2015-2016 Biennial Report

Solving Global Issues
“AS A NATION, I BELIEVE WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO LEAD. WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO STRUGGLE WITH GLOBAL PROBLEMS, BECAUSE SO MANY OF OUR OWN CANNOT BE SOLVED WITHOUT PROGRESS ABROAD.”

— SENATOR LUGAR

SEPTEMBER 13, 2016
Dear Friends,

It is our pleasure to share with you the biennial report of The Lugar Center. Launched in 2013, The Lugar Center focuses on three distinct areas of particular interest to me during my Senate tenure and which I believe are in need of a continued voice in order to build a safer, more stable, and prosperous world. They include WMD non-proliferation, global food security, and foreign aid effectiveness. Our fourth, cross-cutting area of work, bipartisan governance, is a vital component of effective democracy.

We are extremely pleased to share with you the progress of our work over these past two years as we have further developed our programs for greater impact and broadened our partnerships with the support of our generous grant-makers, foundations, individuals, and corporations.

We are grateful to those of you who have supported our work and welcome your feedback. We encourage new partners to join with us in this challenging and rewarding endeavor.

Sincerely,

Sen. Richard G. Lugar (Ret.)
President and Chairman of the Board

The Lugar Center Overview

The Lugar Center (TLC) was founded in January 2013 to educate and motivate the American public, global policymakers, and future leaders on critical issues such as global food security, foreign aid effectiveness, WMD non-proliferation, and bipartisan governance. We are a 501 (c) (3) organization; as such, we do not engage in lobbying activities.

TLC uses various platforms (webpage, social media, TLC blog, private meetings, publications, and public events) to elevate the policy debate on our core issues. In addition, Senator Lugar uses his well-respected voice to comment on numerous foreign policy issues in speeches and interviews.

TLC advocates for foreign aid effectiveness principles, such as accountability, transparency, evaluation, and learning in order to educate policy makers and hold government agencies accountable for their commitments. TLC also educates on WMD and food security issues via Capitol Hill roundtables and other forums. After two years in development, TLC released its Bipartisan Index in 2015, a new analytical transparency tool, and continues to add new data and analysis to the project. It has won wide ranging interest from the press and Members of Congress and Senators.

We seek to improve the policy environment for core TLC issues by building champions in Congress, in the administration, and within specific policy communities. We believe educating policymakers, as well as the general public, will facilitate the creation and implementation of policies or approaches that will produce positive outcomes in TLC’s four core objectives:

1. **Make U.S. foreign assistance more effective.** We hold leadership positions in the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN) and work with other advocacy groups to encourage policies that allow for aid to reach more people with programs that will have lasting effects in reducing poverty and hunger and sustaining future economic growth while reducing the future need for foreign assistance. Throughout 2015 and 2016 TLC collaborated with MFAN to support and embed accountability and country ownership reforms, and to prepare for changes in policies under a new administration.

2. **Make U.S. global food security programs more effective and supported by a wide range of U.S. policy makers.** In 2015 and 2016 this entailed active monitoring of the Feed the Future Initiative and proposed authorizing legislation, as well as constructive criticism on
how to make the presidential initiative more effective and sustainable. TLC experts were called on to provide technical assistance to Congressional committee staff as they conducted oversight of Feed the Future and food aid programs, and educated other interested organizations on the topic.

3. **Support WMD non-proliferation policies.** TLC sponsored forums to educate Members of Congress and their staffs on non-proliferation issues. This kind of dialogue is important in order to ensure a knowledgeable debate on issues, including North Korean nuclear capability and the use of WMD in Syria. These issues will continue to dominate US foreign policy deliberations.

4. **Promote a more bipartisan environment for policy debates.** Through the Bipartisan Index and related programs, TLC incentivized Members of Congress to incorporate a bipartisan approach into their political and procedural considerations. The program also provided training of congressional staff on how to conduct oversight.

In September 2015, Senator Lugar and Secretary of State John Kerry argued for the implementation of the Iran nuclear agreement at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia.
TLC works to encourage policies that demonstrate a US commitment to reduce global hunger and poverty, to improve the effectiveness of foreign assistance, to decrease the threat posed by nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and to create incentives for bipartisan policy deliberations to achieve solutions. Senator Lugar, a respected voice, makes compelling arguments on these complex issues through speeches, blogs, op-eds, and private meetings. TLC staff have more than a century of combined experience in government and expertise in our core issues.

