**Season 19  
—  
Debating the 2018-2019 Stoa Policy Resolution**

Policy debaters must have a solid understanding of the history of the year’s topic of study. The purpose of this article is to give competitors the underlying knowledge of that history while relating it to the following resolution:

***Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reform its foreign aid.***

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*Content collected and written by Vance Trefethen. Chris Jeub wrote the worksheets at the end of the essay.*

History of U.S. Foreign Aid

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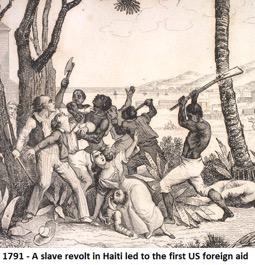
Stoa’s 2018-2019 Policy Resolution:

Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reform its foreign aid.

This year’s resolution calls our attention to United States foreign aid. While foreign aid cases have occasionally appeared in previous debate seasons, this is the first homeschool debate resolution dealing specifically with this topic. Let’s review the history of US government foreign aid as it has developed over the years.

Early History

While some websites and articles describe U.S. foreign aid as a new policy that began after World War II, they are incorrect. It is true that there was a rapid escalation and permanence to the federal aid establishment at that time, but it is not true that the U.S. never gave foreign aid before then. In fact, foreign aid goes back to our nation’s Founders.

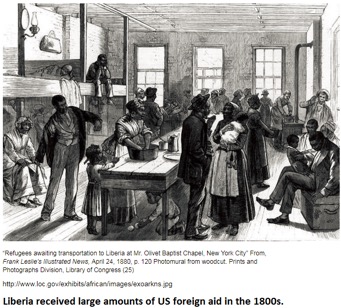
The first foreign aid event in our history came during a slave rebellion in Haiti in the 1790s. Frightened by the growing influx of refugees heading north to the U.S. and wishing to help white slave-owners still on the island and under attack, Pres. George Washington authorized $726,000 in aid. The rebellion was ultimately successful, and the former slaves declared an independent country, while the slave-owners (along with free blacks and mixed-race Haitians) were either killed or escaped to places like Cuba or the United States.

The Haiti example is instructive because it combines multiple justifications for foreign aid all in one event,[[1]](#footnote-2) justifications that we will see repeated through later events in U.S. history down to the present time. Washington and other U.S. leaders were first worried about the national security implications of a slave rebellion. If the rebel Haitians, either by example or by expansion and conquest, fomented similar rebellions elsewhere in the Caribbean region, it could destabilize the Southern states, given their large slave populations.

U.S. officials also worried about the trade and economic implications. Quelling the slave rebellion quickly would restore Haiti’s economy back as a source of desired goods to be imported into the U.S. as well as a market for our exports, creating jobs for Americans.

And there were the humanitarian considerations, though tainted by the fact that the ones at risk were slave-owners who created the problem in the first place by oppressing their fellow man. Virginia political leaders like Washington and Jefferson, slave-owners themselves, didn’t have a problem with that, but they did worry about the humanitarian crisis that was already sending thousands onto boats leaving Haiti looking for any safe haven that could take them. Aiding them in place so they could avoid becoming refugees seemed like the humanitarian thing to do.

National security, economics, humanitarian refugee assistance – any of that sound familiar? Those are the same issues we still confront in foreign aid today. Other historical U.S. foreign aid[[2]](#footnote-3) events include:

* In April 1812, Congress passed legislation to purchase and donate food to victims of a massive earthquake that had happened in Venezuela the previous month.
* In 1819, the US government donated $100,000 to the American Colonization Society to support the resettlement of former African-American slaves in Liberia. During the years that followed, up to 1869, the federal government gave a total of almost $5 million in foreign aid to Liberia.[[3]](#footnote-4)
* In 1847, Congress authorized two US Navy vessels to carry privately donated food to Scotland and Ireland for famine relief.
* During and after World War I (1914-1918), the U.S. government sent food aid that probably saved the lives of millions in Europe who were starving when their food supplies were destroyed by the war.
* In 1921, Congress allocated $21 million to buy and ship food to Russia for famine relief.

