The Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN)

Evaluation Report: 2008-2016

The Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act (FATAA) and MFAN's Influence

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Acknowledgements

BLE Solutions would like to thank The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN) for the guidance they provided to facilitate this evaluation. Their effort ensured that the data collected would meet their information needs, without compromising the evaluation's independence. BLE Solutions would like to thank Ann Emery, Bruce Hoppe of Connective Associates, LLC, Marc Smith of Connected Action, LLC, and Kathy Ward for their contributions to the report. BLE Solutions would also like to thank all who participated in this evaluation. The time and thought they invested in this process was very much appreciated and will be of great value to MFAN as it enters its next phase.

Layout by Chad Brobst Design

Acronyms

AWG	Accountability Working Group (MFAN)
СВО	Congressional Budget Office
CDR	Consensus for Development Reform
FAA	Foreign Assistance Act
FATAA	Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act
HFAC	House Foreign Affairs Committee
ΙΑΤΙ	International Aid Transparency Initiative
IFARA	Initiating Foreign Assistance Reform Act
LER	Office of Learning, Accountability, and Research
МСС	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MFAN	Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
NSC	National Security Council
ОМВ	Office of Management and Budget
QDDR	Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review
SFRC	Senate Foreign Affairs Committee
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development
USGLC	U.S. Global Leadership Coalition

The Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act (FATAA) and MFAN's Influence

As part of a retrospective evaluation of the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network's (MFAN's) first eight years (2008-2016), the evaluation team explored in depth four outcomes to which MFAN members believed MFAN contributed significantly. Passage and enactment of the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act (FATAA) was among these four.

FATAA: Outcome of interest

The development and passage of FATAA in July 2016 and the influence it had while being developed.

In July 2016, the U.S. Congress passed and President Barack Obama signed into law the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act (FATAA), which "requires that detailed foreign assistance information be regularly updated on the ForeignAssistance.gov website, and that development and economic assistance be rigorously monitored and evaluated."¹

Consensus View

FATAA's passage and enactment resulted from the long-term, concerted effort of the congressional offices involved, along with support from the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN),² Oxfam, the Consensus for Development Reform (CDR), the U.S. Global Leadership Coalition (USGLC), the ONE Campaign (ONE), and InterAction, with each playing an important role. According to congressional staffers, among external stakeholders, MFAN played the most critical role. MFAN presented the bill idea to the office of Congressman Ted Poe (R-TX), was in the most regular contact with his and other congressional offices, and conducted most of the outsider legwork to keep the bill moving. FATAA's passage strengthened Obama administration reforms by enshrining them in a statute, although the congressional offices involved, MFAN, and its allies need to keep a close eye on its implementation.

Absent MFAN, the quality or focus of the bill might have changed. Congressman Poe was interested in advancing legislation related to aid reform, transparency, and accountability, and would have introduced legislation with or without external assistance. In addition, InterAction, Oxfam, Publish What You Fund, and/or ONE might have pushed for legislation. However, in either case, the bill might have focused only on transparency or fiduciary accountability, rather than focusing broadly on development accountability. Alternatively, a member of Congress might have introduced legislation that was more punitive than constructive.

Many stakeholders believe FATAA would not have been enacted absent MFAN's ongoing engagement. Without that support, the congressional offices involved – busy with many issues – might not have been able to continue focusing on FATAA. MFAN offered grounding in development programming and deep knowledge of how Congress works. It either had or was able to develop relationships with key Democrats and Republicans on the Hill and in the administration, although its influence with some parts of the administration could have been stronger. Finally, its members had sufficient clout that enabled them to access and influence leadership within much of the Congress and also parts of the administration. Absent

¹ George Ingram, Carolyn Miles, and Connie Veillette, July 6, 2016, "Foreign Aid Accountability Bill Unanimously Approved by Congress, Heads to the President for Signature," MFAN, <u>http://modernizeaid.net/2016/07/foreign-aid-accountability-bill-unanimously-approved-congress-heads-president-signature/</u>.

² References to MFAN in this document include its fiscal sponsor, New Venture Fund. New Venture Fund serves as the official legal and fiscal entity for MFAN and exercises management oversight over the project.

MFAN, some congressional offices might have focused on competing priorities instead, or broad-based political support might have been lacking.

