### REPORT ON REPORTS

## A Consensus for AMERICA'S GLOBAL LEADERSHIP

# Opportunities for Reforming and Strengthening Diplomacy and Development

September 2017





### INTRODUCTION

America faces a world of unprecedented and growing international crises that threaten our security and economic prosperity, including terrorism, famines affecting 30 million people in countries vulnerable to extremism, pandemics like Ebola, and humanitarian crises in Syria and South Sudan. Sixty five million people have been displaced from their homes today — the most since World War II — driven by conflicts that also threaten America's strategic allies in Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Europe.

As our military leaders have consistently said since 9/11, these global crises cannot be solved by the military alone and will require strengthening all of our national security tools — diplomacy and development, alongside defense — to keep America safe and promote our economic prosperity. Earlier this year, over 120 retired three-and four-star generals and admirals sent a letter to Congress saying, "The State Department, USAID, Millennium Challenge Corporation, Peace Corps and other development agencies are critical to preventing conflict and reducing the need to put our men and women in uniform in harm's way." As Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis said while Commander of U.S. Central Command, "If you don't fully fund the State Department, then I need to buy more ammunition." This broad agreement from our nation's top military leaders serves as a critical foundation to this analysis assessing how to strengthen, enhance, and improve America's civilian tools of national security.

Over the past 18 months, the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition (USGLC) — as it did around the 2008 and 2012 elections — reviewed over 60 reports written for the next Administration and Congress by think tanks and national security and foreign policy experts from across the political spectrum on ensuring America's civilian tools to advance our security and economic interests around the world. While these reports focused on a diverse range of issues with a wide range of recommendations, this "Report on Reports" analysis identifies key areas of broad consensus that highlight opportunities for strengthening and reforming diplomacy and development.

The USGLC's Report on Reports is released against the backdrop of the Administration's own review of the federal government. In March 2017, the Administration signed an Executive Order on a *Comprehensive Plan for Reorganizing the Executive Branch* to improve the "efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability" of every federal agency, followed by the launch of the State Department and USAID's Redesign Initiative that reviewed the State-USAID relationship. Recommendations from all federal departments and agencies were sent to the Office of Management and Budget in mid-September, with final recommendations for reform to be released in early 2018.

Greater efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability are essential for all U.S. government programs in an era of limited public resources. The consensus areas highlight opportunities for the Administration and Congress to ensure that diplomacy and development demonstrate an even greater return on investment for American taxpayers at a time of increasing demands and growing competition from other countries.



### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The USGLC reviewed over 60 reports by think tanks, NGOs, and national security and foreign policy experts from across the political spectrum on ensuring America's civilian tools of national security advance our security and economic interests around the world. These reports focused on a broad range of issues with a wide spectrum of recommendations — from one suggesting moving USAID into the State Department to the other extreme of consolidating all of government-wide development programs into an elevated Cabinet-level agency headed by USAID. Neither of these two positions carry significant bipartisan support.

However, there is consensus on seven key areas — among the vast majority of reports — to strengthen, improve, and reform diplomacy and development. While reports offer different options as to how to tactically implement these areas of reform, these seven areas of consensus provide a smart pathway forward for the reform agenda.

### 1. Ensure Distinct and Independent U.S. Development Agency

Nearly all reports agree that diplomacy and development have different, equally important strategic missions that require a distinct and independent development agency. Options for ensuring an independent development agency include designating the USAID Administrator as Director of Foreign Assistance and strengthening USAID's existing budget and policy capacity to ensure it can be a strategic partner with the State Department.

### 2. Reduce Duplication and Inefficiencies at the State Department and USAID

Most reports identified a range of approaches to reduce duplication and inefficiencies in America's diplomacy and development programs. Options for how to address these issues focused on the need for better coordination in global health, humanitarian assistance, and economic growth along with reforming procurement, human resources, and earmarks that limit program effectiveness.

### 3. Enhance Efforts to Promote Economic Growth

Nearly all reports agree that America's global economic leadership and efforts to promote economic growth are critical to our own prosperity and American jobs at a time when we face rising competition from countries like China. Options for strengthening these efforts include greater leveraging of private sector expertise and resources to have an impact at scale, unleashing development finance, and increasing America's economic diplomacy around the world.