2016 proved to be a pivotal year for The Lugar Center, with the challenges of national political campaigns and the transition to a new administration and Congress that is less knowledgeable of the roles of foreign assistance, global food security, and non-proliferation in national security. At the same time, 2016 offered opportunities for Congress to endorse sound aid approaches in legislation on aid effectiveness, global food security, and energy. TLC was able to work with NGOs and other think tanks to educate Ambassadors representing nations from across the globe, together with TLC sponsors, participate in the Lugar Diplomacy Series with guest speaker, U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Elena Kagan.
congressional staff on food security and aid issues and to serve as a credible link among federal agencies, the aid community, and Congress. Senator Lugar continued to partner with Sen. Sam Nunn on Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction activities, made even more relevant with the increasingly clear nuclear ambitions of North Korea. New Bipartisan Index data on the previous Congress was also released. Those results showed that bipartisanship had increased slightly, but still remained well below historic levels; and, more notably, two presidential hopefuls in the 2016 primaries, Sens. Ted Cruz (R-TX) and Bernie Sanders (I-VT), ranked as the least bipartisan Senators.

During the third and fourth quarters of 2016, The Lugar Center began planning for a new administration and Congress. Toward that end, it worked closely with the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN) to identify educational opportunities for Members of Congress, staff, and the incoming administration on foreign assistance effectiveness. With regard to global agriculture, The Lugar Center was able to devote planning resources to call for a 21st Century Green Revolution. Senator Lugar launched the idea in remarks on Capitol Hill and in a follow-up blog with

Senator Lugar participated in a discussion of nuclear security issues in the 21st century in March 2015 at Georgetown University. Panelists included Professor Ariane Tabatabai, Senator Sam Nunn, Rt Hon. Des Browne, and Congressman Jeff Fortenberry (R-NE) (photo credit: The Hoya)
plans to increase activities promoting an agricultural science agenda in 2017 and 2018.

In the fall of 2016, TLC began a new program that brings in prominent American thought leaders for roundtable discussions with the international diplomatic corps stationed in Washington. Former Iraq and Afghanistan commander and CIA director General David Petraeus (ret.) and U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Elena Kagan were the first speakers for the program, with Senator Susan Collins (R-ME) and philanthropist and global agriculture expert, Howard Buffett, presenting in early 2017. These roundtables present valuable opportunities to discuss foreign policy and development issues with ambassadors who often return to their home countries to take up even more influential positions.

In November 2016, Senator Lugar received the Fulbright Prize for International Understanding and addressed the Fulbright Association’s Annual Conference in Washington. The prize recognizes “outstanding contributions toward bringing peoples, culture, or nations to greater understanding of others.” The first recipient of the award was former South African President Nelson Mandela, and others include former President Jimmy Carter, former U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan, and Bill and Melinda Gates. (photo credit: Fulbright Association)
Senator Lugar was awarded the Ukrainian Order of Liberty by President Petro Poroshenko for his efforts to strengthen the sovereignty and independence of Ukraine. The honor was presented by Ambassador Valeriy Chaly in December 2016. (photo credit: Embassy of Ukraine)

Finally, our principal, Senator Richard G. Lugar, plays an active, hands-on role both within TLC and among the Washington and global foreign policy communities. Over these past two years he has been invited to lead and keynote policy conferences and meetings and continues to be recognized for his leadership in foreign policy.
WMD Nonproliferation

Challenge: The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction remains the number one security threat facing the United States and the international community. To prevent calamities involving weapons of mass destruction, responsible governments, organizations, and individuals must dedicate themselves to the painstaking work necessary to constrain this threat.

The Arms Control Association (ACA) and The Lugar Center partnered on the Bipartisan Nuclear and WMD Policy Dialogue Project to help foster bipartisan discussion on security issues. The aim of the project is to provide a recurring forum where senior Congressional national security staff across committee jurisdictions and party affiliations can establish relationships and a basis for working together more effectively, as well as increase the overall awareness of WMD risk reduction strategies. Topics have included U.S. missile defense, U.S. nuclear weapons spending, WMD removal from Syria, Pakistan’s expanding nuclear program, and multiple issues related to the nuclear negotiations with Iran.

