

“PEOPLE ARE ALREADY DYING, AND MORE WILL DIE”

What the Trump Administration’s Lie About the
U.S. Agency for International Development Has
Cost America and the World

INTERIM STAFF ANALYSIS

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For more than six decades since its founding under President Kennedy, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) provided critical health care and food assistance for children, women, and people that needed it the most.¹ In doing so, it made monumental strides in reducing the instability that breeds global terrorism, disease outbreaks, conflict, and mass migration, playing an important role in protecting Americans' health and security.²

On his first day in office, President Donald Trump issued an executive order dismantling the agency—a decision that has already resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths and will lead to the deaths of millions more globally.³ The Trump Administration's decision to shut down USAID immediately blocked access to food and medical care for millions of people in at least 130 countries, hindered economic security for developing nations, and caused immediate ripple effects in the United States, leaving thousands of Americans without jobs and American farmers without customers.

Beginning in February 2025, then-Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly and Oversight and Government Reform Democrats launched an investigation into the likely illegal elimination of USAID. This investigation continued under Ranking Member Garcia and included gathering information from former USAID employees and implementing partners to understand the full domestic and global effects of the sudden gutting of USAID. Committee Democrats found that because of USAID's effective closure:

¹ USAID was the federal government's principal international humanitarian development agency. President John F. Kennedy established USAID in 1961. Under the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998, the USAID administrator operates under the direct authority and foreign policy guidance of the Secretary of State. Prior to January 20, 2025, USAID had an independent administrator, independent staff and independent programming from the Department of State. At the time of its effective closure, USAID operated in approximately 130 countries and funded approximately \$35 billion in foreign assistance programming annually. *See e.g.* Congressional Research Service, *U.S. Agency for International Development: An Overview* (Mar. 14, 2025) (IF10261) (online at www.congress.gov/crs_external_products/IF/PDF/IF10261/IF10261.17.pdf); *Trump Administration Moves to Fire Remaining USAID Staff*, Reuters (Mar. 28, 2025) (online at www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2025/03/28/usaid-jobs-eliminated-doge-trump/82707197007/).

² *See e.g.* Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee); Letter from Jeremy Konyndyk, President, Refugees International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

³ Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, *USAID Shutdown Has Led to Hundreds of Thousands of Deaths* (Nov. 20, 2025) (online at <https://hsph.harvard.edu/news/usaid-shutdown-has-led-to-hundreds-of-thousands-of-deaths/>).

- Children and vulnerable people around the world are dying from preventable illnesses and malnutrition. Some experts estimate more than 600,000 preventable deaths in just over a year.
- The world is in a race against time to contain a deadly Ebola outbreak—a task severely hampered by USAID cuts.
- Countries that have beaten back the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and malaria face rapid resurgence that could cost millions of lives.

Global advancements in maternal and reproductive health care have been eviscerated, putting millions of women and infants at risk.

- The United States’ humanitarian presence in Sub-Saharan Africa and other regions has been significantly reduced, allowing Russia, the People’s Republic of China, and other nations seeking to compete with the United States to fill the void and jeopardize U.S. national security.
- Opportunities for education and employment for young people are increasingly limited, threatening the possibility of increased migration from developing countries to the United States.
- Thousands of Americans have lost their jobs or experienced a significant hit to their businesses, and taxpayer dollars were wasted as lifesaving food and care products were left to rot or expire without reaching the people who needed them.
- USAID implementing partners reported widespread difficulty obtaining waivers to continue lifesaving work, even as the Trump Administration promised the public that such waivers would be available and no deaths would occur.

II. BACKGROUND

On January 20, 2025, President Donald Trump issued an Executive Order (EO) titled “Reevaluating and Realigning United States Foreign Aid,” imposing a 90-day freeze on all foreign development assistance. The EO undermined the work of the federal government’s domestic and international partners with immediate effect, backing out of longstanding U.S. foreign aid commitments and launching the Administration’s effort to permanently shutter USAID.⁴ Announced within hours of Trump taking office, the EO marked an abrupt departure from diplomatic and foreign policy norms the United States has followed for the past six decades.

⁴ Exec. Order No. 14169, 90 Fed. Reg. 8619 (Jan. 20, 2025).

On January 27, 2025, the Trump Administration began systemically dismantling USAID, putting at least 56 senior officials on administrative leave.⁵ On February 3, 2025, Elon Musk posted publicly that he “spent the weekend feeding USAID into the wood chipper.”⁶ The same day, President Trump named Secretary of State Marco Rubio the Acting Administrator of USAID and started the effective merger of USAID into the Department of State (State Department).⁷ In February 2025, the Trump Administration placed the vast majority of the agency’s employees on administrative leave with plans to terminate them.⁸ The process was, by the admission of the Administration, chaotic and incompetent. On February 25, Elon Musk addressed a cabinet meeting to say, “When we make mistakes, we’ll fix it very quickly. So, for example, with USAID, one of the things we accidentally canceled very briefly was Ebola prevention.”⁹ A year later, nearly all of the agency’s 16,000 employees were laid off and an estimated 280,000 contractors, implementing partners, and local hires worldwide lost their jobs.¹⁰

On March 10, 2025, the Trump Administration announced the permanent cancellation of approximately 83% of U.S. foreign aid contracts administered by USAID and other agencies, amounting to approximately 5,200 government contracts.¹¹ On March 28, 2025, Secretary Rubio notified Congress that the State Department and USAID would “undertake a reorganization that would involve realigning certain USAID functions to the [State Department] by July 1, 2025, and discontinuing the remaining USAID functions that do not align with Administration priorities.”¹² In August 2025, Russ Vought, Director of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), reportedly assumed control over the final dissolution of USAID and got the greenlight from President Trump to fully dismantle the agency.¹³

⁵ *U.S. Places Dozens of Senior Aid Officials on Leave, Citing Possible Resistance to Trump Orders*, AP News (Jan. 27, 2025) (online at <https://apnews.com/article/trump-usaid-leave-87704eee4897b24a79072e32e3df58a0>).

⁶ Elon Musk (@elonmusk), X (Feb. 3, 2025) (online at <https://x.com/elonmusk/status/1886307316804263979?lang=en>).

⁷ *Trump Appointees to Put Almost All U.S.A.I.D. Workers on Leave*, New York Times (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/02/04/us/usaid-musk-trump-rubio-cuts.html).

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Musk Says Work to Stop Ebola Was Accidentally Cut But Restored. Experts Raise Doubts*, NPR (Feb. 27, 2025) (online at www.npr.org/sections/goats-and-soda/2025/02/27/g-s1-50929/elon-musk-ebola-usaid).

¹⁰ *A Year After U.S.A.I.D.’s Death, Fired Workers Find Few Jobs and Much Loss*, New York Times (Apr. 21, 2026) (online at www.nytimes.com/2026/04/21/us/politics/usaid-former-employees.html).

¹¹ *Rubio Announces That 83% of USAID Contracts Will be Canceled*, NPR (Mar. 10, 2025) (online at www.npr.org/sections/goats-and-soda/2025/03/10/g-s1-52964/rubio-announces-that-83-of-usaid-contracts-will-be-canceled).

¹² U.S. Department of State, *Press Release: On Delivering an America First Foreign Assistance Program* (Mar. 28, 2025) (online at www.state.gov/on-delivering-an-america-first-foreign-assistance-program/).

¹³ *The Shadow President*, ProPublica (Oct. 17, 2025) (online at www.propublica.org/article/russ-vought-trump-shadow-president-omb).

The Trump Administration’s decision to unilaterally dissolve USAID—a statutorily-mandated agency operating with Congressionally-appropriated funds—without authorization from Congress sets a dangerous precedent for other independent agencies. Eliminating an entire agency without the opportunity for bipartisan discussion and consensus runs counter to the democratic principles of the United States, weakening the nation’s global reputation and undermining the United States’ global security interests.

