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MOST AID RECIPIENTS VOTE AGAINST U.S. AT U.N.

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The Clinton Administration argues that a robust foreign aid program serves the national interests of the United States. For example, J. Brian Atwood, the Director of the Agency for International Development (AID), defended his foreign aid program by insisting that:

Our [foreign] aid program has obviously served American national interests, and along with our military power it has been an expression of responsible American leadership.¹

While some foreign aid programs serve U.S. national interests, many of them do not. Even a cursory examination of the facts demonstrates that foreign aid often does not command the respect of U.S. aid recipients for American interests and values. Those interests are broadly defined in an annual State Department report entitled *Voting Practices in the United Nations*. The report states: "The Security Council and the General Assembly are arguably the most important international bodies in the world, dealing as they do with such vital issues as threats to peace and security, disarmament, development, humanitarian relief, human rights, the environment and narcotics—all of which can and do directly affect major U.S. interests."² The report thus makes a direct connection between American interests and issues considered each year by the United Nations.

If such a direct connection between U.S. interests and U.N. actions exists, as supporters of high levels of foreign aid contend, U.S. foreign aid recipients should be voting with the U.S. in the U.N. most of the time. However, this is not the case. On the contrary, the available data suggest that most recipients of U.S. foreign aid vote against the U.S. in the United Nations most of the time. Consider the following facts derived from the 1994 U.N. session:

- ✓ **Some 74 percent of U.S. foreign aid recipients** voting in the 1994 U.N. session did so against the U.S. a majority of the time.
- ✓ **India**, which will receive over \$155 million in foreign aid this year, voted against the U.S. 84 percent of the time. That is as often as Cuba.

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1 Remarks by J. Brian Atwood to the Center for National Policy, Washington, D.C., December 14, 1994.

2 *Voting Practices in the United Nations 1992* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of State, 1993), p. 9-10.

✓ **Russia**, as part of the Soviet Union, confronted the U.S. on nearly every issue during the Cold War. Indeed, some of the great superpower clashes of the Cold War occurred at the U.N. But Russia last year voted against the U.S. only 33 percent of the time. Of the 113 countries that are foreign aid recipients and also members of the U.N., 95 of them voted against the U.S. more times than Russia.

✓ **The top ten countries** that voted against the U.S. the most will receive nearly \$313 million in foreign aid in fiscal year 1995 (see top chart).

✓ **All but one of America's top ten largest recipients** of foreign aid (Israel) voted against the U.S. a majority of the time in the 1994 session of the U.N. (see middle chart).

✓ **Egypt** voted against the U.S. 65 percent of the time in 1994. It will be rewarded with over \$2 billion in aid in fiscal 1995.

✓ **Peru** voted against the U.S. 55 percent of the time in 1994. Yet Peru will receive over \$150 million in U.S. aid in fiscal 1995.

✓ **Of the ten countries** that voted with the U.S. the most, nine are former Soviet bloc countries (see bottom chart).

Thus, while there are many reasons why a country may vote with or against the U.S. at the U.N., clearly the amount of aid they receive from the U.S. is not one of them. If the voting record of an aid recipient at the U.N. is any record of whether countries are serving U.S. interests—and champions of foreign aid must conclude that it is—then the U.S. is not getting its money's worth.

Top Ten Countries Voting Against The U.S. at the U.N. and Total U.S. Foreign Aid for FY 1995

	U.N. Votes Against U.S. in 1994	FY 1995 Aid
1. India	84 %	\$155,479,000
2. Laos	80 %	\$2,000,000
3. China (PRC)	77%	\$771,000
4. Lebanon	71%	\$9,195,000
5. Burundi	70%	\$15,772,000
6. Sri Lanka	70%	\$35,872,000
7. Zimbabwe	70%	\$31,729,000
8. Algeria	69%	\$75,000
9. Angola	69%	\$5,000,000
10. Ghana	69%	\$56,587,000

Top Ten Largest Recipients of U.S. Foreign Aid and their U.N. Voting Record

	FY 1995 Aid	U.N. Votes Against U.S. in 1994
1. Israel	\$3,003,600,000	5%
2. Egypt	\$2,121,729,000	65%
3. India	\$155,479,000	84%
4. Peru	\$150,516,000	55%
5. Bolivia	\$134,178,000	56%
6. Bangladesh	\$112,679,000	64%
7. Ethiopia	\$92,148,000	61%
8. Haiti	\$88,813,000	57%
9. South Africa	\$82,453,000	58%
10. Philippines	\$74,004,000	61%

Top Ten Countries Voting With the U.S. at the U.N.

