Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM 2157 Rayburn House Office Building Washington, DC 20515–6143

MAJORITY (202) 225–5074 MINORITY (202) 225–5051 https://oversight.house.gov

February 26, 2025

Dr. Atul Gawande Former Assistant Administrator for Global Health U.S. Agency for International Development **Transmitted Via Email**

Dear Dr. Gawande:

We write to expand our investigation of the Trump Administration's illegal effort to eliminate the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), freeze the distribution of federal foreign assistance, and disrupt USAID programs in approximately 130 countries.¹ To better understand the threats exacerbated by this effort, we are seeking additional information on how the dismantling of USAID will jeopardize global health and destabilize developing nations, as well as place U.S. national security at risk. This information is especially important as the United States faces several public health and national security challenges that USAID is uniquely positioned to combat. As USAID's former Assistant Administrator for Global Health from 2022-2025, your perspective is important in assessing the scope and scale of the damage caused by the Trump Administration's actions.

On January 24, 2025, Secretary of State Marco Rubio ordered a 90-day freeze on all new obligations of federal foreign assistance.² As the Acting Administrator of USAID, Secretary Rubio declared the goal of the federal funding freeze is to "identify programs that work and continue them and to identify programs that are not aligned with our national interest and identify those and address them."² However, evidence suggests that the objectives Secretary Rubio has articulated are not in alignment with the reality of how humanitarian programming is currently being deployed.³ In fact, USAID staff report a complete "lack of clarity" around waivers to allow some critical medical assistance to continue, including treating people enrolled in active clinical trials.⁴ A ban on communications between USAID personnel and partner

³ *Id*.

¹ Letter Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, to The Honorable Marco Rubio, Acting Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development (Feb. 7, 2025) (online at https://oversightdemocrats.house.gov/news/press-releases/ranking-members-connolly-and-subramanyam-launch-probe-doge-efforts-purge-usaid); Congressional Research Service, U.S. Agency for International Development: An Overview (Jan. 6, 2025) (online at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10261).

² The US State Department says humanitarian assistance can continue. Foreign aid workers say that's not happening, CNN (Feb. 8, 2025) (online at www.cnn.com/2025/02/08/world/usaid-humanitarian-assistance-aid-freeze-intl-latam/index.html).

⁴ U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of the Inspector General, *Oversight of USAID-Funded Humanitarian Assistance Programming Impacted by Staffing Reductions and Pause on Foreign Assistance* (Feb. 10,

organizations abroad and President Trump's February 11, 2025, decision to purportedly terminate USAID's Inspector General after he released a report documenting the wasteful effects of the Trump Administration's actions, means there are few remaining oversight controls to safeguard USAID's programming.⁵

Global health is one of the largest USAID investments and the agency funded at least \$7 billion in programming for treating HIV and preventing emerging pandemics, among other healthcare investments.⁶ The Administration's decision to suspend all USAID programs and place its entire 10,000-person workforce on administrative leave means that \$8.2 billion appropriated by Congress for humanitarian assistance will not be disbursed for its intended purpose of saving lives or preventing the spread of disease.⁷ On February 4, 2025, Secretary Rubio pointed to a waiver that allegedly allows humanitarian aid to continue during the foreign aid freeze, emphasizing that, "if it's providing food or medicine or anything that is saving lives and is immediate and urgent, you're not included in the freeze."⁸ However, reporting indicates that the widespread staffing reductions at USAID have made the waiver process "effectively moot" and that lifesaving treatment is no longer accessible in many cases, contrary to the Secretary's guarantees.⁹ The Secretary claims to have issued more than 180 waivers permitting certain programs to resume, yet non-governmental organizations ("NGOs") and aid workers in the field report confusion and uncertainty around the waiver process and are unable to resume work under the current funding freeze, despite the issuance of a waiver.¹⁰

In 2024, USAID delivered malaria prevention medication to 50 million children. Now, antibiotics and antimalarial drugs are decaying in foreign warehouses due to the Administration's

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⁸ How Democrats Can Bolster Public Support for USAID, Good Authority (Feb. 12, 2025) (online at https://goodauthority.org/news/how-democrats-can-bolster-public-support-for-usaid-foreign-aid/); *Rubio Asks if Aid Groups 'Deliberately Sabotaging' Projects After US Funding Freeze*, Barrons (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at www.barrons.com/news/rubio-asks-if-aid-groups-deliberately-sabotaging-projects-after-us-funding-freeze-61d54667).

