

- Arnett, S. (2014). State Fiscal Condition: Ranking the 50 States. *Mercatus Center*, (14). <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3211617>
- Auwal, A. R., Ishak, A. S., Saidu Musa, S., Musa, A., Saadu, A., & Riaz, A. (2025). The Global Implications of U.S. Withdrawal from WHO and The USAID Shutdown: Challenges and Strategic Policy Considerations. *Frontiers in Public Health*, 13. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2025.1589010>
- Baley, R. (2023). *Evaluating The Effectiveness and Efficiency of U.S. Foreign Aid* [Southeastern University]. <https://firescholars.seu.edu/honors/183>
- Bhungalia, L. (2016). On USAID, Soft Power, and American Globalism. *Dialogues in Human Geography*, 6(1), 88–90.
- Bora, S. I. (2023). ‘A Sovereign Europe’? Strategic Use of Discourse at the Service of French Economic Interests in EU Politics (2017–2022). *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 61(5), 1281–1297. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13463>
- Borg, S. (2024). “A Battle for the Soul of This Nation”: How Domestic Polarization Affects US Foreign Policy in Post-Trump America. *International Journal*, 79(1), 22–39. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00207020241232986>
- Boussichas, M., Cabrillac, B., & Pugnet, C. (2025). *How the Closure of USAID Will Affect the Allocation of Global Official Development Assistance*.
- Boutton, A., & Carter, D. B. (2014). Fair-Weather Allies? Terrorism and the Allocation of US Foreign Aid. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 58(7), 1144–1173. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002713492649>
- Brands, H. W. (2024). *America First: Roosevelt vs Lindbergh in the Shadow of War*. Doubleday.
- Bruce, T. (2025, March 28). *Department Press Briefing – March 28, 2025*. <https://www.state.gov/briefings/department-press-briefing-march-28-2025/#post-621962-USAID>
- Bureau of Economic Analysis. (2025). *Personal Income and Outlays, September 2025*. <https://www.bea.gov/news/2025/personal-income-and-outlays-september-2025>
- Cheng, C. (2019). The Logic Behind China’s Foreign Aid Agency. *Carnegie-Tsinghua Center for Global Policy*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/research/2019/05/the-logic-behind-chinas-foreign-aid-agency?lang=en>
- Churchwell, S. (2018). *Behold, America: A History of America First and American Dream*. Bloomsbury Publishing.



Clapp, J. (2013a). Fighting Hunger: The Cold War and US Foreign Aid. *Perspectives on Politics*, 11(2), 529–531. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43280811>

Clapp, J. (2013b). Fighting Hunger: The Cold War and US Foreign Aid. *Source: Perspectives on Politics*, 11(2), 529–531. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43280811>

Cole, D. (2025). Trump Challenges Congress' Power with Plan to Shutter USAID, Legal Experts Say. *CNN*. <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/02/03/politics/usaidthrump-congress-legal>

Congressional Budget Office. (2025). *The Budget and Economic Outlook: 2025 to 2035*. <https://www.cbo.gov/publication/60870>

Congressional Research Service. (2025a). *Membership of the 119th Congress: A Profile*. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/R48535>

Congressional Research Service. (2025b). *USAID Under the Trump Administration*. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/IN12500>

DeGette, D., Pallone, F., & Clarke, Y. (2025). *Letter to HHS on Federal Funding Freeze and Compliance with Court Orders*. <https://degette.house.gov/sites/evo-subsites/degette.house.gov/files/evo-media-document/letter-to-hhs-on-federal-funding-freeze-and-compliance-with-court-orders-02.05.2025.pdf>

Department of Treasury. (2025). *Financial Report of the United States Government*. <https://www.fiscal.treasury.gov/reports-statements/financial-report/current-report.html>

Dueck, C. (2009). Neoclassical Realism and the National Interest: Presidents, Domestic Politics, and Major Military Interventions. In S. E. Lobel, Norrin. M. Ripsman, & J. W. Taliaferro (Eds.), *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy* (5). <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511811869>

Egungbemi, O. J. (2025). Rethinking Global Responsibility: Moving Beyond U.S. Dominance in Humanitarian Aid to Collective International Engagement. *Open Journal of Political Science*, 15(04), 826–845. <https://doi.org/10.4236/ojps.2025.154046>

Elman, C., & Jensen, M. A. (2014). *Realism Reader*. Routledge.

