



**Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (DOGE)  
House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform**

*“America Last: How Foreign Aid Undermined U.S. Interests Around the World”*

Held February 26, 2025

Chairwoman Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-GA)

**Post-Hearing Review & Recommendations**

March 4, 2025

**Subcommittee Hearing Review**

The Oversight and Government Reform Subcommittee on Delivering on Government Efficiency (DOGE) held its second hearing on Wednesday, February 26, 2025, concerning American foreign assistance. It highlighted rampant waste, fraud, and abuse, and spending non-aligned with the national interest. It also discussed reforms to implement an America-first foreign aid policy.

Majority Members of the Subcommittee cited numerous cases in which the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) spent U.S. taxpayer dollars on programs that undermine American interests. Expert witnesses exposed how the Biden Administration blindly doled out foreign aid funding without proper oversight. The Subcommittee will work with the Trump Administration to redress this situation, and to reevaluate and realign U.S. foreign aid with national interests.

The Majority’s core message is simple: American taxpayer dollars should not be used to push left-wing ideology across the world, fund extremist radicals, including terrorists, or to foment regime change and usurp the will of the people, at home or abroad.

The hearing showed how USAID strayed from its original purpose of protecting American interests globally. It devolved into a slush fund to promote social engineering abroad, while subsidizing left-leaning nonprofits and ideologies. USAID now spends more than \$40 billion annually, including on programs that run contrary to American interests, and compromise national security. Witnesses highlighted how significant USAID money has even made it into the hands of foreign terrorist organizations.

The litany of waste, fraud and abuse at USAID is not new. For years, USAID dollars have been spent in an opaque manner and with little vetting or oversight. Dollars have

ultimately gone to support DEI/LGBTQ+ programming, extreme climate agendas, anti-conservative media, and terror regimes, including Hamas and the Taliban. We also know that nine out of ten of Ukraine's major media outlets received funding from USAID. After President Trump halted USAID funding, several Ukrainian media companies immediately announced they were suspending their activities and were looking for alternative sources of funding.

What's more, billions of USAID dollars cannot be tracked because grants are disbursed to "miscellaneous foreign awardees" without clear identification of recipients. The Biden Administration facilitated this, enabling USAID officials to push a left-wing agenda on the developing world, on the American taxpayer's dime.

Majority hearing witnesses included individuals with deep knowledge and expertise in the field of foreign aid, including a former USAID Deputy Administrator who served there during the first Trump Administration. The witnesses identified key areas of problematic foreign aid funding and provided examples of programmatic waste and abuse. Witness testimony proposed legislative, regulatory, and oversight reforms to ensure that foreign aid spending is performed responsibly. The panel laid out how Congress can ensure that aid dollars are accounted for, recipient individuals and organizations are tracked, and mechanisms are in place to ensure congressionally-appropriated funds are spent in the national interest.

#### Majority Witnesses:

Max Primorac, Senior Research Fellow, The Heritage Foundation  
Gregg Roman, Executive Director, Middle East Forum  
Tyler O'Neil, Managing Editor, The Daily Signal

#### Problems Identified/Solutions Recommended by Witnesses:

*Problem:* Foreign aid has hurt U.S. interests abroad.

**Solution:** All foreign aid disbursements should be made with an eye towards America First policy.

*Problem:* USAID's leftist bureaucracy has pushed its own agenda on foreign aid recipients, alienating millions, if not billions, of people around the world.

**Solution:** Chairwoman Greene introduced H.R. 1123, co-led by Congressman Chip Roy (TX-21), to abolish USAID.<sup>1</sup> The bill seeks to further Chairwoman

---

<sup>1</sup> To abolish the United States Agency for International Development, and for other purposes, H.R. 1123, 119<sup>th</sup> Cong. 1 (2025); Press Release, Off. of Congresswoman Marjorie Taylor Greene, Congresswoman Marjorie Taylor Greene Introduces Bill to Abolish USAID (Feb. 7, 2025)(The bill's original 14 co-sponsors are: Rep. Chip Roy (Co-lead, TX-21), Rep. Eli Crane (AZ-2), Rep. Andy Ogles (TN-5), Rep. Ralph Norman (SC-5), Rep. Brandon Gill (TX-26), Rep. Diana Harshbarger (TN-1), Rep. Josh Brecheen (OK-2), Rep. Eric Burlison (MO-7), Rep. Scott Perry (PA-10), Rep. Thomas Massie (KY-4), Rep. Lauren Boebert (CO-3), Rep. William Timmons (SC-4), Rep. Harriet Hageman (WY-At Large), and Rep. Sam Graves (MO-6).).

