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Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami: Humanitarian Assistance and Relief Operations

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Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami: Humanitarian Assistance and Relief Operations

Summary

On December 26, 2004, a magnitude 9.0 undersea earthquake off the west coast of northern Sumatra, Indonesia, unleashed tsunamis that affected more than 12 countries throughout south and southeast Asia and stretched as far as the northeastern African coast. Current estimates indicate that close to 150,000 people are dead, and millions of others are injured, missing, or displaced, making this the deadliest tsunami on record. Sections of Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, and Thailand have suffered the worst devastation. Fifteen Americans are confirmed dead and more than 4,000 are potentially missing.

In response, the United Nations, the United States, and other donor nations have organized what some have called the world's largest relief and recovery operation to date. President Bush has pledged \$350 million in aid, has mobilized the U.S. military to provide logistical and other assistance. The United States also has joined with Japan, Australia, and India to form a "Core Group" to coordinate relief and military capabilities in the region. The group reportedly will work closely with the United Nations.

Funding the Indian Ocean tsunami relief and reconstruction effort is likely to be a challenge faced by the 109th Congress. Even before the disaster struck, Congress was expected to struggle to find the resources to sustain U.S. aid pledges amid efforts to tackle rising budget deficits by, among other measures, slowing or reducing discretionary spending. Congress also may wish to consider debt relief as a means of helping those nations hit by the tsunami to recover economically. Additionally, there have been calls to institute a tsunami detection and warning system in the Atlantic and/or Indian Oceans, both of which would require allocations of funds.

The large-scale U.S. response to the tsunami is unlikely to reverse the decline in the U.S. image abroad since the September 11 attacks, because this decline primarily is due to American policies in the Middle East. However, the scale and scope of U.S. assistance could provide a positive example of U.S. leadership and military capabilities. Additionally, the disaster relief cooperation between the U.S. and Indonesian militaries is likely to be mentioned during the annual congressional deliberations over renewing restrictions on U.S.-Indonesian military-to-military relations, which the Bush Administration has sought to restore since the September 11 attacks.

This report summarizes the extent of the disaster and relief effort. It includes descriptions of how the U.S. government responds to disasters in general and of the situation in the affected countries. The report will be updated as events develop.

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Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami: Humanitarian Assistance and Relief Operations

Background¹

Introduction

On December 26, 2004, a magnitude 9.0 undersea earthquake off the west coast of northern Sumatra, Indonesia, unleashed tsunamis that affected more than 12 countries throughout south and southeast Asia and stretched as far as the northeastern African coast. Within six hours the deadly waves traveled more than 3,000 miles and carved a trail of death and destruction as they arrived on land. Current estimates indicate that close to 150,000 people are dead, and millions of others are injured, missing, or displaced.² The World Health Organization indicates that an estimated 3 to 5 million people lack the basic necessities for survival. In many places the physical environment is badly damaged or destroyed, including entire communities, homes, businesses, tourist areas, and infrastructure (roads, bridges, power and telephone systems, and public buildings). For many their means of livelihood and way of life has been wiped out. In the hardest hit areas, social services are severely compromised or nonexistent. Experts have said this is the most powerful earthquake in 40 years and the fourth most deadly in the last century. Estimates of the dead make it the worst tsunami disaster on record.

A massive, global relief and recovery operation is underway. According to the United Nations, the relief operation is the largest ever undertaken. Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, and Thailand have suffered some of the worst devastation. Within a day, all were declared a disaster by their respective U.S. ambassador, which allowed U.S. aid to be immediately released through the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA). For information on current conditions and latest developments, view the reports of governments, private voluntary agencies, and U.N. agencies on the web at [<http://www.reliefweb.int.>]

¹ Prepared by Rhoda Margesson, Foreign Affairs Analyst.

² Early estimates of deaths from natural disasters are difficult to calculate and usually quite different from the final count. In this disaster the final number likely will never be known with any accuracy given the number of countries involved, the long, populous coastlines that were struck by the tsunamis, and the number of villages completely destroyed. See Donald G. McNeil, Jr., "Experts Say Accurate Toll is Hard to Calculate," *New York Times*, December 29, 2004.

Figure 1: Map of the 2004 Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunami

Source: Based on a map provided by the *Struggling to Bring Relief to the Survivors* report, *The Economist*, January 2005. Adapted by CRS. (K. Yancey 1/4/05).

Comparisons to Past Disasters³

In terms of estimated fatalities, the Indian Ocean tsunami ranks among the world's worst natural disasters, though it falls below other events. (See Table 1) The unique feature of this tsunami is the extent of the damage and the number of countries affected. Unlike the damage caused by other disasters, which tended to be highly localized, the Indian Ocean tsunami struck thousands of miles of populous coastline in nearly a dozen countries, affecting millions of people. The devastation was particularly acute in several island areas, where at times, entire land masses were flooded. The very nature of the tidal waves, combined with the lack of warning, made children, the elderly and others unable to swim particularly vulnerable. Also, the potential deaths of thousands of tourists from the industrialized world vacationing in southern Thailand and Sri Lanka — mostly Europeans but also many Americans and Japanese — has given the Indian Ocean tsunami a higher profile than previous disasters.

³ Prepared by Mark Manyin, Specialist in Asian Affairs.

Table 1. Deadliest Natural Disasters

Year	Location	Event	Estimated Death Toll
1931	Huang He River, China	flood	3.7 million
1970	Bangladesh	cyclone	300,000
1976	Tangshan, China	earthquake (magnitude 7.5)	255,000*
1920	Ningxia-Kansu, China	earthquake (8.6)	200,000
1927	Tsinghai, China	earthquake (7.9)	200,000
2004	Indian Ocean	earthquake (9.0) and tsunami	150,000+
1923	Kanto region, Japan	earthquake (7.9)	143,000
1991	Bangladesh	cyclone	139,000
1948	Turkmenistan, USSR	earthquake (7.3)	110,000
1908	Messina, Italy	earthquake (7.2)	70,000-100,000

Sources: *Washington Post*, December 30, 2004; U.S. Geological Survey.

* Official death toll. Unofficial estimates range as high as 655,000.

No natural disasters in recent memory compare with the magnitude and scope of this earthquake and tsunami. Table 2 provides context, detailing the large-scale U.S. assistance that followed after a previous natural disaster, the October 1998 Hurricane Mitch, which inflicted severe upon several countries in central America.

Table 2: U.S. Governmental Assistance after Hurricane Mitch
(U.S. \$ Million)

Country Assisted (Estimated Death Toll)	Existing U.S. Resources and Debt Relief at Time of Disaster	Supplemental Appropriation	Total
Honduras (14,000)	238.3	324.9	563.2
Nicaragua (3,500)	57.4	113.0	170.4
Guatemala (440)	42.5	35.9	78.4
El Salvador (370)	19.4	35.1	54.5
Costa Rica (6)	-	9.0	9.0
Central America Regional	-	27.3	27.3
Total	357.6	545.2	902.8

Even as the emergency response gains momentum, discussion of the medium and long-term reconstruction of the area has begun and will likely continue at international meetings and within the U.S. government. It is too soon for preliminary assessments to estimate the total damage to the region but experts believe it is in the billions of dollars. Secretary General Kofi Annan said it could take ten years to bring parts of the region back to full capacity.

The reconstruction effort will likely attempt to reduce the vulnerability of these countries to similar disasters in the future. Although countries in the Pacific region have a warning system for tsunamis (which are a relatively frequent occurrence), the countries in the Indian Ocean lack such a coordinated response. In an effort to improve disaster preparedness a review of the response to the earthquake and tsunamis may include an examination of the dissemination of information by national governments to other governments and to their populace, communication between regional governments about the course and damage of the storm, and local governmental disaster response plans and procedures.

Current Situation⁴

Table 3: Estimated Persons Affected by the Earthquake and Tsunamis

Country	Death toll (estimated)	Missing (estimated)	Injured (estimated)	Displaced (estimated)
Indonesia	80,248	1,541		100,000
Sri Lanka	46,000	5,023	12,482	899,408
India	9,067	5,511		364,200 3.5 mil. affected
Thailand	4,798	6,384	10,469	
Burma (Myanmar)	53			
The Maldives	73	42		12,000 300,000 affected
Malaysia	66	50	100	8,000
Tanzania	10			
Bangladesh	2			
Somalia	142			50,000
Kenya	1			
Seychelles	1			

Sources: Statistical data provided by *USAID Indian Ocean Earthquake and Tsunamis Report*, January 2005 and *BBC News online*, January 4, 2005.

⁴ Prepared by Rhoda Margesson, Foreign Affairs Analyst.

As the disaster unfolded during the first week, the dilemma involved in prioritizing resource allocations began to take shape: on the one hand, to try to save as many lives as possible and on the other, to identify and dispose of bodies as death tolls continued to rise. Multiple challenges have arisen because of the large number of countries affected across a large geographic area. Moreover, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Somalia have been in conflicts that are as yet unresolved and present potential difficulties in the distribution of aid. And there are millions of people displaced, separated from their families and left with nothing. Critical needs vary by country, including the condition of the infrastructure and response system, the scope of destruction, and degree of access. The situation in each country is discussed later in the report.

