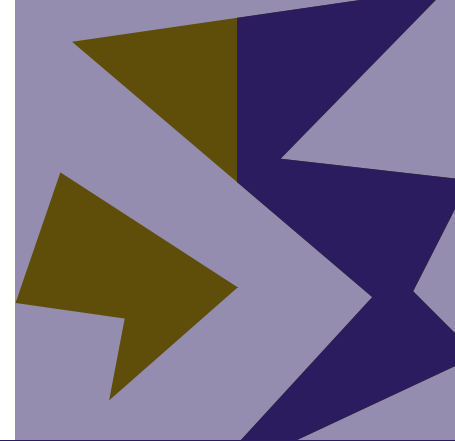


Erasing the Lines

Trends in U.S. military programs with Latin America



Last year, we published a report, “Blurring the Lines,” which discussed the confusion of military and policing roles in Latin America amid weakening civilian oversight of U.S. military assistance programs. A year later, these trends are intensifying. The Defense Department continues to expand its control over foreign military training programs that were once the exclusive province of the Department of State, lessening congressional oversight and weakening the relation of military assistance to overall foreign policy goals. In Central America, the U.S. government is encouraging military involvement in new internal missions—including policing functions—by accompanying a regional realignment of military roles in response to “emerging” threats.

The year also saw human rights groups carrying out an intense effort to apply conditions in the law governing military aid to Colombia, as well as a Bush Administration attempt to lift a fifteen-year-old ban on military aid to Guatemala. The most widespread challenge to the region’s military aid, however, came from conservative U.S. lawmakers. In their effort to punish countries that refuse to exempt U.S. soldiers from the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court, they have triggered partial military and economic aid cutoffs to twelve Latin American countries.

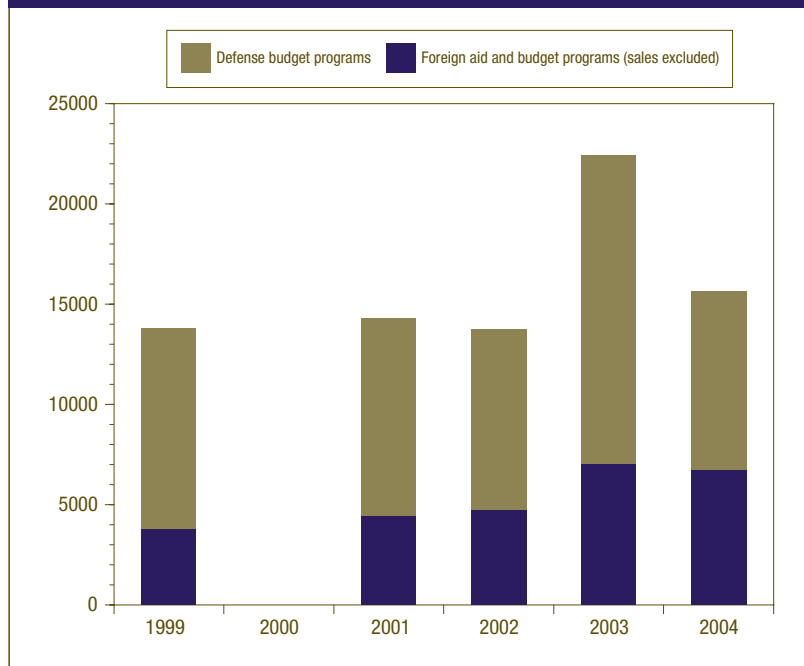
The United States’ close partnership with Colombia deepened this year, the final year of “Plan Colombia,” as aid continued at the same high level. Meanwhile, policy and aid to the rest of the Andes is adrift, as U.S. security and civilian officials failed to address the challenges posed by shaky public confidence in democratic institutions,

elect leaders who openly criticize U.S. policies, and the growth of populist movements.

1. The Defense Department makes a play for greater control over foreign military programs

A little-noticed but significant attempt to change U.S. security policy occurred early in 2005 and resurfaced again at the end of the legislative session; though initially unsuccessful, it remains before Congress and warrants close monitoring. In March, the Pentagon requested broad new authority to train and equip

Training by Budget Source, 1999, 2001-2004



foreign military and police forces. The proposed language in the defense authorization bill would have permitted the Defense Department to support “building the capacity of partner nations’ military or security forces to disrupt or destroy terrorist networks, close safe havens, or participate in or support United States, coalition, or international military or stability operations.” It would have provided “equipment, supplies, services, training and funding.”¹ The Defense Department requested \$750 million in contingency or “drawdown” funds to accompany this new authority. As we went to press, final decisions on this new authority were pending.

