



**NATIONAL POLICY
ASSOCIATION**

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Final Report

**U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance in the
Post-Cold War World: Business and Labor Perspectives**

USAID Cooperative Agreement #FAO-0230-A-00-3065-00

September 20, 1993 - September 19, 1997

Submitted By:

National Policy Association

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National Policy Association

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U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance in the Post-Cold War World: Business and Labor Perspectives was a four year development education project conducted by the National Policy Association (NPA). Originally funded as a three year project, it received a one year extension in 1996. Its primary goal was to conduct a public awareness and information program which would examine the role of the United States in providing humanitarian aid and development assistance to third world countries and which would reach a national audience of business and labor executives. The project's secondary goal was to provide public and private decision makers with the opportunity to learn the views of U.S. business and labor leaders on this issue.

The project has been very successful, directly reaching 1,506 people in 27 states and through its publications, reaching many more. It has brought heightened awareness of aid and development issues to NPA, its membership and to representatives of the greater business and labor community.

I. Project Summary

A. Project Objectives

NPA achieved all goals outlined in the project plan and in many cases far surpassed the stated objectives.

OBJECTIVE 1. DESIGN AND CARRY OUT REGIONAL SEMINARS AIMED AT LOCAL BUSINESS LEADERS AND LABOR OFFICIALS. NPA held 12 day-long regional symposia throughout the country focusing

on a wide range of subjects related to aid and development. The meeting locations, sponsors, topics, and speakers are detailed in Attachment 1. NPA exceeded its goal of reaching 50 people per meeting, or a total of 600 participants, with 796 people attending the regional symposia, for an average of 65 per meeting. Project participants represented large and small businesses, national and local unions, academia, non-profits, and the government.

OBJECTIVE 2. CONDUCT A SERIES OF WORKING BREAKFASTS IN WASHINGTON, D.C. INTENDED TO REACH WASHINGTON BUSINESS, LABOR, AND PUBLIC POLICY REPRESENTATIVES. NPA held 12 successful breakfast meetings in Washington, D.C. during the course of this project. The topics and speakers, which are noted in detail in Attachment 2, ranged from the future of the Soviet Union to the future of USAID. Members of the labor, business, nonprofit, academic, and government sectors participated, for a total of 721 people, or an average of 60 per breakfast. This exceeded NPA's goal of attracting 30 people to each meeting.

OBJECTIVE 3. SPONSOR A PANEL DISCUSSION OR A SPEAKER ON FOREIGN AID AND DEVELOPMENT AT THE MEETINGS OF NPA POLICY COMMITTEES DURING THE COURSE OF THE PROJECT. Members of NPA's Board of Trustees and five policy committees have participated in the project through discussions at policy committee meetings, executive committee meetings and board meetings, and through written background material. NPA conducted discussions on foreign economic development and foreign aid as a part of foreign policy at 21 NPA policy committee and board meetings, including the Surrey lectures at Global Economic Council meetings--far more than the nine meetings originally proposed. A complete listing of meetings is included as Attachment 3.

OBJECTIVE 4. SPONSOR A LECTURE AND PRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE A PUBLICATION ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES EACH YEAR OF THE PROJECT AS A PART OF THE WALTER STERLING SURREY MEMORIAL SERIES. For four consecutive years, the Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series has focused on the economic and political forces which shape the developing world. Each year's presentation was made at the Spring meeting of NPA's Global Economic

Council. A monograph featuring the Surrey presentation, and in three cases including relevant articles by other authors, was published each year and disseminated to NPA members and subscribers, project participants, the ERIC Clearinghouse, libraries, and other locations. A list of the presentations and monographs is included as Attachment 4.

OBJECTIVE 5. RESEARCH AND WRITE AN ECONOMETRIC STUDY WHICH DESCRIBES THE BENEFITS AND COSTS OF U.S. FOREIGN ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS AND A BOOKLET SYNTHESIZING THE CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS COMING OUT OF THE DISCUSSION. At the suggestion of NPA's Board of Trustees, and with agreement of USAID, this study was broadened to include a look at the history of foreign assistance and current data on its implementation by region and by program. The resulting study, *U.S. Foreign Assistance: the Rationale, the Record and Challenges in the Post-Cold War Era* by Curt Tarnoff and Larry Nowels was published in August of 1994 and has been widely distributed to all project participants, NPA members, and others.

To synthesize project conclusions and recommendations, NPA published *U.S. Foreign Assistance as an Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad* in May, 1997. This monograph, also written by Curt Tarnoff and Larry Nowels, reviewed key findings of the project and updated the 1994 overview of U.S. foreign aid policy. NPA has distributed the 3,000 copies to project participants, NPA members and subscribers, media representatives, public officials, and PVO executives.

OBJECTIVE 6. CARRY OUT A MEDIA CAMPAIGN TO TARGETED LABOR AND BUSINESS PUBLICATIONS. As outlined in the project proposal, three issues of *Looking Ahead*, NPA's quarterly journal, were devoted to U.S. foreign aid policy and programs. A complete list of these publications is included as Attachment 5. At the recommendation of USAID, the media campaign was changed to include the broader press, as well as the trade publications, and to de-emphasize the placement of articles in the trade publications. NPA used its own press contacts and worked closely with the media committee at InterAction to publicize each project event and publication. Stories featuring project events ran in such publications as *The Washington Times*, *The Atlanta Constitution*, *The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, and *Iowa Farmer Today*. A discussion on the topic was broadcast by

WHO radio in Chicago. NPA's work was also frequently highlighted in the development press, including mentions in *Monday Developments*, *Ideas & Information*, *the IDC Conference News*, and *Connections*.

B. Unanticipated Results

Among the positive but unexpected benefits of this project to NPA was increased membership in NPA committees resulting from interest generated in NPA by participants in our development education meetings. Additionally, NPA gained more visibility in different areas of the U.S. through the regional symposia. The project helped establish links among the co-sponsors of the symposia and between cosponsors and other participants, and helped strengthen the activities of cosponsors, such as the Dallas Young Professionals League which recruited new members at the Dallas Regional Symposium.

The project also expanded NPA's networks with other aid and development organizations. NPA became part of InterAction's media committee and served on both the Editorial Board of *Ideas & Information* and Development Education Committee of the International Development Conference. Partners of the Americas' local chapters worked with NPA to help give each symposium a local flavor.

There were many other indirect benefits. For example, the establishment of a web site to educate people about foreign assistance also resulted in increased sales of NPA publications. Interactive sessions, first designed for regional symposia on aid and development, are now common at other NPA meetings.

C. Updated Project Summary

Activities cited above which met original project objectives but which took place in the final year of the project were the 12th Regional Aid and Development Symposium in St. Paul, Minnesota on May 20; the 1997 Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Lecture and Monograph, *Trade Blocs: A Regionally Specific Phenomenon or a Global Trend?*, by Richard L. Bernal, Ambassador to the

United States from Jamaica; and the continuation of speakers at NPA policy committee and Trustee meetings on topics related to aid and development issues.

In addition to previously cited program components, during the final year of the project several new activities were undertaken. In this year NPA initiated and published four issues of a quarterly newsletter, *Business & Labor Dialogue*, highlighting the perspectives of business, labor, academia, and government officials concerning U.S. foreign assistance policy. NPA created a functioning web site, which not only allows communication about issues relevant to foreign assistance, but also promotes other work of NPA. Meeting resource packets have been distributed to project cosponsors as well as others seeking to spread the discussion on foreign assistance beyond the original project participants. NPA commissioned Barber Conable, former President of the World Bank, to write an article on development issues which was published as an op-ed piece in *The Christian Science Monitor* on September 17, 1997. A copy of the article is included as Attachment 6.

Each of these activities advanced NPA's effort to stimulate discussion between business and labor leaders on the goals and strategies of U.S. development assistance.

II. Project Evaluation

A. NPA's criteria for project success, as outlined in the original project proposal, are as follows:

1) *Number of participants, especially business and labor leaders, reached or who are involved in the project.* Although NPA originally projected to reach 960 participants, the project actually involved 1,506 in its activities. A complete list of all participants who attended project events including regional symposia, Surrey lectures, working breakfasts, and policy committee and trustee meetings or who, as NPA members, received project publications and other information, is included as Attachment 10.

2) *Number of activities carried out compared to the number planned.* As noted above, NPA held

all planned project activities in addition to several other activities. In cooperation with the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, NPA arranged a meeting of U.S. business, labor, PVO, and government representatives with members of the German Bundestag. NPA held a special Washington Breakfast to provide business and labor leaders a forum to meet with Jill Buckley, Assistant Administrator for Public and Legislative Affairs at USAID. NPA also hosted a panel discussion at the 1995 International Development Conference.

3) Feedback from participants in the project on the quality of project activities. Throughout the project, feedback has been very positive. Evaluations returned to NPA after project activities demonstrated a high degree of satisfaction. Dr. Carolyn McCommon conducted an independent evaluation of this project and concluded that, in addition to its success in meeting all objectives, project participants were very satisfied with the quality of the meetings and had found them both important and interesting.

B. Subjective Analysis

This project had a great impact on the target audience. Attendance at meetings was often so large that registration had to be closed and a waiting list established. As the project progressed, the number of unions and businesses willing to cosponsor these meetings increased. NPA was able to bring normally opposing groups together to discuss these issues. For example, meetings were jointly cosponsored by General Motors and the United Auto Workers, Levi-Strauss and the Union of Needletrade Industrial and Textile Employees, NYNEX and the Communications Workers, Citibank and the AFL-CIO, to name just a few pairings. Interest was high enough among NPA's policy committees that they enthusiastically chose to have several of their meeting sessions devoted to aid and development issues.

This project has led to many changes at NPA as well. The Food and Agriculture Committee (FAC) has established a Trade and Development Subcommittee. NPA has established contacts for projects relating to development in South Africa and Latin America. The institutional knowledge of NPA

in relation to development issues has grown and its influence in the development community has also increased due to involvement with groups such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York, InterAction, and the International Development Conference.

The Aid and Development Project has made significant contributions to the field of development education. It has brought two important groups, business executives and labor leaders, to the center of the discussion concerning the future of international development. Their unique perspectives have been heard through this project. NPA's publications, especially *U.S. Foreign Assistance: the Rationale, the Record and the Challenges in the Post-Cold War Era*, have been hailed for their timeliness, thoroughness, and clear explanations of the many diverse issues surrounding America's foreign aid.

C. Evaluation Materials

NPA's survey instruments and a copy of the formal evaluation for the project are included as Attachment 7.

III. Lessons Learned

During this project, NPA has found that most people are enthusiastic and supportive of America playing a constructive role in world affairs. However, even those concerned with international issues are woefully misinformed about the purpose, size and activities involved in international development projects. The message about the nature and importance of development activities must be brought to people who do not normally hear it. For this reason it is important for USAID staff and other development practitioners to travel out of Washington and engage in discussions with people throughout the country. Several USAID officials remarked that they were surprised by how much the opinions of people outside the beltway differed with those of people within it.

It is often assumed that organizations such as corporations and unions do not share the same internationalist values and goals as traditional supporters of foreign assistance. NPA found that not

to be the case. Indeed, most people are concerned about the status of the developing world, but when examining assistance programs, they place a large emphasis on efficiency, effectiveness, and the implications for U.S. domestic policies.

Another lesson learned by NPA was to involve others in the planning and delivery of programs. Not only did this leverage their skills and resources, but it also allowed NPA to design programs which would be of interest and value to the people in the particular region where the meetings were being held. Incorporating different perspectives in the discussions also gave the meeting legitimacy, inspired engaging dialogue, and allowed participants to gain insight into the very complex issues which surround U.S. foreign assistance programs.

At the meetings, NPA made a concerted effort to bring all project participants into the discussion. The speakers and the audiences both shared their knowledge, ideas and insights in a two-way exchange, not just as a one-way lecture. The importance of interactive sessions as a way to draw participants into the discussions was so clearly demonstrated that NPA has included this model in some of its policy committee sessions.

IV. Resource Materials

A complete list of products produced under this four-year agreement and updates for the Biden-Pell Development Education Resource Inventory are included as Attachment 8. One copy of all materials produced in the final year of this project is also enclosed.

V. Budget

A copy of Standard Form 269A, Financial Status Report, and SF 272, Federal Cash Transactions Report, for the final quarter of the project are included as Attachment 9. This provides complete financial information for payments made through September, 1997. A final financial report which will include any additional payments to be made will be submitted by December 24, 1997.

VI. Project Sustainability

NPA is committed to the goals of the Aid and Development Project. There are many ways the benefits of this project will be sustained. As mentioned above, the heightened awareness and concern among NPA members and staff ensure that the discussion of foreign development issues will continue. Structures such as the FAC's Trade and Development Subcommittee have institutionalized this interest. The Surrey Memorial Series will also carry on its focus on issues of concern to the developing world. NPA is seeking ways to extend the publication of the newsletter, *Business & Labor Dialogue* and the NPA website will continue to provide development resources online. NPA's ongoing promotion of the publications funded through this project will keep them in the public eye and they will also remain available through their listing in the ERIC clearinghouse.

VII. Recommendations

The role of U.S. leadership in helping other nations establish themselves is viewed as an important one by NPA's project participants. These project participants also recommended that foreign assistance should be used to support U.S. strategic and political interests, to support U.S. economic interests, to project U.S. values abroad, and to meet humanitarian needs around the globe, while being administered effectively and efficiently. To broaden the support for the U.S. role, the concepts of development need to be effectively articulated and honored by our country's leadership. The best development education is the continuing emphasis on the goals of development by our leaders. When the goals are clearly stated, people respond positively.

