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SECURITY
ASSISTANCE

Observations on
Post-Cold War Program
Changes



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General Accounting Office
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**National Security and
International Affairs Division**

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September 30, 1992

The Honorable Alan Cranston
United States Senate

The Honorable Daniel P. Moynihan
United States Senate

The Honorable Thomas A. Daschle
United States Senate

The Honorable Brock Adams
United States Senate

The Honorable Richard G. Lugar
United States Senate

As requested, we reviewed U.S. Security Assistance programs in the post-cold war period. This report provides information on the (1) purposes and goals of the security assistance programs in the 1990s; (2) changes in the International Military Education and Training Program, including the expanded program and civic action training; (3) extent of human rights training and violations; and (4) impact of an assignment to Security Assistance Organizations on the career of military personnel.

As arranged with your office, unless you publicly announce this report's contents earlier, we plan no further distribution until 7 days from the issue date. At that time, we will send copies of this report to the Secretaries of Defense and State and to appropriate congressional committees. We will make copies available to others upon request.

This report was prepared under the direction of Joseph E. Kelley, Director, Security and International Relations Issues, who may be contacted on (202) 275-4128 if you or your staff have any questions. Other major contributors to this report are listed in appendix I.

Sincerely yours,

Frank C. Conahan
Assistant Comptroller General

Executive Summary

Purpose

Over the years, the United States has provided billions of dollars of security assistance to over 100 countries. Because of the fast-changing world situations, such as the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the global democratic revolution, several Senators asked GAO to review U.S. Security Assistance programs in the post-cold war period. This report provides information on the (1) purposes and goals of the security assistance programs in the 1990s, (2) changes in the International Military Education and Training (IMET) Program, including the expanded program and civic action training, (3) extent of human rights training and violations, and (4) impact of an assignment to Security Assistance Organizations on the career of military personnel.

Background

The Secretary of State is responsible for policy decisions and general direction of security assistance, while the Secretary of Defense is responsible for implementing military programs. U.S. security assistance includes, among other things, (1) military equipment and supplies provided under grant or on a concessional basis through the Foreign Military Financing Program, (2) professional military education and technical training through the IMET Program, and (3) economic assistance through the Economic Support Funds.

The IMET Program provides instruction and training in military skills and U.S. military doctrine to foreign military and related civilian personnel on a grant basis. The U.S. military departments offer over 2,000 courses in the United States and abroad, including professional military education at its Command and General Staff and War colleges. The departments also offer courses on management, technical areas, maintenance, and flight training. Under the IMET Program, the Defense Department spends about \$47 million annually to train about 5,000 foreign personnel.

Results in Brief

The majority of the security assistance funds continues to go to recipient countries which received the bulk of assistance during the cold war. In fiscal year 1989, six countries—Israel, Egypt, Greece, Turkey, Portugal and the Philippines received \$6.2 billion, or 81 percent, of the total \$7.6 billion in Security Assistance funding, which consisted of Foreign Military Financing, IMET, and Economic Support Funds. In fiscal year 1993, \$6.2 billion, or 83 percent, of the total \$7.5 billion is proposed for these same six countries.

The United States has developed some new security assistance goals/objectives as a result of recent changes in the former Soviet Union and Central Europe. These include increased emphasis on providing support for emerging democracies, with a primary focus on civilian control over militaries, and assistance in the fight against drug trafficking. This change in focus has generated aid to new recipients such as former Soviet Republics and some Central European countries.

The scope of the IMET Program was expanded in Fiscal Year 1991 to include the education of civilians in prominent and influential positions in their governments, with the intention to improve civilian/military relations and civilian control over the military. Although host country militaries sometimes conduct civic action/ nation-building activities, in conjunction with U.S. troops, the IMET Program is not used to directly support these activities.

Security assistance legislation specifies that human rights awareness be provided as part of the IMET Program. While the Defense Department has begun to emphasize the importance of educating international students in human rights, the program, for the most part, does not provide specific human rights training.

The Army and, to a lesser extent, the Marines have established specific programs to train Foreign Area Officers assigned to Security Assistance Organizations. However, the Air Force and the Navy do not have special programs. The Security Assistance Organization officers GAO contacted had mixed opinions on whether assignments to this area hinder career advancement.

Principal Findings

New World Order Generates Changes in Security Assistance Goals

The Security Assistance program began primarily in response to events that threatened U.S. interests—for the most part, threats to friendly states from neighbors supported and encouraged by the Soviet Union. The destruction of the Berlin Wall and the recent dissolution of the Soviet Union has drastically changed this condition, lessening tensions and generating increased U.S. emphasis on providing support to emerging democracies. Central European countries and former Soviet Republics and States are receiving U.S. funding to assist in their transition from

communist to democratic societies. The United States is also providing Economic Support Funds to former Soviet Republics to assist them in meeting economic requirements and to promote development of market economies.

The important changes have resulted in modified security assistance goals. Some changes have been made in security assistance programs; however, a limited number of traditional recipients continue to receive the majority of security assistance. According to a State Department official, funds will probably continue to be earmarked by the Congress for the major recipients.

Changes in the IMET Program

The number and types of countries receiving IMET have varied over the last few years. For example, in fiscal year 1987, 99 countries received this training, as compared to 111 in fiscal year 1992. In fiscal year 1992, countries such as Bulgaria, Latvia and Russia received IMET funding for the first time.

Expanded IMET Program

In 1991, the Congress amended the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 allowing the Department of Defense to make the IMET Program more responsive to the changing global and regional political conditions. The Department developed the expanded program, which focuses on civilian control over the military, defense resources management, and human rights education.

Response to the expanded IMET Program by both host country and U.S. officials in the countries GAO visited was for, the most part, positive. However, some U.S. officials question the need for the program because of the lack of qualified civilians in prominent governmental positions. The Defense Department is in the process of implementing a system to evaluate the effectiveness of the expanded program but, has not prescribed the format and types of data that should be included in this assessment.

Civic Action

Most military civic action projects are undertaken by the host country. Military civic action includes such humanitarian assistance projects as education, health, and sanitation that contribute to the host country's economic and social development. In Honduras and several African countries, U.S. teams provide civic action assistance.

Host country militaries have not received civic action training through the IMET Program. However, foreign military graduates have received training that they may have used on their own civic action projects.

Human Rights Awareness Training

International students come from countries in which human rights violations reportedly are occurring. Security assistance legislation provides that human rights will be a part of the international students' education in the United States. However, regulations set forth in the Security Assistance Management Manual do not list it as an objective of the program.

Students who attended professional military education classes received more human rights education, which is interwoven into the course curriculum. Students who attended technical courses were less likely to receive exposure to human rights issues through the course curriculum. Overall, only one Defense Department training installation we visited offered a formal course on human rights.

About half of the students GAO questioned on this issue did not recall receiving any human rights education while attending courses in the United States. There is no mechanism in place to measure the impact of the human rights awareness training, therefore it is difficult to determine whether the training is effective.

Career Development

Each U.S. military service differs as to how it assigns personnel to Security Assistance Organizations positions. The Army and the Marines have established specific programs to train personnel assigned to these organizations. The Air Force and the Navy, however, do not have special programs. The Security Assistance Organizations' officers GAO contacted had mixed opinions on whether assignments to this area hinder career advancement. Many expressed concern regarding promotions in the field, yet, most understood the limitations of working in the Security Assistance field.

Recommendations

GAO recommends that the Secretary of Defense direct the Director of the Defense Security Assistance Agency to (1) complete the implementation of a mechanism to evaluate the effectiveness of the Expanded IMET Program, as well as the human rights awareness training included in the regular IMET Program; (2) revise the Security Assistance Management Manual to reflect

the language in the Foreign Assistance Act concerning human rights awareness training to international students; and (3) develop programs that will make more specific human rights education available to international students.

Agency Comments

As agreed, GAO did not obtain written comments on a draft of this report. However, GAO discussed the contents of this report with responsible Defense and State Department officials and have incorporated their comments where appropriate.

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Abbreviations

AIASA	Annual Integrated Assessment for Security Assistance
DOD	Department of Defense
DSAA	Defense Security Assistance Agency
FAO	Foreign Area Officer
IMET	International Military Education and Training
SAO	Security Assistance Organization

Introduction

Security assistance covers a range of programs through which the United States, in pursuit of its national interests, aids other nations in defending and preserving their own national security. Security assistance, as it is referred to in this report, includes the Foreign Military Financing Program, International Military Education and Training (IMET), and Economic Support Fund. For fiscal year 1993, the Bush Administration has proposed \$7.5 billion in security assistance to 116 countries. Of that amount, \$47.5 million is for the IMET Program which will train military and civilian students in 111 countries.

Since 1950, the IMET Program and its predecessor programs have trained more than 500,000 foreign officers and enlisted personnel in areas ranging from professional military education to basic technical skills. Funding for the program has remained at about \$47 million since 1987. The program is designed to enable U.S. allies to improve and promote self-sufficiency in their military forces, as well as to strengthen their own training capabilities.

The IMET Program exposes students brought to the United States to the U.S. professional military establishment and to the American way of life, including U.S. regard for democratic values, respect for individual and human rights, and belief in the rule of law. Students are also exposed to U.S. defense procedures and the manner in which the U.S. military functions under civilian rule.

The scope and purposes of the program were expanded in 1991 under the Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Act to promote professionalism and civilian oversight of the military among training recipients. This expanded IMET initiative has several objectives. Its principal objectives are: fostering greater respect for, and understanding of, the principle of civilian control of the military; improving military justice systems and procedures in accordance with internationally accepted standards of human rights; and increasing professionalism and responsibility in defense management and resource allocation.

Each U.S. military service assigns personnel to Security Assistance Organizations (SAOs) in-country to manage security assistance programs. These individuals serve under the direction of the Chiefs of U.S. Diplomatic Missions and act as liaison between the Mission, the Department of Defense, and the host country defense establishment to

develop and execute training programs and procurement actions. About 500 military personnel are currently assigned to SAOS worldwide.

The Secretary of State has statutory responsibility for supervision and general direction for security assistance, and the Defense Security Assistance Agency (DSAA), within the Department of Defense, implements the programs.

Objectives, Scope, and Methodology

At the request of several Senators, we reviewed the (1) purposes and goals of the security assistance programs in the 1990s, (2) changes in the IMET Program, including the extent of the expanded program and civic action training, (3) extent of human rights training and violations, and (4) impact that an assignment to a SAO has on the career of military officers.

In Washington, D.C., at the Department of State's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs, Office of Defense Relations and Security Assistance and at DSAA, we reviewed the security assistance provided to various countries and discussed how the United States determined which countries would receive U.S. funds. We also reviewed legislation pertaining to the IMET Program.

We performed fieldwork in the United States at various service schools. These schools included the United States Army Infantry Center and the School of the Americas, Ft. Benning, Georgia; the Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island; the U.S. Naval Post Graduate School, and the Defense Resources Management Institute,¹ Monterey, California; the Army War College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and the Defense Language Institute, Lackland Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas. At each school, we met with instructors, school officials, and international students to discuss the type of training provided. In addition, we spoke with former Security Assistance officials to obtain their views on the career advancement opportunities in the security assistance field. Also, we visited the military services headquarters in Washington, D.C., and the Air Force Military Personnel Center, Randolph Air Force Base, San Antonio, Texas, to obtain assignment and promotion data.

We conducted fieldwork in Argentina, Honduras, Indonesia, Nigeria, Poland, and Venezuela. In each country, we met with SAO officials, defense attaches, political-military advisers, other officials from the U.S. embassies, host country officials representing the various armed services,

¹Formerly known as the Defense Resources Management Education Center.

human rights organizations representatives and former IMET students. We reviewed documents and cables to determine the changes in the U.S. security assistance program for the past 5 years. We also interviewed U.S. military officials at the Southern Command in Panama, the Pacific Command in Hawaii, and the European Command in Germany to obtain their views on security assistance programs, human rights conditions, and civic action projects in their regions.

We conducted our review from June 1991 to June 1992. Our work was performed in accordance with generally accepted government auditing standards.

Changes in the Security Assistance Program

Recent world events such as the break-up of the Soviet Union and the Gulf War have caused the United States to modify its security assistance goals and objectives. The majority of new country programs, such as those for Central Europe, focuses upon enhancement of democratic institutions, civilian control over militaries, and human rights. This is primarily provided through funding for Expanded IMET and the Economic Support Program. However, with the exception of the increased funding for counternarcotics, there have been no significant changes in the major emphasis in security assistance. Major recipients such as Israel and Egypt continue to receive the largest share of security assistance.

Recent Events Generate Changes in Security Assistance Goals

Changes in the world have caused the United States to focus on providing aid for the establishment of democratic institutions, civilian control over the military, stabilization of regional tensions, and infusions of funds to combat illegal drug trafficking.

National Security Objectives Place Greater Emphasis on Emerging Democracies

The Security Assistance program began primarily in response to events that threatened U.S. interests—for the most part, threats to friendly states from neighbors supported and encouraged by the former Soviet Union. This continued as the predominant influence of our foreign policy/security assistance objectives. The tearing down of the Berlin Wall and the recent dissolution of the Soviet Union, among other things, have drastically changed this condition and have resulted in a lessening of tensions and perceived Communist threat. These events have generated increased emphasis on providing support to emerging democracies, such as those arising out of Central Europe and the former Soviet Republics.

Central European countries such as Poland, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, and Hungary; and the former Soviet Republics, such as Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania have and/or will receive U.S. funding to assist in their transition from Communist to democratic societies. Most of the countries receive IMET funding, which focuses on professional military education and technical training with emphasis on civilian and military relations through an expanded Initiative. For example, the IMET Program will educate some of the leaders of the Hungarian Armed Forces, most of whom have been extensively educated by the former regime and the Soviets, in the interaction of the military and political forces in a democracy. Some countries, such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Armenia, formerly part of the Soviet Union, will receive Economic Support Funding to, among other

things, assist the new states in meeting economic requirements and to promote development of market economies while also encouraging the development of democratic institutions.

**Regional Instability
Continues to Threaten U.S.
Interests and Provides
Focus for Future Security
Assistance**

The Gulf War and international drug trafficking demonstrate that serious challenges remain to vital U.S. interests from countries other than the Soviet Union, and that coalition building continues to be an essential objective.

Gulf War

The invasion of Kuwait by Iraq and the ensuing war indicates that there are other challenges to U.S. interests. A DSAA official pointed out that the United States needs to continue to support its allies in areas where it has vital interests and those upon whom it depends to project power in those areas. He said that for the southern flank NATO countries (i.e., Greece, Turkey, and Italy), in particular, the war showed how the United States' carefully nurtured defense relationships with them have a utility independent of the Soviet threat. The official stated that all of these countries have been stalwart in support of coalition forces in the Gulf, despite the subsequent burden that they and many other countries shared.

The DSAA official also said that the shape of the post-war world was unclear. He said that the size and shape of the program in the future could not yet be determined and that the United States has to be adaptable in an unpredictable world. He added that military assistance will continue to play an important part in addressing the challenges in this decade. These challenges, as outlined by the Secretary of State a year earlier, include:

- promoting democratic values,
- promoting free market principles and strengthening U.S. competitiveness,
- protecting against transnational threats such as narcotics and terrorism, and
- promoting peace and defusing regional conflicts.

**Increased Focus on
Narcotics Trafficking**

An increasing percentage of security assistance funding has been provided for such challenges as the struggle against the international trafficking of narcotics—in fiscal year 1993, an estimated \$500 million is included in the Administration's budget. U.S. security assistance programs currently

provide critical support for Andean and other countries to fight against drug trafficking.

