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Clinton's Democratic Expansion: An Analysis of U.S. Foreign Aid to Africa

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Clinton's Democratic Expansion:

An Analysis of U.S. Foreign Aid to Africa

(TITLE)

BY

Corey F. Wilson

THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
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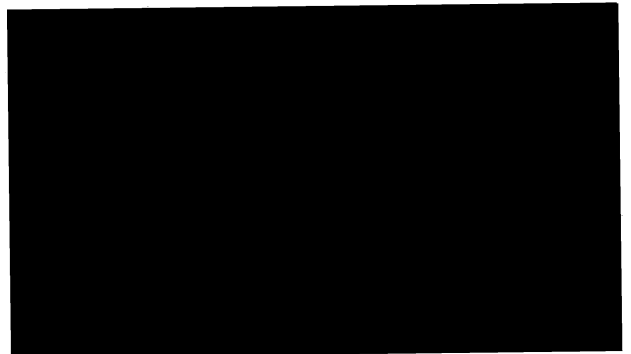
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Abstract

American foreign aid, and the factors contributing to its disbursement, have frequently been discussed in scholarly research. This issue has also developed into a highly contentious issue in US foreign policy. The purpose of this thesis is to determine if recipient states' human rights practices are a determining factor in the aid allocation process. This thesis will analyze the second term of President Clinton's administration to determine if he consistently implemented his foreign policy agenda of democratic enlargement with regard to foreign aid disbursement to Africa. Two different methodological approaches will be used in this analysis; a pooled time series regression will be run along with a case study analysis of two recipient countries. Overall, the findings suggest that a state's human rights practices were a determining factor in aid allocation.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Rachel Wilson. Without her support and love I would never had completed this project, or accomplished many of my goals in life. Thank you for always being there, I love you.

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I. Introduction:

The study of US foreign aid, and the factors contributing to its disbursement, has frequently been discussed in scholarly research. Some scholars believe that the protection of human rights is the preeminent factor that controls foreign aid disbursement. Other scholars argue that human rights are not a determining factor, but that other factors are influential in the foreign aid allocation process. As scholars debate over foreign aid and the factors that determine its disbursement, this issue has developed into a highly contentious issue in United States foreign policy, especially since the Cold War's end. The end of the Cold War has created a new predicament for policy makers, in that the guidelines for foreign aid allocation are no longer transparent with the Soviet Union's collapse.

In the Soviet Union's absence, the US is no longer trying to thwart communism in distant ailing states, but must decide what factors in the post-communist era should be included in the disbursement of aid. This choice is difficult because of the multiple factors that can be involved. Should aid be based on the military, economic, and self-interests of the US? Or, should aid be disbursed

to create sustainable development, democracy, peace, humanitarian assistance, or growth through trade?

President Bill Clinton's terms in office were plagued with continuous battles with the Republican controlled Congress over the future of foreign aid. Senator Jesse Helms (R-N. C.) battled against Clinton and his administration over foreign aid policy. Although the two parties quarreled over which countries should receive aid, the largest debate was over foreign aid budget cuts. Helms believed that foreign aid programs had spent approximately \$2 trillion of the American taxpayers' money, which in his view, much of it went down a "foreign rat hole" (Waltz 1995, 2). However, President Clinton believed that restrictions on aid would threaten America's global leadership. Foreign aid was necessary to safeguard the security and prosperity of the American people in the post-Cold War world (Clinton 1995, 1432).

President Clinton's statement supports his foreign policy "doctrine" after the Cold War. Clinton is a unique president because he is the first American Chief Executive to begin his term since the end of the Cold War. In 1995, Clinton noted that the end of the Cold War has provided new opportunities for people around the world (Clinton 1994). The Cold War's end alters US foreign policy because containment is no longer the objective. In the first term

of his administration the "Clinton Doctrine" was developed, which aspired to morality and universality throughout the international spectrum. Clinton proclaimed that the principle basis of his foreign policy agenda would be that ethnic cleansing and slaughter of innocent people would not be tolerated in a civilized world (Krauthammer 1999, 33). President Clinton summoned up his doctrine the best with a speech in Slovenia where he noted:

"Democracy, tolerance, and human rights must prevail everywhere, for no nation is safe, no prosperity is stable, if conflict and refugees and crime and terrorism can be pushed across borders" (Quoted in Sands 1999).

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the Clinton Doctrine by looking at one aspect of the standards that affect foreign aid disbursement. If the Clinton Doctrine was applied to US foreign policy, a state's human rights practices should be a major factor in determining foreign aid. During the Cold War a majority of the research suggests that a realist approach was applied to foreign aid, in that US self-interests were the standards for allocation. The one exception to this standard was in the first year of President Jimmy Carter's term, when more emphasis was placed on humanitarian values. (Poe, Miller, Pilatovsky, Ogundele 1994). After the Cold War, and with President Clinton

expressly advocating a movement towards the advancement of human rights, we should see greater attention directed towards human rights in American foreign aid disbursements.

In sum, this thesis will examine if foreign aid was influenced by human rights during President Bill Clinton's presidency. The findings suggest a relationship between human rights and foreign aid allocation.

II. Organization of Thesis:

The research will cover a time span from 1996 to 1999 because during this time the Clinton Doctrine was proposed and implemented into US foreign policy. Also, the research will be confined to the geographic region of the African continent, which has received less academic analysis as compared to other areas of American foreign policy. Using a data set that includes nearly all states on the African continent, a pooled time series regression analysis will be employed to examine the variables involved in foreign aid disbursement during the Clinton presidency. This analysis will be complimented with two case studies of African states that received American foreign aid. The findings suggest that human rights do impact foreign aid disbursement to African states, and that the Clinton Doctrine was applied during President Clinton's term.

The next chapter of this thesis will discuss past research and provide an analysis of US foreign aid policies and the Clinton Doctrine. Chapter three presents a discussion of the methodology, including how the variables are operationalized and defined. Chapter four is the regression analysis of US foreign aid to Africa. Chapter five follows with two case studies of US foreign aid to Mali and Sudan. In the final chapter, the findings and the limitations of this research are discussed.

Chapter One

Literature Review

I. US Human Rights Policy

Human rights considerations have developed into an institutionalized movement within US foreign policy because of congressional action taken during the 1970s. Prior to this time period US foreign policy had generally neglected to address human rights abuses in foreign countries. During the 1970s human rights had become a major issue within the global agenda, aspiring to all continents and governments. Therefore, the US grasped the opportunity to become a leading advocate of human rights. Congress seized the opportunity during the Nixon/Ford administration to implement a human rights policy. Shestack (1989) noted that Congress had become disillusioned with the war in Vietnam and the political scandal created by Watergate. Congress established the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs within the State Department. This caused human rights to become a significant factor within US foreign policy.

Also, the passage of the foreign assistance act in 1974, states that no security assistance may be provided to

any country, or government of which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights.

Rubin and Newbarg's (1980) research concluded that the creation of a human rights policy in the 1970s coincided with the United States development of an ordinal measurement of human rights. Thus, this ordinal measurement allows decision-makers to determine human rights standards in foreign states, ranked from best to worst. The policy also implies a threshold in which to apply against state's human rights practices. Therefore, the policy stated that the US should halt all economic and military aid to nations that cross this implied threshold of human rights. Also, the policy requires the US to vote against loans from multilateral lending agencies to these nations (Cingranelli and Pasquarello 1985, p541). Therefore, US foreign assistance should mimic this policy's stipulation.

I. Clinton Foreign Policy

The Clinton administration was faced with a perplexing foreign policy situation. Clinton was the first president to enter office since Cold War's end, providing his administration with the opportunity to redirect US foreign policy. Clinton's first National Security Advisor Anthony Lake, developed Clinton's foreign policy goal, and a shift

from containment to enlargement. Lake first proposed this policy course on September 21, 1993, at John Hopkins University. Lake clearly pointed out the key aspects and direction of the new foreign policy agenda.