In November 2015, the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Middlebury Institute for International Studies and The Lugar Center co-hosted the workshop "Preparing for the next WMD elimination mission - Lessons learned from past experiences." About 30 WMD nonproliferation experts gathered in Washington to participate in more than a dozen panel discussions and case studies. The panel discussions examined topics ranging from diplomatic and technical aspects to domestic and international legal aspects of WMD elimination missions. The case studies examined past experiences in Russia, Iraq, Libya, and Syria, among others. Each of the presentations was based on chapters that have been prepared for a forthcoming book for which Senator Lugar has written the introductory chapter.

In 2016, Senator Lugar and TLC co-hosted a small luncheon with the Arms Control Association for a bipartisan group of House members on the issue

“There are skeptics who say that focusing on the security of military nuclear materials is too sensitive or too difficult. Twenty years of cooperation between the United States and Russia on these issues proves the skeptics wrong. It is not only possible, it is necessary to avoid catastrophe.”

—Senator Lugar
November 10, 2015
of preventing nuclear terrorism. The Members who attended are deeply engaged in U.S. nuclear security policy, and the meeting was timed to preview President Obama’s fourth and final Nuclear Security Summit later in March.

In his opening remarks, Senator Lugar emphasized the importance of bipartisanship in foreign policy. He cited the success of the Nunn-Lugar

2016 marked the 25th anniversary of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program. Secretary of Defense Ash Carter hosted a recognition ceremony at the Pentagon where he dedicated the Secretary’s conference room in honor of Senators Nunn and Lugar. At the Capitol, the Carnegie Corporation, The National Security Archive, and the Nuclear Threat Initiative hosted panels discussing the successes of the program (photo credit: Office of the Secretary of Defense; The National Security Archive)
program as an example of a bipartisan effort to limit the risks from nuclear weapons that was sustained over many years because it was not seen as belonging to one party or the other. He also noted that it was important that Congress develop expertise in long-term issues such as nuclear security because administrations change frequently and often have a short-term focus. The Congressmen engaged in a lively discussion about possible next steps by Congress with Senator Lugar and three other experts at the lunch: Joan Rohlfing, president of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, Kenneth Brill, former head of the National Counterproliferation Center and former ambassador to the IAEA, and Daryl Kimball, executive director of the Arms Control Association.

Also in 2016, Sen. Lugar toured a plutonium recycling plant under construction at the Energy Department’s Savannah River Site in Georgia. The DOE has proposed to cancel the plant, which is 70 percent complete, because of cost. After the tour, Sen. Lugar spoke out strongly in favor of completing the project. He argued that it is part of a key plutonium disposal agreement the United Stated signed with Russia to dispose of 34 tons of the deadly material, taken from dismantled nuclear weapons. Sen. Lugar’s comments from an AP interview were widely picked up and caught the attention of officials at the highest levels of DOE.

Senators Lugar and Nunn attended a ceremony at the Pentagon, hosted by Defense Secretary Ash Carter, to mark the 25th Anniversary of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction legislation. At the ceremony, Carter announced that the Secretary’s main conference room, used for high-level meetings such as when the president visits Pentagon, had been renamed the Nunn-Lugar Conference room.

In 2017 and 2018, The Lugar Center, in cooperation with the Arms Control Association, will continue to educate legislators and policymakers on the technical and geopolitical aspects of arms control, nuclear and chemical proliferation, weapons treaties, modernization of the nuclear force, and other WMD issues that have been overshadowed by political turmoil in Washington. Senator Lugar will speak out and advise on the appropriate American response to activities by North Korea, Iran, Pakistan, Russia, Syria, and other countries of concern, as well as by terrorist groups seeking to acquire WMD. He will emphasize the importance of America’s global leadership in maintaining our security against WMD threats.
Global Food Security

Challenge: The world’s population is expected to reach 10 billion by 2050 at the same time that changing diets, urbanization trends, and pressures on water resources and the environment will negatively affect production and distribution. Agriculture has been shown to help advance economic growth and can help poor countries move into the ranks of middle income. Studies have shown that middle income countries are less apt to have civil conflicts and political instability. Conversely, poor countries with high rates of hunger tend to have more incidents of public discord and instability. Achieving global food security is a critical component to our goal of a more peaceful, stable, and prosperous world.