Emergency Border Control Resolution (2025). <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-concurrent-resolution/10/text>

Epstein, K. (2025, February 4). *Turmoil as Trump and Musk Take Aim at Top US Aid Agency*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cdjdmx12j9no>

Essex, J. (2013). *Development, Security, and Aid: Geopolitics and Geoeconomics at The U.S. Agency for International Development* (Vol. 2).

Faraponov, V. (2023). Lessons from the Marshall Plan for Ukraine's Post-War Recovery. *Bunyck*, 5(71), 115–120. [https://doi.org/10.32689/2523-4625-2023-5\(71\)-15](https://doi.org/10.32689/2523-4625-2023-5(71)-15)



Federal Reserve. (2025, December 10). *Federal Reserve issues FOMC statement.*

<https://www.federalreserve.gov/newsevents/pressreleases/monetary20251210a.htm>

Foreign Assistance Act (1961). <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/COMPS-1071/pdf/COMPS-1071.pdf>

Foster, J. B. (2025). The MAGA Ideology and the Trump Regime. In *Monthly Review* (Vol. 77, Number 1, pp. 1–24). Monthly Review Press. https://doi.org/10.14452/MR-077-01-2025-05_1

Fraser, S. (2025, March 20). *Consequences and Implications for the International Development Assistance Sector from the Closure of USAID.* Global Policy Journal. <https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/20/03/2025/consequences-and-implications-international-development-assistance-sector-closure>

Garret, L. (2025, February 5). Protesters Rally Against Trump’s Stop-Work Order for USAID. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2025/02/05/g-s1-46669/usaids-trump-stop-work-protest-rally>

Grimm, S., Lemay-Hébert, N., & Nay, O. (2014). “Fragile States”: Introducing A Political Concept. *Third World Quarterly*, 35(2), 197–209. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24522043>

Heltzel, G., & Laurin, K. (2020). Polarization in America: Two Possible Futures. *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, 34, 179–184. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cobeha.2020.03.008>

H.R.1029 (2025). <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/1029/all-info>

H.R.1196 (2025). <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/1196/text>

H.Res.353 (2025). <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-resolution/353/text>

Ilyas, M. D. (2024). America’s Role in a Changing World: European Concerns over Trump’s Re-Election. *Open Journal of Social Sciences*, 12(10), 511–536. <https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2024.1210034>

Ipsos. (2025). *Poll on Executive Orders.* https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2025-02/Ipsos%20poll%20on%20Executive%20Orders%20Topline%20February%202025_0.pdf

Jeong, G. H., & Quirk, P. J. (2019). Division at the Water’s Edge: The Polarization of Foreign Policy. *American Politics Research*, 47(1), 58–87. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1532673X17719721>

Kasper, J. (2021). *Forgetting How to Win: the U.S. Army, U.S. Department of State, and U.S. Agency for International Development in Post-Combat Operations (1983-2008)* [Dissertation]. University of Texas.