Initial assessments indicate that the most urgent priorities in the affected areas are for potable water, sanitation (and waste disposal), food, and shelter. The numbers of injured are estimated to be twice or three times the death toll and urgent medical care and facilities are needed. The World Health Organization (WHO) is particularly concerned about disease outbreaks among the many vulnerable populations from contaminated water sources and crowded, unsanitary living conditions, including cholera, dysentery, malaria, and dengue fever. So far there do not appear to be any signs of epidemics. WHO has warned that the death toll could double if clean water, sanitation and relief supplies are not provided to the affected areas.⁵

Experts break relief operations into several phases: search and rescue; treatment and survival; relocation and rehabilitation; and long-term reconstruction.⁶ As with any massive undertaking that has many moving parts, it can take days to get a relief effort underway. Delays in transportation and congestion, lack of transportation infrastructure, bureaucratic problems, lack of access, all can cause bottlenecks at key points in the system. While timing is critical to save lives, to enable a network of this size to function efficiently requires the coordination of assessments and appropriate responses with local governments, communities, and the international community. The sheer scale of this relief effort has brought together tremendous capacity and willingness to help, but experts generally caution that it will take time for the system to function better.

⁵ "Response to Enormity," *The Washington Post*, December 29, 2004.

⁶ "Relief: Massive Effort, Massive Need," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 3, 2005.

Humanitarian Response: U.S. and International Assistance⁷

U.S. Emergency Assistance to the Region

Offers of assistance have greatly increased since December 26, 2004, as the international community has come to realize the growing scale of the disaster. In the case of the United States, American Ambassadors responsible for Sri Lanka, the Maldives, India and Indonesia provided \$400,000 in immediate assistance in the wake of the Indian Ocean tsunami. The United States Government then contacted the Red Cross about providing \$4 million in additional assistance. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID)'s Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) has sent disaster relief teams (DARTs) to the region to assess needs in the areas of sanitation, health, and other kinds of relief supplies.

On December 28, \$10 million was allocated for the relief effort for a total estimated initial contribution by the United States of around \$15 million.⁸ As reports of the growing scale of the disaster came in, the United States raised its pledge to \$35 million.⁹ By December 31, this number had increased to \$350 million. Of this amount, as of January 2, 2005, USAID reports that \$37.4 million has been committed. For the latest breakdown of U.S. government assistance to the region, see [<http://www.usaid.gov>.]

Military assistance to the region, in coordination with international organizations and NGOs, includes flights with relief aid, medical supplies, personnel, and equipment to affected areas. The U.S. Navy dispatched nine P-3 patrol aircraft and several aircraft carriers to assist with relief operations. Helicopters have been used to deliver relief supplies and evacuate the injured. In addition, surface ships, landing crafts and inflatable boats are being positioned to provide relief supplies, including the capacity to produce potable water, transport vehicles, generators and other equipment. Two military forensic teams are in Thailand and a preventive medicine unit is conducting assessments in Indonesia. An estimate of total military spending to date is not yet available.

On December 29, 2004, President Bush announced the formation of a donor group consisting of the United States, Australia, India and Japan to coordinate relief and military capabilities in the region, and said he expected more countries to join shortly. The Core Group reportedly will work closely with the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), which is leading the relief effort.

⁷ Prepared by Rhoda Margesson, Foreign Affairs Analyst.

⁸ Secretary Colin Powell, Briefing with Assistant Administrator for United States Agency for International Development Ed Fox," U.S. Department of State, December 27, 2004.

⁹ John Harris and Robin Wright, "Aid Grows Amid Remarks About President's Absence," *The Washington Post*, December 29, 2004.

An interagency task force has been established to coordinate U.S. government relief efforts. It will also assist in tracking missing Americans. Fifteen Americans are confirmed dead and more than 4,000 are potentially missing.

Private sector assistance has already been substantial and is expected to continue to grow. On January 3, President Bush announced that former Presidents George H.W. Bush, and Bill Clinton would lead a fundraising effort in the U.S. private sector in support of the tsunami crisis. Cash donations are being encouraged. It is too soon to estimate the value of private relief supplies, which will be transported by DOD under the Denton program.¹⁰

U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, Florida Governor Jeb Bush, and USAID Administrator Andrew Natsios began a visit in the affected region on January 3, 2005 to assess the situation and whether the response is sufficient to meet the needs on the ground. Two U.S. Congressional delegations also are going to the region. Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist leaves on January 4 and Iowa Congressman Jim Leach who is Chairman of the House Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, leaves on January 5.

The U.S. Emergency Response Mechanism

The United States is generally a leader and major contributor to relief efforts in humanitarian disasters. In 2004 the United States contributed more than 2.4 billion to disaster relief worldwide. In the case of the Indian Ocean earthquake and tsunami, it is clear that the response will require a major long-term effort beyond the relief and recovery operation currently underway.¹¹

The President has broad authority to order provide emergency assistance for foreign disasters and the United States government provides disaster assistance through several U.S. agencies. The very nature of humanitarian disasters — the need to respond quickly in order to save lives and provide relief — has resulted in an unrestricted definition of what this type of assistance consists of on both a policy and operational level. While humanitarian assistance is assumed to provide for urgent

¹⁰ The Denton program, named after former Member of Congress Jeremiah Denton, authorizes shipment of privately donated humanitarian goods on U.S. military aircraft on a space-available basis. The donated goods must be certified as appropriate for the disaster by USAID's OFDA and can be bumped from the transport if other U.S. government aid must be transported.

¹¹ There are a number of variables that make reading the United States government numbers and drawing accurate conclusions problematic. Questions about authority, definitions and categories of services make up part of the reason it is a challenge to grasp the concept and function of humanitarian assistance. Another factor has to do with how the numbers are generated in budgets within the U.S. government. Each agency has its own budget, with its own criteria, accounting detail and regional specificity. The fact that an urgent response to humanitarian crises is often required only compounds the problem. Budgets may reflect regional support, a certain area, specific countries, or a combination thereof over time and with changing events. Particularly in comparing assistance levels with other countries, financial sources may be compared against other forms of assistance (blankets, etc.) or they may reflect commitments of support rather than overall obligations.

food, shelter, and medical needs, the agencies within the U.S. Government providing this support expand or contract the definition in response to circumstances. Funds may be used for U.S. agencies to deliver the services required or to provide grants to international organizations (IOs), international governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and private or religious voluntary organizations (PVOs.) USAID is the U.S. agency charged with coordinating U.S. government and private sector assistance.¹² It also coordinates with international organizations, the governments of countries suffering disasters, and other governments.

OFDA in USAID's Bureau of Humanitarian Response can respond immediately with relief materials and personnel including personnel and materiel already located in various countries around the world.¹³ It is responsible for the provision of non-food humanitarian assistance and has disaster response teams (DARTS) which can be assembled quickly to conduct assessments of the situation. OFDA has wide authority to borrow funds, equipment and personnel from other parts of USAID and other federal agencies. USAID has two other offices that administer U.S. humanitarian aid: Food For Peace (FFP) and the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI). USAID administers Title II of the FFP under P.L. 480 and provides relief and development food aid that does not have to be repaid. OTI provides post-disaster transition assistance, which includes mainly short-term peace and democratization projects with some attention to humanitarian elements but not emergency relief.

The Department of Defense (DOD) Overseas Humanitarian, Disaster and Civic Aid (OHDACA) appropriation funds three DOD humanitarian programs: the Humanitarian Assistance Program (HAP), the Humanitarian Mine Action (HMA) Program, and Foreign Disaster Relief and Emergency Response (FDR/ER). The office provides humanitarian support to stabilize emergency situations and deals with a range of tasks including the provision of food, shelter and supplies, and medical evacuations. In addition the President has the authority to draw down defense equipment and direct military personnel to respond to disasters. The President may also use the Denton program to provide space available transportation on military aircraft and ships to private donors who wish to transport humanitarian goods and equipment in response to a disaster.

Generally, OFDA provides emergency aid which lasts 30-90 days. The same is true for Department of Defense humanitarian assistance. Aft the initial emergency is over, assistance is provided through other channels, such as the regular country development programs of USAID.

The State Department also administers programs for humanitarian relief with a focus on refugees and the displaced. Emergency Refugee and Migration Account (ERMA) is a fund available until spent¹⁴ and provides wide latitude to the President

¹² Private donations may be made to the private agencies working the area which are listed on the internet at [<http://www.interaction.org>.]

¹³ Authorized in Sec. 491-493 of P.L. 87-195, the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

¹⁴ Governed by P.L. 103-326, the maximum amount is \$100 million. Authorized in sections (continued...)

in responding to refugee emergencies. Emergencies lasting more than a year come out of the regular Migration and Refugee Account through the Population, Migration and Refugees (PRM) bureau. PRM¹⁵ covers refugees worldwide, conflict victims, and populations of concern to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), often extended to Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). Humanitarian assistance includes a range of services from basic needs to community services.

International Emergency Assistance to the Region

International recovery efforts are typically complex because they require coordination among numerous different actors. Those responding to humanitarian crises include U.N. agencies, international organizations, NGOs, PVOs, and bilateral and multilateral donors. A great deal of assistance is provided by other governments and international agencies. The UN OCHA tracks worldwide contributions to disasters.¹⁶ According to the U.N., as of January 3, 2005, pledges from the international community for the Indian Ocean tsunami stand at over \$2 billion.

