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The Opinion Pages | OP-ED CONTRIBUTOR

# Colin Powell: American Leadership — We Can't Do It for Free

By COLIN POWELL MAY 24, 2017

At our best, being a great nation has always meant a commitment to building a better, safer world — not just for ourselves, but for our children and grandchildren. This has meant leading the world in advancing the cause of peace, responding when disease and disaster strike, lifting millions out of poverty and inspiring those yearning for freedom.

This calling is under threat.

The administration's proposal, announced Tuesday, to slash approximately 30 percent from the State Department and foreign assistance budget signals an American retreat, leaving a vacuum that would make us far less safe and prosperous. While it may sound penny-wise, it is pound-foolish.

This proposal would bring resources for our civilian forces to a third of what we spent at the height of Ronald Reagan's "peace through strength" years, as a percentage of the gross domestic product. It would be internationally irresponsible, distressing our friends, encouraging our enemies and undermining our own economic and national security interests.

The idea that putting Americans "first" requires a withdrawal from the world is simply wrongheaded, because a retreat would achieve exactly the opposite for our citizens. I learned that lesson the hard way when I became secretary of state after a decade of budget cuts that hollowed out our civilian foreign policy tools.

Many had assumed the Cold War's end would allow us to retreat from the world, but cuts that may have looked logical at the time came back to haunt us as tensions rose in the Middle East, Africa, the Korean Peninsula and elsewhere. Confronting such challenges requires not just a military that is second to none, but also well-resourced, effective and empowered diplomats and aid workers.

Indeed, we're strongest when the face of America isn't only a soldier carrying a gun but also a diplomat negotiating peace, a Peace Corps volunteer bringing clean water to a village or a relief worker stepping off a cargo plane as floodwaters rise. While I am all for reviewing, reforming and strengthening the State Department and the United States Agency for International Development, proposals to zero out economic and development assistance in more than 35 countries would effectively lower our flag at our outposts around the world and make us far less safe.

Today, the world is witnessing some of the most significant humanitarian crises in living memory. With more than 65 million people displaced, there have never been more people fleeing war and instability since World War II. The famines engulfing families in South Sudan, Yemen, Nigeria and Somalia put more than 20 million people at risk of starvation — further destabilizing regions already under threat from the Islamic State, Al Qaeda, Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab.

Do we really want to slash the State Department and the U.S.A.I.D. at such a perilous moment? The American answer has always been no. Yet this budget proposal has forced us to ask what America's role in the world is and what kind of nation we seek to be. The president's budget director, Mick Mulvaney, has described

these cuts as “not a reflection of the president’s policies regarding an attitude toward State.” But how is a 32 percent cut to our civilian programs overseas anything but a clear expression of policy?

True, many in Congress have effectively declared the administration’s budget proposal “dead on arrival,” but they also acknowledge that it will set the tone for the coming budget debate. That’s the wrong conversation. Our diplomacy and development budget is not just about reducing spending and finding efficiencies. We need a frank conversation about what we stand for as that “shining city on a hill.” And that conversation begins by acknowledging that we can’t do it on the cheap.

Diplomacy and aid aren’t the only self-defeating cuts in the administration’s proposal. A call to all but eliminate two key export-promotion agencies — the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and the Trade and Development Agency — would harm thousands of American workers and actually add to the deficit. And any cuts to our economic development investments in Africa and elsewhere would undermine our ability to build new customer bases in the world’s fastest-growing markets.

With 95 percent of the world’s consumers outside our borders, it’s not “America first” to surrender the field to an ambitious China rapidly expanding its influence, building highways and railroads across Africa and Asia. China is far from slashing its development budget. Instead, it’s growing — by more than 780 percent in Africa alone since 2003.

Since the release of its initial budget request in March, the administration has started to demonstrate a more strategic foreign policy approach. This is welcome, but it will take far more than a strike against Syria, a harder line on Russia, increased pressure on North Korea and deeper engagement with China to steer American foreign policy. It also takes the resources to underwrite it.

America is great when we’re the country that the world admires, a beacon of hope and a principled people who are generous, fair and caring. That’s the American way. If we’re still that nation, then we must continue to devote this small but strategic 1 percent of our federal budget to this mission.

Throughout my career, I learned plenty about war on the battlefield, but I learned even more about the importance of finding peace. And that is what the State Department and U.S.A.I.D. do: prevent the wars that we can avoid, so that we fight only the ones we must. For our service members and citizens, it's an investment we must make.

Colin Powell was the secretary of state from 2001 to 2005.

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**Statement of CARE USA**  
**Submitted to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs**  
**Hearing on “The FY 2018 Foreign Affairs Budget”**  
**June 14, 2017**

We thank the Committee for the opportunity to provide the views of CARE USA regarding the Administration’s fiscal year 2018 (FY18) budget proposal and ask that this statement be included as part of the official record. With more than 71 years of experience in providing emergency humanitarian assistance and long-term development assistance in over 94 countries around the world, CARE has serious concerns that the Administration budget proposal would inflict long term damage on our national security and global development needs. This budget will jeopardize millions of lives, and reverse decades of efforts to bring sustainable development, opportunity, health and dignity to people around the world. In short, this proposed budget would inflict human and political costs that far outweigh any potential budget savings.

In many countries around the world, the relief, hope and skills brought by U.S. humanitarian and development programs are often the only direct knowledge people have of the United States. These programs create a more stable world by providing assistance, opportunity and tangible improvement to people’s lives. Stepping back from this leadership role would not just impact the lives of millions, it would mark the end of the American era – the point where the United States decisively turned its back on those most vulnerable, allowing the exploitation of human needs to go unchecked.

While the U.S. faces its own economic challenges, shifting less than 1% of the federal budget from these programs will not solve America’s deficit concerns. Instead, such cuts would take away from core national security investments and preventative interventions in order to seek political gain at the expense of the world’s most vulnerable people.

Therefore, CARE urges this Committee to use its constitutional authority to protect the International Affairs account, oppose any disproportionate cuts to international humanitarian and development programs, fully exercise its oversight authorities, and preserve critical expertise within the U.S. Government.