The US would actively engage in world affairs, by developing a strong communication between other states. The core concept behind the doctrine was to promote and expand democracy and free-market economies in the international system. Lake noted in his speech that areas such as Asia and Africa are unfamiliar to democracy and market economies. Lake noted that more attention needed to be given to African states. Democratic African nations need to benefit fully from all the opportunities the US can provide. Also, "backlash" states need to be minimized, as not to have a negative impact upon the enlargement process. Lake noted that "backlash" states included states that create instability within a geographic region.

Overall, Lake clearly stated that the US should not only be engaged but also become a leader within the international system, by pursuing the expansion of democracy and market economies (Lake 1993). President Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher later reintroduced this statement. Christopher noted that US foreign policy was driven by America's commitment to lead and engage in world affairs. This would be accomplished through the

support of democracy and human rights in other countries (Christopher 1995). Clinton stated that efforts to help build more democracies would make us all more secure, more prosperous, and more successful in this new era (Clinton 1994). This vision, ostensibly, would guide American foreign policy for the Clinton administration.

III. US Foreign Aid

Foreign aid assistance has developed into a highly contentious topic in dealing with the impact human rights has on the disbursement process. The end of the Cold War has not eliminated the US foreign aid programs to many countries, and is a leading policy instrument in foreign policy. Due to its continued heightened relevance, the need remains to re-examine foreign aid to determine which factors contribute to its disbursement, especially in light of the clear preference for human rights noted in the Clinton Doctrine. The literature can be divided into two separate camps; those who believe human rights are a determining factor in aid allocation and those who do not believe it plays a pivotal role. A controversial study analyzing the relationship between foreign aid and human rights was by Cingranelli, and Pasquarello (1985). The authors' findings caused an avalanche of other scholarly research in response to their own conclusions. Also, the

end of the Cold War has allowed researchers to compare and contrast two different time periods of US foreign policy. The end of this era has allowed researchers to analyze foreign policy, and determine if other factors influence this process besides donor's interest.

A majority of the research after the US foreign assistance act in 1974 act found that human rights still were not a preeminent factor in the aid process. Schoultz (1981) explored the relationship between US economic and military assistance to Latin American and recipient countries based on their human rights policy. Overall, Schoultz analyzed the implementation of the US human rights policy. The findings indicated that aid was used to alter government motives for American allies, and countries in crises, and used to influence UN votes in the General Assembly. Schoultz found that in the mid 1970s US aid was distributed disproportionately to countries with repressive governments. A pattern was developed that showed human need was not responsible for a positive correlation between aid and human rights.

Another study by McKinley and Little (1979) showed that human rights were not a determining factor in the aid allocation process. The authors develop two different models used in aid allocation: recipient and donor interest's models. The findings support the donor interest

model, basically supporting the claim that US interests are the determining factor in the aid process. The aid relationship supports a realist image of the international system, disconfirming a humanitarian influence over economic assistance.

Maizels and Nissake (1984) followed this research by analyzing 80 countries from 1969-70 and 1978-80. They also analyzed the two different models: recipient and donor interest models. They concluded that the 1970s represented a more recipient model framework, in which the recipient nation's interests were calculated into the decision-making on the disbursement of aid. However, the 1980s switched back to the donor's interest model, in which the donor's interests were the underlying cause for the disbursal of foreign assistance.

Another article that contributed to the study that human rights continued not to influence foreign aid after the act's implementation in 1974, were Stohl, Carlton, and Johnson (1984). The authors look at the implementation of the human rights policy act, and the impact it had on the Nixon and Carter administrations. The Nixon and Ford administrations clearly showed a strong relationship between aid allocation and human rights violations. However, the Carter administration showed no clear statistical pattern; therefore the authors stated that human rights

considerations were not implemented within his foreign policy.

To be able to grasp and understand the current literature on this topic, one should analyze the findings of Cingranelli and Pasquarello (1985). Their research countered the findings prior to their publication, and in many respects set the course of future research. The authors analyzed the 1982 fiscal year. Their findings show that an increased importance was placed upon human rights practices. The authors develop a two-stage bilateral aid allocation process, in order to determine the impact human rights have on the allocation process.

Cingranelli and Pasquarello dismissed Schoultz's (1981) findings because he implemented a one-stage bilateral aid allocation process. They criticize Schoultz for de-emphasizing the "gatekeeping" decision-making process within his research.

Cingranelli and Pasquarello develop a different approach to analyze the relationship between aid allocation and human rights practices. The authors employ the State Department as the source of information for human rights. From their research they concluded that many decisions concerning US foreign assistance was made in two stages. As Cingranelli and Pasquarello note (1985: p542-545):

In the initial stage, US policymakers performed a function analogous to "gatekeeping"; some countries were systematically excluded from the recipient pool, while others were passed on to the second stage of the decision process. In the second stage, policymakers interacted to decide the level of assistance to be provided.

By developing this approach they are able to simulate a more appropriate and realistic measurement of foreign aid allocation. In the first stage, if a country was given aid it was labeled (1). In the second stage, the analyst carries over those nations who received aid and analyzes the amount disbursed, which contributed to the robustness of their findings.

The Cingranelli and Pasquarello study not only refuted past research but set the course for future research. From their study a vast amount of scholarly research was developed to support and refute their findings. One major attack of their research was over their methodological development. McCormick and Mitchell (1988) develop the same database as Cingranelli and Pasquarello, except they include all Latin American countries. Cingranelli and Pasquarello excluded El Salvador from their data set because of its high amount of allocation to combat communism. However, Mitchell and McCormick believe the omission of El Salvador weakens

their findings. Also, they attack the time period examined in the study. The authors' believe the data set covers too short of a time period. The final weakness McCormick and Mitchell develop is the operationalization of human rights is questionable. They believe that a tighter research design needs to be employed in order to get acceptable results, providing a serious challenge to Cingranelli and Pasquarello.

Carlton and Stohl (1987) also critique Cingranelli and Pasquarello's findings. One major criticism the authors note about the "gatekeeping" approach is that most US human rights legislation contains a loophole that allows for the continued distribution of aid to abusive regimes if it will directly benefit needy people. Another, major argument the authors develop are the biases created within the measurement of human rights and the cases selected to be analyzed. The dependence upon State Department's human rights rankings creates a bias within the measurement of humanitarian values. Also, the exclusion of El Salvador weakens the findings. Therefore, the authors conclude that Cingranelli and Pasquarello's research is restrictive in nature, and needs further development.

Other scholars have developed research that directly counters the findings of Cingranelli and Pasquarello. Watson (1997) reevaluated the human rights and foreign

assistance by expanding the database, and expanding it over a longer amount of time. Watson conceptualizes US foreign policy by analyzing US trade, investments, military arm sales, and various categories of foreign aid, with the human rights practices of recipient nations in Latin America. The study spans a three-year period, 1980, 1984 and 1988. The findings show that human rights are not linked to less aid. Also, foreign investment and military arms only considered human rights one out of three years. A strong relationship was found between human rights and bilateral trade.

According to Watson, the Reagan and George Bush administrations neglected human rights, only using the concept to criticize human right conditions in Soviet states. Overall, Watson's findings show that foreign aid distribution is at odds with the US stated policy on human rights.

Hook, Schraeder, Taylor (1993) expanded the study by analyzing four leading countries in foreign aid. The authors analyze foreign aid disbursements by the US, Sweden, Japan, and France to Africa. They concluded that the US did not base disbursement off human right standards during the 1980s. The authors conclude by stating that aid is still driven by strategies and ideological interests associated with the Cold War. Security alliances, economic interests,

and ideological stances were the contributing factors in all of the country's disbursement measures.

Lebovic (1988) analyzed the Carter and Reagan administrations human rights policy. His findings show that political and military considerations predominated in the foreign assistance policy under both presidents. The Carter administration aid allocation was dominated by US military involvement. However, the Reagan administration's foreign aid was heavily influenced by the recipient's location. Economic interests influenced both administrations, and human rights played a secondary role. This contrasts with Cingranelli and Pasquarello's findings that human rights were a contributing factor in the disbursement process.

McCormick and Mitchell (1989) go beyond the traditional research because they compare the degree of human rights violations between recipients and non-recipients of US aid. They also compare those countries that receive high levels of allocation to those that receive minimal levels of allocation. The findings suggest that military aid does consider human rights standards. A total of seven out of the top nine recipients held political prisoners, and three out of nine used torture. American economic assistance also failed to consider human rights standards. The authors conclude that economic assistance could be going to the poorest countries that exhibit poor human rights.

Despite the critiques of Cingranelli and Pasquarello's research, however, many different scholars have supported their findings. Professor Steven Poe has developed into one of the leading experts on human rights and foreign assistance. For purposes of this thesis, and given Poe's importance, his research will be the framework in which this study will be based off.

Poe (1991) analyzed the relationship between US military aid and human rights practices of potential recipient countries. His findings suggest that US military aid allocation during both the Carter and Reagan administration was affected by human rights abuses. Contrary to other studies, these findings ascertain that the US has followed its human rights policy in the distribution of aid.

In another study, Poe (1992) furthered Cingranelli and Pasquarello's research, by analyzing the Western Hemisphere and creating a world sample. Poe established the same two-stage framework, and economic aid included both grants and loans. This approach allowed Poe to represent gross aid obligations as opposed to actual distribution levels. Poe advanced the prior research by establishing better control variables. Also, a larger world sample was used that incorporated both Egypt and Israel. The inclusion of these samples could skew the results because of their involvement

in the Camp David Treaty. The use of strategic importance, ideology, complies with US interest, US economic interest, recipient need, and population size. The findings support the theory that human rights considerations were important in determining outcomes of US bilateral economic aid under both administrations. However, Poe notes that human rights are not preeminently important to foreign aid but rather are a combination of multiple factors; which include political and strategic concerns and recipient need.

Pilatovsky, Poe, Miller, and Ogundele (1994) revisited Cingranelli and Pasquarello's original research. They developed a data set that includes 24 countries in the Latin American region between 1983 and 1991. However, they analyze military and economic aid as separate variables. The findings suggest that human rights heavily influenced economic aid decisions, but were less influential in military aid. Human rights were included within all aid decisions; however the amount of influence varied depending upon US perceived stake in the recipient country.

Poe and Sirirangsi (1993) analyzed aid to Africa and looked at human rights under the Reagan administration (1994). Their focus on the African region spanned from 1983 to 1988. They continued Pasquarello's 1988 analysis of the African region. However, they improved the human rights variable, and expanded the scope of years. The results show

that human rights have been moderately important determinant of US bilateral economic aid allocation to Africa.

However, Poe and Sirirangsi's (1994) analysis of aid under the Reagan administration produced a different result. Human rights were not an important factor in the disbursement of aid under the Reagan administration. They were considered in the decision making process but were outweighed by other factors. The data set included 133 countries spanning from 1983 to 1988. They fully operationalized human rights by including Freedom House, Amnesty International, and the State Department, as according to Carlton and Stohl (1987).

Others have continued to examine these questions. Meernik (1996) investigated domestic and international variables on US foreign aid allocation from 1970-1990. Meernik was attempting to determine if both factors influenced aid. However, international factors were more influential, and that human rights were considered in the disbursement of aid. However, human rights were secondary to other more pressing concerns, such as strategic interests. Foreign aid advances the security interests of the donor nation; therefore aid allocation will rise and fall with the level of international conflict. Also, this concept could eliminate factors that do not play a major

role in that country's interests, such as humanitarian practices.

Other research has been developed independently from the prior mentioned literature. Blanton (1994) developed a time series, cross-sectional method analyzing from 1979-85. Blanton develops four models; economic aid under Carter, military aid under Carter, economic aid under Reagan, and military aid under Reagan. She refutes the two-stage process because it creates a bias because it assumes no between unit factors affect the outcome. Also, Blanton only uses Freedom House as a measurement for human rights because the other sources were incomplete. The results show positive human rights practices resulted in larger sums of allocation. However, other factors do figure in heavily: political, military, and economic interests.

Stohl and Apodaca (1999) developed an extensive data set covering 140 countries that spanned from 1976-95. The findings concluded that human rights were considered for the Reagan and Bush administration. However, the Clinton and Carter administration failed to consider human rights in the distribution of military aid. This study provides a good analysis of the Clinton administration's human rights policy. Other research continued to analyze the Carter and Reagan administration but their findings include the Post Cold War era. Human rights played no role in the

"gatekeeping" stage of economic aid allocation. The authors' findings suggest that human rights are not an absolute criterion for the dispersion of aid under the Clinton Administration.

Hofrenning's (1990) research differed from the past because it included all countries that receive aid from the US, except two; and implies an incremental model of decision making to explain the pattern of aid allocation. He uses past allocations as the main predictor of present allocation. The findings suggest that human rights were more prevalent in the Reagan administration than the Carter years.

Poe and Meernik (1998) developed their most extensive study that analyzed from 1977-1994. The end of the Cold War allowed the scholars to analyze two different time periods, the Cold War and post Cold War years. Many scholars believed the end of the Cold War would result in shift of US foreign policy goals towards the promotion of US ideological values (Allison and Beschel 1992; Diamond 1991). Poe analyzes this concept and concludes that security-driven goals of a systematic approach are less critical, and ideological goals of the state-centered model are more important with the passing of the Cold War.

However, their data shows that progress is being made towards democracy but this aspect overshadows the importance

of human rights. Countries that received some of the highest levels of aid also had the worst human rights practices (e.g. Turkey, El Salvador, and Peru). There was a pattern emerging that suggests the decline of the communist threat has created new criteria for aid disbursement.

IV. Summary of Literature Review

In sum, the research on the relationship between human rights and aid allocation is quite extensive. However, there are many holes within the literature. The research on human rights and aid allocation can basically be divided into two distinct camps; those that believe human rights is a determining factor (Cingranelli and Pasquarello 1985; Poe 1992; Poe 1993; Poe and Sirirangsi 1994; Blanton 1994; and Poe and Meernik 1998), and those who believe it is a non-determining factor in the aid allocation process (Schoultz 1981; Watson 1997; Schraeder, Hook and Taylor 1992; and McCormick and Mitchell 1989). Major holes in the literature remain; this thesis seeks to address these gaps.

Only two articles (Stohl and Apodaca 1999; and Poe 1998) focused on the Clinton administration's foreign aid decision-making process. The majority of the research also analyzes the Western Hemisphere and the entire world, failing to provide a descriptive analysis of other regions. This research will analyze the continent of Africa and

determine if Poe and Sirirangsi's (1993) findings are still being followed by a new administration. Moreover, the opportunity is now available for scholars to analyze Clinton's foreign policy in total, to determine if a new approach was applied with the end of the Cold War. This research will determine if human rights were a determining factor in the Clinton administration's foreign policy agenda of democratic enlargement.

Chapter 2

Methodology

I. Methodology

In order to test the hypothesis that human rights affected US aid allocation to African states, a pooled time series regression model will be implemented. This method allows one to analyze a period of time, in order to deal with the problem of changes over time. Other scholars also commonly use this method when researching foreign aid allocation (Poe and Meernik 1998; Poe, Pilatovsky, Miller and Ogundele 1994). The data collected covers nearly every state on the African continent and includes islands that are within close proximity of the continent. Egypt will be excluded, however, because of the Camp David Treaty. The Camp David Treaty was a peace treaty signed between Israel and Egypt in 1979, which guaranteed a large American aid package to both countries (Sciolino 1993, A8). As a result of the treaty, high levels of aid are disbursed annually to these states regardless of human rights conditions.

The study focuses on the second term of the Clinton administration, 1996-1999, because of four main reasons. First, this study takes into account that a president needs

a grace period to implement their foreign policy goals. Second, the Somalia catastrophe occurred during Clinton's first term and could have created a negative perspective of Africa; therefore, creating an illusion within the findings. Third, the GOP's recapturing of Congress at mid-election in 1994 could have played a major role within the administration's foreign policy agenda. The Clinton administration faced stern opposition in foreign aid allocation, especially from Senator Helms (Wilkinson 1994, 2). The GOP had been pushing for budget cuts. As Helms stated, "The foreign aid program has spent an estimated \$2 trillion of the American taxpayers' money, much of it going down foreign rat holes (Waltz 1985, 3). This opposition hampered the Clinton administration policy during his first term. Finally, this is a manageable time period to analyze from the Clinton administration.

Also, two case studies will be included. These case studies will analyze Mali and Sudan. These countries were also chosen because of several different reasons. First, the data is readily accessible for these two countries. Second, the two countries appear to be very different in terms of the types of cases in Africa. Mali has shown somewhat positive human right conditions and Sudan has exhibited poor human rights conditions. Finally, case studies also allow for a more intensive analysis of US

foreign aid in two countries, which may highlight other aspects of US foreign aid not revealed by the quantitative model used in this thesis.

In order to test the hypothesis a model will be developed that includes human rights, economic, strategic, and general demographic variables to account for aid allocation. Below, the dependent and independent variables are described.

II. Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is total US bilateral aid given to foreign countries, including both grants and loans. The aid will be separated into military and economic aid. This thesis will analyze these two factors as separate entities because of the relative importance of each individual variable. Both of these variables are different programs with different purposes. The separation of these two variables has been commonly applied to prior research (Blanton 1993; Poe 1991). The data were gathered from the United States Assistance Information Directory's (USAID) Greenbook from 1996 to 1999. The data will be operationalized in millions of US dollars.

For purposes of this thesis, the dependent variables will be total gross aid, not per capita aid. Since the purpose of this thesis is to determine which factors

influence foreign aid decision-makers, the ideal dependent variable will be one that reflects the output process conceptualized by decision-makers. Poe (1991) notes that studies employing gross aid output outperform those that employ per capita aid. Overall, decision-makers are concerned with total gross amounts of funds allocated because of budgetary constraints congressional members are confronted with. In order to control for inflation the amount of aid will be converted to 1996 dollars in order to simplify the results.

III. Independent Variables

A total of five independent variables will be used to test the hypothesis. All four variables are salient to the research and are commonly used by scholars within this field (Poe 1990, 1994; Blanton 1991; Watson 1994). The variables included within this thesis are human rights, total population, human needs assessment and strategic interests variables. A two-year lag will be employed upon the variables because aid decisions are made prior to the year of disbursement. A weakness of many articles is that researchers fail to take into account the time lag between human rights measurements and aid allocation. Also, the two-year lag is commonly accepted among scholars (Poe 1990, 1994, 1996, 1998). Although they are not the primary focus

of this research, the implementation of other variables would provide a basic understanding of the field.

A. Human Rights

There is considerable controversy over how to measure and implement a human rights scale. Carlton (1987) argued that multiple sources should be used to measure human rights because foreign aid decision-makers use multiple sources when making decisions. Other scholars have commonly used Amnesty International, the State Department, and Freedom House rankings (Poe 1991, 1994, 1998). Since this thesis is focused on foreign aid allocation analyzing the Clinton Doctrine, Freedom House will be used to measure human rights conditions. Freedom House assesses human rights conditions based on political rights and civil liberties. These two variables have a strong correlation; therefore, for purposes of this thesis, a combination of the two will be implemented as the independent variable.

The ranking of each country is based on a seven point ordinal scale. The values being used are ranked as 1 showing strong human rights and 7 being poor human rights conditions. Therefore, if the hypothesis is correct, countries that exhibit better human rights rankings should receive higher levels of both economic and military assistance. The model being applied to analyze the

hypothesis requires complete data, and Freedom House is basically able to fulfill these criteria. The shortcomings and gaps in other sources make them ineffective measurements. As noted, this could be one major weakness within the research, however Freedom House does provide an adequate measurement of human rights (Blanton 1993).

B. Population

The population variable is used as a control variable because it is naturally assumed that countries with higher levels of population will receive more aid. Some scholars believe that high levels of population skew the analysis of aid allocation and therefore should imply aid per capita (Lebovic 1988, Carlton and Stohl 1985). The development of population as a control variable however eliminates this illusion within the data analysis. Poe's (1991) analysis of this variable clearly shows that a strong relationship exists between larger populations and increased aid. Previous analysts (Poe 1993) collected this data from the World Almanac and Fact Book, which is a commonly accepted source.

C. Military Presence

As Poe notes (1998) in his research, the stationing of military personnel is a commitment made by a state to

promote its international security. Therefore, to be able to maintain their military presence within a country the US could provide that country with higher levels of foreign aid as repayment, or as a means to support what it considers a crucial ally in that region. Kato's research stated that a country that maintains a US base on their territory was rewarded with financial assistance (Poe 1991, 303). Poe (1991) states that a country maintaining strategic ties to the US tend to receive higher levels of aid than other countries. Therefore, this variable is employed to see if countries that are hosting US military personnel are more likely to receive aid. This variable will be setup as a dummy variable. Any country that is a host to US military personnel will receive a "1", and countries that are not host will be labeled "0" (US Department of Defense 2002).

D. Recipient Need

Other scholars have found that the poorest states are more likely to receive humanitarian assistance (McKinaly and Little 1979; Poe and Meernik 1995). The US will be more willing to develop poor states' economies to increase the standard of living and create new economic markets. Therefore, states with low levels of per capita GNP may be more likely to receive higher levels of funding. Per capita GNP is the most reliable and readily available data source

showing a country's economic needs. Also, this is the most commonly used data source to determine recipient's need (McKinley and Little 1979; Poe 1994, 1996). Therefore, the greater the need of the recipient country the greater the total dollar amount of economic aid will be given to that country by the US. This source was also collected from the *World Almanac and Fact Book*.

E. Prior American Assistance

The last variable to be implemented within the model is the amount of prior military and economic aid a country received. It is assumed that state's receiving high level of aid throughout the Cold War will continue to receive moderately similar levels of aid. Therefore, the Clinton administration would basically be continuing the aid disbursements that prior administrations had established.

This variable will be labeled as a dummy variable, as either "0" or "1". If a country received more than \$200 million in economic aid through 1962 to 1994 they were labeled a "1". If a state received less than this amount they were labeled a "0". If a state received more than \$6.6 million in military assistance they were labeled a "1". However, if a state received less than this amount they were labeled a "0". Overall, the variable is to determine if

states continued to receive aid allocation because of a pattern within the allocation process.

Chapter 3

Findings

I. Findings

The beta value, R square, and Durbin Watson are listed for both models. The models' statistical results will be discussed, and an analysis of the variables will be discussed individually. The findings are listed in Table 1.

Table I: Analysis of US Foreign Aid

Variables	Model 1 (Economic Aid)	Model 2 (Military Aid)
Population	.213 (.00)	.127 (.06)
Human Rights	-0.167 (.01)	-0.22 (.00)
Military Personnel	-0.044 (.47)	0.05 (.73)
GNP Per Capita	-0.062 (.34)	0.022 (.31)
Prior Economic Aid	0.36 (.00)	
Prior Military Aid		0.235 (.00)
R Square	0.25	0.09
Durbin-Watson	2.106	2.135
Significance	.00	.00
F Statistic	13.288	4.136
N	208	208

Note: Significance is given in the parenthesis

II. Economic and Military Aid

Model 1 is the findings for economic foreign aid allocation, and Model 2 is the findings for military aid allocation. One negative aspect in implementing a time series model analysis has the potential of a high level of serial correlation. Serial correlation can result in the inaccurate estimation of the significance levels, and hence alter the findings. Thus, a Durbin Watson analysis was run to check the level of serial correlation. An appropriate Durbin Watson level is around two. Both models were within an appropriate range of the Durbin Watson check; therefore both models are significant and exhibit little if any serial correlation. Model 1 and 2's Durbin Watson was 2.106 and 2.135; thus the findings showed no relation with serial correlation (Gujarati 1988, 354).

The sample size for both models was 208, spanning from 1996 to 1999. Model 1 had an R square of .25. This finding suggests that a relationship exists between the variables. Model 2, however had an R square of .09. Despite being a relatively low R square, the model was statistically significant at the .01 level. Poe's (1998) analysis of US foreign aid allocation had an adjusted R square of .38. Also, his analysis of economic aid allocated to Africa (1994) had an R square of .48. Both models have a

considerably lower R square as compared to other research models in the field, but still provide some useful findings.

First, the sample size makes the model statistically sound. The research models analyzed 208 cases, enough to create a sound data set. Second, other research models have implemented many more independent variables to analyze (Poe 1990, 1991, 1994, 1998). The inclusion of more variables will raise the R Square. Therefore, if this model were to include more variables the R square would likely rise. However, the purpose of this research was to analyze specified variables.

Third, the models were statistically significant at the .01 level. The level of significance rejects the null hypothesis, showing that a relationship exists between the variables. This aspect of the model helps to overshadow the low R Square present in the second model.

Both models had three statistically significant variables. The variables that were significant throughout both models were human rights, population, and prior aid allocation. However, the variables that were insignificant provide interesting results. The next section will be the analysis of all the variables.

III. Human Rights

HP1: *States exhibiting positive human rights will receive higher levels of foreign aid from the US.*

Human rights were statistically significant throughout both models. The findings from model 1 conclude that human rights are a determining factor in aid allocation decision-making. The variable was significant at the .01 level, and had a negative relationship with the dependent variable. As human rights violations increased within a state that state's economic aid decreased. States exhibiting fair human rights conditions were rewarded with a higher level of funding.

Human rights were also a determining factor in the allocation of military aid to Africa. This supports prior research conducted within the field (Poe 1991, 1994, and 1998). As human rights abuses increased the level of military aid decreased. As the level of aid increased however, human rights abuses decreased. Overall, the Clinton Administration rewarded states that exhibited good human rights. The Clinton administration pursued the goals of the Clinton Doctrine, by rewarding states that were attempting to be more democratic in nature.

These findings support prior research on human rights as a determining factor of foreign aid allocation. Poe and Sirirangsi's study of Africa during Reagan's era supported the hypothesis that human rights were considered in the aid

allocation process. This study has expanded upon their findings, by analyzing a different time period. The findings support Poe's (1998) research that strategic aims are declining in importance and that ideological goals are gaining prominence in the aid allocation process.

IV. Population

RH2: The larger a state's population, the more likely that state will receive higher levels of foreign aid.

The second variable that was significant throughout both models was population. This variable was included as a control variable because it is assumed that the higher a state's population, the more aid that state will receive. Population size correlated to the amount of aid that was allocated to states. These findings coincide with other scholars within the field. Population was found to be statistically significant in McKinley and Little's (1979) research.

V. Prior Aid

RH3: The more aid a state received in the past, the more likely they will continue to receive aid from the US.

The final variable that was significant in both models was prior aid. This variable was added because it was assumed if a state received aid in the past they would continue to receive aid. The findings show that states receiving high levels of economic aid during the Cold War continued to receive large amounts of aid during the Clinton administration.

States that received a large amount of prior military aid continued to receive military aid through the Clinton administration. This variable could refute the Clinton Doctrine because they basically continued the funding patterns that had taken place during the Cold War. Therefore, they could have ignored other democratic indicators and just continued the funding levels in existence in prior years.

The significance of this variable provides a paradox within the findings. The Clinton administration pursued ideological goals by including human rights as a determining factor in the aid allocation process. However, the Clinton administration continued funding to states that had received high levels of aid during the Cold War. This continuation of aid allocation can present multiple conclusions. First, it supports a more non-ideological approach towards aid. Instead of changing aid allocation to states that are less

democratic, the Clinton administration continued the funding that prior administrations had implemented.

Secondly, the Clinton administration has continued to provide aid to states exhibiting good human rights practices. Prior research (Poe 1991, 1992, 1994; Cingranelli and Pasquarello 1985) has stated that Jimmy Carter, Reagan, and Bush administration implemented human rights practices in the aid allocation process. Therefore, Clinton continued this policy by providing aid to relatively the same states. Overall, this shows that human rights are not the only variable instituted in the aid allocation process.

VI. GNP Per Capita

RH4: The lower a state's GNP per capita, the more likely they will receive higher levels of foreign aid from the US

GNP per capita was statistically insignificant in both models, so we are unable to draw a strong generalization based on the data. Contrary to prior research, the Clinton administration did not consider the recipient need variable in the decision making process. The inclusion of GNP per capita in the allocation process again provides two different meanings. First, the statistical insignificance of the variable refutes the Clinton doctrine to a degree. The Clinton doctrine stated it would help failing countries,

with poor economies to promote democracy. Therefore, states with poor GNPs should receive more aid to promote free open markets.

Second, if these states had poor human rights practices they were refused aid. Therefore, the Clinton administration could not provide aid to these states because of their human rights abuses.

VII. Military Personnel

RH5: States that are holding US military personnel on their soil will receive higher levels of foreign aid.

Overall, the military personnel variable was statistically insignificant. The findings refute the strategic interest hypothesis that US aid is affected self-interests. The level of military personnel produced no effect on the amount of aid allocated. However, the amount of American military personnel disbursed throughout Africa had declined after the Somalia excursion; therefore this variable had only minor impact on the model.

IX. Conclusion

My research has found that three variables are statistically significant in explaining total US foreign aid in Africa. The human rights variable, the population

variable and prior military and economic aid variables were all statistically significant. From these findings a relationship can be drawn between the variables and the dependent variable. These findings strengthen Cingranelli and Pasquarello (1984), Poe (1990, 1991, 1994, 1996), and Blanton's research (1993).

This research is limited, however, in its ability to generalize because of its low R Square. Another possible question raised about Africa and this thesis is that the continent of Africa provides limited US strategic interests. A common hypothesis is the greater (lesser) the importance of the recipient country to US strategic interests the more likely they will receive aid. If more strategic interests were present a different outcome could be found within the data. However, aid is still being disbursed to nearly every state, refuting this argument. If these states were not of an interest to the US, foreign aid would not be disbursed to almost every country on this continent. Madeleine Albright stated in front of a congressional hearing that Africa provides 100,000 American jobs through trade. Africa also provides 13 percent of US oil, which is nearly as much as the Middle East supplies to the US. Therefore, it is important to develop and maintain a stable prosperous Africa (Albright 1999, 28-31). She also noted that the US exports

more to African states than to all the former states of the Soviet Union combined (Albright 1998, 43-50).

At the same time, the findings cannot be refuted because of the large N. This thesis covered a total of 208 cases that were statistically significant in both models. Also, this thesis has analyzed a new area of research focus. Prior research has focused on aid to Latin America and an analysis of the entire world. Therefore, this research has analyzed a new region of the world over a longer time period covering a larger sample size. The findings suggest a relationship exists between economic aid allocation and human rights. Also, military aid allocation has a weaker but a statistically significant relationship with human rights. The human rights variable however, was one of many other variables that contributed to the foreign aid decision-making process.

The findings are relatively strong but need to be supported by further research. Thus, given the low R Square found within the pooled time series analysis, the research will benefit from the inclusion of two case studies. The following chapter will analyze US foreign aid to the countries of Sudan and Mali.

Chapter 4

Analysis of Sudan and Mali

I. Sudan

A. Cold War Relations with the US

Sudan gained its independence from Egypt and Britain on January 1, 1956. The internal chaos that plagues Sudan has been present throughout the country's entire history (Metz 1992, 10-14). During the Cold War, Sudan was plagued with frequent internal turmoil. Since its independence the government has consistently been the victim of frequent military coups. Representative Donald Payne (D-NJ) noted that a majority of its existence after independence, Sudan has been faced with internal civil conflict (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 55). This instability within the government created weak diplomatic relations with the US. The multiple governments that have been implemented within the state have hampered US-Sudanese relations.

The Sudanese government refused to join the US in opposing the Soviet Union in the 1960s. In 1967, Sudan broke diplomatic ties with the US because of America's support of Israel in the Arab-Israeli war (Tomlinson 1999,

p2). However, relations improved in the early 1970s because of possible Soviet involvement in Sudan. Between 1967-76, the Soviet Union supplied 65 million out of 100 million worth of armaments acquired by Sudan's communist party (Lefebvre 1991, 215). President Jaefar Nimeiri, resisted this communist overthrow of the government, and informed the US of possible Soviet interference and involvement (State Dept 2002). This resulted in stronger diplomatic relations between the two countries that eventually were completely restored in June of 1972.

However, during the mid 1970s, US-Sudanese relations were again shaky because of terrorist involvement and activities. Palestine terrorists from the "Black September" assassinated US Ambassador Cleo Noel and Deputy Chief of Mission Curtis Moore. Sudan arrested the two terrorists, but turned the suspects over to the Egyptian government. The US ambassador was withdrawn in protest, and was later reinstated in November. Relations between the two countries recovered in 1976, when the US resumed economic aid to Sudan in the same year.

Relations continued to be poor between the two countries. In 1983, President Ja'far Muhammed Numayri revoked the autonomy that was granted to the South. This sparked another civil war that continues to plague the

country today. Numayri imposed Islamic Laws to all regions of Sudan (Randolph 1995, 2). A US embassy employee was shot in 1986, and personnel were removed from the US embassy in Sudan. Howard Wolpe, (D-Mich.) the former chair of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa, noted that Sudan, Somalia, and Liberia received \$3.6 billion in US aid between 1962-90. The main reasons for such high levels of aid were to combat communism (Doherty 1992, 1354). Sudan has received the second most aid in Africa, behind only Egypt, because of its strategic location. Sudan's location prevented communism from spreading into the region; therefore, the US allocated large sums of money into the state (Committee on Foreign Relations 1998, 6-7).

The overthrow of the government in 1989 hampered already weakening relations. Lt. General Omar Hassan Al-Bashir came to power after the 1989 coup, along with the National Salvation Revolution Command Council (RCC) and the National Islamic Front (NIF). The new military government suspended the 1985 constitution. The US State Department, noted that real power rested within Al-Turabi and the NIF, which held key positions in government (State Dept. Human Rights Report 1995). The US cut off all assistance to Sudan, except for food and medicine (Tomlinson 1999, p3). The suspension of the Sudanese constitution allowed the

government the freedom to basically abrogate press freedoms, and disband political opposition. In 1993, Bashir claimed the presidency and the RCC were disbursed (State Dept 2002).

Along with new militant leadership that assumed control of Sudan, US-Sudanese relations worsened because of the Iraq/Kuwait conflict. Sudan disapproved of US involvement in what they considered an Arab issue. Finally, in 1993 the US placed Sudan on the US terrorist list and limited exports to the country, and all foreign assistances except humanitarian (Committee on Foreign Relations 1998, 6-8).

II. US Foreign Aid During the Clinton Administration

Sudan has received large amounts of humanitarian aid throughout the Clinton administration. The amount of aid allocated, however, needs to be clarified. Since 1991, Sudan has been cut off from any economic or military assistance but does receive "Food for Peace" Grants, which is a form of humanitarian aid. This grant goes to the impoverished population of Sudan directly affected by the horrendous acts of the civil war. Each year the grant was increased, with a total increase of \$60 million over four years. The following section will be an analysis of why

Sudan received this aid. Edward Brynn, former Acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, stated that US interests in Sudan include deterring Sudanese support for terrorism and regional extremism, supporting an end to the civil war, and ending the humanitarian crisis (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 64). Therefore, the three factors that appear to be the most important in explaining aid allocation during the Clinton years are Sudan's human rights abuses, foreign relations, and terrorism and support for terrorist groups.

A. Human Rights Conditions

The same problems that plagued Sudan throughout the Cold War continued to worsen during the 1990s. The overthrow of the government in 1989 ignited further tensions between the Sudanese government and southern Sudan. The majority of the power rested within the NIF, in which they wanted to eliminate all non-Muslims or infidels. The primary force countering the Sudan government is the SPLA/M (Sudan People's Liberation Army/Militia), SAF (Sudan Alliance Force), and NDA (National Democratic Alliance). These military forces, along with the Sudanese government, carried out human rights atrocities. Amnesty International gave multiple reports on the horrific abuses that occurred

within Sudan. A State Department report on Sudan's human rights practices stated that there are vast amount of abuses that include massacre, extrajudicial executions, kidnappings, and torture of political opponents (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 62). Freedom House ranked Sudan's human rights records as some of the worse abuses. Freedom House gave Sudan the lowest possible ranking of human rights from 1990 to 1999 (Freedom House 2002).

Amnesty International has released numerous reports on the abuses and crimes that have taken place in Sudan. Amnesty International has presented reports to the UN noting the human rights abuses. The UN General Assembly, the UN Commission for Human Rights, and the African Commission for Human and People Rights of the Organization of African Unity have all condemned the human rights abuses (Amnesty International 1997).

One major criticism of Sudan is their refusal to allow UN relief agencies into impoverished areas. In 1995, relief agencies in part of Sudan were interrupted by government intervention and fighting. Donald Petterson, the US Ambassador to Sudan during the Clinton administration, noted how both military forces would siphon off the humanitarian aid relief for the war effort

(Tomlinson 1999, p4-6). Also, Amnesty International knew of over 300 political detainees held without charges.

1995 also sparked an upsurge in fighting in the civil war. Both the rebels and Sudanese government have committed horrendous acts of violence to innocent civilians, according to Amnesty International. Amnesty International noted in several reports that both military forces directly targeted innocent civilians.

Representative Harry Johnston (D-FL) stated that the situation in Sudan continued to deteriorate despite international efforts to end the bloody civil war (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 59). The mass misplacement of civilians is astounding. Since the civil war started in 1983, a total of 4 million Sudanese are refugees. Also, a total of 2 million have been killed, a large majority of those being civilians (State Dept 2002).

The human rights violations that have occurred in Sudan have been some of the worst offenses ever committed in the world. There have been numerous reports on the offenses that have taken place within the borders of Sudan (Amnesty International 1997, 1999; State Department 1997; Randloph 2002, p111; Fluehr-Lobban and Lobban 2001, p1-3; Edward 1995, p329). These horrible acts took place throughout the entire Clinton administration. In 1995,

Bryn stated that Sudan's government has showed no sign of improvement (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 64). Johnston stated the government continues to implement a terror campaign against innocent civilians and its repression of political opposition in the north. He believes the government will continue these horrific acts unless strong international pressure is applied to the NIF regime (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 59).

During the Clinton administration numerous persons and organizations have presented in front of congressional committees, citing the horrific acts taking place in Sudan. John Eibran and Baroness Cox, representatives from the International Christian Solidarity International, stated that child slavery, persecution of religious beliefs, and the slaughter of the innocent are commonly found throughout Sudan (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 70; Committee on Foreign Relations 1998, 7). Dr Omar Nur ElDayn, Secretary General of the UMMA party in Sudan, testified in front of congressional committee about the human rights abuses taking place in Sudan. He asked for the US to intensive their pressure on the NIF regime (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 93-98).

Along with outside groups testifying against the Sudanese government, congressional members and governmental

officials have spoken out against Sudan's civil war. Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) wrote a letter to US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, congratulating her and the president on the sanctions they imposed on Sudan in 1998. He noted how important it is to devote at least a moderate amount of humanitarian assistance for opposition held territory, in order to lessen the suffering (Committee on Foreign Relations 1998, 1-2). Congressman Payne wanted further and more effective implementation of food assistance in Sudan. He noted that Sudan's human rights abuses are abysmal, and that a more acceptable approach needed to be implemented to help the victims of Sudan (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 62).

Slavery has been a human rights issue that has tainted Sudan since the beginning of the civil war. There have been numerous accounts of children being abducted, and taken to camps or special schools (Amnesty International 1997). The Sudanese government would capture woman and children and sell them as slaves. The Sudanese government would employ slavery as weapon in the civil war (Cohen 1997, 7). These tactics of combat have hurt the Sudanese government's image in the international spectrum.

Congressman Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio) stated that Sudan is a forgotten place that is in dire need of assistance because

of its failing economy and disastrous civil war. He visited Sudan in 1998, and has actively lobbied for an increase in humanitarian assistance to Sudan (Editorial Writers 1998, A6).

The consequences of the civil war have resulted in large amount of famine and malnutrition. Albright meet with opposition force leader John Garang in 1998, and discussed ways to end the civil war and lessen the suffering of the people. She noted in a letter to Helms that the USAID will continue to supply humanitarian aid to all areas of Sudan. She said, "USAID is prepared to support humanitarian assistance programs in the northeast as in all areas of Sudan, that address the urgent needs of war affected civilians" (Committee on Foreign Relations 1998, 25).

As a result, the US has given large amounts of Food for Peace Grants to stabilize these conditions. However, the effectiveness of these grants has been limited because of outside interference interrupting the disbursement of food (State Dept 1997). Overall, the NIF party is recognized for their human rights abuses that include ethnic cleansing, slavery, and torture of prisoners and political opponents (Flucher and Lobban 2001, 3-4). Thus, these poor human right conditions were a determining factor

in the aid allocation process. Sudan has not received any type of monetary assistance since 1991, based upon their horrible human rights practices.

IV. Foreign Relations

Another contributing factor to the withdrawal of economic and military aid to Sudan is the result of poor foreign relations. Sudan's relations with neighboring African states have slowly deteriorated. Sudan has hostile relations with Ethiopia, Eritrea, Egypt, and Uganda.

Military conflict with Eritrea, Uganda, and Ethiopia was commonly seen throughout the 1990s. Also, Sudan was accused of an assassination attempt on Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in Ethiopia in 1995. Congressman Johnston noted that Sudan is a major threat to regional stability and US interest in Africa. He stated that Sudan has continued to support anti-government factions in both Eritrea and Uganda (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 59). In 1997, three Eritrea nationals were killed, and Eritrea brought further evidence before the UN highlighting aggressive behavior by Sudan (UN Chronicle 1999). Sudan has been accused of supporting and hosting Eritrea Islamic Jihad. This group threatens to overthrow the newly elected Eritrean government (Committee on Foreign Relations 1998,

40). Eritrea severed diplomatic ties with Sudan in 1995 following hostilities. Sudan has also been accused of supporting Lords Resistance Army and the West Nile Bank Front that want to oust Uganda's President Musevareii. They also support the Armed Islamic Group that wants to overthrow the Algerian government (Sudan Today 1998, 41-43).

Eritrean President, Isais Afewanki stated that it is the United States obligation to remain active in Africa and this region by continuing foreign assistance (Wright 1995, 6A). The US has increased the amount of aid to states neighboring Sudan in order to stabilize the area. The administration was fearful that Sudan's instability would have a negative impact upon the fragile democracies of the neighboring states (Committee on Foreign Relations 1998, 4-10). Johnston called for further US involvement in Sudan. He believed the US should be more active to help end the suffering taking place within the country and to bring stability to the region (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 59).

Despite being the largest African state, Sudan creates instability within this region of Africa. The large amount of refugees fleeing into neighboring states creates instability within those countries. The continued hostility between Sudan and its neighboring states only

weakens their relationship with the US. These factors contributed with the poor human rights record have deterred any type of strong foreign relations between the US and Sudan. President Bill Clinton stated that Sudan has supported international terrorism, has taken an on going effort to destabilize neighboring governments, and has violated numerous human rights. Clinton noted that this was a threat to US foreign policy and prohibited economic or military assistance, and interaction with the country of Sudan (Clinton 1997, p1721-1728).

V. Terrorism

Sudan's relations with the US have been extremely poor since the end of the Cold War. In 1998, President Clinton imposed sanctions upon Sudan because of their terrorist support. Sudan was considered a chief aid to Osama Bin Laden and other terrorist groups. The US also suspected Sudan of participating in the bombings of the World Trade Center in 1993, and were struck with US cruise missiles after the US embassies were bombed in 1998 (Fluecher-Lobbin 2001, 1-2).

In 1995, Congressman Payne stated that Sudan has increased its training of terrorists organizations and contacts with Iran (Subcommittee on Africa 1995, 56). The

congressional staff that visited Sudan in 1998 noted that Sudan was a threat to the US because of their support for international terrorist groups; examples of groups who received assistance are the Hamas, the Jihad of Egypt, the Hezbollah, and the Abu Nidal. The congressional staff group recommended that US foreign policy continue to isolate the NIF regime, and the goal of the US should be to replace the government through non-military tactics. Senator John Ashcroft (R-MO) and Helms proposed and passed legislation (Ashcroft and Helms Bill 5.873) prohibiting financial transactions with countries supporting terrorism (Committee on Foreign Relations 1998, 3-7).

Sudan has also continued to receive financial support from other terrorist states, such as Iran and Iraq (Committee on Foreign Relations 1998, 4-5). Congressman Hall called for higher level and sustained engagement by the international community in Sudan. He noted that during his visit to Sudan, Sheik Ahmed Yassin, founder of the Palestinian Hamas, controlled his hotel. He stated that Sudan has not changed despite their claims and is still a direct threat to the US (LA 1998, A6).

These conditions caused President Clinton to impose sanctions upon the Sudanese government. In a letter to Congress, he stated that sanctions would be imposed because

of Sudan's support for terrorists groups and being a threat to the US (Clinton 1998, 1728-1729). Congressman Payne also noted that terrorism and support for terrorist groups has created adverse effects on US relations with Sudan.

Albright supported the president's tactics, stating,

"I am here to announce that the US has imposed sweeping new economic sanctions against the government of Sudan because of its continued sponsorship of international terror, its efforts to destabilize neighboring countries, and its abysmal record on human rights" (Committee on Foreign Relations 1998, 53).

Her support for the sanctions was the result of the abuses Sudan has committed throughout the decade. In 1998, Susan Rice, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, stated that there are three major reasons for poor US-Sudan relations. First, the US condemns and opposes Sudanese Government's active sponsorship of international terrorism. Secondly, the destabilizing effects of the NIF regime have on that region. Finally, she stated the systematic violations of human rights have created poor relations with the US. As a result, she noted that US policy towards Sudan is to isolate and contain the government (Subcommittee on Africa 1998 50).

B. Mali

I. Cold War Relations with the US

Mali gained its independence from France, in 1960. During the Cold War, Mali suffered from the similar fates that other African states experienced after independence; periods of turmoil. However, Mali had close ties with the US throughout the Cold War. After first declaring independence, President Modibo Keita (Union Sovdanaisz du Rassenbenet Democratique African-US/RDA) developed a single party state that pursued socialist policy based on extensive nationalism. US-Mali relations were tentative at this time but were reformed as a new constitution was implemented in 1979 (State Dept 2002). In 1991, a new constitution was developed that supported free elections. This government is still in place today.

II. Foreign aid during Clinton Administrating

The Clinton administration disbursed large amounts of aid to Mali from 1996 to 1999. Aid increased each year from 1996 to 1998. From 1996 to 1998 aid increased \$16 million. In 1999, however aid dropped six million dollars. Military aid increased slightly throughout the Clinton administration but Mali never received large amounts of military aid. These amounts remained consistent throughout the majority of the years. The following sections will

explain why Mali received its assistance. Two factors that appear to have much relevance are Mali's human rights practices and democratic achievements, and Mali's positive foreign relations with other states.

III. Human rights Conditions and Democracy

Mali established strong ties with the US throughout the 1990s. President Alpha Oumar Konace has developed a reputation with the US as one of the truly democratic African leaders. Freedom House gave Mali fair rankings on their human rights records between 1996 to 1999. However, these rankings weakened a little in 1997, after turmoil followed the presidential election.

Free elections were held in 1997, however certain events took place that tainted the elections. Amnesty International reported that a small group of people was protesting the elections. The government reacted by arresting and imprisoning these people. They were held without charges, tortured, and some remain missing. This event could have caused the US to lessen economic aid in 1999. Overall, Mali has more than 30 papers circulating throughout the nation, and political opponents are active in the government (State Dept 1997).