Some felt that the administration would have worked on increasing transparency and accountability absent FATAA, although it would have done less than happened with FATAA and the pressure it created. For example, the administration might have been satisfied with the ForeignAssistance.gov website, ³ and progress toward supplying it with quality information might have been slower.

MFAN's Contribution

Laying the groundwork for FATAA: congressional actions

From MFAN's inception, rewriting the Foreign Assistance Act (FAA) and promoting transparency and accountability were among its core recommendations, as articulated in its original 2008 publication <u>New</u> <u>Day, New Way</u>. In 2009, the Obama administration and key members of Congress began their work recognizing the importance of global development and the need to maximize the effectiveness of the U.S. government's investments in it.

On April 28, 2009, Rep. Berman and Rep. Mark Kirk (R-IL) introduced the <u>Initiating Foreign Assistance</u> <u>Reform Act of 2009</u> (H.R. 2139) (IFARA). The bill called on the administration to draft a national strategy for global development, established new guidelines for monitoring and evaluating U.S. foreign assistance, promoted greater transparency for U.S. foreign assistance, and repealed some outdated provisions of the FAA.⁴ According to a former House Foreign Affairs Committee (HFAC) staffer, with MFAN's strong support, the bill gathered 125 co-sponsors, including some Republicans. However, according to others close to the process, because of weak Republican support and strong opposition from the State Department, Rep. Berman did not proceed with the bill.

Rep. Berman was also working on a State Department reauthorization bill (H.R. 2410). He considered including the Initiating Foreign Assistance Reform Act within it, although doing so would have entailed compromise on an aspect of IFARA. Rep. Berman and HFAC staffer Diana Ohlbaum wanted to agree to the compromise so that most of IFARA could advance. However, because of an MFAN plus one's opposition to the compromise, Rep. Berman and Dr. Ohlbaum did not pursue it. One MFAN member saw this as a missed opportunity to advance most, if not all of MFAN's agenda.

On July 28, Sens. John Kerry (D-MA) and Richard Lugar (R-IN) introduced the <u>Foreign Assistance</u> <u>Revitalization and Accountability Act of 2009</u> (S. 1524), which sought to bolster the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), increase accountability and innovation in U.S. foreign assistance, improve development coordination, and increase transparency of U.S. foreign assistance.⁵ Former Senate staffers credit MFAN with providing external support for the process and helping gain support within the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC). SFRC approved the bill in November, but the State Department strongly opposed it.

In 2010, having already worked with Rep. Berman's office and Sens. Lugar and Kerry's offices on early U.S. foreign assistance reform legislation, MFAN continued to work with Rep. Berman's office and HFAC on rewriting the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. According to a former HFAC staffer, there was no expectation that this legislation would be enacted in the short or medium term. However, the drafting

³ By creating the ForeignAssistance.gov website, the U.S. government sought to make its foreign assistance investments transparent.

⁴ MFAN, Summary of H.R. 2139, unpublished.

⁵ MFAN Summary of S. 1524, unpublished.

process brought the development community together to discuss and reach consensus on overarching development principles, raised the issue of foreign assistance reform on the policy agenda, and influenced other congressional and administration reform efforts.

While Rep. Poe's staff did not draw on these earlier bills when drafting FATAA, the bills helped raise aid reform on the policy agenda, preparing both congressional offices and the development community for additional aid reform efforts. They also gave MFAN and others language to which they could refer when proposing ideas to those working on FATAA.

The Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act (FATAA)

In November 2010 in the midterm elections, Republicans won a majority in the House, with a large influx of Tea Party members. Although MFAN continued working with Rep. Berman's office and HFAC on rewriting the Foreign Assistance Act, with this shift, MFAN complemented this effort with others. For example, MFAN wanted to help advance narrower legislation with greater appeal to the House's new majority and with a greater possibility of passage.

Around this time, the Kyle House Group, which was helping MFAN strengthen its relationships with Republican members of Congress, met with HFAC member Rep. Poe's office, and learned about his interest in foreign assistance. MFAN wanted to respond to his concern that the U.S. government be accountable for its foreign assistance investments, and reached out to his office to discuss the possibility of introducing legislation that would provide guidelines for U.S. foreign assistance evaluation and transparency. A close, ongoing collaboration between Rep. Poe's office and MFAN was launched.

