

# The US Foreign Aid to Middle East and North Africa in Bush and Obama Era

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**Abstract:** Middle East and North Africa has been of political and strategic importance to the United States (The US) since late eighteenth century. The 2001 Twin Towers hit provided a legitimate basis for The US intervention in Middle East. Acting with the motives of "restructuring" and "preserving democracy" in the face of the destruction and damage that occurred in Iraq after the occupation, the US provided a large amount of foreign aid to Middle East and North African countries between 2003 and 2015. The negative American image left in the region during Bush era was tried to be eliminated in various ways during Obama era. According to official figures, aids increased in 2003-2009, varying from country to country, and decreased every year since 2010. This gives hints and insight about the situation the US was in, the strategy it wanted to follow and the impression it wanted to make. In the first part of the article, the general framework of the concept, types and characteristics of foreign aid is drawn, and a general view of the development aid provided on a world scale is presented. In the second part, the foreign aid policy of the US is briefly explained and a general picture of the US's foreign aids between 2003 and 2015 is drawn. In the third part, situation, sectors and amounts of US foreign aids to Middle East and North Africa in 2001-2015 (Bush and Obama Periods) is analyzed and evaluated within the framework of OECD and USAID data.

**Keywords:** Middle East and North Africa, US Foreign Policy, Foreign Aid, US Foreign Aid

## ABD'nin Bush ve Obama Dönemleri Ortadoğu ve Kuzey Afrika Dış Yardımları

**Öz:** XVIII. yy sonlarından bu yana, Orta Doğu ve Kuzey Afrika, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri için politik ve stratejik öneme sahip olagelmıştır. 2001 İkiz Kulelerin vurulması, ABD'nin Ortadoğu'ya müdahalesi için meşru bir zemin teşkil etmiştir. İşgal sonrası Irak'ta meydana gelen tahribat ve zararlar karşısında "yeniden yapılandırma" ve demokrasinin te'mini" saikleriyle hareket eden ABD, 2003-2015 yıllarında, Ortadoğu ve Kuzey Afrika ülkeleri için büyük miktarda dış yardımda bulunmuştur. Bölgede, Bush döneminde bırakılan olumsuz Amerikan imajı, Obama döneminde çeşitli yollarla giderilmeye çalışılmıştır. Resmî rakamlara göre yapılan yardımlar, 2003-2009 yıllarında ülkeden ülkeye değişiklik gösterecek şekilde artış, 2010 yılından itibaren her geçen yıl azalış göstermiştir. Bu ise, ABD'nin içinde bulunduğu durum, izlemek istediği strateji ve oluşturmak istediği izlenim konusunda ipuçları vermektedir. Makalenin birinci bölümünde dış yardım kavramı, türleri ve niteliklerinin genel çerçevesi çizilmiş ve dünya ölçeğinde yapılan kalkınma yardımlarının genel bir görünümü sunulmuştur. İkinci bölümünde ABD'nin dış yardım politikası kısaca izah edilmiş ve 2003-2015 yılları arası ABD'nin Dış Kalkınma Yardımlarının dünya ölçeğindeki genel bir resmi çizilmiştir. Üçüncü bölümde ise ABD'nin 2001-2015 yıllarında (Bush ve Obama Dönemleri) Ortadoğu ve Kuzey Afrika dış yardım durumu, sektörleri, miktarları OECD ve USAID verileri çerçevesinde analiz edilerek değerlendirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Ortadoğu-Kuzey Afrika, ABD Dış Politikası, Dış Yardım, Amerikan Dış Yardımları,

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## **Introduction**

The beginning of the United States' interest in Middle East dates back to the 1770s, when it gained its independence. In the mentioned period, this geography was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. For that reason, the US made attempts to establish diplomatic relations and make treaties with the Ottoman Empire during the reigns of Benjamin Franklin, later president Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams. Middle East policy of the US at the beginning of the 20th century developed in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine. In those years, America generally maintained a neutral stance in the disputes in Europe and Middle East (Kocaoğlu, 1995, p. 98). The military, political and economic rivalries of the United States and the Soviet Union, having a say in the international system as two superpowers after the Second World War, were also reflected in Middle East geography.

Due to Its interests triggering Iran-Iraq War, the 1990 Iraq Attack and Israel's support in Middle East, and finally the shooting of the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001, the US's politics in Middle East reached its peak, and in this direction, the US occupied Iraq in 2004 by creating a New Strategy Document. The Bush administration, arguing that the biggest threat to the US came from Middle East, determined new policies towards the region and Its activities in Middle East gained great intensity. The aim of the US was to establish Its dominance in that region and to shape there in line with Its own interests. (Silahçioğlu, 2006, p. 19). The US abandoned the traditional foreign policy strategy of containment and deterrence after 9/11 and started to implement the pre-emptive strategy. (Akdemir, 2011, p. 316)

The Great Middle East Project (GMEP), which occupied an important place in the execution of US foreign policy, was designed to protect and develop US interests in the region. One of the goals of the GMEP was democratization. In order to realize that goal, the US aimed to transform the Great Middle East region into an information society on the grounds of ensuring democratization. For that purpose, it was

envisaged to reduce the illiteracy rate by half in the region where 800 million people live, to train one hundred thousand female teachers, to establish internet networks, to donate books to schools and to translate world classics into Arabic (Bal, 2008, p. 112).

In the course of time, the Great Middle East Project was transformed into The Greater Middle East Project to include North Africa, the Caucasus and Central Asian countries, and it was aimed to establish regimes compatible with the West, with various methods ranging from civil society movements to the use of force in the geography extending to China. (Bilgin 2008, p. 414). In June 2004, with the G8 summit held in the Sea Island region of the US state of Georgia, it was called „the Greater Middle East and North Africa Project“. It aimed at the realization of concrete demands like supporting education, attracting more women to the public sphere, strengthening democracy, preventing terrorism, drug and arms smuggling, giving more importance to human rights in Middle East. The US put forward that project after the Afghanistan and Iraq interventions. The pioneers of the project are the US Neoconservatives.

The project pursued the goals of restoring the distorted image of the United States, realizing the regional interests of the United States, and eliminating the alleged threats to itself and Its ally, Israel. The project supported the democratization discourse of the US as well as the restructuring of the countries of the region; It was expected that people of Middle East countries would reach a better situation according to the democratic and economic criteria. Thereby, while controlling natural resources on the one hand, the US would strengthen Its central position by determining the country regimes and its reflection at the international level on the other. (Bilgin, 2008, p. 415). As it is seen, the US had economic, strategic and political interests in the region and steers its plans in line with these interests.

The US's aggressive and unjust policies in Middle East by taking Israel by Its side in the "war against terrorism" is one of the foundations of

anti-Americanism; that attitude also motivated anti-American extremists and gathered supporters. The messages that George W. Bush gave after September 11 and the policies he followed, the failure in Iraq caused the image of the US to be shaken. (Ersoy-Öztürk, 2009, p. 6). The US has begun to be perceived as a "military monster" with the policies It implemented after 9/11. It globalized its own interests with a one-sided perspective, and this attitude brought imperial tyranny. That attitude of the US destroyed and marginalized Its image in the eyes of peoples of Middle East. (Johnson, 2005, p. 5). Thomas Barnett, in his book "Great Powers, America and the World After Bush", mentions the "seven major sins" that George W. Bush committed during his rule. (Barnett, 2009, pp. 5-35).

After Obama came to power, the negative reflections of the Bush administration and its practices were tried to be eliminated. It can be stated that during the Obama Era, the US tried to implement policies that were multilateral, based on diplomacy, focused on the use of soft power, adopted territorial rather than regional approaches, and did not ignore internal dynamics. (Dikmen et al., 2009, p. 23) With Obama's ascension to the presidency, the US's global strategic goal did not changed, but its tools towards the goals changed. It was evaluated that it was necessary to re-orient to Greater Middle East and to give importance to American diplomacy in Middle East anew (Silindir, 2009, pp. 135-137).

