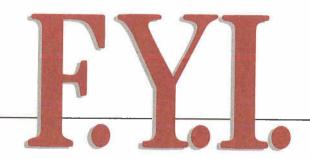
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DOES FOREIGN AID SERVE U.S. INTERESTS? NOT AT THE UNITED NATIONS

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ongress has tried unsuccessfully for several years to make fundamental reforms to the U.S. foreign aid program. Chief among these is abolishing the Agency for International Development (AID), which distributes most of this aid. Congress's attempts to pass foreign aid authorizing legislation that includes the elimination of AID and other substantial changes have been thwarted by threats of a veto by President Clinton. In fact, the entire U.S. foreign aid program has continued without the usual congressional authorization since 1985.

In its campaign to retain the foreign aid status quo, the Clinton Administration has relied on a number of ever-changing arguments. One of those most frequently heard is that foreign aid supports and advances U.S. interests overseas. The AID claims, for example, that foreign aid helps the United States gain influence with countries around the world and that foreign aid is necessary to gain foreign support for U.S. policy. AID Administrator J. Brian Atwood warned last year, "I fear we will undermine the ability of our nation to project its interests abroad if we discard a tool of foreign policy [AID] before determining if we still need it."

One measure of the U.S. foreign aid program's influence around the world is the voting records of U.S. foreign aid recipients in the United Nations (U.N.). Despite its many problems, the U.N. continues to be a forum in which the United States seeks international cooperation on vital U.S. interests.² An examination of the U.N. voting records of foreign aid recipients, however, reveals a

Statement of J. Brian Atwood, Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development, before the House Committee on Appropriations, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs, April 24, 1996.

² In the most recently concluded U.N. session, several U.S.-identified vital policy issues were considered, including U.S.-sponsored resolutions on human rights, extension of the economic embargo on the rogue nation of Cuba, resolutions to open international trade, and U.S. initiatives to combat international crime, drug trafficking, and terrorism.

Votes Against U.S.-Supported Issues in the United Nations by Recipients of U.S. Foreign Aid