⁹ Dismantling of USAID Leaves No Staff to Process Aid Waivers, Sources Say, Reuters (Feb. 7, 2025) (online at www.reuters.com/world/us/dismantling-usaid-leaves-no-staff-process-aid-waivers-sources-say-2025-02-07/); U.S. Aid Freeze 'Decimates' Life-Saving Work Globally, Survey Finds, Reuters (Feb. 19, 2025) (online at www.reuters.com/world/us/us-aid-freeze-decimates-life-saving-work-globally-survey-finds-2025-02-19/).

¹⁰ Emergency Food, TB Tests and H.I.V Drugs: Vital Health Aid Remains Frozen Despite Court Ruling, New York Times (Feb. 20, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/02/20/health/usaid-freeze-hiv-tb-nutrition.html).

^{2025) (}online at https://oig.usaid.gov/node/7439); *Trump fires USAID inspector general one day after blistering report*, Washington Post (Feb. 11, 2025) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2025/02/11/trump-fires-usaid-inspector-general/); *Health Programs Shutter Around the World After Trump Pauses Foreign Aid*, New York Times (Feb. 1, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/02/01/health/trump-aid-malaria-tuberculosis-hiv.html

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foreign aid freeze.¹¹ The Trump Administration's aid freeze has paralyzed efforts to combat preventable diseases. As a result, not only are people dying from completely preventable illnesses, but countries are likely to see a resurgence of HIV and other diseases that can lead to economic destabilization.¹² These circumstances are concerning as the United States and at least 49 other countries battle avian flu outbreaks, to which the Trump Administration has had no meaningful effort to combat.¹³

In many instances, China is already stepping in where the Trump Administration has retreated. For example, reports from Nepal indicate that China has proposed an aid program of its own to replace USAID assistance and is similarly attempting to replace \$385 million Colombia was receiving from USAID.¹⁴ China's attempts to replace USAID with its own assistance programs pose a tremendous global security risk as it seeks to expand its diplomatic and economic influence and undermine U.S. interests around the world.¹⁵

To assist in our investigation, we respectfully request that you provide answers to the following inquiries.

- 1. On January 24, 2025, the Trump Administration froze foreign aid and since then, hundreds of USAID humanitarian programs have ceased operations all over the world.
 - a. To the best of your knowledge, what is the effect of the foreign aid freeze on programs that provided "food or medicine or anything that is saving lives and is immediate and urgent?"¹⁶
 - b. To the best of your knowledge, what does the Trump Administration's foreign aid freeze mean for people who relied on USAID programs all over the world?

¹¹ Crucial aid sits in warehouses worldwide as USAID employees are told to stop working, NBC (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at www.nbcnews.com/news/politics-news/trump-usaid-upheaval-paralyzing-global-delivery-food-medicine-rcna190565).

¹² Health Programs Shutter Around the World After Trump Pauses Foreign Aid, New York Times (Feb. 1, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/02/01/health/trump-aid-malaria-tuberculosis-hiv.html).

¹³ Letter Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, to The Honorable Marco Rubio, Acting Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development (Feb. 7, 2025) (online at https://oversightdemocrats.house.gov/news/press-releases/ranking-members-connolly-and-subramanyam-launch-probe-doge-efforts-purge-usaid).

¹⁴ 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).

¹⁵ Brookings, *Commentary: The implications of a USAID Shutdown* (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at https://www.brookings.edu/articles/what-comes-after-a-usaid-shutdown/).

¹⁶ The US State Department Says Humanitarian Assistance Can Continue. Foreign Aid Workers Say That's Not Happening, CNN (Feb. 8, 2025) (online at www.cnn.com/2025/02/08/world/usaid-humanitarian-assistance-aid-freeze-intl-latam/index.html).