This language would set up a new foreign security assistance program, paralleling the existing one managed by the State Department. The existing program provides training and equipment to foreign militaries and by law is administered by the State Department (with a few important exceptions, including Defense Department counterdrug programs, the emerging Counterterrorism Fellowship Program discussed below, exercises and a few others). Defense Department officials have long expressed frustration with State’s role. They criticize State’s management of security-assistance programs as bureaucratic, slow on delivery of aid, and hampered by congressional conditionality. Furthermore, because many members of Congress dislike foreign aid in general, getting State-funded security assistance bills through the U.S. Congress is always more controversial and difficult than legislation funding the Defense Department’s budget.

However, creating a similar program run by the Department of Defense (DOD) would have far-reaching implications. First, the State Department—which is charged with carrying out the totality of U.S. foreign policy, not just security policy—would lose control over an important, and often risky and controversial, foreign-policy tool. Second, congressional oversight would be radically decreased. These programs would not be monitored by the congressional Foreign Operations and Foreign Relations committees, but instead would be under the jurisdiction of the Armed Services and Defense Appropriations committees. These committees oversee the entire defense

budget, roughly 20 times larger than the foreign aid budget, and the members of these committees—whose districts often benefit heavily from defense spending—tend to take a lighter hand at oversight than their counterparts on the foreign affairs committees. Third, unless Congress specified otherwise, the lines between policing and military functions would be further blurred, as restrictions on Foreign Operations-funded police training programs would not apply to defense-funded programs. Finally, forty years worth of human rights and democracy conditionality—the result of long debate and fine-tuning of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, ranging from prohibiting funding after military coups to narcotics certification to many human rights provisions—would not apply to DOD-funded programs.

While the Armed Services Committees rejected this proposal earlier in the year, it resurfaced as a successful amendment to the Senate version of the Defense Authorization and Appropriations bills in late 2005. The proposal was given new impetus when the State Department reversed its previous objections and backed the initiative. Secretary of State Rice, less cautious than Secretary of State Colin Powell in ceding power from State to the Pentagon, co-signed a letter with Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld requesting the authority.² As of this writing, the new authority and contingency funds have not been finally granted. However, even if this new authority does not become law in 2005, it is likely to resurface as the Defense Department continues its calls for flexibility and agility in the “war on terror.”

2. A new counterterrorism program increases the Defense Department’s role in foreign military training

While this broad challenge to State’s role in foreign military training may not prevail, a new program gives the Defense Department a much greater training role. In January 2002, a few months after the September 11 attacks, Congress appropriated \$17.9 million in the 2002 Defense Appropriations bill to allow the Pentagon to launch a Regional Defense Counterterrorism Fellowship Program (CTFP),

which would “fund foreign military officers to attend U.S. military educational institutions and selected regional centers for non-lethal training.”

This initiative, begun at the urging of the regional military commands, particularly the Pacific Command, has become one of the most significant sources of training funds worldwide. In 2003 the CTFP became a permanent program, when Congress included it in the 2004 National Defense Authorization Act (Public Law 108-136). A new section of the U.S. Code (Title 10, section 2249c) gave the Secretary of Defense the authority to spend up to \$20 million each year on the program, using the military’s “defense-wide” operations

and maintenance budget. The program is overseen by the office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict (SO/LIC).

While the Western Hemisphere lags behind other regions of the world, the CTFP went from training 431 students from four Latin American and Caribbean countries in 2003, to 1,107 students from 22 countries in 2004.³ This made the CTFP the fourth-largest source of U.S. training funds for Latin American militaries in 2004.

As a result, in 2004 the Defense budget funded 57 percent of all Latin Americans who received training at U.S. expense (8,908 out

Counterterrorism Fellowship Training Program

Aid Table (all amounts in U.S. dollars)

	2003 ⁷	2004 ⁸	2005, est. ⁹	2006, req. ¹⁰
Regional discretionary				450,000
Argentina		63,139	200,000	100,000
Belize		8,477		
Bolivia		17,100		
Brazil		72,279	200,000	150,000
Chile		39,990		100,000
Colombia	288,204	654,075	300,000	200,000
Costa Rica		11,400		
Dominican Republic		20,043		
Ecuador		187,454	200,000	100,000
El Salvador		21,090		100,000
Guatemala		17,490		
Honduras		14,510		100,000
Jamaica		127,171		
Mexico	12,000	479,699	450,000	375,000
Nicaragua		5,700		100,000
Panama		50,412		50,000
Paraguay	338,029	242,458	200,000	100,000
Peru	209,810	362,413	200,000	150,000
Trinidad and Tobago		146,825		50,000
Uruguay		158,916		
Venezuela		8,810		
Total	848,043	2,709,451	1,750,000	2,125,000

Trainees table

	2003 ¹¹	2004 ¹²
Argentina		12
Bahamas		
Belize		1
Bolivia		3
Brazil		6
Chile		9
Colombia	358	542
Costa Rica		3
Dominican Republic		3
Ecuador		14
El Salvador		5
Guatemala		4
Honduras		3
Jamaica		3
Mexico	1	236
Nicaragua		1
Panama		3
Paraguay	17	94
Peru	55	119
Trinidad and Tobago		5
Uruguay		39
Venezuela		2
Total	431	1,107

of 15,634 grant trainees).⁴ The percentage in 2003 was slightly higher, but skewed by the unusual number of Colombians the U.S. trained for counterdrug purposes that year. The trend remains the same.

