FRONTLINES

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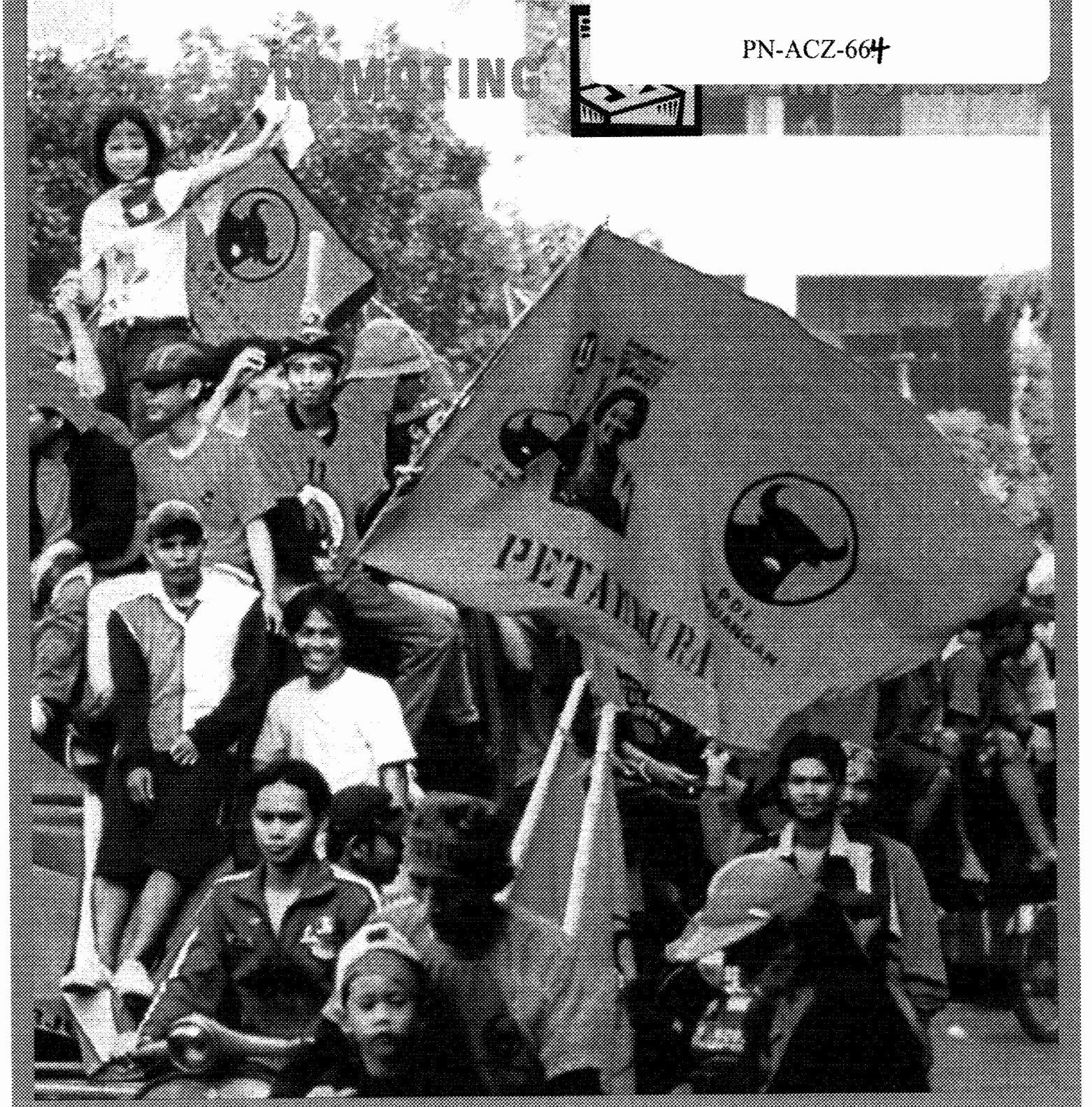

The Front Lines of a Long Twilight Struggle for Freedom
— John F. Kennedy

U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

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News & Features

Cover: Indonesians demonstrate prior to June 1999 election.

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PROMOTING DEMOCRACY

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Woodrow Wilson Center Director Lee Hamilton kicks off series on foreign assistance priorities for the next decade. Page 20

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By J. Brady Anderson

Democracy vital to future of global development

The religious and social thinker Reinhold Niebuhr wrote that "man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary." While Niebuhr wrote this in 1944, events of the past half-century have more than borne him out.

In Rwanda, Kosovo, East Timor, Bosnia-Herzegovina and myriad other areas around the world, we have seen the struggle for self-determination erupt into something ugly, dangerous, and politically destabilizing. Certainly, democracy is not a guarantee against conflict—particularly when the conflict is rooted in ethnic strife. But the components of a just democratic regime—in particular, a strong rule of law, an honest judiciary, an independent news media, transparency in government, and free and fair elections—allow the majority to govern without trampling upon the rights of the minority.

As Winston Churchill noted, "It has been said that democracy is the worst form of government—except all the others that have been tried." It is often messy and inefficient, as we have seen in our own presidential election, but democracy remains the best system yet devised to allow every individual to enjoy the rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

During this first tumultuous year of the new century, democracy has taken on new life in countries on every continent.

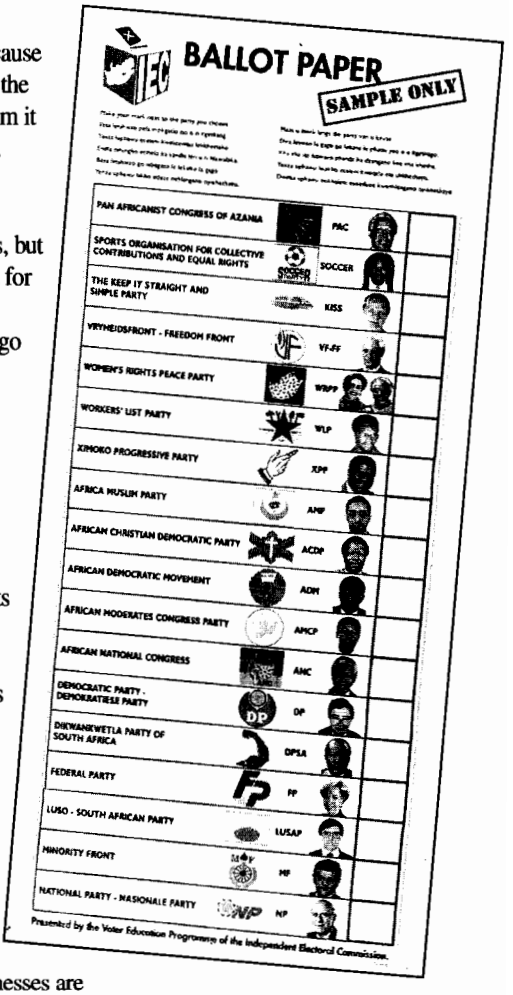
In Serbia, the opposition coalesced, information kept flowing, people voted and they stood up to the corrupt system that was not going to honor their call for change. They were successful. A dictator fell – peacefully. But this is not the end of the story; it is just the beginning. Like everywhere else in the world, emergence from an authoritarian regime to a democratic state takes time. Building the institutions that will continue a democratic tradition after the euphoria of the moment is a long-term and fragile endeavor. In Serbia, the critically important parliamentary elections scheduled for December are another small step on the road to the formation of a peaceful, democratic state.

At USAID, we have helped developing countries implement and strengthen democracy for over 50 years. From India, the world's largest democracy, to Nigeria, one of the world's newest, our aim is to help people realize their potential and to live their lives free from fear, under a rule of law that protects their rights and freedom. Over the past decade, we have also been helping countries in Eastern and Central Europe, Central Asia, and Latin America make the transition to democracy.

During this first tumultuous year of the new century, democracy has taken on new life in countries on every continent.

We do this not because democracy is American, but because democracy aims to serve the people it governs, to whom it is ultimately accountable.

Democracies can be harbingers of peace and stability for entire regions, but they are just as important for what they do not do. Democracies tend not to go to war against each other and, as the Nobel-prize winning economist Amartya Sen has said, modern democracies do not experience famines, despite natural disasters.



While all these aspects of democracy directly benefit the citizens of developing countries, it is clear that they benefit Americans, too. For example, the spread of democracy means that our men and women in uniform may be less likely to be drawn into regional or internal conflicts. American businesses are also more likely to find new, lucrative markets in countries where there are banking systems and capital markets that are regulated, accountable, and transparent, and where courts can be counted on to respect contracts and property rights as well as fundamental human rights.

My own experience with burgeoning democracy comes from Africa, where I lived and worked for eight years. Soon after I was appointed U.S. ambassador, Tanzania held its first real multiparty election. While USAID sponsored some 30 observers, I observed the elections in an unofficial capacity.

My wife, Betty, and I spent most of that election day traveling among polling stations. At the end of the day we wound up in a one-room schoolhouse, watching people line up to vote. Election officials closed the polls at dusk, and, under the hum of mosquitoes, counted the ballots by kerosene light.

The look on the people's faces as they huddled over the desks, carefully counting ballots in the stillness of the Tanzanian night, is something I will carry with me for a long time. They were proud to be participating in something important, and hopeful about their future.

The details may differ, but all around the world—in South Africa,

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Democracy vital

(continued from page 1)

in Guatemala, in Croatia—this is how democracies are built. This is how progress is made—one person at a time, one institution at a time, one election at a time.

This past July, I had the privilege of helping to celebrate Poland's achievements in the transition to democracy and a free-market economy. Poland is a model for other countries making this transition, and USAID is especially proud of the contributions it has been able to make to the process. Notable achievements include debt restructuring and financing the Polish-American Enterprise Fund and bank privatization, which helped Poland pull out of recession and build a competitive, market-oriented financial sector, and encouraging responsive and accountable local government.

Election officials counting ballots in Kenya.

USAID is engaged in similar democracy and governance activities in developing and transition countries around the world — carefully tailored to the special needs and the unique traditions and cultures of each host country's people.

With our decades of experience in development, USAID has learned that, without accountable governments, reliable justice systems, and transparent institutions that curb corruption and treat fairly both citizens and those who come to visit and do business, development in other areas is unlikely to succeed. When governments fail, health and education falter, economies crumble or explode into hyper-inflation, and chaos and conflict may destroy what remains. Women, children and indigenous peoples are especially vulnerable without the safeguards of democracy, including the rule of law, and so are the natural resources on which people depend.

A little over 230 years ago this nation was founded on the principles of freedom, equality and justice. Our own journey toward these goals has been imperfect, but because our nation established freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom of the press, we have been able to engage each other in the ongoing debate of how best to pursue those goals. As we help others to establish the kinds of institutions and apply the techniques that we have developed along the way, we strengthen our own understanding and commitment to democracy. At the beginning of this new millennium, let us rededicate ourselves to helping the people of the developing world share in the blessings of democracy and justice. It is their human right and USAID's privilege to assist in its achievement. ▩

By Bill Frej

Poland graduates, helps other nations with democratic development

As communism collapsed in Poland, USAID stepped in to assist the people's transformation of their country. The agency was among the first donors to hit the ground with significant assistance to accelerate Poland's transformation from a Soviet-bloc country to a new democracy before USAID closed its mission in September 2000. Those who benefited say that the most formidable legacy is in Poland's people and how USAID's assistance helped individuals think creatively and boldly.

USAID partnered with Poland to achieve the double transition from a society ruled by a single-party political structure to a vibrant participatory democracy and from a centrally planned economy to a private-sector led competitive economy. The focus was on developing and strengthening institutions necessary for sustainable democracy, development of a strong market economy and private sector, and improvement of the basic quality of life in selected areas. During its 11-year involvement, the agency supported more than 400 activities at the approximate cost of $1 billion, using funds from the Support for East European Democracy (SEED) Act of 1989.

From 1989 to 1990, USAID provided humanitarian assistance and stabilization programs, called "fast emergency aid." The second phase of assistance addressed the process of transforming the social-political system and the economy and extensive fiscal and political decentralization reforms. USAID supported the Polish government's reforms in two ways: assistance to local governments for improving resource management while developing or strengthening a network of non-governmental organizations, and assistance to the Ministry of Finance to develop legislation and policies that shaped the current framework for decentralization of public administration and finance. This included drafting a Local Government Finance Act. Some 50 local governments have implemented model participatory processes in preparing budgets, long-term investment and economic development plans, or housing strategies. Over 200 local governments received assistance to

By Gary Hansen

Assisting Indonesians in their struggle for democratic change

Over the past two years, Indonesia's economic crisis resulted in a dramatic turn toward democracy and more responsive governance. The public demand that culminated in the resignation of President Suharto in May 1998, national elections of a new parliament and the inauguration of President Abdurrahman Wahid in 1999 ushered in a new era of democratic reforms after three decades of authoritarian rule.

Due to its long-standing presence in Indonesia, USAID was well positioned to support this democratic breakthrough. During the Suharto era, the agency had assisted a wide range of civil society organizations calling for greater transparency and accountability and advocating human rights, freedom for the media and environmental protections. These and other civic organizations have expanded their reform efforts in the new democratic environment and many of their leaders now hold positions in the government.

Having long-established relationships with many of the reformers, USAID was able to rapidly expand its assistance in an environment that welcomed and frequently solicited its support. The first challenge USAID faced in the post-Suharto era was assisting with the national election of June 1999, a daunting effort in a nation of 210 million that had not administered a free election since 1955. USAID supported a massive voter education campaign, helped fund the training and deployment of 600,000 election monitors, and provided technical assistance in a wide range of election operations, all of which contributed to what Indonesians and the international community judged to be a free and fair election.

In the post-election period, USAID has broadened its assistance to include efforts to strengthen national and local parliaments, political parties, legal/judicial reform, decentralization, and anti-corruption measures. Support for civil society is a key factor in sustaining and consolidating the reform effort.