- i. What does the Trump Administration's foreign aid freeze mean for people who relied on USAID humanitarian programs for malaria and HIV medication?
- ii. What is the effect of the Trump Administration's foreign aid freeze on people who were enrolled in clinical trials?
- iii. Do you think people will die because of the foreign aid freeze?
- 2. To the best of your knowledge, is the Department of State's waiver program successful at allowing medical care and other life-saving humanitarian assistance to resume?
 - a. Do you think the waiver process is an effective way to ensure that critical medications and other life-saving humanitarian assistance reach people all over the world?
 - b. How could the waiver process be improved to allow more humanitarian assistance programs to resume?
 - c. Do you have any additional information you would like to share about the waiver process, including but not limited to knowledge of whether waivers are being approved, delayed or denied by the Department of State?
- 3. To the best of your knowledge, how has the Trump Administration's dismantling of USAID and freeze of foreign aid affected the ability of medical personnel to administer critical care in countries that partner with USAID?
- 4. To the best of your knowledge, how will the Trump Administration's decision to eliminate USAID and freeze funding for foreign assistance programs affect economic growth and economic security in developing countries?
- 5. To the best of your knowledge, please describe the initiatives and programs USAID was operating to mitigate the global spread of avian influenza at the time of the agency's elimination.
 - a. How has the dismantling of USAID and the freeze of foreign assistance disrupted the United States' ability to monitor the global spread of avian influenza and other emerging public health threats?
- 6. To the best of your knowledge, how has the Trump Administration's dismantling of USAID affected the state of global reproductive, maternal, and child health?
- 7. To the best of your knowledge, how has the Trump Administration's dismantling of USAID jeopardized the national security of the United States?

- 8. Please describe how the dismantling of USAID affects America's efforts to counter China's global influence. Please share any relevant information as it pertains to China's global infrastructure development initiatives:
 - a. Supporting NGOs, organized labor, and civil society in countries China attempts to influence
 - b. Supporting NGOs and civil societies within China that monitor and advocate for human rights protections
 - c. Developing natural resources, such as critical minerals needed for high technology products, and protecting the environment from devastating accidents;
 - d. Supporting foreign governments in developing countries in negotiations with potential Chinese business partners;
 - e. Boosting U.S. trade ties and market access, especially in Africa; and
 - f. Providing medical and educational support.
- 9. How does dismantling USAID affect the United States' global influence, especially in nations where USAID previously operated?
- 10. How does the dismantling of USAID, its expert workforce, and its substantial network affect our national security?

The Committee on Oversight and Government Reform is the principal oversight committee of the House of Representatives and has broad authority to investigate "any matter" at "any time" under House Rule X. If you have any questions regarding this request, please contact Committee Democratic staff at (202) 225-5051.

Gerald E. Connolly

Ranking Member

Sincerely,

Suhas Subramanyam Ranking Member Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs

Jelanie A. Stansburg

Melanie Stansbury Ranking Member Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Chairman

The Honorable William Timmons, Chairman Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs

The Honorable Marjorie Taylor Greene, Chairwoman Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency

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February 26, 2025

Mr. Jeremy Konyndyk Former Senior Advisor to the USAID Administrator U.S. Agency for International Development <u>Transmitted Via Email</u>

Dear Mr. Konyndyk:

We write to expand our investigation of the Trump Administration's illegal effort to eliminate the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), freeze the distribution of federal foreign assistance, and disrupt USAID programs in approximately 130 countries.¹ To better understand the threats exacerbated by this effort, we are seeking additional information on how the dismantling of USAID will jeopardize global health and destabilize developing nations, as well as place U.S. national security at risk. This information is especially important as the United States faces several public health and national security challenges that USAID is uniquely positioned to combat. As a former Senior Advisor to the USAID Administrator and Executive Director of the USAID COVID-19 Task Force from 2021-2022, your perspective is important in assessing the scope and scale of the damage caused by the Trump Administration's actions.

On January 24, 2025, Secretary of State Marco Rubio ordered a 90-day freeze on all new obligations of federal foreign assistance.² As the Acting Administrator of USAID, Secretary Rubio declared the goal of the federal funding freeze is to "identify programs that work and continue them and to identify programs that are not aligned with our national interest and identify those and address them."² However, evidence suggests that the objectives Secretary Rubio has articulated are not in alignment with the reality of how humanitarian programming is currently being deployed.³ In fact, USAID staff report a complete "lack of clarity" around waivers to allow some critical medical assistance to continue, including treating people enrolled in active clinical trials.⁴ A ban on communications between USAID personnel and partner

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² The US State Department says humanitarian assistance can continue. Foreign aid workers say that's not happening, CNN (Feb. 8, 2025) (online at www.cnn.com/2025/02/08/world/usaid-humanitarian-assistance-aid-freeze-intl-latam/index.html).