Considering the GMEP, Greater Middle East Project, negative image caused by Bush era, and Obama's use of soft power, it is important to reveal flow and amounts of the USA aids to the region, and to observe and analyze changes in type and amount of the aids. Thereby, aim of the present work is to examine relationship of US foreign aid to Middle East and North Africa with the US foreign policy. The work is limited with Bush and Obama Era since strategic goals (both middle east projects) started in Bush era and maintained partly in Obama era. Thus, the work answers how the US aid to the region progressed in line with US foreign policy.

Aids to be examined in the study are Official Development Assistances (ODA) given to low-income countries in the form of development assistance, and Official Assistance (OA) given to relatively wealthy countries such as Israel, Russia and Ukraine. In the first part of the study, the concept of foreign aid, its characteristics and types are briefly presented, and an overview of worldwide development Assistance is provided. In the second part, a general picture of the US development aid policy is drawn and its official development assistance in the years 2003-2015 is shown, and in the third part, data in relation to sectors and amounts of the US' s Foreign Aid to Middle East and North Africa during Bush and Obama era are evaluated in the light of OECD and USAID reports.

### **The Concept, Purpose, Characteristics, and Types of Foreign Aid**

Foreign aid refers to the international movement of money, services, or goods from governments or international institutions for the benefit of the receiving country or its citizens. Foreign aid can be fiscal, military, or humanitarian and is considered one of the significant sources of foreign exchange. It is the voluntary movement of money or other resources from one nation to another. The transactions are mostly from developed countries to developing countries. A developing nation typically lacks a strong manufacturing base and is distinguished by a low value of the Human Development Index (HDI). Foreign aid may be offered as a contribution or a loan, which can either be a hard or soft loan. If the loan is in a foreign currency, it is termed as a hard loan.

Countries also offer foreign aid in order to improve their own security. Economic aid may also be used to discourage friendly countries from coming under the control of unfriendly governments or paying for the right to set up or use military bases on foreign soil. Foreign aid can be used to accomplish the political aims of a government, allowing it to obtain diplomatic recognition, to gain respect for its role in international institutions, or to improve the accessibility of its diplomats to foreign countries.

Foreign aid also seeks to promote the exports of a country and spread its literature, culture, or religion. Countries often provide aid to relieve the distress caused by man-made or natural disasters like drought, illness, and conflict. It helps to promote sustainable prosperity, create or reinforce political institutions, and address a range of worldwide concerns, including cancer, terrorism, and other violations, and environmental degradation (CFI, 2022).

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank prepared a joint statement on the Millennium Development Goals in April 2005. They indicated how developing countries and foreign aid donors need to make the "big push" in practice to achieve their goal of halving absolute poverty by 2015. Accordingly, it is thought that within five years from 2005, foreign aid given to low-income countries and Sub-Saharan Africa should at least double (IMF and World Bank, 2005, p.8).

The OECD's Development Assistance Committee (DAC) defines foreign aid as financial flow, technical assistance and goods in the form of grants or subsidized debt, designed mainly to support welfare and economic development -thus excluding non-development aid and military aid from the definition. However, although foreign aid is expressed as a form of concessional financing, most of it is not a grant, but is repaid with a certain interest rate on the principal.

Military aid is given to "assist the defense" of an ally or to "help a poor country maintain its dominance" within its territory. But, it is not included in foreign aid calculations as defined by the DAC. The DAC classifies aid flows into three broad categories based on the country groups to which aid is directed. Official Development Assistance from donor countries to low- and middle-income countries is the largest in terms of amount. Official Assistance is given to relatively wealthy countries such as the Bahamas, Israel, and Singapore, and countries of the former Soviet Union, with a per capita income of approximately \$9000. Finally, Private Voluntary Aid includes aid given by non-

governmental organizations, religious groups, charities and private companies (Radelet, 2006, p. 21)

Depending on the institutions giving aid, there exists two different types of aid. The first of these is bilateral assistance in the form of low-interest and long-term loans provided by the government of a developed country to the government of an underdeveloped country for the purpose of economic development. These aids can be in the form of program or project loans, but are generally conditional on the purchase of export goods of the donor country. Multilateral aid consists of loans from various international, economic and financial institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, African and Asian Development Banks, United Nations Development Programme (Seyyidoğlu, 2001, p. 702). Aids to be examined in this study are Official Development Assistances and Official Assistance.

**Table 1: (OECD, 2015, p.289)**

*An Overview of Worldwide Development Assistance  
USA Million Dollars*

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
<b>Total ODA</b>	83	89	93	98	128	122	113
<b>Aid based on National Income Percentage</b>	0,23	0,25	0,25	0,25	0,32	0,30	0,27
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
<b>Total ODA</b>	126	127	134,8	132,4	127,6	134,5	70,6
<b>Aid based on National Income Percentage</b>	0,29	0,31	0,32	0,31	0,29	0,30	0,43

Table 1 shows the course of official development assistance from 2001 to 2014. It can be seen that the total aid to least developed countries (LDCs) increased from 2001 to 2006, decreased in 2007, increased in 2008 -2010, decreased in 2011-2013, finally in 2014' da decreased by a large margin.

When the table 2 is examined, it is noteworthy that the total aid

provided around the world increased nearly twice in 2007-08 compared to 2002-03. It is seen that amount of aid decreased in 2012-13 period.

**Table 2 (OECD, 2015, p. 290)**

DAC Donors 'Development Aid to Middle East and North Africa

Total Net % Expenditure

DAC MEM.CON.	MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA		
	2002-03	2007-08	2012-13
Australia	4.7	14.7	3.9
Austria	12.3	43.1	8.4
Belgium	5.4	12.2	9.2
Canada	6.6	7.3	6.2
Czech Republic	40.0	12.2	13.4
Denmark	6.8	8.4	11.3
Finland	9.4	8.3	8.6
France	14.2	20.6	16.3
Germany	10.5	27.3	13.9
Greece	11.4	15.0	17.3
Iceland	9.9	6.8	10.4
Ireland	6.2	4.9	7.4
Italy	11.6	29.1	13.8
Japan	4.3	20.6	8.3
Korea	10.2	10.7	4.7
Luxembourg	10.5	6.7	7.1
The Netherlands	7.5	7.8	9.7
New Zeland	6.6	2.8	1.9
Norway	10.2	8.4	9.5
Poland	7.1	10.8	13.0
Portugal	5.9	17.3	11.1
Slovak Rep.	9.5	9.5	14.3
Slovenia	....	11.0	11.6
Spain	12.4	15.2	15.1
Sweden	6.9	8.1	10.9
Switzerland	5.5	9.6	9.2
United Kingdom	7.9	10.3	9.1
USA	20.9	25.7	13.1
Total DAC	11.5	18.9	11.2
DAC-EU Countries	10.1	18.1	12.3

## US Foreign Aid Policy and Overview of Its Foreign Aid



The foreign aid of the US has been carried out by USAID (United States Agency for International Development) since 1961. The US, which aimed to eliminate Communism during the Cold War and used its aid for this purpose, changed the content of its foreign aid policy especially after the events of September 11 and increased the amount of foreign aid it provided. It emphasized the following principles of basic US foreign aid in the post-9/11 period

- Promoting development, in particular governance, institutional capacity and economic restructuring,
- Strengthening fragile or failed states
- Increasing humanitarian aid
- Assisting countries where the US has geo-strategic interests, such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Jordan, Egypt and Israel
- Effectively fighting against global epidemics or diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Bealinger, 2006, p. 5).