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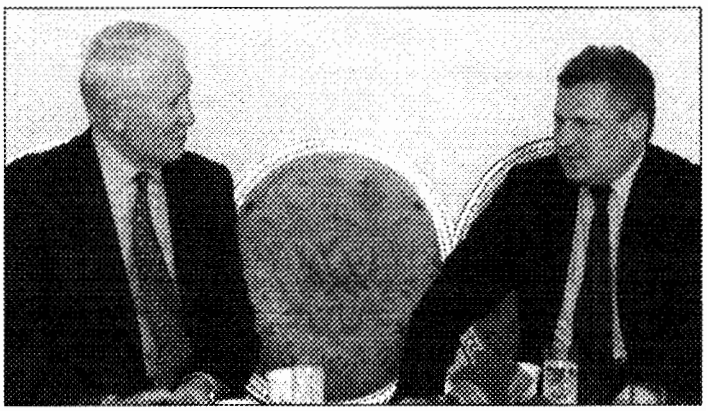
Poland

strengthen their management and improve service delivery.

These activities were supplemented over the years by a number of special initiatives in collaboration with other U.S. government agencies: modernization of the criminal justice system (Department of Justice); tax administration (Department of the Treasury); environmental protection (Environmental Protection Agency); and redeployment of unneeded mine workers (Department of Labor).

"USAID was very helpful in developing the capacity of Polish institutions," said Jerzy Regulski, the director of the Foundation for the Support of Local Democracy and father of local government in Poland. "You can't underestimate the psychological character of USAID's support. It was crucial at the time to our success. People were afraid; we had no experience, but we had someone assisting us."

Poland has become a role model for other transition countries. With USAID support, trilateral cooperation under the Poland-American-Ukraine Cooperation Initiative will enable Ukrainian entrepreneurs and central and local government officials to obtain training and advice from Poland-based sources of expertise. The Polish government is also conducting its own foreign assistance program to neighboring countries, facilitated through creation—with USAID support—of the Polish Know-How Foundation.



Administrator Brady Anderson with Polish President Alexandar Kawsniewski during ceremonies in September celebrating Poland's progress as USAID's mission closed. Poland will continue to participate in some regional programs.

"People were afraid; we had no experience, but we had someone assisting us."

"USAID was a good training path for all of us, and it has made for healthier, flexible, better non-governmental organizations. USAID provided a new culture of grant giving," remarked Jakub Wygnanski of the Association for the Forum of Non-governmental Initiatives, "and a whole new concept of transparent funding and widespread accessibility to grants and technical support."

Poland's graduation from USAID assistance does not mean that the United States is ending its support to the country. Ongoing cooperation with a legacy organization, the Polish American Freedom Foundation, capitalized by the sale of assets from USAID's Polish Enterprise Fund, and participation in selected USAID regional projects managed from Washington will ensure continued U.S. collaboration in future development activities. ▩

—Greg, the director of the Office of Market Transitions in the Europe and Eurasia Bureau, was the last mission director in Poland.

Indonesia

(continued from page 3)

USAID is providing support to a wide array of organizations working to increase citizen participation in governance, which has helped foster the growth of a vibrant, independent labor movement, in particular.

A new era in Indonesia.

Media freedom

During the Suharto era, electronic media operated under tight censorship. With the democratic opening, USAID has supported media law reform and efforts to make the issues and proceedings of government more transparent. The agency helped to establish the Indonesian Press and Broadcasting Society (MPPI), the first-ever media law advocacy group in Indonesia, which has been instrumental in getting new laws passed to protect media freedom in Indonesia. Independent media has grown rapidly in the environment of freedom these laws provide.

Support for civil society is a key factor in sustaining and consolidating the reform effort.

Live coverage of parliament

In addition, USAID has supported efforts by the members of the national parliament (DPR) and the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) to bring greater transparency to their proceedings. USAID funding of "C-SPAN style" coverage of legislative hearings and sessions, including live programming accessible via the Internet, has enabled citizens to watch DPR and MPR proceedings. Weekly broadcasts of discussions with members of the national parliament—involving interactive citizen call-ins have encouraged unprecedented openness and grabbed the attention of 10 million to 12 million viewers per week, with approximately 50 million new viewers in the past year. ▩

—Hansen is the senior technical adviser on civil society and senior adviser on Indonesia for the Center for Democracy and Governance.

By Peggy Curlin

CEDPA takes initiative in Nigeria

Women around the world know that if they wait for governments to hand them their economic and political independence, they may have to wait too long. The Center for Development and Population Activities (CEDPA) hears this message coming from the women of Nigeria.

"After 40 years of stricture, Nigerians are anxious to experience the dividends of democracy in their everyday lives. Family planning has released the energies of women," Dr. Enyantu Ifenne, CEDPA-Nigeria's country director, said at the White House in April. "Communities have been enriched as they created space for women. Thousands of civil society groups have been activated and are committed to the much-needed economic and social reforms."

CEDPA's USAID-supported democracy and governance initiative was launched in 1996 with Johns Hopkins University. Local non-governmental organizations—CEDPA partners—are working to shake up the systems and traditions that keep women in poverty, at a lower status than men, and burdened with an overwhelming share of work and disease in Africa's most populous country.

After the overthrow of the military regime in 1997, CEDPA's long history of working with Nigerian non-governmental organizations to expand family planning services at the grass-roots level took an exciting turn. CEDPA-supported family planning service providers, our partners since 1983, were eager to participate in the new democratic process. To build on their strength, local women's groups formed 829 larger groups of roughly 100 women each in Nigeria's 18 states to register voters, identify women's special needs within their communities, and to encourage women to run for elected office.

"Don't Sell Your Vote for a Handful of Rice"

In the 18 months leading up to the election, these women registered 2.5 million people to vote. The "100 Women" groups educated newly registered voters to cast their votes without the temptation of bribery with posters that read, "Don't Sell Your Vote for a Handful of Rice," referencing a practice common before the groups took action. They also monitored polling places and campaigned for their colleagues in local elections. Of the 125 persons elected to the local government area councils, 44 were women supported by our network. In Ondo State alone, 13 of the 26 candidates elected were women supported by the "100 Women" groups.

CEDPA continues to help women's groups form in Nigeria and work to improve women's lives. According to Dr. Ifenne, Nigerian women no longer wait for change: "With USAID support, we have family planning and democracy and governance programs linked. This has generated broader impact." ▩

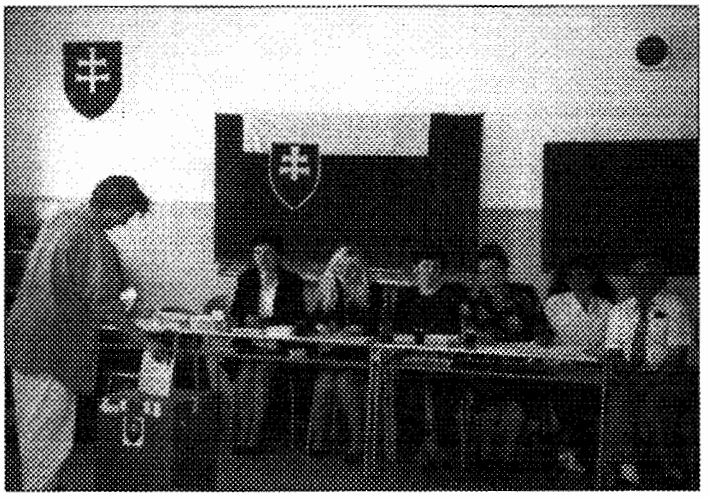
—Curlin is president of CEDPA.

By Susan Kosinki and Kathryn Stevens

Important gains in Central Europe

The ability to manage peaceful democratic competition is a vital element of the democratic electoral processes that began with the demise of communist governments in Central Europe. USAID supports the innovative work of U.S. non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with electoral commissions, political parties, civil society, and newly elected leaders in more than 30 countries around the world.

Slovakia and Croatia demonstrate how credible elections both complement and are improved by effective institutions grounded in the rule of law, representative democratic governance and a vibrant civil society.



Voters in Bardejov, Slovakia, cast ballots May 23, 1999 in the second round of their first direct election for president.

Slovakia: rapid, coordinated response promotes fair competition

In September 1998, Slovakia's voters awarded democratic opposition party candidates a clear majority in the country's parliament. The opposition coalition, the Slovak Democratic Coalition (SDK), formed a new government strongly committed to advancing Slovakia's integration into the European Union and NATO.

This remarkable outcome was in no way assured.

In 1997, Slovakia's government had cancelled a Constitutional Court-approved referendum which would have mandated direct presidential elections and limited the old government's control over the presidency. Less than six months before the election, members of the old government coalition in parliament also pushed through an amendment to the country's election law that severely limited electoral competition and posed a significant challenge to parties outside the ruling coalition.

The U.S. Embassy, USAID and our partner organizations pursued a tightly coordinated, yet flexible, response that helped Slovakian political parties maximize their chances of competing effectively in the country's tightly controlled electoral arena. In the months preceding the election, USAID supported:

- training and mobilizing 1,700 domestic election monitors who performed a parallel vote tabulation to safeguard against vote fraud;
- bringing previously fragmented parties together to form a winning electoral coalition and conduct a series of national polls that helped parties respond directly to voters' core concerns in their platforms;
- promoting fairness and efficiency in the administration of elections through poll worker training;
- documenting biases in reporting by state-run newspapers, radio, and TV through media programs; and,
- mobilizing a pro-reform voting bloc through NGOs.

These efforts, coordinated with the work done by the National Endowment for Democracy supporting fair and open competition in Slovakia's elections, helped to ensure that obstacles designed to obstruct free and fair elections were removed.

Croatia: sustained support for democracy the catalyst for opposition win

The face of Croatian politics has changed dramatically in just one year. Voters energized by his pledge to fight the official corruption that has long plagued Croatia's economy and politics elected Stipe Mesic the new president of Croatia in February 2000. A coalition of former opposition parties, led by a six-party bloc, now enjoys a two-thirds majority in parliament and has distanced itself from nationalist policies and expressed support for free media, economic reforms, and human rights.

Since 1994, USAID and its NGO partners have supported strategic sectors of Croatian society committed to democratic change. Independent media, civil society organizations, political parties, labor unions, and reformers in the legal and judicial professions were the driving force behind the political groundswell that brought Croatia's new leaders to power.

Since 1995, USAID support has helped Croatian opposition parties connect with voters across Croatia by applying tested grassroots campaign strategies such as canvassing door-to-door and encouraged strengthening of leading opposition party blocs at the national level, including the winning Social Democratic/Social Liberal coalition.

In 1997, support from USAID also helped a group of NGOs establish an umbrella organization called Citizens Organized to Monitor Elections (GONG). By the 2000 elections, GONG had collected 25,000 signatures on a petition to accredit domestic monitors, appealed directly to individual members of parliament with clever, targeted information on its elections monitoring agenda, and drafted a law on accreditation which parliament passed. For both the parliamentary and presidential elections, GONG's force of 7,000 volunteers conducted parallel vote counts that increased the credibility of Croatia's elections.

Despite the formidable challenges that remain for Central Europe, changes that were unimaginable 10 years ago are taking place in multiple locales within the region. ▩

—Kosinki is the Center for Democracy and Governance senior technical adviser on elections and political processes. Stevens formerly worked on Central European issues in the center and is currently democracy officer at USAID's mission to West Bank/Gaza.

After conflict: democracy from the ground up

When conflict ends in places such as East Timor, democracy is not always the top concern of local citizens. People worry about rebuilding their homes and feeding their families. Yet in the fragile post-war environment, political stakes are high, and instilling democratic values cannot be forestalled. USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) is experimenting with ways to meet people's basic needs while teaching them the building blocks of democracy.

In August, the OTI team in East Timor designed a new initiative, the Transitional Engagement for Population Support (TEPS) program to foster democratic practices while supporting reconstruction work. Emphasizing local community participation in project selection, design and implementation, TEPS empowers local citizens and helps direct donor resources more effectively.

East Timorese laborers construct a traditional meeting house in the Liquica District, part of the Transitional Employment Project funded by USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives.

OTI continues to join biweekly meetings to coordinate efforts and generate greater donor funding for media development in East Timor. When East Timor became independent there was no way for non-governmental organizations and the media community to meet their printing needs. Instead of providing a number of printing presses, OTI contributed funds to the creation of a print consortium that has begun operation. During the next 10 months it will be developed into a commercially viable operation.

USAID's Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) is experimenting with ways to meet people's basic needs while teaching them the building blocks of democracy.

OTI is working with local and international organizations to sponsor pilot workshops to train local civic education trainers, and it is also leading an initiative to coordinate development and production of civic education teaching materials.

In Kosovo, OTI's community-based approach resulted in 200 Community Improvement Councils, engaging thousands of Kosovars in small-scale projects chosen by the communities. The councils have completed more than 250 projects.

Leaders from these councils have begun to emerge as effective spokesmen for their communities. Several have been named to U.N.-appointed posts. Some are expected to run in upcoming local elections. Larry Rossin, former head of the U.S. Office/Pristina, said recently that the councils "empower citizens and develop a participatory ethic within communities.... It is grassroots democracy building in a region where both grassroots decision-making and democracy itself are far from the historical or cultural norm."

OTI activities around the world include reintegrating ex-combatants; energizing alternative media to counter messages of hatred and give voice to citizens hungry for peace and democracy; designing reconstruction efforts that emphasize community responsibility, participation and transparency; and identifying and minimizing the impact of "spoilers" – those who seek to disrupt peaceful change. OTI undertakes these and other customized programs with the speed and timing needed to show war-weary citizens the tangible benefits of peace. ▩

By Ozias Tungawarara and Carol L. Martin

Southern African parliamentarians committed to improving electoral processes in the region

Beginning in the early 1990s, Southern Africa sustained a wave of democratization that has brought down many authoritarian and racist regimes, and elections have generally been held regularly in the Southern Africa region, although in some cases the legitimacy of such elections has been questioned. In Angola and Lesotho, disputed election results led to violence.

The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), formed in 1980 following the adoption of the Lusaka Declaration—"Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation"— established a Parliamentary Forum in 1993, consisting of delegations of members of Parliament from the 14 SADC countries. The Forum was conceived as a means for promoting peace, unity, democracy, and economic prosperity in the region. Legitimate, free and fair elections are critical not only to advancing democracy in the region, but also for encouraging foreign investment to promote economic growth and development. The Parliamentary Forum's primary objective was the establishment of regional electoral standards.