- Kavanagh, M. M., & Abinader, L. G. (2025). Abolishing USAID Is Both Unconstitutional and Disastrous. In *Foreign Policy*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2025/02/04/usaids-state-department-health-disease-united-states-trump-musk/>
- Kevlihan, R., Derouen, K., & Biglaiser, G. (2014). Is US Humanitarian Aid Based Primarily on Need or Self-Interest? *International Studies Quarterly*, 58(4), 839–854. <https://doi.org/10.1111/isqu.12121>
- KFF. (2025). *Health Tracking Poll February 2025: The Public's Views on Global Health and USAID*. <https://www.kff.org/global-health-policy/kff-health-tracking-poll-february-2025-the-publics-views-on-global-health-and-usaid/>
- Kuzmarov, J. (2012). *Modernizing Repression*.
- Lange, T. (2025). The Mexico City Policy in US Development Policy and Its Backlash-Frontlash-Logic. *Public Administration and Development*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.70003>
- Lee, J. (2022). Foreign Aid, Development, and US Strategic Interests in the Cold War. *International Studies Quarterly*, 66(1). <https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqab090>
- Löffmann, G. (2019). America First and the Populist Impact on US Foreign Policy. *Survival*, 61(6), 115–138. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00396338.2019.1688573>
- Luscombe, B. (2025, February 1). Inside the Chaos, Confusion, and Heartbreak of Trump's Foreign-Aid Freeze. *Time*. <https://time.com/7211200/usaids-foreign-aid-freeze-trump-rubio/>
- Macdonald, D. (2025). Trust in government and American Public Opinion toward Foreign Aid. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 13(2), 245–263. <https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2024.70>
- Macdonald, P. K. (2018). America First? Explaining Continuity and Change in Trump's Foreign Policy. *Source: Political Science Quarterly*, 133(3), 401–434. <https://doi.org/10.1002/polq.12804>
- Mateo, L. R. (2024). America First: Foreign Aid in the Trump Administration. *Contexto Internacional*, 46(1). <https://doi.org/10.1590/s0102-8529.20244601e20220038>
- Mbah, R. E., Hardgrave, C. M., Mbah, D. E., Nutt, A., & Russell, J. G. (2025). The Impact of USAID Budget Cuts on Global Development Initiatives: A Review of Challenges, Responses, and Implications. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 12(04), 219–232. <https://doi.org/10.14738/assrj.1204.18681>
- McCabe, E. M. (2025). *U.S. Agency for International Development: An Overview*. https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/IF10261?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- McCormick, J. M. . (2010). *American Foreign Policy and Process* (5th ed.). Wadsworth Cengage Learning.



McLaughlin, J., Bond, S., & Tanis, F. (2025). "Thank you for your service": Trump administration puts USAID staff on leave. <https://www.vpm.org/npr-news/npr-news/2025-02-04/thank-you-for-your-service-trump-administration-puts-usaid-staff-on-leave>

Meeks, G. (2025). *Meeks Urges Secretary Rubio to Halt USAID Dismantlement, Demands Congressional Consultation in Line with U.S. Law*. https://democrats-foreignaffairs.house.gov/_cache/files/e/2/e2f3c9ce-23f2-4757-8bdb-b6a46b20213a/8BD9154641F8F5CDA27E7A031D62C1780B29C437347AD05FAC021C7A77289CCF.20250211meeksrubio.pdf

Miller, A., & Ruffner, T. (2018). *President Trump's Second Foreign Affairs Budget: Democracy, Governance, and Human Rights in the Middle East and North Africa in FY19*. <http://pomed.org/fy19-budget-report/>

Morefield, H. (2019). "More with less": Commerce, technology, and international health at USAID, 1961-1981. In *Diplomatic History* (Vol. 43, Number 4, pp. 618–643). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/dh/dhz024>

Morgensterns, E., & Brown, N. (2022). *Foreign Assistance: An Introduction to U.S. Programs and Policy*. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/R40213>

Morrison, W. M. (2019). *China's Economic Rise: History, Trends, Challenges, and Implications for the United States*. <https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/RL33534>

Moynihan, D., & Zupke, R. (2025). The Death of USAID: How Elon Musk and Donald Trump Ended America's Foreign Aid Agency. *Public Administration and Development*. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.70011>