After 9/11, the fight against terrorism has gained strategic importance in US foreign aid. Institutions responsible for foreign aid in 2002 (USAID, International Relations Committee in the Senate, Foreign Relations Committee in the House of Representatives) stated that about 30 states were fighting against terrorism, they underlined that these states should be given priority in foreign aid policy. Around the same time, the Bush Administration also stated that the fight against terrorism is the main priority area in foreign aid. Apart from this basic area, promoting economic development, reducing poverty and combating HIV/AIDS on a global scale have also been identified as key priorities. (Tanoff, 2005, pp.2-4).

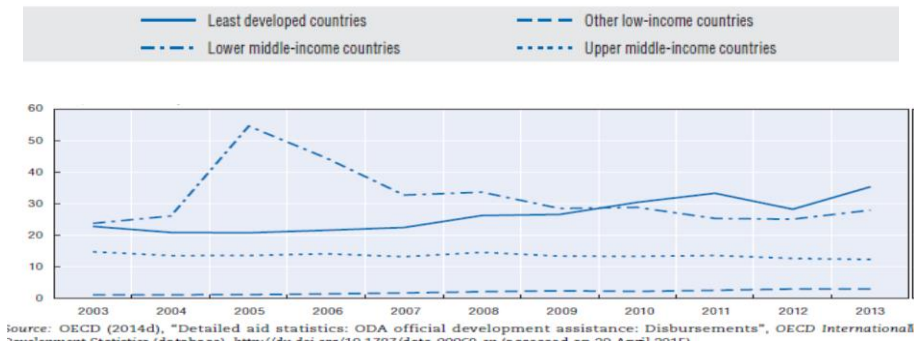
In the first period of the George Bush administration, he adopted

increasing foreign aid as a foreign policy tool. An attempt was made in the field of foreign aid during the George Bush era. With this program called the Millennium Struggles Account Program, studies on where and for what purpose foreign aid will be provided have been accelerated. (Vásquez, 2003).

- Fair Administration,
- Increasing investments
- Ensuring economic freedom clauses

In the official discourse, the foreign aid policies of the George Bush era were revealing the main objectives (Radelet, 2003, p. 104).

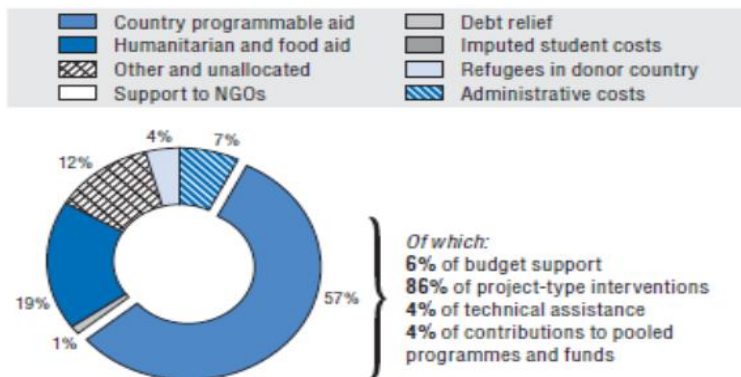
An Overview on Foreign Development Assistance of the US in 2003-2015



Graph 1: Bilateral Aids by Income Group Gross Expenditures (OECD, 2015, p. 290)

The increase in development assistance in the last ten years benefited all income groups, including the least developed countries. Despite nearly two-thirds increase in aid, only 4 least developing countries (Afghanistan, Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia and Sudan/South Sudan) benefited. There seems a decrease in aid to these countries in 2011- 2011, In 2013 an increase is seen again due to the Myanmar Debt Relief program.

The net aid provided by the US in 2014 was 32,7 million dollars. This figure represents 0.19 of the GDP and an increase of 2.3% since 2013. It is the world's 19th largest DAC donor by percentage of GDP and the largest by volume in official development assistance. 2013 The donation element of the total aid is 100%. In 2013, 57% of bilateral aid was programmed at the partner country level. Programmable aid share is higher than the DAC country average (54,5%). A high proportion of bilateral aid has been allocated to humanitarian and food aid. In 2012, half of bilateral aid was allocated to social infrastructure and services. In total, out of \$13,3 million, \$5,1 million was spent on population policies and programs, \$4.8 million on government and civil society, and \$4 million on humanitarian aid.

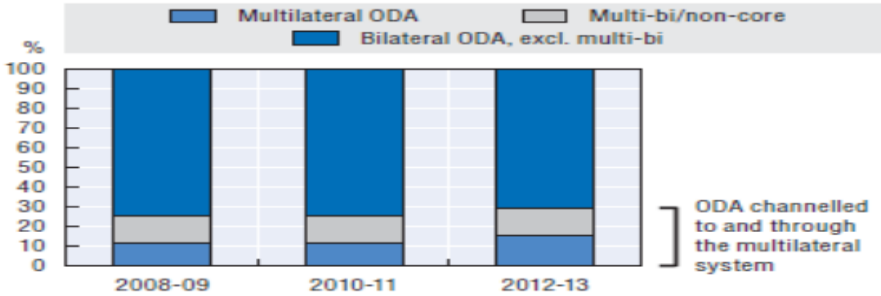


Graph 2: Bilateral aid sectors, 2013 Gross Expenditures (OECD, 2014, p. 379)

As it is seen in the graph 2, aid sectors include country programmable aid, humanitarian and food aid, debt relief, imputed student costs, refugees in donor country, administrative costs, Support to NGOs and other unallocated expenditures. The largest of these is country programmable aid with a rate of 57%, 19% allocated to humanitarian and food aid, 12% to other and unallocated expenditures, 7% to administrative costs, 4% to refugees in donor countries and 1% to non-governmental organizations. Of the 57% country programmable aid programs, 6% consists of budget support, 86% project-type interventions, 4% technical assistance, 4% contribution to pooled

programs and funds.

Aid Share through Multi-System: 2-year average gross expenditure

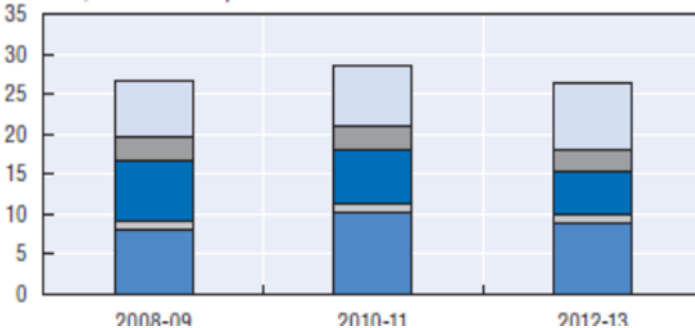


Graph 3: (OECD, 2014, p. 381)

In 2013, 86% of development aids were given bilaterally. The United States allocated 14% of its total aid to multilateral organizations as the main contribution, compared to the average of 27% of DAC member states. In addition, it channelled 16% of their bilateral aid to special projects implemented by multilateral organizations.



Billions USD, 2012 constant prices



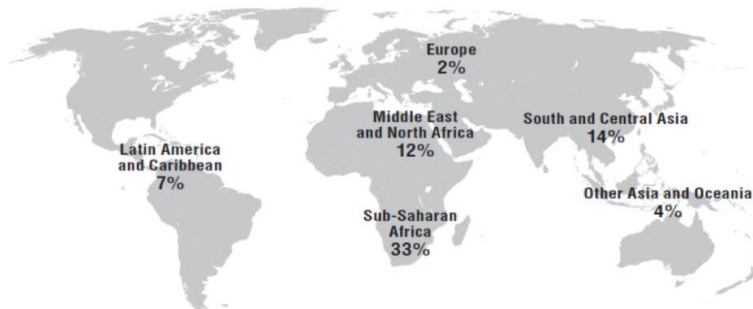
**Graph 4: Two-Year Average Gross Expenditures (OECD, 2014, p. 381)**

As seen in the graph 4, in all three periods, the highest amount of aid was allocated to the least developed and low-income countries, and the least amount of aids to upper-middle and other low-income countries.