Initially, the European Union pledged \$40.5 million dollars. Australia pledged \$7.6 million dollars while France, Germany, Russia, Britain, Pakistan, and Italy initially reacted by sending plane loads of assistance supplies. The International Red Cross and the Red Crescent Societies were focused on an initial appeal of \$6.6 million.¹⁷ Since then, donations have increased enormously (see Table 4). Australia and Japan have stated that they will help build a tidal wave warning system which is thought will cost tens of millions of dollars to establish.¹⁸

The U.N. agencies are also conducting damage assessments and reconstruction estimates which will likely be used at donor conferences and planning for the future. The United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Jan Egeland, has stated that “the cost of the devastation will be in the billions of dollars. It would probably be in the many

¹⁴ (...continued)

2 and 3 or P.L. 87-510 of the Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1962.

¹⁵ When there is functional or programmatic overlap between USAID and PRM, they coordinate with each other and define partners. Traditionally PRM is a funder of UNHCR and other multilateral actors; USAID creates bilateral arrangements with NGOs. There is now a shift in partnering due to funding and resources required.

¹⁶ The information is only as complete as the various governments’ willingness to report the information. It does not include non-cash contributions in services or in kind (such as trucks and aircraft, crews, and emergency and medical personnel).

¹⁷ “World Scrambles to Help Asia Tidal Victims,” *Agence France Presse*, December 27, 2004.

¹⁸ “Officials in Asia Concede That They Failed to Issue Warnings,” *Associated Press*, December 27, 2004.

billions of dollars,” making it one of the largest humanitarian relief efforts in history.¹⁹

Table 4: International Pledges and Contributions
(as of January 4, 2005)

Country/ Agency	Government donations	Private donations	Military Assistance	Civilian Assistance
Japan	\$500 mil.			120 emergency workers
USA	\$350 mil.	\$120 mil.	12,600 personnel; 21 ships; 14 cargo planes; 48 helicopters	
World Bank	\$250 mil.			
Norway	\$182 mil.	\$30 mil.		
Asian Development Bank	\$175 mil. - up to \$150 mil. could be loaned			
Britain	\$96 mil.	\$140 mil.	2 RAF planes; 1 C-17; 1 Tristar	
Italy	\$95 mil.	\$20 mil.		6-8 forensic experts to Thailand
Sweden	\$80 mil.	\$60 mil.		
Spain	\$68 mil.			medical team to Sri Lanka
France	\$66 mil.	\$47mil. (est.)		medical team to Sri Lanka
Canada	\$66mil.	\$29mil. (govt. will match donations)		
China	\$60mil.	\$1.8 to Chinese Red Cross		
Denmark	\$54mil.		field hospital; transport vehicles; ship to U.N. aid effort	
Australia	\$46mil.	\$58mil.	350 personnel; 4 helicopters; troop transport ship, military health support team	water purification plant to Indonesia; medical professional volunteer team

¹⁹ Colum Lynch, “Billions in Aid Needed for Devastated Areas, U.N. Official Says,” *The Washington Post*, December 28, 2004.

Country/ Agency	Government donations	Private donations	Military Assistance	Civilian Assistance
Netherlands	\$34mil.	\$35mil.		police identification team to Thailand
European Union	\$31mil.			
Germany	\$27mil.	\$41mil.	military ship with 2 helicopters	mobile hospital; aid supplies; water treatment equipment; operating theater to Aceh
Bangladesh				111 soldiers to Sri Lanka and Maldives
Pakistan			500 military staff in medical and engineering teams to Indonesia and Sri Lanka	

Source: "Tsunami Aid: Who's Giving What," *BBC News online*. January 4, 2005.

International Donor Conferences

On January 6, 2005 the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) will hold an emergency meeting to discuss coordination of international relief efforts and managing logistical obstacles that have delayed the delivery of aid in certain areas. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell plans to attend.²⁰ A meeting of summit leaders is reportedly to take place in Jakarta on January 6 and be focused on increasing donor contributions.²¹ Another international donors conference was being planned for January 11. It is not yet clear whether the latter two meetings will be held.

²⁰ ASEAN is comprised of Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam.

²¹ "Special ASEAN Meeting Thursday to Coordinate Tsunami Response," *Agence France-Presse*, January 3, 2005.

Situation Report on Countries Affected by the Tsunami

The current situation, as of January 4, 2005, in each affected country is described below with brief background descriptions, reports of the damage, and highlights of the emergency response.

Indonesia²²

The northern part of the Indonesian island of Sumatra, especially the northernmost province of Aceh, was closest to the epicenter of the Indian Ocean earthquake. Successive tidal waves of 30 to 50 feet high slammed into Aceh's west coast of nearly 200 miles. As of January 2, 2005, the Indonesian government estimated the death toll at nearly 100,000, mostly in Aceh. Aerial surveys of Aceh's west coast from Banda Aceh, the provincial capital, southward for about 150 miles revealed near total destruction of towns and villages with many of them underwater. The coastal area was isolated with no aid getting through until January 1, 2005. The same is true of a number of small islands off Sumatra's west coast. Initial international aid is coming through the re-opened Banda Aceh airport and the airport at Medan, a major city south of Aceh. The United States, Australia, and Singapore were supplying the bulk of aid, and non-government humanitarian groups were also active.

By January 2-3, there were signs of recovery in Banda Aceh: the reopening of markets, the restoration of power and water to 40 percent of the city, and shipments of fuel supplies into the city. Indonesian government efforts to remove massive debris and bury thousands of dead people were making progress, although much remained to be done. Beginning on January 1, U.S. SH-60 Bravo helicopters flying off the U.S. aircraft carrier, Abraham Lincoln, were delivering food and water to the isolated towns and villages down Aceh's west coast from Banda Aceh. On January 2, U.S. navy helicopters, numbering about 25, flew 27 missions and delivered 80,000 pounds of supplies. Indonesian navy helicopters also were delivering supplies to these towns and villages, but the Indonesian military only has two helicopters in Sumatra. Even the U.S. navy helicopters were delivering supplies only as far south as Meulaboh, about 120 miles south of Banda Aceh. Towns south of Meulaboh remained without aid as of January 3.

As of January 3, the main problem in relief efforts was the backup of relief supplies at the airports at Banda Aceh and Medan. Hundreds of tons of food, water, medicines, and tents were at the airports, but were reaching destitute people — including approximately 150,000 homeless people in 20 refugee camps — very slowly if at all. Unloading equipment at the airports was described as inadequate. There reportedly was a severe lack of trucks to distribute supplies. The Indonesian central government and the Aceh provincial governments have little infrastructure to facilitate distribution of aid.

²² Prepared by Larry Niksch, Specialist in Asian Affairs, and Bruce Vaughn, Analyst in Asian Affairs.

International private aid officials in Aceh have accused the Indonesian military of delays in the distribution of relief supplies. The military (TNI) controls the relief supplies at the Banda Aceh and Medan airports. Until January 1, the TNI initially refused to allow foreign relief airplanes to land at Banda Aceh. Indonesian President Susilio Yudhoyono apparently overrode military opposition to foreign relief deliveries. Since then, several TNI commanders have cooperated with American, Australian, and Singaporean military units, and they have praised the U.S. military relief effort.

TNI attitudes are governed by an insurgency in the province that has gone on since 1976. Anti-Indonesia forces (the Free Aceh Movement or GAM) seek independence for the province and cite decades of repressive Indonesian rule as justification for their uprising. The Indonesian military (TNI) long has been accused of committing atrocities and other human rights abuses in Aceh and being involved in corrupt practices there. In May 2003, the Indonesian government, under pressure from the TNI, ended a six-month long cease-fire with the insurgents and declared martial law. The TNI banned foreigners from Aceh, including aid workers. The government lifted the ban on foreign aid workers on December 27, the day after the disaster struck. However, the absence of any aid donor infrastructure, the insurgency, and the attitude of the TNI leadership raise several issues regarding foreign aid operations. One is the scope of access, i.e., whether foreign aid workers will have broad access to the devastated areas or whether the TNI will limit them.

Another issue likely will be the duration of access, whether it will be short term for the distribution of emergency, humanitarian aid or whether it will be longer term to aid in the huge task of reconstruction. A third issue will be the role of the TNI in controlling and distributing aid, given the military's reputation for corruption. A fourth issue is the durability of the separate cease-fires, which the TNI and the GAM declared after the disaster. Previous cease-fires have collapsed. The GAM already is accusing the TNI of continuing to launch attacks on GAM forces. The separate cease-fires may last for several weeks, during which the emphasis is on humanitarian assistance, but once that stage ends, the durability of the truces undoubtedly will become shaky.

Indonesia is the world's fourth largest state by population and is the world's largest Muslim country. Indonesia is an archipelagic state situated astride key sea lanes that link the Pacific and Indian Oceans. It has approximately 17,000 islands of which 6,000 are occupied. In recent years, Indonesia has struggled to more firmly establish its democracy and to suppress both secessionist movements and Islamist terrorist groups. Indonesia has a \$3,100 purchasing power parity income per capita with 27% below the poverty line.