USAID's Regional Center for Southern Africa (RCSA) provided funding that enabled the Forum to observe the national elections in Namibia and Mozambique in 1999 and in Zimbabwe in 2000. By the end of the USAID-funded program in 2001, the Parliamentary Forum will have observed national elections in seven Southern African countries. The Forum expects that active election observation, in addition to helping assure that elections are free and fair, will enable it to advocate the adoption of democratic standards for assessing elections in the region and mediate in election-related conflicts that may arise before, during, and after elections take place. ▩

—Tungawarara and Martin are democracy and governance advisers for USAID's Regional Center for Southern Africa in Gaborone, Botswana.

By Ozias Tungawarara and Carol L. Martin

An important victory for media freedom in Zimbabwe

A landmark decision by the full bench of the Zimbabwe Supreme Court struck a major blow for press freedom in the Southern Africa region on May 22. The editor of the independent weekly newspaper the Zimbabwe Standard, Mark Chavunduka, and a reporter for the paper, Ray Choto, had been arrested in January 1999 and turned over to the army after the paper published an article about the arrest of 23 members of the army who allegedly were plotting to overthrow the Mugabe government.

Despite a regional, national and international outcry against the government's blatant disregard for human rights, and a court ruling specifically ordering the chief of police to release the journalists, the two journalists were severely tortured when they refused to reveal the source for the article. After they were finally released later that month, they were flown to London for treatment at a clinic specializing in treating torture victims. Independent medical examinations showed they had suffered severe prolonged brutality.

USAID's Regional Center for Southern Africa (RCSA), which is located in Botswana, supports organizations that promote regional norms, principles, and standards to enhance democratic performance in Southern Africa. Through its democracy and governance program, the RCSA is providing financial assistance to the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) to support its efforts to foster media pluralism and media freedom in the region. MISA's mandate derives from the 1991 Windhoek Declaration on press freedom, which was signed by all the governments of the 14-nation Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). The MISA legal defense fund supports suits involving freedom of the press.

(From right) Zimbabwe Standard editor Mark Chavunduka and chief reporter Ray Choto receive the 1999 International Press Freedom Award from Justice Louise Arbour, Canadian Supreme Court. An unidentified Canadian journalist looks on.

The high court declared unconstitutional the section of the Law

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By David Hoffman and Annette Makino

Free media, free societies: how pluralistic media foster democratization

In Kiev, young journalists-in-training managed to film a police officer taking a bribe from a motorist. Emboldened by their Western trainer, they then did what was unthinkable in Ukraine: They went to the Kiev police captain with the footage, asking for his comments to include in their newscast to be broadcast to millions of viewers.

Soon after, the police captain, in full military uniform, appeared at Internews/Ukraine's offices, looking for the producer.

But to everyone's surprise, the visit ended up establishing good relations with the police press office.

USAID provides funds for Internews' media training programs, in Ukraine and elsewhere. In nations venturing on the precarious journey to democracy, support for the development of a vibrant, professional, and free media sector is vital.

Successful approaches to media assistance include organizing training in journalism and management; providing technical assistance for television and radio production and print coverage; and making facilities or equipment available to journalists, filmmakers, stations, newspapers and magazines. Internews also assists in the formation of media associations, helping to create television and radio networks and providing legal advocacy for media rights.

A range of independent media outlets is critically important to holding free and fair elections. A plurality of voices, providing a broad spectrum of information and opinions, is the cornerstone of a pluralistic democracy, empowering people at the grassroots level. Independent media are also essential to exposing corruption, fraud and waste. By shining a spotlight on governance, they hold political leaders accountable to their constituents. Publicizing problems in a community can galvanize citizens into action.

"Internews promotes freedom of speech in Ukraine by teaching journalists objective investigative reporting skills," said Internews/Ukraine Project Director Sibel Berzeg. "It also encourages good government by teaching journalists to report on corruption and by giving them experience producing such pieces." ■

—Hoffman is president and Makino is vice president and communications director of Internews, an international non-profit organization that supports open media worldwide

Adventures in media assistance

■ In a victory for media rights in the Kyrgyz Republic, a journalist is finally free after spending a month in jail. His crime? He had written an article for a newspaper that reported on a bribe allegedly paid to a judge. Moldosaly Ibraimov was represented by a Kyrgyzstani lawyer hired by Internews. This case provides a legal precedent Internews/Kyrgyz Republic will use to convince the government that journalists should not be convicted under the criminal code.

■ In Bosnia-Herzegovina, Internews/Sarajevo overcame deep-seated ethnic divisions, becoming a catalyst for the creation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Association of Electronic Media, the first and only association representing broadcasters from both the Republika Srpska and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Member stations agree to adhere to professional codes and standards, support intellectual property rights and advocate for fair broadcast media laws.

■ In Indonesia, developing a legal framework for media is a priority for both the government and media companies. Parliament invited Internews and other international and domestic non-governmental organizations to help produce new draft legislation to replace the ambiguous and repressive laws used by the Suharto regime to limit freedom of expression.

Internews' programs to support open media are funded largely by grants from USAID.

Zimbabwe

(continued from page 7)

and Order Maintenance Act which made it a criminal offense to publish a "false statement likely to cause fear, alarm, or despondency among the public or a section of the public." Chief Justice Gubbay delivered the judgment that the Law and Order Maintenance Act "...exerts an unacceptable chilling effect on freedom of expression, since people will tend to steer clear of the potential zone of application to avoid censure and liability to serve a maximum period of seven years imprisonment."

The Zimbabwe Supreme Court judgment effectively prohibits the government from the continued prosecution of these two journalists. In a region where governments have tended to provide limited accountability to their citizens and to minimize public scrutiny through the media, the Zimbabwe Supreme Court decision could provide a useful precedent for similar situations elsewhere in Southern Africa, where many countries' legal systems are based on similar codes of law. ■

The two journalists were severely tortured when they refused to reveal the source for the article.

—Tungawarara and Martin are democracy and governance advisers for USAID's Regional Center for Southern Africa in Gaborone, Botswana.

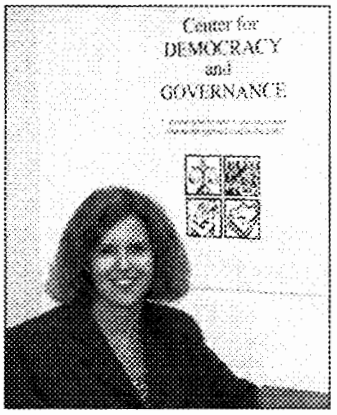
By Jennifer L. Windsor

USAID Center for Democracy and Governance source of technical expertise

In only a few years, USAID's Center for Democracy and Governance has established itself as both a source of technical expertise in democracy promotion and an important tool for foreign policy planning and program implementation. Since it was established in 1994 in USAID's Global Bureau, the center has served as a focal point, not only within USAID, but among other agencies and outside the government, for achieving the government's democracy objectives.

The center has commissioned and led important studies to document the agency's track record in democracy programming, in clarifying lessons learned, and in guiding the design of new democracy programs based on these lessons and best practices. The center's technical publications provide democracy officers with practical guidance across the spectrum of democracy programs and can be accessed through the center's Web site (internal to USAID: inside.usaid.gov/G/DG/; for those outside the agency: www.usaid.gov/democracy).

The center has also developed a standardized approach for assessing a country in terms of democracy and governance issues and recommending strategic approaches through which outside support could stimulate democratic development. This assessment methodology, which provides a common language and framework for thinking about democracy programming issues and opportunities, is available on the Web site. Based on these tools, the center works closely with other parts of the agency and with the Department of State to identify priority countries and strategic



Jennifer Windsor: "...democracy and governance issues are absolutely critical to advancing U.S. interests and supporting development in countries around the world."

program approaches. The center also serves as USAID's implementing arm for often fast-paced democracy programs in countries where there is no USAID presence.

Since democracy promotion is a relatively new area of focus for foreign assistance, USAID has placed high priority on building a cadre of technical officers who can be deployed to critical posts and assure sound programmatic and political judgment.

The Democracy Center plays a lead role in organizing recruitment, training and placement of democracy officers throughout the USAID system and sends its own officers to USAID missions and U.S. Embassies to assist in program planning, implementation and evaluation. The Democracy Center works closely with the departments of Justice, State and Labor, as well as the National Security Council. President Clinton recently named the center and the Department of Justice co-chairs of the task force to plan justice sector assistance in complex contingencies such as Kosovo and East Timor.

New statutory authority

The importance of USAID's work in democracy and governance was recently recognized by Congress and the president. Anti-corruption and good governance, in particular, received explicit statutory authority as an integral part of the U.S. government's development assistance programs and U.S. foreign policy when President Clinton signed the Microenterprise Self Reliance and International Anti-Corruption and Good Governance Act of 2000 on Oct. 17. A truly bipartisan effort, the anti-corruption provisions were sponsored by Rep. Sam Gejdenson (D-Conn.), ranking minority member of the House International Relations Committee, and supported by the committee's chairman, Rep. Ben Gilman (R-N.Y.). Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, sponsored the democracy and governance provisions, which were also supported by Sen. Joseph Biden (D-Del.), ranking minority member.

When he signed the bill, President Clinton noted that the act "authorizes a range of programs to promote good governance and democratization overseas. The United States has long encouraged and funded programs that foster an independent media, establish audit offices for executive agencies and promote judicial reform. This legislation contains authority to provide assistance in furtherance of these programs to countries that would otherwise be prohibited from receiving U.S. assistance working through non-governmental organizations."

The act encourages the continuation of USAID's efforts to support a range of programs – including strengthening independent media and independent audit offices, promoting responsive, transparent and accountable legislatures, encouraging legal and judicial reforms as well as fostering free and fair elections that hold government officials accountable to their own people. The signing of the act into law indicates a clear consensus within the development community, Congress and the executive branch that democracy and governance issues are absolutely critical to advancing U.S. interests and supporting development in countries around the world. ▩

Anti-corruption and good governance, in particular, received explicit statutory authority as an integral part of the U.S. government's development assistance programs and U.S. foreign policy.

—Windsor is director of the Center for Democracy and Governance.

Grassroots democracy furthers environmental, economic interests of villagers in Africa, the Pacific

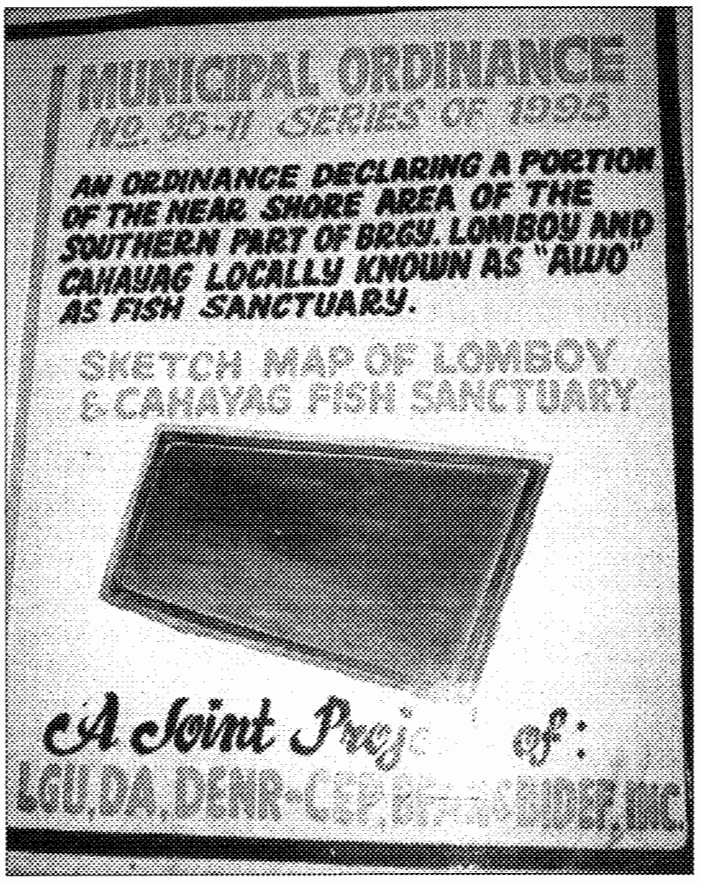
Grassroots democracy is an important tool in enabling people in a Philippine fishing village and rural women in Guinea to safeguard their fragile natural resources and improve their livelihoods, a recent study found.

USAID programs that link grassroots democracy and other strategic goals such as the environment, health, economic growth and education led to positive outcomes in both sectoral goals and in democracy and governance, the study concludes. Country case studies were conducted in 1998 and 1999 at USAID missions to the Dominican Republic, Guinea, Madagascar, the Philippines, Mali, Zambia and Zimbabwe. A report will be available early in 2001 summarizing results of the collaborative study by USAID's Center for Development Information and Evaluation, Global Bureau Center for Democracy and Governance and the Africa Bureau Office of Sustainable Development.

Philippine villagers map and monitor "Top Ten Unmet Needs"

Villagers from Upper Lasang, Sapu Masla, on the Philippine island of Mindanao, mapped their village house-by-house to track progress in what they had concluded were the "Top Ten Unmet Needs," such as potable water, family planning, sanitation, pre-natal care and durable housing. Villagers' maps were used to track progress in local government programs. The village survey and mapping grew out of the GOLD (Governance and Local Democracy) Project conducted by USAID's mission to the Philippines.

Members of the Xaxili Rural Enterprise Association talk with a local official in Dubreka Commune, Guinea.



A poster at the site shows the municipal ordinance establishing a fish sanctuary in Lomboy, Calape, on the Philippine island of Bohol.

Philippine fish sanctuary improves coral, increases catch

On the Philippine island of Bohol, villagers from Lomboy, Calape, used skills learned in the GOLD project to persuade municipal officials to establish a fish sanctuary. Dynamite fishing was destroying the coral cover on which their livelihoods depend. A team of villagers patrols the sanctuary. For the first 10 months, guards made arrests almost every night. After USAID-supported training, the community also conducted a coastal clean-up and stopped throwing trash into the sea and using poisons that could kill the coral that provides housing cover and food for fish.