Herman J. Cohen, Senior Advisor for the Global Coalition for Africa stated that Mali is a prime example of a state that has extensive communication with the US before embarking on any final decisions (Committee Int. Relations 1996, 47). Vivian Derryck, former Assistant Administrator for Africa Agency for International Development, stated that the goal of USAID should be to promote democracy. She noted that Mali is one of Africa's prime examples of a state that can achieve a level of democracy. In 1996, George Moose, Assistant Secretary for Africa, stated that Mali is an example of an African state that has experienced democratic success (Committee on International Relations 1996, 42). Mali is one of a few African states that have held first and second round multi party elections. Therefore, Moose believed that Mali should continue to receive aid and support from the US (Committee on Int. Relations 1996, 46).

Along with promoting good human rights, Mali has pursued decentralization of their government. Cohen stated that Mali is an excellent example of decentralization, and that the US should be active and support Mali (Committee Int. Relations 1996, 25). Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that democracy and development go hand in hand. He noted that Mali has a liberalized economy, and is

a prime example of what other countries should aspire to be like in Africa. He stated that Mali would continue to receive high levels of aid because of their positive track towards democracy (Committee Int. Relations 1996, 34).

IV. Foreign Relations

Mali has established itself as a strong peacekeeping force in Africa, and has received support from the USAID (USAID). In 1996, Moose stated before congressional hearing that Mali has adopted a "good neighbor policy" to counter coups and help restore democracy in African countries over the past two years. He believed the US should support Mali for their commitment to maintain stability within the region (Committee on Int. Relations 1996, 45). Clinton launched the African Crisis Response Initiative in 1998. This policy trained over 4200 peacekeepers from six African states, in order to respond to humanitarian and peacekeeping challenges in Africa. Mali was one of the first states to volunteer for this program, and have worked effectively with the US. Albright congratulated Malian's Army on successful peacekeeping operations in Liberia, Central African Republic, and Sierra Leone (US State Dept. 1999). Along with developing military ties with the US, Mali has worked with the US

Peace Corps. Warren stated in Bamako, Mali that Mali's relations with the US are an example of how far Mali has developed into a democratic state (Warren 1996, 513-15). These close ties with the US and support for Clinton's foreign policy could have resulted in the increased military aid Mali received throughout the Clinton administration.

Some analysts have also suggested that strategic goals are a determining factor in Mali. Journalist Dan French stated that Mali's location is strategic to US interests in Africa. Mali is a bulwark against the spread of Islamic militancy from Algeria in the north. French notes that Mali continues to receive aid to thwart Islamic militant groups from spreading (French 1995, 1-3). The Clinton administration effectively fulfilled its purposed foreign policy agenda, and helped promote the Malian democracy.

V. Conclusion

The case studies findings show that Sudan has received humanitarian aid throughout the Clinton administration to stabilize the poverty taking place in that country. Sudan has shown a negative human rights record throughout the Clinton administration, along with poor foreign relations with the US and neighboring states. Therefore, due to

these poor conditions and relations the US has cut off all economic and military assistance to Sudan.

Mali is on the opposite spectrum of Sudan. Mali has experienced relative success with developing a democratic state, and has established positive relations with the US and other African states. Therefore, Mali has continued to receive financial support from the United States.

The inclusion of the case studies has provided many interesting points that differ from the quantitative models. First, Sudan's involvement in terrorism was a variable included in US aid allocation to Sudan. This variable was overlooked in the quantitative models but a more in depth analysis of Sudan suggests that terrorism was a determining factor in the allocation of aid. Secondly, foreign relations were another strategic variable included in foreign aid decision making. Sudan had extremely poor relations with neighboring countries, creating instability in that region; therefore the US considered this factor in the allocation foreign aid and failed to disburse monetary aid to Sudan. However, Mali had positive relations with neighboring states and was rewarded with economic and military aid.

Finally, some evidence suggests the strategic location of Mali was another determining factor included in the aid

allocation process. Mali's location has prevented the spread of militant Islamic groups into other regions of Africa. This could suggest that Mali received an increase in aid because of their geographic location. Overall, the inclusion of the case studies has shown that other variables are significant in the disbursement of foreign aid. The findings suggest that the Clinton administration was consistent in implementing the Clinton Doctrine in Africa through US foreign aid.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

I. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to examine if a relationship existed between human rights and the disbursement of US foreign aid. This hypothesis was analyzed by two different approaches that include both a quantitative model and a qualitative approach. Both models produce reliable results that suggested human rights was a determining factor in the aid allocation process during President Bill Clinton's administration. This finding supports the theory that President Clinton's foreign policy goals of democratic enlargement were consistently applied throughout his second term as president.

The quantitative models show that a relationship exists between US economic and military assistance and human rights practices. A total of five variables were analyzed. Three were statistically and two were not significant. The three variables that were significant were population, human rights, and prior military and

economic aid. The two variables that were not significant were a state's per capita GNP and the presence of US military personnel. Both models were statistically significant with a low level of serial correlation. The R square allows one to develop conclusions and reject the null hypothesis. However, two case studies were included to test the hypothesis even further.

The case studies analyzed the state of Mali and Sudan. These two countries were selected because Mali represents a democratic state in Africa, and Sudan is an example of a militant regime. The case study supports the findings within the quantitative section of this thesis. Sudan was punished for their human rights abuses and their non-democratic government. Also, Sudan failed to receive economic or military assistance because of the instability they created within that region of Africa. In this case study, the importance of terrorism was highlighted. Sudan's support for terrorist organizations had a negative impact upon their relations with the US. A more in depth analysis of Sudan presents the development of other variables that were overlooked in the quantitative section. Mali is an example of a state that has attempted to strive towards democracy, and was rewarded by the United States. They have held free elections, played the role of a

peacekeeper in that region, exhibit good human rights practices, and have a strategic importance to the US. These factors led to a higher level of aid allocation throughout the Clinton administration. This in depth analysis of Mali also suggested that geographic strategy was an important variable in the aid allocation process.

Both models contributed to the overall goal of this thesis. They suggest that President Clinton was effective in pursuing an agenda that focused on democracy and human rights. This foreign policy approach was an accomplishment because it strayed away from the containment approach during the Cold War. The findings in both approaches also suggest that human rights are not the only variable involved in the aid allocation process. The human rights variable is one of several variables that are considered in the disbursement process. Overall, the "Clinton Doctrine" was successful in targeting democratic states and promoting positive human rights through the disbursement of aid to Africa.

II. Weaknesses and Contributions

This thesis does have some visible weaknesses. First, the quantitative models employed may have been strengthened with one or two more variables. A majority of the research

conducted on foreign aid has included six to seven variables. Also, the low R square is still a weakness of this thesis. Despite supporting the findings with case studies, the overall low R square does not allow a researcher to develop strong, generalizable conclusions. Other scholarly research on this subject has produced R squares of .38 and .48 (Poe 1998, 1994).

At the same time, this thesis has contributed to the field in many different aspects. First, the thesis analyzes an area of US foreign aid that has generally been ignored by scholars. There has been very little research conducted on US foreign aid allocations towards Africa. Also, this research has instituted new independent variables that have not been analyzed in past research. The inclusion of prior economic and military allows researchers to determine if aid allocation is just a continuation of prior administrations. Moreover, no study of US foreign aid has examined the "Clinton Doctrine" in Africa, as applied in this thesis.

Along with developing new contributions, this thesis supports other scholarly works within foreign aid allocation (Poe 1990, 1991, 1994, 1996, 1998; Blanton 1994). A majority of the research analyzes the Cold War period but fails to provide an analysis of the post Cold

War. The data was available to finally analyze this time period, and shows a continuation of past research that supports the linkage between human rights and US foreign aid.

Finally, this thesis allows for future analytical research. The inclusion of new variables and the analysis of other regions of the world during the Clinton administration would allow a researcher to draw comparisons. Also, a comparison could be developed between the Clinton administration and a presidency during the Cold War. This would allow for comparisons to be developed over two distinct time periods in US foreign policy. Overall, this thesis has extended prior research on foreign aid assistance to the post-Cold War era. It has supported and reinforced prior research, and allows for further research to be conducted in the future.

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