³ *Id*.

⁴ U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of the Inspector General, Oversight of USAID-Funded

organizations abroad and President Trump's February 11, 2025, decision to purportedly terminate USAID's Inspector General after he released a report documenting the wasteful effects of the Trump Administration's actions, means there are few remaining oversight controls to safeguard USAID's programming.⁵

Global health is one of the largest USAID investments and the agency funded at least \$7 billion in programming for treating HIV and preventing emerging pandemics, among other healthcare investments.⁶ The Administration's decision to suspend all USAID programs and place its entire 10,000-person workforce on administrative leave means that \$8.2 billion appropriated by Congress for humanitarian assistance will not be disbursed for its intended purpose of saving lives or preventing the spread of disease.⁷ On February 4, 2025, Secretary Rubio pointed to a waiver that allegedly allows humanitarian aid to continue during the foreign aid freeze, emphasizing that, "if it's providing food or medicine or anything that is saving lives and is immediate and urgent, you're not included in the freeze."⁸ However, reporting indicates that the widespread staffing reductions at USAID have made the waiver process "effectively moot" and that lifesaving treatment is no longer accessible in many cases, contrary to the Secretary's guarantees.⁹ The Secretary claims to have issued more than 180 waivers permitting certain programs to resume, yet non-governmental organizations ("NGOS") and aid workers in the field report confusion and uncertainty around the waiver process and are unable to resume work under the current funding freeze, despite the issuance of a waiver.¹⁰

⁸ How Democrats Can Bolster Public Support for USAID, Good Authority (Feb. 12, 2025) (online at https://goodauthority.org/news/how-democrats-can-bolster-public-support-for-usaid-foreign-aid/); *Rubio Asks if Aid Groups 'Deliberately Sabotaging' Projects After US Funding Freeze*, Barrons (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at www.barrons.com/news/rubio-asks-if-aid-groups-deliberately-sabotaging-projects-after-us-funding-freeze-61d54667).

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⁵ *Trump fires USAID inspector general one day after blistering report*, Washington Post (Feb. 11, 2025) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2025/02/11/trump-fires-usaid-inspector-general/).

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¹⁰ Emergency Food, TB Tests and H.I.V Drugs: Vital Health Aid Remains Frozen Despite Court Ruling, New York Times (Feb. 20, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/02/20/health/usaid-freeze-hiv-tb-nutrition.html).

In 2024, USAID delivered malaria prevention medication to 50 million children. Now, antibiotics and antimalarial drugs are decaying in foreign warehouses due to the Administration's foreign aid freeze.¹¹ The Trump Administration's aid freeze has paralyzed efforts to combat preventable diseases. As a result, not only are people dying from completely preventable illnesses, but countries are likely to see a resurgence of HIV and other diseases that can lead to economic destabilization.¹² These circumstances are concerning as the United States and at least 49 other countries battle avian flu outbreaks, to which the Trump Administration has had no meaningful effort to combat.¹³

In many instances, China is already stepping in where the Trump Administration has retreated. For example, reports from Nepal indicate that China has proposed an aid program of its own to replace USAID assistance and is similarly attempting to replace \$385 million Colombia was receiving from USAID.¹⁴ China's attempts to replace USAID with its own assistance programs pose a tremendous global security risk as it seeks to expand its diplomatic and economic influence and undermine U.S. interests around the world.¹⁵

To assist in our investigation, we respectfully request that you provide answers to the following inquiries.

- 1. On January 24, 2025, the Trump Administration froze foreign aid and since then, hundreds of USAID humanitarian programs have ceased operations all over the world.
 - a. To the best of your knowledge, what is the effect of the foreign aid freeze on programs that provided "food or medicine or anything that is saving lives and is immediate and urgent?"¹⁶

¹¹ Crucial aid sits in warehouses worldwide as USAID employees are told to stop working, NBC (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at www.nbcnews.com/news/politics-news/trump-usaid-upheaval-paralyzing-global-delivery-food-medicine-rcna190565).

¹² Health Programs Shutter Around the World After Trump Pauses Foreign Aid, New York Times (Feb. 1, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/02/01/health/trump-aid-malaria-tuberculosis-hiv.html).