### 4. Strengthen Civilian Tools in Fight Against Terrorism

Nearly all reports agree that America's civilian tools of national security will be critical in fighting terrorism and preventing violent extremism, especially in fragile states. Options for improving these tools include strengthening civilian capacity to operate in conflict environments and deepening engagement with allies to broaden cooperation around the world.

### 5. Bolster Humanitarian Assistance

A wide range of reports highlight the unprecedented, complex, and chronic crises that threaten our national security and require that the U.S. bolster and strengthen our humanitarian assistance programs. Options for bolstering assistance include reducing or eliminating inefficient American cargo preference and investing in local capacity to respond to disasters in weak and fragile states.

### 6. Increase Focus on Results in Foreign Assistance

Reports strongly agree that foreign assistance must demonstrate a return on investment and maximize the impact of taxpayer dollars. Options include building on reforms that invest in new technologies to develop innovative solutions, strengthening monitoring and evaluation to ensure policy decisions are driven by data, and developing strategies for transitioning countries from foreign assistance.

### 7. Work with Congress to Ensure Robust Resources and Sustainable Reforms

Nearly all reports recognized that, given the challenges our nation faces today, the debate on reforming diplomacy and development cannot be separated from resources. Options include working with Congress to increase resources for the International Affairs Budget, as well as to ensure that reforms are sustained over time.

The world is most peaceful and most prosperous when America is strongest. America will continue and continue forever to play the role of peacemaker. We will always help save lives and indeed, humanity itself."

President Donald Trump



## Ensure Distinct and Independent U.S. Development Agency

A number of reports released after the Administration's Executive Order on Reorganizing the Executive Branch focused on the status of USAID, America's lead development agency. While a small number of reports included recommendations on opposite ends of the spectrum — from elevating it to cabinet level to merging it into the State Department — the majority agree that diplomacy and development have different, equally important strategic missions that require a distinct and independent development agency.

Reports also recognize that changes to the status of USAID and existing authorities would require working with Congress. Currently, USAID is "an independent establishment in the Executive Branch," and the USAID Administrator works "under the direct authority and foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State" according to 1998 law.

### Recommendations include:

- Ensure an Independent U.S. Development Agency. Recognizing that changes to existing authorities would require working with Congress, these reports included the following options to ensure a distinct and independent U.S. development agency.
  - Dual-hat the USAID Administrator as Deputy Secretary of State and Director of Foreign Assistance with the rank of Deputy Secretary, to ensure greater oversight and coordination of USAID, MCC, and other U.S. development agencies, without changing their institutional structure.
  - Strengthen USAID's policy and budget functions to ensure it maintains its expertise in monitoring and evaluating foreign assistance, while maintaining current coordination between State Department and USAID through the Office of U.S. Foreign Assistance.

The work done by USAID — funded and overseen by this Congress — is critical to advancing security and democracy around the world, even more so in this time of unrest in critical regions."

Speaker Paul Ryan (R-WI)





# 2 Reduce Duplication and Inefficiencies at the State Department and USAID

The USGLC's review found consensus on the need to reduce duplication and inefficiencies to improve effectiveness in a wide range of reports including those from the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, the Atlantic Council, the American Academy of Diplomacy, the Center for Global Development, CSIS, the Heritage Foundation, and InterAction.

Many reports observe that development programs led by State and USAID have been active in the same countries with similar goals, creating the potential for duplication and inefficiencies. While USAID is America's lead development agency, the State Department also houses several significant development initiatives including the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and some economic and humanitarian assistance programs. For some time, experts have also highlighted differences in the training and operational capacity to implement programs between USAID and the State Department.

Our review also identified three long-standing structural constraints that limit the effectiveness of U.S. diplomacy and development policy: procurement, human resources, and earmarks. Recommendations to address these constraints include streamlining procurement policies that do not allow for flexibility to innovate and develop more cost-effective solutions; reforming outdated models of hiring, training, and promotion, allowing the State Department and USAID to hire and develop new expertise; and providing greater flexibility from congressional and presidential earmarks to ensure foreign assistance reflects development needs in countries.