World War II and Its Aftermath

When World War II broke out in Europe in September 1939, the American public in general was not in favor of U.S. intervention. Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt saw grave U.S. national security risks as German military forces steamrolled over other nations in the year that followed, leaving Britain to stand alone against the Nazi threat, with defeat increasingly likely. But funding a large program of aid to Britain would run into serious political opposition and could probably never get through Congress. Britain still had unpaid debts to the U.S. for World War I and now could certainly not afford to buy equipment needed to fight World War II.

“In December 1940, Churchill warned Roosevelt that the British were no longer able to pay for supplies. On December 17, President Roosevelt proposed a new initiative that would be known as Lend-Lease. The United States would provide Great Britain with the supplies it needed to fight Germany but would not insist upon being paid immediately. Instead, the United States would “lend” the supplies to the British, deferring payment. When payment eventually did take place, the emphasis would not be on payment in dollars. The tensions and instability engendered by inter-allied war debts in the 1920s and 1930s had demonstrated that it was unreasonable to expect that virtually bankrupt European nations would be able to pay for every item they had purchased from the United States. Instead, payment would primarily take the form of a “consideration” granted by Britain to the United States. After many months of negotiation, the United States and Britain agreed, in Article VII of the Lend-Lease agreement they signed, that this consideration would primarily consist of joint action directed towards the creation of a liberalized international economic order in the postwar world.”[[4]](#footnote-5)

Lend-Lease military aid was also extended to other nations, such as the Soviet Union and China. Military aid became routine when the US actively joined the war following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December, 1941. But before Pearl Harbor, Congress and the President viewed military aid as a means of accomplishing US foreign policy and enhancing our national security without putting American lives at risk.

After the war ended in 1945, many once great nations lay in ruins and the scale of human suffering dwarfed anything anyone had imagined before. Europe struggled to rebuild amidst the bombed-out rubble of total war, and no one knew how long it would take for these countries to recover to anything like their prewar conditions. In 1947, US Secretary of State George Marshall announced the European Recovery Program, which became better known as the Marshall Plan, to funnel massive foreign aid to help rebuild Europe.[[5]](#footnote-6) It ultimately sent over $13 billion in aid between 1948-1951 and was credited with being instrumental to the rapid recovery of Western Europe after World War II ended.[[6]](#footnote-7) The U.S. also gave $2.2 billion ($18 billion in today’s dollars) in aid to help rebuild Japan between 1946-1952.[[7]](#footnote-8)

Many argue that the aftermath of World War II contains valuable examples for US foreign aid policies today.

“Along with defense and diplomacy, U.S. foreign assistance is critical tool of national power for advancing our economic and security interests — and our values — around the globe. When used effectively and transparently, America’s global development efforts can help to empower self-reliance abroad, to transform war-torn nations into thriving economies, to encourage regional and international integration, and even to combat deadly diseases by providing lifesaving medication to the most vulnerable. As U.S. policymakers and lawmakers work to secure the peace in post-war Afghanistan and to advance security, prosperity and human dignity elsewhere in the world, they should remember America’s proud and successful legacy of foreign assistance in post-war Western Europe and Japan.”[[8]](#footnote-9)

The Marshall Plan was replaced in 1951 by the Mutual Security Act, which lasted until 1961. It was similar in design, in that it provided federal grants to friendly countries with a goal of keeping them outside the influence of communist ideology.

The Cold War: Foreign Aid as a Tool of Diplomacy

As the dust settled following World War II, a new order began to emerge. World leaders soon saw a competition for allies and influence on the global stage between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and their respective ideologies of democracy/capitalism versus totalitarianism/communism. The existence of nuclear weapons and the possibility of total annihilation made it unthinkable for the US and Soviet Union to come into direct military conflict (a “hot” war). But their global struggle for allies, ideological converts and influence created the conditions referred to as The Cold War. Economic and military aid were viewed as ways to buy friends and influence people without direct conflict between the superpowers.