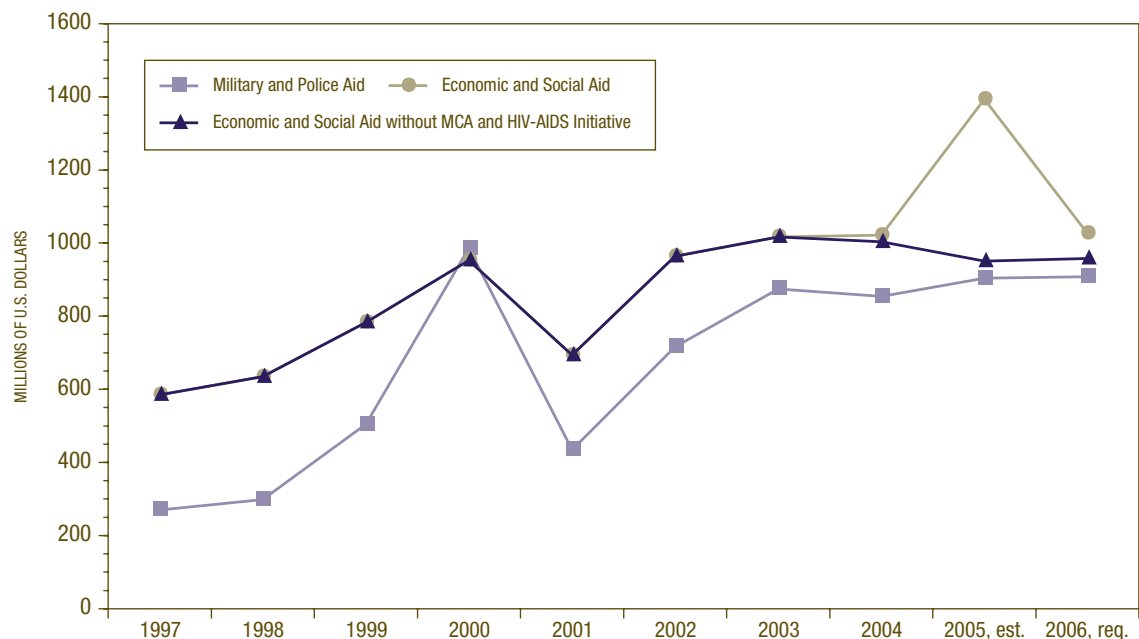
CTFP duplicates existing Military Training Programs. While the rationale for CTFP is anti-terrorist training in the aftermath of 9/11, the program is becoming less distinguishable from International Military Education and Training (IMET), the principal State Department-managed military training program in the annual Foreign Operations bill.

When the CTFP started, the idea was for a largely academic program, somewhat similar to the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies (CHDS) and other regional defense centers.⁵ The program's curriculum focused on counter-terror doctrine and theory, taught mainly in classrooms, workshops, and seminars.

A 2003 Defense Department policy guidance explained that "all non-lethal education and training is to be considered available through the CT fellowship."⁶ This meant that IMET and the CTFP could fund many of the same courses. In 2004, legislative changes turned the CTFP into a program that resembles IMET even more closely. The 2004 authorization expanded the CTFP to allow lethal training, and permitted it to fund training activities, such as visits from Mobile Education Teams to carry out training in other countries, that take place outside U.S. defense educational institutions.

Like other Defense-budget programs, the rise of the CTFP lessens the State Department's involvement in training, reduces the relevance of human rights and democracy conditionality in the Foreign Assistance Act, and makes more training subject to the oversight of congressional armed-services and defense appropriations committees, which carry out far less scrutiny.

U.S. Aid to Latin America and the Caribbean, 1997-2006



This chart indicates economic aid totals both including and excluding two programs, begun in 2004, which provide large amounts of aid to only very few countries: the Millennium Challenge Account, which so far has benefited only Honduras and Nicaragua, and the HIV-AIDS initiative, which benefits only Guyana and Haiti. The spike in 2005 economic aid owes to the approval of two five-year Millennium Challenge grants.

Due to lack of available data, estimates of military aid for 2002-2005 are derived by duplicating 2001 levels of Defense Department "Section 1004" anti-drug assistance. Actual amounts may be significantly higher.

SOURCE: All aid numbers used in this graph are official U.S. government figures. See sources at <http://ciponline.org/facts/sources.htm>

3. U.S. military aid still nearly equals economic aid to the region; neither category has changed significantly since 2003

In 2005 and 2006, the gap remains very narrow between total U.S. military aid and economic aid to Latin America and the Caribbean. During FY06, the United States is slated to provide \$1.03 billion in economic aid and at least \$908 million in military aid. Nearly half of the \$95 million difference is HIV-AIDS funding to just two countries – Guyana and Haiti. Remove that from the sum and expected economic aid total falls to \$958 million, barely exceeding the amount of expected military aid.