**Figure 1: Average share of aid provided by the US in the period of 2012-2013 by sector (OECD, 2014, p. 381)**

According to the Figure 1, in 2012-2013 period, 29% of budget was allocated to Education, Health and Population, 20% to other social infrastructure, 17% to humanitarian aid, 11% to unspecified, 8% to economic infrastructure, 6% to multi-sector, 6% to production, 3% program assistance, and 0% to debt relief items.

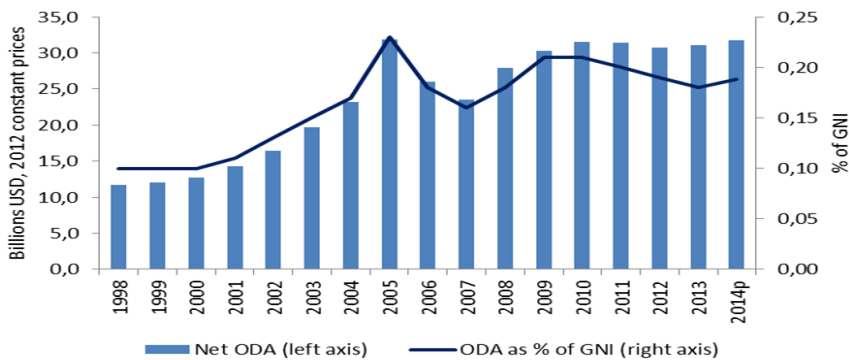


**Figure 2: U.S. bilateral development assistance by region, 2012-13 average gross expenditure (OECD, 2014, p. 382).**

Regionally, the highest values in foreign aid are seen in Sub-Saharan Africa with 33%, South and Central Asia with 14% and Middle East and North Africa with 12%. The lowest value in the aid provided by the US is the European region with 2%. According to these data, Southern Sahara Africa, where poverty is widespread and deep, takes the first place. There has been a significant increase in the amount of aid allocated to the region in parallel with the introduction of the

Millennium Development Goals. Amount of aid reached highest level in 2005. There seems a sharp decline in 2007. The amount of foreign aid declined below the level reached in 2003 at constant prices.

More than half of bilateral development assistance in 2013 was allocated to social infrastructure and services. Of this total amount of \$14 million, \$5.8 million was for population policies and programs, \$4.6 million for government and civil society support, and \$5 million for humanitarian aid.



Graph 5: 1998-2014 US Net Official Development Assistance: GNI share (OECD, 2015, p. 383)

According to the graph 5, the biggest increase in net development aids of the US was realized in 2005 with fixed dollar prices in 2012. The lowest values are observed in 1998. The aid, which started to rise in 1999, peaked in 2005. Similar values are also available in 2011 and 2014. But these values are seen after a normal rise. The aid, which was around 20.25 million dollars in 2004, increased to 30.25 in 2005, that’s an increase of 10 million dollars. Net ODA (Official Development Aid), which started to decline again after 2005, started to increase in 2008. There seems a similar situation in GDP.

### US Foreign Aid to Middle East and North Africa in the Bush and Obama Era

Bush (2001-2009) and Obama period aids (2010-2015) to Middle East and North Africa are analyzed comparatively in the light of US foreign policy and the data in 2001-2015 USAID and OECD Reports.

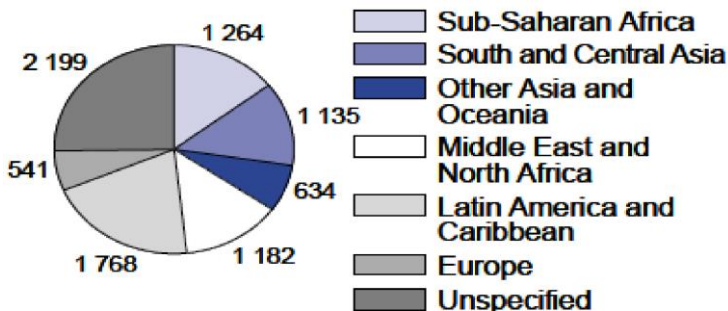
### US Foreign Aid to Middle East and North Africa in the Bush Era

The Great Middle East and The Greater Middle East Project were launched in that period. After 9/11 September, US Foreign policy focused mostly on Middle East, which can be reflected in aids to the region. In the 2001 period, 3 of the 10 countries benefitting the most from US aid according to national income were Middle East and North African countries. Those are Egypt in the 2nd top with 808 USD m (United States million dollar), Israel in the 3rd top with 568 USD m and Jordan in the 7th top with 173 USD m (OECD, 2002).

Table 3 (OECD, 2002, p. 116)

Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA/OA (US\$ million)		
1	Russia (OA)	834
2	Egypt	808
3	Israel (OA)	568
4	Pakistan	438
5	Ukraine (OA)	246
6	Colombia	228
7	Jordan	173
8	F.R.of Yugoslavia	159
9	Peru	158
10	Indonesia	158

Although Russia was the country receiving the most aid as an individual country, Middle East and North Africa ranked higher in total aid with 1182 million dollars.



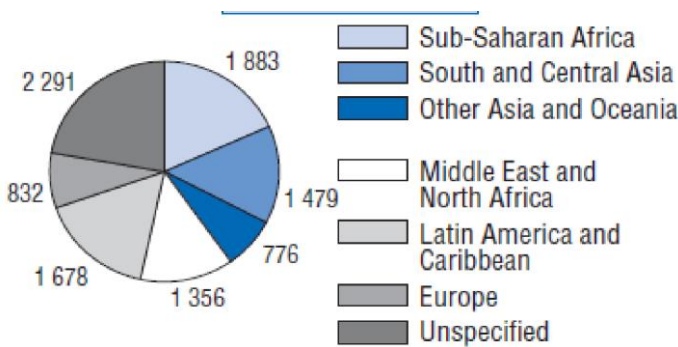
Graph 5 (OECD, 2002 p. 116)

As it can be understood from the graph 5, Middle East was the third region to receive the most aid after Latin America-Caribbean and Sub-Saharan Africa regions.

**Table 4 (OECD, 2003, p. 102)**

Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA/OA (US\$ million)		
1	Egypt	919
2	Russia (OA)	813
3	Israel (OA)	529
4	Pakistan	494
5	Serbia and Montenegro	353
6	Colombia	330
7	Ukraine (OA)	257
8	Jordan	225
9	Peru	188
10	Afghanistan	188

Of the 10 countries to benefit most from US aid for 2002, Egypt ranks first, Israel ranks third, and Jordan ranks eighth. In addition, since 2000, the amount of aid given to Egypt and Jordan seems to increase every year. Although Israel was one of the top 10 countries in 2002, the amount of aid it receives decreases every year (OECD, 2003).



**Graph 6 (OECD, 2003, p. 102)**

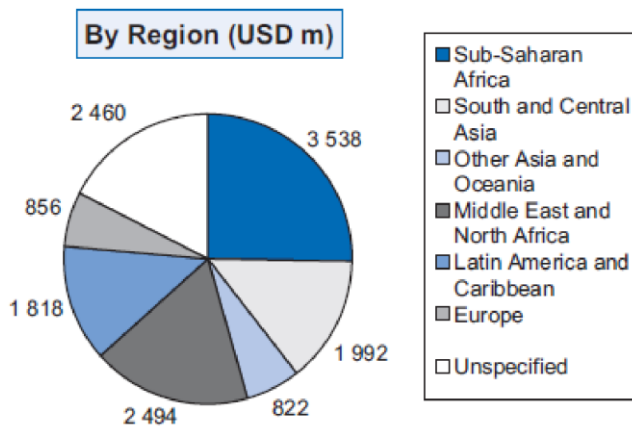
In the graph 6, regionally, Middle East and North Africa ranks fourth after South and Central-Asia in the amount of aid.