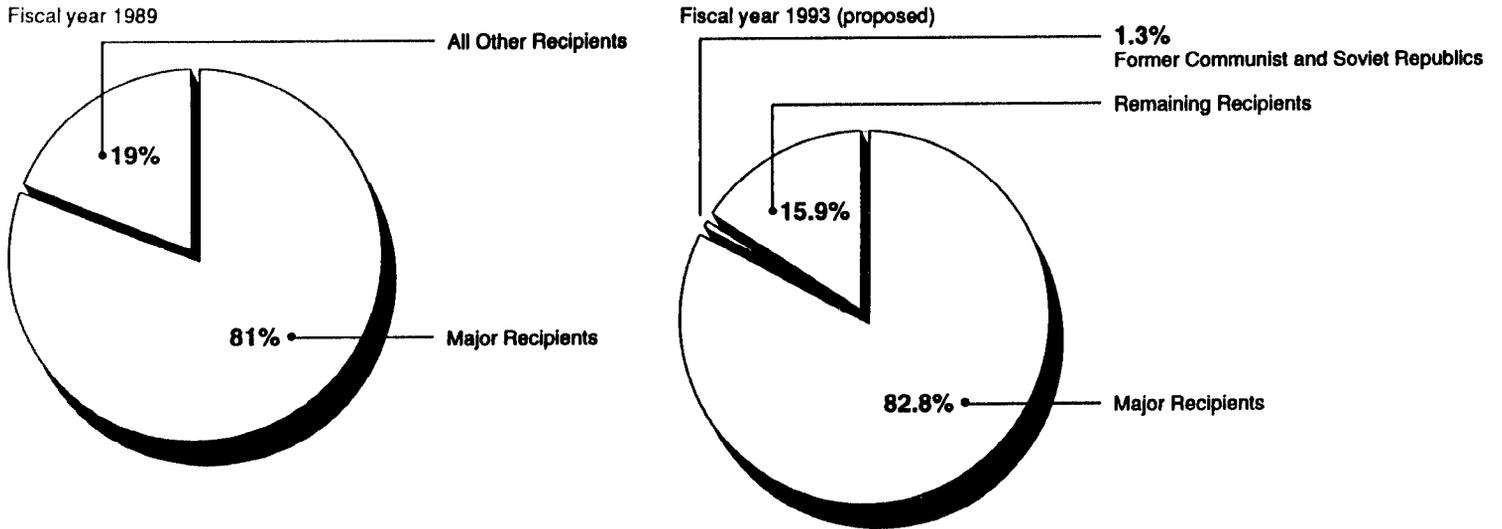
Changes in Objectives Result in Slight Modifications to Country Programs

In terms of Security Assistance dollar allocations to recipient countries, those countries receiving the bulk of assistance during the cold war continue to receive the majority of U.S. assistance. The level of aid to major recipients was unaffected by the end of the cold war and has been driven by other foreign policy objectives.

Major Recipients Continue to Receive the Preponderance of Security Assistance

Regional instability has been a long-standing central focus of our entire security assistance program and will continue as such in the near future. For example, the lessening of tensions in the Middle East has always been of vital interest to the United States. To encourage a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and to promote stability and security in the region, the United States has provided and will continue to provide billions of dollars to Israel and Egypt until peace is established, according to the State Department. Massive economic and military aid has been provided to both Israel and Egypt since the Camp David meetings and agreement in 1978, which, among other things, called for a peace treaty between the two countries. The United States provides assistance to other key allies such as Greece, Turkey, Portugal, and to a lesser extent, the Philippines. U.S. programs in the Philippines have decreased substantially as a result of the Government of the Philippines' decision to terminate our basing agreement. Figure 2.1 shows distribution of assistance to the traditional major recipients as compared to all other recipient countries for fiscal years 1989 and 1993.

Figure 2.1: Security Assistance Funds



Notes: Major recipients include Egypt, Greece, Israel, the Philippines, Portugal and Turkey.

Security Assistance funds include Economic Support Funds, IMET, and Foreign Military Financing.

Former communist and Soviet republics include Albania, Armenia, Bulgaria, Byelarus, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, and Ukraine.

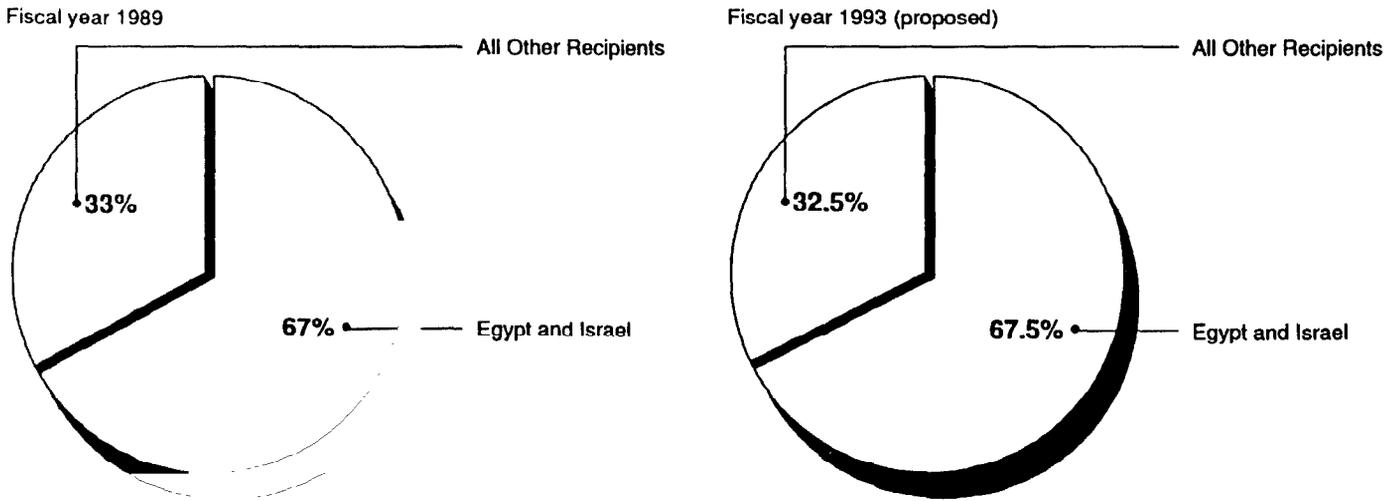
Overall, countries receiving security assistance and the levels of funding have remained constant. Funds earmarked by the Congress are mostly concentrated in a limited number of countries, which is unlikely to change in the near future. In fiscal year 1989, six countries received \$6.2 billion,¹ or 81 percent, of the total \$7.6 billion in Security Assistance funding, which consisted of Foreign Military Financing, IMET, and Economic Support Funds. In fiscal year 1993, \$6.2 billion² or 83 percent, of the total \$7.5 billion is proposed for these same six countries.

¹Includes \$410 million of concessional (at below market rate) loans.

²Includes \$358.2 million of concessional (below market rate) loans.

The program objectives for the two largest recipients have not changed over the last 5 years. For example, Israel received \$1.8 billion in Foreign Military Financing funds and \$1.2 billion in Economic Support Funds in fiscal year 1989. Program objectives included assisting Israel in maintaining its qualitative military edge through a balanced program of new procurement and upgrades and encouraging a comprehensive settlement of disputes in the region to promote stability and security. For fiscal year 1993, \$1.8 billion and \$1.2 billion has been proposed for Foreign Military Financing and Economic Support Funds, respectively. Program objectives have remained constant. Figure 2.2 shows the distribution of assistance to Israel and Egypt compared to all other recipients for fiscal years 1989 and 1993.

Figure 2.2: Security Assistance to Egypt and Israel Compared to All Other Countries



Egypt received \$1.3 billion in Foreign Military Financing, \$1.5 million in IMET program funds, and \$815 million in Economic Support Funds in fiscal year 1989. The program objectives included support for modernizing the Egyptian Armed Forces along a western orientation, improving training and maintenance, and promoting economic development. For fiscal year 1993, \$1.3 billion is proposed for Foreign Military Financing grant funds,

\$1.8 million for IMET, and \$815 million in Economic Support Funds. The objectives for this year remained the same.

According to a State Department official, the aid received by Israel and Egypt was not provided because of the Cold War. This official said that if a Middle East peace is negotiated, the level of aid provided to many middle eastern countries will be more difficult to justify.

International Military Education and Training Program

The IMET Program provides education and training to international military and related civilian personnel on a grant basis. In the fall of 1990, the Congress revised the legislation to expand education opportunities to civilian leaders because of changing world situations. This resulted in the Expanded IMET Initiative, which has affected some changes to countries participating in IMET, as well as the type of training being provided. The preliminary response to the initiative has been positive, although U.S. and host country officials in a few countries believe that it would have limited impact at this time because of the lack of qualified civilians to participate in the program.

