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PASSING THE BATON

FOREIGN POLICY CHALLENGES AND  
OPPORTUNITIES FACING THE NEW ADMINISTRATION

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THURSDAY  
JANUARY 8, 2009

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PANEL 4: 3:15-4:15 P.M.  
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND STATE BUILDING

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Room 204 C  
Walter E. Washington Convention Center  
801 Mount Vernon Place, N.W.

Washington, D.C. 20001

PANELISTS:

HENRIETTA FORE  
STEVE RADELET

DAVID LITT  
JOHN D. SULLIVAN

MODERATED BY RAYMOND GILPIN

This transcript done from audio provided  
by the United States Institute of Peace.

1 P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

2 1:50 p.m.

3 MR. GILPIN: Good afternoon,  
4 everyone. Thank you very much for joining us  
5 to discuss economic development and state  
6 building.

7 I am Raymond Gilpin. I'm  
8 Associate Vice President for the Center for  
9 Sustainable Economies at the United States  
10 Institute of Peace.

11 Since we opened our doors 25 years  
12 ago, the Institute has won recognition not  
13 just in the U.S. but worldwide for even-handed  
14 and nonpartisan assessments and  
15 recommendations across the complete spectrum.

16 Today the Institute actively  
17 promotes peace and mediates conflict in  
18 various countries across the globe. And it  
19 leads efforts to professionalize the field.

20 This open discussion reflects the  
21 breadth of the Institute's work and is very  
22 much now a tradition of excellence,

1           objectivity and the analysis of appropriate  
2           solutions.

3                         You'll all agree with me that the  
4           fragility of government systems in a growing  
5           number of systems across the world highlights  
6           the timeliness and importance of effective and  
7           lasting state building initiatives. Although  
8           definitions may differ as to what state  
9           building is and what it is not, there is some  
10          consensus that successful efforts in this area  
11          must be predicated upon a judicious balance of  
12          the three D's -- defense, diplomacy and  
13          development.

14                        While much is known about the  
15          first two, relatively little is known about  
16          economic development, design and  
17          implementation in the context of state  
18          building. Recent experience in East Timor,  
19          Liberia and Iraq suggests that we still have  
20          a lot to learn. However, looming state  
21          collapse in places like North Korea and  
22          Zimbabwe and progressive weakness in many

1 other areas demand that lessons must be  
2 learned quickly and that the recommendations  
3 should be incorporated into effective,  
4 adaptable and coordinated strategies very  
5 quickly.

6                   While learning and applying the  
7 lessons is only one of the many challenges  
8 facing the global community in this regard,  
9 securing, allocating and disbursing adequate  
10 resources for economic development programs  
11 are another important challenge, particularly  
12 against a backdrop of the ongoing global  
13 financial turmoil and the recent downward  
14 revisions in growth forecast for many years to  
15 come. You'll agree with me that the  
16 challenges are as daunting as the need is  
17 great. And it will take more than a village  
18 to underpin state building efforts through  
19 economic progress. And I believe that it will  
20 require a more concerted global effort and  
21 unwavering leadership.

22                   The United States as the

1 Administrator mentioned this morning leads in  
2 the provision of global development and  
3 humanitarian assistance, accounting for one  
4 fifth and one third respectively according to  
5 data compiled by the OECD. I believe that we  
6 are in a unique position to exercise effective  
7 operational and leadership in the months and  
8 years ahead. Business as usual is not a  
9 viable option.

10 This is why we are honored to host  
11 such a distinguished and accomplished panel.  
12 They will help us think through creative ways  
13 that the incoming Obama Administration could  
14 be more effective in the provision of economic  
15 assistance in fragile environments.

16 Speaking on behalf of the panel,  
17 we believe that interaction with you is very  
18 important, and therefore the panelists have  
19 agreed to limit their remarks to five to six  
20 minutes to allow ample time for interaction  
21 with you, the audience.

22 You have detailed bios of all the

1 speakers in your folders. So in the interest  
2 of time, I will introduce them very briefly  
3 and in the order in which they will make their  
4 remarks. But before doing so, I have a couple  
5 of brief announcements.

6 First, I would ask you to join me  
7 in what I affectionately call the silencing of  
8 the cell phones routine. The principle is  
9 very, very simple. If it buzzes, beeps, rings  
10 or sings, please turn it off as a courtesy to  
11 others and also because it affects our PA  
12 system.

13 Second, you all have cards on your  
14 seats. And these cards are for your  
15 questions. Please use them to write your  
16 questions for the panel, and I'll pose as many  
17 as I can to the panel during the Q and A  
18 session. Our staff will be on hand to collect  
19 them when the panelists have finished making  
20 their remarks.

21 That having been said, it gives me  
22 great honor and pride to introduce our

1 panelists.

2                   The first to speak will be Ms.  
3 Henrietta Fore, Administrator of the United  
4 States Agency for International Development.  
5 She is responsible for managing U.S. foreign  
6 assistance and oversees programs that help  
7 reduce poverty, promote good government and  
8 foster sustainable economic growth across the  
9 globe.

10                   She will be followed by Dr. Steven  
11 Radelet, Senior Fellow at the Center for  
12 Global Development where he works on issues  
13 related to foreign aid, poverty reduction and  
14 trade between rich and poor countries. He's  
15 also co-Chair of the Modernizing Foreign  
16 Assistance Network.

17                   Providing the private sector  
18 dimension would be Dr. John Sullivan,  
19 Executive Director of the Center for  
20 International Private Enterprise which is an  
21 affiliate of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. He  
22 has pioneered the development of innovative

1 approaches that link state building to wide-  
2 ranging market reforms.

3 Our fourth speaker will be  
4 Ambassador David Litt, Director of the Center  
5 for Stabilization and Economic Reconstruction,  
6 where he leads work on research and capacity  
7 building in areas relevant to the three Ds.  
8 His stellar career in the foreign service  
9 makes him particularly suited for this  
10 environment.

11 It now it gives me pleasure to  
12 yield the podium to our first speaker, Ms.  
13 Henrietta Fore.

14 MS. FORE: Thank you very much,  
15 Raymond. And it is a pleasure to see all of  
16 you. I see a great number of friends and  
17 colleagues in the audience. And so happy New  
18 Year, everyone. Good to see you and thinking  
19 about development and economic growth and  
20 state building.

21 I'll begin with just a few  
22 thoughts. And then I believe as a panel, we

1 want to encourage your interaction because  
2 this is an exciting time in the world of  
3 development. And we are all thinking together  
4 about ways to do it well. So as we are  
5 thinking of passing the baton, it gives us  
6 many, many chances and opportunities for doing  
7 things even better.

8 This topic is certainly important  
9 as Raymond was saying in light of the economic  
10 crisis because it is having its effect around  
11 the globe. And it takes on a greater urgency.

12 So let me begin with a thought  
13 that comes from Paul Collier. He estimated  
14 that the cost of a single war in a low income  
15 country is about 64 billion U.S. dollars. And  
16 then when you add into this that when they  
17 looked at the average time for a conflict in  
18 Africa, the average conflict lasted seven  
19 years. The time it takes for a country to go  
20 from its pre-war economic statistics and  
21 standard of living to its post-war coming back  
22 to that is 17 years.