Monitoring teams formed by local people check the progress of the sanctuary every six months. They reported that the fish catch from nearby waters has improved as the coral cover, which before the sanctuary was created had declined to between 6 percent and 8 percent, grew to 28 percent to 30 percent within five years. The average fish catch went up by from one kilo to three kilos per fisherman per day.

Women's cooperative in Guinea

Members of the all-women Xaxili Rural Enterprise Association in Dubreka Commune participated in the Strengthening Civil Society Project of USAID's mission to Guinea, which is designed to help rural group enterprises "become sustainable, member-owned and democratically operated businesses." The Xaxili women have gained power in pursuing their economic interests and learned how to use democratic principles to advance their interests in dealing with local authorities. ▩

By Kasey Vannett

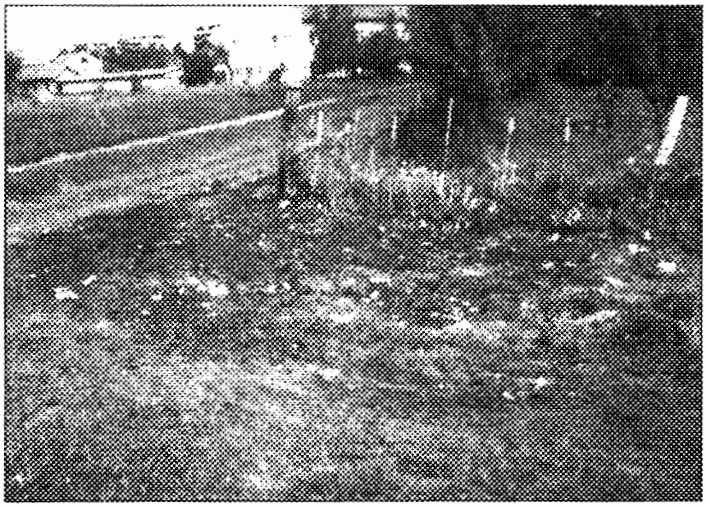
Mounds of garbage disappear, milestone on Brcko's long road toward recovery

Transforming Brcko, Bosnia-Herzegovina, into a functioning democratic district with a market-oriented economy is especially difficult because it requires harmonizing three sets of laws, three local governments and three ethnic groups of people who had shown little inclination to work together. Brcko serves as a bellwether for the country, so much rides on the success of this experiment.

Brcko is an area of particular strategic importance, straddling the narrow corridor between Serb-held parts of Bosnia. It is a key rail junction and river port linking the Muslim-Croat Federation to Western Europe. During the war, Serb forces overran the town of Brcko. Muslim and Croat residents fled to the southern and western parts of the municipality, where they set up their own separately administered entities. Revenues plummeted, and utilities and such basic services as garbage collection deteriorated. Hospital staff was paid in only 13 of 36 months. The all-Serb firefighting company threatened to disrupt municipal government.

As Brcko resident Zdinka Jovanovic said, "I look at Brcko now that the streets are no longer covered with trash and think we may finally be awaking from the nightmare of war."

Street in Brcko, Bosnia-Herzegovina, before USAID-funded program helped the city's government organize regular trash pick-ups.



A street in Brcko after regular trash pick-ups began. Making government work gives people hope.

The decision on who would control Brcko was left unresolved in the 1995 Dayton peace agreement. It was not until March 2000 that the Brcko District was established in accordance with the Final Arbitration Award, consolidating the municipality (including its Croat and Bosniak governments) into one neutral district.

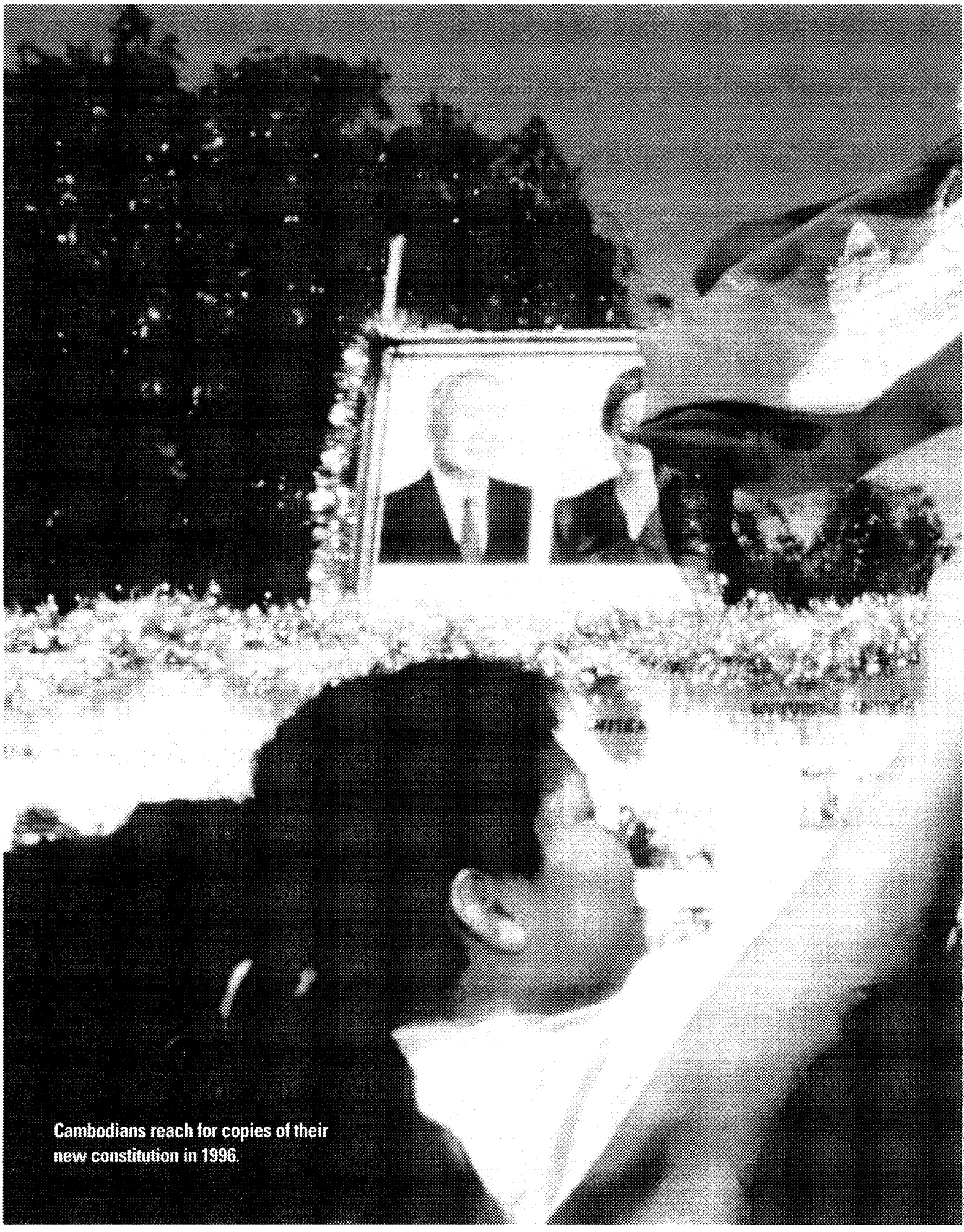
Divided government had brought services of all kinds almost to a halt, dried up revenue and raised costs. USAID brought in a team of five municipal advisers from Development Alternatives, Inc., to serve as mentors for performance planning and district management. They were charged with helping Brcko unify its public service departments and restore functioning, effective services. That required integrating fire, police and other departments and choosing managers on the basis of expertise rather than ethnicity.

In a few short months, the program delivered its first success. With USAID support, Brcko authorities implemented weekly trash pick-up for all residents and businesses. During the first few weeks, over 2,000 tons of garbage were collected and deposited in the district dump—a pile of garbage twice the size of the Brcko Municipal Building.

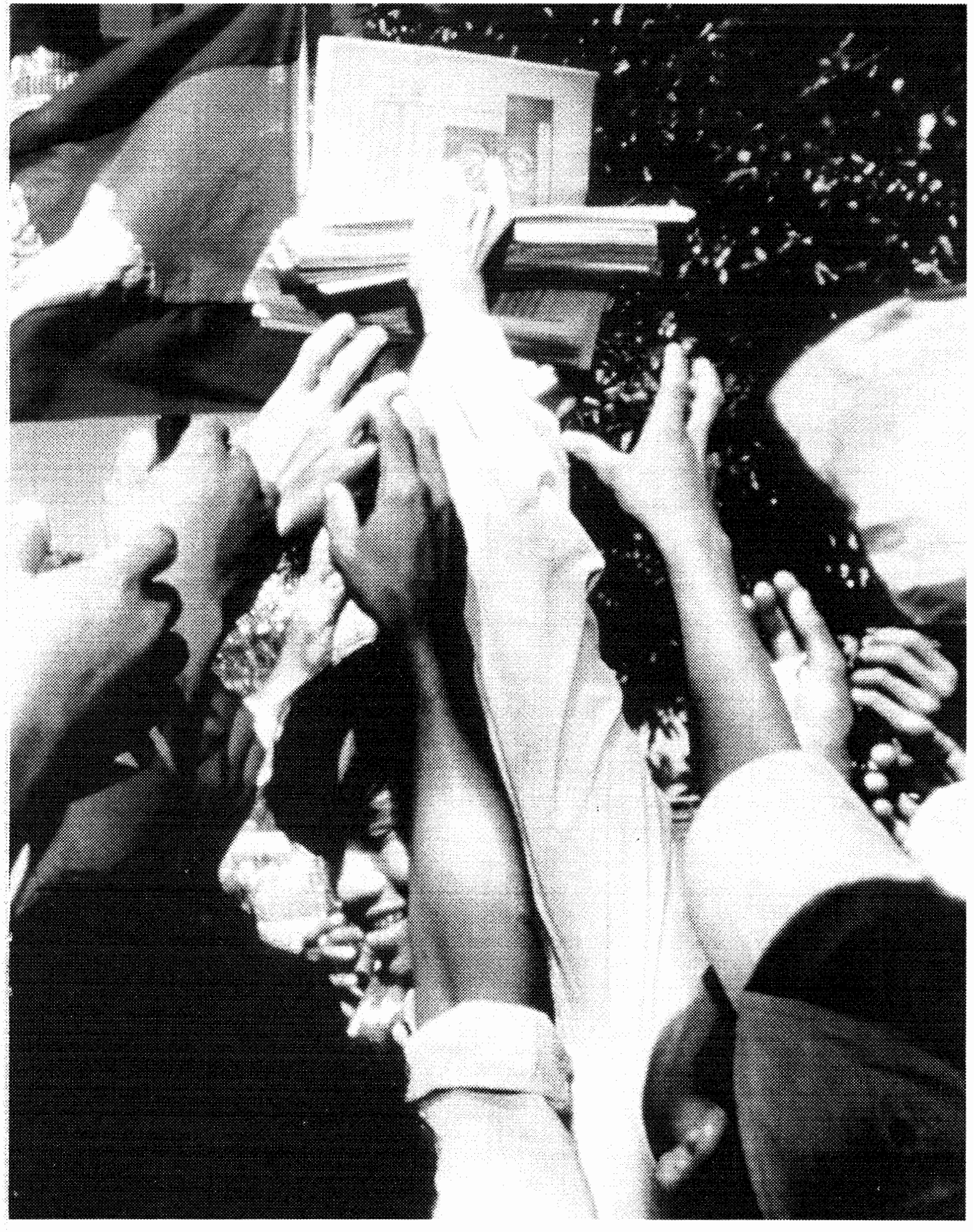
As Brcko resident Zdinka Jovanovic said, "I look at Brcko now that the streets are no longer covered with trash and think we may finally be awaking from the nightmare of war."

This low-cost, high-impact project has already improved the quality of life for citizens of all ethnicities. It has also turned the first gear in Brcko's multi-ethnic local government. The district management team advisers are working in several areas, including utilities management and capital improvements; budgeting, taxes, and finance; economic development; and transparency in government and information management. The team also provides technical advice to the internationally appointed special district supervisor with respect to laws and regulations affecting the operations of the district government. ▩

—Vannett is the press reporting officer for USAID/Bosnia. USAID Public Works and Utilities Specialist Jacqueline Levister contributed to the article.



Cambodians reach for copies of their new constitution in 1996.



By John Stuart Blackton

Reducing the wait for justice in Egypt

A USAID-funded project is reducing the time ordinary Egyptians must wait for justice. Egyptian law has been characterized by a relatively modern civil code, an authoritarian constitution, and an independent but weakened judiciary.

By the mid-1980s, this patchwork judicial system was showing strain. Cases moved slowly, and legal delays became lawyers' tactic of choice. The courts were viewed as dilatory by the public and as obstructionist by the executive branch.

A national Egyptian judicial conference, called in 1986 to address these increasingly serious challenges, concluded that automating and modernizing the management of courts was an urgent need, and the Egyptian government approached the U.S. government for assistance.

Egypt had seldom used external experts in the court system, and it took a decade of delicate negotiations for the two governments to reach accord on a program of joint cooperation in judicial reform. USAID awarded the resulting Administration of Justice Support project to a consortium led by AMIDEAST, with technical support by the U.S. National Center for State Courts.

The project focused on both automated and manual approaches to reduce delays, designing an automated Arabic language case management system and Arabic language "front counter" system for case initiation. Arabic legal research tools, such as searchable databases of legislation and high court opinions, were distributed and civil court judges trained to use laptops for judicial work. Major improvements have been realized, cutting case processing time from initiation to disposition by 40 percent in the pilot North Cairo Courts serving some 10 million Egyptians. Civil and criminal proceedings have been separated, case processing streamlined, case files and archives modernized, case initiation computerized and selection of judges automated and randomized.

These improvements are already benefiting ordinary Egyptians, whose cases involving land disputes, inheritance and urban tenant-landlord issues had often languished in the courts for years.

Egypt's minister of justice encouraged fellow justice ministers in Syria, Morocco, Lebanon and Yemen to replicate the program. The World Bank is financing a replication in Morocco and a scaled-down version in Yemen. USAID financed a similar project with the Palestinian Authority late last year and is launching a judicial reform project in Croatia modeled on the Egypt project. ■

—Blackton is chief of party, Administration of Justice Support project.