In addition to support at the national leadership level, USAID should continue to promote development education efforts at the local level, reaching key constituencies, such as business and labor. Without public support and understanding, overseas development work will continue to be attacked and marginalized. If the United States wishes to continue to play a leadership role in fostering development throughout the world, the current state of misinformation and misperception about foreign assistance must not be allowed to continue uncorrected. Increased public awareness

will result in increased public support for foreign aid and development assistance.

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Business and Labor Perspectives***

List of Attachments

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| Attachment 1 | Regional Symposia |
| Attachment 2 | Washington Working Breakfasts |
| Attachment 3 | Presentations to Policy Committee and Board of Trustee Meetings |
| Attachment 4 | Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Lecture and Monograph Series |
| Attachment 5 | Project Publications |
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National Policy Association
U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance in the Post-Cold War World:
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Regional Symposia

Symposium 1, New York, January 27, 1994

"U.S. Foreign Aid and Development: Goals and Strategies for the Post-Cold War World"

Keynote: Clifford Gaddy, Research Associate, The Brookings Institution

- Topics:**
- The Post-Cold War Shift in Aid and Development Policies
 - Clinton's New USAID Proposal
 - The Impact of Development Assistance on Economic Success and Failure in the Developing World
 - Aid and Development Goals and Strategies in the CIS and Eastern Europe
 - Business and Labor Views on Post-Cold War Era Aid

Sponsors: Citibank and Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union

Symposium 2, Seattle, May 18, 1994

"U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance: What Should We be Doing?"

Keynote: Robert Sutter, Senior Specialist in International Policy, Congressional Research Service

- Topics:**
- The Clinton Administration's Vision for Aid
 - How Does the United States Compare with Other Aid-giving Nations?
 - Are Lessons from East Asia's Development Transferable?
 - International Trade and Human Rights in China--Development Implications
 - Views on Aid and Development from Business, Labor, and Environmentalists

Sponsors: The Trade and Development Alliance of Greater Seattle, Seafirst Bank, and Region IX of the AFL-CIO

Symposium 3, Des Moines, June 28, 1994

"Sustainable Development vs. Food Aid: Conflict or Confluence?"

Keynote: Dean Kleckner, President, American Farm Bureau Federation

- Topics:**
- Sustainable Development or Food Aid?
 - Agricultural Reform--Precursor to Growth in Developing Nations
 - Sustainability--the Outlook for Agricultural Policy in the Developing World
 - Lessons to Be Learned from Two Decades of Experience

Sponsors: Pioneer Hi-Bred International and Region XII of the AFL-CIO

Symposium 4, Chicago, October 6, 1994

"US Foreign Aid: Fostering Economic Development"

Keynote: John W. Sewell, President, Overseas Development Council

- Topics:**
- From Foreign Aid to Economic Growth: Policies & Realities
 - Private Sector Involvement in Development
 - Attacking Poverty & Creating Jobs: The March 1995 U.N. World Summit on Social Development
 - The Politics of Foreign Aid & Economic Development
 - Promoting Sustainable Economic Growth: Business & Labor Perspectives
 - Setting Priorities for Sustainable Economic Development

Sponsors: McDonalds, Illinois Department of Commerce & Community Affairs, Ameritech, Illinois State AFL-CIO, and Region I of the AFL-CIO

Symposium 5, Atlanta, January 26, 1995

"U.S. Foreign Assistance Priorities: Responding to Humanitarian Crises"

Keynote: Julia V. Taft, President & CEO, InterAction

- Topics:**
- U.S. Foreign Assistance Strategies: Addressing Global Crises
 - The Effectiveness of Past Efforts--What Works, What Doesn't
 - The Politics of Humanitarian Intervention
 - Policy Options for the Future: Priorities for Humanitarian Relief Programs

Sponsors: Citibank, AFL-CIO Region V, Spelman College, and The Southern Center for International Studies in Atlanta

Symposium 6, Pittsburgh, April 20, 1995

"The Business of Foreign Aid: Paying for the Programs"

Keynote: E. Howard Wolpe, former Chair, Subcommittee on Africa, House Foreign Affairs Committee

- Topics:**
- U.S. Foreign Assistance Strategies
 - U.S. Foreign Assistance Spending
 - Establishing Foreign Aid Goals
 - The Politics of Foreign Aid Funding
 - The Future of Foreign Assistance
 - Designing a Foreign Aid Budget

Sponsors: United Steelworkers of America, AT&T, AFL-CIO Region III, and Pittsburgh Council for International Visitors

Symposium 7: San Francisco, July 13, 1995

"Foreign Aid: An Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad"

Keynote: Ambassador Julia Chang Bloch, Group Executive Vice President, Corporate Relations, Bank of America

Topics:

- U.S. Leadership and U.S. Foreign Aid
- Defining Foreign Policy Goals in the Post-Cold War World
- The Challenge of Global Diversity and the Role of Foreign Assistance
- Democracy, Human Rights, and Free Markets
- International Assistance: Leading Alone or Acting Together?

Sponsors: Bank of America, AFL-CIO Region VI, Levi-Strauss, ACTWU, Charles Schwab and Co., and Pacific Gas Transmission Co.

Symposium 8: Boston, November 16, 1995

"Foreign Aid: An Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad"

Keynote: Jeffrey D. Sachs, Director, Harvard Institute for International Development

Topics:

- U.S. Leadership and U.S. Foreign Aid
- Implementing Foreign Policy and Defining U.S. Priorities: The Effectiveness of U.S. Foreign Assistance
- The Role of Aid and Development Policy in a Free Market Economy
- Foreign Assistance: Bridging the Concerns of Labor, Business and Foreign Policy Leaders

Sponsors: Bank of Boston, New England Regional AFL-CIO, Communications Workers of America, NYNEX, World Affairs Council of Boston, MIT's Center for International Studies, and Environmental Business Council of New England

Symposium 9: Dallas, January 25, 1996

"Foreign Aid: An Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad"

Keynote: Susan Martin, Executive Director, U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform

Topics:

- Immigration and its links to International Development
- Relationship between U.S. Foreign Policy and Domestic Concerns
- U.S. Leadership and U.S. Foreign Aid: Bridging the Concerns of Labor, Business, and Foreign Policy Leaders

Sponsors: Exxon, AFL-CIO, Texas Farm Bureau, International Small Business Development Center, Institute for the Study of Earth & Man at SMU, and Dallas Young Professionals League

Symposium 10: Los Angeles, May 14, 1996
"Foreign Aid: An Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad"

- Keynote:** Larry Nowels, Specialist in Foreign Affairs, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress
- Topics:**
- What is the Place for Aid and Development Policies in the United States Today?
 - Foreign Assistance: Bridging the Concerns of Labor, Business and Foreign Policy Leaders
 - Implementing Foreign Policy and Defining U.S. Priorities: The Effectiveness of Foreign Assistance
- Sponsors:** Charles Schwab, Citibank, Department for Professional Employees of the AFL-CIO, Export Small Business Development Center, and the AFL-CIO

Symposium 11: Detroit, Michigan July 18, 1996
Foreign Aid: An Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad

- Keynote:** M. Peter McPherson, President, Michigan State University
- Topics:**
- Foreign Aid: A Giveaway or Matter of National Interest
 - Foreign Assistance: Bridging the Concerns of Labor, Business and Foreign Policy Leaders
 - Implementing Foreign Policy and Defining U.S. Priorities: The Effectiveness of Foreign Assistance
- Sponsors:** General Motors, AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, Michigan Small Business Development Center, and Detroit Council for World Affairs

Symposium 12: St. Paul Minnesota, May 20, 1997
"Private Sector Perspectives on Building a Coherent Development Policy"

- Keynote:** Kelley Kammerer, Counselor, USAID
- Topics:**
- International Development and the Private Sector
 - Foreign Assistance: Past, Present and Future
 - Discussion of Aid and Development Project Findings
 - Foreign Assistance: Challenges and Opportunities for the Private Sector
- Sponsors:** 3M, Ellerbe Becket, Minnesota Trade Office, Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council of the AFL-CIO, the Minnesota State AFL-CIO, and Minnesota International Center

The National Policy Association
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Washington Working Breakfasts

- November 16, 1993 **"What Should U.S. Aid and Development Priorities Be?"**
Speakers John Sewell, President, Overseas Development Council
Larry Q. Nowels, Specialist, Foreign Affairs, Congressional Research Service
- March 1, 1994 **"The Clinton Administration's Restructuring of Foreign Aid and Development Assistance Policy in the Post-Cold War World"**
Speakers J. Brian Atwood, Administrator, USAID
Judge Morris, Senior Director, International Trade, National Association of Manufacturers
John T. Joyce, President, International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers
- April 18, 1994 **"Democracy and Free Markets: What are Our Priorities?"**
Speakers Wayne Angell, Former Governor, U.S. Federal Reserve Board
Ronald Blackwell, Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union
- July 11, 1994 **"Population Growth and the Global Environment: U.S. Foreign Assistance Priorities"**
Speakers Tom Merrick, Senior Population Advisor, The World Bank
William Klinefelter, Legislative Director, Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO
John Shlaes, Executive Director, Global Climate Coalition
- September 20, 1994 **"U.S. Foreign Assistance Priorities in the Middle East"**
Speakers William B. Quandt, Byrd Chair in Government and Foreign Affairs, The University of Virginia
David L. Rhoad, Deputy Director, Office of Middle East Affairs, USAID
Morton Bahr, President, Communications Workers of America

- November 18, 1994 **"U.S. Foreign Assistance Strategies in the Former Soviet Union"**
 Speakers Clifford Gaddy, Research Associate, The Brookings Institution
 Richard Wilson, Director of the Office for Eastern Europe and the Former
 Soviet Union, the Free Trade Union Institute
 Ilya Oshman, Vice-President, The Fund for Large Enterprises in Russia
- February 28, 1995 **"U.S. Foreign Assistance Policies: A Congressional Perspective"**
 Speaker Rep. Benjamin Gilman, Chairman, House International Relations
 Committee
- June 12, 1995 **"Foreign Aid to Africa: How Can U.S. Interests Best Be Met?"**
 Speakers John F. Hicks, Assistant Administrator for Africa, USAID
 David H. Miller, Executive Director, Corporate Council on Africa
 David F. Gordon, Senior Democratic Professional Staff Member,
 Committee on International Relations, U.S. House of Representatives
- September 26, 1995 **"USAID, Capital Flows & Development in Latin America"**
 Speakers Mark Schneider, Assistant Administrator for Latin America, USAID
 William Doherty, Executive Director, American Institute for Free Labor
 Development
 Ricardo Hausmann, Chief Economist, InterAmerican Development Bank
- December 7, 1995 **"Alternative Approaches to Foreign Aid in Asia: Where do U.S.
 Interests Lie?"**
 Speakers Erland Heginbotham, Director, Gateway Japan, National Planning
 Association
 Kenneth P. Hutchinson, Executive Director, Asian-American Free Labor
 Institute
 Carl J. Green, Director, Georgetown University Law Center
- March 5, 1996 **"Innovation by Necessity: Strategies for More Effective and Less
 Costly Development Assistance"**
 Speakers Colin I. Bradford, Jr., Assistant to the Administrator, Policy and Program
 Coordination, Chief Economist, USAID
 Byron Charlton, Executive Director, African-American Labor Center,
 AFL-CIO
 Erland H. Heginbotham, Senior Fellow, National Planning Association
- September 20, 1996 **"The United States and the Developing World: A Vision for the
 Future"**
 Speakers J. Brian Atwood, Administrator, USAID
 Paul D. Wolfowitz, Dean, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced
 International Studies, The Johns Hopkins University
 Lynn Williams, former President, United Steelworkers of America

The National Policy Association
U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance in the Post-Cold War World:
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Presentations at Policy Committee and Board Meetings

1. Global Economic Council, *formerly the Committee on Changing International Realities*
November 1993 meeting in Palm Beach, FL
Session led by Dr. Joan Nelson, Senior Fellow, Overseas Development Council.
Discussion: U.S. responses to poverty in the Post-Cold War world

2. Food and Agriculture Committee
March 1994 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Malcolm Lovell, NPA President and CEO, and Erland Heginbotham, NPA Senior Fellow, made presentations.
Discussion: The Aid and Development Project, foreign assistance, trade, investment, and human rights

3. NPA Board of Trustees
April 1994 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Larry Nowels, Specialist in Foreign Affairs at the Congressional Research Service, addressed the Board.
Discussion: An outline of the Clinton administration's and USAID's proposed new foreign assistance legislation

4. Global Economic Council
May 1994 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Charles Doran, Professor of International Relations at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, gave the Annual Surrey Memorial Lecture.
Discussion: New Views on North-South Relations and Foreign Assistance

5. Global Economic Council
November 1994 meeting in Boston, Massachusetts.
Discussion: U.S. foreign assistance priorities and what tactics and policies the U.S. should be pursuing

6. NPA Board of Trustees
November 1994 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Discussion: Foreign assistance policies of the United States