1                   Therefore, my first message is  
2           that it is very important to prevent conflict,  
3           because bringing a country back, if it takes  
4           17 years to bring a country back after a  
5           conflict, it means you have lost a generation.  
6           And often it means that the young men and the  
7           young women are not going to school among  
8           many, many other repercussions.

9                   Conflict and fragility are an  
10          enormous impediment to development. As we  
11          look at the link between economic development  
12          and state building, we should pay particular  
13          attention to this issue of how to prevent  
14          states from falling into fragility, and how  
15          quickly we can pull them out in a post-  
16          conflict situation. While economic growth is  
17          not the sole solution to putting a country on  
18          the road to recovery, it is a significant part  
19          of the solution, and an area that needs  
20          addressing first.

21                   In the face of the global economic  
22          crisis, it is urgent that we get this economic

1 attention addressed right from the beginning.  
2 Although many are suffering, it is likely that  
3 the economic downturn will hit the poor the  
4 hardest and create new challenges. We know  
5 globally, for example, that one billion youth  
6 will be entering the labor market in the next  
7 five years. Only an estimated 300 million  
8 jobs will be in the markets in the next five  
9 years. So they will not have the training and  
10 the access to jobs and to employment and  
11 livelihoods.

12 For those youth and millions of  
13 others who have emerged from the grip of  
14 poverty only to find themselves now in danger  
15 of sliding back means that economic growth  
16 matters around the world. USAID has recently  
17 development some guidelines for advancing  
18 economic growth broadly and specifically in  
19 post-conflict situations. So let me give you  
20 the guidelines that we have.

21 The first is start early.

22 Programs that stimulate economic growth should

1 be implemented from the very beginning of the  
2 re-building process, not after the  
3 humanitarian interventions or political reform  
4 as we often have traditionally done this.

5 Second, address the causes of  
6 conflict. Post-conflict economic growth  
7 programs must be based on understanding the  
8 nature of the conflict, the nature of the  
9 peace, and the country's level of development.

10 When I have recently been in Gulu in Uganda  
11 and Goma in the Democratic Republic of the  
12 Congo, both of these exhibit these  
13 characteristics.

14 Third, set clear goals and  
15 prioritize. Clear goals are critical. In the  
16 post-conflict period, everything seems to be  
17 needed to be done at once, but there are many  
18 competing priorities. Economic growth  
19 programs should aim to re-establish essential  
20 economic governance programs, should try to  
21 restore the government's legitimacy, should  
22 boost employment, and should address the root

1 economic causes of the conflict and stabilize  
2 the economy. In southern Sudan, the  
3 corruption, the roads, the agriculture that  
4 we've just recently been talking about this  
5 past week exhibit these characteristics.

6 Fourth, host country ownership.  
7 Programs should seek full host country  
8 ownership of reforms and coordination among  
9 other donors. Host country ownership is vital  
10 in unstable and in fragile environments.

11 This is why we tried a new model  
12 this past year in which all the development  
13 ministers from bilateral donors as well as  
14 multi-laterals visited two countries --  
15 Afghanistan -- to try to support their new  
16 national development strategies, and then  
17 Liberia. And it was with the idea that we  
18 could all think together on what the  
19 development priorities were and how we could  
20 support the host country governments. And I  
21 think that's a good new model for us.

22 Fifth, understand recurring trade-

1           offs, short-term versus long-term solutions,  
2           working outside of the government quickly  
3           versus going through the government.

4                        There are a few examples of some  
5           of these principles that we have that we've  
6           been working on this past year. In Iraq in  
7           November, USAID supported the bill, Agro-food  
8           Expo. It drew 80,000 visitors.

9                        In Sudan, USAID introduced the  
10          first multi-branch financial institution in  
11          post-conflict southern Sudan, and provides  
12          training and grants to fledgling small  
13          enterprises.

14                      Third, in the Republic of Georgia,  
15          we're supporting agricultural production,  
16          vocational education and community development  
17          with the goal of both stabilizing and  
18          restoring the Georgian economy.

19                      To be as effective as possible in  
20          implementing all of these pieces of  
21          development, we have to take a new approach to  
22          how we do things. And so I will leave you

1 with three thoughts on that.

2 The first is coordination,  
3 essential in all of these areas. The second  
4 is public private partnerships. And I mean  
5 that broadly. Private enterprises as well as  
6 nongovernmental organizations, foundations,  
7 institutions, academic, host country  
8 governments, bi-lateral, multi-lateral donors  
9 -- this is the mix we have -- a very  
10 complicated but interwoven mix.

11 And third, use the internet. Use  
12 technology to get many of these solutions and  
13 best practices out. Our ways of communicating  
14 with each other can often be too slow, and we  
15 need to go real time.

16 With that, I'll close my remarks.  
17 And thank you, Raymond.

18 MR. RADELET: Good afternoon.  
19 Welcome to everybody. Thanks for having me  
20 here. It's a great pleasure to be here and  
21 see such a great crowd. I was floored by the  
22 size of the crowd outside. It's really a

1 great event and a testament to USIP.

2 We live in exciting times and  
3 challenging times, as you all know. And  
4 that's true for a lot of things. But it's  
5 true for those of us that work in development  
6 as well.

7 It's an exciting time in the sense  
8 that there's a growing consensus among many  
9 people in the United States of the importance  
10 of smart U.S. engagement with developing  
11 countries around the world. And that has not  
12 always been the case. But that's a growing  
13 view, not only of policy elites of senior  
14 people in political parties but I think among  
15 a growing number of people at the grass roots  
16 level where the latest kinds of polling  
17 suggests a growing interest in and  
18 acknowledgment of the importance of our  
19 engagement with poor countries.

20 But at the same time, we live in  
21 challenging times because while people  
22 recognize the importance of smart U.S.

1 engagement around the world, I think there's  
2 a widespread view that our tools are not up to  
3 the challenge. That's not to say that we  
4 don't do a lot of very good things and that we  
5 don't have a lot of very successful programs.  
6 We do. But they're not nearly as effective as  
7 they can be in achieving our own foreign  
8 policy goals and in supporting the goals of  
9 our partners around the world. And I think  
10 that's fairly well agreed upon by most people.

11 I don't just mean foreign  
12 assistance here, because that's certainly not  
13 the only tool through which the United States  
14 can engage in countries. But that's our topic  
15 for discussion today. There are many other  
16 tools -- our migration policies, our financial  
17 policies, our trade policies in particular --  
18 but we're going to focus our remarks on  
19 foreign assistance.

20 There are a lot of problems with  
21 our foreign assistance programs despite the  
22 great people who work there and despite the

1 many successes. There are far too many  
2 objectives. If you look in the Foreign  
3 Assistance Act of 1961, there are over 60  
4 objectives and counting, and maybe more,  
5 depending on how you count them. We have too  
6 many conflicting goals. I don't know exactly  
7 what the right number is. But 60 goals is way  
8 too many for any organization or any  
9 institution.