Natsios, A. (2025). Don't Gut USAID: Trump Should Refashion the Foreign Aid Agency, Not Dismantle It. *Foreign Affairs*. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/united-states/andrew-natsios-usaid-trump-foreign-aid?check_logged_in=1&utm_medium=promo_email&utm_source=lo_flows&utm_campaign=article_link&utm_term=article_email&utm_content=20260125

Natsios, A. S. (2020). Foreign Aid in an Era of Great Power Competition. *PRISM*, 8(4), 100–119. <https://doi.org/10.2307/26918237>

Office of Inspector General. (2025a). *Evaluation of the Department of State's Approach to Realigning U.S. Agency for International Development Functions*. <https://www.stateoig.gov/report/aud-geer-25-20>

Office of Inspector General. (2025b). *Semi-annual Report to Congress: October 1, 2024-March 31, 2025*.

Office of Management and Budget. (2025a). *Annual Improper Payments Datasets*. <https://www.paymentaccuracy.gov/payment-accuracy-the-numbers/>

Office of Management and Budget. (2025b). *Federal at The End of Year: 1940-2025*.

<https://www.congress.gov/event/119th-congress/house-event/LC73762/text>

Office of Management and Budget. (2025c). *OMB Memorandum on Temporary Pause of Agency Grant, Loan, and Other Financial Assistance Programs*.

<https://www.nafsa.org/regulatory-information/omb-memorandum-temporary-pause-agency-grant-loan-and-other-financial>

Office of Management and Budget. (2025d). *Temporary Pause of Agency Grant, Loan, and Other Financial Assistance Program* (Numbers M-25-13).

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/03/M-25-13-Temporary-Pause-to-Review-Agency-Grant-Loan-and-Other-Financial-Assistance-Programs.pdf>

Office of the Spokesperson. (2025, February 3). *Secretary Marco Rubio Appointed as Acting Administrator for the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)*.

<https://www.state.gov/secretary-marco-rubio-appointed-as-acting-administrator-for-the-united-states-agency-for-international-development-usaid/>

Overview of Spending Clause, Pub. L. ArtI.S8.C1.2.1 (2025).

https://constitution.congress.gov/browse/essay/artI-S8-C1-2-1/ALDE_00013356/

Pamuk, H. (2025, March 6). Hundreds of US Diplomats Join Letter to Rubio to Protest

Dismantling of USAID. *Reuters*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/us-diplomats-dissent-cable-rubio-protest-usaid-dismantling-cut-foreign-aid-2025-03-05/>

Pew Research Center. (2024a). *In Tied Presidential Race, Harris and Trump Have Contrasting Strengths, Weaknesses*.

https://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/20/2024/09/PP_2024.9.9_harris-trump_REPORT.pdf

Pew Research Center. (2024b). *Views of The Nation's Economy*.

https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2024/01/25/views-of-the-nations-economy/?utm_source=chatgpt.com

Pew Research Center. (2025a). *Americans Give Early Trump Foreign Policy Actions Mixed or Negative Reviews*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2025/04/08/americans-give-early-trump-foreign-policy-actions-mixed-or-negative-reviews/>

Pew Research Center. (2025b). *Economic Ratings and Concerns*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2025/04/23/economic-ratings-and-concerns-2025/>

Pew Research Center. (2025c). *Most Americans say Republican and Democratic Voters Cannot Agree on Basic Facts*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2025/07/30/most-americans-say-republican-and-democratic-voters-cannot-agree-on-basic-facts/>

Politico. (2025). *Protesters tee off against Trump and Musk in "Hands Off!" rallies across the*

U.S. <https://www.politico.com/news/2025/04/05/hands-off-protests-trump-us-00274352>