7. Food and Agriculture Committee
March 1995 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Larry Nowels, Specialist in Foreign Affairs at the Congressional Research Service, was the luncheon speaker.
Discussion: Future of foreign aid in the new Congress
8. Global Economic Council
May 1995 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Honorable Barber Conable, former Congressman and former President of the World Bank, gave the Annual Surrey Memorial Lecture.
Discussion: Future direction of U.S. foreign assistance
9. Food and Agriculture Committee
September 1995 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Discussion: Voted to form a subcommittee to focus specifically on Trade, Development, and Global Issues
10. North American Committee
October 1995 meeting in Mexico City.
Discussion: Analysis of international capital flows to emerging economies
11. Global Economic Council
November 1995 meeting in Palm Beach, FL.
Discussion: Issues affecting labor markets in Asia
12. British North American Committee
December 1995 meeting in Toronto, Canada
Discussion: Examination of the complex causes of and potential solutions to ethnic conflicts in the post-Cold War world
13. Food and Agriculture Committee
March 1996 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Ambassador Sally Shelton, Assistant Administrator, Global Programs, U.S. Agency for International Development, made a presentation.
Discussion: Foreign aid as an instrument of U.S. leadership and its impact on American agricultural policy.
14. Global Economic Council
May 1996 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Moeen A. Qureshi, Former Prime Minister of Pakistan and Chairman of Emerging Markets Partnership, gave the Annual Surrey Memorial Lecture
Discussion: The future of emerging markets in the global economy.
Other sessions at the May 1996 meeting included discussions on emerging markets in Asia, Latin America, Russia, Eastern Europe, and Africa

15. Food and Agriculture Committee
September 25, 1996 meeting in Washington, DC
Several speakers including Carol Brookins, Chair and CEO, World Perspectives, Inc., and Robert Curtis, Deputy Director, Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe Division, International Trade Policy, USDA, made presentations.
Discussion: Food and agricultural trade with East and Southeast Asia
Other sessions at the September 1996 meeting included a presentation by Dr. Richard Belous, NPA Vice President.
Discussion: The current state of U.S. foreign aid
16. North American Committee
October 1996 meeting in Vancouver, B.C.
Discussion: The Mexican economy and its development prospects
17. Global Economic Council
November 1996 meeting in Palm Beach, FL.
Discussion: Emerging markets and an examination of China's economic and political relations with Japan and the U.S.
18. British North American Committee
December 1996 meeting in Palm Beach, FL.
Discussion: The transition process in Russia and investing in emerging markets.
19. NPA Board of Trustees
November 14, 1996 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Ambassador Sally Shelton, Assistant Administrator, Bureau of Global Affairs at USAID, made a presentation.
Discussion: The future of foreign aid
20. Food and Agriculture Committee
March 1997 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Several speakers, including Kaoru Yoshimura, Agricultural Counselor, Embassy of Japan, and Paul Morris, Counselor for Agriculture and Resources, Embassy of Australia, made presentations.
Discussions: Impact of development assistance on trade with Asia; Trade, development and global issues.
21. Global Economic Council
May 1997 meeting in Washington, D.C.
Dr. Richard L. Bernal, Ambassador of Jamaica to the United States, gave the Annual Surrey Memorial Lecture.
Discussion: Trade blocs in the global economy and implications for developing nations

The National Policy Association
U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance in the Post-Cold War World:
Business and Labor Perspectives
The Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series

WALTER STERLING SURREY MEMORIAL LECTURE PRESENTATIONS

1994: "North-South Relations and Foreign Aid Reform: A Realistic Approach," by Charles F. Doran, Andrew W. Mellon Professor of International Relations, Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University.

1995: "Foreign Development Assistance: Is it Still Necessary?" by Barber Conable, former Congressman and former President of the World Bank.

1996: "Emerging Markets in the Post-Cold War World," by Moeen A. Qureshi, former Prime Minister of Pakistan and current Chairman, Emerging Markets Corporation, and Chair, NPA Board of Trustees.

1997: "Trade Blocs: A Regionally Specific Phenomenon or a Global Trend?" by Dr. Richard L. Bernal, Ambassador of Jamaica to the United States.

WALTER STERLING SURREY MEMORIAL PUBLICATIONS AND AUTHORS

1994: *New Views on North-South Relations and Foreign Assistance*

Charles F. Doran
Joan M. Nelson
Thomas M. Callaghy
Ingomar Hauchler

1995: *Foreign Assistance in a Time of Constraints*

Barber Conable
Julia Chang Bloch
William Quandt
Clifford Gaddy
John Hicks

1996: *Emerging Markets and International Development: Options for U.S. Foreign Policy*

Moeen A. Qureshi
Jeffrey D. Sachs
Neil McMullen
Gregory F. Treverton

1997: *Trade Blocs: A Regionally Specific Phenomenon or Global Trend?*

Richard L. Bernal

The National Policy Association
U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance in the Post-Cold War World:
Business and Labor Perspectives
Publications

Trade Blocs: A Regionally Specific Phenomenon or a Global Trend, by Dr. Richard L. Bernal. This sixth volume in the Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series analyzes the impact of trade blocs on today's global economy. The number and size of trade blocs have grown explosively in recent years. This monograph discusses these trade regimes from the perspective of Dr. Richard Bernal, Ambassador of Jamaica to the United States. After examining the history and current status of a range of existing and emerging trade blocs, Ambassador Bernal looks at the forces which shape these agreements and their implications for the developing world. He cites the potentially serious consequences to economic growth if these countries are excluded from trade blocs, but recognizes the forces that often inhibit their participation. NPA# 287, 1997, 42pp.

Foreign Assistance as an Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad, by Curt Tarnoff and Larry Q. Nowels. This publication updates the author's 1994 overview of U.S. foreign aid policy and reviews the key findings of the NPA's project "U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance in the Post-Cold War World" including the need for the U.S. to take a leadership role in the world and that foreign assistance is an important part of U.S. foreign leadership. It presents current data on foreign assistance program priorities and spending levels and includes remarks from speakers and program participants. NPA #285, 1997, 26 pp.

Emerging Markets and International Development: Options for U.S. Foreign Policy, by Moeen A. Qureshi, Jeffrey D. Sachs, Neil McMullen, and Gregory F. Treverton, ed. Richard S. Belous, S. Dahlia Stein, and Nita Christine Kent. This fifth volume in the Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series examines why emerging markets are vital to U.S. business and labor and suggests ways the United States can play an influential role in fostering international development. Several of the authors explore the reasons that certain nations in the developing world are experiencing strong economic growth while others are stagnating. Some of the authors also look at the positive role that U.S. aid and development programs can play in fostering economic transformation. NPA #282, 1996, 44 pp.

Foreign Assistance in a Time of Constraints, by Barber Conable, Julia Chang Bloch, William Quandt, Clifford Gaddy, and John Hicks, ed. Richard S. Belous, S. Dahlia Stein, and Nita Christine Kent. This publication—the fourth in NPA's Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series—is designed to facilitate the reexamination of U.S. foreign aid and development assistance in the changing international environment and in an era of a constricted U.S. budget. The chapters have been excerpted from speeches given by the authors at several meetings of NPA's Aid and Development Project during the year. NPA #276, 1995, 48 pp.

New Views on North-South Relations and Foreign Assistance, by Charles F. Doran, Joan M. Nelson, Thomas M. Callaghy, and Ingomar Hauchler, ed. Richard S. Belous and Sheila M. Cavanagh. This is the third volume in NPA's Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series. Cold War foreign policy most often handled North-South relations as an adjunct to East-West relations, with America's conflict with the Soviet Union being paramount and developing nations playing a secondary role in the struggle. The demise of communism and the breakup of the Soviet Union have compelled U.S. public and private sector decisionmakers to consider the complexities of North-South relations, but the pole star by which they navigated the global strategic landscape for many decades is missing. NPA #274, 1994, 56 pp.

U.S. Foreign Assistance: The Rationale, the Record, and the Challenges in the Post-Cold War Era, by Curt Tarnoff and Larry Q. Nowels. This study, part of NPA's development education project with the U.S. Agency for International Development, presents the historical record and a snapshot of current U.S. aid and development activity. It also examines whether U.S. aid and development assistance promotes economic security at home. The authors propose several foreign aid strategies for the post-Cold War era. NPA #275, 1994, 30 pp.

Looking Ahead. NPA's flagship quarterly journal provides authoritative commentary on key topics of current interest. Three issues have focused on foreign assistance:

- *Foreign Assistance: An Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad* is devoted to the proceedings of NPA's day-long symposium in Dallas, Texas, in January 1996 (September 1996).
- *U.S. Foreign Aid at the Crossroads: Business and Labor Perspectives* reviews key issues raised at NPA's aid and development project events to that point in time (August 1995).
- *Reshaping U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance in the Post-Cold War Era* offers business, labor, private voluntary organization, and government sector perspectives on the changes occurring in foreign aid funding (April 1994).

Business & Labor Dialogue. This quarterly newsletter focuses on the U.S. role in international development from a private sector perspective.

- *Autumn 1997* - Highlights from the St. Paul, Minnesota symposium on May 20, 1997.
- *Summer 1997* - A business perspective on international development and foreign aid.
- *Spring 1997* - Labor's view on overseas development and foreign aid.
- *Winter 1997* - Commentary on development from government, business, labor, and PVO leaders.

OPINION/ESSAYS

Escapist Assumptions

Face it, Americans, foreign aid is your duty to your children.

By Barber Conable

IT'S often difficult for Americans to keep a perspective on what is for them a low priority concern at best — development aid to the world's poorer countries.

But as Congress takes up the 1998 foreign aid appropriations bill this month, it's a good time to address escapist assumptions that permeate the debate and cause us to focus elsewhere in meeting our global responsibilities.

First, many Americans assume that we are major players in the world's aid programs, and that our generosity to poor nations has contributed significantly to our public debt. In fact, we contribute the smallest percentage of our gross national product to foreign aid of any of the world's industrial nations. For us, foreign aid is less than 1 percent of our federal budget.

Large amounts of the US Agency for International Development's money goes to countries where we have special strategic, political, or military concerns. USAID's two largest contributions go to Israel (\$3 billion) and to Egypt (\$2 billion). The Egyptian contribution is conditioned only on Egypt talking to Israel.

Second, most Americans also assume that we are major contributors to poor countries through such multilateral agencies as the World Bank, the IMF, and the various continental regional development banks.

As a former president of the World Bank, I find it hard to overstate the remarkable benefits the US receives from the World Bank. As the largest shareholder at the bank, the US has tremendous leverage at minimal cost, influencing loans to countries in whose markets we have more than a modest interest, such as Mexico.

We, and all other bank member countries, contribute capital primarily by guaranteeing loans to the developing world. Bonds based on these guarantees are issued to fund the loans, which pay interest high enough to cover the costs of running the bank, to protect against bad debts, and to generate \$1 billion in profits a year.

A third assumption held by many Americans is that foreign aid may no longer be necessary because of the great surges of developed-world private investment in the economies of the developing world, and because of the growth of trade between them.

Multinational corporations are now investing in developing markets an average of four times the official foreign aid going to those countries. Trade now has twice the impact on development that foreign aid does.

So do we need foreign aid at all? Yes, because investment and sophisticated economic activity do not occur in a state of nature; they require infrastructure. In our country we assume that the private sector does almost all development and job creation. But we take for granted roads, railroads, port facilities, readily available energy distribution systems, and most of all, schools able to provide an appropriately trained labor force. None of these prerequisites to development can be taken for granted in an underdeveloped country. Development

aid must have a heavy infrastructure component or private investment and trade growth won't follow.

The fourth escapist assumption stems from the growth rates in developing nations, which average 6 percent, while the developed world strains along at 2 percent. We decide that we're creating competitive monsters that will damage our own economic futures.

But at least 1.3 billion people, five times the population of the US, still try to subsist on less than \$1 a day.

Grave threats to our future global stability lie in the masses of people beset by absolute poverty. Foreign aid conditioned on economic reform, education, and infrastructure creation is still the most hopeful corrective.

Fifth, we assume that following the end of the cold war, the criteria for foreign aid lending should appropriately be changed. But although bilateral aid was sometimes used to try to buy friends in the developing world during the cold war, multilateral aid has always been distributed according to strict economic criteria to those poor enough to need it.

But now, the G-7 is pressing multilateral agencies to loan substantial parts of their available funds to Russia and its former client countries. Presumably this is to facilitate reform of former socialist systems.

Traditionalists like myself, who think foreign aid should be used to improve the quality of life of poor people, are confused by the rationale for forcing aid on a former superpower that maintains a massive military establishment and nuclear and space programs.

So far, the Russians have't been willing to meet reform requirements such multinational aid agencies impose as conditions for loans. Massive amounts remain to be paid.

So substantial diversion of money and skilled staff resources away from poor countries is almost inevitable.

This is the obvious time to be considering institutional reform. Our multilateral institutions had their origins in very different circumstances than today's. They were created for the shattered and impoverished world of the mid-1940s. That they're not now well supported or functioning well should tell us that change is appropriate. And reform still requires American leadership, not American disengagement.

A stable world and a minimum of human suffering is always in America's interest. Per capita incomes of the world's poor have doubled in the past 25 years, at least in part because of effective development projects and properly conditioned loans to poor countries. But now is not the time to disengage.

No human efforts are perfect, but for a modest price, a dash of idealism, and a little strength of purpose we can still work effectively for a better world for our children and grandchildren.

Barber Conable is a former congressman and was president of the World Bank from 1986 to 1991. This article is excerpted from a paper for the National Policy Association.

FUNDING NEEDED

Radio Free Asia Deserves A First Birthday Present

By John Hughes

In a few days, Radio Free Asia, the little broadcasting network that some said couldn't — and others said shouldn't — get off the ground will be celebrating its first anniversary on the air.

Under financed by the United States Congress, under-manned, and overworked, the professional journalists and broadcasters charged with broadcasting under RFA's banner truthful information to the lingering communist lands and dictatorships of Asia began inauspiciously a year ago with a mere 30-minutes-a-day broadcast to China.

Now, in addition to expanded broadcasting to China they create and air programs for Vietnam, Tibet, North Korea, Laos, and Burma. Soon Cambodia will be added to the list.