10 We have an organizational mess  
11 actually. There's 21 U.S. executive branch  
12 agencies that provide foreign assistance in  
13 one form or another. The left hand doesn't  
14 know what the right hand is doing. And as  
15 Administrator Fore mentioned, there's not  
16 always the kind of coordination that we'd like  
17 to see.

18 That dispersion has gotten worse  
19 in the last few years with the introduction of  
20 the Millennium Challenge Corporation, the  
21 PEPFAR programs, and the large number of  
22 programs now implemented by the Department of

1 Defense.

2           The legislation is outdated. Not  
3 only does it have too many objectives, but  
4 it's earmarked heavily, and it really  
5 significantly constrains the ability for us to  
6 do what's important on the ground. So there's  
7 a legislative problem. We don't always  
8 allocate our financial and professional  
9 resources as well as we can. So there's a lot  
10 of issues out there.

11           In my role as Co-Chair of the  
12 Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network, we've  
13 come up with a four-point agenda for the new  
14 Administration to try to address these  
15 concerns. And the four points are strategy,  
16 legislation, organization and resources.

17           First, we need a strategy that  
18 would run in parallel with the national  
19 security strategy that would delineate what  
20 our goals are in developing countries, to have  
21 a small number of achievable goals and to say  
22 how we're going to achieve those goals, what

1           our modes of operation are and to open up  
2           different kinds of modes of operations to say  
3           what it is that we're trying to achieve.

4           That's number one.

5                         Number two, legislative reform.

6           It's time to re-write the Foreign Assistance  
7           Act of 1961. I know that's been tried many  
8           times. I have no illusions as to how  
9           difficult that would be. But we've got Howard  
10          Berman out in front of this, many other  
11          members of Congress both in the House and the  
12          Senate on both sides of the aisles that are  
13          willing to roll up their sleeves and re-write  
14          the Foreign Assistance Act to update it to  
15          this generation since it was written right at  
16          the beginning actually of the Cold War.

17                        Third is organizational reform.

18          We really do need some consolidation across  
19          agencies. There's several ways to do that.  
20          We've come out in favor of over the long term  
21          moving towards a cabinet-level agency the way  
22          that the British did. I realize that's no

1       easy lift either. And we certainly don't  
2       think that's going to happen any time soon.  
3       But what we have in mind is a model like the  
4       Environmental Protection Agency, which over a  
5       two decade period consolidated programs across  
6       the U.S. government and became a professional  
7       cabinet-level agency that could achieve the  
8       Administration's goals between 1970 -- in the  
9       early '70s when it was formed, mid-'70s to  
10      1992 when it finally became a full cabinet  
11      agency.

12                   And fourth is resources. We live  
13      in a time of constrained resources. But we  
14      under-invest in development objectives just in  
15      terms of trying to achieve our own goals of a  
16      more secure and safer and more prosperous  
17      world. We're going to have to do better at  
18      allocating the scarce resources that we have.  
19      But I think with the reform measures that we  
20      have in mind, we can also give Congress and  
21      the American public greater confidence that  
22      we're using every dollar more effectively, and

1            hopefully that will lay the foundation for  
2            more resources over time once the financial  
3            crisis begins to pass.

4                            This sounds like kind of an  
5            inside-the-beltway agenda, but it is not.  
6            This is crucial for making our development  
7            programs more effective on the ground. Any of  
8            you that have worked on the ground know that  
9            we are completely hamstrung. Because of the  
10           earmarks that we get from Congress, we cannot  
11           respond to the greatest needs on the ground.  
12           We don't have the flexibility. And we've got  
13           different agencies doing different things that  
14           don't make any sense.

15                           So this is not geared at just  
16           moving organizational boxes on a chart. This  
17           is for making things more effective on the  
18           ground.

19                           What does this mean in terms of  
20           dealing with fragile states in post-conflict  
21           situations? I think about this all the time.  
22           I have the privilege of serving as an economic

1           advisor to President Ellen Johnson-Sileaf from  
2           Liberia. And I spent a lot of my time working  
3           directly in a post-conflict state.

4                         It's a difficult situation. A  
5           post-conflict I think provides some of the  
6           greatest challenges in development. But I  
7           think these kinds of reforms can lead us to  
8           better address some of the key problems. I  
9           think some of the key problems in post-  
10          conflict situations are among the following.  
11          Let me just quickly list four.

12                        One -- which Administrator Fore  
13          already mentioned -- how to choose priorities.  
14          Everything is a high priority in a post-  
15          conflict situation. A place like Liberia, 14  
16          years of civil war, GDP per capita fell 90  
17          percent. Think about that for a minute -- 90  
18          percent. I cannot find any other country ever  
19          in recorded history where it was reversed in  
20          the last century where GDP per capita fell 90  
21          percent. What that means is everything has  
22          been destroyed -- infrastructure, schools,

1           clinics, professional capacity, people,  
2           everything.

3                         So how do you choose priorities?

4           We cannot respond to the highest priorities on  
5           the ground because most of what we do is  
6           dictated by the earmarks in Washington. And  
7           so this issue of how a country itself in a  
8           post-conflict situation sets its priorities,  
9           we the United States government cannot always  
10          go in and help.

11                        And we see this with all the  
12          donors right now. All the donors right now  
13          love to support health. And believe me, I'm  
14          a great supporter of health programs as core  
15          development. But from the Liberian  
16          perspective, when every donor says well, we  
17          can't help you with your water systems or your  
18          roads or your power, but we'd love to support  
19          the health sector, it's a little bit of a  
20          problem. And the United States is guilty of  
21          that. Other donors are as well. So setting  
22          priorities is particularly difficult.

1                   We have as a second problem in  
2 post-conflict poor coordination across  
3 agencies. We have the Office of Foreign  
4 Disaster Assistance in USAID which does a  
5 great job, but it has to coordinate itself  
6 with the Bureau of Population, Refugees and  
7 Migration in State. And sometimes they fight.  
8 There's turf battles. It doesn't make any  
9 sense to have two organizations doing  
10 overlapping kinds of things. So we have that  
11 kind of problem.

12                   We also have a big problem in  
13 coordinating our humanitarian relief with  
14 longer-term development assistance. There's  
15 a bridge in the immediate post-conflict  
16 situation. Your humanitarian teams need to go  
17 in. But you need to coordinate that at some  
18 point with bridging it to long-term  
19 development assistance. And we don't do a  
20 very good job about that at all. One team  
21 leaves. Another team comes in. And they  
22 don't know what's going on. So coordination

1 is a second big problem in post-conflict. I'm  
2 sorry. The third problem is this bridge  
3 between humanitarian and development.

4 And then the fourth I'll just  
5 mention briefly is building human capacity.  
6 There's a problem. You always want to solve  
7 today's problem and solve it immediately in a  
8 post-conflict situation. It's important to do  
9 that to show immediate results. But you've  
10 also got to build long-term capacity. And  
11 human capacity is at the core. And we don't  
12 do a very good job at that. We don't have the  
13 patience to do it. We don't have very good  
14 markers of how we know that we're building  
15 capacity and how we can sell it to Congress  
16 frankly and the American public. It's not  
17 like putting people on antiretrovirals which  
18 everybody's for.