Oversight Committee Democrats believe that the Trump Administration’s decision to unilaterally shut down USAID is illegal and runs counter to congressional intent. In February 2025, then-Ranking Member Connolly stated, “Congress created the agency through the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and if you want to change it, you have to change the law... it is a matter of statute.”¹⁴ Congress established USAID as an independent agency within the executive branch. “The President does not have the authority to abolish [USAID]” and that “congressional authorization would be required to abolish, or consolidate USAID.”¹⁵

Courts have yet to issue final rulings on the legality of the Trump Administration’s decision to close USAID and merge its remaining functions with the State Department. In March 2025, The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit lifted a district court order blocking Elon Musk’s Department of Government Efficiency (DOGE) from making further cuts to USAID.¹⁶ The United States Supreme Court held on March 5, 2025, that the Trump Administration must pay approximately \$2 billion in funds owed to contractors who had already completed work on behalf of USAID.¹⁷ On September 26, 2025, the Supreme Court of the United States allowed the Trump Administration to withhold nearly \$4 billion in foreign aid funding, with no requirement that the federal government spend previously appropriated funds.¹⁸

III. FINDINGS

A. **Eliminating USAID Upends Global Health and Has Resulted in Hundreds of Thousands of Deaths**

¹⁴ *USAID Takeover Is Unconstitutional, Lawmakers Say*, Federal News Network (Feb. 3, 2025) (online at <https://federalnewsnetwork.com/reorganization/2025/02/usa-id-takeover-is-unconstitutional-lawmakers-say/>).

¹⁵ *USAID Under the Trump Administration*, Congressional Research Service (Feb. 3, 2025) (online at www.congress.gov/crs-product/IN12500).

¹⁶ *Appeals Court Clears Way for DOGE to Keep Operating at USAID*, AP News (Mar. 28, 2025) (online at <https://apnews.com/article/doge-usaid-elon-musk-e56588069f7610ef13f844293d058ccb>).

¹⁷ *Supreme Court Upholds a Lower Court Order to Force USAID to Pay Contractors*, NPR (Mar. 5, 2025) (online at www.npr.org/2025/03/05/nx-s1-5309498/scotus-usaid-news).

¹⁸ *Supreme Court Allows Trump Administration to Withhold Billions in Foreign-aid Funding*, SCOTUSblog (Sept. 26, 2025) (online at www.scotusblog.com/2025/09/supreme-court-allows-trump-administration-to-withhold-billions-in-foreign-aid-funding/).

- B. Closing USAID Jeopardizes National Security**
- C. Closing USAID Harms International Trade and Economic Development and Puts Economic Security at Risk for Developing Countries**
- D. USAID’s Abrupt Closure Forced Lifesaving Work to Stop Immediately, Putting Lives at Risk**
- E. The Trump Administration Lied About Providing Humanitarian Waivers for Lifesaving Work**

IV. METHODOLOGY

Since February 2025, Committee Democrats have investigated the effects of the Trump Administration’s sudden, unilateral freeze on foreign assistance and effort to eliminate USAID without Congressional authorization.¹⁹ During the course of the investigation, Committee Democrats sent letters to 14 former USAID officials and government contractors who administered USAID programs shortly before or at the time of its effective closure.²⁰ All 14 individuals and entities were selected because they have significant executive experience running programs within USAID or because they are long-time USAID contractors responsible for running programs on behalf of USAID. Oversight Democrats sent letters to:

¹⁹ Letter from Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Rep. Suhas Subramanyam, to the Honorable Marco Rubio, Acting Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development (Feb. 7, 2025) (online at <https://oversightdemocrats.house.gov/imo/media/doc/2025-02-07.%20GEC%20Subramanyam%20Letter%20to%20Rubio%20on%20USAID%20and%20Aid%20Freeze.pdf>).

²⁰ See e.g. Letters from Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, to seven USAID contractors (Mar. 14, 2025) (online at <https://oversightdemocrats.house.gov/imo/media/doc/2025-03-14-gec-subramanyam-to-usaid-contractors.pdf>).

Former USAID Officials

- o **Dr. Nidhi Bouri** – Former Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health
- o **Dr. Atul Gawande** – Former Assistant Administrator for Global Health
- o **Mr. Jeremy Konyndyk** – Senior Advisor and Executive Director of the USAID COVID-19 Task Force
- o **Mr. Anka Lee** – Former Deputy Assistant Administrator, overseeing multilateral affairs

USAID Implementing Partners

- o **Catholic Relief Services**
- o **Care**
- o **Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance**
- o **Edesia Nutrition**
- o **Mana Nutrition**
- o **Mercy Corps**
- o **Tetra Tech**
- o **Save the Children**
- o **Plan International**
- o **Chemonics**

The ranking members received written responses from 8 of those officials and implementing partners: former USAID officials Nidhi Bouri, Anka Lee, and Jeremy Konyndyk; and contractors Catholic Relief Services, Care, Save the Children, Plan International and Chemonics. The following section provides highlights of their responses.

V. FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

A. Eliminating USAID Upends Global Health and Has Resulted in Hundreds of Thousands of Deaths

1. *Global Stability Threatened by Emerging Diseases*

CHILDREN AND VULNERABLE PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD ARE DYING FROM PREVENTABLE ILLNESSES AND MALNUTRITION. SOME EXPERTS ESTIMATE MORE THAN 600,000 PREVENTABLE DEATHS IN JUST OVER A YEAR.



A recent analysis in *The Lancet* estimated that USAID assistance aimed at combatting the spread of diseases like HIV and fighting malnutrition saved 92 million lives in twenty years. But according to models from Boston University, 600,000 people—two-thirds of them children—have died in just over a year as a result of eliminating USAID. These deaths were entirely preventable.²¹

Former USAID officials told Committee Democrats that without foreign assistance and USAID programs to monitor, detect, and treat infectious diseases, malaria and HIV will likely surge in areas where disease prevalence was decreasing. Dr. Bouri told the Committee, “as a result of the foreign aid freeze, millions of people now have heightened risks of preventable diseases including malaria and HIV, and millions of people are at risk of death. The termination of all awards under the U.S. President’s Malaria Initiative (PMI) presents a significant setback as a child under five years of age dies of malaria nearly every minute.”²²

At the time of its effective closure, USAID administered programs designed to prevent emerging pandemics and treat diseases like HIV and tuberculosis as part of a broader swath of healthcare investments.²³ The Trump Administration’s decision to suspend all USAID programs and then terminate many of them, while purging its entire workforce, means that funds appropriated by Congress for humanitarian and global health assistance were not disbursed for their intended purpose of saving lives or preventing the spread of disease.²⁴

²¹ Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health, *USAID Shutdown Has Led to Hundreds of Thousands of Deaths* (Nov. 20, 2025) (online at <https://hsph.harvard.edu/news/usaid-shutdown-has-led-to-hundreds-of-thousands-of-deaths/>).

²² Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of Inspector General, *Advisory Notice: Oversight of USAID-Funded Humanitarian Assistance Programming Impacted by Staffing Reductions and Pause on Foreign*

The Trump Administration’s mass termination of USAID personnel destroyed internal processes to maintain the continuity of “assistance or programs that support [U.S.] national security interests—such as detection and response to diseases of outbreak potential.”²⁵ Historically, USAID invested “a significant amount in early detection, prevention, and response to emerging infectious disease threats” and mitigating the spillover of diseases from animals to humans.²⁶

The Trump Administration’s cuts to foreign assistance gutted USAID’s Global Health Security (GHS) work. Dr. Bouri told the Committee that prior to USAID’s closure, “USAID GHS programming [was] crucial to stopping outbreaks at the source, including areas where large-scale outbreaks could have significant economic consequences that could fuel instability.”²⁷ GHS programs stopped an emerging Ebola outbreak in Guinea in 2021, helped contain mpox, and “directly protect[ed] our national security by stopping disease from getting to our borders.”²⁸ Mr. Konyndyk told the Committee that without USAID global health security funding, USAID and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) are unable to surge tests and other supplies to contain outbreaks before they advance. USAID programs that monitor bird flu in 50 countries have also been terminated.²⁹ “These programs were not only important for detection and response, they are also vital for deterring those that would want to harm America.”³⁰ Dismantling USAID’s global health security programming makes it much harder for partner countries to detect and respond to disease outbreaks, leaving the U.S. without data on emerging disease threats and destabilizing already fragile countries.³¹

Evidence suggests that disease resurgence and economic destabilization are occurring simultaneously in developing nations almost a year after USAID stopped providing disease-mitigating supplies and programs to bolster public health infrastructure. For example, in

Assistance (Feb. 10, 2025) (online at <https://oig.usaid.gov/node/7439>); see e.g. Congressional Research Service, *U.S. Agency for International Development: An Overview* (Sept. 25, 2025) (IF10261) (online at <https://crs.gov/Reports/IF10261?source=search>).