By Steven Hendrix

Helping Guatemalans get their day in court

The need to modernize and reform the justice system was recognized in the 1996 Guatemalan Peace Accords, which set up the Commission to Strengthen Justice. The commission identified major problems to be addressed: rampant corruption, lack of trust in the justice system by the citizenry, lack of understanding between the indigenous population and court functionaries, an outmoded administrative system and an excessive accumulation of pending trials.

USAID assisted Guatemala in establishing the first Clerk of Courts office in a capital city in Latin America. Supreme Court Magistrate Napoleon Gutierrez Vergas said this increased access to justice for residents of the capital, including women, indigenous peoples and the poor.

"Providing technical assistance for the Guatemalan-led design and implementation of a modern, efficient system of organization, case management and justice administration resulted in reduced corruption, increased transparency and an inventory of case loads for the first time," Gutierrez said.

He explained that "Previously, corrupt officials were paid to 'lose' case files. From Oct. 1, 1997, to Sept. 30, 1998, the court system 'lost' 1,061 cases in seven of the 11 Guatemala City trial courts alone. The disappearance of these files violated the rights of both the accused and the victims of crime in the city and contributed to lack of respect for the justice system. Many of the 1,061 accused individuals remained in jail without a trial because the files were lost, while others who remained free could not be brought to justice."

After the new Clerk of Courts office opened, from Oct. 1, 1998, to Sept. 31, 1999, only one case was "lost." The clerk of court located it, and it is now being prosecuted.

The new computerized system automatically assigns cases, preventing lawyers from shopping for friendly judges. This reduces congestion caused by overloading some judges, and results in cases being heard in court, Gutierrez notes. The new system also automatically keeps track of procedural time limits and provides statistics and reports on court actions, improving planning and assignment of resources.

The Guatemalan Supreme Court is considering expanding the Clerk of Court model nationwide to cover all criminal, civil, family and labor courts, providing a huge multiplier effect for USAID's initial $25,000 investment. ■

—Hendrix is justice program coordinator in the USAID mission to Guatemala.

By Eric Kite

Promoting transparency and accountability through partnerships

Long a taboo subject in the international arena, corruption is increasingly recognized as a significant obstacle to economic and democratic development. Governments, businesses, civil society organizations, and citizens themselves are more and more willing to acknowledge corruption as a development issue. People at the local, national, and international levels are organizing to confront it.

Corruption is a development issue because of its debilitating effects on political stability and economic growth. Public corruption undermines the legitimacy of governments, distorts decision-making processes, diverts budgetary resources from vital public services and erodes citizens' trust in democratic institutions. Corruption and cronyism inflate the cost of doing business, short-circuit competition, and ultimately discourage investment and undermine economic growth.

USAID has long been a leader in the battle against corruption. For more than 30 years, the agency has promoted transparency and accountability, the establishment of checks and balances, and strengthening the rule of law. USAID has developed a two-track response to the problem of corruption: (1) change the environment in which the public and private sectors interact; and (2) mobilize public support for change.

Corruption is often a crime of opportunity. USAID's work to help host countries reduce the size and scope of government bureaucracy and create open-market economies fosters competition—the antithesis of corruption and cronyism. Laws and institutions that protect investors and businesses from corruption are vital to long-term development and economic growth. USAID works to strengthen regulatory bodies in banking, capital markets, energy and other areas, thereby increasing transparency and helping to lessen fraud and corruption. Measures that cut red tape, such as establishing "one-stop shopping" for licenses, have greatly reduced the number of steps needed to register businesses in Tanzania, for example.

Public corruption undermines the legitimacy of governments, distorts decision-making processes, diverts budgetary resources from vital public services and erodes citizens' trust in democratic institutions.

Engaging civil society

Public support is necessary to achieve legal and institutional reforms. Mobilizing public support for change involves working with civil society and the private sector to advocate for changes in attitudes and practices. We are convinced that civil society can have a significant effect on a government's will to enact and sustain anti-corruption reforms, and our partnerships have, in fact, yielded important results.

The support that USAID has provided to Transparency International (TI) has helped to heighten international recognition of corruption as a development problem and promote the broader participation of citizens in the fight against corruption. Specifically, USAID and other donor contributions have enabled TI to develop and disseminate the TI Source Book, which documents best practices, and the widely known Corruption Perception Index, which has caused a number of countries to take their own corruption problems more seriously. This funding has also helped TI to sponsor regional and international anti-corruption workshops, and support local TI chapters in more than 70 countries worldwide.

Transparencia Colombia is implementing Integrity Pacts, in which bidders in a public procurement process explicitly promise not to offer or pay bribes and to be subject to public disclosure and/or fines if TI identifies a lack of transparency in their conduct. In the last year alone, Transparencia Colombia has implemented Integrity Pacts in 52 cases.

USAID missions have also partnered with independent local organizations to fight corruption. In the Philippines, USAID helped support the Center for Investigative Journalism, an organization that documented cases in corruption and identified a handful of cases in which citizens successfully opposed corruption. Based on this research, the group published a book, Pork and Other Perks, that helped to make corruption a campaign issue in the 1998 national elections.

A USAID-supported public-private partnership in Donetsk, Ukraine, has conducted a public awareness campaign, published brochures on citizen rights and is working with the local government to introduce administrative reforms to reduce corruption, such as reducing traffic checkpoints and streamlining licensing procedures for businesses. According to one local official, an international investor's decision to invest $65 million in a local plant was strongly influenced by the successes of the anti-corruption campaign.

Cooperation with other donors

Corruption is a global problem, affecting all nations, but beyond the ability of any single nation to control on its own. To strengthen our ability to combat corruption, USAID's offices in Washington and overseas have developed close partnerships with the international development banks and other bilateral donors. Perhaps the most concrete manifestation of that relationship is USAID's support for the World Bank's diagnostic surveys in Albania, Georgia, and the Philippines, among others. ■

—Kite is the Center for Democracy and Governance's adviser on anti-corruption.

By Adrienne Rish

The role of the inspector general in fighting corruption

The worldwide problem of corruption stands in the way of U.S. national interests and the delivery of humanitarian assistance. The Office of Inspector General (OIG) supports USAID's anti-corruption effort, providing focused audits, training and investigations of high-risk, large-dollar grants and contracts.

OIG audit and investigative personnel in Central America provided fraud awareness training for more than 2,000 personnel from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), private voluntary organizations (PVOs), host countries and USAID in connection with Hurricane Mitch assistance. Other OIG activities to weed out corruption in high-risk ventures include:

- Assessing corruption in host countries and identifying local criminal elements that may pose a threat to USAID programs. The OIG focuses on U.S. and indigenous NGOs and PVOs with a history of non-conformance to USAID regulations and U.S. law, concentrating on USAID programs that have been susceptible to fraud, waste and abuse in the past.
- Establishing a close working partnership with USAID management, NGOs, PVOs and host country governments to minimize corruption in high-risk environments.
- Emphasizing a team approach and encouraging timely use of the OIG Hot Line and other referrals to identify corrupt activities and to work toward an early solution to identified problems.
- Aggressively enforcing the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA), which prohibits a U.S. firm or agent of a firm from making a "corrupt" payment to a foreign official for the purpose of procuring or retaining business. OIG investigators work closely with the Department of Justice in investigating FCPA violations and use the FCPA as a tool in fighting corruption in USAID programs.
- Recommending systemic improvements if a weakness is uncovered in a USAID program or operation.

---[illegible] is USAID's assistant inspector general for investigations.

By Joseph Farinella

Transparency and development: how USAID, the OIG and Supreme Audit Institutions can help

Corruption, bribery and lack of accountability are major impediments to economic development. Corrupt practices threaten to negate years of economic growth, undermine the efficient utilization of public and private resources and seriously hamper good governance and transparency in public administration.

The Supreme Audit Institution (SAI) is the generic term for the national audit organizations of various countries throughout the world. USAID bureaus and missions and USAID's Office of Inspector General (OIG) work together to strengthen SAIs in order to deter corruption and promote accountability and transparency. These joint efforts improve the agency's ability to help host countries achieve sustainable economic development.

In the United States, the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO), which audits U.S. government agencies, is our supreme audit institution, and a variety of internal audit organizations, such as the OIGs, are integrated into government agencies.

SAIs throughout the world, and the auditors general who head them, operate in much the same way as our GAO and inspectors general. Ideally, auditors general are independent of any particular official or ministry within their respective countries, report directly to their parliaments, are appointed for fixed terms and have budgetary as well as organizational independence. One of the OIG's prerequisites in working with SAIs is that they meet basic standards of independence.

Through regular financial or operational audits, SAIs seek to ensure that public funds are spent for intended purposes, whether the funds come from their own budget, international donors such as USAID, which disburse funds directly to government organizations, or other sources. SAIs are usually the only organizations that have a legal mandate to audit the accounts and operations of government in their respective countries and are therefore critical to ensuring

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Co-hosts of Anti-Corruption Summit 2000: Graham Joscelyne, auditor general of the World Bank (far left); William L. Taylor, auditor general of the Inter-American Development Bank (center left); Everett L. Mosley, USAID's acting inspector general (far right), with Joseph Farinella, USAID regional inspector general, Pretoria (center right).

By Mauricio Herrara Coello

Strengthening El Salvador's Legislative Assembly

After years of bloody turmoil in El Salvador, the Legislative Assembly is forging the tools of democracy—increasing its independence, efficiency, information and constituent outreach.

USAID's mission to El Salvador has assisted in these efforts to strengthen the legislature since 1990.

Starting such a program during the ongoing Salvadoran civil war was controversial and challenging, but the initiative is now reaping benefits for the country.

The Assembly lacked the parliamentary traditions, administrative efficiency, adequate infrastructure and staff support services. There was no constituency outreach program to include civil society as a partner in the policy process.

USAID's assistance focused on modernizing the legislative process, building citizen confidence in the legislature and strengthening ties with constituents to increase the legitimacy of policy decisions.

In September, all 84 newly elected deputies of the Assembly who had taken office in May attended a two-day orientation seminar on fundamental legislative processes and important national issues.

After the signing of the Peace Accords in January 1992, the Farabundo Martí for the National Liberation Front (FMLN) became a political party and won 21 seats out of 84 in the 1994 legislative election. The new Assembly took office on May 1, 1994. With USAID assistance, the first orientation seminar was carried out shortly thereafter. Coming from a recently hostile environment, it was very impressive to see former guerrillas together with their former enemies initiating a process of tolerance, reconciliation and forgiveness.

The seminar has now become an institutional tradition, where legislators can discuss national issues in a stable environment,

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Transparency

accountability and transparency in the handling of public funds.

In recent years anti-corruption efforts have gained tremendous support within the public and private sectors worldwide. Governments that adhere to democratic principles, the rule of law and transparency are more likely to be free from corruption. The most recent International Anti-Corruption Conference held in South Africa stressed that corruption was no longer simply a legal issue, but impacts negatively on development.

In East and Southern Africa, the Office of Inspector General is working with USAID missions and SAIs in six countries and has plans to work with others. USAID missions and regional inspectors general have signed Memorandums of Understanding with 15 SAIs, including Bolivia, Honduras, El Salvador, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia, Ghana, Senegal, Mali and Thailand. These memoranda formalize our tripartite relationship and detail the work SAIs will accomplish in the audits of USAID funds. The Tanzania SAI recently audited more than $19 million in USAID funds that resulted in USAID initiating action to collect $300,000 in unallowable costs.

USAID's regional OIG in Manila sponsored training on Effective Audit Report Writing and Communication, attended by representatives from the Philippine Commission on Audit, the Indonesian SAI, and the Bangladesh Comptroller and Auditor General's Office. The regional OIG in South Africa provided training to SAIs in Ethiopia, Rwanda, Tanzania and Zambia.

Typically, 60 people are trained in sessions that run up to a week. In addition to SAI representatives, participants included government ministries, non-governmental organizations, private accounting firms and USAID. In Zambia, representatives from the Zambia Anti-Corruption Commission participated in fraud awareness sessions and discussed ways the commission could share information and work together with the SAI, performing quality control reviews of audits done by SAIs, and assess each SAI's qualifications before it begins conducting USAID audits.

USAID missions sometimes work with us and assist SAIs under their democracy and governance (DG) programs. The USAID mission to Ethiopia provided needed computers and other equipment to the Ethiopia SAI through a limited scope grant agreement under their DG program. The OIG is currently working with USAID/Malawi by providing training to the National Audit Office of Malawi, and the USAID mission to Malawi will provide much needed equipment and assistance under its DG program. ■

—Farinella is USAID regional inspector general in Pretoria, South Africa.

The Anti-Corruption Summit 2000

Administrator Brady Anderson opened the Anti-Corruption Summit 2000 in Arlington, Va., Sept. 21-23. Over 300 participants from 54 countries attended.

"Our fight against corruption begins with assuring the integrity of our own foreign assistance programs. Auditing and law enforcement are key elements of any anti-corruption approach," he said. "In addition to safeguarding our foreign assistance programs, the Office of Inspector General has embarked on a number of efforts to strengthen accountability of our overseas partners," he added.

Graham Joscelyne, auditor general of the World Bank; Everett L. Mosley, USAID's acting inspector general; and William L. Taylor, auditor general of the Inter-American Development Bank, co-hosted the conference. This was the second anti-corruption conference co-sponsored by the International Consortium on Governmental Financial Management and the regional Americas' Accountability/ Anti-Corruption Project of USAID's Bureau for Latin America and the Caribbean.

By Sen. Richard G. Lugar (R-Ind.)

The golden age of democracy

One of the most remarkable transformations of the past century has been the rapid proliferation of democracies around the world. This trend began in Spain and Portugal in the mid-1970s, continued in the Philippines, the Eastern bloc of Europe and Chile in the 1980s, then in South Africa and more of South America in the 1990s, and Croatia and Mexico already in the new century. By some counts, 120 countries representing nearly two-thirds of the world's population can be described as nurturing democracy, although the degree of commitment to fundamental practices of democracy is tenuous in many cases.