“Foreign aid quickly expanded to include the economic stabilization of non-European areas, as well as a new emphasis on military assistance. For example, the United States gave limited aid to such nations as South Korea, the Philippines, and Iran. Its biggest expenditure outside of Europe was the $2.5 billion in military and economic aid to the Nationalists in China, aid that continued even after Chiang Kai-shek’s government had proved itself utterly beyond help. … In October 1949, two months after the United States had officially joined NATO, the Truman administration created a Military Assistance Program under the auspices of the Mutual Defense Assistance Act, with a budget of $1.3 billion. Expenditures continued to rise …largely with the aim of enhancing “the psychological attitudes and morale of our allies. …Truman’s initiatives were incorporated into the Mutual Security Act (MSA) of 1951, which succeeded the Marshall Plan and offered a new program of economic and, especially, military aid both for Europe and the developing world. In its first year, for example, the act extended to Europe a combined military and economic package of $1.02 billion; in 1952, as the Korean War ground on, it included $202 million in military support to Formosa (Taiwan) and Indochina. … Meanwhile, technical assistance under Point Four went to such countries as Liberia, Ethiopia, Eritrea (where the United States had a large surveillance post), Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Iraq, Israel, and Iran.”[[9]](#footnote-10)

In 1961, Pres. John F. Kennedy added a new dimension to US efforts to influence foreigners about the good intentions of Americans by creating the Peace Corps. Sending minimally paid volunteers into poor countries to do charitable work or teach was seen as a way to build goodwill with people around the world. The Peace Corps still exists today, operating with a budget of around $400 million and around 7,000 volunteers overseas.

Another milestone during the Kennedy Administration was the consolidation all US non-military foreign aid programs under the ownership of a single agency, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), in the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

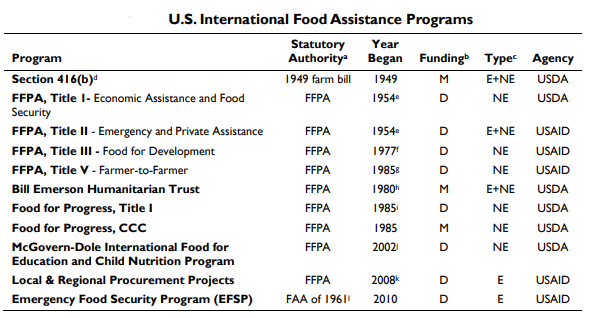
“There is no escaping our obligations: our moral obligations as a wise leader and good neighbor in *the* interdependent community of free nations – our economic obligations as the wealthiest people in a world of largely poor people, as a nation no longer dependent upon the loans from abroad that once helped us develop our own economy – and our political obligations as the single largest counter to the adversaries of freedom.” – John F. Kennedy*[[10]](#footnote-11)*

Food Aid

We break food aid out here to discuss it separately because it has its own set of very specific issues. Food aid became a regular part of US foreign policy when Pres. Eisenhower signed PL-480, which became known as Food For Peace, in 1954.

“The Food for Peace program authorized three categories of food aid. Title I permitted sales of agricultural surplus stocks to nations lacking food supplies on lenient loan terms in local currency. These funds were then used to finance U.S. diplomatic endeavors in recipient countries. The provisions outlined under Title II and Title III allowed for contributions to United Nations organizations, non-governmental organizations, and government-to-government donations in the event of emergency or dire need. The initial emphasis was upon shipment of surplus supplies to “friendly nations,” and less on humanitarian issues. The Food for Peace program, originally enacted as a short term solution to the surplus problem, wound up being a mainstay of U.S. foreign policy. During the 1960s, the United States increasingly used food aid as a diplomatic tool. Under the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations, donation of food supplies and commodities was a means of inducing countries to modernize their agricultural systems.”[[11]](#footnote-12)

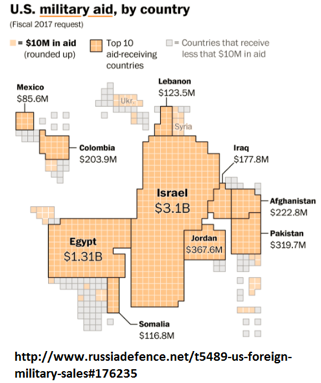
Food aid had three goals. One was to offload surplus U.S. agricultural production, which would help farmers by providing a buyer of last resort (the federal government) to maintain farm profitability. Getting those surplus bags of grain out of the U.S. market would help boost domestic commodity prices and keep farmers happy. The second was to influence target countries to adopt or support policies favorable to the United States. The third goal was to actually feed some hungry people. Note that these goals are not always consistent with each other.