**Our Current Challenges**

Our global political system is currently facing the largest humanitarian needs we have known in modern human history, with 65 million people living in displacement, and over 30

million facing deadly famine conditions. Unfortunately, these numbers continue to grow every day. Conflict, extreme weather, pandemics, and natural disasters continue to impact millions.

Despite these growing challenges, and political suggestions to the contrary, U.S. foreign assistance programs are working:

- In many areas where the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) is implementing agricultural development and food security programming, extreme poverty has dropped between 7 and 36 percent, child stunting has dropped between 6 and 40 percent, and more than 10 million smallholder farmers are now able to apply new technologies and management practices.<sup>1</sup>
- Partners currently supported by OPIC are sustaining livelihoods for nearly 1 million smallholder farmers, allowing them to grow themselves out of poverty and creating future markets for trade.<sup>2</sup>
- In 10 years, U.S. malaria programming has saved 6 million lives, many of them children.<sup>3</sup> Over the last eight years, 4.6 million children have been saved from dying of preventable diseases because of U.S. assistance.<sup>4</sup>
- In FY2016, U.S. investments in family planning and reproductive health provided 26 million women and couples with the tools they need to time and plan their pregnancies, prevented 8 million unintended pregnancies, and averted 3.3 million abortions.<sup>5</sup>

Globally, recent estimates show that 10.7 percent of the world's population lives on less than US \$1.90 a day, down from 12.4 percent in 2012 and 35 percent in 1990.<sup>6</sup> This progress shows that the fight against global poverty is winnable if there is sufficient political will.

While many, including some within the current Administration, continue to promote a disingenuous narrative that U.S. foreign aid is inefficient, ineffective, and of inferior quality, the evidence points towards U.S. development programs as a leading standard in the international community. In particular, USAID has led the way towards more nimble, efficient, transparent, and effective systems of addressing global poverty and its challenges. Recent changes within USAID have resulted in huge gains towards evidence-based approaches that seek to distill best practices and achieve sustainable, independent development.<sup>7</sup> In addition, a recent 2017 GAO

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<sup>1</sup> [Investing in our Shared Future](#): How a Confident and Capable USAID is Building on a Proud Legacy of U.S. Development Leadership (USAID Exit Memo, Gayle Smith, January 2017)

<sup>2</sup> [Exit Memo: Overseas Private Investment Corporation](#) (Elizabeth Littlefield, January 5, 2017)

<sup>3</sup> [Investing in our Shared Future](#): How a Confident and Capable USAID is Building on a Proud Legacy of U.S. Development Leadership (USAID Exit Memo, Gayle Smith, January 2017)

<sup>4</sup> [5000<sup>th</sup> Baby Born at UNFPA-Supported Clinic for Refugees in Jordan](#), March 8, 2016.

<sup>5</sup> [Just the Numbers: The Impact of U.S. International Family Planning Assistance, 2016](#). Guttmacher Institute, May 2016.

<sup>6</sup> World Bank, updated October 2016. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/poverty/overview>

<sup>7</sup> For example, 1,425 evaluations completed by USAID since 2011, and of those completed between 2011 and 2014, 71% were used to support and/or modify a project or activity. [Investing in our Shared Future](#): How a Confident and Capable USAID is Building on a Proud Legacy of U.S. Development Leadership (USAID Exit Memo, Gayle Smith, January 2017).

study found that USAID and the MCC's evaluations far exceeded the quality of those conducted by other foreign assistance agencies.<sup>8</sup>

After all, the role of U.S. assistance is to help communities become self-reliant and self-sustaining, create the conditions where assistance is no longer needed. CARE has long supported this philosophy and we have worked ourselves out of a job in some locations by building the capacity of local organizations and governments to continue programs and address their own needs.

Make no mistake, the challenges the world faces today are immense, and the level of human need in the world is reaching record proportions. Now is the time for the U.S. to lead in the fight against poverty and conflict, not rescind its role or retreat into complacency.

### **A Proposal for a Darker Future**

Despite the dire realities that face millions around the world, threatening global stability and our own national security, the Administration's FY18 budget proposal calls for an end of U.S. leadership abroad through the dismantling of life-saving international development and humanitarian programs. The proposed budget does not support a sustainable future and ignores known threats - brewing conflicts, potential crises, and possible disasters or pandemics. Instead, the Administration's proposal actually adds fuel to current global fires, leaving us with a darker future. CARE, along with a number of other implementing and advocacy organizations, have estimated the impacts of these proposed cuts by account (see addendum). The aggregate human cost of these proposed cuts is staggering.

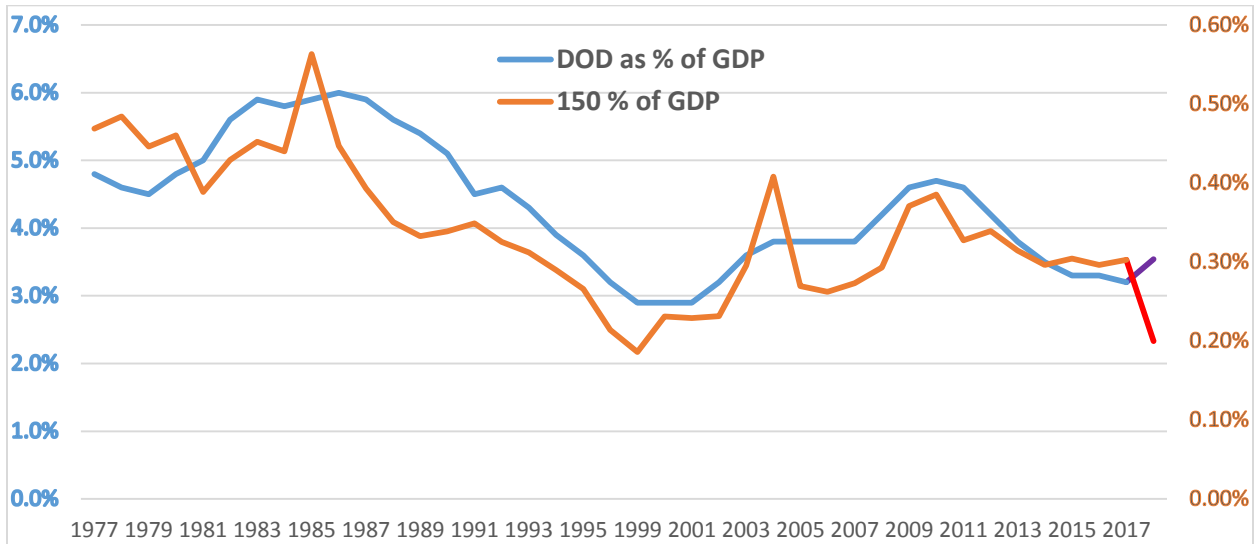
If accepted, the Administration's proposed cuts to this critical one percent of the budget would be historic, making us less safe, not more. This budget marks a dramatic departure in budgeting processes which unifies spending on defense and development. Since 1977, increased funding to the Department of Defense has generally been complemented by increased support for the International Affairs account (figure 1).<sup>9</sup> Past administrations, Republican and Democratic alike, have understood that development and diplomacy are critical parts of our national security strategy. This budget proposal counters our national security goals by threatening our country's ability to safeguard against the desperation and instability often caused by extreme poverty and suffering.