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- b. To the best of your knowledge, what does the Trump Administration's foreign aid freeze mean for people who relied on USAID programs all over the world?
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 - ii. What is the effect of the Trump Administration's foreign aid freeze on people who were enrolled in clinical trials?
 - iii. Do you think people will die because of the foreign aid freeze?
- 2. To the best of your knowledge, is the Department of State's waiver program successful at allowing medical care and other life-saving humanitarian assistance to resume?
 - a. Do you think the waiver process is an effective way to ensure that critical medications and other life-saving humanitarian assistance reach people all over the world?
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 - c. Do you have any additional information you would like to share about the waiver process, including but not limited to knowledge of whether waivers are being approved, delayed or denied by the Department of State?
- 3. To the best of your knowledge, how has the Trump Administration's dismantling of USAID and freeze of foreign aid affected the ability of medical personnel to administer critical care in countries that partner with USAID?
- 4. To the best of your knowledge, how will the Trump Administration's decision to eliminate USAID and freeze funding for foreign assistance programs affect economic growth and economic security in developing countries?
- 5. To the best of your knowledge, please describe the initiatives and programs USAID was operating to mitigate the global spread of avian influenza at the time of the agency's elimination.
 - a. How has the dismantling of USAID and the freeze of foreign assistance disrupted the United States' ability to monitor the global spread of avian influenza and other emerging public health threats?
- 6. To the best of your knowledge, how has the Trump Administration's dismantling of USAID affected the state of global reproductive, maternal, and child health?

- 7. To the best of your knowledge, how has the Trump Administration's dismantling of USAID jeopardized the national security of the United States?
- 8. Please describe how the dismantling of USAID affects America's efforts to counter China's global influence. Please share any relevant information as it pertains to China's global infrastructure development initiatives:
 - a. Supporting NGOs, organized labor, and civil society in countries China attempts to influence
 - b. Supporting NGOs and civil societies within China that monitor and advocate for human rights protections
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Gerald E. Connolly

Ranking Member

Sincerely,

Suhas Subramanyam Ranking Member Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs

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Melanie Stansbury Ranking Member Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Chairman

The Honorable William Timmons, Chairman Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs

The Honorable Marjorie Taylor Greene, Chairwoman Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency

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February 26, 2025

Ms. Nidhi Bouri Former Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health U.S. Agency for International Development <u>Transmitted Via Email</u>

Dear Ms. Bouri:

We write to expand our investigation of the Trump Administration's illegal effort to eliminate the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), freeze the distribution of federal foreign assistance, and disrupt USAID programs in approximately 130 countries.¹ To better understand the threats exacerbated by this effort, we are seeking additional information on how the dismantling of USAID will jeopardize global health and destabilize developing nations, as well as place U.S. national security at risk. This information is especially important as the United States faces several public health and national security challenges that USAID is uniquely positioned to combat. As former Deputy Assistant Administrator for Global Health at USAID from 2023-2025, your perspective is important in assessing the scope and scale of the damage caused by the Trump Administration's actions.

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⁴ U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of the Inspector General, *Oversight of USAID-Funded Humanitarian Assistance Programming Impacted by Staffing Reductions and Pause on Foreign Assistance* (Feb. 10,

Ms. Nidhi Bouri Page 2

organizations abroad and President Trump's February 11, 2025, decision to purportedly terminate USAID's Inspector General after he released a report documenting the wasteful effects of the Trump Administration's actions, means there are few remaining oversight controls to safeguard USAID's programming.⁵

Global health is one of the largest USAID investments and the agency funded at least \$7 billion in programming for treating HIV and preventing emerging pandemics, among other healthcare investments.⁶ The Administration's decision to suspend all USAID programs and place its entire 10,000-person workforce on administrative leave means that \$8.2 billion appropriated by Congress for humanitarian assistance will not be disbursed for its intended purpose of saving lives or preventing the spread of disease.⁷ On February 4, 2025, Secretary Rubio pointed to a waiver that allegedly allows humanitarian aid to continue during the foreign aid freeze, emphasizing that, "if it's providing food or medicine or anything that is saving lives and is immediate and urgent, you're not included in the freeze."⁸ However, reporting indicates that the widespread staffing reductions at USAID have made the waiver process "effectively moot" and that lifesaving treatment is no longer accessible in many cases, contrary to the Secretary's guarantees.⁹ The Secretary claims to have issued more than 180 waivers permitting certain programs to resume, yet non-governmental organizations ("NGOs") and aid workers in the field report confusion and uncertainty around the waiver process and are unable to resume work under the current funding freeze, despite the issuance of a waiver.¹⁰

In 2024, USAID delivered malaria prevention medication to 50 million children. Now, antibiotics and antimalarial drugs are decaying in foreign warehouses due to the Administration's

⁶ Congressional Research Service, U.S. Agency for International Development: An Overview (Jan. 6, 2025) (online at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10261).