**Table 5 (OECD, 2004, p. 104)**



Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA/OA (US\$ million)		
1	Egypt	831
2	Russia (OA)	808
3	Iraq	775
4	Congo, Dem.Rep.	749
5	Israel (OA)	666
6	Pakistan	656
7	Jordan	622
8	Colombia	513
9	Afghanistan	427
10	Ethiopia	374

According to the table 5, Egypt seems to have benefited the most from US aid in the 2003-2004 period. While 919 USD m of aid was allocated for Egypt in 2002, 831 USD m was allocated for It in 2003. In that period, Irak ranked among 10 top countries to receive the most aid for the first time and had been third country to receive the most aid after Russia. Totally, 4 Middle East countries, including Israel 5th and Jordan 7th, ranked among the top 10 beneficiaries of aid. Therefore, an increase was observed in the amount of aid to Middle East countries such as Iraq, Isreal and Jordan except for Egypt, compared to 2002 (OECD, 2004, p. 104).



Graph 7 (OECD, 2004, p. 105)

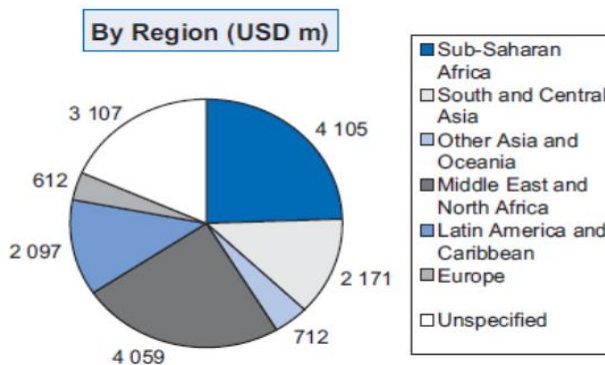
When considered regionally, Middle East and North Africa became the

second largest beneficiary region, after Sub-Saharan Africa, with 2494 USD m. The fact that Iraq was the critical target point for the US in that period and that It wanted to get the support of other Middle East countries for that aim accounts for the increase in the amount of aid.

Table 6 (OECD, 2005, p. 105)

Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA/OA (US\$ million)		
1	Iraq	2286
2	Congo Dem. Rep.	804
3	Egypt	767
4	Russia (OA)	737
5	Jordan	666
6	Afghanistan	632
7	Pakistan	590
8	Colombia	536
9	Israel (OA)	525
10	Ethiopia	500

As shown in the table 6, Iraq became the biggest beneficiary with 2286 USD m. This amount increased 3.5 times compared to the previous period. Egypt ranked the top 3rd with 767 USD m. However, this amount seems to be lower compared to the previous year. Jordan comes in 5th place. It received more aid than in the previous period. While Israel was in the 5th top as a beneficiary in the previous period, that time it fell to the 9th. In other words, 666 USD m aid decreased to 525 USD m.



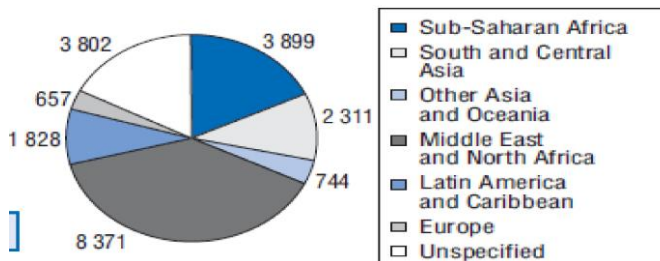
Graph 8 (OECD, 2005, p. 104)

According to the graph 8, Middle East and North Africa, as the beneficiary of US aid, came close to the 1st place. That lies in the political and economic strategic goals of the US such as Its desire to compensate for the great material damage it had done to Iraq, shaping the region as it wished, breaking the Anti-American thought emerged in the region and giving peaceful messages.

Table 7 (OECD, 2006)

Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA/OA (US\$ million)		
1	Iraq	6926
2	Afghanistan	1060
3	Egypt	750
4	Sudan	575
5	Ethiopia	552
6	Jordan	368
7	Colombia	366
8	Palestinian Adm. Areas	227
9	Uganda	225
10	Pakistan	224

As seen in the table 7, it is noteworthy that Iraq was at the top of aid beneficiaries by a large margin (6926 USD m). It is 6 times more than Afghanistan following itself. Egypt was ranked in the 3rd place, Jordan was in the 6th place, and the Palestinian Administrative region is in the 8th place. Since 2002, Afghanistan had been receiving increasing amounts of US aid. The amount allocated to Egypt and Jordan decreased compared to the previous year. Israel was not among the top 10 beneficiary countries for the first time in that period (OECD, 2006, p. 99).



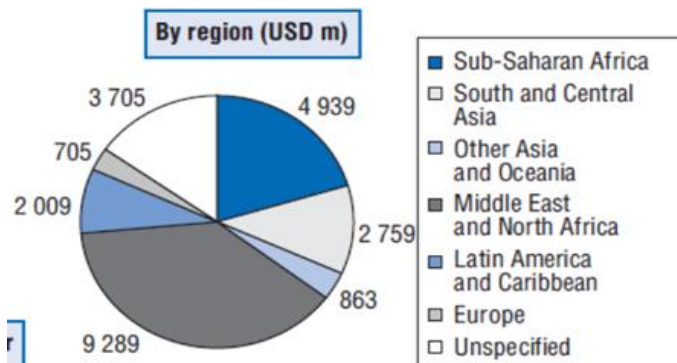
Graph 9: (ECD, 2006, p. 99)

As shown in graph 9, regionally Middle East and North Africa had ranked first for the first time as the beneficiary of US Aid. Of the total expenditure of 8371 USD m, 6926 USD m was allocated only to Iraq. This large amount was spent mostly for the reconstruction works of Iraq. During that period, Middle East received more than twice the amount of aid as its closest follower, Sub-Saharan Africa.

Table 8 (OECD, 2007, p. 100)

Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA/OA (US\$ million)		
1	Iraq	8005
2	Afghanistan	1361
3	Sudan	749
4	Colombia	588
5	Egypt	504
6	Ethiopia	498
7	Congo, Dem. Rep.	491
8	Nigeria	443
9	Pakistan	410
10	Jordan	346

According to the table 8, Iraq has received the highest amount of aid from the US in the period of 2006-2007 from until today as well as being the biggest beneficiary of ODA with 8005 USD m. Although Egypt was in the 5th place and Jordan was in the 10th place, the aid they received still decreased compared to the previous period (OECD, 2007).



Graph 10 (OECD, 2007, p. 91)

As three Middle East Countries received more aid than each other region, Middle East and North Africa ranked biggest beneficiary for the second time. It is almost twice as large as its closest follower, Sub-Saharan Africa.

### *Us Foreign Aid to Middle East and North Africa in the Obama Era*

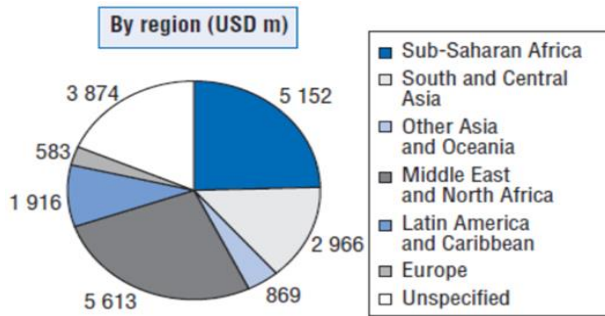
In that period, US maintains Its Greater Middle East Policy and depends majorly on soft power tools. Most aid expenditures are on democracy and governance, economic developments education and social services, environmental and health field, peace and security. Restoration work in Iraq still continues.

According to the table 9, although Iraq ranks first as a beneficiary, the amount It received in that period decreased by nearly 50% compared to the 2006-2007 period. Egypt received a higher amount of aid (541 USD m) compared to the previous period (504 USD m). During that period, Jordan is not among the top 10 beneficiaries.

Table 9 (OECD, 2009, p. 130)

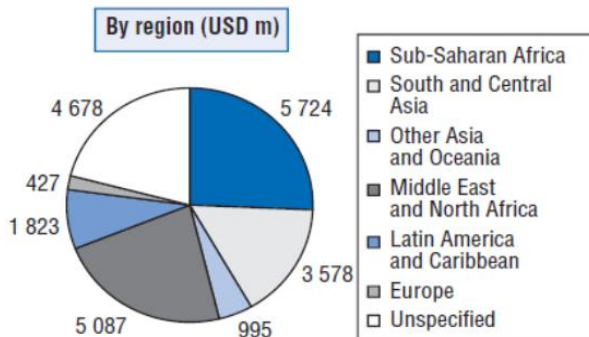
Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA/OA (US\$ million)		
1	Iraq	4266
2	Afghanistan	1459
3	Sudan	725
4	Colombia	562
5	Egypt	541
6	Nigeria	514
7	Congo, Dem. Rep.	486
8	Pakistan	465
9	Ethiopia	344
10	Kenya	304

As shown in graph 11, Middle East and North Africa has maintained its position as the region receiving the most aid for the third time in 2009.



Graph 11 (OECD, 2009, p. 131)

According to the graph 12, Middle East and North Africa dropped to the 2nd place in 2010 while receiving the most aid in 2006-2009. Still, 5087 USD m was a good figure in total. Regionally, Sub-Saharan Africa is in the 1st place, Middle East and North Africa is in the second place and other Asia and Oceania is in the 3rd place in that period.



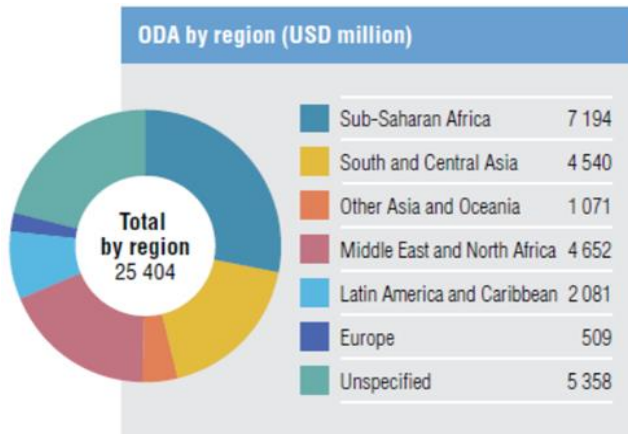
Graph 12: (OECD, 2010, p. 132)

Table 10 (OECD, 2010, p. 133)

Top Ten Recipients of Gross ODA/OA (US\$ million)		
1	Iraq	3246
2	Afghanistan	1816
3	Sudan	779
4	Egypt	684
5	Ethiopia	592
6	Colombia	520

7	Pakistan	398
8	Kenya	383
9	Palestinian Adm. Areas	351
10	Uganda	327

As seen in table 10, Iraq is the biggest beneficiary in 2010, with 3246 USD m. It had maintained its position since 2005. While Egypt was in the top 5 among the beneficiaries in the last 2 years, it rose to the 4th place in that period. Palestine, which was not among the top 10 beneficiaries before 2006, rose to the 8th place in 2006. 5 years after this period, that is, in 2010, it received 351 USD m and became one of the top 10 beneficiaries with the 9th place.



Graph 13 (OECD, 2012, p. 99)

As seen in the graph 13, Middle East and North Africa in the 2nd place in 2010, fell to the 4th place in 2011. Of the total of 25404 USD m regional aid, 4552 USD m is reserved for Middle East and North Africa.

Table 11 (OECD, 2012, p. 100)

1	Afghanistan	2549
2	Iraq	2544
3	Sudan	901

4	Ethiopia	769
5	Palestinian Adm. Areas	667
6	Colombia	645
7	Egypt	552
8	Kenya	516
9	Pakistan	484
10	South Africa	451

According to the table 11, Iraq, which received the most aid in the years 2005-2010, is seen as the 2nd in 2011 ranking. It was replaced by Afghanistan with 2549 USD m. Palestine Administrative Areas had increased from 9th place to 5th place by receiving nearly twice as much aid compared to 2010. Egypt, on the other hand, fell from the 5th rank in 2010 to the 7th rank in 2011.

**Table 12 (OECD, 2012, p. 100)**

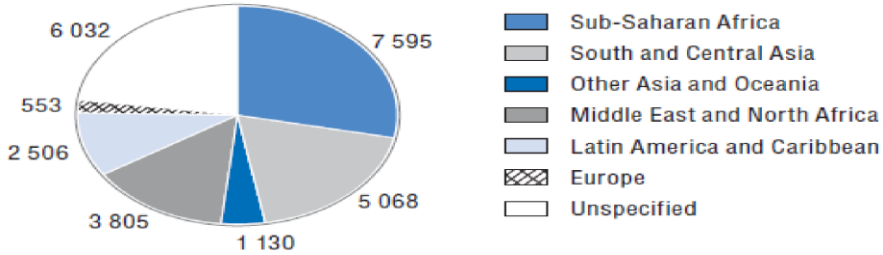
<b>Top Ten Recipients of Bilateral Assistance (US\$ million)</b>		
1	Afghanistan	2991
2	Iraq	1985
3	Pakistan	906
4	Sudan	840
5	Ethiopia	801
6	West Bank and Gaza Strip	783
7	Haiti	714
8	Kenya	579
9	Colombia	539
10	South Africa	527

As seen in the table 12, among Middle East countries, Iraq ranks second with 1985 USD m, West Bank and Gaza Strip ranks 6th with 783 USD m and Egypt is not seen among the top 10 beneficiary countries for the first time in 2012. Egypt having received uninterrupted assistance from the US since the 1990s, does not appear on the 2012 list.

According to graph 14, in 2012, Middle East and North Africa was the 4th region to receive the most aid from the US. Sub-Saharan Africa keeps its position as the first top. Europe was the smallest beneficiary. Moreover, 2.1 m dollars of bilateral aid was allocated for Middle East



and North Africa.



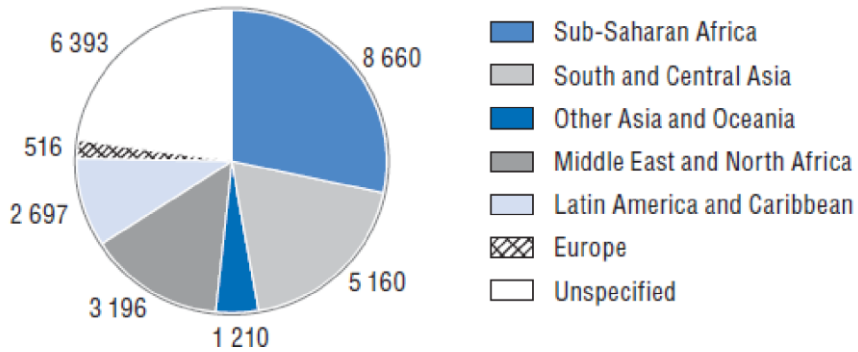
Graph 14 (OECD, 2012, p. 100)

According to the table 13, Iraq was in the 2nd place with 14443 USD and the West Bank and Gaze Strip was the 7th place with 673 USD m. Aid to both countries decreased in 2013 compared to 2012.