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<sup>8</sup> [Agencies Can Improve the Quality and Dissemination of Program Evaluations](#), GAO-17-316: Published: Mar 3, 2017. Publicly Released: Mar 3, 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Data obtained through the Office of Management and Budget's historic tables.

**Figure 1: Defense and International Affairs (150 Account) Spending (% of GDP)**  
(in 2016 dollars)



The Administration’s FY18 budget proposal includes ending effective development programs in numerous countries, eliminating the Development Assistance (DA) account, and significantly reducing life-saving humanitarian assistance – including ending the leading U.S. international food aid program, Title II Food for Peace, which helps protect and grow food security around the world. The Administration specifically proposes a 43 percent cut to International Disaster Assistance (IDA), which saves lives by providing emergency food, water and sanitation in South Sudan, Yemen, Nigeria, and Somalia, where famine is growing, and to displaced persons and refugees everywhere. In addition, the Administration demands that the IDA account become the sole provider of emergency food assistance, without providing any additional funding to offset those impacted by the elimination of Title II Food for Peace programming or lessen the impacts of remaining IDA funds having to also meet non-food needs.

Ending the Development Assistance account, and merging such activities with reduced funding from the Economic Support Fund (ESF), will result in a dangerous reprioritization away from long-term development in favor of short term political gains. The Administration’s budget proposal seeks to uproot current strategies that are in mid-progress and stop proven programs that have improved economic conditions around the world. For example, across the 19 current Feed the Future focus countries, the Administration’s budget proposal would eliminate all agricultural development activities in 8 countries, and would drastically reduce funding for an additional 9 countries.<sup>10</sup> Abandoning the successful work done in these countries would

<sup>10</sup> Feed the Future countries slated for elimination of agricultural development assistance include: Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, Zambia, Cambodia, and Tajikistan. Feed the Future countries slated for significant



dismantle progress, disregard existing U.S. Government strategies, and jeopardize programs authorized under the recently passed Global Food Security Act (P.L. 114-195).

In addition, the proposed cuts to global health programming would have a severe impact on women around the world – setting back their access to health care, their ability to feed their families, confront and shift the social norms that contribute to gender-based violence, and access opportunities and economic engagement.

### **Implications for Women and Girls**

CARE puts women and girls at the heart of development and humanitarian efforts because our decades-long experience in the field has demonstrated that this investment brings about meaningful, sustainable impact. Similarly, U.S. investments in supporting women and girls bring high returns for economic growth, well-being, and democratic governance, which maximize the benefits gained from the investment of United States' taxpayer dollars. If women were able to participate in the economy equally, it would yield a 26 percent increase in global GDP, or \$28 trillion in 2025.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the world's women have the role of ensuring that families are fed, often through farming and/or food purchase supported by livelihood activities. By supporting women entrepreneurs, small business owners, and farmers to become more self-reliant, we create a cascading effect beyond the women themselves, helping them lift their families and their communities out of poverty. U.S. assistance opens up opportunities for women and girls to access the education, skills, and economic empowerment they need to be catalysts for broader economic growth in their countries. Healthier economies abroad means stronger economic trade partners for Americans, benefiting us all.

Women and girls also comprise the majority of those displaced by conflict and natural disasters and, in this context, they are highly vulnerable to violence, exploitation, and poor health including malnourishment and reproductive health issues such as maternal death. U.S. Government assistance supports women and girls in emergencies, saves lives and, by being gender smart, can ensure efficient use of much-needed humanitarian aid. In order to be productive members of their communities and economies, however, women must be healthy and safe from violence.

U.S. assistance in preventing violence against women – which affects an estimated 35 percent of women worldwide – has a life-changing impact on the women and girls it serves.<sup>12</sup>

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cuts include: Ethiopia (-24%), Ghana (60%), Kenya (-39%), Mali (-9%), Tanzania (-82%), Uganda (-72%), Bangladesh (-34%), Nepal (-37%), and Guatemala (-29%). As presented in the proposed FY18 budget tables for Operating Unit, Account, Objective, and Program Area. [FY 2018 Congressional Budget Justification - Department of State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs](#).

<sup>11</sup>McKinsey & Company. [The Power of Parity: How Advancing Women's Equality can add \\$12 Trillion to Global Growth: Executive Summary](#). September 2015. Page ii.

<sup>12</sup>World Health Organization. [Global and regional estimates of violence against women: prevalence and health effects of intimate partner violence and non-partner sexual violence](#). 2013. Geneva, Switzerland.

The foreign aid the U.S. invests in these efforts, supplemented by diplomatic engagement through our embassies and missions abroad, ensures that creating safer, healthier communities is a shared priority for the U.S. and partner countries.

The Administration's budget proposal cuts funding for programs with a gender component by 55% when comparing Fiscal Year 2016 to the proposed levels for FY18. While these funds at times overlap with other sector funds, making it more challenging to assess the impact, it is possible to extrapolate that potentially millions of girls would not go to school, more girls would be put at risk for child marriage, and – because women and girls are often the last to eat – more girls would go hungry, placing them at increased risk for stunting, health threats, and decreased productivity.