	FT % U.S. Aid	9661 NO ui			FY '96 U.S. Aid	in UN, 1996			FY '96 115 Aid	in CZ, 199
I. India	\$153,445,000	76%	46.	Thailand	\$7.083,000	%09	16	Solomon Islands	#1747.000 F	\$C.3
2. Laos	2,500,000	74	47.	Tunisia	775.000	09	65	I huguay	1 380 000	3 5
3. Lebanon	6,575,000	73	48.	Botswana	2.02 \$ 000		- 63	Azerbaian 1	000,000,1	5 S
4. China	893,000	29	49.	Тодо	2.015.000	59	94	Malta	155,000	3 6
5. Mauntania	2,410,000	. 69	- 50.	Bahrain	150000	2.0.58	.95	Samos	0000001	3 &
6. Nigeria	7,500,000	69	51.	Brazil	13,740,000	58	96	Costa Rica	1 246 000	ξ 4 α
7. Indonesia	57,457,000	. 89	52	Entrea	18,611,000	281 581 F	6	Dominican Ren	13.415.000	2.4
8. Sudan	10,053,000	29	53.	Guyana	4,019,000	58	98	Sevchelles	75,000	4 4
9. Burundi	2,716,000	. 99	54.	Keaya		58	99	Armeniā	\$6153,000	44
0. Ghana	57,459,000	99	55.	Mauritius	53,000	58	100.	Greece	25.000	43
. Papua New Guinea	2,148,000		. 56.	Panama	4,751,000		101	Bosha Herzepovina 2	000005866	C
	25,418,000	99	57.	Senegal	31,033,000	58	102.	Belarus	10 300 000	4
3. Algeria	75,000	65	58	Trinidad & Tobago	100,000	28.	1033	Russia	177572,000	4
4. Bangladesh	69,880,000	65	59.	Venezuela	850,000	58	104	Ukraine	186,583,000	4
5. Gambia	1,883,000		09	Ecuador	17,306,000		105	-Kvigovstan	\$1,309,000	40
6. Sri Lanka	12,666,000	65	.19	Ethiopia	106,279,000	57	106	Rep. of Korea	25,000	40 4
7. Uganda	23,891,000	59	. 62.	Jamaica	15.883.000 4	27	107	Argentina	600,002	2 g
8. Angola	47,062,000	64	63.	Mali	41,382,000	57	108	Cyprus	1 500 000	62
9. Guinea-Bissau	7,489,000	. 49	9-9	Peru '	112,700,000	25	109	Kazakhstan	141018100	28
20. Pakistan	4,653,000	64	65.	Singapore	25,000	57	.0	Turkey	000.929	8 8
21. Cameroon	3,196,000	63	. 99	Zambia	21.805,000°	55	· III.	Micronesia	1763.000	36
	18,040,000	63	. 29	Belize	1,276,000	56	112	Georgia	33.275.000	33
23. Namibia	12,699,000	63	.68	Hada Str. 1	-109,526,000	. 95	113.	Ireland	000'009'61	32
	26,296,000	63	.69	Honduras	28,814,000	56	114	Albania	32,106,000	3
	7.411,000	62	. 70	Maldives		56	115.	Croatia	9,350,000	29
	1,239,000	62	71.	Morocco	22,227,000	56	116.	Macedonia	16,300,000	28
27. Chad	1,505,000	62	72.	Paraguay	000,907,9	1,561.7	117	Moldova	28,327,000	. 28
	150,000	62	73.	South Africa	84,564,000	56	18	Poland	43,757,000	28
	20'000	- 29	74	V. Vanuatu 🕠 🔭	806,000		6	Slova Republic	17,067,000	28
	25,900,000	19	75.	Bolivia	106,833,000	55	120.	Slovenia	400,000	28
31. Egypt	2,116,000,000	19	76.	Cambódia	36,500,000	55	121	Bulgana	33,234,000	77
	25,800,000	19	.77.	Swaziland	622,000	55	122.	Czech Republic	1,442,000	26
33. Nepal	24,952,000	- 9	.8	Conga	1,938,000	đ.	123	Portugal: First First	800,000	26
	12,008,000	19	79.	Madagascar	23,421,000	54	124.	Estonia	500,000	25
35. Philippines	64,936,000	19	. 80	Mozembique		5.45	125.	Hungary The Black	16,729,000	25
	20,576,000	09		Nicaragua	32,042,000	54	126.	Romania	35,099,000	25
	2,208,000	99	82.	Surnhame	1.031,000	54	127.	Spain	20,000	25
	103,000	09	83.	Chile	1,559,000	53	128.	Turkmenistan	6,212,000	25
	156,000		84*	Lesotho	2,486,000	23	129.	Uzbekistan	21,382,000	. 24
	3,104,000	09	85.	Liberia	21,996,000	53	130.	Tajikistan	5,000,000	21
	1,905,000	9	.86.	· Mongolia	1,384,000		131	Lithuania pay Thinks	7,500,000	20
	48,957,000	09	87.	Bahamas	000'006	52	132.	Rwanda	58,942,000	20
	44,940,000	99	88	· El Salvador	36.432.000	52	33.	Latvia e. F. S.	200,000	61
	000'009	09	89.	Ē	992,000	52	134	lcrapl	3 000 000 000	И
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Sources: Total foreign assistance from the Agency for International Development, Congressional Presentation. Summary Tables, Fiscal Year 1997. This number includes only bifateral assistance and omits foreign aid given through indirect sources. like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and U.S. "Fegional" aid. UN votes from Voting Prostices in the United Nations 1996, U.S. Department of State, March 31, 1997. Figures 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.

story very different from that told by Atwood and the Clinton Administration: Most recipients of U.S. foreign aid vote against the United States more often than they vote with it. Consider the following facts gathered from the 1996 U.N. session.

- 68 percent of U.S. foreign aid recipients voted against the United States a majority of the time, up from 64 percent in the 1995 session.

 Thus, two out of every three foreign aid recipients voted against the United States most of the time (see Table 1).
- India, the sixth-largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid and receiving some \$154 million in 1997, voted against the United States in the U.N. 76 percent of the time, more than Iran and almost as often as Cuba.