It hasn't been easy. In 1992 a bipartisan commission that I chaired, appointed by Congress and President Bush, recommended establishing a new government-financed radio broadcasting service to mainland China and other communist countries in Asia. It was opposed by some diplomats and businessmen who didn't want to rock the China boat. Talking about democracy, they argued, might be a roadblock to American investment and diplomacy. The Voice of America, the excellent and powerful worldwide broadcasting arm of the United States, looked upon RFA as an upstart competitor. Then for the next four years, the RFA project became mired in political in-fighting and debate over its budget.

But in September last year, RFA went on the air. Now it broadcasts by shortwave radio from five sites in Asia and the United States. It is jammed by China, Vietnam, and North Korea, who accuse RFA of broadcasting "pornography," of speaking with "forked tongue," and of being financed by the Central Intelligence Agency. China has brought pressure to bear on Armenia and Kazakhstan to bar RFA from using transmitters in those countries. But despite such harassment, RFA's message is getting through to the peoples of its targeted countries. Letters from listeners in China are proof. RFA's credibility has been established and its critics at home are fewer. The Voice of America has mellowed toward RFA and Congress is opening up its purse-strings — although not yet widely enough. Some American ambassadors who once thought RFA would complicate their missions now support it. Other fans range from Newt Gingrich to the Dalai Lama, who has visited RFA's headquarters in Washington and who listens to its Tibetan broadcasts in exile.

Patterned after Radio Free Eu-

rope, RFA's mission is to do for what RFE did for Eastern Europe. The mission is to broadcast true information to countries where governments-of-the-day ban free expression by their domestic newspapers. While Voice of America broadcasts national and international news around the world, RFA's mission is to replicate the kind of radio voice in the countries it targets those countries would have not for government censorship. Chinese radio broadcaster told after listening to it for some "We listen with exuberance to broadcasts, which are authoritative."

RFA's message is getting through to the peoples of targeted countries. Letters from listeners in China are proof.

and give us the truth. All our casters here are bored. All the about is making money. And told the truth, who would pay

Our commission, mindful of mood of austerity in Washington, recommended a bare-bones budget of \$30 million start-up, instead of building new ones, operating with a lean team of jour and language specialists. But of the \$30 million start-up, posed, and an annual operating of \$35 to \$39 million, RFA initial \$10 million.

Now, with a successful year behind it, RFA is nudged by some in Congress to 24-hours-a-day broadcast to China. It can do that, moving hours a day in Mandarin, four tonese, two to four hours in and other Chinese dialects rest of the cycle. But expansion staff, and augmenting transition will require a budget of \$45 million, not the \$20 million congressmen are contemplating.

The United States is proud to maintain and develop with China. But RFA is a instrument for demonstration along with the diplomatic economic ties, concern for being and human rights of people is an integral part of foreign policy.

Congress should celebrate first birthday by giving it a — relatively small in the overall — needed to carry out its date.

John Hughes is a former the Monitor.

Survey of Participants
10th NPA/AID Regional Symposium, May 14, 1996

NAME: _____ FAX TO: NITA CHRISTINE KENT
TITLE: _____ 202-797-5516
ORGANIZATION: _____
LOCATION: _____ QUESTIONS: 202-884-7628
PHONE: _____

The National Planning Association appreciates your participation in the May 14th Regional Symposium, "Foreign Aid: an Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad." So that we might continue to improve and refine our program, we ask that you take a few minutes to complete and return this survey. You may fax your response to the above number, or mail it to: Nita Christine Kent, Aid and Development Project Coordinator, National Planning Association, 1424 16th Street, N.W., Suite 700, Washington, D.C. 20036. Thank you for your feedback.

1. How would you rate this symposium? (Please circle the most appropriate number for each criterion.)

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor
Importance of topic	4	3	2	1
Organization of meeting (agenda, topics, etc.)	4	3	2	1
Overall quality of presentations	4	3	2	1
Value of information received	4	3	2	1
Logistics/arrangements (meals, meeting space, etc.)	4	3	2	1
Quality/usefulness of materials	4	3	2	1

2. What do you think is the most important foreign aid goal for U.S. policymakers right now?

3. What is the single most important insight or piece of information (e.g., idea, perspective, specific data) you gained from the speakers' presentations and/or the discussion period?

4. How might you make use of the information presented at this event?

5. What did you like best about this event?

6. What is/are the most important suggestion(s) you could offer for improving similar meetings in the future?

7. What topic(s) would you like to see addressed at the future NPA working breakfasts addressing the goals and strategies of U.S. foreign aid and development assistance?

8. What speaker(s) would you suggest for the topics you propose?

9. Do you have any additional comments or recommendations?

***AGAIN, OUR SINCERE THANKS FOR YOUR COOPERATION.
PLEASE RETURN THIS FORM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.***

**Nita Christine Kent
NPA Aid and Development Project Coordinator
1424 16th Street, N.W., Suite 700, Washington, D.C. 20036
FAX (202) 797-5516**

**NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION
AID AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT**

Project Evaluation

Submitted to NPA
Prepared by Carolyn S. McCommon, Ph.D
April 18, 1996

ABBREVIATIONS

CIR	Committee on Changing International Relations (NPA policy committee)
FAC	Food and Agriculture Committee (NPA policy committee)
GEC	Global Economic Council (NPA policy committee)
NAR	Committee on New American Realities (NPA policy committee)
NPA	National Planning Association
PVO	Private Voluntary Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

**EVALUATION:
NATIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION
AID AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECT**

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Overview

In 1993, the National Planning Association (NPA) embarked on an innovative three-year development project on the role of U.S. foreign aid and development assistance in the post-Cold War environment. The primary objective of this project, entitled "U.S. Foreign Aid and Development in the Post-Cold War World: Business and Labor Perspectives,"¹ is to increase discussion and facilitate the exchange of information and ideas between business and labor leaders and public policymakers. To achieve this, NPA is sponsoring a multifaceted educational program through regional seminars, Washington Working breakfasts, publications, and NPA member policy committee meetings.

Throughout its history, NPA has been involved in promoting pragmatic strategies for economic and political development in modernizing countries. NPA's broad-based committee structure and independent research program have helped private sector leaders from business, labor, agriculture, and academia understand and address complex issues facing the United States. One of NPA's most notable efforts in this regard was its support and intellectual motivation for what became known as the Marshall Plan.

The Aid and Development Project carries on this longstanding tradition of development education with its members. At the same time, the project represents an important departure for NPA. It has enabled NPA to target a broader national audience, reaching beyond its core membership of senior private sector leaders to include rank-and-file, regional, and mid-level professionals of these same organizations as well as non-NPA members from the public and private sectors. However, in targeting these national audiences, NPA has been challenged to develop new formats and institutional support to expand its information programs outside NPA's membership. This has created new demands and opportunities, both for NPA as an institution and for such public education programming.

Methodology

The purpose of this evaluation is to assess the project's impact in (1) increasing awareness of the role of U.S. development assistance and (2) promoting dialogue concerning U.S. development assistance between business and labor leaders and public policy makers.

The evaluation was undertaken March 1-31, 1996 by Dr. Carolyn McCommon with interview

¹The project is commonly referred to as the "Aid and Development Project," a term used throughout this evaluation.

assistance from Joanne Frank. Nita Christine Kent, Aid and Development Project Coordinator, helped to compile and analyze project-related statistics. The methodology to implement this evaluation has included a variety of tools: review of project documentation and participant evaluations provided by NPA², interviews with NPA staff, phone and personal interviews with NPA members, and phone interviews with participants in the Working Breakfasts and Regional Seminars. Rapid rural appraisal techniques have been used in collecting information. These have included semi-structured interviews with key informants and open-ended questionnaires with participants to provide triangulation and verification of information. The sample of participants and NPA members was identified through a two-stage random process targeted to include a representative sample of NPA's two main constituencies - business and labor - as well as others from the nonprofit, academic, and government sectors. This evaluation covers activities to date.

Methodological caveats include the following: (1) as with most evaluations, the limited time available for project review and analysis may have influenced the overall interpretation of findings; (2) the difficulty in securing some regional interviews and, as a result, the need to interview alternate choices may have biased the representativeness of the sample; (3) the lack of baseline data or longitudinal tracking make it impossible and imprudent to identify rigorous indicators of impact beyond qualitative trends; (4) as a development-oriented social scientist, the evaluator may have emphasized and/or overlooked issues which a more quantitative or education-focused professional might have otherwise addressed.

2.0 PROJECT OVERVIEW:

The NPA Aid and Development Project is a three-year development education program on the role of U.S. foreign aid and development assistance in the post-Cold War world. Working in consultation with its business and labor union members, NPA has implemented a variety of information and education activities to reach beyond its core membership and to target a national audience of business and labor leaders. These activities have included regional symposiums, Washington Working Breakfasts, NPA policy committee meetings and other NPA sessions, publications, and media campaigns.

As stated by NPA, the two overarching goals of the project include the following:

- To increase the awareness between business executives and labor leaders of the need to review and update U.S. foreign aid goals and strategies through a multifaceted information program. The program will examine the role of the United States in providing humanitarian aid and development assistance to developing countries in the post-Cold War and it will reach audiences from all regions of the nation.

²NPA has distributed evaluation forms for participants in the working breakfasts and regional seminars to complete. About 20% of participants complete these: these have been reviewed in this evaluation.

- To provide labor and business leaders, academics, PVO representatives, and government officials with opportunities to meet and discuss aid and development issues and to learn more about each other's views.

These goals reflect a restatement of project goals and objectives completed in the early months of grant Year 1 at the request of USAID. These revisions and changes in the workplan are documented in NPA's annual reports to USAID for project years 1 and 2. The evaluation of project plans and outputs follows the revised project workplan.

The NPA Aid and Development Project has been funded primarily by USAID under its Cooperative Agreement No. FAO-0230-A-00-3065-00 for \$725,799. The period covered by this cooperative agreement is September 20, 1993 through September 19, 1996. A grant of \$100,000 from the Carnegie Foundation covered NPA's matching portion of the second and third years. Cash and in-kind contributions from NPA have been \$161,042.³

3.0 PROGRAM PLANS AND OUTPUTS⁴

Goal 1: Awareness Building

The NPA Aid and Development project aims to increase the awareness of business executives and labor leaders of the need to review and update U.S. foreign aid goals and strategies through a multifaceted information program involving four platforms: regional symposia, Washington Working Breakfasts, NPA committee sessions, and special publications.

Regional Symposia

The regional symposia are the primary venues for reaching a national audience. These day-long sessions have been conducted throughout the country on a regional basis - North, South, East, West - and have targeted local leaders in the private sector. Nine symposia have been held; two remain. Attendance has ranged from 42 to 86 participants with an average of 65. meeting project proposal goals for 50 business, labor, and public policy leaders. Details of attendance are given in Table 1 found on the following page.

In organizing these events, NPA has relied on its members who help in a number of ways: suggesting potential sites; identifying local speakers, commentators, and participants; selecting topics; sponsoring events; and providing in-kind contributions. Although these events feature

³The total NPA contribution includes the amount budgeted for Year 3. The final total for NPA's contribution may be higher by the project's conclusion.

⁴The achievement of project goals follows the objectives and measurement methods stipulated in the revised workplan. Twelve objectives are listed for Goal 1 and four for Goal 2. Objectives for Goal 1 have been combined into four main categories to simplify the discussion; measurement methods for each remain distinct.

TABLE 1

ATTENDANCE: REGIONAL SYMPOSIA					
	Business	Labor	Gov't	Acad/PVO	TOTAL
1994					
New York	23	9	3	7	42
Seattle	23	20	13	11	67
Des Moines	44	5	6	11	66
Chicago	14	14	6	17	51
1995					
Atlanta	33	5	12	36	86
Pittsburgh	49	6	6	22	83
San Francisco	49	13	6	11	79
Boston	28	5	2	15	50
1996					
Dallas	34	1	8	22	65
Sub-total	297	78	62	152	589

the same theme. members assist NPA in focusing the content at each meeting to reflect the particular interests of the regions where the meetings are held. Thus in Des Moines where farming is a major economic activity, the meeting concerned sustainable development and food aid while in Pittsburgh where the industrial sector is predominant, the session considered the difficulties of paying for foreign development in difficult economic times. Speakers have included local and regional leaders as well as prominent resource people in business, labor, USAID, academia, government agencies, and development organizations. To provide a common context for discussion, each symposium includes a session on general foreign assistance strategies from different viewpoints as well as the "theme" speaker and topical session.

Washington Working Breakfasts

The Washington Working Breakfasts provide a far different context from that of the regional symposia. As the name implies, these are working breakfasts, short in duration (1 ½ hours), and much narrower in focus than the symposia. Held in the Capital area, these quarterly events have taken a more global perspective in examining foreign aid priorities throughout the world and the interrelationship between global and domestic goals in structuring U.S. foreign aid. Interest in these ongoing breakfasts has been far higher than the projected attendance of 30 to 40, leading NPA to absorb extra costs in order to include additional participants. However, the larger number of participants made discussions unwieldy. This factor, along with rising costs, led NPA to cut back the number of participants, and following the eighth breakfast, restrict attendance in subsequent events. To date, eleven breakfasts have been held with attendance ranging from 34 to 88 with an average of 58. Details of attendance are given in Table 2 on the following page.

Committee Sessions

NPA policy committee sessions have provided a natural venue for speakers and panel discussions on economic development and development aid as part of foreign policy. All five policy committees and the NPA Board of Trustees were introduced to the project via background material and discussions. The Global Economic Council (GEC)⁵ and the Food and Agriculture Committee (FAC), two committees whose interests lend themselves directly to the topic, have devoted special sessions to the issue at their biannual meetings. The Board of Trustees has been briefed through special luncheon speakers. NPA is on target with this objective and will have sponsored nine such meetings by the end of the project.