19 Building capacity -- professional  
20 capacity is hard to measure. And it's hard to  
21 do. It requires training and education  
22 programs. It requires supporting a different

1 pay scale in developing countries. It's  
2 ludicrous to think that a developing country  
3 can bring in cabinet ministers and pay them  
4 100 bucks a month. It's crazy. You're going  
5 to get either incompetent people or corrupt  
6 people. And usually you get both. We need to  
7 support systems in developing countries where  
8 we pay people a decent salary. If we're going  
9 to bring in world-class talent, they've got to  
10 get paid for it. And we need to help them  
11 think about how to do that. And we need  
12 patience because building that capacity takes  
13 a long time.

14 We have the opportunity now to  
15 modernize and strengthen our foreign  
16 assistance to engage in a much smarter way in  
17 developing countries. It's going to take  
18 vision. It's going to take time and energy.  
19 And ultimately it's going to take resources.  
20 But I think we've got the best chance to do it  
21 in a long time. And I hope the new  
22 Administration goes forward in this way.

1 Thank you very much.

2 (Applause.)

3 MR. SULLIVAN: Thank you. Thank  
4 you. And let me start by thanking Ray and the  
5 U.S. Institute for Peace for putting together  
6 this program. It was absolutely terrific.  
7 And I'm sure the rest of it will be as well.

8 Since time is very brief, let me  
9 just start by saying that President Zoellick  
10 gave the first 20 minutes of my presentation.  
11 So just everything he said, you got to do it,  
12 don't forget it, write it down, get the video.  
13 We're going to go home and do all of this.

14 So the question is how do you get  
15 economic growth and state building going in  
16 post-conflict societies. Let me just start  
17 with a reference to Nobel Laureate Douglas  
18 North. He captured in one sentence the  
19 dilemma in front of us. How do you go from  
20 personal exchange to the ability to do  
21 contracts with strangers? What do you need to  
22 do to get from here to here? And that's what

1           you've got to do to get from Afghanistan to  
2           success, from Haiti to Florida, from Iraq to  
3           hopefully Egypt, and then further on. You've  
4           got to put those things in place, or you won't  
5           get a private sector there to do it.

6                         Let me just refer to three myths  
7           of development as a way of showing some of the  
8           pieces that have to be thought about in doing  
9           that and building that link -- that bridge --  
10          from doing business with friends and family or  
11          in cash to being able to do long-term  
12          contracting and investing.

13                        The three myths are first, if  
14          there's private enterprise then you've got to  
15          have a market economy. That must be the same  
16          thing. Right? Wrong. Look -- and we can  
17          talk about any number of countries, any number  
18          of examples, but it was the Filipinos that  
19          invented the term crony capitalism. It was  
20          Indonesia where the family business became the  
21          state. Those stand in the way of building a  
22          market economy. Crony capitalism is not

1 market economics.

2 Second myth, business is a  
3 monolith. We talk about let's get the private  
4 sector engaged. Can't talk about the private  
5 sector as a whole. It's too complex and too  
6 big. People want to think that multinational  
7 corporations are going to come rushing in and  
8 invest. They're not. That doesn't mean they  
9 won't have a role.

10 International supply chains are  
11 becoming more and more important. So being  
12 able to integrate that Iraqi firm, that Afghan  
13 firm, that Haitian supplier into -- or in the  
14 case of the Haitians -- back into global  
15 supply networks is a really key first step.  
16 But you've got to solve Doug North's problem.

17 Third, markets will emerge if the  
18 government stops and just gets out of the way.  
19 How many times have we heard that? Okay. I'm  
20 from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce which  
21 automatically makes me conservative  
22 economically of course. But -- the big but --

1 everything Zoellick said -- you're not going  
2 to get a market or market institutions if you  
3 think that they're going to emerge  
4 automatically. You've got to simultaneously  
5 do what Administrator Fore said. You've got  
6 to build the governance institutions at the  
7 same time that you're building the market  
8 institutions, at the same time that you're  
9 engaging the private sector. Otherwise it  
10 just isn't going to happen.

11 So what are those market  
12 institutions? Well, Zoellick alluded to a  
13 couple of them. One, private property. Key.  
14 Absolutely key.

15 A lot of people think that's  
16 ideology. Well, get over it. It isn't  
17 ideology. Business people aren't going to  
18 come and invest whether they're local business  
19 people or whether they're a regional or a  
20 flight capital that's returning or multi-  
21 nationals unless they're safe, secure, welcome  
22 and profitable. And you don't get those

1 things unless you get property rights.

2 Second, transparency. Everybody's  
3 got to have the same information. If you've  
4 got to do business with Suharto's cousin in  
5 order to know what the contract is, you don't  
6 have a market economy.

7 Accountability goes without  
8 saying.

9 Another thing which is key is  
10 competition. And there's a lot of different  
11 aspects of that. But it goes back to that  
12 issue of transparency. It goes back to having  
13 a society where the individual can form a  
14 firm, is not locked into Hernando de Soto's  
15 informal sector underground economy, but can  
16 participate in an aboveboard way.

17 So how do you get all of that?

18 Well, one key part of it -- and I'm really  
19 rushing here -- one key part of it is the rule  
20 of law which President Zoellick talked about.

21 Now we saw the chart today for  
22 those of you that were in the morning session

1           where the U.S. Institute of Peace presented  
2           their big circles, which were originally  
3           tunnels. I'm really glad they're circles  
4           instead of tunnels, because we've got too much  
5           tunnel thinking going on anyway. So circles  
6           are much better.

7                        Everything that was in that part  
8           that talked about economics and everything in  
9           that circle that talked about law, you've got  
10          to bring those two circles together. They  
11          can't be that far apart.

12                      Private sector won't emerge in a  
13          developing country in a fragile state unless  
14          you've got some kind of functioning  
15          contracting protection. You can get spot  
16          markets. You can get bazaars.

17                      People tell me over and over and  
18          over, the Chinese -- what could you possibly  
19          be doing in China? They're the most  
20          entrepreneurial people in the world. True.  
21          They in 1990 were very good at making things  
22          and selling them. They weren't very good at

1           creating large scale enterprises or engaging  
2           in contracts. They spent 20 years  
3           deliberately building the ability to do that.  
4           If we don't build that ability in Afghanistan,  
5           if we don't build it in Iraq, it isn't going  
6           to happen.

7                         Look at the difference between how  
8           easy it is to do business in the Kurdish  
9           region versus how easy it is to do business  
10          everywhere else. A key part of that is some  
11          kind of predictability in the policy  
12          environment, and particularly in the  
13          contracting environment.

14                        I alluded to already what  
15          Henrietta Fore said about building democracy  
16          at the same time. Building democracy goes  
17          straight to the issue of governance. It is  
18          not just elections. Okay. There I've said  
19          it. It's the formula. We all say it. And  
20          then we proceed to talk about elections. And  
21          we proceed to talk about civil society and we  
22          proceed to talk about everything else.