	Top Ten Foreign Aid Recipients for FY 1997 and Their Votes Against the U.S. in the U.N.				
		FY '97 U.S. Aid	Votes Against U.S. in U.N., 1996		
ľ.	Israel	\$3,000,000,000	5%		
2.	Egypt	2,116,000,000	61		
3.	Bosnia-Herzegovina	225,500,000	42		
4.	Ukraine	186,583,000	41		
5.	Russia	177,572,000	41		
6.	India	153,445,000	76		
7.	Peru	11-2,700,000	57		
8.	Haiti	109,526,000	56		
9.	Bolivia	106,833,000	55.9		
10.	Ethiopia	106,279,000	57		
	Total Aid	\$6,294,438,000			

- Laos, from which the Clinton Administration in 1992 lifted a decades-old U.S. restriction on the disbursement of foreign aid because of human rights abuses, will receive some \$2.5 million in U.S. foreign aid in 1997, even though it cast votes against the United States in the U.N. 74 percent of the time—more than did Libya.
- Bangladesh, receiving some \$70 million in U.S. foreign aid, voted against the United States in the U.N. 65 percent of the time.
- The Philippines, which despite remarkable progress in economic reform still will receive some \$65 million in U.S. foreign aid, voted against the United States in the U.N. 61 percent of the time.
- Mexico, whose economy was bailed out by President Clinton to the tune of some \$40 billion in 1994, will receive some \$26 million in U.S. foreign aid, despite siding against the United States in the U.N. 61 percent of the time.
- Egypt, the second-largest recipient of U.S. foreign aid at some \$2.1 billion, cast its U.N. ballot against the United States 61 percent of the time.
- Colombia, twice decertified by the Clinton Administration for not cooperating with the United States in the fight against international drug trafficking, voted against the United

The Clinton Administration often dismisses such statements by claiming that the figures are based only on "recorded votes" and not "consensus votes." Yet this is a smoke screen to obscure the facts. The U.N. categorizes all votes into two broad groups, "recorded" and "consensus" votes. Recorded votes are taken on issues that most directly affect such international topics as nuclear weapons proliferation, organized crime, and drug trafficking. Consensus votes most often are on procedural matters relating to the internal administration of the U.N. and related issues, and thus often have little to do with foreign policy or a country's vital interests. When measuring how countries support or oppose U.S. foreign policy initiatives, therefore, it makes little sense to consider consensus voting because most of these votes do not touch on the vital issues the Clinton Administration claims are advanced by foreign aid. Recorded votes are far more accurate in reflecting the positions of governments at the U.N.

States at the U.N. 61 percent of the time. Still, the Clinton Administration requested some \$26 million in U.S. aid for Colombia in fiscal year 1997.

- Ethiopia, receiving some \$106 million in U.S. foreign aid, stood against the United States in the U.N. 57 percent of the time.
- Haiti, where President
 Clinton sent U.S. troops to
 restore deposed President
 Jean-Bertrand Aristide in
 1994, will receive almost
 \$110 million in U.S. foreign

	Top Ten Countries Voting Against the U.S. at the U.N. and U.S. Foreign Aid for FY 1997				
		FY '97 U.S. Aid	Votes Against U.S. in U.N., 1996		
1,	India	\$153,445,000	76%		
2.	Laos	2,500,000	74		
3.	Lebanon	6,575,000	73		
4.	China	893,000	70		
5.	Nigeria	7,500,000	69		
6.	Mauritania	2,410,000	69		
7.	Indonesia	57,457,000	68		
8.	Sudan	10,053,000	67		
9.	Ghana	57,459,000	66		
10.	Tanzania	25,418,000	66		
56	Total Aid	\$323,710,000	ertennet met		

aid. Even so, Haiti voted against the United States in the U.N. 56 percent of the time.

- Of the ten largest U.S. foreign aid recipients, six voted against the United States more than half the time (see Table 2).
- To the top ten countries voting against the United States in the U.N. most of the time, the United States will give some \$323 million in U.S. foreign aid in 1997 (see Table 3).

There are many reasons for a country to vote with or against the United States at the U.N. But it is clear from these data that foreign aid does not win friends where it counts: supporting U.S. foreign policy initiatives. Supporters of an aggressive foreign aid program, most of whom are also strong proponents of the U.N., cannot dismiss such U.N. votes as unimportant or irrelevant. They are indeed important in gauging the general orientation of a member government's foreign policy.

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