The Administration proposes to eliminate all funding for bilateral international family planning and reproductive health programs. Coupled with the recent decision by the Administration to halt all funding for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), such cuts would have significant impacts on maternal and child health. Access to voluntary family planning services represents the single most effective intervention in preventing maternal and child deaths, and by eliminating these programs, the proposed budget is endangering the lives and health of millions of women, infants, couples, and families around the world. There are currently 230 million women around the world who would like to plan their pregnancies but are unable to do so. By meeting this unmet need for contraceptive services, maternal deaths would be reduced by over 30 percent and we could avert 1.4 million under-5 deaths every year.<sup>13</sup>

The impacts of the decision to halt funding to UNFPA are already being felt. In 2016, UNFPA received \$69 million in funding from the U.S. Government, which supported their work in humanitarian crises, including the Syrian refugee response at the Zataari camp in Jordan. Through the work of UNFPA, more than 7,000 babies have been delivered in this camp without a single maternal death. The loss of this funding is a matter of life or death for families in the camp, with services for nearly 50,000 people at risk due to this funding decision.<sup>14</sup>

By eliminating funding for international family planning and reproductive health programs and stopping all funding the UNFPA, the Administration's budget would result in 15,000 maternal deaths and 8 million more unintended pregnancies.<sup>15</sup> The decision to re-impose and expand the so-called "Mexico City Policy" only magnifies these potential impacts by placing further onerous and unnecessary restrictions on countless local NGOs working to meet the health needs of women, girls, and families. This decision further imperils work to end preventable maternal and child death.

CARE's global work shows that when U.S. policy restricts access to global health services, vulnerable women and children suffer the most. We have the ability to drastically change that reality, and it is in the United States' best interest to do so.

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<sup>13</sup> [Adding it Up: The Costs and Benefits of Investing in Reproductive Health, 2014](#), Guttmacher Institute, December 2014.

<sup>14</sup> [5000<sup>th</sup> Baby Born at UNFPA-Supported Clinic for Refugees in Jordan](#), March 8, 2016.

<sup>15</sup> [Just the Numbers: The Impact of U.S. International Family Planning Assistance, 2017](#). Guttmacher Institute, May 2017

## **A Retreat from Emergencies**

A record 128.6 million people are in need of life-saving humanitarian assistance across the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and even parts of Europe. There are countries such as Afghanistan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo where the prolonged humanitarian response has stretched on for decades, while new conflicts continue to proliferate, such as those in Syria, Yemen, South Sudan and Nigeria. Current famine conditions across Nigeria, Somalia, South Sudan and Yemen mean that up to 1.4 million children are at immediate risk of death without continued engagement by the international community. Yet, the appeals for assistance to citizens in these countries remains grossly underfunded, on average only funded at 35% of the annual appeal.<sup>16</sup> Each day without a humanitarian response at scale increases the likelihood of widespread starvation, destabilization, and mass displacement.

In Yemen, an outbreak of cholera has infected more than 100,000 people. Due to the ongoing conflict, the health system and civil infrastructure, including water and sanitation facilities, have been seriously compromised with 14.5 million people lacking access to safe drinking water or sanitation, and 14.8 million lacking adequate health care.<sup>17</sup> Uganda receives an average of 2,000 refugees each day, with a total of nearly one million refugees from South Sudan alone since 2014.<sup>18</sup> In Nigeria, only 28 percent of the funding needs have been met to date, forcing humanitarian groups to scale back emergency plans – cutting food to 400,000 people in areas affected by Boko Haram.<sup>19</sup>

In the FY2017 omnibus bill, Congress answered the call of this unprecedented need by providing generous funding for humanitarian assistance, continuing the United States' traditional role as a global leader and exemplifying American values, such as compassion and service to those in need. CARE is grateful for Congressional leadership while the world faces these unprecedented humanitarian needs.

Despite the current levels of need, the Administration's proposed budget looks to cut overall humanitarian assistance by 45% at a time when needs are burgeoning.<sup>20</sup> The International Disaster Assistance (IDA) account, which funds USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA), provides lifesaving assistance to tens of millions of desperate people a year whose lives have been torn apart by conflicts and natural disasters. The Administration's FY18 budget proposes a 40% cut to OFDA's non-food humanitarian responses, which include medicine, clean water and sanitation, and shelter, etc.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> OCHA. Financial Tracking Service.

<sup>17</sup> UNICEF. [27 Million People Lack Safe Water in Countries Facing or at Risk of Famine](#). New York, United States. 2017.

<sup>18</sup> UNHCR. [2017 South Sudan Regional Revised Refugee Response Plan](#). Geneva, Switzerland. May 2017.

<sup>19</sup> Copley, Ed. ["Fund Shortage Forces UN to Cut Emergency Food Aid for 400,000 in Nigeria"](#). Reuters. June 2017.

<sup>20</sup> Calculated in comparison to total FY2017 funding. For the purposes of this calculation, overall humanitarian assistance is comprised of the following accounts: International Disaster Assistance, Migration and Refugee Assistance, Emergency Migration and Refugee Assistance, and Title II Food for Peace.

<sup>21</sup> In comparison to FY2016 funding levels.

If enacted, USAID would not have the resources to provide assistance to tens of millions of vulnerable men, women and children in urgent need.<sup>22</sup> In addition, the Administration's proposal to eliminate Title II Food for Peace and only provide \$1.5 billion for the Emergency Food Security Program (EFSP) within the International Disaster Assistance Account would result in an estimated 22.6 million people in crises losing access to lifesaving food assistance.<sup>23</sup>

### **An Alternative Path: Ensuring U.S. Leadership and Saving Lives**

The U.S. currently leads globally by saving lives and by putting people on a path toward self-reliance around the world. This is a role that cannot be taken for granted. Recent gains in and efforts to continue to improve the effectiveness, accountability and transparency of U.S. foreign assistance means that the power to address poverty is within our grasp and that assistance can get to those that need it most.