Legislation Expands the Role of IMET

The IMET Program, under section 541 of the Foreign Assistance Act, provides military training to foreign military and related civilian personnel. In the Fiscal Year 1991 Foreign Operations Appropriations Act, Congress earmarked \$1 million for a new IMET activity that was designed to develop professional level management skills and to assist in creating effective military and judicial systems and military codes of conduct. The Act amended Section 541 to allow civilian personnel in addition to those in the ministries of defense to be eligible for this new program if such military training would foster greater respect for and understanding of the principle of civilian control of the military; improve military justice systems and procedures in accordance with internationally recognized human rights; or contribute to responsible defense resource management.

With the exception of fiscal year 1992, funding for the IMET Program has been a constant \$47 million since fiscal year 1988 and, the same amount has been proposed for fiscal year 1993. According to a DSAA official, in fiscal year 1992, a continuing resolution and rescission reduced the program funding to \$44.5 million.

Although the Congress earmarked \$1 million for the initiative, DOD actually expended over \$1.5 million in fiscal year 1991. DOD estimates that because of the high level of interest in this initiative, that more than \$3.7 million may actually be spent on the program in fiscal year 1992. Some of the funding will be taken from the regular IMET program, according to DSAA officials.

The IMET Program was established to encourage relations between the United States and foreign countries by training potential military leaders. The number of countries participating in the program has varied through the years. In fiscal year 1987, 99 countries received IMET funding, compared

to 100 in fiscal year 1991. In fiscal year 1993, 111 countries are expected to receive aid. As a result of the changes in the focus of the IMET Program, countries such as Poland, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Lithuania, Hungary, and Albania have been included in the program to facilitate U.S. support for democracy and the rule of law, as well as peaceful change through orderly, democratic processes.

New Initiative Changes Curriculum

Consistent with changing world conditions, the amended law authorized DOD to make the IMET Program more responsive to the changing global and regional political situations. The Expanded IMET Initiative is DOD's response to the Congress. The initiative focuses on civilian control over the military, defense resources management, military justice systems, and human rights education.

To date, foreign countries' Ministry of Defense personnel, foreign military and civilian officials from ministries other than Defense, such as the Foreign Ministry and equivalents of the Department of the Treasury and the Office of Management and Budget have been trained under this initiative. U.S. officials believe that these individuals would have the most opportunity to encourage change in their governments.

Implementation of Expanded IMET

DSAA has overall responsibility for implementing the program. In an effort to meet program objectives, DSAA tasked the Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, to determine the type of courses, already available at DOD training facilities that could be included in the program. It also designated the Defense Resources Management Institute, Monterey, California, to develop and administer the Mobile Education Team program of instruction—one component of the initiative. In addition, DSAA has given the Naval Justice School, Newport, Rhode Island, the responsibility to develop additional courses necessary to accomplish the objectives of the initiative.

DSAA directed the Naval Postgraduate School to survey the three armed services to determine what type of courses, currently offered, would best meet the Expanded IMET criteria of contributing to responsible defense resource management, improving military justice systems, and teaching the principle of civilian control of the military. Of the over 2,000 courses presently being offered by all U.S. military schools, only 61 met the necessary criteria for Expanded IMET funding. For example, regarding resources management, the 4-week graduate level course offered by the

Defense Resources Management Institute was selected because it focused on enhancing the understanding, competence, and capabilities of U.S. and foreign military and civilian personnel in the development, operation, and maintenance of DOD and other government management systems. Also, after the previously mentioned survey, new courses addressing the program's objectives were developed.

The Naval Justice School has recently developed additional courses on military justice that are designed to enhance the respect for civilian control of the military and techniques to implement systems that contribute to respect for internationally recognized human rights. These courses also include instruction in international law, human rights, and the military. For example, the courses examine the extent that the military justice system requires compliance with internationally recognized human rights. In addition, a course on the role of the military in a democratic society will also be included in the school's curriculum. These courses were implemented in September 1992. Training related to human rights is discussed further in chapter 5.

To address the criteria to improve Defense Resource Management training, the Defense Resources Management Institute provides the stateside and overseas training. The overseas training is given by Mobile Education Teams, utilizing U.S. military and civilian instructors in order to reach target military and civilian decision makers on a broad scale. Through the Mobile Education Teams, the United States can teach more students at less cost, according to officials at some DOD schools. A team can train between 40 and 50 students at one time rather than sending one or two students to the United States for similar training. Also, the mobile team approach enables the participants to receive the needed education without leaving their positions in their country for extended periods. This is of particular importance in some smaller countries where one official may have multiple responsibilities or is the only one knowledgeable in a given area.

These officials also said that one drawback of using Mobile Education Teams is that students who are trained in their own country do not have the advantage of being exposed to U.S. values, society, and technology, as do students educated in the United States. Although they cannot quantify their beliefs, U.S. officials indicated that students attending school in the United States obtain a better understanding of our society, including the cooperation between civilian and military officials.

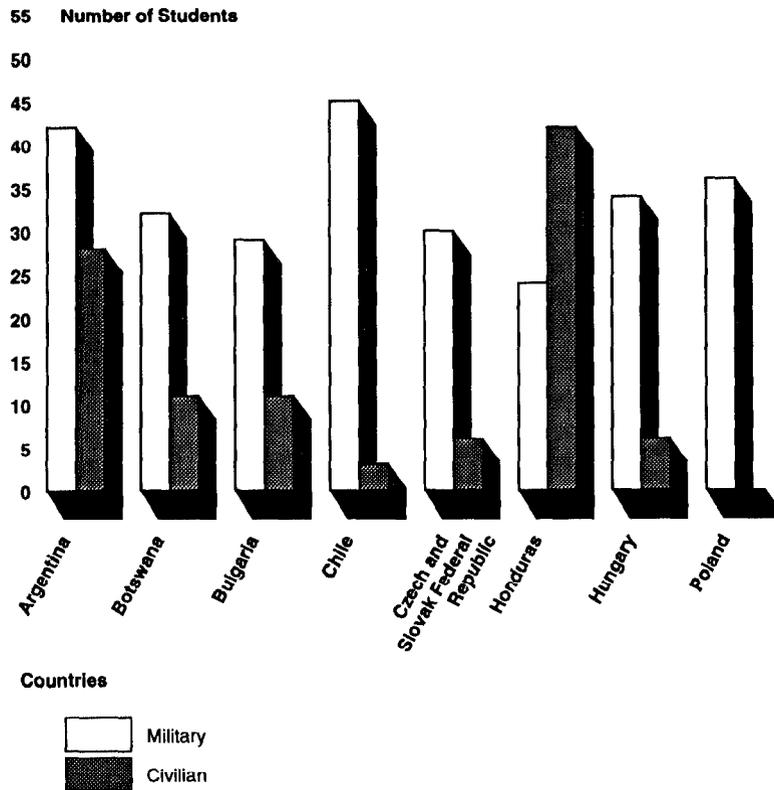
In the United States, Expanded IMET training is provided by schools such as the Army War College, National Defense University, and the Naval Staff College. These schools offer courses such as Implementing National Military Strategy, which meets the criteria of the DOD for the initiative.

Training Has Focused on
Resource Management

During fiscal years 1991 and 1992, teams visited Argentina, Botswana, Chile, Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Honduras, Hungary, and Poland to provide resource management training to military officers and civilian government officials. Overall, 272 military and 107 civilian personnel have been educated as of June 1992.

Countries in Central and South America and Central Europe were first targeted to receive funding for Expanded IMET, because these countries were seen as newly emerging democracies and/or as being receptive to the idea of civilian control over the military. For example, two teams visited Honduras in June and October of 1991. The first team instructed civilian and military personnel who will serve as professors at their newly established National Defense College in analytical decision-making and resource management. The National Defense College was established, with the aid of the United States and at the request of the Honduran Congress, to specifically train civilians in resource management. According to U.S. officials, the college provided the perfect opportunity to provide Expanded IMET training to civilians already enrolled. The civilian and military personnel who attended the two courses were from various departments throughout the military and the government ministries. Figure 3.1 shows the number of students trained under the IMET initiative, through Mobile Education Teams.

Figure 3.1: Expanded IMET Initiative -
 Military and Civilian Students Trained
 Through Mobile Education Teams



Training related to human rights and civilian control over the militaries has recently been provided by Mobile Education Teams which visited Sri Lanka and Papua New Guinea in September 1992. Also in August 1992, a U.S. team visited Guatemala to assist in developing a military justice/human rights training course for that country.