The Kyle House Group helped MFAN identify the portions of the new draft Foreign Assistance Act that would have the greatest appeal to House Republicans. MFAN also looked closely at transparency and accountability reforms the administration was already undertaking to make sure the draft legislation codified what already existed, rather than creating new demands. In this way, MFAN sought to suggest bill content that would be uncontroversial.

Nonetheless, some MFAN members, such as InterAction and USGLC, were not early supporters. Some InterAction members were concerned that they lacked the infrastructure and capacities to meet the evaluation requirements and timelines in the draft legislation. These requirements coincided with increasing congressional demands for data from development programs, and program implementers were, in cases, struggling to keep up. Other InterAction members worried that demands for increased transparency could endanger both aid workers and those they serve, particularly in areas such as democracy and governance. MFAN responded by encouraging Rep. Poe's office to draft bill language that took into consideration these members' concerns.

"I appreciated MFAN's relationship with other offthe-Hill groups: seeing InterAction, Bread for the World, ONE also supporting FATAA. MFAN was pretty influential in getting them to care about FATAA, building out the base for a broader coalition. Even if none would make FATAA a top priority, saying that they liked the bill helped. I was glad for the broad coalition. MFAN used their coalition effectively. It is one thing for an organization to be a MFAN member, and another that they sent out letters on their own letterhead in support of the bill."

Congressional staffer

Through much of 2011, Rep. Poe's office and MFAN worked closely together drafting the legislation. By October, the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act of 2012 (FATAA of 2012) was written. Reps. Poe and Berman issued a Dear Colleague letter inviting original co-sponsors, and then Rep. Poe introduced the bill. During the following months, to call attention to the bill, Rep. Poe and former Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) published an <u>op-ed</u> in Roll Call calling for U.S. foreign assistance reform, MFAN co-chairs issued a <u>statement</u> in favor of the bill, and Rep. Poe was the kick-off speaker at an Oxfam event, the "Politics of Partnerships." In quieter advocacy, in early December, MFAN met with USAID's Bureau for Legislative and Public Affairs to urge USAID's support for the bill, and a few days later, USAID Administrator Rajiv Shah met with Rep. Poe to discuss FATAA.

Over the course of much of 2012, Rep. Poe's office, MFAN, and other allies worked to advance the bill in Congress. By August, HFAC Chair Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (R-FL) agreed to ask the Congressional Budget Office to score FATAA – something that had been pending for most of the year, due to difficulty receiving information from State and USAID, and House leadership agreed to move the bill through a suspension vote in the House. With MFAN's strong support, the bill gained 56 co-sponsors (28 Democrats and 28 Republicans), and passed the House by a unanimous vote on December 30.

MFAN complemented its private advocacy with statements in <u>September</u> <u>2012</u> and <u>January 2013</u> to call attention to the bill's progress and urge its passage in the Senate. MFAN also met with State and USAID to encourage their support for the bill and to hear their concerns regarding how expenses related to the bill would be handled, who was setting priorities for the administration, and how implementation deadlines would be met. In response to their concerns, MFAN offered to ask for changes in the bill's text.

Meanwhile, MFAN members had been meeting with the offices of Sens. Marco Rubio (R-FL), Lugar and Kerry to encourage them to introduce a companion bill in the Senate. Sen. Lugar was the original Senate lead sponsor and then Sen. Rubio joined. The bill gained eight co-sponsors and passed unanimously out of SFRC in December. However, it faced a Senate hold, based on concerns that it might duplicate other legislation and be costly. A call from Rep. Poe and letters from MFAN, CDR, InterAction, and others did not succeed in lifting it. MFAN issued a public <u>statement</u> applauding the House for its passage of the bill and criticizing the Senate's inaction.

In early 2013, MFAN met with the White House and the State Department to restart conversations about FATAA. The White House, State Department, USAID, and MCC then briefed a broader MFAN group on the ForeignAssistance.gov website, its progress vis-à-vis the International Aid Transparency Initiative, and evaluations. All felt that the briefing identified common ground and made advances. Through the year and into 2014, MFAN continued to meet with representatives from State, USAID, and MCC. In meetings with USAID's and the State Department's evaluation offices, MFAN heard about the challenges of implementation capacity and the value of external pressure. Opposition to the bill from parts of State continued.