In 2015 and 2016, TLC worked to keep the issue of food security at the forefront of public policy debates and to educate government leaders and the foreign policy community on the need for US leadership. By fostering a better understanding of global agriculture challenges, TLC contributed to a more productive and bipartisan debate in support of U.S. leadership which resulted in enactment of the Global Food Security Act in July 2016. TLC did this by 1) becoming a trusted educational resource for congressional staff; 2) working with U.S. agricultural producer groups to inform them of...
the positives of engaging in support of U.S. leadership in global food security; and 3) sharing ideas with NGOs and think tanks.

TLC has continued its work in helping to educate the public. Our newsletter reaches nearly 7,000 people with updates on our activities, and our website is a trusted source for information on a host of agriculture-related topics (Resources for Researchers, GE FAQs, and Hunger Facts & Figures). We also educate readers on the complexities of global food security through a number of blogs. It was through a web search that we were contacted by the 2016 class of The Lugar Series, a public service training program for women in Indiana. As The Lugar Series wanted to fulfill a community service component of their program and to honor Senator Lugar, TLC worked with them to identify a food security project managed by ACDI/VOCA that provided leadership and agricultural training to Liberian women in agroforestry while also helping to increase their incomes. The Lugar Series was able to raise $11,000 for the project.

In 2017 and 2018, TLC will continue its campaign for a 21st Green Revolution that was launched in 2016. We will promote a greater commitment to a science agenda that will include issues such as protecting biodiversity; increasing productivity through climate-smart agriculture, education, and extension services particularly to women and other vulnerable populations; and building the human and institutional capacity of foreign universities to form research partnerships and improve the free flow of knowledge and scholarly research globally.

**Foreign Aid Effectiveness**

Challenge: The purpose and benefits of foreign assistance are poorly understood among the American public and even among many policy makers. As a consequence, the public believes that aid represents up to 25% of the US budget, rather than the 1% it actually is. Aid is often an area of
the budget that is targeted for cuts and its agencies for elimination or restructuring. The current administration has proposed drastic cuts that will cripple US global leadership in our response to disasters, our health programs to prevent disease outbreaks, and our work on transferring development financing to host countries, putting them in charge of financing and directing their own development trajectories.

Aid, done well, is a powerful foreign policy tool and reflects the humanitarian nature of the American people. We have worked to elevate and add to the voices holding Congress and the administration accountable for aid effectiveness. Senator Lugar has used speaking engagements to elevate the effectiveness agenda. We have also continued to use blogs, op-eds, and social media. TLC holds leadership roles in the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN) and has been active in encouraging its membership to take stronger positions on aid reform. In 2016 this included a call for the Obama administration to institutionalize many of its aid effectiveness commitments.

In addition to leadership positions in MFAN, TLC staff have contributed to MFAN products and public events. Senator Lugar and TLC staff partnered

Emcee Connie Veillette, Senior Fellow at The Lugar Center, and Co-Chair of the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network (MFAN) welcomes Sen. Christopher A. Coons (D-DE) to the MFAN Capitol Hill event with members of the Congressional Caucus for Effective Foreign Assistance.
with MFAN to push for greater transparency, accountability, and country ownership in US aid programs. We educated Congress and the administration on the need for policy approaches as reflected in the Foreign Aid Transparency and Accountability Act that was enacted in 2016. Separately from MFAN, we also serve as a resource for Congress on aid issues.

In 2017 and 2018, TLC will continue its collaboration with MFAN to prevent any significant rollback of aid programs shown to have positive outcomes and impacts. We will advocate for better efficiencies and effectiveness so that US aid dollars go further with greater impact on peoples’ lives. This will include focus on improving transparency and accountability to U.S. tax payers and to citizens in countries we are trying to help. We will also advocate for identifying paths to move eligible countries off assistance through graduation plans and to national strategies that are sustainable, self-financed, and with greater roles for the private sector to contribute to job creation and economic growth.