⁷U.S. Agency for International Development, Office of the Inspector General, *Oversight of USAID-Funded Humanitarian Assistance Programming Impacted by Staffing Reductions and Pause on Foreign Assistance* (Feb. 10, 2025) (online at https://oig.usaid.gov/node/7439)

⁸ How Democrats Can Bolster Public Support for USAID, Good Authority (Feb. 12, 2025) (online at https://goodauthority.org/news/how-democrats-can-bolster-public-support-for-usaid-foreign-aid/); *Rubio Asks if Aid Groups 'Deliberately Sabotaging' Projects After US Funding Freeze*, Barrons (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at www.barrons.com/news/rubio-asks-if-aid-groups-deliberately-sabotaging-projects-after-us-funding-freeze-61d54667).

⁹ Dismantling of USAID Leaves No Staff to Process Aid Waivers, Sources Say, Reuters (Feb. 7, 2025) (online at www.reuters.com/world/us/dismantling-usaid-leaves-no-staff-process-aid-waivers-sources-say-2025-02-07/); U.S. Aid Freeze 'Decimates' Life-Saving Work Globally, Survey Finds, Reuters (Feb. 19, 2025) (online at www.reuters.com/world/us/us-aid-freeze-decimates-life-saving-work-globally-survey-finds-2025-02-19/).

¹⁰ Emergency Food, TB Tests and H.I.V Drugs: Vital Health Aid Remains Frozen Despite Court Ruling, New York Times (Feb. 20, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/02/20/health/usaid-freeze-hiv-tbnutrition.html).

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⁵ *Trump fires USAID inspector general one day after blistering report*, Washington Post (Feb. 11, 2025) (online at www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2025/02/11/trump-fires-usaid-inspector-general/).

Ms. Nidhi Bouri Page 3

foreign aid freeze.¹¹ The Trump Administration's aid freeze has paralyzed efforts to combat preventable diseases. As a result, not only are people dying from completely preventable illnesses, but countries are likely to see a resurgence of HIV and other diseases that can lead to economic destabilization.¹² These circumstances are concerning as the United States and at least 49 other countries battle avian flu outbreaks, to which the Trump Administration has had no meaningful effort to combat.¹³

In many instances, China is already stepping in where the Trump Administration has retreated. For example, reports from Nepal indicate that China has proposed an aid program of its own to replace USAID assistance and is similarly attempting to replace \$385 million Colombia was receiving from USAID.¹⁴ China's attempts to replace USAID with its own assistance programs pose a tremendous global security risk as it seeks to expand its diplomatic and economic influence and undermine U.S. interests around the world.¹⁵

To assist in our investigation, we respectfully request that you provide answers to the following inquiries.

- 1. On January 24, 2025, the Trump Administration froze foreign aid and since then, hundreds of USAID humanitarian programs have ceased operations all over the world.
 - a. To the best of your knowledge, what is the effect of the foreign aid freeze on programs that provided "food or medicine or anything that is saving lives and is immediate and urgent?"¹⁶
 - b. To the best of your knowledge, what does the Trump Administration's foreign aid freeze mean for people who relied on USAID programs all over the world?

¹¹ Crucial aid sits in warehouses worldwide as USAID employees are told to stop working, NBC (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at www.nbcnews.com/news/politics-news/trump-usaid-upheaval-paralyzing-global-delivery-food-medicine-rcna190565).

¹² Health Programs Shutter Around the World After Trump Pauses Foreign Aid, New York Times (Feb. 1, 2025) (online at www.nytimes.com/2025/02/01/health/trump-aid-malaria-tuberculosis-hiv.html).

¹³ Letter Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, to The Honorable Marco Rubio, Acting Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development (Feb. 7, 2025) (online at https://oversightdemocrats.house.gov/news/press-releases/ranking-members-connolly-and-subramanyam-launch-probe-doge-efforts-purge-usaid).