At the same time, Rep. Poe began circulating a revised FATAA, and asked for MFAN's assistance educating new HFAC Republicans on the bill. Sen. Rubio agreed to lead again in the Senate. Nonetheless, FATAA did not pass in 2013 or 2014; and after the midterm elections, MFAN began working with the offices of SFRC's new Chair Sen. Bob Corker (R-TN), Sen. Rubio, and Rep. Poe on a new version of FATAA to introduce in the 114th Congress.

During this time, MFAN continued its advocacy for greater transparency and accountability. In April 2014, MFAN published <u>The Way Forward: A</u> <u>Reform Agenda for 2014 and Beyond</u>, in which it called for the enactment of FATAA. MFAN also met with the Data Transparency Coalition, which was advancing the Digital Accountability and Transparency Act, led by Reps. Elijah Cummings (D-MD) and Darrell Issa (R-CA), in order to educate them on FATAA. MFAN developed a briefing, <u>"Aid Effectiveness: The Role of Transparency</u>," which it disseminated to key people in the executive branch to build greater buy in on the importance of transparency in foreign assistance. In late 2014, MFAN and its members participated in the launch of ally Publish What You Fund's <u>Aid Transparency Index</u>, and published a series of blogs to call greater attention to the issue. (See <u>MFAN</u>, <u>Lugar</u> <u>Center</u>, <u>Brookings Institution</u>, <u>InterAction</u>, <u>Oxfam</u>.)

In 2015, Rep. Poe's office, MFAN, and other allies continued to work together to advance FATAA's passage. Rep. Poe and Sen. Rubio engaged Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA) and Sen. Corker early in the reintroduction process to ensure their support. Remaining stumbling blocks in the drafting included whether to include security assistance, on which the State Department was divided, and how to reduce cost. State Department's Legislative Affairs office continued to oppose the bill.

Meanwhile, in July, MFAN released <u>ACCOUNTdown to 2017: Strengthening</u> <u>a Bipartisan Legacy of Modernizing Foreign Assistance</u> at a public event, calling again for FATAA's enactment. Rep. Poe and Sen. Lugar spoke at the event, while representatives from State and USAID attended. When the Aid Transparency Index⁶ was published in late 2015, MFAN and its members again published related blogs to call attention to the importance of the issue. (See <u>The Hill</u>, Lugar Center, Oxfam.)

"As we were whipping support, MFAN had folks dedicated to making this a top priority. MFAN met with more offices to get support than any other group. They helped build a big cosponsorship list. MFAN was bipartisan. They were not seen as on one side or the other. They remained in the middle, based on substance. We saw them successfully influence Democrats and Republicans to sign on. With more co-sponsors signed on, we got more support.

"MFAN co-chairs working at a high level were able to get the right kind of meetings with House leadership to say why this was important. Then, the leadership was willing to listen to us.

"We had to go back and resolve people's concerns regarding language. MFAN gave us educated input on language. They could craft alternative language that would appeal to the [m]embers, without gutting the bill. MFAN had good political sense. They understood that to get the bill passed they needed to make compromises. They were aware of cost concerns. They were aware of concerns regarding including certain groups. They didn't insist on language. We appreciated the very realistic take and sound understanding that they had about what we were dealing with on the Hill."

HFAC staffer

⁶ Publish What You Fund publishes the Aid Transparency Index annually to show how donors rank in terms of their aid transparency. See <u>http://ati.publishwhatyoufund.org/</u>.

"When we first started six years ago, Committee (HFAC) staff weren't convinced this was a problem, or that our solution was the right solution. Now they understand it and have made it a priority. Now it is not an issue of 'is this a problem?' Now they love effectiveness conversations, and want to have more conversations. Awareness levels have increased a lot among Committee staff. This was even more important on the Senate side, where there was staff turnover. We passed it unanimously out of both Committees in the House and Senate. Whether you support foreign aid or not, you can agree on this: MFAN convinced people."