Food for Peace required the physical delivery of bags of grain, also known as “in-kind” aid.[[12]](#footnote-13) The limitations of this approach have been noted (more about that in next week’s Status Quo release) and limited alternatives have historically been tried. The Agriculture Act of 2014 allowed limited flexibility, where a small amount of the aid could be given as cash to buy commodities locally rather than waiting for bags of grain to arrive. A list of current food aid programs along with their historical start date is provided here. Note that, notwithstanding Pres. Kennedy’s consolidation of USAID, some of them are administered by USDA (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture).[[13]](#footnote-14)

Military & Security Aid

We noted earlier the role military aid played in the early days of World War II and how it continued to play a big role in the Cold War. The U.S. provided military aid to numerous countries that supported our foreign policy goal of opposing Soviet influence and preventing the rise of any new communist governments in the world. A fair number of these governments had poor track records on upholding human rights and democracy, but we supported them anyway, viewing opposition to communism as worth the price.

The Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program, started in 1950, gives money to foreign governments to buy military hardware. The money in most cases has to be spent back in the U.S. on American-made equipment.[[14]](#footnote-15) Since 1979, most FMF money has gone to Egypt and Israel as a reward for signing a peace treaty.

The Anti-Drug Abuse Acts of 1986 and 1988 made foreign aid conditional on assisting the U.S. in the “War on Drugs.” The U.S. also provided massive amounts of aid to drug-producing countries to help with eradication and other supply-reduction efforts. For example, Congress gave $1.3 billion to Colombia in 2000 that supported their military efforts at drug crop eradication and supply interdiction.[[15]](#footnote-16)

“Given the central role of the drug trade in financing both guerrilla and paramilitary operations, military and anti-narcotics support from the United States have been connected from the start, beginning not long after Richard Nixon [declared the War on Drugs](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/drugs/cron/) in 1971. American-Colombian collaboration has seen its share of successes—Delta Force and Navy SEAL experts helped to hunt down and kill the original Medellin kingpin, [Pablo Escobar](http://www.amazon.com/gp/product/0871137836?ie=UTF8&tag=slatmaga-20&linkCode=as2&camp=1789&creative=390957&creativeASIN=0871137836). But throughout the 1990s, [U.S. assistance](http://gbk.eads.usaidallnet.gov/) grew dramatically, making Colombia the largest recipient of military aid outside of the Middle East and Afghanistan.”[[16]](#footnote-17)

After 9/11/2001, U.S. military aid has been widely given to support foreign governments’ cooperation with the U.S. on anti-terrorism policies. The immediate crisis of 9/11 put military aid back to the Cold War policy of aiding almost anyone who aligned with our objectives, regardless of their behavior on human rights and democracy. For example, despite sanctions placed on Pakistan in the 1990’s for its nuclear weapons program, the U.S. began providing military aid after 9/11 as Pakistan declared its support for US objectives in the war in Afghanistan.[[17]](#footnote-18) Pres. Trump recently declared suspension of some or all military aid to Pakistan.[[18]](#footnote-19)

Disaster & Refugee Aid

The United States federal government has a long history of providing aid to foreign countries in times of natural disasters, starting with the earlier-mentioned Venezuela earthquake in 1812. Some examples include:

* El Salvador, earthquakes 1965, 1986, 2001
* El Salvador, storms 1998, 2009
* Mexico earthquake, 1985
* Haiti earthquake, 2010
* African Ebola outbreak, 2014-2015
* Nepal earthquake, 2015

…and many others.

The U.S. has also historically provided aid to refugees located in troubled regions. One historical example with relevance today was Pres. Harry Truman’s 1949 approval of $16 million in aid for Palestinian Arabs displaced by Israel’s war of independence the previous year. The following year, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) was established to care for some 750,000 displaced Palestinians, and Congress began donating money to it. It still exists today, the U.S. is its largest single donor, and its clientele now has expanded to ostensibly 5 million refugees (although the definition of refugee in this context is hotly debated).[[19]](#footnote-20)

Crisis situations that have developed in the last 10 years in Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Myanmar, and other places have created an enormous flow of refugees, said by some to have displaced greater numbers of people than were displaced at the end of World War II.[[20]](#footnote-21) The U.S. State Department’s Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration provides assistance to refugees.[[21]](#footnote-22)

Development Aid: From the 1980’s to 2000’s

**In addition to disaster aid, food aid and military aid, we should also talk about a fourth form of aid: “Development aid.” There are numerous programs (too many to mention but their goals are summarized below) designed not to solve a singular crisis but to help in the long-term improvement of a country and the economic well-being of its people. Consider the difference between sending bags of grain to feed the hungry (food aid) and sending scientists with more productive agriculture techniques that allow them to grow more food (development aid).**

Development aid also includes funding or sending of technical experts to assist with things like setting up financial systems, organizing and monitoring free elections in countries with no democratic institutions, or large infrastructure projects like hydroelectric dams. We might also include medical assistance programs in this category.