#### Recommendations include:

- Reduce Inefficiencies in Global Health. Many reports observe that multiple global health programs run by State and USAID create the potential for inefficiencies and duplication across the U.S. government and within countries. To ensure greater efficiency, these reports suggest reviewing options to reduce inefficiencies including consolidating PEPFAR into USAID, which implements many of these programs and has the expertise to manage them effectively.
- Reduce Duplications in Humanitarian Assistance. Many reports observe that bureaus and offices at both State and USAID currently provide humanitarian assistance, creating unnecessary inefficiency. These reports suggest reviewing options to reduce potential duplication in the humanitarian functions among State's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration and the Offices of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance and Food for Peace at USAID. Authorities for refugee resettlement should remain at State.
- Reduce Redundancies in Economic Bureaus. Many reports note that multiple offices at State and USAID currently work to promote economic growth and partner with the private sector, creating bureaucratic overlap within the government and confusion among U.S. partners. These reports suggest the following options:
  - Consolidate State Department's Office of Global Partnerships with Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs to ensure better coordination across U.S. foreign policy goals.
  - Combine USAID's Private Capital and Microenterprise Office in the Economics Bureau with the Partnerships Office in the Global Development Lab.
- Streamline and Strengthen the State Department for More Efficient Decision-Making.

  Many reports recommend the State Department streamline its organizational structure to ensure more effective decision-making and to strengthen the capacity of the Foreign Service to respond to today's global challenges. These reports suggest the following options:
  - Reduce number of special envoys; where appropriate, ensure envoys report to regional
    assistant secretaries where appropriate, and work with Congress where necessary on changes.
  - Consider reducing the number of Under Secretaries that report to the Secretary of State
    to streamline decision making and merge existing bureaus into the appropriate clusters.
  - Improve training for State's Foreign and Civil Service at every level, with management courses required for career advancement.
  - Strengthen the Foreign Service Institute, possibly converting it to a degree granting institution similar to the military war colleges.

Our objective is to enable the people, our foreign service officers, our civil servants, our people in our missions, foreign nationals to deliver on mission with greater efficiency and effectiveness."

Secretary of State Rex Tillerson



### 3 Enhance Efforts to Promote Economic Growth

The USGLC's review found consensus that American global economic leadership and efforts to promote economic growth are critical to our own prosperity and to creating American jobs in a wide range of reports including those from the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), the American Academy of Diplomacy, the Atlantic Council, the Heritage Foundation, InterAction, and the World Economic Forum.

Today, 95 percent of the world's consumers live outside of our borders, and many of the fastest growing economies are found in the developing world, where the United States faces growing competition from countries like China. Recent years have seen new approaches to foreign assistance that promote economic growth by leveraging public funds to catalyze private sector resources and expertise — especially in agriculture and energy — but more needs to be done for such partnerships to have an impact at a global scale.

#### Recommendations include:

Strengthen Partnerships that Leverage Private Sector Expertise and Resources. Recognizing the rapidly changing landscape where nearly 90 percent of financial flows to the developing world come from private sources, the U.S. has launched numerous public-private partnerships to leverage private sector expertise and resources on global challenges such as food insecurity and power. To bring solutions to scale, the U.S. needs to streamline and strengthen the ability of State and USAID to partner effectively with the private sector. These reports suggest the following options:

- Simplify opportunities for businesses to partner on global challenges by creating a one-stop shop to coordinate across agencies and enable earlier consultation with the private sector.
- Launch a comprehensive evaluation of current public-private partnerships to measure outcomes, identify gaps, and apply lessons to future partnerships, including reforming procurement processes to be more nimble.
- Unlock the Power of Development Finance. Many reports agree that given competition from other countries, the United States should strengthen its development finance capacity to help mitigate risks for American businesses in developing economies and promote U.S. exports. The exception was the Heritage Foundation, which recommends eliminating OPIC and USTDA. These reports identify two options that would require different degrees of change:
  - Increase OPIC's capacity, empowering America's development finance institution with additional authorities and resources to help American companies generate even more exports.
  - Consolidate all of America's development finance programs across departments and agencies into a new development finance bank or agency.
- Increase Economic Diplomacy. There was widespread agreement that robust economic diplomacy. at America's embassies around the world is a critical but underutilized tool in advancing our economic interests and national security. These reports suggest the following options on how the United States can more effectively advance our economic interests abroad:
  - Increase diplomatic representation in emerging markets and growing cities that can assist and provide guidance to American companies interested in investment opportunities.
  - Increase training for economics officers abroad to ensure they are prepared to promote American businesses' interests and maximize commercial opportunities.