²⁵ Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

²⁶ *Id.*

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ *Id.*

²⁹ Letter from Jeremy Konyndyk, President, Refugees International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

³⁰ *Id.*

³¹ *Id.*

Somalia, an al-Qaeda affiliated organization made gains after Somalis experienced an upsurge in preventable infectious diseases like diphtheria and cholera.³²

The Trump Administration's decision to pull back USAID investments in disease surveillance and cut programs monitoring emerging infectious diseases mean that "the U.S. has lost its ability to robustly track and contain diseases of epidemic and pandemic threat, such as bird flu, Ebola, and Marburg, before they spread internationally and potentially hit the homeland."³³ In October 2025, health officials across Africa reported an uptick in infectious diseases that were previously curtailed using foreign aid funds.³⁴ Despite a previous decline, Africa Centers for Disease Control reported a 120% increase in new suspected cases of mpox in late September 2025, as foreign aid cuts disrupt Kenya's supply of HIV medication, which makes HIV positive individuals more susceptible to mpox and other infectious diseases.³⁵

Preventable disease outbreaks have already led to deaths. In April 2025, at least five children in South Sudan died during the country's worst cholera outbreak in decades.³⁶ Save the Children told the Committee that 7 of 27 health facilities they previously funded through U.S. foreign assistance have closed in Akobo County, South Sudan, and that children died on a three-hour walk while attempting to find care.³⁷ In Somalia, more than 100 people have died from diphtheria as of November 2025.³⁸ Diphtheria is a vaccine-preventable disease, and its resurgence is directly linked to the freeze on foreign aid funds.³⁹

³² *U.S. Aid Cuts Are Being Felt Across Africa. Here's Where.*, Washington Post (Oct. 9, 2025) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/world/2025/10/09/usaid-cuts-africa-health-crisis/).

³³ Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

³⁴ *U.S. Aid Cuts Are Being Felt Across Africa. Here's Where.*, Washington Post (Oct. 9, 2025) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/world/2025/10/09/usaid-cuts-africa-health-crisis/).

³⁵ *Id.*

³⁶ *Children Seeking Cholera Care Die After U.S. Cuts Aid, Charity Says*, New York Times (Apr. 11, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/04/11/world/africa/south-sudan-cholera-children-deaths.html).

³⁷ *Id.*

³⁸ World Health Organization, *Health Cluster Somalia: Health Cluster Bulletin* (Nov. 2025) (online at <https://reliefweb.int/report/somalia/somalia-health-cluster-bulletin-november-2025>).

³⁹ *Diphtheria, A Once Vanquished Killer of Children, Is Resurgent*, New York Times (Oct. 27, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/10/27/health/diphtheria-somalia-vaccines.html).

2. 2026 Ebola Outbreak

THE WORLD IS IN A RACE AGAINST TIME TO CONTAIN A DEADLY EBOLA OUTBREAK— A TASK SEVERELY HAMPERED BY USAID CUTS.



In February 2025, Elon Musk spoke to President Trump’s cabinet about DOGE’s efforts. “We will make mistakes. We won’t be perfect. When we make mistakes, we’ll fix it very quickly. So, for example, with USAID, one of the things we accidentally canceled very briefly was Ebola prevention. We restored the Ebola prevention immediately—and there was no interruption.”⁴⁰ The evidence is clear that Mr. Musk’s claim was inaccurate, and that his cuts have badly hindered Ebola prevention, detection, and screening—at enormous cost.⁴¹

As of May 2026, a deadly outbreak of Ebola in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda is spreading rapidly due to a lack of available tests, funding, and other public health resources in part brought about by the elimination of USAID.⁴² To date, this virus has sickened nearly 1,000 people, killed over 220 people, and threatens multiple East African nations.⁴³ The rapid spread of the virus is directly linked to a failure to test, track, isolate and treat sick patients, which was previously possible in a war-torn, economically volatile region thanks to USAID and humanitarian assistance programs that are no longer operational.⁴⁴ Funds allocated by Congress for detecting and tracing disease outbreaks were gutted with the dismantling of USAID, allowing

⁴⁰ *Musk Says Work to Stop Ebola Was Accidentally Cut But Restored. Experts Raise Doubts*, NPR (Feb. 27, 2025) (online at www.npr.org/sections/goats-and-soda/2025/02/27/g-s1-50929/elon-musk-ebola-usaid).

⁴¹ *This is What Happens When You Defund Ebola Prevention*, Vox (May 27, 2026) (online at www.vox.com/future-perfect/489763/ebola-outbreak-congo-aid-prevention).

⁴² *Ebola Deaths Rise Sharply as Outbreak’s “Scale and Speed” Worry WHO Chief*, NBC News (May 19, 2026) (online at www.nbcnews.com/world/africa/ebola-outbreak-deaths-rise-scale-speed-concerns-who-congo-uganda-rcna345833).

⁴³ *Id.*; *Uganda Closes Its Border with Congo, Where Suspected Cases of a Rare Ebola Type Are Surging*, AP News (May 27, 2026) (online at <https://apnews.com/article/ebola-congo-uganda-border-virus-b96734598ea95b1cdb71986c8b1adf43>).

⁴⁴ *Why This Ebola Outbreak Will Be So Difficult to Contain*, Washington Post (May 19, 2026) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/health/2026/05/19/why-this-ebola-outbreak-will-be-so-difficult-contain/).

the virus to spread for weeks undetected.⁴⁵ A grant funding local health systems in the region—that could have mitigated the spread of Ebola—was terminated by the Trump Administration. Rural pharmacies and other local clinics that were previously mobilized to track disease have been shuttered.⁴⁶

In contrast, when Ebola broke out in Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Liberia in 2014, the Obama Administration took a leading role in preventing a deadly pandemic. USAID and other U.S. personnel treated sick patients and worked on infection control. A previous outbreak in the Democratic Republic of the Congo from 2018 to 2020 was likewise contained.⁴⁷ Because of these efforts, the threat to the American public remained low.⁴⁸ After the Trump Administration implemented deep foreign aid cuts in 2025, the health systems of countries like the Democratic Republic of the Congo are more fragile and prone to deadly outbreaks that affect the United States.⁴⁹

Under the Trump Administration, the risk of Ebola becoming the next pandemic is significantly higher because foreign aid cuts have blocked lifesaving tools and medical personnel from containing the spread of the virus. Stephanie Psaki, the former U.S. Coordinator for Global Health Security in the Biden White House told the Washington Post, “This is the most striking example so far of how much the dissolution of USAID and the destruction of CDC’s role around the world is threatening our national security.”⁵⁰ Jeremy Konyndyk, who headed USAID’s response to Ebola in 2014, referred to the lack of preparedness in the face of the 2026 outbreak as “a nightmare scenario.”⁵¹ After eviscerating public health infrastructure and USAID funding

⁴⁵ *Ebola Responders Say Aid Cuts by Western Nations Left Them Ill-Equipped for Outbreak*, Washington Post (May 21, 2026) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/world/2026/05/21/ebola-responders-say-aid-cuts-under-trump-left-them-unprepared-outbreak/).

⁴⁶ *Trump’s Cuts to Foreign Aid Are Undermining The Ebola Response, Insiders Say*, STAT (May 19, 2026) (online at www.statnews.com/2026/05/19/us-aid-cuts-hamper-drc-ebola-response/).

⁴⁷ *Ebola Responders Say Aid Cuts by Western Nations Left Them Ill-Equipped for Outbreak*, Washington Post (May 21, 2026) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/world/2026/05/21/ebola-responders-say-aid-cuts-under-trump-left-them-unprepared-outbreak/); World Health Organization, *Ebola Outbreak 2018-2020- North Kivu-Ituri* (online at www.who.int/emergencies/situations/Ebola-2019-drc-) (accessed on May 27, 2026).

⁴⁸ *How The Ebola Outbreak of 2014 Was Brought Under Control*, NPR (May 19, 2026) (online at www.npr.org/2026/05/19/nx-s1-5826908/how-the-ebola-outbreak-of-2014-was-brought-under-control/).

⁴⁹ *CDC Asks Staff to Volunteer to Help with Ebola Screenings at Airports Amid DRC Outbreaks*, ABC News (May 27, 2026) (online at <https://abcnews.com/International/ebola-outbreak-risks-becoming-deadliest-record-irc-warns/story?id=133305446>).

⁵⁰ *Why This Ebola Outbreak Will Be So Difficult to Contain*, Washington Post (May 19, 2026) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/health/2026/05/19/why-this-ebola-outbreak-will-be-so-difficult-contain/).