¹⁴ 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).

¹⁵ Brookings, *Commentary: The implications of a USAID Shutdown* (Feb. 4, 2025) (online at https://www.brookings.edu/articles/what-comes-after-a-usaid-shutdown/).

¹⁶ The US State Department Says Humanitarian Assistance Can Continue. Foreign Aid Workers Say That's Not Happening, CNN (Feb. 8, 2025) (online at www.cnn.com/2025/02/08/world/usaid-humanitarian-assistance-aid-freeze-intl-latam/index.html).

- i. What does the Trump Administration's foreign aid freeze mean for people who relied on USAID humanitarian programs for malaria and HIV medication?
- ii. What is the effect of the Trump Administration's foreign aid freeze on people who were enrolled in clinical trials?
- iii. Do you think people will die because of the foreign aid freeze?
- 2. To the best of your knowledge, is the Department of State's waiver program successful at allowing medical care and other life-saving humanitarian assistance to resume?
 - a. Do you think the waiver process is an effective way to ensure that critical medications and other life-saving humanitarian assistance reach people all over the world?
 - b. How could the waiver process be improved to allow more humanitarian assistance programs to resume?
 - c. Do you have any additional information you would like to share about the waiver process, including but not limited to knowledge of whether waivers are being approved, delayed or denied by the Department of State?
- 3. To the best of your knowledge, how has the Trump Administration's dismantling of USAID and freeze of foreign aid affected the ability of medical personnel to administer critical care in countries that partner with USAID?
- 4. To the best of your knowledge, how will the Trump Administration's decision to eliminate USAID and freeze funding for foreign assistance programs affect economic growth and economic security in developing countries?
- 5. To the best of your knowledge, please describe the initiatives and programs USAID was operating to mitigate the global spread of avian influenza at the time of the agency's elimination.
 - a. How has the dismantling of USAID and the freeze of foreign assistance disrupted the United States' ability to monitor the global spread of avian influenza and other emerging public health threats?
- 6. To the best of your knowledge, how has the Trump Administration's dismantling of USAID affected the state of global reproductive, maternal, and child health?
- 7. To the best of your knowledge, how has the Trump Administration's dismantling of USAID jeopardized the national security of the United States?

- 8. Please describe how the dismantling of USAID affects America's efforts to counter China's global influence. Please share any relevant information as it pertains to China's global infrastructure development initiatives:
 - a. Supporting NGOs, organized labor, and civil society in countries China attempts to influence
 - b. Supporting NGOs and civil societies within China that monitor and advocate for human rights protections
 - c. Developing natural resources, such as critical minerals needed for high technology products, and protecting the environment from devastating accidents;
 - d. Supporting foreign governments in developing countries in negotiations with potential Chinese business partners;
 - e. Boosting U.S. trade ties and market access, especially in Africa; and
 - f. Providing medical and educational support.
- 9. How does dismantling USAID affect the United States' global influence, especially in nations where USAID previously operated?
- 10. How does the dismantling of USAID, its expert workforce, and its substantial network affect our national security?

The Committee on Oversight and Government Reform is the principal oversight committee of the House of Representatives and has broad authority to investigate "any matter" at "any time" under House Rule X. If you have any questions regarding this request, please contact Committee Democratic staff at (202) 225-5051.

Sincerely,

Gerald E. Connolly

Ranking Member

Suhas Subramanyam Ranking Member Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs

Ms. Nidhi Bouri Page 6

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Melanie Stansbury Ranking Member Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Chairman

The Honorable William Timmons, Chairman Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs

The Honorable Marjorie Taylor Greene, Chairwoman Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND GOVERNMENT REFORM 2157 Rayburn House Office Building Washington, DC 20515–6143

> MAJORITY (202) 225–5074 MINORITY (202) 225–5051 https://oversight.house.gov

February 26, 2025

Mr. Anka Lee Former Deputy Assistant Administrator U.S. Agency for International Development **Transmitted Via Email**

Dear Mr. Lee:

We write to expand our investigation of the Trump Administration's illegal effort to eliminate the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), freeze the distribution of federal foreign assistance, and disrupt USAID programs in approximately 130 countries.¹ To better understand the threats exacerbated by this effort, we are seeking additional information on how the dismantling of USAID will jeopardize global health and destabilize developing nations, as well as place U.S. national security at risk. This information is especially important as the United States faces several public health and national security challenges that USAID is uniquely positioned to combat. As the former Deputy Assistant Administrator at USAID from 2022-2024, your perspective is important in assessing the scope and scale of the damage caused by the Trump Administration's actions.