For 2006, the Bush Administration called for reductions in two major economic and humanitarian aid programs, Development Assistance (DA) and Child Survival and Health (CSH), slating the Latin America portion of these programs for cuts of 14% to 16%, respectively, from FY04 levels. The Congress rejected the DA and CSH cuts and approved amounts slightly above FY05 levels. Economic aid programs for the region have stagnated over the past few years, though this has been masked by sharp increases in aid to just four countries. In addition to the funding for Guyana and Haiti, large economic-aid grants were recently awarded to Honduras and Nicaragua through the new Millennium Challenge program (\$215 million and \$175 million over five years, respectively). Beyond these four countries, however, the proportion of military to economic aid is nearly fifty-fifty.

This is a significant shift, helped along by the advent of the mostly military “Plan Colombia” in 2000, and it appears to be sustaining itself. As recently as the late 1990s, economic aid was more than double military aid to the region. During the Cold War, the ratio was even higher. Since 2003, region-wide aid amounts have stayed about the same, with economic and social aid efforts barely edging out weapons transfers and military training programs.

Some lawmakers have become aware of the problem of stagnating economic assistance

to the region, but have not yet successfully challenged administration priorities. Rep. Robert Menendez (D-NJ), for example, has tried to protect development aid to the region by creating a new Latin America fund, but that has not yet become a reality. The Senate made a significant attempt in 2005 to re-balance the Colombia aid package within the Andean Counternarcotics Initiative by placing a cap on military and police aid and raising the floor on economic assistance; however, the final version of the bill provided only a \$6.5 million increase in economic aid.¹³ House appropriators included a successful provision in the FY06 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill to mandate that aid levels to Central America not fall below previous-year levels.¹⁴ However, neither the Congress nor the administration sought any additional funding for Central America to rebuild from the devastation wrought in October 2005 by Hurricane Stan.

Some countries—in particular, all Andean nations with the exception of Colombia—may also see a modest decline in military and police assistance in 2006. Some of this decline owes to pressure on the U.S. budget, though the American Servicemembers’ Protection Act, which has frozen non-drug military aid to many Latin American nations, is a strong factor as well. As a whole, though, military-aid levels will not decline in 2006. Bush Administration documents indicate that reductions in military aid to Bolivia, Brazil, Ecuador, Mexico and Peru will be more than offset by increases to Colombia, El Salvador and Haiti.

Moreover, if the American Servicemembers’ Protection Act provisions affecting Economic Support Funds are implemented (see section 9), over \$50 million in FY06 Economic Support Funds to 12 countries could be withheld. If this happens, it will make a significant dent in U.S. economic aid programs to Latin America.

A look at aid and training data reveals that a few other trends noted in past reports are continuing. First, among all regions of the world, Latin America is still the largest recipient of U.S. military training (U.S. statistics do not include training of Iraq’s new army), though Afghanistan supplanted Colombia in 2004 as the number-one source of trainees.

Between 2004 and 2006...

<p>The following countries are likely to see some decline in military/police aid:</p> <p>Belize, Bolivia, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Eastern Caribbean, Ecuador, Guatemala, Guyana, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Trinidad and Tobago, Venezuela</p>	<p>The following countries are likely to see some decline in economic aid:</p> <p>Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Jamaica, Peru, Venezuela</p>
<p>The following countries are likely to see an increase in military/police aid:</p> <p>Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Haiti, Uruguay</p>	<p>The following countries are likely to see an increase in economic aid:</p> <p>Costa Rica, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay</p>

Second, the majority of Latin American trainees – 57 percent in 2004 – had their training paid for not by traditional foreign aid programs, but by the U.S. Defense Department’s budget. The Pentagon’s programs, generally run without State Department supervision and with little oversight from Congress, have accounted for the majority of trainees since records first became available in the late 1990s.

A third and related trend that remains in place is the prevalence of the drug war as a training mission. Fifty-three percent of trainees in 2004 had their courses funded by one of two counternarcotics accounts in the foreign aid and defense budgets (the Pentagon’s counternarcotics account and the State Department’s International Narcotics Control program). Of course, much of this training is given to Colombian personnel, who since 2002 have had a special legal exception: all counterdrug aid to Colombia may be used in the fight against guerrillas and paramilitaries. With the line between counternarcotics and counter-insurgency erased in Colombia, recent training funded with counterdrug money may in fact have had little to do with the “war on drugs” and more to do with Colombia’s civil conflict.