- Primorac, M., & Roberts, J. M. (2022). *Congress Must Stop Biden's Misuse of U.S. Foreign Aid to Impose His Radical Social Agenda on the World*. <https://www.heritage.org/global-politics/report/congress-must-stop-bidens-misuse-us-foreign-aid-impose-his-radical-social>
- Reevaluating and Realigning United States Foreign Aid (2025). <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/01/30/2025-02091/reevaluating-and-realigning-united-states-foreign-aid>
- Regilme, S. S. F., & Hodzi, O. (2021). Comparing US and Chinese Foreign Aid in the Era of Rising Powers. *International Spectator*, 56(2), 114–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03932729.2020.1855904>
- Regional China Officer Authorization Act (2025). <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/5329/text>
- Rescissions Act of 2025, 119 (2025). https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/house-bill/4?utm_source=chatgpt.com
- Reuters. (2025, February 2). *Website for USAID Appears to be Offline*. <https://www.reuters.com/world/us/website-usaid-appears-be-offline-2025-02-01/>
- Roberts, J. M., & Primorac, M. (2021). *USAID 2017-2021: The Journey to Self-Reliance*. <http://report.heritage.org/sr249>
- Roy, C. (2025). *Rep. Roy, Greene introduce legislation to permanently abolish USAID*. <https://roy.house.gov/media/press-releases/rep-roy-greene-introduce-legislation-permanently-abolish-usaid>
- Runde, D. F. (2020). US Foreign Assistance in the Age of Strategic Competition. In *Center for Strategic & International Studies*. <https://www.csis.org/analysis/us-foreign-assistance-age-strategic-competition>
- S.525 (2025). <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/senate-bill/525>
- Salavrakos, I.-D., & Palmadessa, A. (2025). America First: Historical Patterns and the Isolationist Policy of Donald Trump. In *America in Crisis: Presidential Power, Populism, and the Global Struggle for Truth* (pp. 424–446). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-98627-7_13
- Schreiber, M. (2025). Thousands protest USAid workers being recalled from abroad or put on leave. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/feb/05/usaid-protest-workers>
- Schweikert, D. (2025, February 7). *The World Today Has a Higher Level of Debt Than During the Napoleonic Wars, Says Schweikert During Speech*. <https://schweikert.house.gov/2025/02/07/the-world-today-has-a-higher-level-of-debt-than-during-the-napoleonic-wars-says-schweikert-during-speech/>

- Schweller, R. L. (2004). Unanswered Threats: A Neoclassical Realist Theory of Underbalancing. *International Security*, 29(2), 159–201. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137589>
- Scott, J. M., & Steele, C. A. (2011). Sponsoring Democracy: The United States and Democracy Aid to the Developing World, 1988-2001. *International Studies Quarterly*, 55(1), 47–69. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2478.2010.00635.x>
- Seddon, S. (2025, February 7). What is USAID and Why is Trump Poised to “Close it Down”? *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/clyezjwnx5ko>
- Sharp, J. (2026). *Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations*. https://www.congress.gov/crs-product/RL33546?utm_source=chatgpt.com#_Toc219103480
- Sonderman, K. A., Citron, I., Albutt, K., Salaam-Blyther, T., Romanzi, L., & Meara, J. G. (2018). USAID: Current support for global surgery and implications of reform. *Surgery (United States)*, 164(6), 1147–1155. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.surg.2018.05.074>
- Spear, J. (2016). The Militarization of United States Foreign Aid. In S. Brown & J. Gravingholt (Eds.), *The Securitization of Foreign Aid* (2). Palgrave MacMillan.
- S.Res.51 (2025). <https://www.congress.gov/bill/119th-congress/senate-resolution/51/text>
- Stein, C. (2025). Fired USAID workers and HIV activists hold ‘die-in’ to protest Trump and Musk. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2025/feb/26/usaaid-hiv-protest-trump-musk>
- Steube, G. (2025). *Rep. Steube Introduces Bill to Abolish USAID and End Wasteful Foreign Aid*. <https://steube.house.gov/press-releases/rep-steube-introduces-bill-to-abolish-usaid-and-end-wasteful-foreign-aid/>
- Stimpson, C. (2020). *Securitisation of Development: USAID’s Development Assemblage*. University of Glasgow.
- Streissguth, T., & Friedenthal, L. (2010). *Key Concepts in American History: Isolationism* (J. Weber, Ed.). Chelsea House Publishers.
- Taffet, J. F. (2022). *Against Aid: A History of Opposition to US Foreign Aid Spending*. Routledge.
- Taliaferro, J. W., Lobell, S. E., & Ripsman, N. M. (2009). Introduction: Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy. In *Neoclassical Realism, The State, and Foreign Policy* (pp. 1–41). Cambridge University Press.
- The Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2025 (2025). <https://www.congress.gov/event/119th-congress/house-event/117894>