HFAC staffer

"The [a]dministration saw the bill coming down the lane. They were using much of the language in the bill to inform policies related to evaluation and transparency."

HFAC staffer

As the bill's leaders started pushing for its reintroduction, MFAN and its members continued to meet with key members of Congress and representatives of USAID and State, as well as the Department of Defense to garner support for the bill. MFAN and InterAction again organized a sign-on letter supporting FATAA. The letter garnered 46 organizational endorsements. MFAN reached out to the White House and State Department, and MFAN co-chairs sent letters to Secretary Kerry and Office of Management and Budget Director Shaun Donovan urging their support. MFAN members took a variety of actions to get more co-sponsors. USGLC sent letters to members of Congress, CARE sent out communications packages, and Bread for the World blogged and did grassroots work. These and other members reached out to House and Senate leadership and appropriators.

FATAA passed out of SFRC in November, less than a month after introduction, and then passed the House in early December. However, in the Senate, a senator imposed a hold. In response, MFAN quickly identified the office with the hold, and set up a meeting with the Senator's staffer to understand the Senator's concerns and to see how to address them. This meeting brought together the bill's lead sponsors, and through it, all involved identified an acceptable path forward. In February, Rep. Poe questioned Secretary Kerry at a hearing on FATAA about the State Department's support. MFAN leadership and key members also reached out to other State Department, White House, USAID, and MCC officials. Soon after, the text was finalized. However, in both the House and the Senate, the bill continued to be used as a political football affected by other concerns.

Finally, in late June 2016, FATAA passed the House again, and in July, it passed the Senate, and was signed into law by President Obama. After FATAA's passage, MFAN remained engaged, meeting with USAID, the State Department and the Office of Management and Budget to discuss its implementation.

Unanticipated benefits of six years of working on FATAA

Working on FATAA for six years required perseverance by Rep. Poe, Sen. Rubio, the other bill leaders and their offices, and MFAN and its allies. In the beginning, many saw FATAA as low-hanging fruit, and anticipated that it would pass easily. The strength of the opposition and the breadth of concerns voiced by various congressional offices and parts of State, USAID, and the NGO community forced those working on it to redouble their efforts, meeting frequently with a wide range of stakeholders to understand and overcome the hurdles the bill faced.

And yet, those working on the bill saw a benefit to the time and effort they had to spend on it: Over the six years, they were able to educate many members of Congress and their staff, as well as administration officials about the importance of transparency and accountability to ensuring the effectiveness of U.S. foreign assistance. They felt that the narrower political space and many years required for passage forced FATAA supporters to build more political consensus than they would have otherwise. They believed that the process forged relationships between Republicans and Democrats, the House and Senate, and among NGOs. MFAN believes it can now use that political consensus and those relationships to advance other reform efforts.

HFAC staffers and MFAN also noticed that, even before FATAA was passed, the administration was undertaking reforms in response to it.

MFAN's Capacities

A number of factors related to MFAN's structure and governance benefitted MFAN's work on FATAA. MFAN members identified the following:

- Co-chairs
 - One MFAN co-chair felt strongly about transparency and accountability. This co-chair prioritized these issues, and was always willing to talk to administration and congressional leaders about them. Other issues did not benefit from similar co-chair ownership.
 - Former Rep. Jim Kolbe had just left Congress and joined MFAN as a co-chair. He served as a helpful bridge between the two.
 - Another co-chair offered moral authority and brought other NGOs on board.
- Hub
 - MFAN's Hub (secretariat) provided ongoing support for the congressional offices involved in advancing the bill. This support encouraged the offices to persevere in their efforts, and gave them the assistance they needed.
 - The Hub was professionally and tactically organized, and well connected to member organizations, as well as to MFAN's co-chairs. This facilitated communication among the co-chairs and member organizations.
 - The Hub created a safe environment in which information was shared openly. It also created solidarity among a core group of people.
- Working groups
 - MFAN working groups (first the MFAN Advocacy Subcommittee and later the Accountability Working Group and the Hill Group), spearheaded by the Hub, championed MFAN's work on FATAA.
 - The Accountability Working Group was led by two members who had recently left the Hill and had a deep understanding of how it worked.
 - The Accountability Working Group could call upon the technical expertise required to advance FATAA.
- Dedicated funding
 - Because the Hub and many MFAN members had dedicated funding from foundations to support this work, they could devote time to FATAA's development and passage. MFAN members believe that MFAN would not have been able to engage on FATAA in such a focused way absent dedicated funding.