Greene’s commitment to “eliminat[ing] wasteful government spending and ensur[ing] taxpayer dollars are used responsibly[,]”<sup>2</sup> providing the Trump administration an opportunity to conduct a programmatic review and determine appropriate reorganization and/or integration paths into the Department of State.

*Problem:* USAID funds have ended up in the hands of terrorist organizations, including Hamas, Al-Qaeda, and the Taliban.

**Solution:** USAID must identify each individual recipient and make that information publicly available.

**Solution:** Congress must diligently investigate and conduct oversight of foreign aid fund disbursement to ensure transparency.

**Solution:** If officials or aid recipients break the law, Congress should look to proceed with appropriate criminal referrals to the Department of Justice.

**Solution:** S.3505, introduced in the 118<sup>th</sup> Congress, would help prevent USAID dollars that go to the UN from ending up in the hands of foreign terrorist organizations.

*Problem:* It is difficult to track USAID spending because many grants are lumped under the category of “Miscellaneous Foreign Awardees.”

**Solution:** Every USAID grant recipient should be an identifiable person or entity.

**Solution:** There should be a website that clearly identifies all USAID grants and recipients.

*Problem:* The Biden Administration reversed a Trump-45 Administration regulation that required that anyone who received money from USAID is screened through a terrorist database.

**Solution:** The Trump-47 Administration should reinstate this rule, broadened to include all foreign aid.

*Problem:* Developing countries are becoming reliant on U.S. foreign aid – like a welfare system.

**Solution:** Reinstate the first Trump Administration’s effort called the “Journey to Self-Reliance,” which sought to place countries on a roadmap and program cycle to achieve independence and transition from foreign aid reliance

*Problem:* Foreign aid is not conditional.

**Solution:** Congress must pass spending bills that condition foreign aid upon a recipient’s agreement to abide by certain parameters.

**Solution:** Congress should also enact stiff penalties for misuse of foreign aid funds.

**Solution:** Congress should enact claw back provisions on all foreign aid grant funding.

---

<sup>2</sup> Press Release, Off. of Congresswoman Marjorie Taylor Greene, Congresswoman Marjorie Taylor Greene Introduces Bill to Abolish USAID (Feb. 7, 2025).

*Problem:* USAID grants that promote green energy have harmed more countries than they have helped.

**Solution:** End foreign aid funding promoting extreme climate and green energy programs.

### **Legislative Solutions:**

In April 2024, The Israel Security Supplemental Appropriations Act (P.L. 118-50) was signed into law. The original bill (H.R. 815) was introduced by Rep. Cathy McMorris Rodgers (R-WA) and co-sponsored by 5 other Republican House members. This bill requires USAID to provide written descriptions of oversight policies, processes and procedures for funds appropriated under the act made for assistance in Gaza and requires USAID to act if the assistance funds are diverted or misused.

Last Congress, S.3505 was introduced to help prevent USAID dollars that go to the UN from ending up in the hands of foreign terrorist organizations. The bill was sponsored by then-Senator and current Secretary of State Marco Rubio and co-sponsored by Senators J.D. Vance, Rick Scott, James Lankford, Mike Braun, and Bill Hagerty. The bill amends the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to prohibit providing foreign aid to state sponsors of terrorism.

Earlier this year, Senator Shelly-Moore Capito introduced S. 313, Stop Funding Global Terrorists Act. This bill is like the bill that Senator Rubio introduced last Congress to prevent USAID funds that go to the UN from ending up with foreign terrorists. This bill is also co-sponsored by Senators Tom Cotton, Katie Britt, Bill Cassidy, Rick Scott, Ted Cruz, Marsha Blackburn, Thom Tillis, Tim Scott, Joni Ernst, and Ted Budd.

According to hearing witness Mr. Gregg Roman, lobbyists employed by NGOs and foreign aid recipients helped halt H.Res. 160, which sought to increase transparency of USAID funding overseas and ensure funds do not end up supporting terrorist groups. The bill was introduced by Rep. Jim Banks (IN-3) during the 116<sup>th</sup> Congress. The Minority's witness formerly served on the executive board of InterAction, an NGO known to lobby against bills that increase transparency of foreign aid.

On February 7, 2025, Chairwoman Greene introduced H.R. 1123, To abolish the United States Agency for International Development, and for other purposes. The bill is co-led by Congressman Chip Roy (TX-21) and has fourteen original co-sponsors.

On January 9, 2025, Rep. Tim Burchett of Tennessee introduced H.R. 260, the No Tax Dollars for Terrorists Act, To require a strategy to oppose financial or material support by foreign countries and NGOs to the Taliban. The bill, which is cosponsored by Chairwoman Greene and 21 other Members of Congress, would also require the State Department to develop a policy to oppose all foreign aid to terrorist organizations.