4. The “securitization” of social issues muddies the waters

After the end of the Southern Cone military dictatorships and the Central American conflicts, many Latin American governments drew bold lines to distinguish military and

policing roles. These are in danger of being erased. One of the dynamics leading to the confusion of military and policing roles is the Organization of American States’ new doctrine of “multi-dimensional security.” According to the Declaration on Security in the Americas, adopted by the OAS in October 2003, “The security threats, concerns, and other challenges in the hemispheric context are of diverse nature and multidimensional scope, and the traditional concept and approach must be expanded to encompass new and nontraditional threats, which include political, economic, social, health, and environmental aspects.”¹⁵ Based on the concept of “human security,”¹⁶ the new definition of security threat covers everything from terrorism to HIV/AIDS to migration. While broadening the concept of what makes states and individuals secure is in theory a positive concept, in practice it could be used to justify military responses to social ills.

This “securitization” of social and political problems has left open the question of which state institutions are responsible for combating new security threats. Traditionally, threats are dealt with by force, and there is a risk of a turn to security forces when threats are so broadly defined.

In numerous military forums, both in the United States and in the region, U.S. and Latin American militaries are spending considerable effort defining a list of current or “emerging” threats such as gangs, drugs, organized crime,

illegal migration and natural disasters. While all are serious problems in the region, none are the kinds of threat that lend themselves to military solutions.

Adding to the potential for this definition to be used to justify expanded roles for the region's

militaries is the U.S. government's current use of a very broad definition of potential terrorist threat. Any kind of illicit cross-border activity (organized crime) is now considered a "potential" terrorist threat because these channels could be used for smuggling terrorists, money to terrorists or weapons.

Top Recipients of U.S. Training in Latin America (number of trainees)

	1999	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
Colombia	2,476	6,300	6,477	12,947	8,801	37,001
Bolivia	3,012	708	961	2,045	1,975	8,701
Ecuador	681	899	1,267	662	186	3,695
Mexico	622	857	600	520	892	3,491
Peru	983	427	507	680	402	2,999
El Salvador	355	1,082	607	488	415	2,947
Honduras	325	475	967	439	282	2,488
Venezuela	926	557	445	256	85	2,269
Argentina	450	302	368	430	679	2,229
Chile	336	590	268	345	369	1,908
Dominican Republic	421	308	340	412	186	1,667
Uruguay	620	259	300	226	66	1,471
Panama	75	40	25	914	217	1,271
Costa Rica	402	258	286	297	21	1,264
Paraguay	288	297	213	210	237	1,245
Jamaica	159	316	239	259	89	1,062
Trinidad and Tobago	257	390	109	186	106	1,048
Brazil	49	258	285	259	66	917
Belize	436	55	91	260	34	876
Guatemala	190	152	205	92	190	829
Nicaragua	71	85	97	250	111	614
Guyana	23	176	94	230	50	573
Antigua and Barbuda	158	67	22	72	98	417
Suriname	89	89	27	139	50	394
The Bahamas	42	40	135	46	79	342
Haiti	122	7	8	90	57	284
Barbados	47	64	14	20	2	147
Grenada	63	7	9	11	11	101
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	35	9	41	12		97
Dominica	28	5	9	11	40	93
St. Lucia	33	5	11	13	16	78
St. Kitts and Nevis	11	11	12	10	30	74
Total	13,785	15,095	15,039	22,831	15,842	82,592

Instead of defining everything in terms of its threat potential, the U.S. government should call problems by their real names and combat them with the most appropriate tools available. Organized crime for example is just that—criminal activity—best dealt with by good investigative policing and international cooperation, not overwhelming force.

5. The U.S. and Central American militaries contemplate a role in combating gang violence

Gang violence in Central America has become a serious problem, particularly in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras, where estimates of gang membership vary from a low of 75,000 to a high of 250,000. While long involved in petty crime, gangs are responsible for more deadly crime, the most dramatic example of which was the killing, allegedly by gang members, of 28 people on a Honduran bus in December 2004. The governments of Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala have responded with hard-line polices, criminalizing gang membership, arresting young men for standing in groups on street corners and making it a crime to have a tattoo. Local police—poorly equipped, undertrained and often corrupt—have been overwhelmed. Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras have responded with a dramatic show of force, bringing the military into their capital cities to perform joint patrols with the police.

Central American civilian leaders have asked the U.S. Southern Command for help in dealing with gang violence. During 2004 the Southern Command led several U.S. government agencies in discussions of gang violence in Central America. An inter-agency working group on gangs in Central America was formed. While initially the Southern Command led this group, it has since formally decided not to take a lead role. However, it has never defined an appropriate role for itself or the Central American militaries in response to gang violence. Gangs continue to be a hot topic of conversation in U.S. military discussions with the region.

The growth of gangs is rooted in the social ills afflicting Central America and many U.S. urban

communities—disintegration of families, lack of opportunities for youth, prevalence of family violence. Treating disaffected Central American youth as a threat worthy of a military response both sends the wrong message and will be ineffective. The region and the international community need to invest in urban centers with gang problems, improve policing and judicial systems, expand afterschool and sports programs, and address the unemployment that has produced an environment of hopelessness.