- The White House. (2022). *National Security Strategy*.
<https://bidenwhitehouse.archives.gov/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/Biden-Harris-Administrations-National-Security-Strategy-10.2022.pdf>
- The White House. (2025a). America First Policy Directive to the Secretary of State. In *Executive Office of the President: Executive Order* (Number 14150).
<https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/01/29/2025-01952/america-first-policy-directive-to-the-secretary-of-state>
- The White House. (2025b). *At USAID, Waste and Abuse Runs Deep*.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/2025/02/at-usaid-waste-and-abuse-runs-deep/>
- The White House. (2025c). *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2025/12/2025-National-Security-Strategy.pdf>
- The White House. (2025d). Putting America First in International Environmental Agreements. In *Executive Office of the President: Executive Order* (Number 14162). Executive Office of the President. <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/2025/01/30/2025-02010/putting-america-first-in-international-environmental-agreements>
- The White House. (2025e, January 20). *President Trump's America First Priorities*.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/2025/01/president-trumps-america-first-priorities/>
- The White House. (2025f, January 20). *The Inaugural Address*.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/remarks/2025/01/the-inaugural-address/>
- The White House. (2025g, April 14). *Remarks by Director Kratsios at the Endless Frontiers Retreat*. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/articles/2025/04/remarks-by-director-kratsios-at-the-endless-frontiers-retreat/>
- The White House. (2025h, April 30). *President Trump Participates in a Cabinet Meeting*.
<https://www.whitehouse.gov/videos/president-trump-participates-in-a-cabinet-meeting-apr-30-2025/>
- The White House. (2025i, April 30). *President Trump Participates in a Cabinet Meeting, Apr. 30, 2025*. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/videos/president-trump-participates-in-a-cabinet-meeting-apr-30-2025/>
- United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Actions. (2024). *Humanitarian Aid Contributions*. Financial Tracking Service. <https://fts.unocha.org/home/2024/donors>
- United States Department of State, & United States Agency for International Development. (2024). *FY 2024 Annual Performance Report*.
- U.S. Committee on Finance. (2019, June 12). *China's Belt and Road Initiative*. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/event/116th-congress/senate-event/LC65890/text>