For most of the 20th century, democracy struggled against tyrannies of the right and the left and was not universally revered as the preferred means for social organization and governance. Until the past quarter-century, fascism, communism and other forms of authoritarian rule seemed as likely to prevail as the dominant source of political legitimacy as did liberal democracy. Even today, countries such as North Korea, Iraq, Myanmar, and Belarus systematically deny political freedom within their borders. Much of Africa and the Middle East remains, for now, exceptions to the democratic trend.

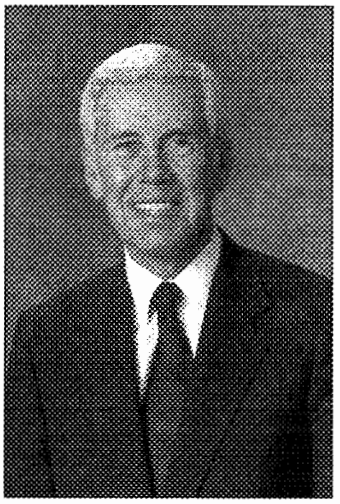
What accounts for this extraordinary explosion of democracy around the world at this time? There is no simple answer because those countries that have made or are making the democratic transition are diverse in history and political culture.

Three major factors appear to have assisted this democratic expansion:

- the end of the Cold War;
- globalization and the spread of information technology; and,
- the emergence of a global democracy movement.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of communism as a competing system for governance aided the triumph of democracy. Communism's attractiveness has waned for all but the most ideologically committed, although different variants remain in Cuba, China, and North Korea. The rapid transformation in Central Europe testifies to the deep yearnings the people in those countries held for freedom. The contacts with the democracies through international exchanges, radio and travel during the Cold War kept the flame alive for those who hoped for democracy because they understood the suffering that the absence of democracy imposed on them.

The consolidation of democracy where it has taken root and the promotion of democracy where it doesn't exist will help make a more peaceful and stable world.



Sen. Lugar: "Democracy expands the range of opportunities for individuals to live a life of dignity and self-respect."

The influence of globalization has had a different effect on advancing democracy. The increased access to information through trade and technology exposes more societies to new ideas and lessens dependence on favoritism and corruption of the ruling authorities. Globalization makes it more difficult to deny individual ambition, ingenuity, innovation and self-reliance. When entrepreneurs, students, artists or local leaders learn how other societies are free to pursue constructive possibilities without bribes, coercion or government corruption, they tend to demand the same opportunities. As South Korea, Taiwan, Chile and Mexico illustrate, the result is often a demand for more democracy.

A third force accelerating the global spread of democracy has been the emergence of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) around the world dedicated to reforming repressive governments. These NGOs provide financial and technical assistance to those seeking more freedom in authoritarian states, in post-communist societies, in developing nations, and in those countries where democracy has taken root. There has been, in effect, an incipient global democracy movement linked by shared values and goals such as free and fair elections, an independent media, freedom of speech and the rule of law. Chileans, Filipinos, Poles, and South Africans have developed skills and know-how from their own grassroots democratic experiences that can be transferred and adapted to other foreign circumstances abroad in order to strengthen democracy.

There are no assurances that this golden age of democracy will continue, and there is no reason to expect that democracy will look the same or proceed at the same pace in every society. The consolidation of democracy where it has taken root and the promotion of democracy where it doesn't exist will help make a more peaceful and stable world. Democracy expands the range of opportunities for individuals to live a life of dignity and self-respect.

Because democracy appeals to both American ideals and strengthens American interests, it should be integral to American foreign policy. ▩

—Sen. Lugar is chairman of the Senate Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry Committee and a longtime member and former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

By Sen. Russ Feingold (D-Wisc.)

Democratic, accountable government creates context for progress

I was genuinely inspired by the June elections in Zimbabwe. As the ranking member of the Senate Subcommittee on Africa, I have listened to too many fatalistic, pessimistic assessments of that region. Too often I have seen the shameful contrast between the wealth of state leaders and the poverty of their people; far too frequently I have watched as the tremendous potential of the continent is oppressed by corruption, conflict, and dictatorship.

But in June, I witnessed something quite different. In the face of violence and intimidation, a remarkable number of voters chose a peaceful and rule-governed expression of their will, and the power in their statement has fundamentally changed the nature of governance in Zimbabwe and silenced the pessimists who claimed that Zimbabwe was already hopeless and lost. This was a political milestone to be sure, but it was also a critically important step for the champions of development in Southern Africa.

Sen. Russ Feingold observed elections in Zimbabwe in June.

Worldwide, the ultimate aim of development work is to give people greater control over their own destinies. The dedicated men and women who devote themselves to development seek to free people from the burdens of disease, of hunger, and of a tragically limited set of opportunities to realize their potential. Working to enhance the state's accountability to citizens and to strengthen the rule of law is a critical component of that overall mission. To be sure, democratic and accountable government does not, in and of itself, end human suffering. But it does create a context that helps to make progress possible. When citizens can insist that state resources are funneled into health and education rather than the bank accounts of the elite, the human condition improves. When the rule of law applies to the poor and the powerful alike, arbitrary power is checked and all people can work purposely for their future.

These programs are helping to transform the people…into the watchdogs of their own democracy, and the creators of their own opportunities.

I strongly support USAID's work in democracy and governance. These programs are unquestionably in the U.S. national interest. When responsible and well-monitored foreign assistance helps to strengthen democratic institutions and empower civil society, the United States is helping to create a context for long-term stability — a context in which contentious issues can be raised and addressed peacefully, basic human rights are protected, and individual security is constantly improving.

Over the years, I have been particularly impressed with USAID's understanding of one critical fact — it takes more than elections to advance democracy and governance. USAID's approach to the transition in Nigeria provides a good example. By working to strengthen the legislature, the agency helps to ensure that heads of state do not become elected dictators. By pushing for transparency in government, USAID increases the chances that all citizens, not just a small elite, will see a "democracy dividend." Finally, and crucially, improving and institutionalizing civil-military relations helps to protect fledgling democracies from the threat of military coups.

By pushing for transparency in government, USAID increases the chances that all citizens, not just a small elite, will see a "democracy dividend."

Perhaps most important, citizens must be organized and empowered if they are to understand their rights and use the democratic system to their advantage. From bringing radio programming to previously isolated citizens of Mali to supporting the dynamic civic groups that are helping to shape the new Indonesia, the United States is focusing on the building blocks of stable, just states — civil society.

These programs are helping to transform the people of Mali into the watchdogs of their own democracy, and the creators of their own opportunities. I cannot imagine that even the most jaded foreign assistance skeptic would frown upon that. ▩

—Sen. Feingold is a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and ranking member of its Subcommittee on African Affairs.

By Lee H. Hamilton

Improving and refocusing U.S. foreign assistance

As we begin a new millennium, Front Lines asked several prominent individuals concerned with international development issues to share their views on priorities for U.S. foreign assistance for the next decade. Hamilton's article is the first of the series–Ed.

Foreign assistance has been a key instrument of U.S. foreign policy for more than a half-century. Although it has sometimes been distributed or used inefficiently, it has advanced U.S. national interests around the world by helping us promote peace, open markets, strengthen democracies, safeguard nuclear weapons, reduce poverty, provide humanitarian relief, and protect children from disease.

Foreign aid will remain important in the decades to come. Yet in a dynamic world we need to examine constantly both its means and ends in order to ensure that it is as effective as it can be. With a new administration and Congress taking office in January, this is an opportune time to improve the way we go about formulating and implementing aid programs, and to adapt the goals of assistance to the challenges of the 21st century.

1) Formulation and implementation of assistance

To make best use of our foreign assistance, our aid programs must feature several elements: selectivity, accountability, conditionality, flexibility, coordination, and local involvement.

First, selectivity. We must resist the temptation to create too many projects in too many places. This requires difficult, but essential, political judgments. We need to make hard decisions about which foreign assistance goals are most important to our national interests, and then focus our resources on them. We should also target aid on areas where the United States has a distinct comparative advantage among donors, such as science and technology and support for civil society.

Second, accountability. We should only give aid to governments or organizations that have the will and capacity to use it effectively; otherwise, much assistance will be wasted. The administration and Congress must monitor our aid programs closely to ensure accountability. Tough accountability standards should be applied to non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as rigorously as they are applied to governments. We should not assume that all NGOs are efficient, effective, or free of political pressures.

Third, conditionality. Providing aid to foreign countries can give us substantial leverage to influence their policies. While attaching too many strings to aid can be counterproductive, we should condition our aid on institutional and policy reforms whenever such reforms will make the aid more effective. For instance, U.S. assistance to countries where the rule of law is not firmly established can be effectively accompanied by conditions requiring anti-corruption initiatives and the development of democratic institutions. And debt relief — which is sorely needed for many of the world's poorest countries — should be conditioned on beneficiaries using the relief to combat poverty, improve health care and strengthen education. We should only help those that help themselves.

Fourth, flexibility. The U.S. Congress should sharply reduce the number of earmarks and directives it places on foreign aid. Congress has a responsibility to oversee our foreign assistance programs, but it should focus on the formulation of policy goals and the results of aid rather than hampering our policy with unnecessary and excessive restrictions. The administration must be given the flexibility to determine how best to achieve the assistance goals that it establishes in conjunction with Congress.

Fifth, coordination. There are now numerous U.S. agencies, dozens of national governments, scores of international organizations, and thousands of NGOs and private businesses involved in foreign assistance. Much of their work overlaps. To reduce waste and increase our aid's effectiveness, we must ensure that our assistance programs are coordinated internally within our own government, and coordinated externally with the activities of other countries and organizations. In some cases, our assistance goals can be best met through an existing program being run by someone else. We must also ensure that the goals of our assistance programs are coordinated with other aspects of U.S. foreign policy.

And sixth, local involvement. Foreign assistance cannot, and should not, be imposed by the United States. The recipients must be heavily involved in the formulation and implementation of projects. They usually know better than we do how our assistance goals can be met in particular local conditions.

2) Priorities for U.S. assistance

These general principles should serve as guidelines for all U.S. foreign assistance programs. But how should we translate them into concrete policies? What should we seek to achieve with our foreign assistance in the coming years?

I believe we should focus our aid programs on two broad objectives: strengthening key emerging democracies and addressing important transnational challenges. We should generally support other assistance goals, such as post-conflict reconstruction, economic development and humanitarian relief, through multilateral organizations and NGOs rather than through bilateral programs.

• Strengthening key emerging democracies

In the wake of the Cold War, the community of democracies has grown to encompass most countries on Earth. This is great news because democracies provide more freedom and opportunity to people, tend to grow more prosperous, and tend not to go to war with each other. Yet many of the emerging democracies are not fully secure. We should focus great attention on strengthening them and ensuring that democracy continues to spread and deepen rather than recede and attenuate.

We should target assistance particularly at the emerging democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and other select countries whose futures will have a major impact on their regions and on our own security and prosperity. Assistance to these countries should be directed toward institution building, rule of law initiatives, and civil society development. Some of the aid should go to governments and some directly to NGOs. The overall goal should be to spread the values and practices of democracy throughout the societies of recipient countries. We should not prop up individual regimes.

Few U.S. foreign policy goals are as important as the establishment of a Europe that is united, prosperous, peaceful and free. That is why we crafted large assistance programs in the early 1990s for the countries emerging from communism in Central and Eastern Europe. Yet now we run the risk of declaring premature victory. U.S. direct assistance has already ended for Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, and will soon terminate for Slovakia as well.

This withdrawal may be shortsighted because much remains to be done to solidify and codify political, economic and social reforms. We should consider establishing special bilateral foundations with our Central and Eastern European partners, similar to the U.S.-Baltic Foundation, that will assist in the continued development of civil society and local institutions.

Additionally, we should continue to provide targeted assistance to the less-developed nations on the southern tier of Europe, such as Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and the countries of the former Yugoslavia — to help ensure that Southeastern Europe remains a vital part of Europe and that war becomes a thing of the past on the European continent.

We should also provide strong support for the development of civil society in countries of the former Soviet Union, with a special emphasis on Russia — because no single country is more important to American national security. While U.S. assistance to help Russian reform has not always been effective, it can be useful if it is aimed at the grassroots. We should focus our assistance on independent media, small businesses and entrepreneurs, students and universities, and local democratic institutions — with the goal of consolidating democratic gains and integrating Russia into the international community.

Outside of Eurasia, U.S. assistance for emerging nations should be concentrated in key countries such as Nigeria, South Africa and Indonesia, and in fragile democracies in Latin America and the Caribbean. It is better to invest heavily in a few countries that can become sources of stability in their region and enhance the security of our own neighborhood than to spread our resources diffusely among scores of other nations.

• Transnational challenges

The second major priority for U.S. foreign assistance should be to address important transnational challenges, including the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, illegal drug trade, organized crime, terrorism, and regional and global environmental, health, food and demographic challenges. These challenges readily cross international borders and can threaten American security and interests throughout the world. Our aid programs should take note of their increasing importance by shifting more resources from traditional development and humanitarian assistance to coordinated efforts to deal with these key transnational challenges on a global scale.

The threat posed collectively by the transnational dangers of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, computer viruses, terrorism, organized crime, and drugs is now the most direct and frightful menace to American and world security. The United States should substantially strengthen its efforts to confront these problems in cooperation with friends and allies around the world. Our assistance to Russia to safeguard nuclear weapons and materials, for instance, should be increased substantially to ensure that they remain secure. Since we can fight none of these threats successfully on our own, we should devise with our international partners innovative mechanisms to confront them in a comprehensive and holistic way.

As a recent National Intelligence Estimate concluded, infectious diseases are also becoming a growing threat to U.S. and international security. Diseases such as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria are spreading in many parts of the world. In our age of increased travel and migration, the impact on American health and security can be tremendous. Already, annual deaths due to infectious diseases have doubled in the United States since 1980, reaching some 170,000 people. We must continue to intensify and expand our efforts to fight these diseases wherever they reside.

Environmental problems are myriad throughout the developed and developing world. They range from global issues such as climate change, ozone depletion and biodiversity to local and regional problems such as desertification, deforestation, pollution and water shortages. The United States should work with other countries, international organizations, NGOs, and local communities to craft coordinated approaches to deal with these environmental challenges, which, if left untreated, can have serious deleterious effects on living conditions, national economies and international security. American scientific expertise in areas such as clean energy technology can be employed to great effect.