On January 24, 2025, Secretary of State Marco Rubio ordered a 90-day freeze on all new obligations of federal foreign assistance.² As the Acting Administrator of USAID, Secretary Rubio declared the goal of the federal funding freeze is to "identify programs that work and continue them and to identify programs that are not aligned with our national interest and identify those and address them."² However, evidence suggests that the objectives Secretary Rubio has articulated are not in alignment with the reality of how humanitarian programming is currently being deployed.³ In fact, USAID staff report a complete "lack of clarity" around waivers to allow some critical medical assistance to continue, including treating people enrolled in active clinical trials.⁴ A ban on communications between USAID personnel and partner

³ *Id*.

¹ Letter Ranking Member Gerald E. Connolly, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, to The Honorable Marco Rubio, Acting Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development (Feb. 7, 2025) (online at https://oversightdemocrats.house.gov/news/press-releases/ranking-members-connolly-and-subramanyam-launch-probe-doge-efforts-purge-usaid); Congressional Research Service, U.S. Agency for International Development: An Overview (Jan. 6, 2025) (online at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10261).

² The US State Department says humanitarian assistance can continue. Foreign aid workers say that's not happening, CNN (Feb. 8, 2025) (online at www.cnn.com/2025/02/08/world/usaid-humanitarian-assistance-aid-freeze-intl-latam/index.html).

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Mr. Anka Lee Page 2

organizations abroad and President Trump's February 11, 2025, decision to purportedly terminate USAID's Inspector General after he released a report documenting the wasteful effects of the Trump Administration's actions, means there are few remaining oversight controls to safeguard USAID's programming.⁵

Global health is one of the largest USAID investments and the agency funded at least \$7 billion in programming for treating HIV and preventing emerging pandemics, among other healthcare investments.⁶ The Administration's decision to suspend all USAID programs and place its entire 10,000-person workforce on administrative leave means that \$8.2 billion appropriated by Congress for humanitarian assistance will not be disbursed for its intended purpose of saving lives or preventing the spread of disease.⁷ On February 4, 2025, Secretary Rubio pointed to a waiver that allegedly allows humanitarian aid to continue during the foreign aid freeze, emphasizing that, "if it's providing food or medicine or anything that is saving lives and is immediate and urgent, you're not included in the freeze."⁸ However, reporting indicates that the widespread staffing reductions at USAID have made the waiver process "effectively moot" and that lifesaving treatment is no longer accessible in many cases, contrary to the Secretary's guarantees.⁹ The Secretary claims to have issued more than 180 waivers permitting certain programs to resume, yet non-governmental organizations ("NGOs") and aid workers in the field report confusion and uncertainty around the waiver process and are unable to resume work under the current funding freeze, despite the issuance of a waiver.¹⁰

In 2024, USAID delivered malaria prevention medication to 50 million children. Now, antibiotics and antimalarial drugs are decaying in foreign warehouses due to the Administration's

⁶ Congressional Research Service, U.S. Agency for International Development: An Overview (Jan. 6, 2025) (online at https://crsreports.congress.gov/product/pdf/IF/IF10261).

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⁹ Dismantling of USAID Leaves No Staff to Process Aid Waivers, Sources Say, Reuters (Feb. 7, 2025) (online at www.reuters.com/world/us/dismantling-usaid-leaves-no-staff-process-aid-waivers-sources-say-2025-02-07/); U.S. Aid Freeze 'Decimates' Life-Saving Work Globally, Survey Finds, Reuters (Feb. 19, 2025) (online at www.reuters.com/world/us/us-aid-freeze-decimates-life-saving-work-globally-survey-finds-2025-02-19/).

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Mr. Anka Lee Page 3

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Sincerely,

Gerald E. Connolly

Ranking Member

Suhas Subramanyam Ranking Member Subcommittee on Military and Foreign Affairs

Mr. Anka Lee Page 6

Jelanie A. Stansburg

Melanie Stansbury Ranking Member Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency

cc: The Honorable James Comer, Chairman

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The Honorable Marjorie Taylor Greene, Chairwoman Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency