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Africa: U.S. Foreign Assistance Issues

Ted Dagne, Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division

July 28, 2006

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CRS Report for Congress

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Prepared for Members and
Committees of Congress

Africa: U.S. Foreign Assistance Issues

Summary

U.S. aid to Africa reached a peak in 1985, when global competition with the Soviet Union was at a high point. As the Cold War eased, security assistance levels for Africa began to drop. In 1995, at the outset of the 104th Congress, substantial reductions in aid to Africa had been anticipated, as many questioned the importance of Africa to U.S. national security interests in the post-Cold War era. As the debate went forward, however, congressional reports and bills emphasized U.S. humanitarian, economic, and other interests in Africa. Aid levels did fall, but began a gradual recovery in FY1997. Assistance through the Child Survival and Development Assistance (DA) accounts has now leveled off, but aid to Africa is reaching new highs due to aid through the Global AIDS Initiative.

U.S. assistance reaches Africa through a variety of channels, including USAID-administered DA and Child Survival programs, food aid programs, and refugee assistance. The Peace Corps is expanding in Africa and plans to have about 2,700 volunteers there by the end of FY2005. The U.S. African Development Foundation makes small grants to cooperatives, youth groups, and self-help organizations. U.S. security assistance, though still far below levels seen in the 1980s, has increased in recent years, primarily because of U.S. support for African peacekeeping initiatives. The World Bank's International Development Association (IDA) is the principal multilateral channel for U.S. aid, but the United States also contributes to the African Development Bank and Fund and to United Nations activities in Africa.

U.S. officials continue to stress a strong commitment to assisting Africa. In a June 26, 2003 speech, President Bush described a "partnership" with Africa including support for security and development. In August 2002, the Administration announced initiatives on access to potable water, clean energy, reducing hunger, and development and conservation in the Congo River basin. The initiatives are to make extensive use of public-private partnerships. As part of its counterterrorism efforts, the Administration has also launched initiatives to strengthen security forces in the Sahel region and in East Africa.

The overall level of funding for aid to Africa remains a continuing subject of debate. Other issues include the eligibility of African countries for aid through the Millennium Challenge Account and U.S. support for the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an African initiative linking increased aid with policy reform. It will be updated as the situation warrants.

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Africa: U.S. Foreign Assistance Issues

Most Recent Developments

In February 2006, the Bush Administration submitted a supplemental appropriations request for Iraq, Afghanistan, funding for the Gulf Coast hurricanes, and other foreign policy priorities. The Administration requested \$514.1 million for Sudan/Darfur. On March 16, 2006, the House approved \$618.1 million (H.R. 4939): \$499.1 million for Darfur (\$66.3 million for International Disaster and Famine Assistance (IDFA), \$11.7 million for refugees, \$173 million for African Union peacekeeping, \$150 million for food aid, \$98.1 million for CIPA-U.N. peacekeeping), and \$119 million for southern Sudan (\$12.3 million for refugees, \$75 million for food aid, \$31.7 for CIPA-U.N. peacekeeping). On April 4, 2006, the Senate Appropriations Committee approved \$564 million for Sudan/Darfur: \$125 million for southern Sudan and \$439 million for Darfur. On May 4, 2006, the full Senate approved \$624 million for Sudan: \$125 million for southern Sudan and \$499.1 million for Darfur. In mid-June, the House and Senate approved the conference report which contained \$618.1 million for Darfur and Southern Sudan, and on June 15, President Bush signed H.R. 4939 (P.L. 102-234).

Moreover, the conference approved \$63.8 million for Liberia for refugee support and in Economic Support Funds. The conferees also approved \$125 million in food aid for east and central Africa and \$25 million in drought relief support for west Africa and the Horn of Africa.

U.S. Aid to Africa: An Overview

Bilateral Aid

U.S. assistance finds its way to Africa through a variety of channels. Bilateral or country-to-country aid, also known as direct assistance, is given through non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or private and voluntary organizations (PVOs), contractors, and African government ministries and agencies. Multilateral aid, or indirect assistance, is given first to international financial institutions (IFIs) and U.N. agencies, which in turn channel it to Africa through their own programs.

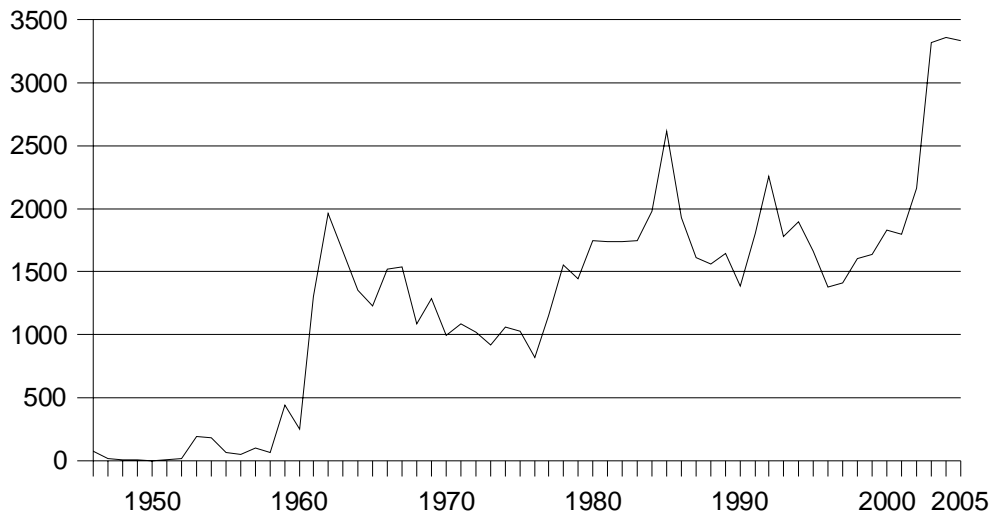
Background. **Figure 1** traces U.S. economic assistance to Africa, including food aid, in constant (inflation-adjusted) dollars since World War II. U.S. bilateral aid to the region rose sharply in the early 1960s as most African countries achieved independence. This was also a time of intense Cold War competition with the Soviet Union. Aid reached another peak in 1985, when famine struck wide areas of sub-Saharan Africa. The peak may also have resulted in part from heightened Cold War

competition, reflected in President Reagan’s 1983 description of the Soviet Union as an “evil empire.”

Toward the end of the 1980s, competition with the Soviet Union began to fade as a U.S. priority, while efforts to reduce the U.S. budget deficit began to intensify, contributing to an overall reduction in assistance to Africa. Moreover, policymakers were placing increased emphasis on human rights and commitment to economic reform programs in making their decisions on aid allocations. Consequently, aid to some African countries that had been major Cold War aid recipients, such as Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo) and Liberia, was sharply reduced. Nonetheless, there was another spike in aid in 1992, when famine struck the Horn of Africa and the southern part of the continent. Aid then dropped again, with the reductions coming almost entirely in the security-oriented programs: military assistance (not included in **Figure 1**) and especially the Economic Support Fund (ESF). ESF aid is a type of economic assistance allocated by the State Department, in consultation with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), with the objective of promoting U.S. security interests. From the mid-1980s, many in Congress and in the wider aid-oriented community had come to believe that the security assistance programs in Africa had grown too large and that more U.S. aid should be used to promote long-term development.

Figure 1. U.S. Economic Aid to Africa

Millions of Constant 2005 \$, Fiscal Years



Source: Prepared by Congressional Research Service.

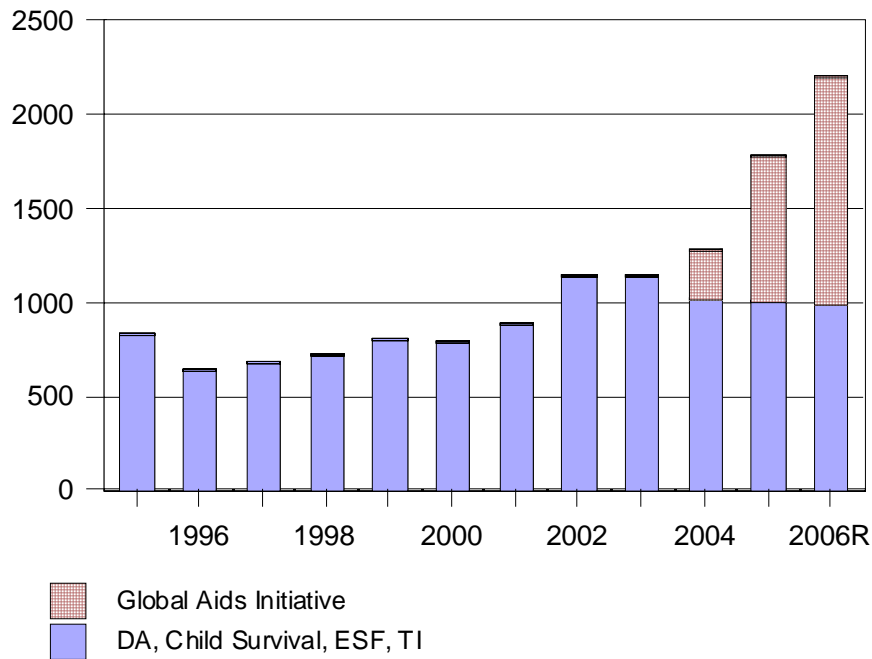
In 1995, at the beginning of the 104th Congress, proposals to restructure and reduce the U.S. foreign assistance program raised questions about the future of U.S. aid to sub-Saharan Africa. Many questioned the strategic rationale for assisting Africa in the post-Cold War era, and asserted that 30 years of U.S. assistance had accomplished little — whether in terms of promoting economic growth and democratization, or achieving other objectives. The critics generally favored humanitarian assistance, but sought sharp cuts in other programs. As the aid debate proceeded, however, it became apparent that cuts for Africa would be less than initially anticipated. The view that the United States has important humanitarian, economic, and other objectives in Africa was vigorously asserted by supporters of the

Africa aid program, and came to be reflected in report language on the major foreign assistance bills, as well as in the bills themselves. Aid did drop back to the 1990 level in 1996, but slow growth began again in FY1997.

A major increase in aid took place in FY2003 because of large quantities of food aid provided to Ethiopia and southern Sudan, as well as a boost in spending through the Child Survival and Health Programs Fund in response to the African HIV/AIDS pandemic. **Figure 2**, which excludes food aid, shows another major development in the assistance program: sharp increases resulting from spending under the Global HIV/AIDS Initiative (GHAI), administered by the Department of State. GHAI is the principal component of the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and began operations in FY2004. Assistance through GHAI to the 12 PEPFAR focus countries in Africa was an estimated \$264 million in FY2004 and \$781 million in FY2005, and reached \$1.2 billion under the FY2006 request while the USAID programs, taken together, leveled off. These programs are Child Survival and Health, Development Assistance (DA), and the Economic Support Fund (ESF), as well as Transition Initiatives (TI), a new program that was created under the FY2006 foreign assistance request to promote stabilization, reform, and post-conflict reconstruction in fragile states. GHAI assistance includes the provision of antiretroviral therapy, safe injections, safe blood supplies, and abstinence/faithfulness education. **Figure 1** will likely show continued sharp growth in aid to Africa in 2005 once food aid that was being provided from emergency reserves to Niger and other countries is attributed to Africa in USAID data. (**Table 3** provides detail on these and other programs that channel aid to Africa.)

Figure 2. U.S. Non-Food Economic Aid to Africa

Millions of Current \$, Fiscal Years



Source: Prepared by Congressional Research Service.

DFA and Child Survival assistance. Falling ESF levels threatened the overall scale of the sub-Saharan aid program after 1985, and this threat led to the creation of the Development Fund for Africa (DFA), which specifically earmarked a minimum level of the worldwide Development Assistance (DA) program for the region. Obligations for sub-Saharan Africa projects under the DFA reached \$846 million in FY1992, but dropped well below \$800 million in subsequent years despite efforts by some Members to increase the DFA appropriation to \$1 billion or more. The DFA was last earmarked by Congress in the FY1995 appropriations, when \$802 million was appropriated, and DA for Africa has since been provided out of the worldwide Development Assistance appropriation.

For FY1996, Congress began to appropriate another type of assistance: the Child Survival and Disease Programs Fund, renamed the Child Survival and Health Programs Fund (CSH) in FY2002, which has channeled substantial amounts of aid to Africa. In recent years, annual USAID presentations to Congress on the budget request for aid to Africa have varied both with respect to using the term DFA and with respect to including CSH aid in an overall DA amount or in breaking out CSH assistance and DA separately. This has left the terminology governing aid to Africa somewhat confused. However, appropriations bills now treat CSH and DA as separate programs, and that practice is followed in this report. Meanwhile, the term “DFA” is rarely used today, although the Development Fund for Africa is mentioned in the Foreign Affairs Authorization (S. 600) reported in the Senate (S.Rept. 109-35) on March 10, 2005 (see below, “109th Congress Legislation”).

Economic and Security Assistance

Table 1 ranks African countries that would receive more than \$5 million under the FY2006 request through a wide range of U.S. economic and security assistance programs, including the Global HIV/AIDS initiative but not food aid and disaster assistance. Madagascar and Cape Verde have agreed to \$110 million compacts with the Millennium Challenge Corporation (see below), but information on the annual allocation of this aid is not yet available and it is not included here.

Kenya is going through a democratic transition following multi-party elections in December 2002 and Ethiopia, Nigeria, South Africa, and Djibouti, are regarded as strategic partners in the war on terrorism. Sudan’s relatively high rank reflects U.S. assistance directed to southern Sudan and is focused on conflict prevention, food security, and primary health care.¹ Policymakers have wanted to show continuing support for South Africa’s post-apartheid transition, which began in 1994 with the country’s first universal suffrage elections. Moreover, South Africa has the world’s largest population of HIV/AIDS victims, with an estimated 5 million infected. Aid for Zimbabwe focuses on the struggle against HIV/AIDS, expanding opportunities for participation in political decision making, and expanding economic opportunities for the disadvantaged. No assistance is channeled through the Zimbabwe government.

¹ Aid for Darfur is provided principally through disaster relief, refugee assistance, and Contributions for International Peacekeeping. See CRS Report RL33574, *Sudan: Humanitarian Crisis, Peace Talks, Terrorism, and U.S. Policy*, by Ted Dagne.

Table 1. Leading U.S. Assistance Recipients in Africa
(\$ millions)

Country	FY2007 Request	FY2006 Request	FY2005 Estimate	FY2004 Actual
Uganda*	232.6	220.4	148.6	112.8
Kenya*	334.9	212.9	159.1	101.2
South Africa*	359.9	189.9	139.4	99.1
Nigeria*	320.2	175.7	130.1	80.2
Zambia*	189.6	160.0	113.4	82.1
Ethiopia*	283.8	145.0	114.1	74.3
Tanzania*	189.7	127.5	103.4	58.9
Sudan	205.8	112.4	200.9	170.7
Mozambique*	156.9	81.5	80.3	59.9
Liberia	89.9	89.8	44.1	203.0
Rwanda*	93.9	85.0	50.5	35.9
Namibia*	82.1	58.8	44.2	26.8
Botswana*	60.4	43.7	30.5	11.7
Mali	37.7	39.2	38.6	43.0
Dem. Rep. Congo	39.4	33.5	38.0	40.4
Ghana	37.9	33.4	40.3	41.5
Malawi	32.5	32.9	33.3	34.8
Senegal	33.1	30.0	29.9	34.1
Côte d'Ivoire*	47.1	30.0	20.9	7.5
Madagascar	22.0	22.8	22.8	23.3
Angola	29.8	20.7	21.5	23.4
Guinea	12.9	20.5	17.7	21.9
Benin	12.0	17.9	17.9	18.4
Zimbabwe	15.2	14.3	13.8	15.5
Djibouti	8.3	9.3	6.3	7.1
Sierra Leone	6.9	9.0	11.3	9.2
Eritrea	.845	6.9	10.1	8.2
Burundi	9.6	6.1	6.4	6.4
Chad	5.9	5.2	3.0	3.1

Source: USAID. Amounts exclude food aid.

Note: All amounts include economic and security assistance, as well as assistance under the Global AIDS Initiative.

* Global AIDS Initiative "focus" country. Estimated allocations included.

Food Aid. Emergency food aid to Africa fluctuates in response to the continent's needs, and the amount provided by the end of a fiscal year often exceeds the initial request. The additional amount is taken from a food aid reserve fund. Emergency food aid is provided under Title II of the P.L. 480 program (named for P.L. 83-480, enacted in 1954), which is implemented by USAID in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture.²

Peace Corps. The Peace Corps had an estimated 2,700 Peace Corps Volunteers (PCVs) serving in 26 sub-Saharan countries in 2005, up from an estimated 1,900 in 2002, because of the Administration's Peace Corps expansion program.³ Under the Peace Corps Act (P.L. 87-293), volunteers are to help the poorest people meet their basic needs, to promote a better understanding of the American people, and to promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans.

Security Assistance and Economic Support Fund. The security assistance program in Africa, which had declined with the end of the Cold War, has expanded in recent years, primarily in response to widening conflict and political instability in Africa. Economic Support Fund aid has been used to support economic reform in Nigeria, a "safe skies" program to improve African air traffic safety, human rights and democracy education, and other objectives. ESF aid is also helping strategic partners in the war on terrorism through cooperation on border control, freezing terrorist assets, implementation of the peace agreement in southern Sudan, and other activities. In addition, the Defense Department conducts AIDS prevention education programs, primarily with African militaries.

Table 2. Contributions for International Peacekeeping Activities
(\$ millions)

Operation	FY2006 (Request)	FY2005 (Estimate)	FY2004 (Actual)
War Crimes Tribunal - Rwanda (UNICTR)	13.7	16.4	16.3
Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)	3.7	47.4	71.0
Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)	202.3	249.1	30.1
U.N. Operations in Ethiopia/Eritrea (UNMEE)	32.8	50.4	49.5
Burundi Operation (ONUB)	89.9	94.1	41.6
U.N. Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	159.2	134.3	290.3
Sudan/Darfur	250.0	250.0	—
U.N. Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	71.9	112.7	82.0
Total	823.5	954.3	580.9

Source: Prepared by CRS.
(Numbers may not add due to rounding.)

² For further information on food assistance programs, see CRS Report RL33553, *Agricultural Export and Food Aid Programs*, by Charles E. Hanrahan.

³ (For further information, see CRS Report RS21168, *The Peace Corps: Current Issues*, by Curt Tarnoff.)

Through the Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) program, the United States supported the Africa Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI), which trained small units of African armies for possible peacekeeping duties, as well as for other regional peacekeeping initiatives. In FY2004, ACRI was succeeded by the Africa Contingency Operations Training Assistance (ACOTA), which focuses on training trainers and on programs tailored to individual country needs. Foreign Military Financing (FMF) resumed in FY1999. International Military Education and Training (IMET) programs in Africa are aimed at promoting professionalism and respect for democracy and human rights among foreign military officials, while enhancing capabilities for participation in peacekeeping operations. These programs typically run well under \$1 million per country.

The United States contributes to United Nations peacekeeping operations in Africa and elsewhere through a program entitled Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA, **Table 2**). Funds for CIPA are appropriated in the legislation that funds the Departments of Commerce, Justice, and State, rather than in the Foreign Operations appropriation, which governs foreign assistance.

Regional Programs. Both DA and ESF funds are used to support USAID's Africa Regional Programs, which are designed to confront challenges that span the borders of African countries. These include regional programs in health, conflict prevention, democracy, education, and agriculture. The Initiative for Southern Africa supports efforts to promote trade and investment through the Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund and other programs. The Trade for African Development and Enterprise (TRADE) initiative aims at strengthening business and promoting policy and regulatory reform throughout the sub-Saharan region. The Africa Trade and Investment Policy (ATRIP) program, which provides technical assistance, training, and other aid to African countries implementing free-market economic reforms, is part of this initiative.

African Development Foundation

The African Development Foundation (ADF) has a unique mandate to make small grants directly to African cooperatives, youth groups, and other self-help organizations. These grants usually range from less than \$20,000 to a maximum of \$250,000, although appropriations language permits a waiver of the \$250,000 ceiling. In addition, the ADF supports grassroots development research by African scholars and promotes the dissemination of development information at the community level. By law, the ADF is limited to 75 employees. Its seven-member Board of Directors must include five private-sector representatives. ADF does not station U.S. employees in overseas posts, but instead works through local-hires and periodic field visits. For FY2006, the ADF received an appropriation of \$23 million in the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act.

Refugee and Disaster Assistance

The United States responds to African humanitarian crises in part with Title II food aid, discussed above, and in part through its refugee and disaster assistance programs. Most refugee assistance comes from the Migration and Refugee Assistance (MRA) account and goes to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and international organizations, as well as private and voluntary organizations assisting African refugees. In addition, the Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance (ERMA) account, created in 1962 to deal with unexpected refugee situations, has been drawn upon for African emergencies several times in recent years. USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) also plays a major role in responding to African crises. "Situation Reports" published by USAID's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance monitor the U.S. response to African humanitarian crises through food aid and other emergency assistance. To find these reports, visit [<http://www.usaid.gov/>] and click on "Our Work" and "Humanitarian Assistance."

Multilateral Assistance

The United States provides aid to Africa indirectly through international financial institutions (IFIs) and United Nations agencies. World Bank lending through its "soft loan" affiliate, the International Development Association (IDA) is the largest single source of development capital in Africa. IDA loans, which are considered a form of aid since they are virtually interest-free and carry extended repayment periods, have focused on strengthening public sector management, transportation, agriculture, and various social problems. IDA has been particularly active in assisting efforts by the recipient countries to carry out free-market economic reforms. In 2004, IDA devoted about 45% of its new loan commitments to sub-Saharan Africa, so that about \$408 million of the \$907 million U.S. contribution to IDA in that year can be said to have gone indirectly to the region. The African Development Fund (AfDF) has been another major channel for indirect U.S. aid to Africa. The Fund, an affiliate of the Africa-based African Development Bank (AfDB), makes loans on highly concessional terms to the poorest African countries. The AfDB lends on roughly commercial terms to creditworthy African borrowers, but at the same time, it holds 50% of the voting power in the AfDF.

Total U.S. Assistance for Sub-Saharan Africa

Table 3 lists most components of U.S. assistance to sub-Saharan Africa and indicates that under the FY2006 request, assistance would rise to \$3.6 billion, not including food aid, up from \$3.5 billion in FY2005. Table 3 includes an additional \$674.4 million in FY2005 aid for Africa announced by President Bush in a June 7, 2005, press conference with Britain's Prime minister Tony Blair. This additional food, disaster, and refugee assistance will be drawn from general funds already appropriated by Congress, including funds in the FY2005 Emergency Supplemental Appropriations (P.L. 109-13), signed into law on May 11, 2005. The components of the additional aid are \$90 million in International Disaster and Famine Assistance, \$94.4 million in Migration and Refugee Assistance, \$240 million in P.L. 480 Title

II food aid, and \$250 million in food aid from the Bill Emerson Humanitarian Trust, administered by the Secretary of Agriculture.

FY2006 Request and Congressional Action. The Bush Administration's FY2006 assistance request for sub-Saharan Africa, released on February 7, 2005, would continue the pattern of increasing aid for the region, largely due to the expansion of the State Department's Global HIV/AIDS initiative. Aid through this program would grow by more than 50%, to \$1.2 billion, as compared to FY2005, while aid under the Child Survival and Development Assistance programs would decline. Development Assistance funds totaling \$95 million for Ethiopia and Sudan have been shifted to the new Transition Initiatives program for fragile, post-conflict states. Liberia, where elections are scheduled for October, would receive \$75 million through the Economic Support Fund. The Administration requested \$3 million for the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) worldwide, although \$5 billion in FY2006 funding had been anticipated under the original Millennium Challenge Account program. (See below, "Issues.")

Table 3. Assistance Designated for Sub-Saharan Africa
(\$ millions)

Program	FY2006 Request	FY2005 Estimate	FY2004 Actual	FY2003 Actual	FY2002 Actual
Child Survival & Health Fund	325.9	356.8	477.3	541.1	424.4
Global HIV/AIDS Initiative	1,206.3	781.5	263.8		
Development Assistance	428.5	547.4	466.7	490.7	454.0
Transition Initiatives	95.0	—	—	—	—
ESF	151.9	104.2	74.1	109.4	120.0
Peace Corps	68.7	75.7	62.2	63.3	53.7
African Dev. Foundation	18.9	18.8	18.6	18.7	16.5
Migration and Refugee Assistance	256.5	323.8	226.4	228.5	187.5
African Development Bank	5.6	4.1	5.1	5.1	5.1
African Development Fund	135.7	105.2	112.1	107.4	100.0
Liberia/Sudan in Other Appropriations			385.0		
Millennium Challenge Account	—	—	—	—	—
Subtotal, Economic & Humanitarian	2,693.0	2,317.5	2,091.3	1,564.2	1,361.2
International Narcotics & Crime	4.2	10.5	6.9	6.7	7.5
Peacekeeping Operations	41.4	133.2	30.2	78.1	54.9
IMET	11.0	10.8	11.2	9.9	10.3
Foreign Military Financing	24.0	26.3	20.9	28.0	33.5
Contributions to Int'l Peacekeeping	823.5	954.3	580.9	366.7	513.0
Nonprolif., Anti-terrorism, Demining	30.4	31.5	25.8	19.7	12.1
DOD AIDS Education, Af. militaries	0.0	7.5	4.2	7.0	14.0
Subtotal, Military and Other	934.5	1,174.1	680.1	516.1	645.3
TOTAL	3,627.5	3,491.6	2,771.4	2,080.3	2,006.5
<i>Food Aid</i>	228.8	1,013.9	1,187.9	1,165.9	462.9
Total Including Food Aid	3,856.3	4,505.5	3,959.3	3,246.2	2,469.4

Source: Prepared by Congressional Research Service.

On November 14, 2005, President Bush signed the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill (P.L. 109-102). As in previous years, appropriations for most Africa-specific programs are not earmarked in the bill, but the bill provides more than requested worldwide for Child Survival and Health programs as well as Development Assistance, suggesting that the Administration will have ample resources for meeting its proposals for Africa through these programs. By contrast, the Economic Support Fund and the Millennium Challenge Account receive less than requested worldwide. The bill provides \$2 million less than requested for the African Development Bank, meets the Administration's requests for the African Development Fund, and provides \$23 million for the African Development Foundation, as compared to an Administration request of \$18.8 million.

Table 4. Assistance Requested and Appropriated Worldwide
(\$ millions)

Program	FY2006 Request	FY2006 Appropriated
Child Survival & Health Fund	1,251.5	1,585.0
Global HIV/AIDS Initiative	1,970.0	1,995.0
Development Assistance	1,103.2	1,524.0
Transition Initiatives	95.0	40.0
ESF	3,036.4	2,634.0
Peace Corps	345.0	322.0
African Dev. Foundation	18.9	23.0
Migration and Refugee Assistance	892.8	791.0
African Development Bank	5.6	3.6
African Development Fund	135.7	135.7
Millennium Challenge Account	3,000.0	1,770.0
International Narcotics & Crime	523.9	477.2
Peacekeeping Operations	195.8	175.0
IMET	86.7	86.7
Foreign Military Financing	4,588.6	4,500.0
Contributions to Int'l Peacekeeping	1,035.5	1,035.5
Nonprolif., Anti-terrorism, Demining	440.1	410.1
Food Aid	885.0	1,150.0

Source: Prepared by Congressional Research Service.

Comparison with Other Donors

According to figures compiled by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United States was the largest bilateral donor of net bilateral Official Development Assistance (ODA) to sub-Saharan Africa in 2003, followed by France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. However, the European countries and the European Communities together provided considerably more to Africa than the United States. ODA includes a wide-range of non-military aid disbursements. Many countries continued to give a larger proportion of their assistance to sub-Saharan Africa than the United States. The region received about 32% of U.S. ODA in 2002, according to the OECD, in contrast to 57% of French aid, 37% of British aid, and 47% of German aid. Japan was the eighth ranking donor to Africa in 2003, according to the OECD, providing about 8% of its aid to the region. On May 24, 2005, European Union foreign and development ministers pledged that their governments would reach the United Nations target of providing 0.7% of GDP in foreign aid in 10 years. As an interim target, the Europeans would provide \$25 billion in added annual aid by 2010. Some cautioned, however, that these pledges could be affected by budget difficulties in some European countries.

France's President Jacques Chirac announced on August 29, 2005, that France would propose a tax on air travel to fund additional aid to Africa. The proposal was made at the United Nations World Summit, which brought more than 170 heads of state and government to U.N. headquarters in New York, September 14-16. Some heads of state spoke favorably about the proposal, but some developing country delegates expressed concern that the new proposal was offered to draw attention away from the point that official development aid (ODA) was allegedly too low to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MGD).

Recent Trends in U.S. Aid

U.S. officials continue to stress a strong commitment to assisting Africa. In a June 26, 2003, speech to a meeting of the Corporate Council on Africa, President Bush spoke of a "partnership" with Africa, including U.S. help in establishing peace and security, making advances in health and literacy, and developing free economies through aid and trade. During the speech, part of the run-up to his July 7-12, 2003, trip to Africa, the President announced \$100 million in anti-terrorism assistance over 15 months to countries in East Africa and \$200 million over five years both to train teachers in Africa and to provide textbooks through Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Then-Secretary of State Powell, addressing the Corporate Council on June 27, 2003, said that Africa's "boundless potential" could not be realized unless the continent moved against corruption.

USAID officials have testified that the United States has had a number of successes in promoting sustainable development, democracy, and conflict resolution. They point to Ghana, Uganda, Zambia, and Mali, as examples of successful political and economic transitions, while Mozambique and South Africa are cited as models of transition from conflict to peace as well. Skeptics concerning USAID's programs, noting, for example, widespread reports of corruption and undemocratic practices in Zambia and a slow rate of economic growth in post-apartheid South Africa, question whether economic and political gains are genuine or will endure. With respect to conflict resolution, some note that two leading recipients, Uganda and Ethiopia, have recently been involved in armed conflicts, as have some lesser recipients, including Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Eritrea, and Angola. Supporters of the program respond by acknowledging that problems inevitably arise within and among countries that face serious challenges with deep historical roots, but insist that overall trends in Africa are positive and that long-term development efforts cannot be interrupted every time difficulties occur.

USAID also maintains that the DFA and CSH assistance have helped African countries achieve increases in child immunization and the use of oral rehydration therapy, shift their health policies towards an active emphasis on AIDS prevention, increase the prevalence of contraceptive use, and boost primary school enrollments. In agriculture, USAID asserts that DA has helped liberalize agricultural markets, increase smallholder production and facilitate the development of new seed varieties. DA has also been used to assist governments undertaking macro-economic reforms, including reductions in the size of government bureaucracies and the privatization of government enterprises.

The Clinton Administration launched several special development initiatives in Africa. The Greater Horn of Africa Initiative (GHAI), aims at easing the perennial food insecurity in a region extending from Eritrea and Ethiopia to Tanzania by promoting collaboration and consultation on food security strategies. The Initiative for Southern Africa (ISA) reflects USAID's recognition of the region's economic potential and its desire to reinforce South Africa's democratic transition as a model for the rest of the continent. The initiative includes a Democracy Fund, to make grants in the region in support of democracy, and a Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund (SAEDF), to promote indigenous business development and ownership.

The Leland Initiative aims at connecting 20 sub-Saharan countries to the Internet. The initiative is named for the late Representative Mickey Leland, founder of the House Select Committee on Hunger, who died in a 1989 plane crash while on his way to investigate conditions in an Ethiopian refugee camp. Technicians from several U.S. government agencies are working to implement the project, which will make Internet access available to "all sectors of the African development community," including NGOs, government agencies, "private developers," and individuals.⁴

South Africa has been a special focus for USAID for several years. After the installation of a democratically-elected government in May 1994, President Clinton pledged the United States to \$600 million in aid to South Africa over three years. The United States guaranteed loans for housing, electrification, and small business development. Resources have also been used to support the growth of small, medium, and micro-enterprises (SMMEs) in South Africa; strengthen the South African justice system; improve education; promote primary health care; and foster majority involvement in business.

The Africa: Seeds of Hope initiative grows out of congressional action in 1998, when the Africa: Seeds of Hope Act (P.L. 105-385) was passed. The proposal was strongly supported by Bread for the World, which describes itself as "a nationwide Christian citizens movement seeking justice for the world's hungry...." The act supports USAID's Africa Food Security Initiative by encouraging a refocus on agriculture and rural development. A presidential report on implementation of the act argued that even more could be done in agriculture if more funds were available.

President Bush, speaking at the Leon Sullivan Summit in Washington on June 20, 2002, announced a new Africa Education Initiative. The President promised to double U.S. aid for education in the region, bringing total spending to \$200 million over the next five years. The President also announced that he would visit Africa in 2003. As noted above, Africa will also benefit from the Global AIDS Initiative, announced by the President in his State of the Union Message on January 28, 2003, and the Millennium Challenge Account (see below).

Counterterrorism is the focus of other recent assistance initiatives. The Pan-Sahel Initiative (PSI) is a joint Defense and State Department program that provides

⁴ USAID press release, June 6, 1996.

training and equipment to the armed forces of Mauritania, Chad, Niger, and Mali. According to Administration officials, the initiative has helped these countries respond to the threat posed by Algeria-based Islamist guerrillas. The East African Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) is training law-enforcement officers in Kenya and other countries.

Sustainable Development Initiatives. On August 23, 2002, the Department of State released information on four initiatives or “signature partnerships,” which were formally announced at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg on August 29, 2002. These initiatives were the Water for the Poor Initiative, the Initiative to End Hunger in Africa, the Congo Basin Forest Partnership, and the Clean Energy Initiative. The initiatives, which drew praise from the United Nations representative to the conference, stress “public-private partnerships,” through which U.S. assistance funds would be used to leverage investments in Africa by other governments, international organizations, NGOs, and the private sector. For example, under the West Africa Water Initiative, part of the Water for the Poor Initiative, USAID would provide \$4.4 million as a partner in a \$41 million, five-year effort to supply potable water and sanitation to rural villages in Ghana, Mali, and Niger. Other partners would include the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation and UNICEF. Skeptics concerning the initiatives maintain that the amounts of U.S. assistance being offered are modest and seem to come largely from funds that have already been budgeted or promised. Some also complain that the funds might be used to promote private business interests.⁵ The initiative to end hunger aims at harnessing science and technology to boost agricultural production and at strengthening markets to assist small farmers.

In addition to the signature partnerships, USAID released documents at WSSD reviewing U.S. actions intended to prevent famine in southern Africa and fight infectious disease. Another document reported on a \$15 million investment guarantee by the U.S. Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to support the construction of low-income housing and associated infrastructure in South Africa. The guarantee would help a U.S. for-profit company support a bank making construction loans to private developers and contractors. (OPIC press release, August 29, 2002.)

Issues

Millennium Challenge Account

In a March 14, 2002 speech, President Bush outlined a proposed Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), which would increase foreign aid worldwide by \$5 billion per year over three years, starting in FY2004. The account would provide additional aid to countries whose governments promote good governance, invest in people through education and health care, and promote open markets. Although the promise of increased aid won praise from many observers, some worried that most

⁵ *New York Times*, August 30, 2002.

countries in Africa will not be able to meet the Fund's eligibility criteria. In May 2004, the Millennium Challenge Corporation announced that 8 African countries had been determined to be eligible to receive grants: Benin, Cape Verde, Ghana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, and Senegal, and agreements have been reached with Madagascar and Cape Verde for MCA programs valued at \$110 million each. Nonetheless, the program has been criticized for what some see as a slow disbursement of funds, and as noted above, overall funding for the MCA is turning out to be less than President Bush initially proposed.⁶

AIDS

The level of funding for HIV/AIDS programs in Africa remains a major focus of interest. This issue is covered in CRS Report RL33584, *AIDS in Africa*, by Nicolas Cook. See also CRS Report RL33485, *U.S. International HIV/AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria Spending: FY2004-FY2007*, by Tiaji Salaam-Blyther.

NEPAD and the G8

In 2001, African leaders approved the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), championed by the presidents of South Africa, Nigeria, Senegal, and others. Under the plan, African countries are to intensify efforts to eradicate poverty, strengthen democracy, deal with corruption, and resolve conflicts in exchange for debt forgiveness from the developed countries as well as increased aid, trade, and investment. NEPAD includes a "peer review mechanism" intended to assure that African governments are held accountable for their performance with respect to governance and economic policy.

At the June 2002 G-8 summit at Kananaskis, Canada, attended by key African leaders, donors launched an Africa Action Plan to be implemented as NEPAD reforms move forward. Whether the G8 donors and Africa are living up to their Kananaskis promises is controversial. Britain hosted the July 2005 G8 summit in Scotland, and Prime Minister Tony Blair focused the meeting on Africa once again. Sweeping proposals for 100% debt relief, sharply increased aid, and the removal of trade barriers were discussed. For more information, see CRS Report RL32796, *Africa, the G8, and the Blair Initiative*, by Raymond W. Copson.

Other

The overall level of U.S. assistance to Africa could again emerge as an issue in the foreign assistance debate, particularly in view of pressures from Britain and others for a dramatic expansion of aid to Africa. Some observers express a number of frustrations with aspects of the foreign assistance program, but these have had little impact on the congressional aid debate to date. Some argue, for example, that

⁶ For further information, see CRS Report RL32427, *The Millennium Challenge Account: Implementation of a New U.S. Foreign Aid Initiative*, by Larry Nowels; and U.S. Government Accountability Office Report GAO-05-625T, *Millennium Challenge Corporation: Progress Made on Key Challenges in First Year of Operations* (April 27, 2005).

reductions in operating expenses have forced staff and mission cutbacks that complicate USAID's ability to implement the Africa DA program. Critics of this view maintain that USAID must deal with budget constraints that affect other parts of the government as well. Some also maintain that the Child Survival earmark has absorbed funds that might otherwise have been used to promote long-term development, which in turn would promote better health among both children and adults. Others argue, however, that the Child Survival program has channeled funds to a critical, immediate humanitarian need, and that the American people strongly support assistance that benefits impoverished children, funds HIV/AIDS programs, and promotes vaccine research, among other objectives.

Meanwhile, a debate continues among scholars, analysts, and policymakers about whether foreign aid is an effective means of spurring growth and poverty reduction in Africa; what types of aid are most effective; and what role other measures, such as debt reduction and the removal of trade barriers, might play.⁷

109th Congress Legislation

P.L. 109-102

Foreign Operations Appropriations, FY2006. For amounts, see above, *FY2006 Request and Congressional Action*. The legislation earmarks not less than \$50 million for drinking water supply projects in Africa; permits IMET for the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nigeria only through regular notification procedures; prohibits debt restructuring assistance for Sudan unless the Secretary of the Treasury certifies that a democratically elected government has taken office; prohibits FMF for Sudan; permits aid for Liberia, Sudan or Zimbabwe only through regular notification procedures; earmarks up to \$70 million for aid to Sudan, but apart from humanitarian assistance, prohibits aid to the Sudanese government unless the Secretary of State certifies, among other requirements, that the government is taking significant steps to disarm government-supported militia in Darfur; earmarks not less than \$17.5 million for the Congo Basin Forest Partnership, including not less than \$2.5 million for the protection of great apes; permits assistance to countries where individuals sought by the Sierra Leone and Rwanda war crimes tribunals are credibly alleged to be living if the Secretary of State certifies that the governments of such countries are cooperating with the tribunal, subject to a presidential waiver; requires the United States to oppose loans to Zimbabwe through international financial institutions, except for humanitarian purposes, unless the Secretary of State certifies that the rule of law has been restored. Signed by President Bush on November 14, 2005.

H.R. 2601 (Christopher Smith)

Foreign Relations Authorization, FY2006 and FY2007. Authorizes \$1 million for the provision of four coastal patrol boats to Mozambique; authorizes \$5 million in FY2006 and \$7.5 million in FY2007 for establishing obstetric fistula centers; encourages the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to support

⁷ For a discussion of these issues, see CRS Report RL32489, *Africa: Development Issues and Policy Options*, by Raymond W. Copson.

investments in financial institutions in sub-Saharan Africa; authorizes \$12 million in each fiscal year to support the restoration of democratic legitimacy in Zimbabwe; authorizes \$4 million for a demonstration insurance project for famine relief in Ethiopia; requires a report on expanding the Pan-Sahel Initiative to become a robust counterterrorism program for the entire Saharan region; states sense of Congress that the chocolate industry, NGOs, and the governments of Ghana and the Côte d'Ivoire should continue their efforts to monitor child labor in the cocoa industry; states the sense of Congress that the United States should assist the International Criminal Court in bringing to justice those accused of genocide, war crimes, or crimes against humanity in Darfur. Passed the House (351-78) July 20, 2005; received in the Senate July 22.

S. 600 (Lugar)

Foreign Affairs Authorization, FY2006 and FY2007. Authorizes \$1.1 billion in FY2006 and such sums as may be necessary in FY2007 for Development Assistance worldwide, including the Development Fund for Africa; authorizes \$18.85 million for the African Development Foundation in FY2006 and such sums as may be necessary for FY2007; affirms U.S. support for the Congo Basin Forest Partnership; authorizes funds to strengthen judicial capacity in Africa and requires a report from the President on this effort within six months of passage; authorizes \$114.4 million in FY2006 for the Global Peace Operations (GPOI) program, with an initial emphasis on Africa; authorizes assistance to expand access to clean water; authorizes \$325 million in FY2006 for transition initiatives, including those requested for Sudan and Ethiopia. Reported in the Senate (S.Rept. 109-35) March 10, 2005.

Appendix: Selected Africa Assistance Acronyms

ACOTA	Africa Contingency Operations Training Assistance, successor to ACRI.
ACRI	Africa Crisis Response Initiative, which trained military units for peacekeeping.
ADF	African Development Foundation, U.S.-funded public corporation.
AfDB	African Development Bank, an Africa-based IFI.
AfDF	African Development Fund, affiliate of the African Development Bank.
ATRIP	Africa Trade and Investment Program, a USAID initiative.
CIPA	Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities
CSH	Child Survival and Health Programs Fund.
DA	Development Assistance.
DFA	Development Fund for Africa, part of DA, not earmarked in recent years.
ERMA	Emergency Refugee and Migration Assistance, administered by State Department.
ESF	Economic Support Fund, a State Department program for promoting U.S. interests.
FMF	Foreign Military Financing, funds equipment purchases.
GHAI	State Department's Global AIDS Initiative, part of PEPFAR.
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The World Bank.
IDA	International Development Association, concessional loan affiliate of IBRD.
IFIs	International financial institutions.
IGAD	Inter-governmental Authority on Development, a Djibouti-based organization of Horn of Africa states.
IMET	International Military Education and Training, a form of military assistance.
MRA	Migration and Refugee Assistance, a State Department program.
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development, an African initiative.
NGOs	Non-governmental organizations.
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, an organization of developed countries.
ODA	Official Development Assistance, the OECD's concept of DA.
OFDA	Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance, a part of USAID.
PCVs	Peace Corps Volunteers
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, a Bush Administration initiative.
PKO	Peacekeeping Operations account authorized by Part II, Chapter 6 of the Foreign Assistance Act.
PVOs	Private and voluntary organizations
SAEDF	Southern Africa Enterprise Development Fund, a USAID program.
SMMEs	Small, medium, and micro-enterprises.
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, headquartered in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development