⁵¹ *U.S. Ebola Spending Fell 99% in Five Years Leading Up to Outbreak*, Bloomberg Government (May 20, 2026) (online at www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2026-05-20/us-ebola-spending-fell-99-in-five-years-leading-up-to-outbreak).

to prevent outbreaks abroad, the Trump Administration is now begging CDC staff to volunteer to screen passengers in U.S. airports for any potential signs of Ebola reaching our shores.⁵²

3. *HIV and AIDS*



Prior to the Trump Administration’s termination of foreign assistance, “the U.S. provided the majority of global funds for HIV prevention in low and middle-income countries and [was] credited with helping to reverse the global spread of HIV/AIDS.”⁵³ Dr. Bouri summarized, “people are already dying, and more will die.”⁵⁴ The Trump Administration initially froze all funding for the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS relief (PEPFAR) and halted all programming, including the provision of antiretroviral therapy to treat HIV.⁵⁵ Established under President George W. Bush, PEPFAR “is among the most successful and consequential global health interventions in history.”⁵⁶ Since the early 2000s, PEPFAR has utilized over \$100 billion to save over 25 million lives and has prevented mother-to-child HIV transmission for over 5 million babies.⁵⁷ A full collapse of the PEPFAR program could lead to over 6 million preventable

⁵² *CDC Asks Staff to Volunteer to Help with Ebola Screenings at Airports Amid DRC Outbreaks*, ABC News (May 27, 2026) (online at <https://abcnews.com/International/ebola-outbreak-risks-becoming-deadliest-record-irc-warns/story?id=133305446>).

⁵³ Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

⁵⁴ *Id.*

⁵⁵ Kaiser Family Foundation, *The Trump Administration’s Foreign Aid Review: Status of PEPFAR* (Oct. 16, 2025) (online at www.kff.org/global-health-policy/the-trump-administrations-foreign-aid-review-status-of-pepfar/).

⁵⁶ Letter from Jeremy Konyndyk, President, Refugees International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

⁵⁷ *Id.*

deaths and 3.4 million new AIDS orphans.⁵⁸ Without PEPFAR, children will die of HIV and AIDS. For example, in the months since the Trump Administration ended foreign assistance, a 10-year-old child living in South Sudan died when the funding that provided his medication ended, and more are expected to die if funding for PEPFAR is not fully restored.⁵⁹ Countries like Zambia that made significant inroads on reducing the spread of HIV are seeing an alarming trend of AIDS deaths one year after funding for prevention programs was eliminated.⁶⁰ The status of PEPFAR implementation remains unclear. Because USAID was its main implementing agency, PEPFAR programs cannot be adequately implemented without USAID operating on the ground in developing countries.⁶¹

4. *Decline in Global Maternal, Child, and Reproductive Health*



USAID was the “largest global donor to maternal and child health” at the time of its closure.⁶² In the year that followed, an estimated 16.8 million mothers and 11.3 million newborns who would have received care from USAID may go without basic care, according to Dr. Bouri.⁶³ This sharply increases the risk of maternal and infant deaths worldwide. “USAID maternal and

⁵⁸ *Id.*

⁵⁹ Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald. E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

⁶⁰ *AIDS Creeps Back in Parts of Zambia, A Year After U.S. Cuts to H.I.V. Assistance*, New York Times (Apr. 25, 2026) (online at www.nytimes.com/2026/04/25/health/pepfar-hiv-aids-zambia.html).

⁶¹ Kaiser Family Foundation, *The Trump Administration’s Foreign Aid Review: Status of PEPFAR* (Oct. 16, 2025) (online at www.kff.org/global-health-policy/the-trump-administrations-foreign-aid-review-status-of-pepfar/).

⁶² Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald. E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

⁶³ *Id.*

child health funding supported the effective delivery of vaccines, preventing the spread of diseases like polio, measles, pneumonia and diarrhea,” she explained.⁶⁴ By at least one estimate, 1,200 maternal deaths and 109,000 unintended pregnancies will occur in Afghanistan alone between 2025 and 2028 because of USAID programs’ termination.⁶⁵ Vulnerable countries rolled back maternal and child health services because they no longer receive foreign assistance from the United States.⁶⁶ “The importance of continued funding for maternal and child health cannot be overstated—without it, not only would millions of lives be lost, but the broader global stability that helps protect American interests would be jeopardized,” Dr. Bouri explained.⁶⁷ According to Mr. Konyndyk, approximately 11.7 million women worldwide were denied reproductive health care during President Trump’s first 100 days in office because of the Trump Administration’s decision to pull foreign assistance funding and deprioritize reproductive rights in all aspects of its foreign policy. Today, women and girls in Sub-Saharan Africa are three times more likely to contract HIV because they no longer have access to reproductive health care supported by the United States.⁶⁸

Save the Children told the Committee that between 8 and 12 million people supported by their work “have lost or will very soon lose access to essential health, protection and education services.”⁶⁹ In nine countries, including Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Cote d’Ivoire, Nepal, Nigeria and Zambia, over 300 clinics have lost support for newborn health services.⁷⁰ In Sierra Leone alone, “nearly 3,000 babies are going without post-natal care and 4,000 women giving birth will lack access to postpartum hemorrhage prevention—the leading cause of maternal death.”⁷¹

⁶⁴ *Id.*

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ *Aid Cuts Threaten Progress Toward Ending Deaths in Pregnancy and Childbirth, WHO Warns*, CNN (Apr. 7, 2025) (online at www.cnn.com/2025/04/07/health/aid-cuts-maternal-deaths-who-intl-scli/index.html).

⁶⁷ Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

⁶⁸ Letter from Jeremy Konyndyk, President, Refugees International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

⁶⁹ Letter from Janti Soeripto, President, Save the Children to Ranking Member Gerry Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Mar. 25, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

⁷⁰ *Id.*

⁷¹ *Id.*

5. *Global Medical Supply Chain Disruption*

USAID CONTRACTORS ARE NO LONGER ABLE TO DISTRIBUTE “CRITICAL COMMODITIES RANGING FROM PERSONAL PROTECTIVE EQUIPMENT TO NUTRITION PRODUCTS, TO MEDICATIONS FOR HIV, MALARIA AND OTHER DISEASES.”



Beyond the risk of unmitigated infectious diseases creating pandemics and maternal deaths increasing worldwide, the Trump Administration’s abrupt departure from foreign assistance obligations damaged the global medical supply chain and USAID contractors are no longer able to distribute “critical commodities ranging from personal protective equipment to nutrition products, to medications for HIV, malaria and other diseases.”⁷²

Chemonics, which delivered \$5.7 billion in health commodities (supplies used to treat and contain diseases) between 2016 and 2024, told the Committee that after the Trump Administration’s stop work order, \$150 million in healthcare products and critical medications were stranded in warehouses across the world. In Nigeria alone, \$75 million worth of healthcare products critical to treating HIV were not going to healthcare facilities, as of March 20, 2025.⁷³ The Trump Administration completely terminated Chemonics’ contract to provide maternal and child health care, meaning the company can no longer deliver oxygen machines to help newborn babies who may asphyxiate without them.⁷⁴ Medication is ready and available for distribution to patients who require treatment for HIV and malaria, but the Trump Administration’s stop work order means drugs have been intermittently unavailable in more than 30 countries around the world.⁷⁵ If programs do not resume, “we do expect to see [] losses of life. Patients will run out of their current medications and the clinics that supply them will run out of their stock.”⁷⁶ In malaria-prevalent regions, Chemonics is unable to deliver medications ahead of malaria season

⁷² Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

⁷³ Letter from Jamey Butcher, President and CEO, Chemonics International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Mar. 20, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ *Id.*

⁷⁶ *Id.*

without the necessary funding, which means more people are likely to experience life-threatening complications should they contract the disease.⁷⁷

B. Closing USAID Jeopardizes National Security

USAID was a critical force in countering the worldwide influence of authoritarian regimes and strategic competitors of the United States, and is widely viewed as a “cornerstone of soft power.”⁷⁸ After its establishment in 1961 as an independent agency—President John F. Kennedy found the Department of State too bureaucratic to deploy foreign assistance—USAID quickly became an effective tool to offset the growing influence of the Soviet Union in the Third World.⁷⁹ Prior to its elimination in the early months of the second Trump Administration, USAID was a critical component of strategic competition with the People’s Republic of China. The sudden termination of U.S. foreign aid erodes decades of trust the United States built with developing countries, and may allow adversaries like Russia and China to fill the void in humanitarian efforts left by the United States resulting in expanding influence on impacted nations.⁸⁰

1. USAID’s Critical Role in Strategic Competition

THE UNITED STATES’ HUMANITARIAN PRESENCE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND OTHER REGIONS HAS BEEN SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED, ALLOWING RUSSIA, THE PEOPLE’S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, AND OTHER NATIONS SEEKING TO COMPETE WITH THE UNITED STATES TO FILL THE VOID AND JEOPARDIZE U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY.