Host Country and U.S. Officials Have Generally Positive Views on Expanded IMET

International students we interviewed concerning the initiative had favorable comments. Both civilian and military officials were anxious to receive additional teams in the future. DSAA and host country officials believe that the training provided increased cooperation and understanding between the military and civilian sectors because both learned to interact with each other. As a result of the increased cooperation, attitudes concerning the proper role of civilians in the government infrastructure may be changed. For example, in Honduras,

there was initial resistance by one military official to include civilians in the program; however, many officials see this as a positive step towards change.

Officials from several Central European countries believe that the IMET initiative would provide an excellent opportunity to educate civilian officials in defense resource management, according to DSAA. In the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, for example, by asking for national priorities in the IMET Program, the U.S. team triggered the first coordination in modern history between the military and civilian agencies. Officials of the Ministries of Defense expressed a desire to have members of their legislature be eligible for training in defense resource management to facilitate budget negotiations between the legislatures and ministries of defense.

Other officials we met with offered different views of the program. Some U.S. officials believe that the initiative has limited influence on civil-military relations because there are few civilians in prominent positions in the government. For example, U.S. officials in Venezuela stated that the current Minister of Defense is a military general, and until this and other related positions are filled by civilians, there is no need to expend funds on the program. Also, SAO and Nigerian Ministry of Defense officials see limited potential for expanded civilian training under the program until Nigeria completes its transition to civilian rule, scheduled for late 1992. Currently, there are few civilians within the Ministry of Defense who have power or influence. According to the officials, the civilian who attended the Botswana conference¹ was a Ministry of Defense training official, not likely to have any influence for change. Defense Attache Office officials said that the Nigerian government is in favor of greater civilian control of the Ministry of Defense following the transition to civilian rule. However, it is unclear how the new government will "civilianize" the Ministry of Defense or know who the key players will be. The officials commented that the advisable course of action may be to wait until after the transition to emphasize civilian training through the initiative.

U.S. and Polish officials noted that only 5 civilians within the Ministry of Defense are in any position of power or influence. This situation is not expected to change rapidly. While the government is committed to bringing more civilians into the Ministry, civilians with strong academic

¹In January 1992 a regional conference was held in Botswana on resource management conducted by a Mobile Education Team. Civilian and military officials in attendance were from 11 African countries.

backgrounds can earn much more in private industry than in government service. This is especially true for those who speak English—the best candidates for Expanded IMET. Polish officials are also concerned that civilians receiving the training would leave the government after returning to Poland, taking their improved English and management skills with them.

U.S. officials in Honduras indicated that they are aware of the concern that if more civilians are trained under this program less funds will be available to train military officials. A similar view was also expressed by the Indonesian Ambassador to the United States. However, U.S. officials believe that military training through IMET will not suffer as a result of the initiative. DSAA officials indicated that the agency is making every effort to ensure appropriate funding to countries which want to increase civilian participation in the Expanded program—more civilians, more funding.

According to DSAA, the initiative has not been in place long enough to determine success. U.S. officials said that it would be difficult to correlate the improvement of civil/military relations and a return to democracy to the education received from Expanded IMET. A DSAA official initially noted that the success of the initiative cannot be measured for at least another 5 years, when more countries will have participated and individuals will be in more prominent positions to effect change. In a previous report² we recommended that the Departments of State and Defense jointly develop a system to evaluate the effectiveness of the IMET program. Recently, a DSAA official advised us that DOD and the State Department have taken steps to develop a mechanism to measure the effectiveness of the program. In this regard country teams are required to provide an assessment of the effectiveness of the IMET Program including the Expanded Initiative in preparing their fiscal year 1994 training plans. However, the format and the type of information to be included in this assessment has not been established.

Future Plans to Include More Civilians in Program

DSAA officials informed us that they plan to expand the scope of this initiative to include training for legislators, lawyers, judges, and other officials that could hold prominent positions and that could produce positive change in their governments. This change will require legislative action and will probably not be effective until 1993.

²Security Assistance: Observations on the International Military Education and Training Program (GAO/NSIAD-90-215BR, June 14, 1990).

Congressional members who support the new program have gone on record as saying that expansion of eligible personnel will help ensure, in practice, the implementation of stated U.S. policy goals of support for emerging democracies and the civilian control of military establishments. Moreover, if elected foreign officials and their staffs are not proficient in defense and national security issues, it will be difficult for the civilian government to control the military. In addition, in many emerging democracies, long-term patterns of political instability and military takeovers occur because of civilians' lack of practical experience or expertise in these areas.

Besides having teams return to Argentina, Botswana, and Honduras, the DSAA plans to send teams to Bulgaria, Chile, Estonia, Ghana, Latvia, Lithuania, and Mongolia to provide resource management training.

Other Programs Provide Education to Civilians

Although training for host country civilians has been limited in this program, the U.S. Information Agency and the Agency for International Development provide various training programs.

Training programs offered by the U.S. Information Service include the Fulbright Scholarship Program, which provides funding for students to conduct graduate studies. Through this program, foreign personnel are brought to the United States for training or exposure to a specific activity or event. Under the Fulbright Scholarship Program, students also receive graduate training in engineering, water conservation, and other areas.

The Agency for International Development training programs include the Central American and Andean Peace Scholarships, which allow foreign nationals from the Central American and Andean ridge countries to be trained in a specific skill in the United States and to be exposed to U.S. values. Training areas include primary health care and nutrition, business management, improvement of rural teaching methods, nontraditional exports, agricultural science, computer science, and engineering.

Conclusions and Recommendation

Changes to the IMET program have focused on educating civilians as a result of legislation whose objectives include fostering better respect and understanding for civilian control over the military, improving military justice systems in accordance with human rights principles and increasing professionalism and responsibility in defense and resource management. DOD has selected courses from various military schools and is developing

additional courses to meet these new objectives. Thus far, training has focused on resource management and has been provided primarily through Mobile Education Teams. Generally, the response from recipient countries has been positive; yet, some U.S. officials believe that the program would be of limited benefit in some countries because of the lack of civilian personnel in prominent positions. Current plans include providing Expanded IMET to additional countries.

As indicated earlier, DSAA is currently developing procedures for establishing an IMET evaluation system which is to include the Expanded IMET Program. This is essential considering the current interest in this new program. Therefore, we recommend that the Secretary of Defense direct the Director of the Defense Security Assistance Agency to complete the implementation of a mechanism to evaluate the Expanded IMET Program.

Military Civic Action

U.S. military civic action projects have been referred to by DOD and State as nation-building, which can be applied to any military endeavor that is part of the development of a country's infrastructure and improving living conditions. The concept of using the military in a nation-building role is not new, having been part of security assistance legislation and various programs since World War II. Since the concept generally applies to the developing countries of Asia, Africa, the Near East, and Latin America, military assistance can not be thought of only in military terms, it must be thought of in economic and political terms as well.

One of the requesters expressed concern that the use of IMET to support civic action projects or U.S. direct support of civic action projects around the world would be contrary to the new U.S. efforts in the Expanded IMET Initiative to help countries have civilian control over the military. Therefore, the requester asked us to identify the extent of U.S. supported civic action projects and to determine whether IMET training supports civic actions. In one of the countries that we visited, the U.S. funds military civic action projects. In some of the other countries we visited, host nation militaries conducted civic action projects without U.S. assistance. Also, U.S. agencies such as the Peace Corps and the Agency for International Development provide humanitarian assistance to civilian populations without the assistance of U.S. or host country militaries.

International students receive training in the United States that can be used for civic action purposes, but these courses are not specifically labeled as "civic action" courses.

Civic Action Projects Funded by the United States

The U.S. military participates in and funds projects for U.S. Joint Task Force Bravo in Honduras and Africa Civic Action programs. U.S. troop involvement in these projects provides them with training experiences such as road construction and rare disease treatment that cannot be acquired in the United States. The African country we visited was not part of the Africa Civic Action program.

U.S. military forces, utilizing civil affairs, psychological operations, engineer, medical and public affairs personnel, support the Honduran government and Armed Forces in conducting civic action projects. Objectives of civic action projects in Honduras include improving the Honduran civilian population's view of the Honduran government and military. Projects include construction and repairs of schools, latrines, wells, bridges, and clinics. One of the two health clinics we visited was

renovated by Joint Task Force Bravo in coordination with the Honduran military, the local government, and civilians in May 1990. This clinic now serves as an outpatient facility for a population of about 250,000 people.

Joint Task Force Bravo conducts post-site surveys to ensure that once projects are completed, they are properly used by the military and civilians in the area. One survey indicated that a school was being improperly used by a local military commander. The situation was immediately corrected.

The Africa Civic Action program is funded by the Africa Regional Military Assistance Fund and includes 34 countries. The fund provides training and materials to the African militaries. The fund's objectives include improving the capability of African militaries to protect natural resources and to plan and implement projects that benefit the civilian population; assisting African militaries engaged in peacekeeping activities; providing technical assistance to African militaries seeking to downsize their military force structures; and supporting previously supplied U.S. equipment. Projects are conducted as a cooperative effort between U.S. and host nation militaries, and include education, public works, agriculture, transportation, communications, and health and sanitation.

The U.S. Agency for International Development and the Peace Corps complete and fund projects that directly benefit the civilian population. A Peace Corp representative in Honduras stated that the Peace Corps does not coordinate projects with Joint Task Force Bravo or the host country military. Representatives for the Peace Corps are instructed to remain separate from both militaries. An official for the Agency for International Development in Honduras said that the agency coordinates efforts with the Task Force to reduce the risk of duplicating projects in an area. Most of the projects completed by these agencies include water sanitation, health, education, agriculture, animal production, and environmental awareness.

Civic Action Projects Not Funded by the United States

In some countries we visited, host countries perform civic action projects without U.S. involvement. U.S. Officials in Indonesia said at any given time, about 70 percent of all military personnel are assigned to units, primarily to plan and conduct civic action activities. Projects in different areas of Indonesia appear to vary in their objectives and impact on civilian government authority, depending on an area's level of development and security risk. For example, in East Timor, the Indonesian military conducts a large number of projects to improve the economic situation

and combat insurgents. There are fewer projects in developed, low security risk areas such as Bandung because the private sector can provide most of the funds and human resources needed to develop the local infrastructure.

Some militaries perform more limited civic action activities. For instance, the Argentine Navy sponsors several different projects to improve schools in remote locations. Navy personnel paint schools and purchase books and materials for students. All activities are funded by Navy personnel, not by the individual service, although the Navy sanctions such projects. Also, the Venezuelan military does not routinely conduct civic action projects although it has completed some projects to benefit and protect the Indian population in the Amazon.

For the most part, we found that host country militaries perform little if any civic action activities. In four of the six countries we visited, civilians primarily carry out these activities and the military generally helps only when necessary, such as in disaster relief or when no other entity is equipped to do so. For example, a U.S. official in Honduras stated that the private sector is not able to provide the funds or the people to develop the local infrastructure. Many areas are remote and inaccessible by vehicle, making it logistically and financially impossible for private sector individuals to assist civilians and invest in the local economies. However, Department of Defense and U.S. military school officials said that using host country militaries to provide services or projects to civilians may perpetuate the military in some countries. Regardless, in certain cases, as in Honduras, the military appears to be the only group capable of accomplishing such tasks.

In addition, U.S. officials, for the most part, stated that civic action projects help to train U.S. and host country military personnel in rebuilding a country's infrastructure and to increase cooperation between the U.S. and host country militaries and the civilian population. For example, in Honduras, projects consist of one-third U.S. military, one-third Honduran military, and one-third Honduran civilians. The "one-third" rule was developed in order to establish "pride of ownership" for the civilian population.

IMET Graduates Do Not Receive Specific Civic Action Training

Only one of the military schools we visited taught a specific civic action course. The School of the Americas developed the Combat Medic course for international students so that they can provide medical services (i.e. vaccinations, dental services, etc.) to the military and civilian populations

of their country. This course is also open to civilians, yet, as of October 1991, none had attended.

However, U.S. officials and IMET graduates, in three countries we visited, indicated that some courses indirectly provide civic action-related training and general management skills, for example, skills in resource allocation and project planning. U.S. officials in Indonesia said that almost all IMET professional military education and management courses provide Indonesian IMET students with skills they can use in planning and implementing civic action projects. The Indonesian Armed Forces uses these projects to meet their social, economic, and military objectives. These U.S. officials reviewed the courses taken by Indonesian IMET students to determine if they were civic action related. They identified about 390 Indonesians who attended 65 IMET courses between fiscal years 1988 and 1991 which in their opinion were civic action related.

An IMET training coordinator in Venezuela added that civic action is not taught at most U.S. military schools, but that many students will incorporate the training they receive in the United States and apply it when they perform civic action projects.

The IMET courses offered by the United States are not designated as "civic action" courses. These courses are not designated as such because they are primarily provided to enhance military capabilities for military purposes and not to directly benefit the civilian population.

Conclusions

The U.S. funds military civic action projects in some countries such as Honduras. In other countries such as Venezuela and Argentina the host country, without U.S. support, complete civic action projects to benefit the civilian population. Much of the assistance provided through military civic action programs focuses on essential health care and sanitation. In some instances, the private sector may be unable to provide such assistance because of lack of funds or human resources and the military is the only institution that is able to provide this needed assistance.

IMET graduates receive various levels of education in the United States. The courses that they attend are not specifically labeled as "civic action". However, the skills received in some of these courses can be used for civic action projects.

Human Rights Awareness

The protection of human rights continues to be a primary concern for members of the U.S. Congress when determining the amount of security assistance a country will receive. Legislation provides that human rights training will be a part of the international students' education. DOD regulations, however, do not state that human rights awareness is an objective of the IMET program, although it is interwoven into some courses for international students. Students attending professional military education courses are likely to receive more human rights awareness training than those attending technical courses because of the subject matter in professional courses allows more opportunity to address the issue. Several of the countries we visited had human rights violations within the past 5 years.

Legislation Specifies Human Rights Awareness for International Students Yet Defense Directives Are Lacking

Chapter 5, Section 543 of the Foreign Assistance Act which governs IMET training provides, among other things, that "...Education and training activities conducted under this chapter shall be designed ... to increase the awareness of nationals of foreign countries participating in such activities of basic issues involving internationally recognized human rights." DOD's Security Assistance Management Manual, however, does not state that human rights awareness will be emphasized in the IMET program. According to the manual, training provided to international students should emphasize military professionalism, the interchange of military doctrine and defense resources management. A DSAA official agreed that human rights awareness should be a program objective.

Students Receive Various Degrees of Human Rights Awareness

According to DOD, human rights is informally interwoven into course curriculums in varying degrees. Lesson plans for some of the professional military education courses include studies on the Geneva Convention, the Law of Land Warfare, and the My Lai incident in Vietnam. DSAA policy officials indicated that students that receive training at this level normally have attended several courses and spent more time in the United States and therefore, have received more exposure to human rights and U.S. society and values. Officials also said that these students are more likely to hold prominent positions in their militaries and as a result, will have a greater impact on influencing others concerning human rights. However, technical courses provide fewer opportunities to introduce human rights into the curriculum because the focus is more on how to operate or repair equipment rather than on the individual.

About half of the IMET graduates that we questioned on this issue did not recall receiving any human rights training while attending courses in the United States. For the most part, these students attended technical rather than professional military education courses.

We also found that the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, provided an orientation program on U.S. history, values, and society to the international students before the start of formal training, through a mandatory 2 week seminar. School officials said such orientation enables the students to better understand our culture and assimilate more easily into our society.

All students who attend courses at the School of the Americas, Ft. Benning, Georgia, are required to take a 4-hour course on human rights. The first 2 hours involves lecture, the last 2 hours incorporates a discussion about their own country's human rights problems. Further, human rights is reinforced with wargames and other instruction. For example, how to treat civilians in combat situations and how militaries should react in such situations.

During our review, DSAA and the military services have placed increased emphasis on developing military justice/human rights training courses. For example, the Naval Justice School has developed both a one-week resident and mobile training course for foreign students and plan to incorporate the resident course into its foreign preparatory courses preceding the Command and Staff and War College courses offered by each of the military services. Also, DSAA and the Naval Justice School stressed the importance of military justice/human rights training objectives at 15 seminars given to U.S. international military student officers who manage and administer the foreign student program at training installations. To assist these officers, DSAA and the Naval Justice School has prepared a handbook.

DOD requires that each U.S. military school establish an Informational Program for international students. It is voluntary and is to give a student the opportunity to obtain a balanced understanding of the United States through personal contact and observation of the U.S. judicial system, two-party system, press, economic and education systems, as well as cultural institutions. The program includes such activities as tours of selected industries; trips to major cities; visits to museums, theme parks, historical points of interest, courthouses, and sporting events. The activities provide, among other things, the student exposure to human

rights. As part of the program, volunteer sponsors, both civilian and military, are assigned to students. They, among other things, invite them into their homes which provides another opportunity for exposure to U.S. values.

Human Rights Awareness Conducted by a Host Country

In some instances, host country militaries will provide some type of human rights awareness training to their own military personnel. We did not determine if the education provided by these countries was effective. In all the countries we visited, with the exception of Nigeria, human rights has become an important aspect of military education. The following are some of the countries' views on human rights in military education:

- In Indonesia, U.S and host country officials noted that Indonesian military academies and staff colleges provide instruction in human rights and humanitarian law. Courses include group discussions on past human rights abuses in Indonesia and role playing sessions in resolving conflicts without the use of force.
- Polish Ministry of Defense officials said that human rights are very important issues that are included in the courses taught to all Polish military officers and are included in the course of study at Polish military training institutes.
- Venezuelan officials told us that the government's human rights organization provides human rights training to Venezuelan military officials through formal class instruction. U.S. military officials in Venezuela were not aware of such a program.

No System for Monitoring Effectiveness

U.S. officials told us that they do not have a system for monitoring the effect that human rights awareness training has on international students. Furthermore, U.S. officials believe that it would be difficult to measure the impact IMET education has on human rights conditions in specific countries. Also, U.S. Pacific Command and Embassy officials in Indonesia stated that they believe the IMET Program does not require such a system because providing human rights education is not a stated objective of the IMET Program. Previously we found that some U.S. training installations require students to complete course evaluation forms that provide feedback on the course and its contents. Instruction on U.S. values and human rights were included in these evaluations; however, it is unclear to what extent human rights issues are addressed in these evaluations.¹

¹Security Assistance: Observations on the International Military Education and Training Program (GAO/NSIAD-90-215BR, June 14, 1990).

Even though U.S. officials state that the effectiveness of the program cannot be measured, they believe the IMET Program has had a positive influence on the behavior and outlook of IMET graduates. Although they could not quantify their beliefs, they said that IMET graduates are more open to new ideas and more tolerant of differences among opposing groups. Further, according to these officials, IMET graduates trained in the United States are more likely than non-IMET graduates to realize that the United States places a high value on human rights. Without a mechanism to measure the impact, it is difficult to determine whether the training is effective.

Human Rights Abuses Committed in Some of the Countries Reviewed

There were several instances of human rights abuses in the countries that we reviewed. In Poland, reportedly, the military was not involved in abuses but the police have had minor violations.

Human Rights Conditions in Honduras

In the past, the Honduran military and police were involved in many human rights violations against civilians. According to U.S. Embassy and Honduran government officials, there has been a positive move to improve the human rights situation. Both the Armed Forces and the police are emphasizing human rights awareness to all their officers. U.S. officials believe that the Honduran military and police do not actually see the need to improve human rights conditions in their country. However, they do so to receive U.S. security assistance funds.

Recent human rights violations have occurred; however, according to U.S. officials and representatives of Honduran human rights organizations, the latest violations were incidences of individual criminal behavior and not a result of a systemic problem. For example, a Honduran woman was raped and murdered in July 1991. The military discharged the officers involved and they remained incarcerated while criminal investigations determine their involvement in the crime. Also in 1991, a group of about 15 men, led by an employee of an Army lieutenant colonel, killed five unarmed peasants and wounded eight others in a dispute over the land he owned. It is not clear if the lieutenant colonel gave the order to shoot the peasants or if the employees acted on their own accord. A military court ordered the lieutenant colonel's arrest and charged him with murder, yet others involved remained at large. In June 1991, an Army colonel shot an unarmed civilian after a brief argument and rendered him quadriplegic. A

military and, subsequently, civilian court found him not guilty, citing the colonel's assertion of self-defense and the absence of contradictory testimony.

Polish Military Not Involved in Human Rights Abuses

The Department of State's 1991 Human Rights Report states that there were no reported human rights violations in major categories such as political killings, secret arrests, detention, abductions, and torture in 1990. Of the human rights violations mentioned in the report, most are attributed to police forces and none are attributed to Polish military forces. The report also states that some police force members have been prosecuted for their alleged actions.

Military Recently Involved in Human Rights Violations in Nigeria

Until the last 2 years, most of the human rights violations were perpetrated by the police, rather than the military. According to officials of the Department of State and Nigerian human rights organizations, these violations are the result of differences in religious beliefs or extortion of bribes. However, in the past 2 years, the military has committed human rights violations in connection with the April 1990 failed coup attempt. The military has reportedly executed over 60 persons allegedly involved in the attempt without fair trials and has detained many family members, friends, and associates of the coup plotters without bringing charges against them.

Indonesian Security Forces Involved in Shooting

On November 12, 1991, between 50 and 100 civilians were killed by Indonesian armed forces after a memorial mass and political demonstration in the city of Dili. It is unknown who, if anyone, ordered the units to fire on the crowd. No IMET trained Indonesian Army officers held mid-or senior-level positions in the East Timor command structure on the day of the shooting incident. Since the incident, at least seven IMET trained officials have been placed in positions of responsibility for East Timor military operations and on commissions established by the President of Indonesia to investigate the incident.²

Conclusions and Recommendations

Human rights awareness training is not included in the DOD's Security Assistance Management Manual as an objective of the IMET Program. However, human rights awareness is provided to international students indirectly through formal education courses and the informational

²Security Assistance: Shooting Incident in East Timor, Indonesia (GAO/NSIAD-92-132FS, Feb. 18, 1992).

program. Students receiving professional military education courses tend to receive more human rights training than those students who attend technical courses. Only one school we visited provides mandatory human rights to all international students who attend. About half of the students who received training in the United States, that we questioned on this issue, could not recall receiving human rights training. This indicates that more specific and formal human rights awareness training is necessary for these students, especially in view of the legislative mandate. The DSAA does not have a system for monitoring the effectiveness of human rights education in IMET training, yet, U.S. officials believe that IMET training does have a positive influence on students. We believe that the effectiveness of human rights awareness should be monitored to determine whether the program has effected change.

Therefore, we recommend that the Secretary of Defense direct the Director of the DSAA to (1) revise the Security Assistance Management Manual to reflect the language in the Foreign Assistance Act concerning human rights awareness training to international students, (2) develop programs that will make more specific human rights training available to international students, and (3) continue efforts to develop a mechanism to evaluate the effectiveness of the human rights awareness training, as part of the evaluation system for IMET discussed in chapter 3.

Career Development in Security Assistance Assignments

The requesters expressed concern that military officers assigned to security assistance posts may be limited in their career advancement opportunities. To address this issue, we agreed to: determine the process for selecting military personnel assigned to SAOS; review their career advancement patterns; and identify any concerns SAO personnel may have regarding career development and advancement.

The Military services assign officers to SAOS to manage security assistance programs. Each service has its own selection and promotion process. Some officers we interviewed expressed concerns that assignments to the security assistance positions would have a negative effect on their careers.

Selections to Security Assistance Assignments Vary Among Services

The military services differ in how assignments are made to SAOS. The Army developed a Foreign Area Officer (FAO) program to prepare qualified officers for assignment to key positions which demand regional expertise, foreign language proficiency and knowledge of U.S. and international politico-military relationships. FAO assignments include duty with the Office of Secretary of Defense, Department of State, Unified Commands, Joint and Army Staff as well as duty with SAO and Defense Attache Offices. The Marines have a smaller and less structured FAO program. The Navy and the Air Force do not have specialized programs.