	U.N. Votes Against U.S. in 1994	FY 1995 Aid
1. Israel	5%	\$3,003,600,000
2. Georgia	19%	\$75,000
3. Slovak Republic	20%	\$1,589,000
4. Hungary	20%	\$3,420,000
5. Czech Republic	21%	\$1,954,000
6. Poland	22%	\$4,068,000
7. Bulgaria	22%	\$1,682,000
8. Albania	22%	\$1,249,000
9. Moldova	23%	\$1,011,000
10. Slovenia	24%	\$125,000

These voting records demonstrate that an overwhelming majority of the recipients of U.S. foreign aid fail to support U.S. interests abroad. In fact, the data show that some of these countries actually undermine U.S. policies abroad. This information begs the question: Why is the U.S. spending so much money on countries who care little about America's interests abroad? When foreign aid is scrutinized as a target for cutting the federal budget, Congress would do well to look further into these numbers. Not only has foreign aid failed at its primary mission of promoting economic development, it often has failed too, at supporting America's national interests abroad.³

3 For a full discussion on the poor record of foreign aid in economic development, see Bryan Johnson and Thomas P. Sheehy, *The Index of Economic Freedom* (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation: 1995).

**Recipients of U.S. Foreign Aid and Their Percentage of Votes Against
U.S.-Supported Issues in the United Nations**
(listed by percentage of votes cast against U.S.)

Country	FY '95 U.S. Aid ¹	U.N. vote '94 ²
India	\$155,479,000	84%
Laos	2,000,000	80
China, People's Rep. of	771,000	77
Lebanon	9,195,000	71
Burundi	15,772,000	70
Sri Lanka	35,872,000	70
Zimbabwe	31,729,000	70
Algeria	75,000	69
Angola	5,000,000	69
Ghana	56,587,000	69
Indonesia	67,601,000	68
Pakistan	2,500,000	68
Mexico	19,710,000	67
Mozambique	54,250,000	67
Yemen	12,356,000	67
Congo	3,651,000	66
Burkina Faso	12,737,000	65
Colombia	46,096,000	65
Egypt	2,121,729,000	65
Jordan	24,545,000	65
Mali	42,842,000	65
Uganda	45,725,000	65
Bangladesh	112,679,000	64
Namibia	15,562,000	64
Seychelles	651,000	64
Malaysia	500,000	63
Ecuador	18,512,000	62
Nigeria	32,337,000	62
Oman	1,305,000	62
Thailand	5,847,000	62

¹ Total foreign assistance, FY 1995 budget request. From *Congressional Presentation: Summary Tables, Fiscal Year 1995* (Washington, D.C.: Agency for International Development, 1994.) This number includes only bilateral assistance and omits foreign aid given through indirect sources like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and U.S. "regional" aid. For example, nearly 97% of U.S. foreign aid for Eastern Europe and the Newly Independent States (former Soviet Union) comes in the form of regional assistance.

² **Source:** *Voting Practices in the United Nations 1994*, Report submitted to Congress pursuant to Public Law 101-167, by the United States Department of State, Washington, D.C., March 31, 1995. The percentage numbers are based only on votes where a recorded "yes" or "no" occurred. They omit abstentions and other "non-votes." The percentage "voting against" numbers in this table are based on percentage votes in favor of all resolutions voted on by the U.S. in each given year. All percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number.

Togo	7,451,000	62
Tunisia	3,460,000	62
Venezuela	750,000	62
Brazil	12,785,000	61
Cameroon	6,278,000	61
Ethiopia	92,148,000	61
Kenya	38,458,000	61
Lesotho	7,952,000	61
Philippines	74,004,000	61
Zambia	43,990,000	61
Botswana	6,733,000	60
Cape Verde	7,444,000	60
Cyprus	15,000,000	60
Mauritania	3,338,000	60
Nepal	30,073,000	60
Niger	24,535,000	60
Papua New Guinea	2,336,000	59
Singapore	20,000	59
Benin	20,578,000	58
Central African Republic	5,861,000	58
Djibouti	480,000	58
Guyana	9,232,000	58
Madagascar	35,707,000	58
Malawi	42,347,000	58
Mongolia	11,091,000	58
South Africa	82,453,000	58
Guinea	27,116,000	57
Haiti	88,813,000	57
Jamaica	17,748,000	57
Mauritius	247,000	57
Bahrain	75,000	56
Belize	3,942,000	56
Bolivia	134,178,000	56
Panama	8,007,000	56
Surinam	50,000	56
Comoros	1,528,000	55
Guatemala	42,588,000	55
Honduras	39,141,000	55
Ivory Coast	10,640,000	55
Paraguay	6,945,000	55
Peru	150,516,000	55
Gambia	12,814,000	54
Chile	5,550,000	54
Gabon	3,794,000	54