USAID functioned as one of the central pillars of American foreign policy, countering the influence of strategic competitors through foreign assistance and generating goodwill and soft

⁷⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁸ *What Cutting USAID Could Cost the U.S. and How China, Russia May Benefit*, NBC News (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at www.nbcnews.com/news/world/donald-trump-elon-musk-usaid-soft-power-china-russia-rcna189756).

⁷⁹ *What USAID Does, and Why Trump and Musk Want to Get Rid of It*, AP News (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at <https://apnews.com/article/usaid-foreign-aid-freeze-trump-peter-marocco-8253d7dda766df89e10390c1645e78aa>); *What Is USAID, and How Central Is It to U.S. Foreign Policy*, Al Jazeera (Feb. 3, 2025) (online at www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/2/3/what-is-usaid-and-how-central-is-it-to-us-foreign-policy).

⁸⁰ See *This Week, Trump Shut Down USAID. Here’s Why China is Cheering*, The Hill (Feb. 8, 2025) (online at <https://thehill.com/opinion/5133224-us-shuts-down-usaid-china-gains/>).

power for the United States.⁸¹ As the geostrategic environment changed, USAID adapted repeatedly to serve the national interest.⁸² With the PRC’s emergence as a strategic competitor to the United States, USAID became the “ground game against the expansive Belt and Road Initiative,” as then-Ranking Member of the House of Representatives Select Committee on Strategic Competition Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party (Select Committee) Representative Raja Krishnamoorthi put it.⁸³ So critical was USAID’s role in countering PRC malign influence that in December 2023, the Republican-controlled Select Committee advocated “[f]ully fund[ing]” USAID so it could “surge development assistance and financing with a focus on countries most at risk from PRC influence,” in a bipartisan report.⁸⁴ Through a variety of means, USAID’s work countered PRC malign influence, strengthened American soft power, and helped uphold global stability.⁸⁵

USAID’s primary contribution to strengthening American national security and American influence abroad was in promoting stability and resiliency in countries with poor governance, limited resources and substantial challenges in public health, education, economic development and environmental conditions.⁸⁶ USAID investments in diplomacy and development supported regional security; according to the former Director of Strategic Operational Planning of the National Counterterrorism Center Vice Admiral Mike LeFever (Ret.), “[by] addressing root causes of instability—poverty, resource shortages, weak institutions—USAID also helps prevent crises before they reach a boiling point.”⁸⁷ More often than not, USAID was the first U.S. entity

⁸¹ *What USAID Does, and Why Trump and Musk Want to Get Rid of It*, AP News (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at <https://apnews.com/article/usaaid-foreign-aid-freeze-trump-peter-marocco-8253d7dda766df89e10390c1645e78aa>); *What Is USAID, and How Central Is It to U.S. Foreign Policy*, Al Jazeera (Feb. 3, 2025) (online at www.aljazeera.com/news/2025/2/3/what-is-usaid-and-how-central-is-it-to-us-foreign-policy).

⁸² Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Trump’s Move to Gut USAID Reveals the Crux of His Foreign Policy* (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at <https://carnegieendowment.org/emissary/2025/02/usaaid-trump-foreign-aid-policy-why?lang=en>).

⁸³ *We Need USAID to Compete with China*, Newsweek (Feb. 10, 2025) (online at www.newsweek.com/we-need-usaid-compete-china-opinion-2028966).

⁸⁴ House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party, *Reset, Prevent, Build: A Strategy to Win America’s Economic Competition with the Chinese Communist Party* (Dec. 12, 2023) (online at <https://selectcommitteeontheccp.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/selectcommitteeontheccp.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/reset-prevent-build-scc-report.pdf>).

⁸⁵ *We Need USAID to Compete with China*, Newsweek (Feb. 10, 2025) (online at www.newsweek.com/we-need-usaid-compete-china-opinion-2028966).

⁸⁶ *What is USAID and Why Is Trump Poised to “Close It Down”?* BBC News (Feb. 7, 2025) (online at www.bbc.com/news/articles/clyezjwnx5ko); *The National Security Impact of Shutting Down USAID*, The Cipher Brief (Mar. 3, 2025) (online at www.thecipherbrief.com/column_article/the-national-security-impact-of-shutting-down-usaid).

⁸⁷ *The National Security Impact of Shutting Down USAID*, The Cipher Brief (Mar. 3, 2025) (online at www.thecipherbrief.com/column_article/the-national-security-impact-of-shutting-down-usaid).

on the ground in response to major crises including pandemics and natural disasters.⁸⁸ Long-term involvement by USAID in Colombia, for example, included assistance in implementing Colombia's 2016 peace deal that ended a decades-long insurgency with FARC rebels: USAID funding supported efforts to suppress the cultivation of cocaine, reintegration of ex-combatants into Colombian society, and a dedicated court for trying crimes against humanity and war crimes committed during the internal conflict.⁸⁹ USAID also helped Colombia provide services for the nearly 3 million migrants displaced due to political and economic turmoil from neighboring Venezuela.⁹⁰

Anka Lee noted that his team of USAID civil servants, under the guidance of USAID Administrator Samantha Power, established a China strategy to use foreign assistance to counter PRC global influence.⁹¹ USAID employed the "Countering PRC Influence Fund" as a key part of the strategy.⁹² In his response to the Committee, Lee cited examples of USAID work that directly countered PRC malign influence including: limiting the reach of Chinese telecom giant Huawei in the Philippines through a 5-year, \$35 million investment in 5G Open RAN technology in partnership with the governments of Japan and South Korea; funding programs that train and empower independent journalists to share best practices on uncovering wrongdoing by officials, often involving corrupt dealings with the PRC; supporting efforts by Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru to crack down on illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing by Chinese fishing fleets decimating fish stocks in the region.⁹³ To counter PRC malign cyber activity, USAID initiatives

⁸⁸ *Id.*

⁸⁹ *How Trump's Ending of U.S.A.I.D. Threatens a Nation's Fragile Peace*, New York Times (May 5, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/05/05/world/americas/colombia-usaid-peace.html); *USAID Suspension Shatters Colombia Programs, Endangering FARC Peace Deal* (Mar. 18, 2025) (online at www.reuters.com/world/americas/usaid-suspension-shatters-colombia-programs-endangering-farc-peace-deal-2025-03-18/).

⁹⁰ *How Trump's Ending of U.S.A.I.D. Threatens a Nation's Fragile Peace*, New York Times (May 5, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/05/05/world/americas/colombia-usaid-peace.html).

⁹¹ Letter from Anka Lee to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee); See *USAID Chief to Congress: Foreign Aid Key in Countering Chinese, Russian Influence*, Voice of America (May 17, 2023) (online at www.voanews.com/a/usaid-chief-to-congress-foreign-aid-key-in-countering-chinese-russian-influence/7097914.html).

⁹² *Though China Might Aim to Fill Aid Void Left by USAID, Its Own Challenges Could Limit It*, Voice of America (Feb. 6, 2025) (online at www.voanews.com/a/china-may-fill-aid-void-left-by-usaid-shutdown-but-its-own-challenges-could-limit-it/7965690.html).

⁹³ Letter from Anka Lee to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee); *Trump Dreamt of a "Huawei Killer." Biden Is Trying to Unleash It.*, Washington Post (Feb. 12, 2024) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2024/02/12/oran-biden-china-huawei-technology/); *Trump's Aid Cuts Will Lead to a Surge in Propaganda and Misinformation, Say Press Freedom Groups*, The Guardian (Feb. 11, 2025) (online at

supported capacity-building cybersecurity programs in partner countries, enabling foreign companies to purchase more secure and American-produced telecommunications equipment rather than relying on Chinese entities such as Huawei.⁹⁴

USAID also played a role in supporting Taiwan in the face of PRC coercion and intimidation. As the PRC used its leverage to cut off diplomatic ties between Taiwan and partner nations, USAID supported Taiwan's allies so they could weather PRC coercion.⁹⁵ Joint Taiwan-USAID engagement in the Indo-Pacific enabled Taiwan to maintain relations with Taiwan's remaining diplomatic allies in the region.⁹⁶ In Paraguay, the Taiwanese government cooperated with USAID to strengthen micro-, small- and medium-sized enterprises as a part of that country's economic development.⁹⁷ USAID likewise contributed to Taiwan's security and crisis preparedness through joint training programs and disaster response initiatives.⁹⁸

2. *Authoritarian Regimes' Reaction to USAID's Dismantling*

According to Anka Lee, the Trump Administration cancelled 83% of USAID's contracts, including "most if not all projects aimed at countering China."⁹⁹ Lee informed the Committee that these cuts would have a devastating impact on the influence of the United States abroad stating, "America is unilaterally disarming in its competition with China."¹⁰⁰

www.theguardian.com/global-development/2025/feb/11/trump-usaid-cuts-freeze-press-freedom-ukraine-afghanistan-media-rsf); *Ecuador and Peru Lead Fight Against IUU Fishing in the Region*, *Diálogo Américas* (Jan. 3, 2024) (online at <https://dialogo-americas.com/articles/ecuador-and-peru-lead-fight-against-iuu-fishing-in-the-region/>).