U.S. civilian agencies have been slow to respond to the real public security problems presented by gang violence in the region. If the State and Justice Departments do not step up to the plate and work with Central American governments to develop comprehensive multi-sectoral anti-gang programs, the militaries are likely to step into the gap.

Central American Rapid Response Forces. In late 2004-early 2005, the Central American governments began discussing the need to develop regional responses to the problem of gangs and other transnational threats. One proposal put forward by the Guatemalan government was to establish a regional “rapid reaction force” (RRF). In spring 2005 the region’s governments agreed to greater intelligence sharing and to the establishment of both national and regional-level RRFs to combat “emerging threats,” like gangs, drugs, organized crime and illegal migration, issues that defense officials say exploit the “seams” between military and police missions. Each country, with the exception of Costa Rica, agreed to establish its own RRF and efforts were to be made to develop regional coordination between the forces. While these forces are still in definition, some countries already have joint police and military RRFs.

Some U.S. officials contend that the regional Rapid Reaction Force would be limited to peacekeeping and disaster response. However, Central American defense officials are envisioning multiple roles, including law enforcement. In October 2005, the Central American Defense Ministers met with Secretary Rumsfeld to discuss regional coordination issues. During the meeting Honduran Defense Minister Breve spoke of “rapid response forces

to confront emerging threats, specifically drug trafficking, terrorism and illegal trafficking...” while Salvadoran Defense Minister General Romero spoke of “the effort we are doing as a Central American region to create a rapid response force to combat the threat; there is no doubt that it takes into account the presence of gangs as part of the problem.”¹⁷ Moreover, some individual countries’ Rapid Reaction Forces are largely focused on police issues. For example, in the official minutes of the April 2005 meeting of the Regional Commission for the Rapid Reaction Forces, the Guatemalan government described its joint army-police RRF as dealing with “organized crime, drug trafficking and international terrorism.”¹⁸

To what extent the U.S. government will support the establishment of these RRFs is unclear. Press reports indicated that the Central American defense ministers planned to request equipment for regional coordination during the October meeting with Rumsfeld.

The U.S. government is not sending a clear message that there should be a division of functions between police and military roles in Latin America, as the *posse comitatus* law divides police from military functions in the United States. To the contrary, DOD officials have been sending an indirect message not only that they are open to the restructuring of police and military roles in Central America, but that they believe that it is necessary. In October 2005, at the conference with Central America’s defense ministers, U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld said, “Differing threats require differing instruments of national power, and each country needs to determine the role of the military and its security forces in its own way, according to its own history and distinctive constitutional principles. Yesterday’s convenient division of bureaucratic duties has been deemed today to require some adjustment.”¹⁹ While this may seem vague, Defense officials have been repeating this message regularly. In their perspective, divisions between police and military roles are viewed as old and bureaucratic, new divisions of labor should be devised and the United States will accept the decisions made by the sovereign nations of Central America as to how their forces should be restructured.

The role of Central American militaries is being redefined now. Rather than falling back on old patterns of relying on Latin American militaries to step in and solve problems where civilian institutions, like the police, fail, the U.S. government should dedicate its resources to helping civilian institutions succeed and send unambiguous messages of support for a division between police and military functions.

6. Negotiations continue over International Law Enforcement Academy

The U.S. government is once again in negotiations for the establishment of an International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA) for the Americas, located in Central America. As officially described, the ILEA would train “law enforcement officers in combating drug trafficking, alien smuggling, trafficking in persons, and other forms of international crime.”²⁰ The United States manages similar regional academies in Hungary, Thailand, and Botswana. Previous efforts to establish an ILEA in Costa Rica were not successful. This time, the talks are taking place with El Salvador.

More effective, well-trained police forces that respect human rights and operate effectively to prevent and investigate crime are desperately needed in Central America. As citizens’ frustrations grow with the inability of the police to combat common crime, so does support for bringing the military into civilian policing roles. If the role of the military is to be limited to matters of national defense, the performance of the police must improve.

Two of the issues that became sticking points for the U.S. government in the negotiation of the ILEA in Costa Rica were local demands for oversight of the facility and limiting the student population to civilians. These are important, reasonable requests that should be incorporated into the ILEA, wherever it is based. Serious consideration should be given to the establishment of an independent “Board of Visitors” to monitor the institution, make it transparent and give the public confidence that the training being given is civilian, appropriate and rights respecting.