USAID describes the last 35 years of foreign aid policies as follows:

**“International Aid in the 1980s: A Turn to Free Markets**

In the 1980s, foreign assistance sought to stabilize currencies and financial systems. It also promoted market-based principles to restructure developing countries’ policies and institutions. During this decade, USAID reaffirmed its commitment to broad-based economic growth, emphasizing employment and income opportunities through a revitalization of agriculture and expansion of domestic markets. In this decade, development activities were increasingly channeled through private voluntary organizations (PVOs), and aid shifted from individual projects to large programs.

**International Aid in the 1990s: Sustainability and Democracy**

In the 1990s, USAID’s top priority became sustainable development, or helping countries improve their own quality of life. During this decade, USAID tailored development assistance programs to a country’s economic condition, which meant that:   
- Developing countries received an integrated package of assistance  
- Transitional countries received help in times of crisis  
- Countries with limited USAID presence received support through nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)  
USAID played a lead role in planning and implementing programs following the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. USAID programs helped establish functioning democracies with open, market-oriented economic systems and responsive social safety nets.

**International Aid in the 2000s: War and Rebuilding**

The 2000s, brought more evolution for USAID and foreign assistance with government officials once again calling for reform of how the agency conducts business. With the Afghanistan and Iraq wars in full swing, USAID was called on to help those two countries rebuild government, infrastructure, civil society and basic services such as health care and education. The Agency began rebuilding with an eye to getting the most bang out of its funding allocations. It also began an aggressive campaign to reach out to new partner organizations – including the private sector and foundations – to extend the reach of foreign assistance.”[[22]](#footnote-23)

Worksheet: History of Foreign Aid

Name: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Answer the following in the spaces provided.

1. What is the resolution for Stoa Season 19 (2017-2018)? Be prepared to recite it from memory.

2. What was the first historical example of US foreign aid? Was it a success or not? Explain.

3. Are private donations and charities considered topical to this debate? How can these examples still be used in debates this year?

4. What was the “Lend-Lease” program and how did it help provide aid to Britain during World War II?

5. What plans were put into place post-World War II that had the goal of keeping them outside the influence of communist ideology?

6. How did the existence of nuclear bombs influence how the US engaged in foreign aid?

7. What president added the Peace Corps? How large is its budget today and how many volunteers does it provide?

8. What were the goals of the first food aid? Are these goals always consistent with each other?

9. When did the United States start providing aid for natural disasters?

10. Explain the difference between “food aid” and “development aid.”

Answers

1. The resolution is “Resolved: The United States federal government should substantially reform its foreign aid.” (Page 1)

2. “The first foreign aid event in our history came during a slave rebellion in Haiti in the 1790s.” It was not considered a success because the slave owners (who were supported in the rebellion by US aid) were overthrown. (Page 3)

3. “There were certainly other aid efforts funded by private donations and charities during this time, but these are out of the scope of the resolution. We will discuss the role of private charity in the chapter on Status Quo of Foreign Aid as a possible Negative alternative to Affirmative plans involving the federal government.” (Page 4)

4. “On December 17, President Roosevelt proposed a new initiative that would be known as Lend-Lease. The United States would provide Great Britain with the supplies it needed to fight Germany, but would not insist upon being paid immediately.” (Page 5)

5. “The Marshall Plan was replaced in 1951 by the Mutual Security Act, which lasted until 1961. It was similar in design, in that it provided federal grants to friendly countries with a goal of keeping them outside the influence of communist ideology.” (Page 6)

6. “The existence of nuclear weapons and the possibility of total annihilation made it unthinkable for the US and Soviet Union to come into direct military conflict (a “hot” war). But their global struggle for allies, ideological converts and influence created the conditions referred to as The Cold War. Economic and military aid were viewed as ways to buy friends and influence people without direct conflict between the superpowers.” (Page 6-7)