⁹⁴ Foundation for Defense of Democracies, *USAID Cuts Demolish Cyber Assistance to U.S. Allies and Partners* (Mar. 17, 2025) (online at www.fdd.org/analysis/op_ed/2025/03/17/usaid-cuts-demolish-cyber-assistance-to-u-s-allies-and-partners/).

⁹⁵ *Axing USAID: A Loss for Taiwan*, *Taipei Times* (Feb. 12, 2025) (online at www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2025/02/12/2003831721).

⁹⁶ Global Taiwan Institute, *The Geopolitical Costs of Dismantling USAID: Implications for Taiwan and China's Influence* (Feb. 19, 2025) (online at <https://globaltaiwan.org/2025/02/the-geopolitical-costs-of-dismantling-usaid/>).

⁹⁷ Global Taiwan Institute, *The Geopolitical Costs of Dismantling USAID: Implications for Taiwan and China's Influence* (Feb. 19, 2025) (online at <https://globaltaiwan.org/2025/02/the-geopolitical-costs-of-dismantling-usaid/>).

⁹⁸ *Axing USAID: A Loss for Taiwan*, *Taipei Times* (Feb. 12, 2025) (online at www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/archives/2025/02/12/2003831721).

⁹⁹ Letter from Anka Lee to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee); see *Rubio Announces That 83% of USAID Contracts Will Be Cancelled*, *NPR* (Mar. 10, 2025) (online at www.npr.org/sections/goats-and-soda/2025/03/10/g-s1-52964/rubio-announces-that-83-of-usaid-contracts-will-be-cancelled).

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Anka Lee to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and

Absent USAID's support, many countries will likely turn to the PRC and Russia to fill the void.¹⁰¹ The PRC historically derided USAID and American foreign aid broadly as improperly intervening in the internal affairs of other countries, releasing a report in 2024 accusing USAID of corruption and prioritizing the interests of the U.S.¹⁰² The China International Development Cooperation Agency responded to the news of USAID's shuttering by noting the risks to humanitarian projects of unilateralism and emphasizing the stability and continuity China provides with its own foreign aid and development policies.¹⁰³ Russia explicitly welcomed the Trump Administration's attempt to shutter USAID, calling the humanitarian organization a "machine for interfering" in global affairs and a "mechanism for changing regimes."¹⁰⁴

China may now exploit the vacuum left by the Trump Administration's actions by stepping in to provide some of the support previously supplied by the United States.¹⁰⁵ In Cambodia, China provided a grant to help a Cambodian project clearing land mines and unexploded ordinance after the Trump Administration announced its 90-day pause on foreign aid, forcing the group to cease work.¹⁰⁶ According to Nepali officials, the PRC informed them that China is "willing to provide assistance if Nepal faces challenges in key sectors such as humanitarian aid, health, and education" in the wake of USAID's withdrawal.¹⁰⁷ According to Riley Duke of the Lowy Institute, China's opportunity to intervene and boost its global profile is clear:

Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹⁰¹ *Elon Musk's USAID Shutdown Could Play into Russia and China's Hands*, Newsweek (Feb. 5, 2025) (online at www.newsweek.com/china-russia-usaid-trump-2026404); *How USAID Cuts Hand Big Win to China*, Newsweek (Feb. 11, 2025) (online at www.newsweek.com/trump-usaid-cut-china-foreign-aid-political-influence-2028949).

¹⁰² *Though China Might Aim to Fill Aid Void Left By USAID, Its Own Challenges Could Limit It*, Voice of America (Feb. 6, 2025) (online at www.voanews.com/a/china-may-fill-aid-void-left-by-usaid-shutdown-but-its-own-challenges-could-limit-it/7965690.html); Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, *The Hypocrisy and Facts of the United States Foreign Aid* (Apr. 19, 2024) (online at www.mfa.gov.cn/mfa_eng/xw/wjbxw/202405/t20240530_11344003.html).

¹⁰³ *U.S. Cuts Foreign Aid: China's Top Development Agency Responds to Cancellation of USAID Contracts*, China Global Television Network (Mar. 18, 2025) (online at <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2025-03-18/VHJhbnNjcmlwdDgzNTcw/index.html>).

¹⁰⁴ *Russia Welcomes USAID Cuts, Calls Agency "Machine for Interfering"*, The Moscow Times (Feb. 6, 2025) (online at www.themoscowtimes.com/2025/02/06/russia-welcomes-usaid-cuts-calls-agency-machine-for-interfering-a87895).

¹⁰⁵ *As USAID Retreats, China Pounces*, Politico (Feb. 10, 2025) (online at www.politico.com/newsletters/national-security-daily/2025/02/10/as-usaid-retreats-china-pounces-00195922).

¹⁰⁶ *China Steps in to Replace USAID*, Newsweek (Feb. 8, 2025) (online at www.newsweek.com/usaid-doge-elon-musk-donald-trump-china-cambodia-aid-landmines-2028063).

¹⁰⁷ *Beijing "Ready" to Fill the Void Left by U.S. in Nepal*, The Annapurna Express (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at <https://theannapurnaexpress.com/story/52229/>).

The timing of America’s aid withdrawal is fortuitous for China, which has spent recent years repairing the reputation and strategy of its aid program. Beijing has long promoted its South–South cooperation model as an alternative to Western aid, and the U.S. rug-pull only strengthens China’s rhetoric around its dependability as a partner and the unreliability of democratic regimes.¹⁰⁸

The ability of the United States to influence other countries and make common cause with the global community will be diminished because of the attempt to shutter USAID.¹⁰⁹ Because the U.S. will no longer be present to provide needed assistance, American standing in the world will decline. “Swift and tangible help in times of disaster goes a long way in securing goodwill, not just from the country in crisis but also from the global community... This goodwill can pay strategic dividends by cementing critical alliances and partnerships.”¹¹⁰ The Trump Administration’s gutting of USAID both disrupts global aid and undermines a key foreign policy tool.¹¹¹ Anka Lee reported to the Committee that the dismantling of USAID is a “strategic blunder that will take years, if ever, to undo.”¹¹²

C. Closing USAID Harms International Trade and Economic Development and Puts Economic Security at Risk for Developing Countries

Prior to the Trump Administration, the United States used foreign assistance to engage in soft power diplomacy, with the understanding that “the soft power of U.S. foreign aid wins friends, wins allies and strengthens relationships, making it less necessary to use military, or even formal diplomatic efforts.”¹¹³ A retreat from this posture and the risk that it weakens the national security and global standing of the United States concerns many former USAID officials who spoke with the Committee. According to Jeremy Konyndyk, “the Trump Administration’s

¹⁰⁸ *U.S. Aid Cuts Are a Soft Power Surrender to China*, The Interpreter (Mar. 18, 2025) (online at www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/us-aid-cuts-are-soft-power-surrender-china).

¹⁰⁹ *The National Security Impact of Shutting Down USAID*, The Cipher Brief (Mar. 3, 2025) (online at www.thecipherbrief.com/column_article/the-national-security-impact-of-shutting-down-usaid).

¹¹⁰ *Id.*

¹¹¹ *U.S. Aid Cuts Are a Soft Power Surrender to China*, The Interpreter (Mar. 18, 2025) (online at www.lowyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/us-aid-cuts-are-soft-power-surrender-china).