Critical to this continued leadership is the continued funding and support for the expertise of the U.S. Government and, particularly, USAID. USAID plays a valuable and indispensable role in our own national security, and their specific skills are critical in delivering effective development and humanitarian programs that save lives. The breadth of the State Department's reach in fostering strong relationships and goodwill with partners worldwide through diplomacy and engagement is well-known. This work is complemented by the comprehensive work of the USAID. The Agency's technical expertise in development and program design, as well as its reach into the most remote corners of our globe, make its impact and capabilities for poverty eradication unparalleled by other U.S. agencies.

The partnerships USAID attracts, through bilateral engagement with the private sector, foreign governments, and local organizations and implementers, allows the U.S. to respond both comprehensively and insightfully to the challenges of poverty-reduction. The Administration's budget would decimate this critical hub of expertise and jeopardize the gains the U.S. Government has made in discovering and achieving best practices for development. CARE fully supports efforts to make U.S. foreign assistance more effective and efficient. However, such efforts must be driven by policy and best practices, and not by budget cuts.

U.S. foreign assistance truly serves as a beacon of hope in people's darkest time by providing life-saving relief. By addressing underlying factors and building the capacity of communities, foreign assistance provides those most vulnerable with options that poverty prevents. In times like these, the United States does not retreat – the United States *leads*. CARE calls on the members of this Committee to preserve American leadership in global development and humanitarian assistance and consider the impacts of human costs that the Administration's proposed budget would bring to communities around the world.

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<sup>22</sup> In FY 2016, the IDA appropriation was \$2.8 billion, of which approximately 40% (\$1.12 billion) was provided through Food for Peace for emergency food and 60% (\$1.68 billion) was provided for non-food assistance such as emergency kits, tents, medicine, etc. through OFDA. The FY 2018 request for non-food items is \$1 billion, a \$680 million (40%) reduction from the FY 2016 level.

<sup>23</sup> See addendum.

## ADDENDUM:

### Real World Impacts of Cutting Poverty-Focused and Humanitarian Foreign Assistance

With the release of the FY 2018 Congressional Budget Justification, leading NGOs, including Bread for the World, Catholic Relief Services, CARE USA, the International Rescue Committee, Interaction, Mercy Corps, ONE Campaign, Oxfam, PATH, Save the Children, and World Vision have analyzed the budget request and estimated the impact of the proposed cuts.

The numbers below reflect the estimated impacts of the Administration's proposed budget would have, in terms of human lives, on vulnerable men, women and children around the world.<sup>24</sup> We strongly urge Congress to reject the President's foreign affairs budget request and maintain current funding of \$60 billion for the International Affairs budget.

#### Agricultural Development and Nutrition:

- In fiscal year 2016, over 10.5 million farmers were reached with improved technologies, management practices, and increased market access. A funding cut of 50% could translate to approximately **5.25 million farmers being cut from or losing access to programs** that help them grow their way out of poverty and decrease dependency.<sup>25</sup>
- In fiscal year 2015, 18 million children were reached with nutritional interventions and treatments that reduce stunting. A funding cut of 50% could result in **approximately 9 million children losing access to nutrition interventions and treatments, leaving them vulnerable to stunting with as much as a 22% reduction in their lifetime earning capacity.**<sup>26</sup>
- Countries targeted for complete elimination of agricultural funding include critical strategic focus countries such as Liberia, Cambodia, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, and Zambia. If acted upon, **this cut could result in as many as 3.4 million children across Cambodia, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia alone under the age of 5 not receiving critical nutritional**

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<sup>24</sup> This estimate is divided by account and there is likely some level of beneficiary overlap between some of the accounts depending on geographic location. For example, displaced beneficiaries are likely to receive both food and non-food assistance. However, meeting urgent human needs and delivering sustainable development are integrative processes. As one service is reduced, overall impacts are effected not matter the level of

<sup>25</sup> The impact of reduced agricultural development funding was calculated by using the current level of funding and beneficiaries reach for the identified fiscal year for such activities. From this, the cost per beneficiary (CPB) was determined based on the number of farmers reached within the corresponding fiscal year. This CPB was used to project the impacts of funding cuts.

<sup>26</sup> The impact of reduced nutritional funding was calculated by using the most recently available data for the number of children reached and then determining the corresponding reduction based on percentage cuts cited above. Data in the impacts of stunting on lifetime earning potential: Lake, *Investing in Nutrition Security Is Key to Sustainable Development*; and Branca and Ferrari, *Impact of Micronutrient Deficiencies on Growth*.

## assistance<sup>27</sup>

- In Cambodia, the prevalence of stunting among young children dropped by more than 23% in Feed the Future target regions from 44% in 2011 to 33.7% in 2014.<sup>28</sup>
- In Malawi, the prevalence of stunting has declined by 14%, from 49.2% in 2010 to 42.3% in 2015.<sup>29</sup>

## Emergency International Food Assistance Programs:

- In fiscal year 2016, approximately 56.5 million people were reached with emergency food aid through the Emergency Food Security Program (EFSP) and through emergency Title II/Food for Peace programming. **Under the Administration's proposal to eliminate Title II Food Aid and only provide \$1.5 billion for the EFSP, 22.6 million people in crises could lose access to lifesaving food assistance.**<sup>30</sup>

## Title II/Food for Peace Non-Emergency Programs:

- In 2015, Food for Peace non-emergency programs helped nearly 8 million food-insecure people improve their ability to feed their families, grow more nutritious food and improve their and their communities' resilience. Non-emergency programs are critical components of the US government's toolkit to fight hunger and end the vicious cycle of hunger and humanitarian crises. **The FY 2018 request would end food security programming, which presently helps almost 8 million people become food secure and halt smart investments in building communities' self-sufficiency, likely resulting in greater humanitarian needs in the future.**<sup>31</sup>

## McGovern-Dole School Feeding Program:

- In 2015, the McGovern-Dole program benefited an estimated 2.9 million children in nine countries through school feeding in improve literacy rates and nutrition for primary school children, mothers, infants, and preschool children. Funding for the McGovern-Dole School Feeding Program is eliminated in the FY18 request, which would **result in 2.9 million children being cut off from nutrition, education, and hygiene programs.**<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> The impact is based upon FY2015 Feed the Future results.

<sup>28</sup> <https://feedthefuture.gov/country/cambodia>

<sup>29</sup> <https://feedthefuture.gov/country/malawi>

<sup>30</sup> The overall impacts of reduce funding to emergency food aid (as comprised by Title II Emergency programs and the Emergency Food Security Program) is the sum of the estimated impacts for the contributing accounts as calculated below.