Reforming our development finance institution to compete more effectively with China and others appeals to both Republicans who value free market principles and Democrats seeking to deploy more resources for poverty alleviation."

Senator Chris Coons (D-DE)



## 4 Strengthen Civilian Tools in Fight Against Terrorism

The USGLC's review found consensus on the need to strengthen America's civilian tools of national security to combat terrorism and prevent violent extremism in fragile states in a wide range of reports including those from AEI, the Brookings Institution, the Cato Institute, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Center for Global Development, the Center for a New American Security, and the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP).

Today's threats come not just from strong states, but from non-state terrorist actors like ISIS, al-Qaeda, and al-Shabaab that operate in weak and failing states such as Somalia, Afghanistan, and Iraq. While military force will be vital to defeating extremists on the battlefield, diplomacy and development will be critical to ensuring that gains are sustained. Military leaders like Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Joseph Dunford, and the military's Combatant Commanders are among the strongest advocates that the threat of terrorism requires that America strengthen all elements of its national security toolkit: diplomacy, development, and defense.

#### Recommendations include:

Strengthen Civilian Capacity to Operate in Conflict Zones. Reports widely recognize the value of America's Foreign Service officers and development professionals' expertise in addressing development challenges, but recommend the need to leverage the military's security capacities when responding to crises, especially in conflict zones. These reports suggest the following options:

- Permit State and USAID greater flexibility to respond to emerging threats in conflict zones, including providing greater support for local civil society organizations.
- Increase joint planning between civilian departments and their military counterparts in conflict zones.
- Invest in cross-agency training for civilian officers serving in conflict environments.
- Strengthen Civilian Tools to Prevent Violent Extremism. Nearly all reports agree that diplomacy and development are critical to combating terrorism, especially in fragile states, by reducing and eliminating the breeding grounds for extremism and recruitment created by injustice and lack of economic opportunity. These reports present the following options:
  - Complement counter-terrorism strategies that target fighters on the battlefield with policies that promote economic opportunity and education to mitigate the drivers of radicalization, especially among young people and women.
  - Strengthen public diplomacy programs potentially in a new, independent public diplomacy agency – that combat extremist propaganda by supporting local communitybased initiatives with credibility among at-risk populations.
- **Deepen U.S. Engagement with Allies.** Many reports call for reaffirming America's commitment to its allies to broaden cooperation in advancing U.S. interests around the world. These reports suggest leveraging new commitments from America's strategic allies to tackle crises in weak and fragile states and combat terrorism.

I believe America has two fundamental powers, the power of intimidation that's represented here before the committee today, America's awesome determination to defend herself. And the power of inspiration which is heavily conveyed overseas by our Department of State."

Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis



# 5 Bolster Humanitarian Assistance

The USGLC's review found consensus on the need to reform and strengthen humanitarian assistance to respond to today's crises in a wide range of reports including those from the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, AEI, AGree, the Atlantic Council, Brookings, the Center for American Progress, the Center for Global Development, the Fragility Study Group, the Heritage Foundation, InterAction, Mercy Corps, MFAN, the Stimson Center, and USIP.

The world faces an unprecedented number of humanitarian crises on a scale not seen since World War II. Currently, there are 65 million people displaced and 30 million people facing famine. Twenty people around the world were driven from their homes every minute in 2016, or one every three seconds on average. Due to complex, chronic crises — including the ongoing conflicts in Syria and Yemen that also threaten America's strategic allies — and an increasing number of natural disasters, the global humanitarian system is both dangerously overstretched and in vital need of reform.