Table 13 (OECD, 2013, p.232)

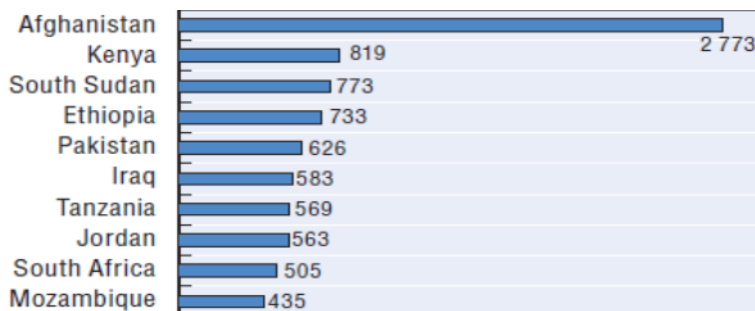
Top Ten Recipients of Aids by National Income (US\$ million)		
1	Afghanistan	2951
2	Iraq	1443
3	Pakistan	1237
4	Congo, Democratic Republic	1053
5	Haiti	864
6	Ethiopia	791
7	West Bank and Gaza Strip	673
8	Kenya	642
9	South Africa	547
10	Tanzania	496

As seen in the graph 15, Middle East and North Africa was still 4th region to receive the most aid in 2013.



Graph 15 (OECD, 2013, p. 233)

According to the graph 16, the aid to Iraq decreased approximately 3 times (583 USD m) compared to 2013 (1443 USD m) and fell to the 6th place. The West Bank and Gaza Strip were not among the top 10 aid recipients in 2014. Jordan, among the top ten for the last time in 2007, became one of the top 10 (7th place) countries receiving the most aid in 2013, 7 years later.



Graph 16 (OECD, 2014, p.85)

Share of Bilateral Aid by Region, 2011-12 Average, The US Gross Expenditure

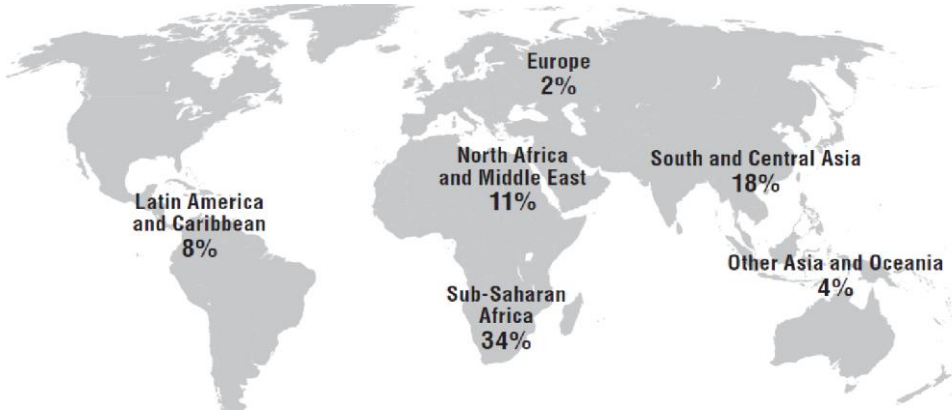
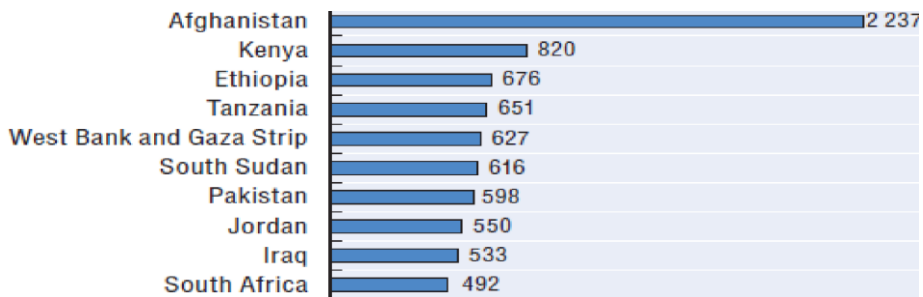


Figure 3 (OECD, 2014, p. 86)

As shown in the map, North Africa and Middle East was the 3rd region to receive the most aid with 11%. Despite that, the amount of aid given is low compared to 2012. Sub-Saharan Africa and South-Central Asia regions received the highest share of aid, respectively.

According to the graph 17, the West Bank and Gaza Strip was the 5th country to receive the most aid with 627 USD m, Jordan was the 8th country with 550 USD, and Iraq was the 9th country with 533 USD m, respectively, among Middle East countries. Egypt does not appear in that list.

Development assistance for bilateral countries: Gross expenditures in 2012-13



Graph 17 (OECD, 2015, p. 100)

Below, Middle East and North Africa is seen as the 3rd region to receive the most aid with a share of 12%.

U.S. bilateral development assistance by region, average gross expenditures in 2012-13

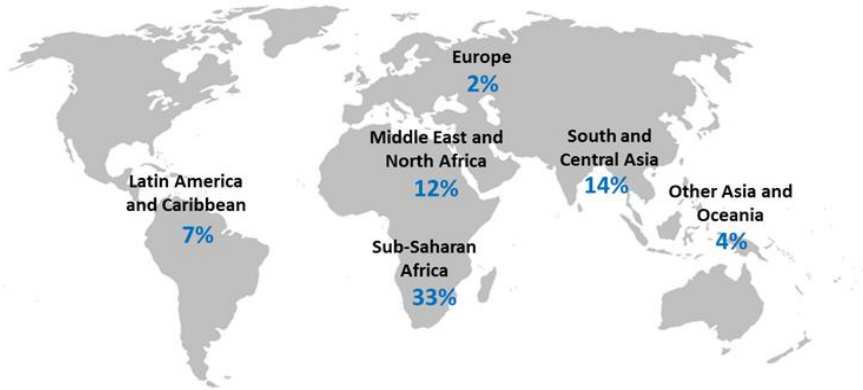


Figure 4 (OECD, 2015, p. 100)

Approximately \$6 billion of the \$35 billion financial aid provided by the United States in 2014 consisted of foreign military aid. According to the “2015 Fiscal Year Foreign Aid Report” prepared by the Department of States, the country to receive the most military aid in 2015 was Israel with 3.1 billion dollars. Following Israel, Egypt got \$1.3 billion foreign support from Washington.

Based on available USAID data, US aid expenditures in the fields of Democracy and Governance, Economic Development, Education and Social Services, Environment, Health, Peace and Security Expenditures and Program management in 2011-2015 are provided below. Each sector consists of sub-fields within itself.

Table 14 (USAID, 2022, p.55)

Democracy and Governance					
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Civil Society	15.8	28.1	10.0	6.8	1.2
Good Governance	2.7	1.9	2.9	0.5	2.0
Political Competition and	1.3	10.8	3.9	8.0	5.1

Consensus					
Rules of Law and Human Rights	12.0	3.6	0.9	1.1	2.8
<b>TOTAL- \$MILLION</b>	<b>31.8</b>	<b>44.4</b>	<b>17.6</b>	<b>16.3</b>	<b>11.1</b>

If the "Democracy and Governance" sector is studied, it is seen that the most spent field in 2011-2013 is "Civil Society". In 2014 and 2015, "Political Competition and Consensus" comes first. "Civil Society" ranks 2nd in 2014 and 4th in 2015, that is, it is the field with the least expenditure. The biggest expenditure of this field was realized in 2012. As of 2013, total aid has decreased and the lowest expenditure of five years in total is seen in 2015.