7. “Enduring Friendship” maritime program could blur lines at sea

The Bush Administration continues to promote a maritime cooperation effort called “Enduring Friendship” (EF). When first conceived, EF was a proposal to coordinate maritime operations throughout the Western Hemisphere, and indeed to become a “Maritime Force of the Americas,”²¹ led by the United States. For the time being, the idea has been scaled back. The State Department’s annual budget document now describes EF as a “multinational, regional security initiative to develop a partnership of willing nations to work together to identify, monitor, and intercept transnational maritime threats under international and domestic laws.”²² The administration requested \$5 million (of which the Congress approved \$4 million) in Foreign Military Financing to “enhance homeland security in the Caribbean and improve regional capabilities to fight transnational criminal trafficking in aliens, narcotics, arms and other contraband.”²³

In this budget request, the Dominican Republic is the only country that would benefit from EF funding. However, DOD sees this as a “start small” approach, and once successful would likely expand it to include more nations. DOD has also started calling existing exercises, like Panamax, a multinational Panama Canal defense exercise, part of Enduring Friendship. While it makes sense to coordinate responses to security threats in the Caribbean, EF has an extremely broad mission and appears to venture beyond traditional military roles. It seeks to address a complicated set of transnational problems including environmental crises, such as oil spills and hurricanes, and trafficking—in aliens, narcotics, arms, and other contraband.

None of these are traditional military roles for the United States. Since 1990, the U.S. military has been involved in detecting and monitoring drugs coming into the United States, but many of the problems to be addressed by EF are in the normal purview of the Coast Guard (which, in peacetime, is part of the Homeland Security Department, not the Defense Department) or other civilian agencies.

Enduring Friendship appears likely to expand military roles into missions already covered by civilian agencies. For example, the U.S. Coast Guard is bringing on line an Integrated Deepwater System (IDS) to extend a “layered maritime defense from our ports and coastal areas hundreds of miles to sea.”²⁴ Its mission statement sounds similar to that of EF: “Protect America’s maritime borders from all intrusions by: (a) halting the flow of illegal drugs, aliens, and contraband into the United States through maritime routes; (b) preventing illegal fishing; and (c) suppressing violations of federal law in the maritime arena.”²⁵

Furthermore, drug interdiction is already coordinated by the Joint Inter-Agency Task Force (JIATF) in Key West, which incorporates U.S. military and policing agencies, as well as regional security forces. With fewer assets available to it, because of other U.S. military commitments around the world, the JIATF continues to increase drug seizures because of the focus of its narrow mission. The broad mission of Enduring Friendship duplicates programs more appropriate for civilian agencies. Moreover, the approval of initial funding could open the door to significant mission and program expansion.

8. Human rights groups struggle to apply human rights provisions

The executive branch generally dislikes the idea of human rights conditionality in the law governing military assistance, since it may disrupt the flow of military aid. Making conditions apply, even minimally, requires concerted pressure from non-governmental human rights groups. This year saw a Bush Administration effort to remove a ban on military aid to Guatemala, part of a general trend to eliminate such restrictions, as well as a significant debate over the application of human rights conditionality to Colombia.

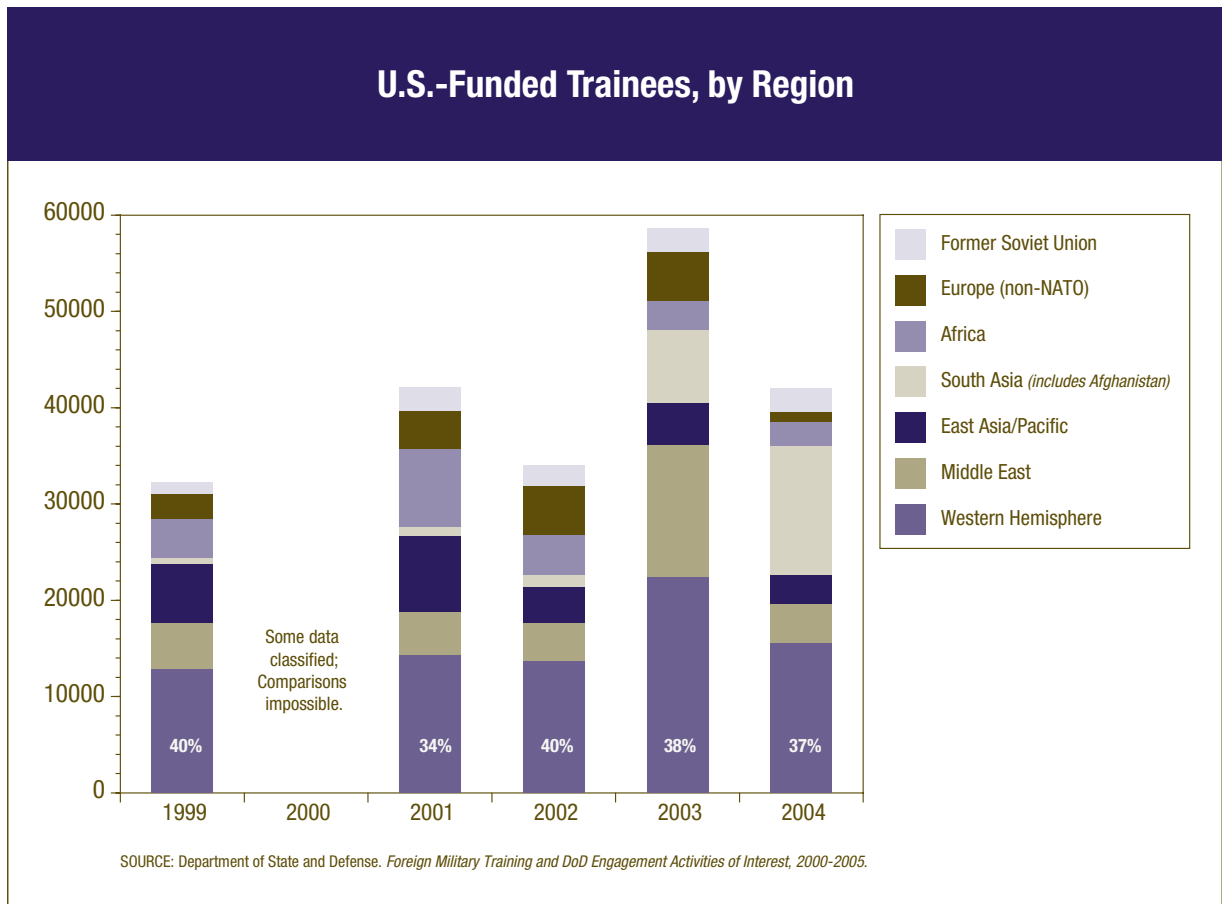
Guatemala. For the first time since military aid to Guatemala was suspended in 1990, \$3.2 million in non-lethal military aid resumed flowing in March 2005. The administration released aid that had been frozen “in the pipeline” since 1990 over the Guatemalan