- Membership engagement
 - There was always a core group of coalition members willing to work with Rep. Poe and his staff member Luke Murry, ensuring that they received continuous community support.
 - MFAN's Hub staff and many of its members (principals and plus ones) were not legally barred from lobbying.
- Republican outreach
 - MFAN had the Kyle House Group in place from the beginning of its work on FATAA, advising it on which pieces of the Berman bill would appeal to Republican members of Congress, to whom to reach out, and how to appropriately frame messages.
 - The Consensus for Development Reform (CDR), which was launched in 2011 to allow Republican leaders in the development community to reach out to Republican members of Congress, and which served as an MFAN ally on FATAA, pushed FATAA and its principles with the Hill and others. They were noted for their ability to influence House leadership, which allowed FATAA to move forward in the House.

FATAA Timeline of Key Events

2009-2010: Growing interest in aid reform on the Hill, as seen in H.R. 2139 <u>Initiating Foreign Assistance</u> <u>Reform Act of 2009</u> (Reps. Howard Berman (D-CA) and Rep. Mark Kirk (R-IL)) and S. 1524 <u>Foreign</u> <u>Assistance Revitalization and Accountability Act of 2009</u> (Sens. Richard Lugar (R-IN) and John Kerry (D-MA)). MFAN played a significant role in inspiring, drafting, and garnering support for these bills both on and off the Hill.

2010: The administration created the aid data website ForeignAssistance.gov.

2010: MFAN worked closely with the office of Rep. Ted Poe (R-TX) on guidelines for foreign assistance evaluation and transparency and draft bill language.

November 2010: Republicans won the House, dominated by Tea Party. Given this and the administration's disinterest in supporting authorizing legislation, it seemed a rewrite of the Foreign Assistance Act could not be enacted. MFAN pivoted to more targeted, stand-alone bills, and made outreach to Republicans and Tea Party members a top priority.

2011: The bipartisan Congressional Caucus for Effective Foreign Assistance was created, with MFAN's assistance.

2011: The <u>Open Government Partnership</u>, an international platform for those committed to making their governments more open, accountable, and responsive to citizens, published its first national action plan.

2011: USAID published its evaluation policy.

2011: Secretary Clinton committed the U.S. government to joining the International Aid Transparency Initiative (IATI).

October 5, 2011: Reps. Poe and Berman issued a Dear Colleague letter on the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act of 2012, inviting original cosponsors.

October 12-13, 2011: Rep. Poe introduced FATAA (H.R. 3159) in the 112th Congress. MFAN co-chairs issued a statement: "<u>Poe Bill Would Strengthen Foreign Assistance Transparency, Accountability</u>," applauding Rep. Poe and the introduction of FATAA. MFAN co-chairs urged MFAN principals and plus ones to release statements supporting FATAA.

October 20, 2011: Rep. Poe and former Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-AZ) published an op-ed in Roll Call: "<u>Shedding</u> <u>More Light on U.S. Foreign Aid</u>," issuing a call to modernize and reform U.S. foreign aid system.

October 28, 2011: MFAN produced a summary of FATAA of 2012 (H.R. 3159).

December 2, 2011: MFAN members urged USAID's Bureau for Legislative and Public Affairs to support FATAA.

December 6, 2011: USAID Administrator Rajiv Shah met with Rep. Poe to discuss FATAA.

Mid-December 2011: Rep. Poe was the kick-off speaker at an Oxfam event, the "Politics of Partnerships." He described the problem and called for bipartisan legislation.

January 2012: Rep. Poe sought Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen's (R-FL) support for the bill and willingness to put the bill on the House suspension calendar. Rep. Ros-Lehtinen wanted to wait for the Congressional Budget Office's (CBO) scoring.

Mid-March 2012: CBO had still not received information from USAID and State to score the bill.

Late May 2012: MFAN members met with a Sen. Rubio staffer. Sen. Rubio expressed interest in introducing a companion bill to Rep. Poe's on transparency and evaluation.