- U.S. Committee on Financial Services. (2025, February 25). *Examining Policies to Counter China*. <https://www.congress.gov/event/119th-congress/house-event/LC74967/text>
- U.S. Committee on Foreign Affairs. (2023, June 14). *Assessing U.S. Efforts to Counter China's Coercive Belt and Road Diplomacy*. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/event/118th-congress/house-event/116025/text>
- U.S. Committee on Foreign Affairs. (2025, March 11). *Reauthorizing the U.S. Development Finance Corporation*. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/event/119th-congress/house-event/LC74401/text>
- U.S. Committee on House Administration. (2025, February 12). *Part 2: Committee Funding for the 119th Congress*. U.S. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/event/119th-congress/house-event/LC73762/text>
- U.S. Congress. (2025a). *Congressional Record* (Vol. 171, Number 49). <https://www.congress.gov/congressional-record/volume-171/issue-49/senate-section/article/S1762-3>
- U.S. Congress. (2025b). *Congressional Record: Proceedings and Debates of the 119th Congress, First Session*. <https://www.congress.gov/119/crec/2025/03/31/171/57/CREC-2025-03-31-bk2.pdf>
- U.S. Department of State. (2025a). *100 Days of an America First State Department*. <https://www.state.gov/releases/2025/04/100-days-of-an-america-first-state-department/>
- U.S. Department of State. (2025b). *Making Foreign Aid Great Again*. https://statedept.substack.com/p/making-foreign-aid-great-again?utm_source=post-email-title&publication_id=4785194&post_id=167262315&utm_campaign=email-post-title&isFreemail=true&r=1cskad&triedRedirect=true&utm_medium=email
- U.S. Department of State. (2025c). *State Department Restructuring Memo*. <https://www.usglc.org/resources/state-usaid-congressional-notification/>
- U.S. Department of State. (2025d, March 28). *Press Statement: On Delivering an America First Foreign Assistance Program*. U.S. Department of State. <https://www.state.gov/on-delivering-an-america-first-foreign-assistance-program/#:~:text=Note%3A%20Today%2C%20the%20Department%20of%20State%20and%20the,functions%20that%20do%20not%20align%20with%20Administration%20priorities.>
- U.S. Department of State. (2025e, April 22). *Press Statement: Building an America First State Department*. U.S. Department of State. <https://www.state.gov/building-an-america-first-state-department/>
- U.S. Department of the Treasury. (2025). *Final Monthly Treasury Statement: Receipts and Outlays of the United States Government (For Fiscal Year 2025 Through September 30,*

2025, and Other Periods). https://fiscaldata.treasury.gov/static-data/published-reports/mts/MonthlyTreasuryStatement_202509.pdf

- U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2025a). *Confronting High Risks and Fiscal Challenges Is Crucial to a More Effective and Sustainable Government*. <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-26-108824.pdf>
- U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2025b). *Improper Payments: Information on Agencies' Fiscal Year 2024 Estimates*. <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-25-107753>
- U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2025c). *The Nation's Fiscal Health: Strategy Needed as Debt Levels Accelerate*. <https://www.gao.gov/products/gao-25-107714>
- U.S. House of Foreign Affairs. (2025, February 13). *The USAID Betrayal*. <https://www.congress.gov/event/119th-congress/house-event/LC74289/text>
- U.S. House of Homeland Security. (2025, March 5). *Countering Threats Posed by the Chinese Communist Party to U.S. National Security*. U.S. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/event/119th-congress/house-event/LC74561/text>
- U.S. House of Representatives. (1979). International Development Cooperation Act of 1979. In *Congressional Record* (Vol. 125, pp. 7226–7292). U.S. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/bound-congressional-record/1979/04/04/house-section>
- U.S. Senate. (2025a). Congressional Record. In *U.S. Congress* (Vol. 171, Number 151). <https://www.congress.gov/congressional-record/volume-171/issue-151/senate-section>
- U.S. Senate. (2025b). Department of Government Efficiency. In *Congressional Record* (Vol. 171, pp. 529–531). U.S. Congress. <https://www.congress.gov/congressional-record/volume-171/issue-22/senate-section>
- Van Hollen, C. (2025, April 8). *Van Hollen, Shaheen, SFRC Democrats to Rubio: Plan for USAID Illegal, Unconstitutional; Broader Restructuring Threatens National Security*. <https://www.vanhollen.senate.gov/news/press-releases/van-hollen-shaheen-sfrc-democrats-to-rubio-plan-for-usaid-illegal-unconstitutional-broader-restructuring-threatens-national-security>
- Weissman, A. D. (2013). Pivotal Politics—The Marshall Plan: A Turning Point in Foreign Aid and the Struggle for Democracy. *The History Teacher*, 47(1), 111–129. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43264189>
- Ying, S. (2018). *Comparative Studies on U.S. and China's Foreign Aid in ASEAN Based on the Cases of Cambodia and the Philippines* [Seoul National University]. https://dcollection.snu.ac.kr/public_resource/pdf/000000157073_20260124200527.pdf