**Bipartisan Governance and the Bipartisan Index**

During this period, The Lugar Center partnered with the McCourt School of Public Policy at Georgetown University to introduce the Bipartisan Index. The first roll-out, in May 2015, scored all members of the House and Senate for the 113th Congress. The second, in December 2015, scored Senators (227 of them) who have served since 1993. Both of these roll-outs required hundreds of hours of development to build a statistically valid formula, write and apply a computer program, set up a new area of the website, and verify specific results. This data and the accompanying analysis covering eleven congresses is becoming a transparency tool used by members of Congress and the press to assess whether members are acting in a bipartisan way. It also provides statistical verification of the trend in recent congresses toward more partisanship.

TLC has continued to expand its Bipartisan Index with additional releases of data. In March 2016, we released the rankings and scores for all Senators

“When we work and engage in the developing world, we not only build access to new markets — we also build stability and promote economic growth.”

—Senator Lugar

March 18, 2016
and Representatives during 2015, the first session of the 114th Congress. This garnered considerable national publicity when reporters noted that two presidential hopefuls in the 2016 primaries at the time, Sens. Ted Cruz (R, TX), and Bernie Sanders (I, Vt.) ranked last on the Index as the two least bipartisan Senators. Local media around the county produced pieces on how members of Congress from their regions scored on the Index, and Sen. Lugar and staff gave several media interviews. In October 2016, TLC published an analysis showing that voters in the most partisan congressional districts can nonetheless elect bipartisan representatives.

Senator Lugar and TLC staff have regularly communicated about the need for bipartisan governance and shared the rankings of members of Congress and the U.S. Senate, and their implications for good governance through a number mediums, including speeches, blogs, radio interviews, and television interviews. We also provided information and quotes to a host of reporters who wrote stories about individual members of Congress and Senators and their rankings on the index, including during the 2016 presidential and congressional primaries and the general election. The Senator also delivered major speeches on bipartisan governance at the University of Illinois and the Cleveland Council on World Affairs.

Additionally, The Lugar Center is partnering with the Project on Government Oversight and the Levin Center at Wayne State University to host regular Congressional Staff Bipartisan Oversight Boot Camps. The boot camps, which are held in the House or Senate office buildings, mix staffers from both parties and both chambers who work together in small groups to develop and execute investigative plans for invented scandals.
The sessions emphasize that a bipartisan approach is essential if the oversight process is to have credibility and lasting impact on policy and legislation. “If you’re going to reach a bipartisan consensus on the facts, which in today’s world is actually quite difficult and actually has been very difficult for many years... you have to do the investigation together,” Elise Bean, one of TLC’s partners and co-director of the Levin Center Washington, recently told Roll Call. So far, more than 100 congressional staffers have taken part in Oversight Boot Camp training. The first was held in August 2015. This two-day event brought approximately 20 current congressional staff members together with trainers who are experienced in the art of bipartisan congressional oversight. Two more boot camps were held in 2016, and at least three have been scheduled for 2017.

“THE BEST LEADERS UNITE US. THEY AVOID SUCCUMBING TO THE TEMPTATION TO RELY EXCLUSIVELY ON PARTY TALKING POINTS AND THEY ARE OPEN TO THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOMEONE FROM THE OTHER PARTY MAY HAVE A GOOD IDEA. THEY RECOGNIZE THAT THERE IS INHERENT VALUE IN BUILDING CONSENSUS FOR POLICIES BEYOND THE 51 PERCENT NECESSARY TO PASS A BILL. THEY UNDERSTAND THAT THE BENEFITS OF PURELY PARTISAN VICTORIES TEND TO BE HARD TO SUSTAIN, WHILE BROADLY SUPPORTED INITIATIVES USUALLY HAVE STAYING POWER. AND THEY DON’T COMPROMISE ON POLITICAL CIVILITY, EVEN WHEN THEY KNOW INFLAMMATORY RHETORIC MIGHT GAIN THEM A HEADLINE.”