<sup>31</sup> The impacts of reduced funding for emergency title II food aid was calculated using the most recently available beneficiary data from USAID for FY2016 and the data presented at the December 2016 Food Aid Consultative Group (FACG) meeting, convened by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Funding levels for Title II non-emergency programs were determined by excluding the complimentary transfer of funding from the Community Development Fund, with this total then subtracted from overall Title II levels in order to isolate Title II emergency funding. This funding and beneficiary data was then used to calculate the average cost per beneficiary for the basis of these impact calculations. For non-emergency Title II, beneficiary reach numbers were pulled from the *Fiscal Year 2015 U.S. International Food Assistance Report* (available at: [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PA00MHDH.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00MHDH.pdf))

<sup>32</sup> Beneficiary reach numbers were pulled from the *Fiscal Year 2015 U.S. International Food Assistance Report* (available at: [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PA00MHDH.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00MHDH.pdf))

### Water and Sanitation:

- The proposed cut of 45.6% to US assistance to water and sanitation programs could result in approximately **2.2 million people not gaining access to safe** and sustainable water sources, and/or sanitation services that prevent the spread of disease.<sup>33</sup>
- In 2015, over two thousand communities were certified as open defecation free, and a 45.6% cut to water and sanitation programs **could result in over 900 communities not receiving this certification which could stymie disease prevention in those communities.**<sup>34</sup>

### Education:

- Developing countries look to the United States for support and guidance to achieve economic prosperity, social stability and political freedom through education. Since the implementation of USAID's Education Strategy (2011-2015), Congress has allocated an average of \$822 million a year, enabling USAID to reach approximately 41.6 million learners in over 45 countries, train 450,000 teachers annually, distribute 146 million textbooks, and repair 11,000 classrooms.<sup>35</sup> A single USAID-sponsored program in Egypt increased students' oral reading fluency by 82% and benefitted 4.2 million children in grades 1-3.<sup>36</sup> In Kenya, a similar program more than tripled the percentage of students able to read with fluency in English (from 12% to 47%).<sup>37</sup> President Trump's FY18 budget request calling for a 53% cut to basic education programming would jeopardize decades of progress, development and monies invested by the United States.
- The Administration's request proposes reducing funding for basic education by 53%, **including the complete elimination of funding for the following countries for basic education: Djibouti, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, Zambia, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Peru, Barbados and Eastern Caribbean.**<sup>38</sup>

### International Disaster Assistance:

- The International Disaster Assistance (IDA) account, which funds USAID's Office of Foreign

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<sup>33</sup> The impact of reduced funding for WASH programming was calculated by dividing current appropriations (FY 2016/FY 2017 CR) and dividing by the cost per beneficiary of \$100. The estimate of \$100 average per capita cost for water and sanitation is based on field data collected from WASH Cost-IRC International Water and Sanitation Centre, WASH Advocates, Millennium Water Alliance, CARE, WaterAid America, Water.org, Wine to Water, Water For People, World Vision, Plan USA, Catholic Relief Services, USAID, The World Bank, The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, and other organizations, reflecting major variations in geography, hydrology, climate, and accessibility that affect program design and delivery in target populations.

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<sup>35</sup> Data pulled from USAID's website (<https://www.usaid.gov/education>) and USAID's 2011-2015 Progress Report, accessible here: [https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1865/2011-2015\\_ProgressReport\\_r13\\_Final\\_WEB.pdf](https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1865/2011-2015_ProgressReport_r13_Final_WEB.pdf).

<sup>36</sup> RTI International. *Girls' Improved Learning Outcomes: Final report*. Cairo, Egypt: USAID and RTI international, 2014. Accessed June 12, 2017. [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PA00JTBC.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00JTBC.pdf)

<sup>37</sup> Bulat, Jennae. *Why Education? Why Early Grade Reading?* Chapel Hill, NC: RTI International and USAID. 2015. Accessed June 12, 2017. <http://www.rti.org/sites/default/files/brochures/egraresultsflyer.pdf>

<sup>38</sup> The FY 2018 Congressional Budget Justification severely cuts or eliminates funding for Development Assistance or ESF in these countries which eliminates the source of funding for implementing basic education programming.

Disaster Assistance (OFDA), provides lifesaving assistance to tens of millions of desperate people a year whose lives have been torn apart by conflicts and natural disasters. Cuts to the US humanitarian assistance accounts are extremely irresponsible at a time when we have the highest number of displaced people since World War II. Over 65 million people - or roughly a population the size of France - have had to flee their homes. With famine declared in South Sudan, and Somalia, Yemen and Nigeria on the brink of famine, 20 million people are currently at risk of dying due to starvation in the next six months in these four countries. Yet, the FY 2018 request only includes \$1 billion for OFDA's non-food humanitarian responses (medicine, clean water and sanitation, and shelter, etc), which is 40% below FY 2016 levels. If these levels were enacted, USAID would not have the resources to provide assistance **to tens of millions of vulnerable men, women and children**, as compared to FY 2016.<sup>39</sup>

- IDA provides both food and non-food humanitarian responses, and the FY 2018 requested budget proposes cutting the whole account by 44% below FY 2017 levels. If this cut was enacted across countries in crisis, the impact would be devastating. USAID could lose the resources needed to reach the number of people they are targeting by 44%, which could result in estimated impacts of:<sup>40</sup>
  - **945,000** fewer **South Sudanese** reached with humanitarian assistance;
  - **3,285,000** fewer **Yemenis** reached with humanitarian assistance;
  - **1,800,000** fewer **Syrians** reached with humanitarian assistance;
  - **642,000** fewer **Nigerians** reached with humanitarian assistance; and
  - **1,276,000** fewer **Somalis** reached with humanitarian assistance.