¹¹² Letter from Anka Lee to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹¹³ *Soft Power and The Future of U.S. Foreign Aid*, Northwestern Now (Apr. 24, 2025) (online at <https://news.northwestern.edu/stories/2025/04/soft-power-and-the-future-of-us-foreign-aid/>).

assault on USAID is shredding marquee achievements of U.S. foreign policy.”¹¹⁴ Nidhi Bouri wrote:

Dismantling USAID significantly diminishes the United States’ global influence particularly in those nations where USAID previously operated,” and “its presence helped build strong diplomatic and economic ties with many countries, fostering goodwill and trust. Without USAID [and U.S. ground game in these countries], the U.S. will lose its ability to shape policies, encourage stability and promote democratic values.”¹¹⁵

According to Jeremy Konyndyk, “USAID provides critical support to economic growth and stability in many countries, which is important to both those countries prosperity and to U.S. business interests.”¹¹⁶ For example, foreign assistance helped strengthen the energy markets in Ukraine and Sub-Saharan Africa. One project, Power Africa, “created opportunities for U.S. businesses, supporting \$26.4 billion in deals with an additional \$21 billion in deals in the pipeline.”¹¹⁷

Dismantling USAID could also disrupt trade relationships between the United States and developing countries and restrict the ability of American companies to compete in emerging markets. During prior presidential administrations, including during the first Trump Administration, USAID helped promote American companies overseas and helped facilitate access to new markets for these companies.¹¹⁸ Jeremy Konyndyk told the Committee “during the first Trump Administration, USAID analysis estimated that most potential growth in demand for U.S. exports would be found in emerging and developing markets” and “United States industries likewise depend on trade relationships with developing countries.”¹¹⁹ According to

¹¹⁴ Letter from Jeremy Konyndyk, President, Refugees International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹¹⁵ Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025).

¹¹⁶ Letter from Jeremy Konyndyk, President, Refugees International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

¹¹⁸ Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹¹⁹ Letter from Jeremy Konyndyk, President, Refugees International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee

Catholic Relief Services, “USAID’s funding and foreign aid freeze could cause hindered economic growth because of reduced investment in private sector development.”¹²⁰

Foreign assistance leads to economic growth within developing countries, which helps reduce poverty, increase educational outcomes and helps prevent destabilization that has ripple effects on the world—like surges in irregular migration and increased influence of authoritarian regimes.¹²¹ Jeremy Konyndyk reported that refugee systems will “implode” without U.S. support and lead to tens of millions of displaced people worldwide that may lead to more irregular migration to countries like the United States.¹²² Plan International wrote to the Committee:

As social and economic pressures mount in communities previously supported by foreign assistance funds, families will turn to children for financial support. As a result, girls’ access to education will be constrained or disrupted, exposing them to heightened risk of exploitation and abuse and making them even more vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence, forced early marriage and early pregnancy. Girls’ access to education also has real impacts on the global economy. World Bank, [International Monetary Fund], and UN Women all report that when girls’ access to education is limited, economies suffer due to lost productivity, reduced innovation, slower economic growth, reduced human capital and increased poverty.¹²³

This testimony appears to be supported by large scale studies conducted in the aftermath of USAID cuts. One study has shown that areas which received more per capita aid experienced greater surges in armed conflict, riots, and protests after assistance was suddenly withdrawn. The

on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹²⁰ Letter from Catholic Relief Services to Ranking Member Gerry Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Apr. 9, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

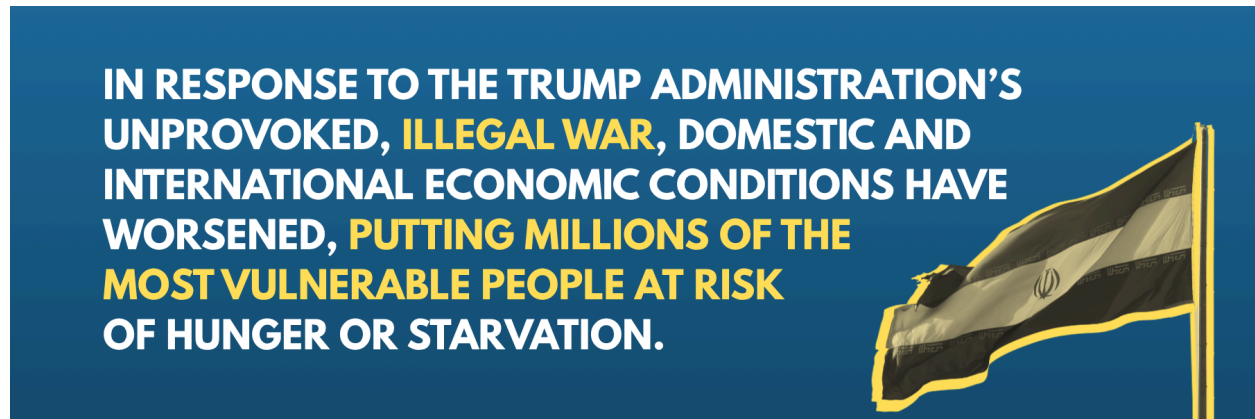
¹²¹ *See e.g.* Letter from Catholic Relief Services to Ranking Member Gerry Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform (Apr. 9, 2025); Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025); Letter from Jamey Butcher, President and CEO, Chemonics International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Mar. 20, 2025).

¹²² Letter from Jeremy Konyndyk, President, Refugees International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025).

¹²³ Letter from Plan International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Ranking Member Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Apr. 8, 2025).

study indicates that rapid USAID cutoffs destabilized democratic governance and fueled violence.¹²⁴

1. *USAID and the Impact of the Illegal Iran War*



The dismantling of USAID reduces the United States' ability to respond to a second crisis, itself a direct response of failed Trump Administration policy. Since the closing of the Strait of Hormuz in response to the Trump Administration's unprovoked, illegal war, domestic and international economic conditions have worsened, putting millions of the most vulnerable people at risk of hunger or starvation.¹²⁵ According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO), the world is witnessing "the beginning of a systemic agrifood shock that could trigger a severe global food price crisis..."¹²⁶ These shocks are directly attributable to the blockade of the Strait of Hormuz, and will have global consequences. According to U.N. development chief Alexander De Croo, "more than 30 million people will be pushed back into poverty by the impacts of the Iran war."¹²⁷

According to Hardin Lang, Vice President for Programs and Policy at Refugees International, "They put more pressure on fragile countries far from the media theater of war.

¹²⁴ *Aiding Peace or Conflict? The Impact of USAID Cuts on Violence*, Science (May 14, 2026) (online at www.science.org/doi/10.1126/science.aed6802).

¹²⁵ *Iran War Pushing More Than 30 Million Back Into Poverty, UN Development Chief Says*, Reuters (Apr. 23, 2026) (online at www.reuters.com/world/iran-war-pushing-more-than-30-million-back-into-poverty-un-development-chief-2026-04-23/).

¹²⁶ *Strait of Hormuz Conflict Threatens Global Food Prices as FAO Warns Time is Running Out*, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (May 05, 2026) (online at www.fao.org/newsroom/detail/strait-of-hormuz-conflict-threatens-global-food-prices-as-fao-warns-time-is-running-out/en).

¹²⁷ *Iran War Pushing More Than 30 Million Back Into Poverty, UN Development Chief Says*, Reuters (Apr. 23, 2026) (online at www.reuters.com/world/iran-war-pushing-more-than-30-million-back-into-poverty-un-development-chief-2026-04-23/).

And this is happening in a moment where the humanitarian system has already been badly weakened by the dismantlement of USAID. In other words, this is a crisis arriving in a moment of maximum vulnerability.”¹²⁸

Reporting has documented a growing humanitarian disaster in Somalia, where the destruction of USAID triggered a collapse in international assistance efforts, now combined with rising prices for food, fuel and fertilizer caused by the Iran war.¹²⁹ In one particularly clear example, the rising diesel prices caused by the war in turn caused the price of water from public diesel-powered wells to double, at the same time that USAID cuts have halted the installation of solar powered wells.¹³⁰

Even if the Trump Administration finds a resolution to the ongoing conflict resulting in the opening of the Strait, the effects of the war will be long lasting.¹³¹ The ongoing fertilizer shortage due to the closure of Strait is already having ripple effects resulting in lower crop yields and the inevitable increase in food prices as supply substantially decreases.¹³² Research consulting firm High Frequency Economics estimates “that oil prices are likely to remain elevated or rise over the next four years.”¹³³ Although higher costs for food and fuel affect the entire globe, it is the most vulnerable populations that will feel this burden the most. As the Trump Administration’s illegal war in Iran continues to exacerbate economic conditions and food insecurity for millions, U.S. retrenchment policies like the dismantling of USAID will continue to create irreversible damage to U.S. credibility and its reputation abroad.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ *Humanitarian and Displacement Implications of the U.S./Israel-Iran War*, Refugees International (March 12, 2026) (online at www.refugeesinternational.org/events-and-testimony/humanitarian-and-displacement-implications-of-the-u-s-israel-iran-war/).

¹²⁹ *What the End of Aid Looks Like*, New York Times (May 19, 2026) (online at www.nytimes.com/2026/05/19/world/aid-cuts-somalia-putin-china.html).