Army FAO Program

Prior to 1984, Army intelligence officers carried out security assistance duties. However, in 1985, the Army reorganized its FAO program which requires extensive training and education for selected volunteers—qualified as captains. Officers who participate in the program have generally met requirements in another military occupational specialty, such as infantry, armor, etc., which is considered to be their primary branch. The FAO, a secondary specialty, is a functional area and all officers are required to alternate between their primary branch and secondary specialty to maintain proficiency in their primary branch. This is called dual-tracking.

To qualify for the program, the officer must (1) meet the requirements of his primary branch, (2) complete training prior to promotion to major, (3) demonstrate aptitude for language training, (4) hold a bachelor degree, and (5) have an adequate academic record and Graduate Record Examination scores for admission to graduate school if he or she does not already have a Masters degree.

An officer is expected to successfully complete all phases of FAO training to remain in the program, including, (1) 6 to 12 months of language training, (2) 12 to 18 months of graduate study, and (3) 12 to 18 months of in-country training in a designated region. Upon completion of training, Army FAOs can be selected for assignment to SAOS.

An officer whose secondary branch is not as a FAO can also be selected for a SAO position. These selections are usually made by the Unified Command.¹ For example, we were told that one Unified Command chose SAO commanders with infantry backgrounds, rather than those FAO-qualified.

Marines Have Newly Established FAO Program

Although the training is not as extensive as the Army's, the Marines Corps has its own FAO program. The Marine's FAO program is not a career field; however, like the Army, it is a secondary specialty. Officers in the program serve primarily in intelligence areas. According to a Marine official, the Marine Corps established a security assistance program in 1990 for officers assigned to Security Assistance Organizations. To qualify as a FAO, an officer must (1) be proficient in a foreign language or receive appropriate training, and (2) perform a 1-year orientation tour to a specific country or region. This is in contrast to the Army, wherein the officer would likely be enrolled in that foreign country's military staff college. Also, unlike the Army, the Marine program does not require a Masters degree.

Upon completion of training, officers could be assigned to a joint duty position or a Defense Attache Office, based upon their foreign language and regional/country expertise.

The Navy and the Air Force Do Not Have a Specific Security Assistance Program

The Navy and the Air Force mechanisms for placing personnel in security assistance positions are not as structured and are less systematic than the Army's. These two services assign officers based on the needs of the service and the individual's qualifications. There is no program to develop and/or train a special cadre of officers to serve in SAO positions. These are considered joint duty assignments—an assignment outside of one's own service, e.g., to the United Nations.

¹A Unified Command is composed of two or more military services under a single commander and is responsible for conducting security assistance programs within its region.

According to Navy officials, the Navy assigns personnel to security assistance positions based on qualification requirements outlined in the Joint Manpower Program. This program is used by the Unified Commands to requisition military personnel to SAOs based upon rank, special qualifications, education and function by country. Position requirements are submitted to a placement officer who determines the officer qualifications and seeks volunteers to fill the request. The placement officer reviews candidates' qualifications and can accept or reject any officer with the exception of the rank of Captain which is approved by the requesting Command.

The Air Force selects officers to security assistance positions by requisition from the SAO through the Unified Command, similar to the Navy. The requisition will identify the specific requirements needed and will advertise for volunteers. After the best qualified candidates are identified, a nomination package is reviewed and a selection is made.

Career Advancement for Officers Assigned to Security Assistance

In each service, career advancement for those assigned to security assistance positions is based on how well the individual performs in his primary branch. We were able to acquire some statistical data pertaining to the career advancement of Army officers, primarily FAOs, assigned to Security Assistance Organizations, however, similar data for the Marine Corps, Air Force and the Navy was not readily available. Nevertheless, officers we interviewed at various SAOs and stateside provided information regarding promotions and related concerns pertaining to their SAO assignments.

Army FAOs

As of fiscal year 1991, there were 122 Army officers assigned to security assistance positions worldwide below the rank of colonel, 49 of whom were FAOs. An Army survey found that for promotions to major and lieutenant colonel, the promotion averages for FAOs exceeded Army-wide (an aggregate of all categories) promotion averages for the past several years. For promotions to colonel, the FAO and Army averages were about the same. For example, in 1991, the average number of FAOs promoted to colonel was 40 percent, compared to the Army average of 38.6 percent. FAOs promoted to lieutenant colonel averaged 78.1 percent, compared to the Army average of 61.3 percent. While the 1991 data was not available, FAOs promoted to the rank of major in 1990 averaged 83.3 percent, compared to the Army average of 64.7 percent. Information for security assistance officers who are not classified as FAOs was not available.

According to the Chief of the Army's FAO program, Army promotions are counted twice. For example, a FAO with a primary branch of an infantry officer will be counted for promotion as an infantry and FAO officer.

One Army school official indicated that he has expectations of being a military group commander. He made a conscious decision to focus on his secondary specialty as a FAO. He believes that he has a better chance of being promoted to colonel as a FAO rather than as a military police officer. An Army instructor told us, among other things, that the Army does not accept individuals into the FAO program that it does not consider to be competitive. The FAO has a good chance of advancement to colonel, after that, the chances of being promoted further are slim.

In contrast, a former SAO officer, who now teaches at another of the Army colleges, said that back to back tours could hinder an officer's career. There are certain steps an officer must take in order to make colonel or general (i.e., command a company, etc.), and the security assistance field does not provide the officer the opportunity to accomplish the steps needed. However, this could apply to any specialty area.

One officer said that the decision to become a FAO is a conscious one. The chance that a FAO will become a Battalion Commander, based solely on his FAO experience, is almost none.

An officer assigned to Latin America said that he did not volunteer for the FAO program and has not been promoted since becoming a FAO. His tours have required too much time out of his primary branch and has prohibited him from effectively dual-tracking.

Although they could not provide data, some security assistance officers we interviewed believe that officers stationed in the Southern Command were not promoted as fast as those officers assigned to higher visibility commands, such as the Pacific or European Commands.

Marine Corps

According to a Marine official, the Marines are promoted based on performance in their primary military occupational specialty. The official commented that being a Marine FAO does not hurt career advancement but it is not known to be helpful. Another Marine Corp official in Washington indicated that serving in an FAO position does not do anything for advancing your career unless you stay in the intelligence area, such as a Defense Attache Office position. However, even then one should not stay

beyond one consecutive tour, if he wants to get promoted. The officer said that the promotion boards are looking for generic Marines, (e.g. infantry, etc.) therefore, too much FAO experience is not career enhancing. He indicated that officers know the realities of career advancement and do not become security assistance or defense attache officers. He believes that if the Marine Corps would make these career specialties, more officers would become FAOS.

Navy

Two Naval Security Assistance Placement officials indicated that promotion consideration is based on an officer's performance in meeting command requirements in their warfare specialty. One of the officials said that security assistance assignments do not enhance the opportunity for promotion. One SAO officer told us that security assistance assignments are viewed as career-limiting because the Navy places emphasis on shipboard duty when deciding on promotions. Another officer stated that if an officer spends a tour in Latin America, the chances for promotion are limited. Two of these Navy officers, with over 10 years of security assistance experience each, said that they knew the consequences of serving in security assistance. However, they were interested in the area and felt that they made significant contributions and, therefore, believed they should have been promoted based on their security assistance work. We were told that the Navy needs to make security assistance a functional area similar to ship driving, which would result in the opportunity to be promoted based upon experience in that area.

Air Force

An Air Force SAO officer said that the Air Force emphasizes to its officers that security assistance assignments are important; however, it is not viewed that way by the promotion boards. He said that back-to-back security assistance assignments are not made in the Air Force because it will not allow an officer to remain current in his career field and, therefore, it decreases promotability. Another officer believes that the Air Force views security assistance assignments as career-limiting, even though the Air Force requires officers to serve in a joint billet, such as a security assistance billet, in order to be considered for promotion.

Conclusions

The military services differ in the assignment of personnel to SAO positions. The Army and the Marines have specific programs to train these personnel for assignment to positions requiring politico-military expertise, such as SAO billets. However, the requirements for the Army's program are

broader than security assistance assignments and therefore, require advanced studies, language and in-country training, whereas the Marine Corps does not have the same requirements. The Navy and the Air Force do not have similar programs. Army survey data indicates that FAOs, over the last few years, have been promoted at a rate which exceeds the army-wide averages. However, Army Security Assistance officers, as well as those from other services, had concerns and experienced anxiety over whether security assistance assignments hinder career advancement.

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