Maldives	50,000	54
Senegal	35,421,000	54
Sierra Leone	4,896,000	54
Bahamas	700,000	53
El Salvador	69,119,000	53
Morocco	26,510,000	53
Uruguay	1,620,000	53
Nicaragua	56,623,000	52
Cambodia	27,594,000	51
Kyrgyzstan	1,029,000	51
Costa Rica	8,254,000	50
Fiji	1,786,000	50
Swaziland	8,500,000	50
Uzbekistan	1,458,000	47
Turkmenistan	1,155,000	45
Korea, Republic of	10,000	44
Armenia	1,356,000	43
Belarus	100,000	43
Solomon Islands	1,228,000	43
Kazakhstan	1,819,000	40
Rwanda	19,988,000	40
Ukraine	2,230,000	37
Marshall Islands	795,000	35
Russia	3,530,000	33
Argentina	965,000	32
Micronesia	2,035,000	31
Eritrea	8,627,000	30
Malta	150,000	30
Greece	50,000	29
Estonia	200,000	25
Romania	1,915,000	24
Slovenia	125,000	24
Moldova	1,011,000	23
Albania	1,249,000	22
Bulgaria	1,682,000	22
Poland	4,068,000	22
Czech Republic	1,954,000	21
Hungary	3,420,000	20
Slovak Republic	1,589,000	20
Georgia	75,000	19
Israel	3,003,600,000	5

**Recipients of U.S. Foreign Aid and Their Percentage of Votes Against
U.S. Supported Issues in the United Nations**
(listed by level of foreign assistance)

Country	FY '95 U.S. Aid	U.N. vote '94
Israel	\$3,003,600,000	5%
Egypt	2,121,729,000	65
India	155,479,000	84
Peru	150,516,000	55
Bolivia	134,178,000	56
Bangladesh	112,679,000	64
Ethiopia	92,148,000	61
Haiti	88,813,000	57
South Africa	82,453,000	58
Philippines	74,004,000	61
El Salvador	69,119,000	53
Indonesia	67,601,000	68
Nicaragua	56,623,000	52
Ghana	56,587,000	69
Mozambique	54,250,000	67
Colombia	46,096,000	65
Uganda	45,725,000	65
Zambia	43,990,000	61
Mali	42,842,000	65
Guatemala	42,588,000	55
Malawi	42,347,000	58
Honduras	39,141,000	55
Kenya	38,458,000	61
Sri Lanka	35,872,000	70
Madagascar	35,707,000	58
Senegal	35,421,000	54
Nigeria	32,337,000	62
Zimbabwe	31,729,000	70
Nepal	30,073,000	60
Cambodia	27,594,000	51
Guinea	27,116,000	57
Morocco	26,510,000	53
Jordan	24,545,000	65
Niger	24,535,000	60
Benin	20,578,000	58
Rwanda	19,988,000	40
Mexico	19,710,000	67
Ecuador	18,512,000	62

Jamaica	17,748,000	57
Burundi	15,772,000	70
Namibia	15,562,000	64
Cyprus	15,000,000	60
Gambia	12,814,000	54
Brazil	12,785,000	61
Burkina Faso	12,737,000	65
Yemen	12,356,000	67
Mongolia	11,091,000	58
Ivory Coast	10,640,000	55
Guyana	9,232,000	58
Lebanon	9,195,000	71
Eritrea	8,627,000	30
Swaziland	8,500,000	50
Costa Rica	8,254,000	50
Panama	8,007,000	56
Lesotho	7,952,000	61
Togo	7,451,000	62
Cape Verde	7,444,000	60
Paraguay	6,945,000	55
Botswana	6,733,000	60
Cameroon	6,278,000	61
Central African Republic	5,861,000	58
Thailand	5,847,000	62
Chile	5,550,000	54
Angola	5,000,000	69
Sierra Leone	4,896,000	54
Poland	4,068,000	22
Belize	3,942,000	56
Gabon	3,794,000	54
Congo	3,651,000	66
Russia	3,530,000	33
Tunisia	3,460,000	62
Hungary	3,420,000	20
Mauritania	3,338,000	60
Pakistan	2,500,000	68
Papua New Guinea	2,336,000	59
Ukraine	2,230,000	37
Micronesia	2,035,000	31
Laos	2,000,000	80
Czech Republic	1,954,000	21
Romania	1,915,000	24
Kazakhstan	1,819,000	40
Fiji	1,786,000	50

Bulgaria	1,682,000	22
Uruguay	1,620,000	53
Slovak Republic	1,589,000	20
Comoros	1,528,000	55
Uzbekistan	1,458,000	47
Armenia	1,356,000	43
Oman	1,305,000	62
Albania	1,249,000	22
Solomon Islands	1,228,000	43
Turkmenistan	1,155,000	45
Kyrgyzstan	1,029,000	51
Moldova	1,011,000	23
Argentina	965,000	32
Marshall Islands	795,000	35
China, People's Rep. of	771,000	77
Venezuela	750,000	62
Bahamas	700,000	53
Seychelles	651,000	64
Malaysia	500,000	63
Djibouti	480,000	58
Mauritius	247,000	57
Estonia	200,000	25
Malta	150,000	30
Slovenia	125,000	24
Belarus	100,000	43
Algeria	75,000	69
Bahrain	75,000	56
Georgia	75,000	19
Greece	50,000	29
Maldives	50,000	54
Surinam	50,000	56
Singapore	20,000	59
Korea, Republic of	10,000	44