### Recommendations included:

- Reform Food Aid. Reports broadly agree that America's food aid programs must be reformed as tools of humanitarian assistance. Modernizing outdated and wasteful regulations, reports argue, will make America's food aid programs more efficient and responsive to the needs of people on the ground. These reports suggest the following options:
  - Reduce or eliminate inefficient cargo preference on shipping of American food aid overseas.
  - Permit local sourcing of emergency food aid, which is less likely to distort markets.
  - Consider shifting USDA's food aid programs including the McGovern-Dole Food for Education program to USAID to increase program effectiveness.
- Invest in Resilience in Fragile States. A wide range of reports agree that strategic assistance to weak and fragile states is vital to America's long-term interests. Doing so may mitigate or prevent the spread of infectious diseases, combat illicit networks, and reduce the likelihood of future conflict and demands for humanitarian and security assistance. These reports suggest the following options:
  - Invest in food security programs, disease tracking systems, and rapid response programs that help build local capacity to avert pandemics and famines.
  - Develop, pilot, and evaluate a comprehensive strategy for strengthening security and humanitarian assistance in fragile states led by a Deputies Committee at the National Security Council, including a "fragile states watch list" to guide policies across government.
  - Promote the economic empowerment of women who play a central role in the health and development of their communities by improving their access to education and production inputs including financial resources.

I will pursue ideas for reforming our policies and procedures, rethinking our structure and retooling how we engage with our development partners. I'll also work hard to strengthen our interagency cooperation because I saw as ambassador to Tanzania how that can be a truly effective force multiplier."

USAID Administrator Mark Green



## Increase Foreign Assistance Effectiveness

The USGLC's review found consensus on the need to maximize the return on investment from taxpayer dollars - recognizing recent progress that has been made - in a wide range of reports including those from the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid, the Center for Global Development, the Consensus for Development Reform, CSIS, InterAction, MFAN, Publish What You Fund, and the Stimson Center.

Since 9/11, Republican and Democratic administrations have invested in a more effective and accountable approach to U.S. foreign assistance. Reforms led by PEPFAR, MCC, and USAID have strengthened a results-driven approach to foreign assistance, promoted transparency, built new partnerships, and harnessed new technologies. These efforts have been endorsed and institutionalized through the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act and other legislation passed by Congress.

#### Recommendations include:

- **Invest in Innovation and New Technology.** Numerous reports agree that investing in innovation and technology can create cost-effective and revolutionary solutions to meet the world's development challenges. Numerous reports recognize the success of USAID's Global Development Lab and the Grand Challenges for Development initiative that brought expertise and resources from non-traditional circles to develop and scale new solutions to global threats, including Ebola. These reports also agree that more must be done and suggest the following options:
  - Support the development, application, and evaluation of innovative technologies that offer new and sustainable solutions to global challenges.
  - Focus resources on improving the existing knowledge around development solutions with the potential for scale, not just those that demonstrate scientific progress.
- **Promote Country Leadership.** Many reports agree that development is most effective when host countries take the lead in setting their own priorities, mobilizing domestic resources and implementing policy reforms. America's development programs have begun moving in this direction — most notably in Feed the Future, under which the U.S. has worked with host governments to formulate national agricultural development plan — but more remains to be done. These reports suggest the following options:

- Encourage greater country leadership on reform, where possible, by helping countries build the capacity to fight corruption, raise domestic resources, and meet the needs of their citizens.
- Strengthen country partners by ensuring that development assistance is informed and driven by country needs, rather than solely by external directives and earmarks.
- Strengthen Monitoring, Evaluation and Data Transparency. Reports note that Republican and Democratic administrations have taken significant steps to make U.S. foreign assistance more effective over the last fifteen years, but they agree that more must be done. Many of the insights from the MCC model have been adopted by development agencies like USAID, which has conducted more than 1,500 independent evaluations since 2010, with over 90 percent of those evaluations used to shape and modify policies. These reports suggest the following options:
  - Increase resources for rigorous monitoring and evaluation in development and security assistance across departments and agencies.
  - Strengthen policies that ensure results of evaluations are integrated into program planning.
  - Increase transparency and availability of data on results and outcomes, including strengthening the Foreign Assistance Dashboard.
- Develop Strategies for Transitioning Assistance. As more countries grow into middle-income nations and private sector investment outpaces official development assistance, many reports recommend reviewing U.S. development assistance and focusing on countries most in need. However, these reports cautioned against immediately cutting off aid to relatively successful nations and suggest the following options:
  - Develop transition plans that avoid costly disruption and instability from the abrupt ending of assistance and ensure countries are ready to take greater responsibility for their development.
  - Explore past successful transitions like the creation of "trusts" that created a glide path in Eastern Europe and the Strategic Partnerships Mission in Brazil.
- Fold Smaller Programs into Regional Platforms. USAID provided \$12 billion in funding to 125 countries in FY13, with the smallest 50 recipients of U.S. assistance accounting for less than 2 percent of that funding. To ensure U.S. assistance and personnel are deployed to strategic areas, these reports suggest assessing the efficiency of smaller programs to evaluate whether they may be more efficiently run from regional platforms.