Food security has long been on the foreign assistance agenda, but it has usually consisted of food relief programs and agricultural technical assistance. An area that deserves more attention is support for bolstering access to the means of food production. Over the long run the solution to food shortage problems in the developing world is greater self-sufficiency. The United States should develop public-private partnerships to help struggling farmers obtain agricultural inputs and boost domestic and international trade.

Demographic challenges, such as global population growth, should remain an additional priority for the United States. While great strides have been made over the last 30 years in slowing world population growth, some regions continue to grow at rapid, and potentially unsustainable, rates. Continued rapid population growth may place great strains on the world's environment and natural resources and accelerate the emergence and spread of deadly infectious diseases. To prevent such an outcome, we need to maintain a substantial emphasis in our assistance on expanding access to reproductive health care and family planning services.

Other assistance goals

This emphasis on strengthening emerging democracies and confronting transnational challenges is not intended to suggest that we ignore other current goals of foreign assistance, such as rebuilding war-torn countries, promoting economic development and providing humanitarian relief. To the contrary, these other objectives will, and should, remain important for the United States in the decades to come. But the United States should generally pursue them through multilateral organizations and assistance to NGOs. Since the United States cannot do everything itself, it is best to focus bilateral American efforts on a limited number of priorities where the United States can have the greatest impact.

Of course, political pressures will likely make it impossible to limit the focus of U.S. foreign assistance too strictly. New breakthroughs in the Middle East peace process, for instance, may require major American financial assistance, and some humanitarian catastrophes may bring irresistible calls for U.S. relief. We should be prepared to deal with those kinds of contingencies. But in charting the long-term goals of U.S. assistance, we should concentrate on expanding the community of peaceful and prosperous friendly democracies and on dealing with the transnational problems that increasingly threaten American and international security.

Political leadership

The United States must use its position of international leadership to help set the aid agenda on a global scale. And American political leaders have a responsibility to strengthen public appreciation and support for foreign assistance at home. To many Americans, issues such as elections in Indonesia and desertification in Africa seem irrelevant to their lives. The president must take the lead in educating Americans about the impact foreign events can have on the security and well-being of the United States. Congress, for its part, must put aside its pursuit of narrow interests in foreign aid appropriations and work with the president in a bipartisan fashion to establish a clear and limited focus for foreign assistance in support of American national interests.

Together, our new president and Congress should work to increase the resources available for foreign assistance. With the world's leading economy, we are fortunate to have the means to advance our national interests through wise investments overseas. We should seize this opportunity to act with foresight to build a safer tomorrow.

Foreign assistance may not be as important as diplomacy, economic and trade policy, or military power, but, if designed wisely and used properly, it will remain an indispensable tool in the pursuit of a world that is peaceful, secure, prosperous and free.

The challenge is to reform foreign assistance for the needs of a new century that offers both dangerous threats and tremendous opportunities. ■

—Hamilton is director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and is a former congressman.

WHERE

In The World Are USAID Employees?

Moved On

Alves, Theodore
Anderson, Karen
Ball, Mary Ann
Banerjee, Sandillo
Bellows, Scott
Brown, Maxine
Bryan, Paula
Cassidy, Daniel
Diaz, Deborah
Gomez, John
Gonzalez-Moore, Joan
Guarnieri, Valerie
Hooff, Nancy
Johnston, Matthew
Karr, Carolyn
Larson, Denton
Leong, David
Lerman, Charles
Murphy, Kathleen
Notkin, Jennifer
Robinson, Natasha
Seegars, Michelle
Sullivan, John
Swain, Mona Miller
Tumavick, Nancy

Promoted

Adamson, Charisse
Anderson, Rose
Anderson, Timothy
Arigoni, Danielle
Asmus, Thomas
Bakken, Jeffrey
Barbiero, Victor
Barratt, Chris
Beans, Timothy Thomas
Beed, John
Bernstein, Linda
Blacklock, Michelle
Body, Kathy
Boncy, Robert
Brady, Donald
Brawner, Catherine
Brown, Alvin
Brown, Derrick
Cain, Richard
Callahan, Stephen
Carlson, Norma Helene
Carroll, Carolyn
Carter, Sharon
Cashion, Gerald
Chaplin, Patricia Ann
Cunningham, Sheila
Damico, Thomas
Deprez, Alexandre
Edwards, Richard
Ehrlich, Cynthia
Essel, Theresa
Fickenscher, Karl
Figueredo, Roberto
Foerderer, William
Foster, Mary Pamela
Franklin, Elizabeth
Fujimoto, Brad
Gainey, Plumie
Garland, William Richard
Greene, Michael
Gueye, Abdoulaye
Guzman, Sergio
Hand, Thomas
Hart, Yvette
Hilliard, Karen
Hintz, Jerry
Hogan, Elizabeth
Hoirup-Bacolod, Maryanne
Hudec, Robert
Johnson, Patricia
Kadam, Sunil
Lawton, Nancy
Lee, Jeffrey
Loudis, Richard
Makle, Tonya
Maliner, Andrew
Mallay, Catherine
Maxey, Andrew
Maxwell, Diane
McAndrews, Thomas
McKay, Nancy
Moloney-Kitts, Michele
Moore, George
Nagle, Gary
Natiello, Peter
Norman, Mark Steven
Panther, Dennis
Pelzman, Kerry
Polkinghorn, Stephen
Powell, Raquel
Power, John
Rathgeber, Matthew
Redder, James
Redman, Carolyn
Reichle, Susan
Rohrer, Rebecca
Rorie, James Walter Sr.
Russell, Donella
Salem-Murdock, Muneera
Savoy, Trisa
Schaeffer, James
Seong, John
Smathers, Kristine
Smolka, Daniel Mark
Soroko, David Allen
Stein-Olson, Monica
Stroman, Virginia
Taylor, Scott
Thomas, Dawn
Verser, Sally Elizabeth
Watson, James
Way, Torina Yvette
Webb, Mark
Williams, Cheryl
Wuertz, Robert
You, Sovanna Danny
Youssef, Raouf

Reassigned

Aanenson, Charles Richard, Croatia/Slovenia, mission director, to foreign affairs officer, OMP/LT TRNG

Aarnes, Anne, Bangladesh, deputy mission director, to Egypt

Adrian, Lynn Krueger, Haiti, IDI (health/population/nutrition) to health/population development officer

Allen, Stephen, GC/ENI, legal officer, to RSC/Europe

Amirthanayagam, Vathani, India, health/population development officer, to Ethiopia

Anderson, John, Namibia, supervisory general development officer, to project development officer, Guatemala

Armstrong, Maribess, IG/A/PA, auditor, to RIG/PR

Ashley, Jeffrey, Cambodia, supervisory health/population development officer, to COMP/FSLT

Belding, Barbara, G/ENV/ENR, natural resources officer, to supervisory natural resources officer, Bolivia

Bigelow, Ross, Egypt, supervisory project development officer, to COMP/SEPARATION

Bisson, Jerry, G/ENV/ENR, natural resources officer, to supervisory natural resources officer, Philippines

Bolstad, Irma Urzua, M/HR/EM, personnel management specialist, to administrative officer, AA/LAC

Brands, William, South Africa, project development officer, to private enterprise officer

Brineman, Elena, Honduras, mission director, to Dominican Republic

Busia, Kojo, COMP/FSLT, program officer, to democracy officer, Mali

Byess, Richard, AFR/EA/PA, supervisory project development officer, to regional development officer, ANE/ESA

Byrne, Christine Marie, IG/A/PA, auditor, to RIG/SA

Carduner, Olivier, PPC/PC, supervisory program officer, to foreign affairs officer, COMP/LT

Carrino, C.A., Russia, supervisory general development officer, to counselor development cooperation, AA/PPC

Chan, Anthony, Indonesia, program economics officer, to supervisory program economics officer, Egypt

Chiriboga, Douglas, AA/LAC, program officer, to foreign affairs officer, COMP/SEPARATION

Conner, E. Lewis, South Africa, supervisory financial management officer budget/analyst, to deputy controller, West Bank/Gaza

Coronado, Louis, COMP/FS/REASSGN, democracy officer, to project development officer, El Salvador

Cowper, Steven, M/AS/OMS, executive officer, to M/AS/OD.

Cypser, Beth, E&E/DG/ROL, supervisory democracy officer, to supervisory general development officer, LAC/SPM

Delp, H. Peter, AFR/DP/POSE, supervisory program officer, to Ethiopia

Dijkerman, Dirk, AA/PPC, foreign affairs officer, to regional director, REDSO/ESA

Doe, Brenda, G/PHN/POP/FPS, population development officer, to Egypt

Dzierwa, James Anthony, ANE/ESA, program officer, to contract officer, M/OP/ENI/PER

Eckerson, David, Ethiopia, deputy

mission director, to foreign affairs officer, COMP/LT TRNG

Ellis, Mark, IG/A/PA, auditor, to RIG/MA

Fanale, Rosalie, West Bank/Gaza, program officer, to foreign affairs officer, to COMP/LT TRNG

Feurtado, Yvette, COMP/NE/OJT, NEP (contract specialist), to contract officer, REDSO/ESA

Fine, Patrick Chilion, South Africa, supervisory human resources development officer, to deputy mission director, Senegal

Fine, Susan, South Africa, supervisory program officer, to Senegal

Foley, Laurence Sr., Zimbabwe, supervisory executive officer, to Jordan

Freeman, Kay, Egypt, program officer, to education development officer, AFR/SD/HRDD

Frej, William, Poland, mission director, to supervisory private enterprise officer, E&E/MT

Fulgham, Alonzo, Caucasus, general development officer, to foreign affairs officer, COMP/LT TRNG

Gast, Earl, Ukraine, supervisory program officer, to program officer, Caucasus

Gehr, Theodore, Dominican Republic, supervisory program officer, to supervisory project development officer, Bolivia

Goughnour, Richard, Ukraine, deputy mission director, to El Salvador

Gould, Michael, E&E/DG/LGUD, housing/urban development officer, to supervisory project development officer, Egypt

Gowen, Daniel, ANE/MEA/MOR, program officer, to Morocco

Gueye, Abdoulaye, IG/A/PA, auditor, to RIG/CA

Gunther, Helen, Madagascar, supervisory natural resources officer, to agricultural economics officer, Zambia

Habis, Charles, Bangladesh, health/population development officer, COMP/SEPARATION

Hand, Thomas, Mali, supervisory executive officer, to M/AS/OMS

Harrington, Donnie, LAC/CEN, program officer, to supervisory general development officer, Dominican Republic

Harvey, Michael, Haiti, program officer, to supervisory general development officer, Central Asia

Haykin, Stephen, E&E/PCS/ NPSA, supervisory program officer, to supervisory project development officer, Madagascar

Heisler, Douglas, G/PHN/HN/HIV/AIDS, health development officer, to health/population development officer, ANE/SPOTS/SPTS

Henn, Carl, COMP/NE/OJT, NEP (health/population/nutrition), to supervisory health/population development officer, Zimbabwe

Imhoff, Gary, E&E/MT, supervisory private enterprise officer, to supervisory program officer, AFR/DP/POSE

Jacobs, Robert, Bosnia-Herzegovina, controller, to deputy mission director

Jennings, Cheryl, Egypt, special projects officer, to COMP/FS/REASSGN

Jiron, George Jr., RIG/SA, auditor, to IG/A/HL&C

Johnson, Lena, IG/A/PA, management analyst, to auditor

Johnson, Rodney, M/OP/OD, foreign affairs officer, to COMP/SEPARATION

Johnstone, Thomas Jr., Zimbabwe, controller, to O/S LANGUAGE TRAINING COMPLEMENT

Jordan, Patricia, AFR/SA/PA, supervisory project development officer, to supervisory program officer, ANE/SPOTS/SPTS

Kahn, Robert, Guatemala, supervisory program officer, to program officer, LAC/SAM

Kainth, Yashwant, Jordan, supervisory executive officer, to Zimbabwe

Kenyon, Michael, RSC/Europe, contract officer, to COMP/SEPARATION

Kerst, Erna, Bosnia-Herzegovina, deputy mission director, to supervisory regional development officer, AFR/WA

Kissinger, Earell, Croatia/Slovenia, general development officer, to supervisory private enterprise officer, G/EGAD/EM

Kosinski, Susan, G/DG, democracy officer, to supervisory democracy officer

Kresge, Peter, Ghana, supervisory education development officer, to general development officer, Morocco

Krzywda, Rebecca, COMP/NE/OJT, NEP (financial management), to supervisory financial management officer, Philippines

Lanier, Julian Armand, West Bank/Gaza, deputy controller, to controller, Zimbabwe

Larcom, Joan, Uganda, general development officer, to project development officer, Egypt

Lawrence, Richard, RSC/Europe, controller, to Central Asia

Lawton, Nancy, RIG/BU, auditor, to RIG/PR

Lecce, Gail, G/DG, supervisory democracy officer, to democracy officer

Levenson, Amanda, REDSO/ESA, controller, to foreign affairs officer, COMP/LT TRNG

Lion, Linda, M/HR/OD, foreign affairs officer, to deputy assistant administrator global programs, AA/G

Llewellyn III, Charles, ANE/SPOTS/SPTS, health/population development officer, to supervisory health/population development officer, Bangladesh

Lokos, Nathan, RIG/MA, auditor, to RIG/BU

Lord, John, Egypt, contract officer, to Uganda

Mackenzie, Donald, REDSO/ESA, regional director, to associate assistant administrator, G/HCD/DAA

Mahoney, Timothy, LAC/RSD, director, to mission director, Honduras

McCarthy, Cheryl, Egypt, associate mission director, to foreign affairs officer, COMP/SEPARATION

McDermott, Christopher, Egypt, population development officer, to supervisory health development officer

McKenna, Jessica, COMP/NE/ OJT, NEP (environment), to housing/urban development officer, RHUD

Meserve, Lawrence, REDSO/ESA, Food for Peace officer, to special projects officer, BHR/OTI

Miller, Lloyd Jens, RIG/SA, auditor, to IG/A/IT&SA

Miller, Margaret Alter, M/IRM/PMA, information management analyst, to AA/M

Minkley, Paule-Audrey, M/HR/POD-TEAM 5, executive officer, to M/AS/OMS

Mohan, Charles, COMP/FS/REASSGN, program economics officer, to supervisory program economics officer, LAC/DPB