In addition to project-sponsored activities within these committees, another objective of the Aid and Development project was to encourage at least one of NPA's policy committees to become further involved in supporting and advancing project goals. An unforeseen outcome was the extent to which the FAC has embraced the project, including the formation of a new subcommittee to focus specifically on Trade, Development, and Global Issues. Some overall

⁵The GEC is the new name for the policy committee formerly known as the "Committee on International Realities" (CIR) whose activities are reported in earlier project reports.

TABLE 2

ATTENDANCE: WASHINGTON WORKING BREAKFASTS					
(Topics)	Business	Labor	Gov't	Acad/PVO	TOTAL
1993					
Aid and Development Priorities	15	8	22	18	63
1994					
Restructuring of Foreign Aid	19	18	24	19	80
Democracy and Free Markets	20	6	11	8	45
Population Growth and the Global Environment	3	6	15	7	31
Foreign Assistance Priorities in the Middle East	19	9	12	22	62
Foreign Assistance Strategies in the Former Soviet Union	23	7	30	15	72
1995					
Congressional Perspective on Foreign Assistance	28	14	17	18	77
Foreign Aid to Africa and U.S. Interests	21	6	26	35	88
Foreign Aid to Latin America	15	10	6	9	40
Foreign Aid and Asia	9	5	8	12	34
1996					
New Strategies for Development Assistance	7	11	13	13	44
Sub-total	179	100	184	176	636

project responsibilities have shifted to the director of the FAC as he has played a larger role in the overall project than originally anticipated. In other support, members of all committees, in particular those on the Committee on New American Realities (NAR), have assisted NPA staff in developing and sponsoring regional symposia and working breakfasts.

Within the GEC, NPA has sponsored yearly guest lectures on developing-aid issues as part of the Walter Surrey Memorial Series. Attendance at the two events held to date has been over the targeted number of 50-60 individuals each year with more than 140 total attending the two events.

Special Publications

NPA has used the publication of project-related materials to reach a larger audience than those who attended the symposia, breakfasts, and policy committee meetings. Recipients have included collaborating organizations, NPA's overall membership, and local sponsors as well as project participants. NPA has met project objectives and targets with the publication and dissemination of the following:

- A statistical study on the historical record of foreign assistance and newly emerging strategies. This NPA publication, *U.S. Foreign Assistance: The Rationale, the Record, and the Challenges in the Post-Cold War Era*, examines policy options and strategies for foreign aid and development assistance in the coming decades. It has served as a background text to topics addressed at project events and in other project publications. The study has been favorably received and has been in constant demand. To meet requests, NPA absorbed the costs of printing 3,000 instead of the targeted 1,400. Approximately three hundred remain to be distributed.
- Two project-related issues of NPA's quarterly journal *Looking Ahead*. The first issue examines challenges facing the United States as it redefines its policies on development assistance. The second issue contains analysis of the most important issues concerning U.S. foreign aid policies and the insights and concerns expressed by project participants throughout the first year and a half of the project. The final issue will be published in 1996. The project calls for 2,100 copies of each issue to be distributed. NPA absorbed the costs to print and distribute an extra 900 in 1994; for the 1995 issue, 2,100 were printed and 400 remain to be distributed.
- Publication of two project-related monographs in the Surrey Memorial Lecture Series publications. Remarks from the Walter Surrey Memorial Lecture have been combined with those of other authors, based on their presentations at various Aid and Development Project forums. Copies have been distributed to 2,900 individuals which more than achieved the target of 2,500. The final issue will be published following the next Walter Surrey Memorial lecture in May 1996.

Goal 2: Information Sharing

The multifaceted information program - regional symposia, Washington Working Breakfasts, NPA committee meetings, and special publications - provides the context for achievement of the project's second goal - information sharing. Through these different forums, the NPA Aid and Development project aims to provide labor and business leaders, academics, PVO representatives, and government officials with opportunities to meet and discuss aid and development issues and to learn more about each other's views. Based on the evaluation and workplan, NPA has three activities under this goal. In the first two, the objectives are to realize diversity in speakers, participants, and authors in two different venues - NPA-sponsored discussions and issues of the NPA quarterly journal *Looking Ahead*.⁶ The objective of the third is to broaden media outreach in non-NPA publications.

NPA-sponsored Discussions

NPA has been successful in meeting its objective to secure representation from a cross-section of labor, business, academic, government, and PVO communities as participants, speakers, and commentators in all project activities. The caliber of participants has been consistently high. Attendees and speakers have included executives of Fortune 500 corporations, presidents of international trade unions, CEOs of nonprofit organizations, and senior government officials as well as trade representatives, local union representatives, and academic specialists. Congressional representatives and staff members, senior USAID officials, and foreign ambassadors have given presentations along with Farm Bureau presidents, development practitioners, and investment bankers.

The Regional Symposia were significant in bringing together groups such as business and labor who rarely meet or engage in face-to-face discussions with Washington public policymakers, decision makers, and leaders. A slightly different situation is seen in the Washington-based events. Even though policy discussions are a "dime-a-dozen" in the nation's capital, the NPA Working Breakfasts are unique in the convening of business, labor, and government speakers in a nonpartisan, non-rancorous environment.

One of the strongest features of the seminars and working breakfasts has been NPA's use of interactive sessions to enhance information sharing among such diverse groups. This was not a feature of the original proposal. However, following a suggestion of the (then) USAID Project Coordinator, NPA incorporated discussion techniques such as small groups, simulations, and town meeting debates into the symposium format. The use of such educational process tools was new for NPA and required some "trial and error." Based on participant evaluations, the effort has been successful. Once introduced, these segments in the regional symposia have engaged audiences in heady exchanges in what had previously been seen as long speeches, and at times,

⁶The Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series was not included in the workplan for this goal as it was originally assumed that the project-related monograph in this Series would be based solely on the annual Series lecture.

tedious academic lectures.

The positive experience from the Regional Symposia led in part to NPA's early decision to expand the "Question and Answer" format of the Working Breakfasts. Initially, this segment had been given only perfunctory consideration and only as time allowed. With the shift, the time allotted for speaker presentations was shortened and more emphasis and opportunity given to participants to engage speakers. Again, participant evaluations point to the critical importance and success of this modification, particularly in the context of the Washington environment where individuals tend to pontificate. Through questions, participants were able to "move the speakers off their platforms" and to open dialogue.

Looking Ahead

A second objective under this goal is to involve a representative cross-section of project participants to write articles for yearly project-associated issues of *Looking Ahead*. NPA has achieved this in the two issues published to date. The first included articles written by leaders from all groups of participants providing different - and often competing - perspectives on U.S. foreign aid. Authors represent business (Citibank), academia (Brookings Institution), labor (Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers' Union), nonprofits (Overseas Development Council), government (Congressional Research Service), and USAID. The second issue took a somewhat different approach. Given the variety of views presented in the symposia and breakfasts and published in the Walter Surrey Memorial Series, NPA with concurrence from USAID devoted the second issue to an in-house review of "lessons learned" rather than to a compilation of articles by different authors. This synthesis report summarized and analyzed the concerns, questions, and insights raised by project participants.

Media Campaign

With the restatement of project goals and objectives in Project Year I, the broader media campaign objectives from the project proposal were de-emphasized. Instead, NPA was to pursue opportunities to place articles in non-NPA publications but without targeted numbers of articles and publications. The USAID-approved request was intended to allow NPA to first establish "a solid program of events and a basic relationship with the media."

Efforts in this area have been modest. NPA has distributed press releases before and after project events and upon the publication of all project-related materials. A few articles have been published in the local press where regional symposia have taken place⁷; radio coverage was given to one event. In targeting other media, NPA has at times been successful in using the press and public relations offices of organizations which co-sponsored its regional symposia.

NPA's media outreach has been more successful through other development agencies, and, in

⁷Details of the press releases have been provided in NPA reports to USAID and to Carnegie.

particular. InterAction, the broad-based coalition of private and voluntary organizations. NPA is a member of the Media Subcommittee of InterAction and has used their press list in contacting local press.

Summary Assessment

Through its multifaceted development education program, NPA has reached out to a national target audience of business and labor leaders. The different forums have focused the attention of these two groups on foreign aid and development assistance and heightened their awareness of the role of the U.S. in the post-Cold War world. The forums made possible clear opportunities for information sharing among very diverse groups. The task has not been simple; it has demanded significant effort on the part of NPA for the individual forums to be topical and relevant. Business and labor represent two very different constituencies, each with vested interest. Within these groups, NPA has encountered distinct levels of discourse that have further tempered the project's quest. These differences between and within these audiences are necessary to differentiate in evaluating progress toward the two project goals: building awareness and information sharing.

NPA's established outreach through its membership-based policy committees has provided a natural forum for mounting discussions with its members. The audiences in the various committees represent senior leaders, often longstanding NPA members, whose positions in business, labor, agriculture, and academia afford them a much broader perspective on global issues. Committees meet twice a year in off-the-record discussions. A stated purpose for these committees is to formulate public and private policy recommendations on issues about which consensus is possible.

By contrast, the Regional Symposia have brought together a broad range of the general public from all walks of life and with very different experiences and understandings of development and foreign aid issues. Participation from the business sector has been strong and diverse, ranging from medium-sized business owners to trade associations. It has included regional management of NPA member organizations as well as NPA committee members themselves. Many of these are "on-the-line" professionals whose priorities are short-term, commercial and regionalized. The level of local labor participation on the other hand has been variable in intensity and by regions, dependent on local labor's presence and the linkage of foreign aid with "bread-and-butter" issues of job competition.

The Washington Working Breakfasts provide a platform distinct from both the Regional Symposia and the Policy committees. Labor participants attend on a regular basis. These are typically high-ranking labor officials with strong convictions and in-depth understandings of foreign aid and development issues. Their regular attendance is not difficult since most labor organizations are headquartered in Washington and include international departments with large staffs. By contrast, participation from the business sector has been more variable and intermittent, targeted in its focus and session-specific. Business representatives have included

industry advocates, firms with development and trade interests, and executives from Fortune 500 companies. While business attendance has been continuous on the whole, far fewer businesses or their representatives and staff have attended on a regular basis than have attended from labor.

Goal 1: Awareness Building

NPA efforts in building awareness have had their most significant impact at two levels - the regional symposia and NPA policy committees. Through the regional symposia, NPA has successfully reached a national audience whose understanding of foreign aid goals and the U.S. role in the post-Cold War environment was somewhat limited. Participants in general reported a broader understanding of development assistance as a tool of foreign aid and its returns for the U.S. economy. By targeting sessions to regional issues, the project articulated specific U.S. interests and, perhaps as importantly, the economic and social self-interest of American people, workers, and business. The organization of panels and selection of diverse speakers clearly provided a comprehensive view of the different often competing positions. The balance of views and "hard facts" dispelled some misperceptions, particularly the percentage of the federal budget actually apportioned to foreign aid. For many - including local labor - the role of labor organizations in supporting and implementing development assistance with international trade groups was "eye-opening."

Among NPA members, the level of awareness of foreign aid and development issues has been different from participants in the regional symposia. Through policy committee sessions, NPA members are already familiar with international economic issues. Many are directly engaged in global trade and, through their business and labor positions, active in international relations. As senior business and labor leaders, many are also involved in humanitarian aid as board members for nonprofits. Thus, the level of discourse for these business and labor leaders was far different from the regional symposia. From the perspective of many of these participants, project-sponsored activities introduced a linkage between aid strategies and broader trade and investment initiatives. These various activities highlighted the concept of a "dual transition" and, in demonstrating the economic returns from development assistance, brought forward the connection between creating markets and building trade partners.

The extent to which the FAC has taken on the topic of development, through the level of discussions in the policy committee meetings and the creation of the subcommittee on Trade and Development Issues, is significant. While other committees, particularly the GEC, also sponsored project-related activities, the interest of the FAC has been more evident. Clearly, the timing was propitious and may have been as much a catalyst for the committee's interest in the topic as has the project's outreach. Many members of the FAC benefit from development assistance programs such as PL-480 and, with cutbacks in price supports, are looking for new markets. There is definite self-interest in the topic within the FAC. At the same time, NPA framed the issues and broadened the context in which agribusiness has traditionally viewed (and benefitted from) development assistance. In shaping the discussion, NPA has brought the FAC forward in exploring new "win-win" strategies that benefit American farmers and the national

interest and contribute to America's global leadership role.

In the working breakfasts, the project has been less successful in increasing awareness within either labor or business of the need to review and update foreign aid goals. A contributing factor has been the professional background of this particular audience and of others in attendance from the PVO, academic, and government sectors. Many working breakfast participants are already actively engaged in foreign assistance and development-related issues. They have strong views and vested interests in the U.S. foreign aid priorities. These participants attended because they are already aware of the issues and want to keep current on the debate.

From the perspective of the business sector, the working breakfasts have been less successful for different reasons. Based on comments from NPA members and other participants, NPA faltered in linking development assistance with business concerns and failed to make the issue relevant. Presentations were often seen as too academic and "wonkish." To succeed in raising the awareness of this segment of business, one member suggested that topics must be more "focused, actionable, practical, and contained."

Goal 2: Information Sharing

The different project forums have clearly afforded labor and business leaders, academics, PVO representatives, and government officials with opportunities for information sharing. NPA set out to engage a cross-section of participants and to ensure balanced presentations of competing views. It has worked.