1 Fair enough. Those are all vital.  
2 But the governance -- the day-to-day decision  
3 making -- democracy has two dimensions --  
4 leadership selection, which is elections and  
5 accountability and all the rest of it, but the  
6 other selection -- the other part of it is  
7 decision making. If you do not engage your  
8 local domestic private sector -- the Afghan  
9 entrepreneurs, one of whom is standing in the  
10 back of the room -- my good friend, Ashraf  
11 Ghani -- if he's not engaged and his  
12 organization -- the Afghan Chamber -- the  
13 Afghan American Chamber -- isn't engaged in  
14 making those decisions and advising the  
15 government, giving feedback, creating  
16 accountability so that we know what Ashraf  
17 needs in order to solve his problem of being  
18 able to put more money on the ground and  
19 hiring a few more people, you don't get  
20 democratic governance. What you get is  
21 hopefully some wise person doing the right  
22 thing. But remember, Erasmus

1 of Rotterdam was the last person that knew  
2 everything, and he died I think in about 1450.

3 So how do you do this? Well,  
4 there's a lot of different ways of doing it.  
5 And one is something we call the national  
6 business agenda. That is you just bring  
7 together and mobilize in a collective action  
8 framework business people through  
9 associations. And I mean voluntary free  
10 associations, not government run or government  
11 mandated associations. Ask them what to do.  
12 Put them together with some people that have  
13 some economics training so that you get  
14 market-oriented solutions, figure out what are  
15 going to be the first steps that are going to  
16 energize and mobilize that domestic private  
17 entrepreneurial community, and that you're  
18 going to solve the problem of Doug North's  
19 ability to go from cash, spot transactions to  
20 long-term contracting.

21 We've done this in the Kurdish  
22 region. This is our advertisement. Go to

1           www.cipe.org or Iraq page and you'll find the  
2           Kurdish regional business agenda. Or you can  
3           look at business agendas that have been put  
4           together in a variety of other countries --  
5           the Philippines, Peru and so on.

6                         The last point I'll leave you with  
7           and then I'll have more to say, Ray, when we  
8           come to what do you want the Obama  
9           Administration to do, read page 260 of the  
10          Mystery of Capital. Hernando de Soto, funded  
11          by USAID, managed to knock out the Shining  
12          Path -- the power of ideas. This is the most  
13          violent Marxist insurgency known in this  
14          hemisphere. He managed to defeat it according  
15          to the Peruvian military by mobilizing the  
16          private sector, giving them a stake, bringing  
17          the informal sector into the system and  
18          creating a different agenda for the country.  
19          And unless that's done through the local  
20          ownership that we've been hearing about today,  
21          we won't solve the other problems.

22                         So, from Doug North to Hernando de

1 Soto via the mobilization through people like  
2 Ashraf Ghani, that's what we've got to do.

3 Thank you.

4 (Applause.)

5 MR. LITT: Okay. Last. Take a  
6 deep breath.

7 I'm going to try to address  
8 concisely the challenges to coordination and  
9 delivering effectively goods and services on  
10 the ground in times of crisis -- something we  
11 don't do very well -- and how executive  
12 education might be a vehicle -- a tool -- in  
13 order to be able to transform our capabilities  
14 to do that.

15 Who are the actors who show up on  
16 the ground in times of crisis, whether man-  
17 made disasters or natural disasters or  
18 conflict? We have the military. The military  
19 brings enormous planning capabilities,  
20 logistical capabilities -- everything from  
21 engineering and medicine to communications,  
22 transportation and so on, lots of people and

1           lots of money that they can use flexibly.

2                         We have the private sector. John  
3 talked a little bit about the private sector.  
4 And not just private companies who have supply  
5 chain capabilities to get goods and services  
6 from far away to an affected area, but also  
7 non-profits, NGOs, some of you who may be  
8 represented in this audience who are experts  
9 in needs assessments, project designs, content  
10 and so on.

11                        U.S. government agencies. Don't  
12 want to talk about them. We'll take a long  
13 time to do that. But I'm happy to talk about  
14 my experiences in Iraq with all of those  
15 government agencies.

16                        The local governments. I was  
17 going to spend some time talking about how  
18 important it is not to ignore local  
19 authorities. But President Zoellick did a  
20 great job in doing that and making sure we  
21 don't forget that major goal of providing  
22 legitimacy and capacity to those local

1 governments. They are an actor on the ground  
2 as well, and they need to be part of the team.

3 International organizations and  
4 other bilateral donors -- a group of actors.

5 But the final group of actors that  
6 appear on the ground in times of crisis that  
7 I want to draw to your attention are the  
8 media. The media are there. The media have  
9 a role. The media do report and analyze.  
10 They provide analyses and reporting that is  
11 often extremely valuable, not just for  
12 affected populations in the world, but for the  
13 rest of the actors to know what other people  
14 are doing.

15 But sometimes the reporting is  
16 misleading. Sometimes it is inaccurate.  
17 Based on the information that they get -- that  
18 reporters get, the editors get. And  
19 therefore, it can be harmful. So I would  
20 argue that we really need to pay attention to  
21 our media brethren in order to have more  
22 effective delivery of goods and services and

1 to leverage that observer effect of the  
2 journalists on the ground affecting the thing  
3 that she or he is actually observing.

4 What are the impediments to  
5 collaboration on the ground among these  
6 various organizational cultures? Number one  
7 is a weak or even absent bond of trust among  
8 them. And that comes from legitimate  
9 grievances about the other group, as well as  
10 prejudices and misperceptions about what they  
11 are doing or might do.

12 There's of course that ease of  
13 staying within your own comfort zone,  
14 preserving your own turf of what you do and  
15 protecting your equities vis a vis your  
16 stakeholders back home, and that desire for  
17 independence and neutrality of operations,  
18 especially vis a vis the military. Many are  
19 unwilling to be associated with the military,  
20 especially not to be tainted by them.

21 A number of physical barriers  
22 exist that prevent effective collaboration

1           among the actors in times of crisis. That may  
2           be a reluctance or an inability to share  
3           information. The reluctance comes from the  
4           fact that this information is mine. It is  
5           proprietary in the terms of the private  
6           sector. It is classified in terms of the  
7           public sector. And often we find incompatible  
8           information technology systems, so we couldn't  
9           share information even if we want to.

10                         There are a number of legal and  
11           regulatory obstacles that we've been talking  
12           about today -- the need for new authorities,  
13           the mandates of organizational charters and  
14           the laws of donor organizations, as well as  
15           host nation organizations. Host nation  
16           governments sometimes impede that  
17           collaboration -- resource shortfalls, both in  
18           terms of people and money, logistics.

19                         And then there are the conflicting  
20           methodologies and assessments, metrics and  
21           even strategies and goals. We have different  
22           strategies and goals when we get on the

1 ground.

2 We have found that in fact  
3 establishing institutions of executive  
4 education to be able to bring together the  
5 variety of organizational cultures in a  
6 nonthreatening, open atmosphere can be  
7 conducive to breaking down those bonds -- the  
8 lack of trust -- and also establishing a sense  
9 that we actually can sit down and solve some  
10 problems.