Moore, Daniel, COMP/NE/OJT, NEP (environment), to supervisory natural resources officer, Tanzania

Morris, Pamela, COMP/NE/OJT, NEP (contract specialist), to contract officer, Egypt

Morris, Thomas, Central Asia, supervisory program economics officer, to supervisory program economics officer, COMP/FS/REASSGN

Morse, Linda, India, mission director, to foreign affairs officer, AA/E&E

Mort, Margaret Ann, Bangladesh, IDI (health/population/nutrition), to health/population development officer, Bangladesh

Norman, Mark Steven, IG/A/IT&SA, auditor, to RIG/CA

O'Connor, Timothy, E&E/MT/IC, supervisory private enterprise officer, to COMP/FS/REASSGN

Ott, Mary Catherine, El Salvador, supervisory general development officer, to deputy mission director, Bangladesh

Owen, Rita, M/HR/LS, management analyst, to instructional system specialist

Palmer, Bradford, Mali, IDI (administration), to supervisory executive officer

Panehal, Alexandria, COMP/LT TRNG, foreign affairs officer, to deputy mission director, Ukraine

Park, Thomas, AFR/WA, supervi-

sory regional development officer, to supervisory program officer, AFR/SD

Pastic, Joseph, Albania, general development officer, to program officer, E&E/NCA/C

Patrick, Henderson, Guinea, supervisory program officer, to South Africa

Patterson, Anne, Egypt, natural resources officer, to Indonesia

Paulson, Lawrence, Mali, supervisory agricultural development officer, to agricultural development officer, G/EGAD/AFS/AEMD

Pearson, Willard Jr., Cambodia, mission director, to Egypt

Pelzman, Kerry, Russia, IDI (health/population/nutrition), to supervisory health development officer

Peterson, Randall, Guatemala, supervisory program economics officer, to supervisory private enterprise officer, RCSA

Pizarro, Leonel, Senegal, contract officer, to M/OP/B/PCE

Pope, Kurt, South Africa, IDI (administration), to executive officer, Zambia

Price, Neil, COMP/FSLT, contract officer, to RCSA

Pryor, Jeanne Marie, AFR/EA, international cooperation specialist, to ANE/ESA

Randall, Kim, COMP/FSLT, financial management officer budget/analyst, to financial management officer financial analyst, El Salvador

Raymundo, Raul, IG/IT&SA, auditor, to RIG/PR

Reed, Allan, Senegal, deputy mission director, to mission director, Zambia

Rhodes, Thomas, COMP/NE/ OJT, NEP (environment), to natural resources officer, West Bank/Gaza

Robinson, David, ANE/SPOTS/SPTS, supervisory program officer, to India

Romwall, N. Keith, Poland, controller, to Indonesia

Rupprecht, Erhardt Jr., Guatemala, deputy regional director, to program officer, LAC/CEN

Sarhan, Mike, Bosnia-Herzegovina, supervisory private enterprise officer, to supervisory program officer, Kenya

Schaeffer, James, Morocco, controller, to supervisory financial management officer budget/analyst, South Africa

Scherrer-Palma, Carole, Namibia, mission director, to supervisory regional development officer, AFR/SA

Schofield, Kenneth, AA/G, deputy assistant administrator, to foreign affairs officer, AA/PPC

Schwartz, Karl, Ethiopia, supervisory program officer, to special projects officer, M/MPI/MIC

Schwartz, Sheldon, BHR/OFDA/DRM, special projects officer, to program officer, AFR/SA

Scott, Frederic, Russia, supervisory program officer, to program officer, West Bank/Gaza

Scott, Jennifer Lee, Kenya, IDI (administration), to supervisory executive officer

Scovill, Mary Edith, AFR/SA, program officer, to ANE/MEA/MOR

Sen, Dev, RIG/PR, auditor, to RIG/BU

Soroko, David Allen, Zambia, agricultural economics officer, to supervisory natural resources officer, Madagascar

Stevenson, Marcus, M/OP/OD, foreign affairs officer, to M/PE

Swain, Diana, G/DG, democracy officer, to mission director, Namibia

Swanson, John, G/EGAD/AFS/ST, agricultural development officer, to supervisory agricultural development officer, G/EGAD/AFS/AEMD

Sydnor, Inga, G/PHN/FPS, program analyst, to G/EGAD/DAA/PS

Taylor, George II, Bolivia, supervisory natural resources officer, to natural resourcers officer, G/ENV/DAA

Tennant, John, AA/E&E, foreign affairs officer, to COMP/SEPARATION

Thomas, Dawn, G/EGAD/AFS/AEMD, supervisory agricultural development officer, to project development officer, Egypt

Thompson, George, AFR/WA, program officer, to general development officer, Senegal

Thormann, Peter, India, supervisory program officer, to supervisory program economics officer, AFR/SD/SA

Tresch, Phillip, Egypt, contract officer, to Bolivia

Uphaus, Charles, G/EGAD/AFS, supervisory agricultural development officer, to Bangladesh

Vance, Anthony, RCSA, deputy regional director, to supervisory general development officer, Egypt

Vargas, Allen Fernando, El Salvador, financial management officer financial analyst, to controller, Uganda

Walsh, Michael, M/OP/A/AOT, supervisory contract officer, to REDSO/ESA

Ward, Mark, Russia, deputy mission director, to foreign affairs officer, M/OP/OD

Welch, Karen, COMP/NE/OJT, NEP (health/population/nutrition), to health/population development officer, El Salvador

Weller, Dennis, El Salvador, health/population development officer, to supervisory agricultural development officer, AFR/SD/ANRE

Wendel, Dennis, Indonesia, supervisory democracy officer, to supervisory democracy officer, E&E/DG/ROL

Whelden, Richard, LAC/DPB, supervisory program officer, to deputy regional director, Guatemala

Wijesooriya, Nimalka, West Bank/Gaza, controller, to supervisory financial management officer, M/FM/CONT

Willis, Ann, G/EGAD/AFS, secretary (office automation), to E&E/MT

Wind, Alonzo, COMP/NE/OJT, NEP (health/population/nutrition), to health development officer, Nicaragua

Witthans, Fred, AFR/EA, program officer, to program economics officer, G/EGAD/EM

Wuertz, Robert, Egypt, supervisory program economics officer, to democracy officer, Philippines

Zegarac, George, Mozambique, controller, to supervisory financial management officer, to REDSO/ESA

Retired

Baker, Arnold
Barrau, Enrique
Brown, Richard
Burns, Richard
Correa-Montalvo, Jaime
Dichter-Forbes, Phyllis
Dorcus, Harry
Doyle, Justin
Hase, Michael
Henry, Eunice
Hortik, Harvey
Meyer, Raymond
Pfeffer, Howard
Powdermaker, Mark
Rosenberg, Helene Kaufman
Stanley, Jane
Sullivan, James
Watson, Wayne
Westfield, Patricia
Woodcock, Ruth

Corrections

The map on page 2 of the August/September issue of Front Lines identified the location of several countries incorrectly.

Stephen Callahan was incorrectly listed in the June/July issue of Front Lines as having been reassigned.

We regret any inconvenience caused by these errors.

Obituaries

Jay Barton II, 78, died Aug. 21 in Seattle, Wash., following a brief illness. A USAID consultant in India, Africa and Peru, Barton was engaged in international development work, university organization and management, and science education for four decades. He advised universities in Peru and India, and worked with the National Science Foundation science development program in India and West Virginia University's USAID-sponsored agricultural manpower training program in Tanzania. In World War II, he was in the U.S. Field Artillery Pacific Theater, from 1943-1946.

Michael Wayne Braye, 46, a former Foreign Service officer, died Aug. 13 of complications from multiple sclerosis in Wilmington, N.C. Braye joined USAID in 1988 and served in Egypt until he retired from the agency in 1992.

Barbara Brennan, wife of retired Foreign Service officer Dennis Brennan, died Aug. 31 of pneumonia at Georgetown University Hospital. She served with her husband on USAID assignments in Thailand, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Nepal, Mali and France. She is also survived by three children and five grandchildren.

Albert L. "Scaff" Brown, 78, a retired Foreign Service officer, died of lung cancer Sept. 27 at his home in Arlington, Va. Brown joined USAID in 1960 and served in Latin America and Washington until 1970. From 1970 to 1978 he worked on rural development for ATAC. He returned to USAID in 1978 and was chief of the Office of Rural Development in the Latin America and Caribbean Bureau. Brown was an Army Air Force navigator and bombardier in the China-Burma-India Theater during World War II. After retiring from USAID in 1986, Brown was executive vice president of Chemonics International.

Gilbert D. Dietz, 69, died Aug. 26 in Fond du Lac, Wisc. Dietz joined USAID in 1963 and served as an executive officer in Yemen, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Ghana and Tunisia. From 1984 to 1986 he worked in the Bureau for Program and Management Services on travel and transportation policy, and as chief of USAID's travel office in Washington. Dietz retired from USAID in 1992.

Rhovetta Doll, 43, died Aug. 14 at Prince George's Community Hospital in Cheverly, Md. Doll joined USAID in 1987 as a personnel management specialist in the Bureau for Humanitarian Response, Office of Human Resources, assisting the Africa Bureau and the Office of General Counsel. She had studied mortuary science in College Park, Ga. and served in the Maryland National Guard.

Patricia Ann McHale Johnson, 57, died of cancer Aug. 8 in Durham, N.C. She was country director in Bosnia-Herzegovina for World Learning, working under a contract with USAID. Before she was evacuated from Sarajevo because of her illness, she headed a training program under the sponsorship of USAID. Johnson was a Peace Corps volunteer in Ethiopia from 1964 to 1966. She worked in USAID- and Peace Corps-sponsored programs in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Morocco, Mauritania and Bangladesh and was Peace Corps director in Albania from 1994 to 1996.

Howard B. Keller, 76, a former Foreign Service officer, died Sept. 14 in Ormond Beach, Fla. Keller joined USAID in the mid-1960s and served in Ecuador, Tunisia, Pakistan and Yemen. He retired from USAID in 1987. He is survived by his wife, Mary, and daughters, Jennifer and Janine.

Clarzell Orlando Minor, 65, died Aug. 9. Minor joined USAID's predecessor agency in 1953 as section chief of the Communications Branch in the Bureau for Program and Management Services. He retired from USAID after 37 years of service in 1990.

Howard Leslie Parsons, 84, died of heart disease Aug. 18 at a nursing home in Madison, Conn. Parsons began his career with the Agriculture and State departments in 1940. He was deputy assistant secretary of State for Northeast Asian Affairs during the Eisenhower administration and was economic attache and deputy chief of mission at the American Embassy in Bangkok and economic attaché in the Philippines. Parson served as director of USAID missions in Taiwan and Iran, and was mission director to Thailand when he retired from USAID in 1969.

Evelyn Rose died Aug. 25 in Silver Spring, Md. Rose joined USAID in 1973 and was a secretary in the Bureau for Asia and the Near East until she retired in 1992. She is survived by her husband, Werner L. Rose, and two children, Sharon Cohen and Raymond Rose.

Former USAID Administrator David Bell dies

David Elliott Bell, 81, a former USAID administrator and Harvard University professor emeritus, died Sept. 6 of leukemia at his home in Cambridge, Mass. Before coming to the agency in the 1960s, Bell was director of the U.S. Budget Bureau (now Office of Management and Budget), and served as administrator until 1966, when he left government to become vice president for international affairs of the Ford Foundation.

He was professor of population sciences and international health at Harvard University's School of Public Health from 1981 to 1988 and was chair of the population sciences department and director of the Center for Population Studies.

When Bell left USAID in 1966, an editorial in The Washington Post called him "the most successful administrator of foreign aid since the Marshall Plan," adding that he "managed to build and retain the confidence of Congress through a combination of precision, patience and staying power." The editorial also said that he was "flexible in attitude but willing to fight for principle."

Bell was a Marine officer in the Pacific Theater during World War II and went to work after the war in the Budget Bureau as a budget examiner.

From 1951 to 1953, he was an administrative assistant to President Harry S. Truman. In 1952 he also wrote speeches for Adlai E. Stevenson during the Illinois governor's campaign for the presidency. In 1953 he went to Pakistan as an economic development project field supervisor under a program run by the Ford Foundation and Harvard. In 1957, he became an economics lecturer at Harvard and in 1959 was named secretary of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, a post he held until becoming Budget Bureau director.

He also served on the board of the Aga Khan University in Pakistan, where a university chair was named in his honor. Bell was a recipient of the Rockefeller Public Service Award.

El Salvador

(continued from page 17)

with high respect for each other.

USAID's mission also helped the legislature establish a budget analysis and oversight office to assist the Budget and Finance Committee in the process of approving and following up on national budgets.

Previously, the budget approval process was a simple procedure without discussion. Now, the budget is the most debated bill of each session, with legislators taking into consideration the analyses conducted by the congressional budget office.

The executive branch is now held more accountable for its planning and spending through the intensive review process. In conjunction with the public outreach activities, the establishment of the budget office has also led to greater transparency in the management of public funds.

As Gerson Martínez, a former deputy and first vice president of the Assembly from 1997 to 2000, stated, "This is the best inheritance given by USAID to the Assembly up to now."

After many years of effort, two regional constituent outreach centers were established in 1999, with assistance from the USAID mission. One is in San Miguel, in the eastern part of the country, the other in Chalatenango, a northern area severely affected by the civil war.

Citizens have greater access to legislators than ever before, and deputies from different political parties are learning how to work together better for their communities.

These centers seek to ensure greater openness and access for individuals and various sectors of Salvadoran society to the process of drafting and discussing legislation. They provide a forum for citizens to present their concerns and needs to their representatives without having to make the long, difficult journey to the capital. The two now open are already helping to broaden and deepen public participation in legislative decision-making. Citizens have greater access to legislators than ever before, and deputies from different political parties are learning how to work together better for their communities. Five more such centers are to be opened by 2002.

USAID is currently concentrating its efforts on citizen participation, the least developed component of the modernization plan of the Assembly. ■

—Herrara is a senior democracy Foreign Service National specializing in legislative development in USAID's mission to El Salvador.

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