Over the past 15 years, there has been movement toward a more accountable, results-based approach to aid that places the ingenuity of the private sector and American values front and center."

Representative Ted Yoho (R-FL)

# 7 Work with Congress to Ensure Robust Resources and Sustainable Reform

The USGLC found consensus on the need for the administration to work closely with Congress to ensure adequate resources for the International Affairs Budget and sustainable reform in a wide range of reports from AEI, the Center for a New American Security, CSIS, Consensus for Development Reform, InterAction, MFAN, and the World Economic Forum.

Growing international threats and looming humanitarian crises will continue to test U.S. national security and demand sufficient resources to meet these challenges. The International Affairs Budget, which funds the majority of America's development and diplomacy programs, will be more important than ever in advancing America's national security and economic interests.

### Recommendations include:

- Budget Beyond Crises. The vast majority of reports advocate for maintaining robust resources to support America's development programs, recognizing diplomacy, development, and economic statecraft as cost-effective investments in securing America's national security and economic interests. These reports suggest the following options:
  - Work with Congress to end sequestration and increase resources for the International Affairs Budget.
  - Reduce the number of Congressional earmarks and presidential initiatives that inhibit flexibility in programs.
- Engage Congress on Reform. Reports also broadly urge the administration to partner with Congress to further advance America's leadership in foreign assistance. These reports suggest the following options:
  - Authorize foreign assistance on a biannual or annual basis, so there is a clear avenue for reforms and Congressional oversight.
  - Consult with authorization and appropriation committees when formulating America's development policies and commit to rewriting the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act.
  - Expand public diplomacy programs to educate the American public about the benefits
    of the International Affairs Budget for our security and economic prosperity.





### **CONCLUSION**

The USGLC's Report on Reports arrives at an important moment for the Administration and Congress to build on progress since 9/11 and ensure the effectiveness of America's civilian national security tools of diplomacy and development. While our review of over 60 reports found a wide spectrum of recommendations on some issues, it identified seven areas of broad consensus for ensuring effective diplomacy and development and strengthening the State-USAID relationship at a time of growing international crises and competition from other countries.

These seven areas of consensus create a smart starting point to advance the conversation on reform and highlight opportunities to strengthen America's civilian tools of national security — and underscore the widespread consensus that working with Congress is essential to ensuring that reforms are sustained for the future.

Many reports widely praise Congress' leadership in international development — seen in the passage of numerous bipartisan foreign assistance bills in the last Congressional session — and highlight the opportunity for constructive reforms that build on greater effectiveness and accountability in advancing America's security and economic interests around the world.

# REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS AGREE

I believe we can strike an appropriate balance that recognizes the critical role of diplomacy in keeping our military out of harm's way and appropriately advancing our nation's interests while ensuring taxpayer dollars are used in the most efficient and effective manner."

Senator Bob Corker (R-TN)

We must always demand the highest standards of transparency and accountability to ensure our foreign assistance efforts are making the most positive and meaningful impact in the communities we assist."

Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD)

Diplomacy matters. It helps keep America strong, and our troops out of combat. My priority has always been efficient, effective, and transparent programming."

Representative Ed Royce (R-CA)

Diplomacy keeps us safe by preventing conflict, defusing crises, and building bridges of friendship and cooperation. Development keeps us safe by helping enhance stability and showing the world America's best face."

Representative Eliot Engel (D-NY)

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