#### **Migration and Refugee Assistance:**

- The Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA) account, provided through the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugee and Migration (PRM), provides lifesaving assistance to refugees who have fled their homes, in most cases because of violent conflicts like the civil war in Syria. **The proposed cut of 18% to the MRA could result in over 3.5 million refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) not receiving assistance globally, including about 1 million in the Middle East and 1.1 million in Africa.** Cutting off assistance to immediate life-saving health care, water/sanitation services, shelter assistance, gender-based violence treatment and psychosocial support at a time of multiple famines and raging conflict around the world would likely lead to increased levels of refugees and IDPs and greater instability globally.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> In FY 2016, the IDA appropriation was \$2.8 billion, of which approximately 40% (\$1.12 billion) was provided through Food For Peace for emergency food and 60% (\$1.68 billion) was provided for non-food assistance such as emergency kits, tents, medicine etc through OFDA. The FY 2018 request for non-food items is \$1 billion, a \$680 million (40%) reduction from the FY 2016 level.

<sup>40</sup> Cuts were determined by dividing the current number of targeted beneficiaries by 44%, the proposed cut by the President to the IDA account. USAID targeted number of beneficiaries are found here: [http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Four\\_Famine\\_Two\\_Page\\_Infographic\\_5242017.pdf](http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Four_Famine_Two_Page_Infographic_5242017.pdf) and <https://www.usaid.gov/crisis/syria/fy17/fs05>. It is important to note that the cost of responding to humanitarian crises varies extensively across countries and can change dramatically year to year depending on the type and length of crises OFDA responds to and that these are estimated cuts.

<sup>41</sup> In [UNHCR's 2016 Global Focus Report](#), it is estimated that UNHCR assisted almost 50 million refugees and IDPs globally, including 14 million in the Middle East and almost 16.5 million in Africa. As the U.S. contribution to UNHCR's FY16 budget was 39.8%, it is estimated that U.S. assistance contributed to supporting about 19 million refugees and IDPs globally, including 5.6 million in the Middle East and 6.6 million in Africa. An 18% cut to these levels would result in reduced assistance to about 3.5 million refugees and IDPs globally, including 1 million in the Middle East and 1.1 million in Africa. The actual number of refugees and IDPs that would not receive services if PRM's budget were cut by 18% would likely be **higher** given that MRA funding is also



### The Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria:

- The Administration's budget request decreases funding to the Global Fund by 17%. The Global Fund calculates that this cut could translate to:<sup>42</sup>
  - **299,250** fewer lives saved through Global Fund-supported programs;
  - Loss of potential to prevent **4.28 million** new HIV, tuberculosis (TB) and malaria infections;
  - **240,750 fewer people** put on antiretroviral therapy;
  - **69,750** fewer women on treatment to prevent passing HIV to their babies;
  - **344,250** fewer people on TB treatment and care;
  - **9,675** fewer people on treatment for multidrug-resistant TB;
  - Nearly **14 million** fewer mosquito nets distributed to protect children and families from malaria;
  - **2.7 million** fewer households receiving indoor residual spraying to protect children and families from malaria; and,
  - A lost opportunity to spur \$4.95 billion in long-term economic gains.

### President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief:

- Using amFAR calculations, an 11% cut to the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, the bilateral HIV/AIDS program, **could mean that more than 491,000 people experience interruptions to treatment; could mean more than 152,000 children are orphaned; and could result in more than 77,000 AIDS-related deaths.**<sup>43</sup>

### Global Health Programs - Malaria:

- In 2016, more than 30 million bed nets were distributed to prevent the transmission of malaria. With a 10% cut to funding for the President's Malaria Initiative, **over 20 million bed nets could not be distributed in the future. Two people typically sleep under a net, meaning an additional 40.5 million people could be at risk because of this cut**, drastically undermining more than 15 years of investment, work, and progress to reducing the threat of malaria globally.<sup>44</sup>

### Global Health Security:

- The U.S. Army estimates that if a severe infectious disease pandemic were to occur today, the number of U.S. fatalities could be almost twice as great as the total number of battlefield fatalities—over 1 million as of September 2016—from all of America's wars since the American Revolution in 1776.<sup>45</sup> Preventing these pandemics is therefore in the U.S.' best interest, yet the Administration proposed cutting \$72.5 million in base funding for global health security programming within USAID, instead replacing it with \$72.5 million in unspent Ebola funds. The

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provided directly to ICRC, IOM and individual NGOs to carry out work in the same region, in addition to the UNHCR contribution.

<sup>42</sup> These numbers estimate the impacts of a \$225 million dollar cut to Global Fund programs, as identified by the Friends of the Global Fight. [http://www.theglobalfight.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/TheGlobalfight\\_Infographic3\\_052317\\_cuts.pdf](http://www.theglobalfight.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/TheGlobalfight_Infographic3_052317_cuts.pdf)

<sup>43</sup> Estimated using data and modeling compiled by amFAR:

[http://www.amfar.org/uploadedFiles/amfarorg/Articles/On\\_The\\_Hill/2017/amfar\\_infographic14\\_042617.pdf](http://www.amfar.org/uploadedFiles/amfarorg/Articles/On_The_Hill/2017/amfar_infographic14_042617.pdf)

<sup>44</sup> The fully-loaded cost of a bed net is approximately \$4. A cut of \$81 million (or 10%) to the Presidential Malaria Initiative could result in over 20 million less bed nets the USG could purchase and distribute. Further information found here:

<https://www.pmi.gov/docs/default-source/default-document-library/pmi-reports/2017-pmi-eleventh-annual-report.pdf>

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.gao.gov/assets/690/682707.pdf>

proposal also did not include \$70 million Congress provided in FY17 for an Emergency Reserve Fund, and although not in the 150 International Affairs Budget, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's base health security funding was cut by 14%. Taken together, these changes will ultimately make Americans less safe and secure, increasing the likelihood that a pandemic will spread silently and globally before it can be detected and stopped.

**Gender Programs:**

- Funding for programs with a gender component was cut by 55% from 2016 to 2018. While these funds at times overlap with other sector funds, making it more challenging to assess the impact, it is possible **these cuts could mean that 1.78 million fewer girls would receive an education, or that 1.25 million fewer women would receive anti-corruption training, or 710 thousand fewer women would receive social assistance support.**<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Estimated by applying 55% cuts to gender disaggregated results data. ForeignAssistance.gov. Special Data Sets Performance and Results 2015 Actual Results. <http://beta.foreignassistance.gov/>.