7. “In 1961, Pres. John F. Kennedy added a new dimension to US efforts to influence foreigners about the good intentions of Americans by creating the Peace Corps. Sending minimally paid volunteers into poor countries to do charitable work or teach was seen as a way to build goodwill with people around the world. The Peace Corps still exists today, operating with a budget of around $400 million and around 7,000 volunteers overseas.” (Page 7)

8. “Food aid had three goals. One was to offload surplus U.S. agricultural production, which would help farmers by providing a buyer of last resort (the federal government) to maintain farm profitability. Getting those surplus bags of grain out of the U.S. market would help boost domestic commodity prices and keep farmers happy. The second was to influence target countries to adopt or support policies favorable to the United States. The third goal was to actually feed some hungry people. Note that these goals are not always consistent with each other.” (Page 8)

9. “The United States federal government has a long history of providing aid to foreign countries in times of natural disasters, starting with the earlier-mentioned Venezuela earthquake in 1812.” (Page 11)

10. “In addition to disaster aid, food aid and military aid, we should also talk about a fourth form of aid: “Development aid.” … There are numerous programs (too many to mention but their goals are summarized below) designed not to solve a singular crisis but to help in the long-term improvement of a country and the economic well-being of its people. Consider the difference between sending bags of grain to feed the hungry (food aid) and sending scientists with more productive agriculture techniques that allow them to grow more food (development aid).” (Page 12)

1. It’s also instructive in that the aid failed to achieve its objective (the Haitian ruling class was overthrown despite the aid) and the national security risks justifying the aid were exaggerated (the victorious Haitian rebels never fomented slave uprisings in the United States). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
2. I include here only those funded by the U.S. federal government. There were certainly other aid efforts funded by private donations and charities during this time, but these are out of the scope of the resolution. We will discuss the role of private charity in the chapter on Status Quo of Foreign Aid as a possible Negative alternative to Affirmative plans involving the federal government. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
3. http://bradleyafrica.org/mediafiles/uploaded/h/0e1835989\_history-of-development-aid-i.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
4. US State Department, Office of the Historian. https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/lend-lease [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
5. The term “Marshall Plan” is often used in literature today figuratively to describe similar proposals for a large one-time infusion of aid to solve some big problem. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
6. https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/marshall-plan . Soviet-occupied nations in Eastern Europe, though offered aid by Marshall, were told by Russia to decline it, under the theory that it was a Western imperialist plot. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
7. https://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2014/06/06/the-lessons-from-us-aid-after-world-war-ii [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
8. Patrick Christy 2014 https://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2014/06/06/the-lessons-from-us-aid-after-world-war-ii [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
9. Encyclopedia of the New American Nation <http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/E-N/Foreign-Aid-The-cold-war-foreign-aid-program-1947-1953.html#ixzz5IcDVj4NU> [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
10. https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/usaid-history [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
11. US State Dept. https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/eur/ci/it/milanexpo2015/c67068.htm [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
12. “In-Kind” means exchange or donation of physical things rather than money. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
13. Congressional Research Service 2016 <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R41072.pdf>. Note on the funding (D,M): “Discretionary funding (D) relies on annual appropriations. Mandatory funding (M) is available through the authorizing legislation independent of annual appropriations and is financed via the borrowing authority of USDA’s Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC). Congress has occasionally limited spending on these mandatory programs via annual appropriations acts.” USDA’s involvement may betray that the primary target of the aid is the American farmer rather than hungry souls abroad. You can certainly debate that. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
14. Effectively making foreign military aid a subsidy for US defense contractors. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
15. https://object.cato.org/sites/cato.org/files/serials/files/cato-handbook-policymakers/2003/9/hb108-56.pdf [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
16. Slate 2010. http://www.slate.com/articles/business/the\_dismal\_science/2010/02/were\_blowing\_it.html [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
17. Human Rights Watch 2002. https://www.hrw.org/news/2002/02/15/us-military-aid-after-9/11-threatens-human-rights [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
18. https://www.voanews.com/a/us-aid-pakistan-military-spending/4193398.html [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
19. https://www.meforum.org/articles/2015/why-has-the-u-s-congress-done-so-little-about-unr [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
20. CNN 2016. https://www.cnn.com/2016/06/20/world/unhcr-displaced-peoples-report/index.html [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
21. US State Department https://www.state.gov/j/prm/ [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
22. USAID https://www.usaid.gov/who-we-are/usaid-history [↑](#footnote-ref-23)