Within policy committee meetings and through NPA's mailing list, NPA has exposed members to foreign development issues. Selection of topics, speakers, and authors has helped guide the debate and encouraged discussion. The variety of formats - panel discussions at the semiannual meetings, luncheon speakers, the Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Lecture, and the different publications - have ensured that a majority of members have been introduced to the issues in one way or another.

In organizing the regional seminars and working breakfasts, the task has been a bit more formidable, considering the number of sessions, the regional logistics, and the different audiences. It has taken additional effort to identify, schedule, and focus speakers on project themes. It has involved even more skill to moderate and to implement a development education program at a time when the basic premise and future of foreign aid are being questioned and debated.

NPA provided the opportunity for discussion and, through the interactive formats, created the atmosphere for exchange. However, the extent to which target audiences learned more about others' views depended greatly on their own motivation for attending. For organized labor, the opportunity for discussion provided by the Aid and Development Project was "a bright spot in a black environment" in raising discussions about issues central to labor. Labor "seized the

opportunity" to present its concerns and to address the stereotypes and misperceptions about labor's position on foreign trade. From the outset, labor placed high priority on participation by labor representatives and union members in all events. This visibility extended from arranging the continuous participation by one senior union official in all regional seminars and working breakfasts to ensuring a strong presence by senior-most officials at all breakfasts. Over the life of the project, the AFL-CIO played a strong role in helping NPA by publicizing the events with their local affiliates and encouraging them to act as cosponsors.

At the same time, labor is not monolithic, particularly in member positions regarding foreign assistance. Organized labor has long been active in the international labor movement, looking to government and foreign assistance as a means to support worker rights and ultimately protect U.S. workers. In taking a global and long-term perspective, national leadership is more supportive of foreign aid, a stance often at odds with local labor for whom foreign assistance is seldom a popular idea. This distrust - even anger - over foreign aid underscores the very low levels of local labor participation in the regional seminars, even despite the efforts by the AFL-CIO to encourage their support. Thus labor leaders took advantage of the regional events not only to share their views with local business but also to inform and educate their own members.

The business sector has viewed these events with a different objective from labor, focusing on getting information rather than advocating a private sector position. For their purposes, a primary reason for attending the working breakfasts and regional symposia has been to learn more about international trade opportunities and U.S. government activities in promoting the U.S. private sector role in economic development.

Business leaders who attended the symposia had a more expansive view than those attending the working breakfasts. While business contacts were primary motives for attending, seminar participants found the topics interesting and generally informative. Individuals saw the seminars as a positive learning experience pointing to new insights on labor's position, cost vs. benefits of foreign aid, and foreign aid priorities. Those attending the breakfasts on the other hand had a narrower intent. Many of these are small contractors and medium-sized firms who saw the breakfasts primarily as an occasion to learn about USAID projects and possibilities of trade promotion. For them, the breakfasts were "interesting" but not necessarily beneficial.

4.0 GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Building on NPA's unique role

The success of the project in bringing together business and labor and exposing them to information on U.S. development assistance rests in NPA's unique tripartite structure and long status as a nonpolitical privately-funded organization. The importance of this status in securing participation cannot be underscored enough. Since its founding in 1934, NPA has had a strong relationship with business, labor, and agricultural leaders. It is known and recognized by these sectors for its leadership and impartiality in bringing these diverse groups to work together on

narrowing areas of controversy and broadening areas of agreement. Few other institutions (if any) could have engaged support from these groups and called directly on their leadership. Because of this, the project was able to reach out at the national level and engage the participation of different groups who might not otherwise have attended such forums.

NPA's institutional neutrality has further strengthened its outreach. Development education is often suspect as a public relations effort for the funding agency. This has been particularly true in the current political environment where the whole future of foreign aid and development assistance is under scrutiny and motives are questioned. In this regard, NPA's own longstanding reputation provides credibility in and of itself to project goals. NPA's mission is oriented to meet the needs of its members, not to support a particular development agenda. This is not to say that NPA is neutral in regards to foreign assistance. It is not. NPA has long been supportive of a strong leadership role for the United States and the use of foreign assistance to advance national interests. Nor does it imply that NPA is uncritical of USAID. NPA does stand clear in its dedication to fostering the discussion over foreign assistance and the U.S. leadership role from a neutral standpoint.

Reaching Beyond the Beltway

In implementing activities across the country, NPA found contexts elsewhere far different from Washington in presenting the topic of foreign assistance and U.S. priorities. The level of understanding, interest, and support varied between regions and differed by sector. Dynamics achieved through the interactive segments and panel discussions continuously brought out the concern and interest of participants to clarify issues as they related to their businesses, jobs, and families. Misperceptions were highlighted from the level of funding spent on foreign aid to the benefits received by U.S. firms to labor's activities with international trade unions. Bringing seminar participants to a common point of understanding has demanded considerable fine-tuning to avoid boring or frustrating the group as a whole.

The dialogue has been two-way. Views expressed by participants have often exposed national program speakers themselves to realities other than those seen inside Washington. As expressed by one speaker, too often "government and policy makers such as myself become insulated." Participating in such regional formats sensitizes the "experts" to local concerns and sharpens their understanding of how the issues relate locally. As one senior economist explained, the seminar discussions reminded him of the need not to forget the "people behind the numbers."

Involving a Cross-Section of Participants and Speakers

NPA has been challenged in organizing the different sessions by the high demand for limited spaces and challenged in selecting speakers appropriate to agenda topics. Interest in attending has been expansive, far more than expected, particularly within the academic, government, and nonprofit sectors. To accommodate the strong interest, NPA has absorbed the costs of expanding attendance and looked to cosponsors for additional assistance. Including more participants from

these target communities has broadened and enriched the discussion by providing more input from qualified professionals. It has also provided an opportunity for these individuals, particularly academics, to learn more about the "real world" perspective of labor and business. Even though NPA eventually cut back the numbers, the percentage of their participation has still remained high. The added participation has at times had the unintended effect of coloring the debate in academic terms or extending the focus beyond the primary interests of business and labor.

In the selection of speakers, NPA has reached out to NPA members and other experts in identifying individuals to participate in panel discussions. The process has required a series of steps to get the best and most qualified speakers. While the process could be tightened, it has generally provided a well-balanced group of panelists. This is seen in the sheer quality and diversity of the different agendas and reflected in the positive comments of participants in all forums - seminars, working breakfasts, and policy committees. The overall product has been good. However, it appears that too often, when in a bind to fill gaps, NPA has drawn upon the same individuals or "tired voices" as described by one NPA member. These choices, though fewer in number, have compromised the otherwise overall high quality.

Increasing Awareness of the Broader Development Community

As a consequence of being a Biden-Pell grantee, NPA has been introduced to a different network of PVOs and private nonprofit organizations. Many of these are development institutions, few of whom had previously been aware of NPA and its activities with business and labor. Similarly, NPA was introduced to perspectives on international economic issues different from those of its member constituencies. NPA extended its involvement in the development community, actively participating in international development conferences and serving on editorial boards and steering committees for development education publications and activities. In addition, PVOs, particularly some of the other Biden-Pell grantees, have attended working breakfasts and regional seminars.

Through these interactions with other development groups, NPA has assisted others in the development community to understand better the needs and interests of business and labor unions. This exposure to the perspectives of these two sectors has filled a gap in the understanding of PVOs. It has furthered NPA's public-private sector policy dialogues over foreign assistance and economic development.

However, the potential of this particular dialogue among PVOs, business, and labor unions has not been as made clear as it might have been. Strategic alliances between PVOs and business and labor offers the capacity for addressing needs felt by all three sectors. This relevance is highlighted in two examples from interviews conducted in this evaluation. In one, a representative of Fortune 500 company pointed out that partnerships with NGOs in Africa have enhanced his company's efforts to train local staff and, through community development, to improve the local context for conducting business. In another, a PVO executive described efforts

by his organization to facilitate the involvement of small and medium-sized U.S. firms in development activities funded by the European Economic Community.

Targeting the Media

The Aid and Development Project has produced a wealth of relevant and timely discussion surrounding the debate over foreign aid and development and over the relationship of foreign aid with the U.S. national interest. The thoughts and concerns of speakers, authors, and audiences reflect diverse issues providing a comprehensive summary of differing points of view. These have come forth in NPA-sponsored discussions and through publications of special reports and issues of NPA's in-house journals and series. Participants and NPA members have benefitted from these exchanges and materials. However, their potential value - and importance - for an even broader audience has not been realized for lack of an effective media campaign.

This activity, included in the original proposal, was de-emphasized in the subsequent restatement of project goals and objectives. Given the project's limited resources, it was intended that NPA would establish a basic relationship with the media rather than attempt more involved outreach through labor and trade publications. Even with this more modest objective, NPA has fallen short. While the project has had occasional success in placing press releases and attracting local coverage, NPA has been generally unsuccessful in drawing media attention to the project. Given the unique combination of perspectives brought forth through the project, this oversight has obscured the value of these findings with a broader public.

Defining a Nonpartisan Role

NPA's strength in setting the stage for an examination of Americans' foreign policy lies in its adherence to a nonpartisan agenda. In all activities, NPA has endeavored and succeeded in ensuring the presentation of diverse views on foreign aid, both pro and con. This has stimulated debates on the opportunities and challenges facing the United States as it defines an appropriate foreign aid policy in the post-Cold War era. Among participants, it has generated greater awareness and understanding of the choices available and opened discussions on identifying priorities as they relate to the national interest.

NPA is not neutral to foreign assistance. The organization has long advocated the importance of aid and development assistance in contributing to the U.S. national interest. Through its policy committees, NPA has often researched development-related concerns and issued policy statements. In moderating discussions with a broader, non-NPA audience, however, NPA has held back from eliciting a consensus or suggesting follow-up actions. This is partly due to the project's format and focus on dialogue and information-sharing. It is also due to NPA's concern to avoid any hint of advocacy for USAID as an agency.

In defining its nonpartisan role, NPA early on decided not to be proactive about foreign assistance in the public forums and to let project publications synthesize these discussions.

Based on participants' comments, it appears NPA might have extended its initial impacts by providing this synthesis more directly, either in the discussions or follow-up actions. Many individuals felt a need for more resolution, if nothing else by NPA's summarizing ideas and offering potential next steps. NPA's hesitation not to be seen as taking a stance one way or another has meant that NPA has not yet built on the interest it successfully stimulated. NPA thus overlooked the additional contribution it might make in working with participants to develop guidelines for what foreign aid and assistance could be.

5.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Aid and Development Project achieved its objectives to focus attention on the goals and strategies of U.S. foreign aid and development assistance in the post-Cold War era from the perspectives of business and labor. Through project-sponsored discussions and publications, NPA has steered the conversation and advanced the priority of foreign aid. This comes at a critical time when domestic concerns and political wrangling have obscured the vital importance of a strong U.S. leadership role.

Characteristic of NPA's long tradition, the project fostered the discussion in a nonpartisan factual format, presenting diverse views from different perspectives to achieve a balanced view. The project was intended to increase awareness of the role of development assistance as an aspect of foreign policy; this it did. In providing opportunities for dialogue, the project enabled different sectors to present their views. As described by one participant, the project was "courageous" in bringing together business and labor to discuss these issues in a "neutral forum." It also broadened the perspective of the foreign policy pundits and government officials who attended. Through the interactive formats, these individuals were reminded of issues held important by others. The overall effect was to heighten awareness of the democratic process in a civil society such as the United States.

The Aid and Development project reached out to a national audience with a difficult topic. It did so with modest resources for what has been a departure from its traditional activities with NPA policy committees. While issues may not have been pressed or follow-up provided, the project has provided a base to work from by exposing a pool of people to these critical issues.

Recommendations

As NPA moves forward in its programming strategy for the Aid and Development Project and its proposed extension, the following thoughts might be useful to consider as next steps in meeting NPA's goals:

1. Using regional contacts to continue the project dialogue. NPA has developed relationships with local organizations who either co-sponsored the regional seminars or facilitated them in other ways. They provide a natural outreach for NPA to use in continuing the discussions on aid and development that have been initiated.

This suggestion follows an NPA proposal to provide "meeting packets" to cosponsors for them to carry out their own information programs. For these to be effectual and cost-effective, NPA needs to give careful consideration to the theme(s) and linkage with regional priorities as well as to the types of materials provided. As NPA found in the first phase of the project, carrying out an information program with a national audience and non-NPA members is qualitatively different from mounting similar efforts within NPA policy committees. NPA needs to apply the "lessons learned" to ensure that the content is practical and insightful. NPA might consider conducting a small survey of selected cosponsors to solicit their suggestions. NPA might also consider speaking with other educational and development institutions such as InterAction, the Academy for Educational Development, and PACT to learn about their experience in sponsoring and facilitating similar events.

2. Increasing Awareness through NPA Policy Committees. As the project ends the first phase, NPA will be preparing a publication based on discussions at the project activities. NPA might consider summarizing the material into a "point-counter point" format and presenting these main conclusions in all upcoming policy committees. To highlight the implications for NPA members, NPA could integrate or draw out issues relevant to each committee's (or some members') interests, particularly for those committees such as BNAC and NAR where the topic was not seen as a priority.

NPA might also encourage members to include related sessions in conventions and meetings of their own industries, organizations, or unions. Through the project's activities, NPA has the experience and contacts to facilitate efforts by its members to mount related discussions under their own auspices. NPA could assist in targeting topics on a regional or thematic basis, drawing upon its own in-house staff or resources used in the project.