## Real World Impacts of Cutting Poverty-Focused and Humanitarian Foreign Assistance

With the release of the FY 2018 Congressional Budget Justification, leading NGOs, including Bread for the World, Catholic Relief Services, CARE USA, the International Rescue Committee, Interaction, Mercy Corps, ONE Campaign, Oxfam, PATH, Save the Children, and World Vision have analyzed the budget request and estimated the impact of the proposed cuts.

The numbers below reflect the estimated impacts of the Administration's proposed budget would have, in terms of human lives, on vulnerable men, women and children around the world.<sup>1</sup> We strongly urge Congress to reject the President's foreign affairs budget request and maintain current funding of \$60 billion for the International Affairs budget.

### Agricultural Development and Nutrition:

- In fiscal year 2016, over 10.5 million farmers were reached with improved technologies, management practices, and increased market access. A funding cut of 50% could translate to approximately **5.25 million farmers being cut from or losing access to programs** that help them grow their way out of poverty and decrease dependency.<sup>2</sup>
- In fiscal year 2015, 18 million children were reached with nutritional interventions and treatments that reduce stunting. A funding cut of 50% could result in **approximately 9 million children losing access to nutrition interventions and treatments, leaving them vulnerable to stunting with as much as a 22% reduction in their lifetime earning capacity.**<sup>3</sup>
- Countries targeted for complete elimination of agricultural funding include critical strategic focus countries such as Liberia, Cambodia, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, and Zambia. If acted upon, **this cut could result in as many as 3.4 million children across Cambodia, Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia alone under the age of 5 not receiving critical nutritional assistance**<sup>4</sup>
  - In Cambodia, the prevalence of stunting among young children dropped by more than 23% in Feed the Future target regions from 44% in 2011 to 33.7% in 2014.<sup>5</sup>
  - In Malawi, the prevalence of stunting has declined by 14%, from 49.2% in 2010 to 42.3% in 2015.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This estimate is divided by account and there is likely some level of beneficiary overlap between some of the accounts depending on geographic location. For example, displaced beneficiaries are likely to receive both food and non-food assistance. However, meeting urgent human needs and delivering sustainable development are integrative processes. As one service is reduced, overall impacts are effected not matter the level of

<sup>2</sup> The impact of reduced agricultural development funding was calculated by using the current level of funding and beneficiaries reach for the identified fiscal year for such activities. From this, the cost per beneficiary (CPB) was determined based on the number of farmers reached within the corresponding fiscal year. This CPB was used to project the impacts of funding cuts.

<sup>3</sup> The impact of reduced nutritional funding was calculated by using the most recently available data for the number of children reached and then determining the corresponding reduction based on percentage cuts cited above. Data in the impacts of stunting on lifetime earning potential: Lake, *Investing in Nutrition Security Is Key to Sustainable Development*; and Branca and Ferrari, *Impact of Micronutrient Deficiencies on Growth*.

<sup>4</sup> The impact is based upon FY2015 Feed the Future results.

<sup>5</sup> <https://feedthefuture.gov/country/cambodia>

<sup>6</sup> <https://feedthefuture.gov/country/malawi>

### Emergency International Food Assistance Programs:

- In fiscal year 2016, approximately 56.5 million people were reached with emergency food aid through the Emergency Food Security Program (EFSP) and through emergency Title II/Food for Peace programming. **Under the Administration's proposal to eliminate Title II Food Aid and only provide \$1.5 billion for the EFSP, 22.6 million people in crises could lose access to lifesaving food assistance.**<sup>7</sup>

### Title II/Food for Peace Non-Emergency Programs:

- In 2015, Food for Peace non-emergency programs helped nearly 8 million food-insecure people improve their ability to feed their families, grow more nutritious food and improve their and their communities' resilience. Non-emergency programs are critical components of the US government's toolkit to fight hunger and end the vicious cycle of hunger and humanitarian crises. **The FY 2018 request would end food security programming, which presently helps almost 8 million people become food secure and halt smart investments in building communities' self-sufficiency, likely resulting in greater humanitarian needs in the future.**<sup>8</sup>

### McGovern-Dole School Feeding Program:

- In 2015, the McGovern-Dole program benefited an estimated 2.9 million children in nine countries through school feeding in improve literacy rates and nutrition for primary school children, mothers, infants, and preschool children. Funding for the McGovern-Dole School Feeding Program is eliminated in the FY18 request, which would **result in 2.9 million children being cut off from nutrition, education, and hygiene programs.**<sup>9</sup>

### Water and Sanitation:

- The proposed cut of 45.6% to US assistance to water and sanitation programs could result in approximately **2.2 million people not gaining access to safe and sustainable water sources, and/or sanitation services that prevent the spread of disease.**<sup>10</sup>
- In 2015, over two thousand communities were certified as open defecation free, and a 45.6% cut to water and sanitation programs **could result in over 900 communities not receiving this certification which**

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<sup>7</sup> The overall impacts of reduce funding to emergency food aid (as comprised by Title II Emergency programs and the Emergency Food Security Program) is the sum of the estimated impacts for the contributing accounts as calculated below.

<sup>8</sup> The impacts of reduced funding for emergency title II food aid was calculated using the most recently available beneficiary data from USAID for FY2016 and the data presented at the December 2016 Food Aid Consultative Group (FACG) meeting, convened by the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Agency for International Development. Funding levels for Title II non-emergency programs were determined by excluding the complimentary transfer of funding from the Community Development Fund, with this total then subtracted from overall Title II levels in order to isolate Title II emergency funding. This funding and beneficiary data was then used to calculate the average cost per beneficiary for the basis of these impact calculations. For non-emergency Title II, beneficiary reach numbers were pulled from the *Fiscal Year 2015 U.S. International Food Assistance Report* (available at: [http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf\\_docs/PA00MHDH.pdf](http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PA00MHDH.pdf))

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#### Education:

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- The Administration's request proposes reducing funding for basic education by 53%, **including the complete elimination of funding for the following countries for basic education: Djibouti, Liberia, Malawi, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, Zambia, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Ukraine, Tajikistan, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Peru, Barbados and Eastern Caribbean.**<sup>15</sup>

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