June 20, 2012: Sen. Lugar introduced a Senate version of FATAA, identical to the bill introduced in the House by Reps. Poe and Berman.

Early August 2012: Rep. Ros-Lehtinen agreed to ask CBO for a score of FATAA, and House leadership agreed that it could move through a suspension vote in the House. Sens. Kerry and Rubio were working on a substitute to the Sen. Lugar companion bill.

Early September 2012: MFAN co-chairs sent a letter to Sen. Kerry on the Rep. Poe transparency bill.

September 19, 2012: MFAN issued a statement by its co-chairs: "<u>Lugar-Rubio Bill Signals Commitment to</u> <u>More Transparent, Accountable Foreign Assistance</u>." They noted progress in the House (H.R. 3159) – bipartisan legislation, 55 cosponsors – and urged the Senate to approve the bill during the 112th Congress, promising MFAN would work with the House and Senate on its passage.

Early October 2012: MFAN members met with State and USAID about the Poe and Lugar bill to hear their concerns regarding cost and implementation. MFAN offered to ask for changes to the bill's text.

January 2, 2013: MFAN issued statement urging the Senate to pass FATAA before the end of the 112th Congress, and applauded House for their passage of the bill.

Early January 2013: FATAA passed the House on Dec. 30 on a 390-0 vote. In the Senate, the bill had eight cosponsors and passed unanimously out of SFRC in December 2012, but faced a hold. Letters from Rep. Poe, MFAN, the Consensus for Development Reform, InterAction and others did not succeed in lifting it.

January 4, 2013: MFAN co-chairs issued a statement: "<u>Senate Does Disservice to Americans, Allies &</u> Foreign Assistance Recipients by Killing Transparency Legislation."

January 2013: MFAN called the White House and the State Department Office of Foreign Assistance (State F), and heard their concern that FATAA went beyond what was required according to an Office of Management and Budget (OMB) bulletin. They agreed to renew conversations. The White House and State F briefed MFAN plus ones on the ForeignAssistance.gov website and IATI.

Late January/Early Feb 2013: MFAN met with NSC Senior Director Gayle Smith, who offered to gather White House, State, USAID, and MCC staff to discuss FATAA at an MFAN-hosted, off-the-record breakfast, which happened in March.

Late March 2013: Rep. Poe circulated as a draft a revised FATAA with all foreign assistance (including security assistance) included in the mandate for evaluation guidelines. Rep. Poe asked MFAN to help educate the new HFAC Republicans on the bill. Sen. Rubio agreed to lead in Senate.

Oct 2013: MFAN-Oxfam-Brookings Institution Roundtable held on why U.S. aid transparency matters.

2013: The Open Government Partnership published its second national action plan.

2013: The Center for International Policy created the <u>Security Assistance Monitor</u> to inform U.S. citizens about U.S. security and defense assistance.

Early November 2013: Sen. Rubio, State, and the White House compromised on the security assistance evaluation issue exemption, as long as a similar evaluation process was in place, along with a briefing for Congress.

January 9, 2014: MFAN co-chairs issued a statement applauding the Senate passage of FATAA of 2013, urging House passage, and stating MFAN's support for the bill.

April 14, 2014: MFAN published *The Way Forward: A Reform Agenda for 2014 and Beyond*, no longer calling for a revised FAA, but instead pressing for accountability and ownership and FATAA's enactment.

Late July 2014: MFAN's Accountability Working Group (AWG) met with USAID's Office of Learning, Evaluation and Research (LER) on FATAA to hear that office's concerns, including the issue of USAID monitoring and evaluation capacity needed to implement the bill.

2014: MCC was first on the annual Aid Transparency Index produced by the group Publish What You Fund.

September 1, 2014: MFAN's AWG published "Aid Effectiveness: The Role of Transparency."

October 2014: MFAN's AWG drafted an outline for a successor bill to FATAA.

November 5-7, 2014: MFAN met with incoming SFRC Chairman Corker's staff to garner input and support for the new FATAA. MFAN met with FATAA lead sponsor Sen. Rubio's staff to discuss next steps. MFAN met with Rep. Poe's staffer Luke Murry on a new version of FATAA for the 114th Congress.

April 2015: USAID/LER met with Rep. Poe's office.