Sri Lanka²³

The Indian Ocean tsunami hit Sri Lanka particularly hard, killing almost 30,000. It is estimated that a million Sri Lankans have been displaced from their homes. The Sri Lankan Ambassador to the United States, Devinda Subasinghe, stated that up to

²³ Prepared by Bruce Vaughn, Analyst in Asian Affairs.

70% of the Sri Lankan coast was damaged. The inundation has led to looting and a prison break of some 200 inmates from a coastal prison. As of January 3, widespread disease had not yet emerged. President Bush expressed his condolences to the victims over the “terrible loss of life and suffering.” A statement issued by the State Department indicated that the United States stood ready to offer assistance to those nations most affected including Sri Lanka. The State Department also issued a travel advisory warning Americans to avoid Sri Lanka.²⁴ It has been reported that the Pacific Tsunami Warning Center tried to warn the region of the tidal wave but that it was unable to do so because the region does not have an alert system.

The United States *Bonhomme Richard* Expeditionary Strike Group, which had been in Guam, was ordered to the Bay of Bengal to provide assistance to affected countries. It is expected to be in the region by January 7, 2005. The seven ships in the strike group have 25 helicopters, 2,100 marines and 1,400 sailors which could provide assistance. The head of the Pacific Command, Admiral Thomas Fargo, also has ordered two ships out of the squadron based in Diego Garcia to provide assistance as well as five pre-positioned ships located in Guam. Each pre-positioned ship can produce 90,000 gallons of fresh water per day.²⁵ The ships in Diego Garcia should be able to reach Sri Lanka and India in 4 or 5 days, while the ships located in Guam could take 11 days.

Sri Lanka has sought to mobilize all available resources but appears unable to effectively deal with the disaster. Andrew Natsios, Administrator, U.S. Agency for International Development, has stated that “I think the Sri Lankans basically are telling us this is so massive, they are being overwhelmed by it.”²⁶ It was estimated on December 30th that some 10,000 to 12,000 Sri Lankans are injured. Sri Lanka’s transportation links to the affected areas has reportedly collapsed. Rail connections to the south have closed. Truckers refuse to travel south for fear of another tsunami. The existing roads are clogged. Some of the estimated one million land mines set during ongoing Sri Lanka’s civil war — between the government and ethnic Tamil rebels in the north and east — have reportedly have been unearthed and shifted during the flood. The Tamil rebel group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), has complained that aid is not getting through to Tamil areas.²⁷ The army has a fleet of only 12 helicopters.²⁸ As a result, additional helicopters would appear to be greatly needed to transport relief supplies from the international airport at Colombo to the affected coastal areas.

It is not clear how deeply the tsunami will hurt the Sri Lankan economy. The two sectors most affected are tourism and fisheries. Hundreds of hotels are damaged

²⁴ Deb Riechman, “Bush Sends Condolences to Asia, Offers Aid,” *Associated Press*, December 27, 2004.

²⁵ Marc Grossman, “News Briefing on Indian Ocean Disaster Relief,” *Federal Document Clearing House*, December 29, 2004.

²⁶ Marc Grossman, “News Briefing on Indian Ocean Disaster Relief,” *Federal Document Clearing House*, December 29, 2004.

²⁷ “After the Tsunami the Rising Cost,” *The Age*, December 30, 2004.

²⁸ Paddy Murphy, “Call for Choppers,” *The Australian*, December 30, 2004.

or destroyed. Hotels are now estimated to be half full. Sri Lanka's fishing fleet in the affected areas has been badly damaged. Sri Lanka harvests a reported 300,000 tons of fish annually for domestic consumption. Much of this is caught by subsistence fishermen.²⁹

Sri Lanka is a constitutional democracy with relatively high educational and social standards.³⁰ The country's political, social, and economic development has been seriously constrained by two decades of ethnic conflict between the majority Sinhalese and minority Tamil ethnic groups. Since 1983, a separatist war costing some 64,000 lives has been waged against government forces by the LTTE, which has been seeking to establish a separate state in the Tamil-dominated areas of the north and east.

India³¹

As of January 3, 2004, India is reported to have suffered more than 15,000 deaths as a result of the Indian Ocean tsunami.³² Waves 12 to 14 feet high struck India's eastern coast approximately three hours after the first tremor. Many or most of those killed in the state of Tamil Nadu reportedly were women and children.³³ The city of Nagapattinam, a fishing community some 150 miles south of Madras (Chennai), was devastated by the ocean surge which advanced the shoreline up to 100 meters inland along the Tamil Nadu coast. Nagapattinam alone eventually may account for up to 20,000 deaths, and more than 650,000 Tamil Nadu residents are said to have been displaced or otherwise affected by the tsunami. USAID officials reported tsunami-related destruction in Tamil Nadu more than one kilometer inland.³⁴ Some 30,000 residents of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands lived on the nearly flat island of Car Nicobar, where an Indian air force base was completely submerged. Car Nicobar may alone account for up to one-third of deaths in the remote archipelago; one report claims that 12 of the island's 15 villages were "obliterated" by the tsunami.³⁵ Severe flooding in all affected regions has contaminated water systems and, combined with the existence of many corpses still floating in coastal areas, raised concerns that lethal waterborne diseases such as cholera and diarrhea

²⁹ Amy Waldman and James Brooke, "Disaster's Damage to Economies may be Minor," *The New York Times*, January 3, 2005.

³⁰ For additional information see CRS Report RL31707, *Sri Lanka: Background and U.S. Relations*, by Bruce Vaughn.

³¹ Prepared by Bruce Vaughn, Analyst in Asian Affairs.

³² "The Race to Save Lives," *The Age* (Melbourne), January 4, 2005. On January 2, USAID reported 9,067 Indians confirmed dead and another 5,511 missing (USAID Fact Sheet #7, FY2005, January 2, 2005).

³³ T.S. Subramanian, "Killer Waves," *Frontline* (Madras), January 14, 2005.

³⁴ S. Anand, "The Big Churn," *Outlook India* (Delhi), December 30, 2004; USAID Fact Sheet #7, FY2005, January 2, 2005.

³⁵ Pankaj Sekhsaria, "Andaman's Agony," *Frontline* (Madras), January 14, 2005; Janaki Kremmer, "No easy Access For Remote Islands," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 4, 2005.

may become epidemic.³⁶ The Tamil Nadu economy is heavily reliant on marine product exports and is expected to suffer major losses with the destruction of tens of thousands of fishing boats and nets. Moreover, shipping came to a virtual standstill at the Madras port (south India's largest), and the region's tourist industry has been devastated by physical damage and booking cancellations.³⁷

India is considered by many to have a well established disaster management system. The United States has been engaged with Indian in disaster training and technical assistance through USAID for some years.³⁸ However, at least one United Nations expert has called the recent disaster a "wake-up call" for Indian planners who allegedly failed to learn from past experience, and a top Indian Red Cross official spoke of "chaotic" relief management.³⁹

Following the tsunami, the Indian government immediately released \$115 million for the National Contingency Relief Fund. New Delhi has not requested international assistance and has turned down aid offers from the United States, Russia, Japan, and Israel, saying that indigenous capabilities are sufficient.⁴⁰ More than 5,000 Indian navy personnel have used 27 ships, 19 helicopters, and six naval aircraft to deliver many hundreds of tons of relief supplies. The Indian prime minister has promised a payment of approximately \$2,300 to the next of kin of each of those killed. India also has pledged \$22 million in disaster aid to Sri Lanka and \$2 million for Maldives.⁴¹

The Tamil Nadu government reports that 402 relief camps have been established and hold more than 300,000 people as of January 3. That government also will provide special relief packages to families suffering loss of homes.⁴²

³⁶ "India Turns Down Foreign Relief Aid," ANSA English Media Service, December 29, 2004; "Tsunami-Hit India Struggles to Channel Flood of Aid to Needy," Agence France Presse, January 2, 2005.

³⁷ S. Anand, "The Big Churn," *Outlook India* (Delhi), December 30, 2004; "Tsunami Washes Away Tourism," *Times of India* (Delhi), December 27, 2004.

³⁸ Marc Grossman, "News Briefing on Indian Ocean Disaster Relief," Federal Document Clearing House, December 29, 2004.

³⁹ Rajesh Moudgil, "'A Wake-Up Call for India,'" *Hindustan Times* (Delhi), January 2, 2005; "Tsunami-Hit India Struggles to Channel Flood of Aid to Needy," Agence France Presse, January 2, 2005.

⁴⁰ As of January 2, 2005, USAID's Office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance had committed just above \$3.1 million for emergency relief activities in India (USAID Fact Sheet #7, FY2005, January 2, 2005). At least one report suggested that a U.S. military presence in Sri Lanka was being viewed by New Delhi as a symbolic intrusion into India's sphere of influence ("US-India Struggle For Control in Disaster Zone," *Telegraph* (Calcutta), January 4, 2005).

⁴¹ "Earthquake and Tsunamis Wreak Devastation in Indian Ocean Region," Embassy of India Press Release; "The Indian Relief Effort," Embassy of India Press Release.

⁴² Government of Tamil Nadu, "Rescue and Relief Operations" at [<http://www.tn.gov.in/tsunami/rescue.htm>].

Much of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands are off-limits to foreigners due to the presence of military facilities and to protect the region's aboriginal tribes. International aid agencies have requested access to the islands, where relief efforts are hampered by the destruction of most of the islands' jetties. Emergency crews there have focused on burying the dead to prevent epidemics (it is Hindu custom to cremate the dead).⁴³

India is the world's second most populous country with nearly 1.1 billion residents. The U.N. Development Program's 2004 Human Development Report assigns India a ranking of 127 out of 177 world countries, a status comparable to that of Morocco or Cambodia.⁴⁴ Despite the existence of widespread and serious poverty, many observers believe that India's long-term economic potential is tremendous, and the current growth rate of the Indian economy (8.2% for the year ending July 2004) is amongst the highest in the world. The estimated gross domestic product in 2004 was just above \$3 trillion, or \$2,900 per capita (both figures in purchasing power parity terms). India was allocated about \$177 million in U.S. assistance for FY2004 and FY2005 combined, along with another \$65 million in food aid. India has recently dealt with a major disaster, an earthquake that struck the western Gujarat state in January 2001, killing some 20,000 persons, injuring another 200,000, and leaving nearly one million homeless.

Thailand⁴⁵

Six provinces on the western coast of southern Thailand, particularly the Phang Nga province and the resort islands of Phuket and Phi Phi, were badly hit by sea surges stemming from the underwater quake. The official death toll, as of January 4, stood at 5,187 with almost 4,000 missing and over 8,000 injured; Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra said that total fatalities could climb to 10,000.⁴⁶ Officials said that about half of the dead were foreign vacationers, many from Europe. Many oceanfront properties, particularly hotels, were destroyed in the wave. Compared to other affected nations, however, the infrastructure in Thailand was left relatively unscathed: the regional electricity grid and telecommunication network continued to function, and the transportation system and water supply in Phuket were largely unaffected.

The emergency response in Thailand has been praised by the international community: United Nations and Australian relief agency officials described effective and rapid coordination of grass roots relief teams to distribute supplies and provide first aid. Some credit Thaksin's strong political authority to command the military and police forces. Thaksin has also come out strongly in favor of establishing a tsunami alert system in cooperation with other regional governments. The Thai press

⁴³ "Foreign NGOs Seek Andamans Access," BBC News, January 3, 2005.

⁴⁴ C.I.A. World Factbook 2004; UNDP Human Development Report 2004.

⁴⁵ Prepared by Emma Chanlett-Avery, Analyst in Asian Affairs.

⁴⁶ *The Nation* (Bangkok), January 4, 2005.

reported that Secretary of State Colin Powell requested that Thailand become the “disaster relief hub” and assistance distribution center for the entire area.⁴⁷

Some have criticized the government’s failure to warn the islands of the incoming wave. *The Nation*, an independent newspaper, reported that government officials received a warning about the earthquake about an hour before the waves hit, but declined to order an evacuation, based partially on fears of hurting the tourism industry.⁴⁸

The diplomatic and logistical challenge of the disaster in Thailand is different from the other affected countries. Because at least 38 nationalities are represented among the victims, many consulates are directly involved in the tasks of identifying the dead and arranging transport home for the survivors. Sweden appears to be the hardest hit, with over 3,500 missing and presumed dead. Other high numbers of missing nationals include Germany (1,000), Switzerland (850), and Italy (700).⁴⁹ According to reports, 16 disaster victim identification teams, including U.S. military experts, were expected to assist with the effort. Despite the limited amount of refrigerated containers and dry ice provided by private companies, forensic experts warned that many of the bodies could not be identified due to rapid decomposition.⁵⁰ Thaksin announced that no foreigners would be buried until DNA testing was carried out, but over 300 bodies have already had to be exhumed because of apparent mislabeling. Thai and Japanese naval ships pledged to continue to look for bodies in the sea for a limited time.⁵¹ As mentioned earlier, some observers also have claimed that the large number of Western victims has increased the amount of charitable donations from governments and individuals in rich countries.

U.S. relief operations by air and sea for the entire Indian Ocean tsunami relief effort are being directed out of Thailand’s Utapao air base and Sattahip naval base. In the initial wave of aid and support sent, an assessment group and a range of disaster specialists were sent to Thailand. In addition, the U.S. military provided about 20 cargo planes, tanker aircraft, and search and rescue planes, flown in from Japan and Guam. P-3 surveillance aircraft conducted survey operations, including search-and-rescue efforts, and cargo planes shuttled supplies to shelter the living and dry ice to preserve the dead from Bangkok to affected areas.⁵² Bangkok was the first stop by Secretary of State Colin Powell and Florida Governor Jeb Bush on their tour of countries hit by the disaster.

⁴⁷ “Thailand is Disaster Relief Hub,” *Bangkok Post*. January 4, 2005.

⁴⁸ “Warning Rejected to Protect Tourism,” *The Nation*. December 28, 2004.

⁴⁹ “Hopes Fade on Identifying Missing Foreigners,” *Washington Post*. January 2, 2005.

⁵⁰ “US Begins Shuttle of Aid to Victims Along Thai Coast,” *New York Times*. January 1, 2005.

⁵¹ “Thailand Continues Body Search,” *BBC News*. January 3, 2005.

⁵² “US Begins Shuttle of Aid to Victims Along Thai Coast,” *New York Times*. January 1, 2005.

Beyond the immediate concern of dealing with the dead and injured, Thailand is preparing to suffer economically, at least in the short term, because of the blow to its tourism industry. The industry brings in about \$8 billion annually, nearly 6% of Thailand's GDP. Because the tsunami struck at the peak of tourist season in Thailand, millions of visitors are expected to cancel their plans, immediately costing operators about \$750 million, analysts estimate.⁵³ Many analysts are optimistic, however, that the industry will rebound quickly, as only about 5-10% of Thailand's hotels were affected and rebuilding is expected to be swift. Some reports said that many visitors had opted to stay at the unaffected hotels in the area, and by December 31, 2004, major international chains were already planning how to win back visitors without appearing insensitive. The Thai government reassured investors that it intended to spend \$768 million to repair infrastructure in the area.

Thailand is a long-time military ally with ongoing relevance to U.S. logistical operations in Iraq, a key country in the war against terrorism in Southeast Asia, and a significant trade and economic partner. A proposed U.S.-Thailand Free Trade Agreement (FTA) is currently being negotiated. Despite differences on Burma policy and human rights issues, shared economic and security interests have long provided the basis for U.S.-Thai cooperation. In FY2003 and 2004, Thailand received over \$20 million in economic and security assistance from the United States. For the past year, Thailand has faced an insurgency in its southern, majority-Muslim provinces; clashes between separatists and Thai security forces have left up to 560 people dead.

Burma⁵⁴

In contrast to other governments affected by the Indian Ocean earthquake and tidal waves, the Burmese government — as of December 29 — had given out little information. An official from an international aid agency told *Agence France Presse* on December 27, on condition of anonymity, that government officials were confirming 36 dead. The government subsequently issued a figure of 53 dead. On December 28, *Agence France Presse* cited at least 90 killed but gave no source. The source apparently was information over the internet websites of anti-government groups. The international aid agency official speculated that the actual death toll is "far greater," given the trajectory of the tidal waves and the closeness of Burma's Indian Ocean coastline to the epicenter of the earthquake. The *London Sunday Telegraph* (reprinted in the *Washington Times*, January 2, 2005) quoted Burmese fishermen describing a major loss of life on lower Burma's coastline just north of the hard-hit Thai coast. The Burmese government had not issued an appeal for international aid as of January 3, 2005. U.N. officials, Doctors Without Borders, and the International Committee for the Red Cross have sought government permission to visit the lower Burma coastline.

The issue of aid is complicated by the heavy economic sanctions imposed by the United States and the European Union on Burma because of the politically repressive policies of the military-dominated Burmese government. United Nations

⁵³ "Thailand Death Toll Could Reach 2,000," *CNN.com*. December 28, 2004.

⁵⁴ Prepared by Larry Nicksch, Specialist in Asian Affairs.

officials in Rangoon stated on December 27 that the United Nations was prepared to conduct relief operations. The government likely would accept humanitarian and reconstruction aid from China, Burma's main international supporter, and from regional countries like Malaysia, Singapore, and India. The government also might accept humanitarian aid from Japan, which has provided low levels of such aid despite sanctions on Japanese developmental aid and investment. However, the government likely would not allow any sizeable presence of foreign aid workers. It is also highly unlikely that the government would ask for or accept aid from the United States. A number of experts on Burma have stated that the views of Burmese military officials toward the United States have become very negative because of the absence of a positive U.S. response to the government's release from house arrest of opposition leader, Aung Sann Suu-kyi, in 2002 and because of Congress' enactment of a total ban on Burmese imports to the United States in July 2003 in response to the re-arrest of Aung Sann Suu-kyi.

The Maldives⁵⁵

The tsunami also hit the island-state of The Maldives. Initial reports put the death toll at 32. This was increased to 55 on December 29 and to 80 by January 3rd, 2005. Authorities were still waiting for reports from outlying islands, many of which are only one meter above sea level. 10,000 persons have been evacuated off 13 low lying islands. About half of the island of Male was covered in two feet of water which closed the airport.⁵⁶ All of the Maldives is below 8 feet in elevation. Reports indicate that a 10 - 15 foot wave washed over some parts of the Maldives leaving houses smashed, wells contaminated, and power and communications infrastructure inoperable. The Maldives' outlying coral reefs reportedly protected many of the islands from the tsunami. Nevertheless the government estimates that reconstruction will cost \$1 billion or the rough equivalent of two years' gross domestic product.⁵⁷ Tourism accounts for 30% of GDP in the Maldives. Parliamentary elections planned for December 31 were postponed.⁵⁸

An American civil/military team was in the Maldives on the 3rd of January 2005 to make an assessment of the damage in preparation for U.S assistance. An estimated 1,000 military personnel are to be in the Sri Lanka/Maldives area within the week to provide disaster assistance.⁵⁹ Though the Maldives managed to have a relatively low number of fatalities, its reconstruction will be particularly difficult due to its difficult geography.

⁵⁵ Prepared by Bruce Vaughn, Analyst in Asian Affairs.

⁵⁶ "Americans Told to Avoid Travel to Sri Lanka and Thailand," *Agence France Presse*, December 27, 2004.

⁵⁷ James Hookway, "Tourism Thrives in the Maldives," *The Wall Street Journal*, January 3, 2004.

⁵⁸ "Quake Prompts Enormous Aid Effort," *BBC News*, December 28, 2004.

⁵⁹ "Ghost Island of the Maldives," *The Australian*, January 4, 2005.

The Republic of the Maldives is a micro state of some 1,200 islands, approximately 200 of which are inhabited by a total population of roughly 310,000. The island state has less than half the land area of Washington DC and is situated in the Indian Ocean off the southwest tip of India. In 1887, the Maldives became a British protectorate. The islands became independent in 1965. The capital, Male, has approximately 70,000 residents. The overall population growth rate is about 3%. The Maldives has a 97% literacy rate. There are four main ethnic groups; Sinhalese, Dravidian, Arab and African and the main religion is Sunni Muslim.

The current president of the Maldives, Maumoon Gayoom, assumed office in 1978.⁶⁰ He was elected to a sixth 5-year term in 2003 under a system where the voters vote for or against a single candidate selected by the Maldivian parliament known as the Majlis. The President appoints 8 of the 50 members of the Majlis.⁶¹ The Republic of the Maldives is a member of the South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) as well as the British Commonwealth.⁶²

Diego Garcia⁶³

The American military base on Diego Garcia, located south of the Maldives, was one of the few places in the Indian Ocean that did receive warning of the tsunami waves. The base reportedly emerged from the event without major damage. The base reportedly received a warning because the Navy is on the contact list of the Pacific Warning Center.⁶⁴

Malaysia⁶⁵

Malaysia includes the Malay peninsula in the west and to the east, and Sabah and Sarawak on the north of the island of Borneo. Malaysia has a population of some 23 million. Malaysia was spared the devastation wrecked on Indonesia as it was shielded from the tsunami by Sumatra. Despite this, some 68 were reported killed and 183 injured by the tsunami in Penang and in Kedah, Malaysia.⁶⁶ A fuel loading facility on the island of Langkawi in north western Malaysia was reportedly damaged

⁶⁰ "Maldives Leader Names Ministers," *BBC News*, September 1, 2004.

⁶¹ "Country Profile: The Maldives," *BBC News*, August 14, 2004.

⁶² "The Maldives: Introductory Survey," in *The Europa World Yearbook 2004*, (London: Europa Publications, Taylor and Francis Group, 2004). See also "Maldives: Quarterly Forecast Analysis," *Global Insight*, [<http://www.globalinsight.com>]

⁶³ Prepared by Bruce Vaughn, Analyst in Asian Affairs.

⁶⁴ M. Kayal and M. Wald, "Tracking Tsunamis: Why was There No Warning?" *The New York Times*, December 29, 2004.

⁶⁵ Prepared by Bruce Vaughn, Analyst in Asian Affairs.

⁶⁶ "After the Tsunami the Rising Cost," *The Age*, December 30, 2004 and "Malaysia Economic and Corporate News Summary," *AFX*, January 3, 2005.

in the tsunami.⁶⁷ Malaysia has opened its airspace and airports for international relief efforts. Malaysia also raised 4.7 million rupiah for disaster relief by December 29.⁶⁸ Prime Minister Abdullah Badawi expressed his condolences and proposed greater regional cooperation to deal with natural disasters.⁶⁹

Bangladesh⁷⁰

The Bangladesh port of Chittagong was hit by large waves which caused flooding in 30 districts and left 2 dead as of December 29.⁷¹

Somalia⁷²

Tsunami waves reached Somalia about seven hours after hitting nations in South Asia, about 4,000 miles away. Several Somali coastal towns and roads, notably in northeastern and central coastal zones, were flooded and substantially destroyed by the tsunamis. Thousands of boats and shelters were destroyed, severely damaged, and numerous persons were reported missing. U.N. and news agencies report that between 150 and 176 Somalis died as a result of the tsunamis. The northern Hafun peninsula was among the worst-affected areas. The U.N.-affiliated World Food Program (WFP) sent an assessment team to the coast of the northeastern Puntland region, and OCHA led a preliminary air-based December 30 mission to assess coastal zone tsunami damage. U.N. officials estimated that about 54,000 Somalis were directly affected by the tsunamis and that about 18,000 households may require emergency aid. The WFP has sent over 277 tons of food to the affected region, where the World Health Organization deployed three emergency kits with a capacity to serve 30,000 persons' basic needs for three months. The Kenya-based Somali transitional government has reportedly made unconfirmed, possibly exaggerated claims that over 1,000 Somalis may have died as a result of the tsunamis, and announced plans to send its own assessment team to Somalia.

OCHA on January 3, reported that international tsunami-related contributions to Somalia included \$50,000 from the United States, to be delivered via UNICEF, and \$100,000 from Saudi Arabia, contributed through the Society of the Red Cross. Some existing U.N. drought-related and humanitarian aid was being re-prioritized to meet emerging tsunami-related needs. Somali government officials issued informal appeals for tsunami-related food and medical aid. According to a January 3 news report, a total of 24 countries had pledged to send relief aid to Somalia, but such aid

⁶⁷ "Asian Tsunami Causes Patchy Damage," *WMRC Daily*, December 29, 2004.

⁶⁸ "Malaysians Do Care," *New Straits Times*, December 29, 2004.

⁶⁹ "PM Urges Cooperation in Providing Information," *New Straits Times*, December 29, 2004.

⁷⁰ Prepared by Bruce Vaughn, Analyst in Asian Affairs.

⁷¹ "After the Tsunami the Rising Cost," *The Age*, December 30, 2004.

⁷² The remainder of the individual country entries were prepared by Nicolas Cook, African Affairs Specialist.

had not arrived, according to a Somali presidential spokesman.⁷³ U.S. officials planned to respond to Somali government requests for tsunami relief aid by reviewing U.N. assessments and, if aid is warranted, to channel any U.S. aid through U.N. agencies. However, if needs prove severe and U.S. officials view the delivery of U.S. bilateral emergency aid as necessary, a U.S. emergency declaration could be made by the U.S. embassy in Nairobi. German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder has suggested that a moratorium on debt owed by Somalia to creditor nations be discussed at a January 2005 meeting of the Paris Club of official creditors. When questioned about the proposal, U.S. officials, including President Bush, publicly did not reject it, although they did not address it in detail.⁷⁴

Somalia, a northeastern African country of about 8.3 million, has been wracked by intermittent civil war and armed banditry since the ouster of President Siad Barre in 1991. Since then, it has lacked an effective central government, and remains politically fractious and dangerous due to the activities of diverse armed groups. It is divided into three semi-autonomous regions: Somaliland, in the northwest and Puntland in the north, both self-governed regions; and southern and central Somalia, which is divided into localities dominated by local clans, warlords, and business interests. Somalia is undergoing a process of peace making and state reconstruction. In August 2004, key warlords and politicians formed a new parliament, which appointed President Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed in October 2004. U.S., international and Somali government access to southern Somalia is severely limited due to insecurity. U.S. interests are represented by the U.S. mission in Nairobi, Kenya.

Conventional, non-tsunami-related U.S. assistance to Somalia focuses on bolstering the capacity of civil society organizations and institutions related to local governance and adherence to the rule of law; enhancing local economic opportunities by backing a variety of projects focused on basic education, infrastructure rehabilitation, and alternative energy use; and support for healthcare delivery. U.S. Economic Support Fund monies, not shown in the aid table in the appendix, have also helped finance lengthy negotiations aimed at forming a central Somali government. The bulk of U.S. aid is delivered in the form of a various emergency, supplemental, and developmental food-related and nutrition programs. H.R. 4818, the foreign operations FY2005 appropriations bill, enacted as P.L. 108-447, did not designate a specific appropriation for Somalia, which is not mentioned in the House report (H.Rept. 108-599) or conference report (H.Rept. 108-792) associated with H.R. 4818. The Senate report (S.Rept. 108-346) that accompanied S. 2812, a Senate foreign operations FY2005 appropriations bill, later amended in relation to the passage of H.R. 4818, stated that “[t]he Committee is concerned that the budget request for assistance for Somalia under the DA account is only \$986,000. The Committee requests USAID and the State Department to take a more active role to

⁷³ Rodrigue Ngowi, “Somalia still waiting for food, shelter, medical help for victims of the tsunamis,” Associated Press, Jan. 3, 2005.

⁷⁴ Reuters, “Schroeder urges debt relief for Indonesia, Somalia,” December 29, 2004; *Agence France Presse*, “US ‘open’ to debt relief for tsunami victims,” December 29, 2004; White House, Office of the Press Secretary, “President Discusses Support for Earthquake and Tsunami Victims,” December 29, 2004.

assist local efforts to promote peace and development in that country and recommends that not less than \$5,000,000 in DA be provided to support secular education and strengthen civil society, particularly in Somaliland and Puntland.”

Kenya

The coast of Kenya, an east African country of about 32.02 million persons, experienced tsunami waves that destroyed boats, damaged coastal properties, and reportedly killed one swimmer, a tourist. More deaths may have been averted because authorities closed coastal beaches and issued public precautions before and after the tsunami waves hit the country. Kenya has not requested tsunami-related aid. The international Committee of the Red Cross plans to ship at least 105 tons of relief supplies to Sri Lanka from Nairobi, where the organization stocks such supplies.⁷⁵

Tanzania

In Dar es Salaam, the commercial capital of Tanzania, an east African country of about 36.59 million persons, ten young swimmers were reported killed as a result of tsunami waves. Additional persons may have died in a capsized boat. A tanker reportedly ruptured an oil pipeline as a result of the tsunamis. Tanzanian officials issued public warnings about possible further tsunami waves. Tanzania has not requested tsunami-related aid.⁷⁶

Seychelles

Seychelles, a group of Indian Ocean islands northeast of Madagascar off the eastern African coast, sustained tsunami-related coastal floods. These destroyed two bridges, some sewer and water systems, and caused extensive damage to a port, power lines, schools, real properties, boats, and vehicles. Total damage in Seychelles is worth an estimated \$23.5 million. Three tsunami-related fatalities occurred. Seychelles may formally request tsunami-related international aid, likely from the United States, according to State Department officials.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ BBC, “Many missing...”; Voice of America, “Tidal Wave Hits Somalia, Kenya,” Dec. 27, 2004; Kenyan KBC radio, “Kenya sets up “crisis desk” to monitor tidal waves,” BBC Monitoring Newsfile, Dec. 27 2004; Adrian Blomfield, “Evacuation from beaches cut deaths by hundreds in Kenya East Africa,” The Daily Telegraph, Dec. 29 2004; Voice of America, “Government Officials to Travel Around Somalia to Assess Damage,” Dec. 28, 2004.

⁷⁶ BBC, “Many missing...”; Pflanz, “Waves kill...”; Tom Maliti, “U.N. Struggles to Get Aid to Somali Town,” Associated Press, Dec. 29 2004.

⁷⁷ BBC, “Many missing...”; Pflanz, “Waves kill...”; The Irish Examiner, “Seychelles Caught in Tsunami’s Path,” Dec. 27, 2004; State Department communications.

Madagascar

A tsunami wave flooded a coastal village in southeastern Madagascar, a large Indian Ocean island off the coast of Mozambique, causing about 1,200 people to become homeless. Madagascar, which regularly experiences extensive typhoon-related natural disasters, has not requested tsunami-related aid.⁷⁸

Mauritius

Damage to property, boats, and a weather station were reported in Mauritius, where tsunami-related coastal evacuation orders were issued. Mauritius has not requested tsunami-related aid.⁷⁹

Reunion (French territory)

The BBC reports that tsunamis damaged about 15 fishing vessels.⁸⁰

South Africa

South Africa reported unusually high tides, believed to be tsunami-related, in which a man perished.⁸¹

Issues for Congress⁸²

Tsunami Aid and Reconstruction Issues

Burdensharing and Coordination. A day after the south Asia crisis, UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator Jan Egeland, commenting on contributions by the wealthy nations to disasters in general in 2004, stated that some developed nations were being “stingy” with aid. According to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, although the United States is the world’s largest provider of foreign assistance, it often is one of the lowest contributors in per capita terms amongst the world’s most wealthy countries. The United States has been reported as giving 0.14 percent of GNP in international development assistance as compared to Norway’s 0.92 percent

⁷⁸ Mohamed Ali Bile, “Waves kill 38 Somalis, UN fears toll may rise,” Reuters, Dec. 27 2004.

⁷⁹ Agence France Presse, “Over 100 feared dead in Somalia from killer Asian tidal waves,” Dec. 27, 2004; State Department personal communication.

⁸⁰ BBC, “Many missing...”

⁸¹ Cape Argus, “Somalia asks for UN help,” Dec. 29, 2004.

⁸² Prepared by Mark Manyin, Larry Nicksch, Bruce Vaughn, and Wayne Morrissey, Senior Research Assistant.

contribution.⁸³ USAID Director Andrew Natsios has refuted Egeland's statement, which he said was based upon the aforementioned data, which he said was only for development assistance, and does not include disaster relief.⁸⁴ In the days after the tsunami, the Bush Administration was criticized by some observers for displaying a lack of urgency in its initial response. President Bush came under criticism for waiting three days before publicly speaking about the disaster during his vacation in Crawford, Texas.⁸⁵ The subsequent increase of U.S. economic and logistical assistance, along with the dispatch of Secretary of State Powell and Florida Governor Bush, to the region a week after the tsunami may help to change this perception.

Competing Aid and Budget Priorities.⁸⁶ Funding the Indian Ocean tsunami relief and reconstruction effort is likely to be a challenge faced by the 109th Congress. Even before the disaster struck, Congress was expected to struggle to find the resources to sustain U.S. aid pledges amid efforts to tackle rising budget deficits by, among other measures, slowing or reducing discretionary spending. During the FY2005 debate, lawmakers reduced the President's foreign assistance budget request (a subset of the larger foreign policy budget request) by \$1.7 billion, or nearly 8%. This was the first time such cuts occurred during the Bush Administration. Some Members of Congress publicly have expressed concern that funding for tsunami relief and reconstruction may jeopardize other aid priorities, such as famine relief or HIV-AIDS in Africa.⁸⁷

U.S. foreign assistance has grown in recent years. In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, the Bush Administration established global development as the third "pillar" of its National Security Strategy. Since 9/11, the United States has allocated over \$100 billion for foreign assistance, nearly half of which supports the global war on terrorism and reconstruction efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan. During the same period, President Bush launched two major additional foreign assistance initiatives: 1) the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), that calls for \$15 billion over five years (2004-2008) to combat the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the developing world; and 2) the Millennium Challenge Account, which extends sizable aid grants to selected low-income nations. Furthermore, the Administration has discussed plans to seek additional funding expand democracy programs in the greater Middle East and to seek a "quick response" fund to support the State Department's new Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization. Aid donors are expected to consider a substantial expansion of existing debt relief programs for heavily indebted poor countries, an initiative that President Bush indicated in 2004 he would support.

⁸³ John Harris and Robin Wright, "Aid Grows Amid Remarks About President's Absence," *The Washington Post*, December 29, 2004.

⁸⁴ December 29, 2004 Interview on the PBS TV Program, *The NewsHour*.

⁸⁵ David Sanger, "It's About Aid, and an Image," *New York Times*, December 30, 2004.

⁸⁶ This section relies heavily upon Larry Nowels' "Foreign Aid, Development and the Millennium Challenge Account" section of CRS Report RL32704, *Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade: Key Issues for the 109th Congress*.

⁸⁷ Elizabeth Becker, "No New Funds Needed For Relief, Bush Aides Say," *New York Times*, January 4, 2005.

Debt Relief. While there is a pressing need for immediate relief, longer term assistance may also be needed to assist the countries affected to avoid a long term economic downturn which could be triggered by the catastrophe. Congress may consider debt relief as a means of helping those nations hit by the tsunami to recover economically. Much investment will be needed to rebuild infrastructure and services. Several of the nations hit likely will experience a significant downturn in their tourist industries which will further weaken their economic base from which they will seek to rebuild. Debt relief may free resources for reconstruction. The German government plans to propose a re-scheduling of Indonesia's and Somalia's foreign debt when the World Bank's Paris Club of aid donors meets in January 2005.

Implications for Other U.S. Foreign Policy Interests

The War on Terrorism. The 9/11 Commission and others have pointed out the U.S. interest in preventing regions of instability from becoming havens or recruiting grounds for Islamist terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiya (JI), the Southeast Asia terrorist organization that has close ties to Al Qaeda. While Sumatra, in Indonesia, is not thought to be an active base of operation for Al Qaeda or JI, any prolonged economic and political disruption, combined with potential perceptions of Jakarta's inability to deliver assistance, could open the door for a more active terrorist presence or lead the anti-Indonesian Free Aceh Movement (GAM) to establish ties to JI or Al Qaeda. In Southern Thailand, the areas most affected by the tsunami are generally considered ethnically and regionally distinct from the predominantly Muslim provinces on the western coast of peninsular Thailand, which have been the site of sectarian and anti-government violence over the past year.

Countering Negative Images of the United States. The large-scale U.S. response to the tsunami is unlikely to reverse the decline in the U.S. image abroad since the September 11 attacks, because this decline primarily is due to American policies in the Middle East. However, the scale and scope of U.S. assistance could provide a positive example of U.S. leadership and military capabilities. The decline in the U.S. image abroad has been particularly acute in the Muslim world, especially in Indonesia, where according to one series of polls, only 15% of those polled in 2003 said they had a favorable opinion of the United States, down from 61% in 2002.⁸⁸ Additionally, the U.S. tsunami relief effort could help counter the perception among some Southeast Asians that the United States not only has placed too much emphasis on terrorism in its Southeast Asia policy, but also has relied too heavily on "hard" (military) power to combat terrorism. The 9/11 Commission and others have recommended expanding U.S. public diplomacy programs as a way to help win the global battle for "hearts and minds" especially in the Islamic world from which the Muslim terrorists seek to draw recruits and support.

Early Warning Systems in the Indian Ocean and Atlantic Oceans. The Indian Ocean tsunami has led some to call for instituting a tsunami detection and

⁸⁸ Dan Gardner, "Bush is Losing the War for Hearts and Ninds," *The Ottawa Citizen*, March 13, 2004 and Ellen Nakashima, "U.S. Policy Censured in Indonesia," *The Washington Post*, October 21, 2003.

warning system in the Atlantic and/or Indian Oceans. Affected nations assisted by others may consider a multilateral effort to develop a detection and warning network for the future. Australia and Japan have stated that they will help build a tidal wave warning system for the Indian Ocean. By some estimates, this will cost tens of millions of dollars to establish.⁸⁹ Some Members of Congress also have proposed such a network for the U.S. Atlantic seaboard. Although instrumentation costs could run into the millions of dollars, existing weather buoys and developing state and local coastal and ocean observation networks might serve as possible platforms for instrumentation. Accordingly, the European Union, Canada, and the United States might consider bi-lateral efforts to establish tsunami coverage of the North Atlantic.

Economic Aid to Indonesia and the Leahy Amendment. U.S. economic aid to Indonesia for fiscal years 2002, 2003, and 2004 totaled \$412 million. The Bush Administration budgeted \$158 million for FY2005. Much of this aid has gone to programs supporting the development of democratic political institutions in Indonesia with a recent emphasis on Indonesia's education system. Congress can be expected to receive new aid requests from the Administration focusing on humanitarian and reconstruction aid, especially directed at Aceh. Such requests undoubtedly would turn the attention of the Administration and Congress to the political situation in Aceh, especially the insurgency and the role of the Indonesian military (TNI).

Additionally, the disaster relief cooperation between the U.S. and Indonesian militaries is likely to be mentioned during the annual congressional deliberations over renewing restrictions on U.S.-Indonesian military-to-military relations, which the Bush Administration has sought to restore since the September 11 attacks. For more than a decade, Congress has restricted the provision of military assistance to Indonesia due to concern about serious human rights violations by the TNI, most notably the massacre of hundreds of people participating in a pro-independence rally in Dili, East Timor, in November 1991.

Although the language has varied from year to year, in general, the Leahy amendment bans arms sales to Indonesia, U.S. military training with the TNI, and TNI participation in the U.S. International Military Education Training (IMET) program unless the President certifies that the Indonesian government and the TNI are taking actions against the TNI's reported human rights abuses, including prosecution of abusers. The Leahy amendments for fiscal years 2002 and 2003 specifically mentioned Aceh in this context. About a week after the tsunami hit, the head of the Indonesian military's relief operations, Major General. Adam Damiri, was replaced, apparently because of concerns that his indictment for war crimes by a U.N.-backed tribunal in East Timor would complicate U.S.-Indonesian military relief cooperation.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ "Officials in Asia Concede That They Failed to Issue Warnings," *Associated Press*, December 27, 2004.

⁹⁰ Alan Sipress and Noor Huda Ismail, "Relief Transcends U.S.-Indonesia Divide," *Washington Post*, January 4, 2005.

Appendix. U.S. Assistance to Selected Countries Affected by the Indian Ocean Tsunami

(Note: Totals may not add due to rounding)

Table 5. U.S. Assistance to Indonesia, 2001-2005

(Millions of U.S. dollars)

Account	FY2001	FY2002	FY2002 S.A. ^a	FY2003	FY2004 estimate	FY2005 estimate
CSH	19.6	35.6	—	32.0	34.0	32.3
DA	51.5	38.7	—	39.0	31.3	32.7
ESF	49.9	50.0	—	59.6	49.7	65.0
IMET	0.0	0.4	—	0.0	0.0	0.6
NADR	0.0	0.0	8.0	1.0	5.8	6.0
INCLE	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	10.0
Totals	121.0	124.7	12.0	131.6	120.8	146.6
Food Aid (not including freight costs)						
P.L. 480 Title I USDA Loan	15.0	19.0	—	0.0	0.0	n/a
P.L. 480 Title II Grant	12.2	10.4	—	29.5	2.2	23.0
FFP	5.1	10.9	—	0.0	5.6	n/a
Section 416(b)	0.0	11.2	—	7.9	17.7	n/a

Sources: U.S. Department of State, USAID, U.S. Department of Agriculture

a. Supplemental Appropriations (P.L. 107-206)

Table 6. U.S. Assistance to Sri Lanka, 2001-2005

(Millions of U.S. dollars)

Account	FY2001	FY2002	FY2003	FY2004 estimate	FY2005 estimate
CSH	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3
DA	3.4	5.2	6.2	4.8	6.6
ESF	0.0	3.0	4.0	11.9	10.0
FMF	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.5
IMET	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.5
NADR	0.0	0.0	2.4	1.9	1.9
PKO	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.0
Totals	4.0	8.7	13.1	21.3	20.8
Food Aid (not including freight costs)					
P.L. 480 Title I USDA Loan	7.9	8.0	0.0	0.0	n/a
P.L. 480 Title II Grant	0.0	1.3	0.6	2.7	0.0
FFP		0.0	2.8	0.0	n/a
Section 416(b)	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	n/a

Sources: U.S. Department of State, USAID, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Table 7. U.S. Assistance to India, FY2001-FY2005

(in millions of dollars)

Program or Account	FY2001 Actual	FY2002 Actual	FY2003 Actual	FY2004 Estimate	FY2005 Estimate
CSH	24.6	41.7	47.4	48.3	43.4
DA	28.8	29.2	34.5	25.7	25.4
ESF	5.0	7.0	10.5	14.9	15.0
IMET	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.4
NADR-EXBS	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.7	0.7
Totals	\$59.8	\$79.8	\$94.4	\$90.9	\$85.9
Food Aid (Not including freight costs)					
P.L.480 Title II*	78.3	93.7	44.8	20.2	44.8
Section 416(b)*	--	12.0	--	--	--

Sources: U.S. Departments of State and Agriculture; U.S. Agency for International Development.

Table 8. U.S. Assistance to Thailand, FY2002-FY2005

(\$ Millions)

Account	FY2001	FY2002	FY2003	FY2004 estimate	FY2005 estimate
CSH	0.0	1.0	1.5	0.0	0.0
DA	0.0	0.8	1.3	0.0	0.0
ESF	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0
FMF	0.0	1.3	2.0	1.0	1.5
IMET	1.9	1.7	1.8	2.5	2.5
INCLE	4.1	4.0	3.7	2.0	2.0
NADR	1.3	0.7	0.2	0.4	0.8
Peace Corps	1.1	1.3	1.8	2.1	2.6
Totals	8.4	10.7	12.2	7.9	10.3

Sources: U.S. Department of State, USAID, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Table 9. U.S. Assistance to Malaysia, 2001-2005

(\$ millions)

Account	FY2001	FY2002	FY2003	FY2004 estimate	FY2005 estimate
IMET	0.8	0.8	0.8	1.2	1.1
NADR	0.1	0.2	1.3	0.1	1.0
Totals	0.9	1.0	2.1	1.3	2.1

Sources: U.S. Department of State, USAID, U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Table 10. U.S. Assistance to Somalia
(\$ in millions)

Account	FY2003 Actual	FY2004 Est.	FY2005 Req.
CSH	0.3	0.1	-
DA	3.1	0.9	1.0
NADR-HD	0.5	-	-
Totals	3.8	1.0	1.0
P.L._480_Title_II Food Aid	136.4	89.0	-

Source: "Somalia," Request by Region: Africa, FY 2005 Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations, Feb. 10, 2004.

List of Aid-Related Abbreviations

CSH: Child Survival and Health Programs

DA: Development Assistance Programs

ESF: Economic Support Fund Programs

IMET: International Military Education and Training Programs

NADR-EXBS: Nonproliferation, Anti-Terrorism, Demining, and Related - Export Control and Related Border Security Assistance Programs

P.L.480 Title II: Emergency and Private Assistance food aid (grants)

Section 416(b): The Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended (surplus agricultural commodity donations)