Table 15 (USAID, 2022, p. 57)

Economic Development					
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Agriculture	4.4	5.6	1.4	0.2	1.7
Economic Opportunity	0.0	5.8	8.2	6.2	0.4
Financial Sector	8.6	2.1	301.7	0.3	1.8
Infrastructure	-	-	0.2	0.0	0.0
Private Sector Competitiveness	5.3	17.3	23.2	14.6	10.9
Trade and Investment	0.2	1.3	0.1	4.9	3.4
Macro-economic Basis for Growth	-	-	190.4	0.6	-
<b>TOTAL-\$MILLION</b>	<b>18.5</b>	<b>32.1</b>	<b>525.3</b>	<b>26.7</b>	<b>18.2</b>

The largest aid expenditure in Economic Development is seen in 2013. In this period, "the financial sector" takes the largest share. It is followed by "macro-economic basis for growth" and "Private sector competitiveness". In total expenditure, after 2013, the years 2012, 2011 and 2015 come respectively. Therefore, the lowest aid expenditure is seen in 2015 with \$18.2 m. While "financial sector" constituted the item with the highest expenditure in 2011-2013, "Private sector competitiveness" came in 2012, 2014 and 2015.

Table 16 (USAID, 2022, p.58)

Education and Social Services					
	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Basic Education	15.2	15.5	17.6	12.4	12.4

<b>Higher Education</b>	<b>9.5</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>6.7</b>	<b>9.1</b>
<b>Social Aid</b>	<b>0.1</b>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>11.3</b>	<b>1.6</b>	<b>0.5</b>
<b>TOTAL- \$MILLION</b>	<b>24.9</b>	<b>33.6</b>	<b>38.0</b>	<b>20.7</b>	<b>22.0</b>

“Education and Social Services” was taken as a single item and divided into three separate fields within itself. Repeatedly, during the years 2011-2015, the most spent field is “Basic Education”. Higher education is the second highest spending field every year except 2013. “Social aid” constitutes the last item of aid, except for 2013. In total, the highest expenditure was made in 2013. While the total aid has always been on the rise since 2011, it decreased in 2014 and increased again in 2015. 2014 is the period in which total “Education and Social Aid” expenditures were the lowest.

Table 17 (USAID, 2022, p. 59)

	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>
<b>ENVIRONMENT EXPENDITURE- \$MILLION</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>2.6</b>	<b>287.0</b>

While the lowest environmental expenditure was observed in 2012, the highest expenditure was observed in 2013. No information is available about the years 2014-2015. Expenditure for 2013 alone (\$287 m) represents a very high amount.

Table 18 (USAID, 2022, p.60)

<b>Health Expenditures -\$Million</b>					
	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
Family Planning and Reproductive Health	1.9	0.1	-	1.3	1.3
HIV and AIDS	0.6	0.1	-		0.1
Maternal and Child Health	0.6	-	0.1	3.6	7.6
Other Public Health Threats	4.2	0.1	2.5	0.2	2.0
Water Supply and Sanitation	12.5	15.9	16.1	6.1	6.4
Flu, Pandemic and	-	-	1.5	1.2	1.0

other threats					
Nutrition	-	-	-	-	0.7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>19.8</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>20.2</b>	<b>12.5</b>	<b>19.2</b>

In total, health expenditures are given in 2013, 2011, 2015, 2012 and 2014 respectively. Here again, as in other areas, the highest aid expenditures in 2013 are in health, too. To analyze sub-sectors, "Water Supply and Sanitation" consistently constitutes the aid item with the highest expenditure in 2011-2014. While this sector is seen in the second place in 2015, "Mother and Child health" takes the first place. It has been on the rise since 2013 and has moved to the top in health expenditures in 2015.

Table 19 (USAID, 2022, p. 61)

PEACE AND SECURITY EXPENDITURES	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Transnational Crimes	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.3
Counterterrorism	0.0	0.0	2.4	0.5	0.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>0.0</b>	<b>2.4</b>	<b>0.6</b>	<b>0.3</b>

Peace and security expenditures have been included since 2013. The highest total expenditure was also made in that year. The decline, which started in 2014, decreased to the lowest level in 2015. Counterterrorism is the most spent aid item among the sub-sectors. It decreased in 2014 and no expenditure was made in that field in 2015. Aids that started in 2014 for "transnational crimes" increased in 2015. Totally, it still does not represent a high value.

Table 20 (USAID, 2022, p.63)

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT- \$MILLION	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
	13.2	11.5	10.4	7.4	4.4

Program management expenditures, the necessary expenses for the

formation of the team to deliver the aid and for the path to be followed, were at the highest level in 2011. The amount of aid steadily decreasing every year since 2012, decreased to the lowest level in 2015. This means that the expenditures required at the initial level of program management decreased over time as the system settled.

To summarize aid expenditures, figures given in the table below emerge.

Table 21 (OECD, 2015, p. 100)

Million Dolar	MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA			
	2002-03	2007-08	2012-13	2014-2015
USA	20.9	25.7	13.1	11

The US aid to Middle East and North Africa was in its normal course before 2002, but increased in the 2002-2003 period, which denotes tendency of the US to Middle East. 2007-8 term shows utmost focus of the US on the region for the aids peaked in 2007-2008 and decreases had been observed since 2010.

## Conclusion

In Bush era, US aid to Middle East and North Africa was in its normal course in first two year. Aid flows into Middle East region increased after the 2003 US intervention in Iraq. Resources (aids) transferred for "restructuring" or "humanitarian" purposes for the countries that came out of war are also included in the scope of foreign aid, and they therefore increase during the war period (Karagöz, 2010, p.8). After the Iraq Intervention, US aids were directed mostly to Iraq and Afghanistan individually. While Jordan was consistently among the top 10 beneficiary countries until 2009, that position changed, that's, amount of aid decreased in 2009 and remained so until 2014. Iraq received foreign aid for the first time in 2003-2004, and since 2005, it had become the country receiving the most aid from the US. It maintained that position until 2010, and from that date until 2013, it



followed the 2nd rank. Isreal ranked top ten untill 2005. In 2006, Palestinian Adm. Areas took place of Isreal. Eygpt ranked top ten throughout Bush era. It can be concluded that The US' s Middle East and North Africa Projects was fulfilled substantially basing on Its high aid expenditures for the region.

In Obama Period, Middle East development aid, having reduced since 2010, gave signals that the US would gradually withdraw from the region, turned Its direction mostly towards Sub-Saharan Africa, North and South Asia, Oceania, and partially Latin America. The total amount of aid decreased compared to pre -2010 and the amounts of aid were decreasing more and more every year. That accounts for the economic troubles the US went through and the measures It took.

After 2014, amount of aid to Iraq decreased to lower levels. Despite that, It benefited from the aid in top ten. While Israel was one of the 10 countries to receive the most aid consistently before 2005, It lost that position from 2005 to 2013 and it can be seen that Afghanistan, Palestine, Pakistan and other Islamic countries took Its place. While Egypt was among the top ten countries to receive the most aid consistently before 2012, it did not keep Its position as of 2012. The biggest expenditure items were economic aid, education and social services and environmental expenditures, respectively. Although democracy and governance sector did not not rank first, it still pointed to the US's goal of achieving significant transformations in the region. In particular, aid expenditures in 2013 peaked. After that year, decreases in the amount of aid are observed. That expounds the fact that the aid provided to Middle East and North Africa region reached the saturation point, and Russia and China had risen, and a competitive field had opened for the US in South America, Africa and the Caucasus, and the US started to turn its direction to those regions. To conclude, during Obama era, the US Middle East Projects were maintained at decreasing rate with soft power tools.

When 2004 and post 2004 OECD Reports are examined, it can be seen

that most of the top 10 countries benefiting from US aid were predominantly Islamic countries, and more and more Islamic countries were included every year. It shows that the US tried to give the image that It was pro-peace and benevolent and tried to break the anti-Americanism in the Islamic world. It can be accounted in context of GMP and the Greater Middle East Projects.

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