—Senator Lugar
August 4, 2015
The Lugar Center is grateful for the generous support of its contributors and grant-giving organizations who continue to endorse our programs and our work. In additional to our many individual donors, we are pleased to highlight foundations including Christel DeHaan Family Foundation; Efroymson Family Fund, a Central Indiana Community Foundation Fund; The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; The New Venture Fund. This support during the still early years of our foundation enabled us to broaden and deepen the impact of our programs, giving us a stronger voice for impact across each of our program areas. We are humbled by this support and the confidence you have placed in our work. We look forward to continuing these partnerships in the years ahead, as well as developing new ones.
Senator Richard G. Lugar (Ret.)
President and Chairman of the Board
Senator Richard Lugar founded and leads The Lugar Center after retiring from the U.S. Senate as the longest serving Member of Congress in Indiana history. During his six terms in the Senate, he served as Chairman of both the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations where he exercised leadership on critical issues such as food security, nuclear non-proliferation, energy independence, and free trade. In 1991, he forged a bipartisan partnership with Senator Sam Nunn (D-GA) to destroy weapons of mass destruction in the former Soviet Union. To date, the Nunn-Lugar program has deactivated more than 7,600 nuclear warheads that were once aimed at the United States. Senator Lugar also was central to U.S. efforts to improve global food security and domestic nutrition, and he was a champion of effective foreign assistance programs. In addition to his daily engagement with The Lugar Center, he continues to manage his family’s 604 acre farm in Indiana.

John Lugar
John Lugar serves as Executive Director of The Lugar Center. He brings 25 years of commercial real estate, government and international business experience to The Lugar Center. Mr. Lugar was the founder and partner of an international private equity firm focused on South America and has significant business development experience, including assignments and new ventures in the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union, Hungary, Mexico, and South Africa. Lugar is a licensed, practicing commercial realtor in Metropolitan Washington, D.C., as well as a Certified Commercial Investment Member (CCIM).

Marty Morris
Marty served as Chief of Staff to Senator Richard Lugar for 23 years. When he retired at the beginning of 2013, he was the longest serving chief of staff in the Senate. He provided strategic direction to Lugar’s leadership of the Agriculture and Foreign Relations Committees and played a role in all of his major initiatives, including the Nunn-Lugar program global food security, and Farm Bill reforms. He is well known in Washington as a political strategist and managed Senator Lugar’s successful campaigns in 1988, 1994, 2000, and 2006. In addition to serving as Counsel to the President of The Lugar Center, Marty is a Professor of the Practice at Duke University. He and his wife, Pam, now split their time between Durham, NC and Sea Island, GA.
Dan Diller
In his position as Director of Policy, Dan brings extensive Capitol Hill policy and communications experience to The Lugar Center, having served 10 years as a Legislative Director to Senator Richard Lugar and another 10 years as Deputy Staff Director of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee (SFRC). In these capacities he oversaw foreign and domestic policy development and drafted more than thousand speeches and statements for Senator Lugar. He was heavily involved in a wide range of policy initiatives, including the Nunn-Lugar Program, arms control agreements, the Lugar-Casey Global Food Security bill, State Department oversight, foreign assistance reform, several farm bills, and domestic hunger legislation. Before coming to the Senate he worked for seven years as a writer and book editor at Congressional Quarterly, specializing in U.S. foreign policy, the Presidency, the former Soviet Union, and the Middle East.

Neil Brown
Neil Robert Brown is a founding member of The Lugar Center’s board of directors. Neil is a Director at KKR, a leading global investment firm, where he is director of policy and research at the KKR Global Institute. Neil also serves as a senior non-resident fellow at the Atlantic Council of the United States and is a civil society representative at the U.S. Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative. Previously, Neil served on the senior staff of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee and of Senator Richard Lugar, and he was a senior advisor at Goldwyn Global Strategies. Mr. Brown graduated with a BA from Harvard University and MSc and MPhil from Oxford University, which he attended as a Rhodes Scholar. Neil is from Iowa, where his family farm is located.
Dedicated to Making a Difference

The Lugar Center is a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt nonprofit organization. To learn how you can support our work, please visit www.thelugarcenter.org or donate here.

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