3. Facilitating dialogue of PVOs with the business sector and labor. NPA stands in a good position to facilitate the dialogue of PVOs with the business sector and labor. It is a conversation overdue for many PVOs who, like the business sector and labor, have been narrow in their perceptions of other sectors. NPA might consider ways to initiate informal discussions in the remaining breakfasts. Through pre-session mailings, NPA could point out the relevance of a particular topic at an upcoming event and encourage their participation. In another medium, NPA could collaborate with InterAction on ways findings from the project could be presented in InterAction's biweekly newsletter *Monday Developments*.
4. Reaching audiences through a newsletter. NPA is focusing on the publication and distribution of a newsletter for its next phase of dissemination. This phase is very short, only one year. Based on comments from the evaluations interviews, NPA will first need to clarify its intended audience. To catch the attention of this audience, NPA will need to identify and present "cutting-edge" topics presented in a format that is aimed at

nonprofessionals. NPA might focus issues on crosscutting themes for business and labor to help build a consensus on what a "new" development agenda might look like. An example of a topic was suggested by one NPA member: How can the U.S. be competitive and still address labor concerns? How can corporate restructuring be achieved without abandoning local responsibilities? NPA can draw on the analysis from the second issue of *Looking Ahead* and discussions from the seminars and working breakfasts to identify themes. NPA might also solicit suggestions from NPA members. NPA could heighten visibility on the newsletter (and the project) by placing editorial or op-ed articles.

5. Measuring Outcome. In looking ahead to the follow-on phase, NPA could incorporate findings of this evaluation in the development of a baseline for measuring progress. NPA committee members are one source of data. Project staff could identify a core set of NPA committee members or their representatives to use as a sample group in tracking progress. Performance indicators on labor and business perspectives could then be tied to specific questions used in an established interview schedule. This aspect of an evaluation plan could assist NPA with continuous monitoring in two aspects: (1) to document the progress and experiences of the Project and its activities with other institutions and (2) to provide valuable management tools to allow NPA staff and partners to refine and refocus activities.

PERSONS INTERVIEWED

NPA Committees

Food and Agriculture Committee

Nels Ackerson, Chairman, The Ackerson Group
Steve Daugherty, Public Affairs Director, Government Affairs
Pioneer Hi-Bred International, Inc.
F. Parry Dixon, Director of Economic Research, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co.
Ron Gollehon, President, ACDI
John Mellor, President, John Mellor Associates

North American Committee

Louis Moore, Director, International Affairs, Communication Workers of America
Alexander Tomlinson, Chairman, The Fund for Arts and Culture in Central and
Eastern Europe

Global Economic Council

C. Mark Dadd, Chief Economist, AT&T
J. Michael Farren, Vice President, External Affairs, Xerox Corporation
Dr. Jonathan Lemco, Vice-President, Senior Sovereign Risk Analyst, CS First Boston
Dr. Eugene Zeltman, Commissioner, State of New York Public Service Commission

Committee on New American Realities

Alan MacDonald, Executive Vice-President, Citibank
Jack Sheinkman, Chairman of the Board, Amalgamated Bank of New York (also BNAC)
John Caron, President, Caron International

British-North American Committee

John Joyce, President, International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen

Participants: Working Breakfasts

Business

Robert Frederick, Legislative Director, National Grange
Harry Freeman, The Freeman Company
Kristen Hall, Program Director, International Trade and Investment, IBM
Judge Morris, AMP Inc.
Sana Khan, Government Relations Associate, American Home Products
Guenther Wilhelm, Deputy Manager, D.C. Office, Exxon Corporation

Labor

Byron Charlton, Executive Director, African-American Labor Center
Philip Fishman, Asst. Director, International Affairs Dept., AFL-CIO

Jesse Friedman, Deputy Executive Director, AIFLD
Anne Knipper, Assistant to the Director, International Affairs Dept., AFL-CIO
Lawrence Liles, International Representative, IBEW

Government

John Ferch, Director of Foreign Relations, Dept. of Labor
John Miranda, Asst. Deputy Administrator, USDA/FAS/ICD
Larry Nowells, Congressional Research Service

Nonprofits

Suzanne Holt, Project Officer, Partners of the Americas
Gail Houchhauser, Director of Special Programs, Association of International Educators
Kimberly Jessup, Forum Manager, Overseas Development Council
Peter Shiras, Director, Government Relations and Public Outreach, InterAction

Academic

Dr. Sharon Lockwood, Associate Professor, Dept. of Economics, American University
Dr. Reid Whitlock, Associate Professor, Dept. of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University

Participants: Regional Seminars

Business

Malcolm Barnebey, (retired Amb./private consultant)
Jeff Brown, Manager Business Development, NATCO Process Systems
David Callahan, Deputy Director, Massport Trade Development
Luciano Giampa, President, Commercial Leasing and Development
Harry Glenof, Senior Vice-President, Nations Bank
Thomas Holbick, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston
Hilary Hylan, Vice-President, Citicorp North America, Inc.
Michael Kobori, Public Policy Manager, Levi Strauss and Company
Dennis Konopatzke, President, Foreign Trade Zone Operating Company
Paula Lawton-Bevington, Chairman, Servidyne Systems, Inc.
James McCarville, Executive Director, Port of Pittsburgh Commission
DeeDee McConnell, Director of Communications, U.S.-Mexico Chamber of Commerce
Kathrin Moore, Associate Partner, Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill
Tapan Munroe, Chief Economist, Pacific Gas and Electric Company
George Mordwinkin, President, Sensor Corporation
Minette Murphree, Market Strategy Manager, AT&T
Norman Neureiter, Vice President, Texas Instruments Asia Limited
Edward Rivera, Latin American Pacific Trade Association
Harry Rollins, ProPac
Dr. Alexander Rossolimo, President, International Strategy Associates

David Sears, Vice-President, WPI, Incorporated
Dennis Unkovic, Partner, Meyer, Unkovic, and Scott
Al Vara, Marketing Department, AYDIN Corporation

Labor

Herman Cohen, Administrative Asst., UNITE
Paul Dempster, President Emeritus, San Francisco Labor Council AFL-CIO
William Grover, Vice-President, Local 636 Teamsters
Kevin Kistler, Director, AFL-CIO, Region III
Ron Martin, Director, AFL-CIO Region V
Frank Myers, Director, New England Regional AFL-CIO
Carole Travis, Regional Coordinator, SEIU
Don Vincent, Business Representative, International Union of Operating Engineers

Government

Beth Huddleston, Director ISBDC, World Trade Center
Jim Nguyen, Mayor's Office of Commerce and Trade
Bob Stallman, President, Texas Farm Bureau

Nonprofits

Foster Phillips, Senior Partner, InterAmerican Initiatives
Roseann Rife, Executive Director, World Federalist Association
Kenneth Graber, Microenterprise Development Coordinator, World Relief
Dr. Cedric Suzman, Vice-President, Southern Center for International Studies

Academic

Dr. Herschelle S. Challenor, Dean, School of International Affairs and
Development, Clark Atlanta University
Dr. Richard Kruiuzenga, Senior Fellow, Institute for the Study of Earth and
Man, SMU
Dr. Diane S. McNulty, Associate Dean, University of Texas at Dallas
Dr. Jerome Siebert, Dept. of Economics, University of California

Carnegie Corporation of New York

Dr. Patricia Rosenfield, Program Chair, Strengthening Human Resources in
Developing Countries

USAID

Sally Shelton, Asst. Administrator, Global Programs
Elise Storck, Director, Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid

National Planning Association

Malcolm R. Lovell, President and CEO
James Auerbach, Vice President
Richard Belous, Vice President and Codirector, Aid and Development Project

Nita Christine Kent, Coordinator, Aid & Development Project
Dahlia Stein, Senior Fellow and Codirector, Aid and Development Project
Marilyn Zuckerman, Secretary-Treasurer

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 Biden-Pell Development Education Resource Inventory
 August 1989

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1. Grantee Organization/Address/Phone

National Policy Association, 1424 16th Street, N.W., Suite 700
 Washington, D.C. 20036 (202) 265-7685

2. Development Education Contact Person

Marilyn Zuckerman

3. Phone

(202) 884-7626

4. Collaborating Organization/Address (if product was a joint venture)

None

5. Title

Foreign Assistance as an Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad

6. Author(s)

Curt Tarnoff and Larry Q. Nowels

7. Publication Year

1997

8. No. of pages/length

26

9. Cost

\$15.00

10. Is the product still available? yes no -- (if yes, please indicate ordering info if different from #1-2 above)

11. Target Audience (see instructions on back)

Formal Education Sector

- Primary School Teachers (K-6)
- Secondary School Teachers (7-12)
- University Teachers
- Primary School Students
- Secondary School Students
- University Students
- Educational Administrators
- Other - please specify _____

Non-Formal Education Sector

- Agriculture /Agribusiness Community
- 1 Business/Labor Community
- Environmental Community
- 2 General Public
- Government (State/Local/Federal)
- Health/Medical Community
- Media (Print, Broadcast)
- Membership Group(s) - specify _____
- Religious Community
- Senior Citizens
- Women
- Youth Group(s)
- Other Special Interest Group
please specify _____

12. Type of Material (check one)

- Audio Cassettes
- Bibliography
- Book
- Briefing/Background Paper
- Brochure/Pamphlet
- Catalog/Resource List
- Chart/Poster
- Curriculum Unit
- Directory
- Discussion Guide
- Exhibit
- Game
- Movie/Videotape
- Periodical (magazine/newsletter/etc.)
- Slides/Film Strip
- Training Material
- Other - specify _____

13. Geographic Focus of the Product (if applicable)

- Africa
- Asia/Pacific
- Caribbean
- Middle/Near East
- Latin America
- Global

14. Subject

- Agriculture
- Development/General
- Environment
- Food
- International Trade/Business/Finance
- Microenterprise

- Population/Health/Nutrition
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- Women
- Youth
- Other - specify _____

15. Annotation (Please review instructions and enter annotation on the back of form)

This publication is designed to update the project's 1994 overview of U.S. foreign aid policy and to review some of the key findings of the NPA Aid and Development Project to date. It presents current data on foreign assistance program priorities and spending levels and includes remarks from speakers and program participants.

Instructions for Completing this Form

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12. **Type of Material** - Indicate one.
13. **Geographic Focus** - Indicate geographical region or country.
14. **Subject** - Select those which apply.
15. **Annotation** - Briefly describe the product's major theme, purpose, learning objectives, focus and content. (If the product is part of a set indicate the component part(s) and complete one annotation which is appropriate for all parts.) Limit 200 words.

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3. Phone

(202) 884-7626

4. Collaborating Organization/Address (if product was a joint venture)

None

5. Title

Trade Blocs: A Regionally Specific Phenomenon or a Global Trend?

6. Author(s)

Dr. Richard L. Bernal

7. Publication Year

1997

8. No. of pages/length

42 pages

9. Cost

\$8.00

10. Is the product still available? yes no -- (if yes, please indicate ordering info if different from #1-2 above)

11. Target Audience (see instructions on back)

Formal Education Sector

- Primary School Teachers (K-6)
- Secondary School Teachers (7-12)
- University Teachers
- Primary School Students
- Secondary School Students
- University Students
- Educational Administrators
- Other - please specify _____

Non-Formal Education Sector

- Agriculture /Agribusiness Community
- 1 Business/Labor Community
- Environmental Community
- 2 General Public
- Government (State/Local/Federal)
- Health/Medical Community
- Media (Print, Broadcast)
- Membership Group(s) - specify _____
- Religious Community
- Senior Citizens
- Women
- Youth Group(s)
- Other Special Interest Group
please specify _____

12. Type of Material (check one)

- Audio Cassettes
- Bibliography
- Book
- Briefing/Background Paper
- Brochure/Pamphlet
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- Chart/Poster
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- Training Material
- Other - specify _____

13. Geographic Focus of the Product (if applicable)

- Africa
- Asia/Pacific
- Caribbean
- Middle/Near East
- Latin America
- Global

14. Subject

- Agriculture
- X Development/General
- Environment
- Food
- X International Trade/Business/Finance
- Microenterprise
- Population/Health/Nutrition
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- Women
- Youth
- Other - specify _____

15. Annotation (Please review instructions and enter annotation on the back of form)

55

This sixth volume in the Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series analyzes the impact of trade blocs on today's global economy. The number and size of trade blocs have grown explosively in recent years. This monograph discusses these trade regimes from the perspective of Dr. Richard Bernal, Ambassador of Jamaica to the United States. After examining the history and current status of a range of existing and emerging trade blocs, Ambassador Bernal looks at the forces which shape these agreements and their implications for the developing world. He cites the potentially serious consequences to economic growth if these countries are excluded from trade blocs, but recognizes the forces that often inhibit their participation.

Instructions for Completing this Form

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6. **Author** - Enter personal author(s). Omit titles (Mr., Ms., PhD etc.)
7. **Publication Date** - Enter date of publication.
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Marilyn Zuckerman

3. Phone

(202) 884-7626

4. Collaborating Organization/Address (if product was a joint venture)

None

5. Title

Business & Labor Dialogue: Vol. 1, Issues 1-4

6. Author(s)

Multiple Authors

7. Publication Year

1997

8. No. of pages/length

4 per issue

9. Cost

n/a

10. Is the product still available? []yes []no -- (if yes, please indicate ordering info if different from #1-2 above)

11. Target Audience (see instructions on back)

Formal Education Sector

- Primary School Teachers (K-6)
- Secondary School Teachers(7-12)
- University Teachers
- Primary School Students
- Secondary School Students
- University Students
- Educational Administrators
- Other - please specify _____

Non-Formal Education Sector

- Agriculture /Agribusiness Community
- 1 Business/Labor Community
- Environmental Community
- 2 General Public
- Government (State/Local/Federal)
- Health/Medical Community
- Media (Print, Broadcast)
- Membership Group(s) - specify _____
- Religious Community
- Senior Citizens
- Women
- Youth Group(s)
- Other Special Interest Group
please specify _____

12. Type of Material (check one)

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- Exhibit
- Game
- Movie/Videotape
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- Training Material
- Other - specify _____

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- Asia/Pacific
- Caribbean
- Middle/Near East
- Latin America
- Global

14. Subject

- Agriculture
- X Development/General
- Environment
- Food
- International Trade/Business/Finance
- Microenterprise
- Population/Health/Nutrition
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- Women
- Youth
- Other - specify _____

15. Annotation (Please review instructions and enter annotation on the back of form)

57

15.Annotation (continued)

This quarterly newsletter focuses on the U.S. role in international development from a private sector perspective.