11 The irony about getting  
12 educational opportunities today is that  
13 because of the scarcity of human and financial  
14 resources, most of the agencies and  
15 organizations find it difficult to get the  
16 right people to attend education -- to devote  
17 the time to attend education -- both in terms  
18 to learn, but also to teach others about who  
19 you are and what your organization does.  
20 There are rare opportunities we have found to  
21 bring together all three of these  
22 organizational cultures -- military, private

1 sector and civilian government agencies -- in  
2 that kind of impartial nonthreatening  
3 environment.

4 But another irony of the situation  
5 is if in the Obama Administration, new  
6 resources do flow to especially to a civilian  
7 government, agencies hire more people, the  
8 civilian military in balance is redressed,  
9 then education becomes all the more imperative  
10 because we will need to educate and cross  
11 train all of these new hires cross culturally,  
12 over time, and outside of their own stovepipe  
13 systems.

14 The bottom line therefore for the  
15 Administration is that the United States  
16 should rapidly and immediately develop and  
17 expand executive education opportunities for  
18 21st Century crisis response capabilities,  
19 both in terms of response as well as in  
20 prevention.

21 The irony of today's world is that  
22 the same organizations that find themselves in

1 a crisis-stricken country actually have been  
2 working together all along when there wasn't  
3 a crisis, but they never bothered to  
4 collaborate among themselves. We need to  
5 change that. We need to bring in the  
6 practitioners from the organizations -- those  
7 who work at an operational level. That is who  
8 implement strategic decisions from their  
9 leadership, and give tools on the ground to  
10 ground-level participants who are charged with  
11 making tactical decisions based on unique and  
12 constantly changing conditions.

13 Those participants at properly  
14 constructed educational opportunities have to  
15 reevaluate themselves and their own  
16 organizational cultures, ask the questions  
17 why, why not and how, open up in frank and  
18 very aggressive debate but productive  
19 discussions, and discussions not only to  
20 discover ways to implement crisis remediation  
21 but also collaborative pre-crisis requirements  
22 and initiatives. And we find that actually

1 getting together and sitting in someone else's  
2 chair, putting on someone else's shoes, goes  
3 a long way in order to break down some of  
4 those prejudices and that mistrust.

5 And the demonstration effect is  
6 very powerful of sitting in a small workshop  
7 and arriving at a solution among different  
8 organizational cultures. My gosh, we can  
9 actually solve this. That law that we thought  
10 was in our way, it's not really in our way  
11 because there are ways to get around it or to  
12 find a different way to skin this cat, if you  
13 will.

14 The good news -- and I will close  
15 on this -- is that today the military and  
16 civilian government agencies do understand the  
17 need for such education. The bad news is that  
18 funding for such education and training is  
19 tremendously lacking. But also private sector  
20 participation is lacking. And many private  
21 sector organizations -- NGOs as well  
22 corporations -- avoid courses that are

1 military-related, especially those that are  
2 located on military facilities. And most  
3 private organizations do not run their own  
4 cross-cultural educational programs for times  
5 of crisis.

6 My plea to those of you who may be  
7 in the private sector today in this room is to  
8 do what you can to participate in these kinds  
9 of practical pragmatic educational forums with  
10 your public-sector counterparts and the  
11 military, especially the ones that you don't  
12 work so well with or that you don't work so  
13 often with, and that you should consider  
14 running your own programs, whether  
15 individually or through some voluntary  
16 associations that you may belong to.

17 With that, I will end.

18 (Applause.)

19 MR. GILPIN: Thank you very much  
20 to the panelists for those very thoughtful  
21 remarks. And in the remarks we see a lot of  
22 analysis about what is possible, what is

1           feasible, and potential ways of getting there.

2                       Now it's time for your questions.

3           We have cards at each chair. Our staff will  
4           move around and if you could just hold them up  
5           and they will collect them. And I will pose  
6           as many as I can to the panelists.

7                       But while we collect the various  
8           questions, I'll use my prerogative as chair to  
9           pose the first question to the panelists.

10                      We recognize that the need for  
11           supporting economic reform is great, and that  
12           the players in the international stage are  
13           many. Finding ways to collaborate effectively  
14           as President Zoellick mentioned during lunch  
15           and the panelists have alluded during the  
16           discussions is critically important.

17                      However, a number of the emerging  
18           players in the development assistance business  
19           are nontraditional -- countries like China.  
20           By some estimates, the Chinese government will  
21           be rivaling the World Bank's IDA assistance by  
22           2012, 2013. They're important players.

1                   Does the panel view this as an  
2                   obstacle or an opportunity? Very brief  
3                   comments, please. We'll start with Henrietta.

4                   MS. FORE: Thank you, Raymond.

5                   I think it's an opportunity. I  
6                   believe that the resources that all of us  
7                   carry within the foreign assistance framework  
8                   for -- as most of you know, within the United  
9                   States Director of Foreign Assistance, there's  
10                  a little over \$40 billion that we are  
11                  investing every year on behalf of the American  
12                  people. It's a lot of money. So the  
13                  coordination and the cooperation with other  
14                  governments is important because as you begin  
15                  to look around the world, there are so many  
16                  needs that if you can coordinate with other  
17                  entities, it's very helpful.

18                  In China, we talked to them a bit  
19                  about public/private partnerships because in  
20                  response to their earthquake, they had an  
21                  extraordinarily effective response. And as a  
22                  result, they would be very good partners

1 working on natural disasters in other places  
2 around the world. And we talked about it in  
3 Liberia when Steve was with us and we were  
4 looking at ways that all countries could  
5 gather together, whether it was in the  
6 education sector or other sectors. So I think  
7 there's enormous potential.

8 I think we should see it as an  
9 opportunity. It's a time of opportunity. And  
10 think of it as something that private  
11 businesses and other governments and  
12 multilateral institutions as well as  
13 foundations and academic institutions can all  
14 do together.

15 MR. GILPIN: Okay. Steve, any  
16 comments?

17 MR. RADELET: Well, it's happening  
18 whether we like it or not. So we better make  
19 it an opportunity.

20 But I think it is an opportunity.  
21 But the key I think with bringing China and  
22 Saudi Arabia, some other donors, and even some

1 of the big foundations that are now big actors  
2 is to bring them into the organizations and  
3 the dialogues, not to keep them out. Part of  
4 this is to bring the Chinese and other groups  
5 into donor coordination groups. They're not  
6 even listed if you go to the OECD DAC website.  
7 Of course, they're not a member of the OECD.  
8 But they're sort of excluded from donors as if  
9 they don't exist.

10 We have to bring them in to those  
11 organizations and to the Paris Club for debt  
12 restructuring kinds of organizations and other  
13 things, and I think encourage recipient  
14 countries to insist on transparency and  
15 openness. To me that's the key when I've seen  
16 how the Chinese government and other aid  
17 organizations work in other countries. If the  
18 recipient country wants them to be undercover  
19 and quiet and behind the scenes, then they'll  
20 do it. They'll be more than happy to oblige.  
21 But if as in the case of Liberia the country  
22 insists on openness, transparency, playing

1           according to the rules, they're happy to play  
2           along. They're not trying to undercut that.

