee on Foreign Affairs, ”Economic Assistance: Ways to Reduce the
Reprogramming Notification Burden and Improve Congressional Oversight,”. GAO, 9/89.

Hamilton. Lee.”Remarks of the Honorable Lee Hamilton on Activity of the Foreign Affairs
Committee Task Force on Foreign Assistance,” Sep 1988, CDIE Occasional Paper no. 18.

HELP Commission, Created at the request of Rep. Frank Wolf, In process

Parker, Daniel, “Implementation of New Directions in Development Assistance: Implementation of
Legislative Reforms in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973,” Comm. on Inter Rel, 7/75

Wood, C. Tyler, “Non-SAID Technical Questions for the Peterson Commission,” SAID, 10/69.

Woods, Alan, “Development and the national interest : U.S. economic assistance into the 21st
Century,” SAID, Feb 1989.

Professor Irving Rosenthal

EXPERIENCE Senior, long-term, US government policy, management, and evaluation practitioner in international economic and social development and US foreign aid management.. Specialist in governance, democratization, and institution building in new market-oriented economies. Expert in national economic strategic planning, budget policy and management. Minister-Counselor and Mission Director with 35 years experience in the US Foreign Service. Six long-term, overseas assignments in Turkey (Public Administration), Tunisia (Program Officer), Ivory Coast (Deputy Director for Sahel and West Africa), Italy (US representative to international food agencies), Niger (SAID Mission Director) and Lithuania (Budget Policy and Management Advisor to Ministry of Finance) with the US Agency for International Development and the US Treasury Department . Short term consultant in over 30 countries with concentrations in Africa, the Middle East, and transition countries of former Soviet Union on such subjects as health, family planning, environmental protection, private sector, education and agricultural development.

In USAID/Washington held positions including Evaluation Coordinator on Development Management in the Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Coordinator for US Contributions to International Organizations in the Office of Program and Policy Coordination, Deputy Director of the Office for Sahel and West African Affairs, Budget Chief for preparation of USAID's annual budget to the Congress, and Management Analyst in the Office of Management Planning. Examiner of US international programs in the US Office of Budget and Management.

After retiring from the US government served as Chief Operating Officer for two private voluntary organizations - Appropriate Technology International and Organization for Development Through Training. Contract Project Manager for the US Middle East Regional Cooperation Program. Presently on the Board of Directors of a 501 © educational institute in development anthropology. Served on a Foreign Policy Task Force for Presidential candidate during 2004 election campaign.

EDUCATION

Public Administration and Management of International Economic Development, American University, Graduate School of Government and Public Administration, 1965.

Thesis: "Management of Donor Assistance by Aid Receiving Countries."

Public and International Policy Management, Cornell University, 1956.

Industrial Management, City University of New York, 1952.

TEACHING Planning, programming, budgeting, economic development management at George Washington. Guest Lecturer Georgetown, Michigan, Princeton, Johns Hopkins University (Italy), and University of Vilnius in Lithuania. Advisor to students working on PhD dissertation in economic development. Recommended Lithuanians who won graduate Fulbright Scholarship in the United States in economics. Adjunct Professor at American University, School of International Service. Designed new courses on "Institutional Development in Transition Countries of the Former Soviet Union," and "Rethinking US Foreign Aid."