- *Autumn 1997* - Highlights from the St. Paul, Minnesota symposium on May 20, 1997.
- *Summer 1997* - A business perspective on international development and foreign aid.
- *Spring 1997* - Labor's view on overseas development and foreign aid.
- *Winter 1997* - Commentary on development from government, business, labor, and PVO leaders.

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Marilyn Zuckerman

3. Phone

(202) 884-7626

4. Collaborating Organization/Address (if product was a joint venture)

None

5. Title

Foreign Assistance Meeting Resource Packet

6. Author(s)

7. Publication Year

1997

8. No. of pages/length

9. Cost

10. Is the product still available? yes no -- (if yes, please indicate ordering info if different from #1-2 above)

11. Target Audience (see instructions on back)

Formal Education Sector

- Primary School Teachers (K-6)
- Secondary School Teachers (7-12)
- University Teachers
- Primary School Students
- Secondary School Students
- University Students
- Educational Administrators
- Other - please specify _____

Non-Formal Education Sector

- Agriculture /Agribusiness Community
- 1 Business/Labor Community
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- 2 General Public
- Government (State/Local/Federal)
- Health/Medical Community
- Media (Print, Broadcast)
- Membership Group(s) - specify _____
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- Senior Citizens
- Women
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- Asia/Pacific
- Caribbean
- Middle/Near East
- Latin America
- Global

14. Subject

- Agriculture
- Development/General
- Environment
- Food
- International Trade/Business/Finance
- Microenterprise

- Population/Health/Nutrition
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- Women
- Youth
- Other - specify _____

15. Annotation (Please review instructions and enter annotation on the back of form)

As part of its four year Aid and Development project, NPA has compiled this information based on our experience hosting a series of symposia across the country. This packet contains the following:

- listings of organizations that implement or study U.S. foreign assistance programs
- listings of publications on foreign assistance (monographs, articles, government documents)
- list of resources on the web
- guidelines for organizing discussion sessions (with a sample NPA interactive session form)
- suggested discussion questions for the session
- survey form to provide feedback to NPA
- sample program evaluation form
- other relevant materials, including NPA newsletters and other publications

Instructions for Completing this Form

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3. Phone

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4. Collaborating Organization/Address (if product was a joint venture)

None

5. Title

Emerging Markets and International Development: Options for U.S. Foreign Policy

6. Author(s)

Moeen Qureshi, Jeffrey D. Sachs, Neil McMullen, and Gregory F. Treverton.

7. Publication Year

1996

8. No. of pages/length

44

9. Cost

\$8.00

10. Is the product still available? [X] yes [] no -- (if yes, please indicate ordering info if different from #1-2 above)

11. Target Audience (see instructions on back)

Formal Education Sector

- Primary School Teachers (K-6)
- Secondary School Teachers (7-12)
- University Teachers
- Primary School Students
- Secondary School Students
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- Educational Administrators
- Other - please specify _____

Non-Formal Education Sector

- Agriculture /Agribusiness Community
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- Government (State/Local/Federal)
- Health/Medical Community
- Media (Print, Broadcast)
- Membership Group(s) - specify _____
- Religious Community
- Senior Citizens
- Women
- Youth Group(s)
- Other Special Interest Group
please specify _____

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- Training Material
- Other - specify _____

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- Latin America
- Global

14. Subject

- Agriculture
- Development/General
- Environment
- Food
- International Trade/Business/Finance
- Microenterprise

- Population/Health/Nutrition
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- Women
- Youth
- Other - specify _____

15. Annotation (Please review instructions and enter annotation on the back of form)

This fifth volume in the Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series examines why emerging markets are vital to U.S. business and labor and suggests ways the United States can play an influential role in fostering international development. Several of the authors explore the reasons that certain nations in the developing world are experiencing strong economic growth while others are stagnating. Some of the authors also look at the positive role that U.S. aid and development programs can play in fostering economic transformation.

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3. Phone

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4. Collaborating Organization/Address (if product was a joint venture)

None

5. Title

Looking Ahead, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, September, 1996.
 Foreign Assistance: An Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad

6. Author(s)

7. Publication Year

1996

8. No. of pages/length

32

9. Cost

10. Is the product still available? [] yes [] no -- (if yes, please indicate ordering info if different from #1-2 above)

11. Target Audience (see instructions on back)

Formal Education Sector

- Primary School Teachers (K-6)
- Secondary School Teachers (7-12)
- University Teachers
- Primary School Students
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Non-Formal Education Sector

- Agriculture /Agribusiness Community
- Business/Labor Community
- Environmental Community
- General Public
- Government (State/Local/Federal)
- Health/Medical Community
- Media (Print, Broadcast)
- Membership Group(s) - specify _____
- Religious Community
- Senior Citizens
- Women
- Youth Group(s)
- Other Special Interest Group
please specify _____

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- Asia/Pacific
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- Latin America
- Global

14. Subject

- Agriculture
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- Environment
- Food
- International Trade/Business/Finance
- Microenterprise

- Population/Health/Nutrition
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- Women
- Youth
- Other - specify _____

15. Annotation (Please review instructions and enter annotation on the back of form)

Looking Ahead. NPA's flagship quarterly journal provides authoritative commentary on key topics of current interest. *Foreign Assistance: An Instrument of U.S. Leadership Abroad* is devoted to the proceedings of NPA's day-long symposium in Dallas, Texas, in January 1996, which discussed such topics as U.S. leadership and U.S. foreign aid; implementing foreign policy and defining U.S. priorities: the effectiveness of foreign assistance; immigration and international development: the relationship between U.S. foreign policy and domestic concerns; and foreign assistance: bridging the concerns of labor, business and foreign policy leaders.

Instructions for Completing this Form

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2. Development Education Contact Person

Marilyn Zuckerman

3. Phone

(202) 884-7626

4. Collaborating Organization/Address (if product was a joint venture)

None

5. Title

Foreign Assistance in a Time of Constraints

6. Author(s)

Barber Conable, Julia Chang Bloch, Clifford Gaddy,
and John Hicks

7. Publication Year

1995

8. No. of pages/length

48

9. Cost

\$8.00

10. Is the product still available? [X] yes [] no -- (if yes, please indicate ordering info if different from #1-2 above)

11. Target Audience (see instructions on back)

Formal Education Sector

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- Catalog/Resource List
- Chart/Poster
- Curriculum Unit
- Directory
- Discussion Guide
- Exhibit
- Game
- Movie/Videotape
- Periodical (magazine/newsletter/etc.)
- Slides/Film Strip
- Training Material
- Other - specify _____

13. Geographic Focus of the Product (if applicable)

- Africa
- Asia/Pacific
- Caribbean
- Middle/Near East
- Latin America
- Global

14. Subject

- Agriculture
- Development/General
- Environment
- Food
- International Trade/Business/Finance
- Microenterprise

- Population/Health/Nutrition
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- Women
- Youth
- Other - specify _____

15. Annotation (Please review instructions and enter annotation on the back of form)

25

This publication—the fourth in NPA's Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series—is designed to facilitate the reexamination of U.S. foreign aid and development assistance in the changing international environment and in an era of a constricted U.S. budget. The chapters have been excerpted from speeches given by the authors at various meetings of NPA's Aid and Development Project during the year.

Instructions for Completing this Form

1. **Grantee Organization/Address** - Enter the name and address of the organization responsible for producing the document. Include complete address and zip code.
2. **Development Education Contact Person** - If there is an appropriate individual contact, enter name and address.
3. **Phone** - Include area code and phone number for Number 2 above.
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5. **Title** - Provide complete title, subtitle, series title, etc.
6. **Author** - Enter personal author(s). Omit titles (Mr., Ms., PhD etc.)
7. **Publication Date** - Enter date of publication.
8. **Pagination** - Include number of pages for single volume. For multi-volume works indicate the number of volumes, i.e. 3 vols. For media works indicate description, i.e. 6 slide/tape units or video/movie length.
9. **Cost** - Cost to those who want to purchase materials.
10. **Availability** - If materials are available from a source other than the Grantee organization.
11. **Target Audience(s)** - Indicate the *primary* audience for whom the work is intended. For example, a teachers guide for secondary school students, is targeted to teachers, not students. If more than 1, please rank: 1 = Primary, 2 = Secondary, etc.
12. **Type of Material** - Indicate one.
13. **Geographic Focus** - Indicate geographical region or country.
14. **Subject** - Select those which apply.
15. **Annotation** - Briefly describe the product's major theme, purpose, learning objectives, focus and content. (If the product is part of a set indicate the component part(s) and complete one annotation which is appropriate for all parts.) Limit 200 words.

**U.S. Agency for International Development
Biden-Pell Development Education Resource Inventory**

Please complete one form for each grant product (if the product is one component of a series or a set, please complete a separate form for each piece beginning with question #5 and completing only those sections which differ from the other components of the set).

1. Grantee Organization/Address/Phone

National Planning Association, 1424 16th Street, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, DC 20036 (202) 265-7685

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Marilyn Zuckerman

3. Phone

202-884-7625

4. Collaborating Organization/Address (if product was a joint venture)

None

5. Title

"New Views on North-South Relations and Foreign Assistance"

6. Author(s) Charles Doran, Joan M. Nelson,
Thomas Callaghy, Ingomar Hauchler

7. Publication Year

1994

8. No. of pages/length

50

9. Cost

\$8.00

10. Is the product still available? yes () no -- (if yes, please indicate ordering info if different from #1-2 above)

11. Target Audience (see instructions on back)

Formal Education Sector

- Primary School Teachers (K-6)
- Secondary School Teachers(7-12)
- University Teachers
- Primary School Students
- Secondary School Students
- University Students
- Educational Administrators
- Other - please specify _____

Non-Formal Education Sector

- Agriculture /Agribusiness Community
- Business/Labor Community
- Environmental Community
- General Public
- Government (State/Local/Federal)
- Health/Medical Community
- Media (Print, Broadcast)
- Membership Group(s) - specify _____
- Religious Community
- Senior Citizens
- Women
- Youth Group(s)
- Other Special Interest Group
please specify _____

12. Type of Material (check one)

- Audio Cassettes
- Bibliography
- Book
- Briefing/Background Paper
- Brochure/Pamphlet
- Catalog/Resource List
- Chart/Poster
- Curriculum Unit
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- Microenterprise

- Population/Health/Nutrition
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- Women
- Youth
- Other - specify _____

15. Annotation (Please review instructions and enter annotation on the back of form)

5. Annotation (continued)

This is the third volume in the Walter Sterling Surrey Memorial Series. As noted in this study, Cold War foreign policy most often handled North-South relations as an adjunct to East-West relations. America's conflict with the Soviet Union was paramount and developing nations played a secondary role in this struggle. With the demise of communism and the breakup of the Soviet Union, U.S. public and private sector decision makers are compelled to consider the complexities of North-South relations, but the polestar by which they navigated the global strategic landscape for many decades is missing.

Instructions for Completing this Form

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202-884-7626

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None

5. Title "U.S. Foreign Assistance: The Rationale, the Record, and the Challenges in the Post-Cold War Era"

6. Author(s) Curt Tarnoff and Larry Q. Nowels

7. Publication Year

1994

8. No. of pages/length 9. Cost

25

\$15.00

10. Is the product still available? yes () no -- (if yes, please indicate ordering info if different from #1-2 above)

11. Target Audience (see instructions on back)

Formal Education Sector

- Primary School Teachers (K-6)
- Secondary School Teachers (7-12)
- University Teachers
- Primary School Students
- Secondary School Students
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- Educational Administrators
- Other - please specify _____

Non-Formal Education Sector

- Agriculture /Agribusiness Community
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- Microenterprise

- Population/Health/Nutrition
- U.S. Foreign Policy
- Women
- Youth
- Other - specify _____

15. Annotation (Please review instructions and enter annotation on the back of form)

15. Annotation (continued)

This study first presents the historical record and a current "snapshot" of U.S. aid and development activity. It then examines whether U.S. aid and development assistance promotes economic security at home. Lastly, the study proposes several foreign aid strategies for the post-Cold War era.

Instructions for Completing this Form

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Publications produced in the final project year:

- *Foreign Assistance as an Instrument of Leadership Abroad*
by Larry Nowels and Kurt Tarnoff
- *Trade Blocs: A Regionally Specific Phenomenon or a Global Trend?*
by Richard L. Bernal
- *Business & Labor Dialouge*, Vol. 1, Issues 1-4
- Development Meeting Resource Packets

are attached to this report in separate folders.

The National Policy Association
U.S. Foreign Aid and Development Assistance in the Post-Cold War
World: Business and Labor Perspectives
Project Participants

This list includes those who participated in the project by attending project symposia, Surrey lectures, working breakfasts, policy committee and/or Trustee meetings or who, as NPA members, received project publications.

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