¹³⁰ *Catastrophe Is Emerging in the World’s Most Vulnerable Places*, New York Times (May 18, 2026) (online at www.nytimes.com/2026/05/18/business/iran-war-somalia-usaid.html).

¹³¹ *Iran War Timeline: Key Moments and Attacks*, New York Times (May 23, 2026) (online at www.nytimes.com/article/iran-war-trump-us-oil-hormuz-key-dates-events.html).

¹³² *Strait of Hormuz Conflict Threatens Global Food Prices as FAO Warns Time is Running Out*, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (May 5, 2026) (online at www.fao.org/newsroom/detail/strait-of-hormuz-conflict-threatens-global-food-prices-as-fao-warns-time-is-running-out/en).

¹³³ *The U.S. Started the War. The Rest of the World Is Feeling the Effects*, New York Times (Apr. 27, 2026) (online at www.nytimes.com/2026/04/27/business/economy/iran-war-global-growth.html).

¹³⁴ *Diplomatic Cables Show Iran War is Damaging U.S. on Multiple Fronts Across the World.*, Politico (Apr. 17, 2026) (online at www.politico.com/news/2026/04/17/embassy-cables-detail-how-iran-war-is-hurting-the-us-abroad-00877205).

D. USAID'S Abrupt Closure Forced Lifesaving Work to Stop Immediately, Putting Lives at Risk.

On March 10, 2025, the Trump Administration cancelled 83% of U.S. foreign assistance funding provided by USAID, officially terminating 5,200 of USAID's 6,200 programs, with 1,000 additional programs to be administered by the State Department.¹³⁵ USAID contractors anticipate catastrophic effects on their ability to offer humanitarian assistance without USAID funding and federal foreign assistance. For terminated contracts, stop work orders from the Trump Administration meant that programs stopped in the middle of providing critical care and resources to people in need. Care told the Committee that it halted an estimated \$105 million in U.S. government funded programs in 31 countries, 19% of which are lifesaving in nature.¹³⁶ In total, 2 million adults and children will no longer receive life-saving emergency aid and an additional 5 million lost workforce participation and business development opportunities.¹³⁷ Plan International was forced to terminate programs that provide financial incentives for families to delay child marriage, meaning that girls in Nepal, Niger and other countries will be forced into early marriage and motherhood against their will.¹³⁸

The Trump Administration repeatedly failed to pay USAID implementing partners for services that were completed before the January 20, 2025, pause on all foreign assistance and before USAID contracts were terminated on March 10, 2025.¹³⁹ Catholic Relief Services told the Committee that "lack of payment by the [U.S. government] stifled actual implementation of ongoing life-saving assistance."¹⁴⁰ Catholic Relief Services was forced to leverage its own internal funding to ensure that certain programs that were exempted from the Trump Administration's termination orders could continue, despite the Trump Administration

¹³⁵ *Secretary of State Rubio Says Purge of USAID Programs Complete, With 83% of Agency's Programs Gone*, AP News (Mar. 10, 2025) (online at <https://apnews.com/article/trump-musk-rubio-usaid-foreign-aid-bf442d62af67918a6fc5eee839074601>).

¹³⁶ Letter from Michelle Nunn, President and CEO, Care to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Apr. 2, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹³⁷ *Id.*

¹³⁸ Letter from Plan International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Ranking Member Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Apr. 8, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹³⁹ *Amid USAID Chaos, Some Humanitarian Aid Groups Still Aren't Getting Paid for Lifesaving Programs*, CNN (Apr. 2, 2025) (online at www.cnn.com/2025/04/02/politics/usaid-unpaid-humanitarian-groups/index.html).

¹⁴⁰ Letter from Catholic Relief Services to Ranking Member Gerry Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Apr. 9, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

withholding payments.¹⁴¹ Save the Children had multiple USAID awards that have “remained suspended in limbo on stop work order, not terminated and unable to resume operations.”¹⁴²

E. The Trump Administration Lied About Providing Humanitarian Waivers for Lifesaving Work

On January 28, 2025, Secretary of State Rubio issued a blanket waiver exempting “life-saving humanitarian assistance” from the Trump Administration’s pause on foreign assistance.¹⁴³ In the months following this directive, all USAID implementing partners that wrote to the committee reported difficulty receiving the humanitarian waivers that they applied for.

Nidhi Bouri noted that “the waiver process has been shown to be ineffective.”¹⁴⁴ Because the majority of USAID staff were terminated in February and March 2025, few people were available to review waiver applications and USAID staff were locked out of contractor payment systems by DOGE employees.¹⁴⁵ Bouri continued, “there have been instances where life-saving programs that had previously received waivers were later terminated with no explanation.”¹⁴⁶ In the rare instances where waivers were issued by the Trump Administration, USAID partners were not paid for outstanding invoices, even when Trump Administration officials claimed that payments were forthcoming.¹⁴⁷ Even when a USAID contractor received a program waiver, there is no guarantee that the U.S. government still intends to provide foreign assistance to support that program.¹⁴⁸ Jeremy Konyndyk told the Committee, guidance on waivers has been

¹⁴¹ *Id.*

¹⁴² Letter from Janti Soeripto, President, Save the Children to Ranking Member Gerry Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Mar. 25, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹⁴³ *Rubio Exempting “Life-saving Humanitarian Assistance” From Foreign Aid Restrictions*, The Hill (Jan. 29, 2025) (online at <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/5113926-trump-executive-order-review/>).

¹⁴⁴ Letter from Nidhi Bouri, Former USAID Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health, to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 27, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹⁴⁵ *Id.*

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ *Id.*

¹⁴⁸ Letter from Jeremy Konyndyk, President, Refugees International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs, and Ranking Member Melanie Stansbury, Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (Mar. 24, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

“contradictory,” “unclear,” and “politicized.”¹⁴⁹ Many lifesaving programs like delivering water purification tablets in the aftermath of disasters and programs that support nutrition have not received waivers and lives are at risk.¹⁵⁰

Care, Chemonics, Catholic Relief Services, Save the Children, and Plan International all report difficulties obtaining lifesaving humanitarian waivers or receiving payment for waived programs to resume.

Care applied for waivers for 21 programs that provide lifesaving medical care and other assistance and received waivers for 13 of those programs. Eight additional awards for life-saving programs were terminated and one award that initially received a waiver was terminated.¹⁵¹

Chemonics told the Committee, “To date, the waiver program has not been successful in allowing life-saving activities to resume,” and reported delays in communications with remaining USAID staff regarding waivers.¹⁵² The company received unclear guidance on which programs qualified for humanitarian waivers, what activities could resume and when they’d be paid.¹⁵³

Most of Save the Children’s 25 waiver requests received no response or acknowledgement of receipt from USAID personnel. All but seven of those awards were ultimately terminated.¹⁵⁴ Catholic Relief Services requested lifesaving humanitarian waivers for six projects and another seven for non-lifesaving activities. Like Save the Children, Catholic Relief Services received no acknowledgement or responses to any of these requests.¹⁵⁵ Plan International received a waiver to provide medical supplies in Ethiopia, but ultimately the project

¹⁴⁹ *Id.*

¹⁵⁰ *Id.*

¹⁵¹ Letter from Michelle Nunn, President and CEO, Care to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on military and Foreign Affairs (Apr. 2, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹⁵² Letter from Jamey Butcher, President and CEO, Chemonics International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Mar. 20, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹⁵³ *Id.*

¹⁵⁴ Letter from Janti Soeripto, President, Save the Children to Ranking Member Gerry Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Mar. 25, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

¹⁵⁵ Letter from Catholic Relief Services to Ranking Member Gerry Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Apr. 9, 2025) (on file with the Committee).

was terminated by USAID, causing delay and uncertainty in the deployment of lifesaving health care assistance.¹⁵⁶

VI. CONCLUSION

The Trump Administration's abrupt departure from longstanding foreign assistance commitments and decision to eliminate USAID left millions of people without food and medicine worldwide, resulting in the preventable deaths of hundreds of thousands of people and irreparably damaging the United States' global standing. It is likely that countries like Russia and the PRC will fill the void and offer their own foreign aid programs, but with strings attached that threaten the autonomy of developing nations.

The findings of this investigation underscore that the Trump Administration should reverse course and reinstate foreign assistance programs. These programs are critical to prevent outbreaks of deadly disease, promote global stability and national security, expand positive U.S. influence abroad, and save lives.

¹⁵⁶ Letter from Plan International to Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Ranking Member Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Suhas Subramanyam, Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs (Apr. 8, 2025) (on file with the Committee).