3                        So I think if we can encourage  
4           them to be part of the system and play ball,  
5           it provides a great opportunity. Lord knows  
6           there's not enough resources to do all the  
7           things that need to get done in low income  
8           countries. So we ought to welcome the  
9           opportunity that's there, but work with them  
10          to make as much of it as possible.

11                       MR. GILPIN: Thank you.

12                       MR. SULLIVAN: Well, I don't have  
13          a lot more to add. I think that's obviously  
14          true.

15                       A word of caution, I don't think  
16          the Chinese have -- the Chinese government --  
17          has quite the understanding that perhaps we're  
18          assuming they do -- perhaps they will by 2012  
19          or 2020, whenever it was that your end date  
20          was there -- of the idea of transparency and  
21          accountability in government procurements.

22                       So two things. One, to the extent

1           that state-owned enterprises or quasi-state-  
2           owned enterprises in China are a vehicle,  
3           better corporate governance of those  
4           enterprises and demanding that the actual  
5           transactions are clear and transparent is  
6           going to be key.

7                         And then second -- and this goes  
8           with a lot of different things -- despite the  
9           fact that oil prices have declined right now,  
10          I would expect sovereign wealth funds to  
11          continue to increase. I'm not particularly  
12          worried about the Chinese or Dubai Port World  
13          operating in the OECD countries, but I would  
14          be very concerned about them working in what  
15          are still non-market economies of Africa and  
16          others.

17                        And so again, trying to get good  
18          solid rules like the OECD framework of the  
19          recent statements that have come out from the  
20          IMF and having them apply to these sovereign  
21          wealth funds I think is going to be absolutely  
22          vital.

1 MR. GILPIN: Thanks.

2 MR. LITT: I yield my turn.

3 MR. GILPIN: The first round of  
4 questions will be specific to each panelist.

5 The first question would be to  
6 you, Steve. And it reads, as an advisor to  
7 President Johnson-Sileaf, you mentioned the  
8 Peace Corps returning to Liberia. And the  
9 question is how about the Peace Corps in  
10 Kosovo?

11 And I think I'd like to broaden  
12 that to ask you to give your thoughts based on  
13 your experience and your work on modernizing  
14 the U.S. foreign assistance, is there a role  
15 for organizations like the Peace Corps? And  
16 how could they be most effective?

17 The next question will be for you,  
18 John. It's on public/private partnerships.  
19 And it says, is there an interest in green  
20 investment by the private sector --  
21 alternative energy on a small scale? The  
22 questioner wants to know whether or not this

1 is something that's viable particularly in the  
2 fragile states -- in the context of fragile  
3 states.

4 Then for you, David, the question  
5 on corruption. And it says, how important is  
6 combating illicit economies in the post-  
7 conflict, and what would be elements of a  
8 successful strategy? And do you know of any  
9 success stories given your interagency  
10 experience, if you could highlight any of  
11 those.

12 For you, Ambassador Fore, it says,  
13 Dr. Zoellick mentioned during his luncheon  
14 speech that the U.S. generally does not  
15 participate in trust funds. Are trust funds  
16 seen as the means to improve collaboration and  
17 coordination at donor level? And what are  
18 your thoughts within the context of providing  
19 foreign aid to post-conflict and fragile  
20 economies?

21 We'll start at the end of the  
22 table with you, Steve.

1                   MR. RADELET: Thanks. I'm a  
2 little biased. I was a Peace Corps volunteer.  
3 And my wife was the first third-generation  
4 Peace Corps volunteer. And my aunt was Peace  
5 Corps Country Director in Thailand. So other  
6 than that, I'm very unbiased --

7                   (Laughter.)

8                   MR. RADELET: -- when it comes to  
9 Peace Corps.

10                  No, I was very thrilled that Peace  
11 Corps went back into Liberia. I do think  
12 there is -- I'm no expert on Kosovo, so I  
13 certainly can't comment on the particular  
14 appropriateness.

15                  But I do think in post-conflict  
16 situations, of course you have to be careful.  
17 But there is scope to come in once there's  
18 some security, particularly into urban areas  
19 and teaching kinds of environments, into more  
20 structured kinds of things. I don't think in  
21 Liberia or in other places, we're quite ready  
22 to send somebody out to the middle of nowhere

1 to be a rural development volunteer on their  
2 own. But to be in a more urban-structured  
3 setting I think is great.

4 President-Elect Obama has pushed  
5 hard in his campaign for expanded ways for  
6 volunteerism, and mentioned specifically Peace  
7 Corps. And I think that's terrific.

8 I think we need to also look  
9 beyond and think of other ways to tap into the  
10 energy and the spirit of people with other  
11 kinds of skills for programs that might be  
12 similar to Peace Corps but a little bit  
13 different. And in particular I have in mind  
14 a program that we run in Liberia called the  
15 Liberia Fellows Program, which is geared  
16 mostly for young professionals that are 29, 30  
17 years old with a graduate degree and a couple  
18 years of experience, a little bit too senior  
19 and with a graduate degree perhaps not for  
20 Peace Corps.

21 They're focused on policy issues  
22 and on government service. And we have 15

1 fellows working in Liberia right now as  
2 special assistants to ministers in the  
3 Liberian government because one of the  
4 problems with the capacity is the capacity  
5 shortage. This is just getting stuff done.

6           There's no shortage of good ideas.  
7 They don't necessarily need technical  
8 assistance to come up with ten new good ideas.  
9 They've got lots of good ideas. They don't  
10 have the staff to implement them. So these  
11 fellows work as special assistants to do  
12 everything from photocopying to drafting  
13 speeches to writing policy papers for the  
14 Liberian government.

15           Half of them are Liberian ex-  
16 patriots. Half of them are Americans. And  
17 they go off for a fraction of what it costs  
18 for regular technical assistance and they're  
19 having a great time spending a year in  
20 Liberia.

21           That's the kind of thing that I  
22 think we can expand to take advantage of other

1 people with other professional skills who  
2 would love to have some experience in engaging  
3 in developing countries and to provide a role  
4 for it. So I think there's an opportunity to  
5 expand in that way.

6 MR. GILPIN: Thank you.

7 MR. SULLIVAN: Well, I can't do  
8 complete justice to this question because it's  
9 such a broad one. But the key to making these  
10 kinds of public/private partnerships for green  
11 investment work anywhere has got to be to  
12 align incentives, focus on the price  
13 mechanism, and take a look at what are the  
14 drivers of a public/private partnership. But  
15 it's profit.

16 What is the public side? Reducing  
17 their costs obviously and harnessing new  
18 technologies.

19 So I think there is obviously a  
20 lot of interest in the private sector in terms  
21 of investment. And remember, the private  
22 sector is not a monolith. It's a whole lot of

1 different things.