May 29, 2015: Rep. Poe's staffer Luke Murry held a conference call with MFAN deputies. He expressed commitment to getting the bill passed in 2015. Two stumbling blocks remained: security assistance and cost. USAID's evaluation office declared its support. However, the State Department's legislative office remained opposed.

Early June 2015: MFAN met with the State Department Office of Foreign Assistance (State F) staff on FATAA, who had come to view MFAN as a real partner.

June 2015: Rep. Poe and Sen. Rubio engaged Rep. Royce and Sen. Corker early in the reintroduction process.

Late July 2015: Rep. Poe drafted a revised FATAA bill with language requiring security assistance evaluations, and removing some provisions to keep cost down. MFAN reviewed it and offered suggestions.

July 22, 2015: MFAN released <u>ACCOUNTdown to 2017</u>. Rep. Poe and Sen. Lugar spoke, and Eric Postel (USAID) and Daniella Ballou-Aares (State) attended the launch. The report called for the enactment and implementation of FATAA.

September 2015: Latest version of Rep. Poe's bill FATAA developed incorporating some MFAN edits. The bill was sent to CBO for preliminary scoring. Sen. Rubio wanted to introduce the bill soon, so as to have the same version in the House and Senate. Rep. Royce's staff member provided input on Rep. Poe's bill; SFRC had not (awaiting CBO score).

Late September/Early October 2015: With Sen. Rubio and Rep. Poe ready to introduce the bill without language requiring security assistance evaluations, all involved in the bill's drafting met with State.

October 30, 2015: FATAA scheduled for markup in the Senate and House. MFAN partnered with InterAction on an organizational sign-on letter. MFAN planned to send the White House and OMB MFAN's statements as an FYI, and include FATAA in a letter to OMB. MFAN mobilized members to get more co-sponsors and support for FATAA.

November 10, 2015: FATAA passed SFRC by voice vote. MFAN statement thanked SFRC.

November 13, 2015: The House hoped to put FATAA on the suspension calendar during the first week of December. The Senate was looking to hotline⁷ the bill as soon as possible. MFAN requested meetings with House and Senate leadership and appropriators. The State Department Office of Legislative Affairs remained opposed to the bill. OMB remained unsupportive, but not actively in opposition. MFAN issued a

⁷ "The Senate will "hotline" a bill when it is ready to be considered under an unanimous consent agreement. "Under the hotline process, the Senate cloakrooms notify Senators of upcoming bills that may be considered under unanimous consent to provide them with a final opportunity to object." <u>https://rules.house.gov/sites/republicans.rules.house.gov/files/112-BT-Senate-20110914.pdf</u>.

letter from its co-chairs to Sec. Kerry urging his endorsement. MFAN members reached out to the White House, State Department, and USAID.

December 2, 2015: Sen. Ben Cardin (D-MD) hotlined FATAA on the Senate Democrats' side.

Mid-December 2015: FATAA passed the House in early December and cleared the Senate GOP hotline, but a Senator imposed a hold. A member of the MFAN Hub planned to meet with the Senator's office in January.

Early January 2016: MFAN group met with the Senator's office regarding FATAA. Also invited were staff from the offices of Rep. Poe, Rep. Connolly, Sen. Cardin and Sen. Rubio, as well as HFAC.

Late February 2016: Supported by MFAN, Rep. Poe questioned Sec. Kerry at a FATAA hearing. Sec. Kerry did not clearly commit to supporting FATAA.

March 2016: House Leadership placed FATAA on the calendar.

Late April 2016: In the House and Senate, FATAA treated as a political football, affected by other concerns.

June 29 -July 19, 2016: FATAA passed the Senate after holds were lifted. The House passed FATAA. President Obama signed FATAA into law. MFAN issued statements with thanks.

Late July 2016: MFAN met with USAID/LER on FATAA implementation.

Late August/Early September 2016: Honorary MFAN co-chairs Jim Kolbe and Howard Berman published an op-ed thanking Congress for FATAA's passage and encouraging focus on its implementation.

Mid to Late September 2016: MFAN's AWG met with OMB regarding FATAA implementation.

Early October 2016: MFAN's AWG met with State/F on QDDR and FATAA implementation.