2 To give you just two examples, I  
3 was in Medellin, Columbia which is sort of a  
4 post-conflict environment, and there was a  
5 really cool display there at a conference I  
6 was at of the private sector of Latin America  
7 featuring things like solar-powered light  
8 poles where you could stick a light pole in a  
9 place where you're not going to run an  
10 electricity line. It would be powered up for  
11 the day and then you'd have enough power to  
12 have some light at the end of the evening.  
13 Now, somebody thought of that and they were  
14 suing them. So there's a good example of how  
15 you could do it.

16 And to do that on a large scale --  
17 to scale it up -- you need to align the  
18 incentives and you need to create frameworks  
19 that encourage that kind of investment.

20 On a larger scale side, companies  
21 like WalMart and others are -- Intel -- I just  
22 bought a personal computer this weekend and

1 was given quite a lengthy lecture by the Sony  
2 salesperson about all the green elements of  
3 their computer. But part of it is of course  
4 salesmanship. But another large part of it is  
5 recycling, reducing the cost structures. And  
6 we're seeing this again through the price  
7 mechanism through energy prices which have  
8 reversed for a while. But I think it's  
9 temporary.

10 So you do have a powerful  
11 incentive now to do things like reduce the  
12 amount of packaging, reduce transport costs.  
13 Things that were not part of that price  
14 structure before have changed. And read  
15 Thomas Friedman's column about what we need to  
16 do to keep that price mechanism working. It's  
17 every third day, so you can't miss it.

18 MR. LITT: Corruption occurs where  
19 there is money and power. I don't need to  
20 preach to you about the destructive effects of  
21 corruption. It is a drain on resources,  
22 especially in developing countries. It

1           undermines legitimacy of authorities. And it  
2           promotes economic and political stuntedness in  
3           a nation.

4                         There are a variety of things that  
5           the international community recognizes as  
6           being among the solutions to corruption --  
7           breaking the back of corruption in societies.  
8           Number one is leadership. And that's not just  
9           at the national level, but leadership at all  
10          levels -- village, family.

11                        Number two, is participation in  
12          the society -- an increase in participation  
13          especially in both men and women in the  
14          social, political and economic life of a  
15          society, accountability and transparency in  
16          transactions and in public life, which goes  
17          along therefore with the development of proper  
18          institutions and the ability to bring people  
19          to account.

20                        This is not easily solved in any  
21          country. I don't know of any experience off  
22          the top of my head in any country that I have

1 served in where corruption was brought under  
2 control. But I think we have seen a number of  
3 countries where it has gotten a whole lot  
4 worse. And that's quite dramatic for what we  
5 do.

6 Georgia? Atlanta? That Georgia.

7 MR. SULLIVAN: Georgia. That  
8 Georgia has done very well.

9 MS. FORE: All right. My question  
10 in case you've forgotten it was about the  
11 trust funds and the World Bank.

12 And there I think are a number of  
13 reasons the United States does not exclusively  
14 use trust funds. We do in some places such as  
15 in Afghanistan. And we do that because it is  
16 a good multi-donor facility that is working on  
17 both infrastructure and capacity building.  
18 And so from country to country, we make  
19 individual decisions about using World Bank  
20 trust funds.

21 One of the reasons we do not do  
22 this in every country is because we have such

1 strong links with our non-governmental  
2 organizations and our other implementers in  
3 the field. The United States has enormous  
4 power in these many implementers who are our  
5 partners around the world. And the trust  
6 funds would mean that we would have a  
7 different approach. But we feel that our  
8 implementing partners have been very helpful  
9 and useful. They are close to the people most  
10 in need. They are the eyes and the ears in  
11 almost every country.

12 The other part of it is that it  
13 allows for innovation. Small and medium-sized  
14 organizations can work to great benefit. John  
15 Sullivan has been chairing a group called the  
16 Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign  
17 Assistance. And one of their many  
18 recommendations to us is to make sure that we  
19 don't just have a few big baskets of  
20 contractors, but that we open it up to many,  
21 many players. And so that's another reason  
22 why we take the approach we do which is to

1 sometimes use trust funds, but not always.

2 I think there is something else to

3 think about also as we consider trust funds.

4 And it's something that Congress often brings

5 up. And that is related to something that

6 David mentioned which is the press and who

7 gets the credit for the fact that this

8 assistance is moving. And when it goes

9 through these multi-lateral facilities, often

10 the American people are not credited. There

11 are very few people around the world that

12 realize that it is the American people that

13 are sending help. And most people don't know

14 that we are half of the world's food aid. And

15 so sometimes you have to stand up and say this

16 is from the American people. And so bilateral

17 institutions help with that.

18 And lastly, we've been working

19 very hard on foreign assistance reform in the

20 last few years. I see Steve Krasner in the

21 front row who's been very much part of that,

22 and Steve Radelet over here on our panel.

1           And as we look at areas for real  
2 progress, gathering all the U.S. government  
3 organizations and entities and funding would  
4 be enormously powerful for the United States.  
5 And I think that would be a good place to  
6 start.

7           MR. GILPIN: Thank you.

8           Now unfortunately we've run out of  
9 time. I'm getting frantic signals from the  
10 back of the room.

11           But before we leave, I promised to  
12 give each panelist 30 second opportunity to  
13 make one recommendation to the incoming  
14 Administration.

15           Let's start with Steven and just  
16 move down the panel very quickly. And then  
17 you'll join me in thanking them for a job well  
18 done.

19           MR. RADELET: Thank you. My one  
20 recommendation would be to take advantage of  
21 the opportunity where the political support  
22 and the more broad public support is there to

1 not necessarily spend a lot more money right  
2 now -- that's going to be tough -- but to take  
3 the opportunity to really modernize and update  
4 our foreign assistance organization and  
5 systems so that we can meet the 21st Century  
6 challenges that are in the interest of the  
7 United States, but also in the interests of  
8 poor countries around the world.

9 MR. GILPIN: Thank you.

10 MR. SULLIVAN: Well, the advisory  
11 committee that Henrietta referred to actually  
12 has come out with a full range of  
13 recommendations, all of which are posted on  
14 USAID's website. And one of the key  
15 recommendations is to fully implement USAID's  
16 new economic growth strategy, which does the  
17 job of linking economic growth and democratic  
18 development.

19 So, well done, Henrietta. And I  
20 hope the new Administration builds on that and  
21 really implements the hell out of it.

22 MR. LITT: My organization has

1 prepared a white paper that will hang on the  
2 website of USIP after this on the role of  
3 executive education. And my plea to the  
4 Administration would be as we propose funding  
5 for hiring new personnel to make sure that  
6 those funding requests include money for  
7 education and training.

8 MR. GILPIN: Thanks.

9 MS. FORE: Development is done by  
10 people, for people and institutions and  
11 nations. So increase funding for the people  
12 who do development in the organizations. Keep  
13 the development leadership initiative, the  
14 income of new foreign service officers coming  
15 into USAID so they can represent our country  
16 proudly around the world for years to come.

17 MR. GILPIN: This is a discussion  
18 we'll keep alive at USIP.

19 Thank you very much for being part  
20 of this. Join me in thanking the panel.

21 (Whereupon, the above-entitled  
22 matter was adjourned at 2:52 p.m.)

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