military's involvement in human rights abuses, including the murder of U.S. innkeeper Michael Devine.²⁶ The House of Representatives went a step further, lifting the ban on regular IMET (training in combat, tactics, warfighting strategy, and technical skills), maintaining in place only the ban on FMF (Foreign Military Financing, which generally pays for weapons and equipment). Guatemala and Indonesia had been the only two countries specifically restricted from receiving IMET; the House also loosened restrictions on Indonesia.²⁷ However, the Senate disagreed, and the final version of the bill maintained the bans on regular IMET and FMF for Guatemala.

Along with Guatemalan human rights groups and Amnesty International, we have opposed lifting the ban, given that the military reforms promised in the 1996 Peace Accords remain unfulfilled. Guatemala's intelligence institutions are not yet completely under civilian control; military involvement in law enforcement

violates the Peace Accords' restriction of the military role to external defense; and cooperation by the military with civilian courts investigating and prosecuting human rights violations and common crimes is still weak.²⁸ Recent incidents of violence by joint military/police patrols, directed against activists in protests, are also of concern.

Colombia. Twelve and a half percent of the military aid provided for Colombia through the FY04 Foreign Operations Appropriations law was put on hold for the first seven months of 2005, as the State Department was not prepared to certify that Colombia met that law's Colombia-specific human rights conditions. These provisions require that the Colombian government make progress in investigating and prosecuting security force members engaged in gross violations of human rights or collaboration with paramilitary forces. While aid has been held up before, this was the longest delay since the conditions were established in 2000.



Lack of progress in a number of cases allegedly involving direct violations by the Colombian Army made it difficult for the State Department to certify. Among these cases was the massacre of two families in San José de Apartadó on February 21, 2005. Community members allege that Colombian soldiers were responsible, but they are refusing to testify, claiming harassment by the security forces and a history of dozens of unsolved crimes, including a massacre in 2000 in which community members gave 115 testimonies to the Attorney General's office without result.²⁹

Colombian and international human rights groups, as well as citizens throughout the United States, urged the State Department not to certify. On July 1st, 22 senators called on Secretary of State Rice "to refrain from certifying that the Colombian government meets the human rights conditions... until further progress is demonstrated." The letter cited a variety of cases, including San José de Apartadó; the dismissal of the case against Gen. Rito Alejo del Río for aiding paramilitary groups; the failure to investigate a possible cover-up of the killing of three trade unionists by members of the U.S.-funded 18th Brigade in Arauca in August 2004; and the escape from a military brig of an army major convicted of trying to kill union leader-turned congressman Wilson Borja.³⁰

Under pressure from the U.S. Embassy, on June 30th, the Attorney General issued arrest warrants for soldiers involved in the killing of five family members, four of them minors, in Cajamarca, more than a year after the incident took place. On July 12, the Attorney General charged four soldiers and a civilian in the killings of the three trade unionists in Arauca. During that month, Under Secretary of State Nicholas Burns discussed specific human rights cases with President Uribe.

Despite strong pressure not to certify, the State Department determined on August 1, 2005—three days before Colombian President Uribe joined President Bush at his Crawford, Texas ranch—that Colombia met the human rights conditions for the FY04 aid as well as for the first 12.5 percent tranche of FY05 aid.³¹ While the aid holdup and the pressure exerted

by State on a handful of cases was positive, the decision to certify despite such limited progress was, we believe, a serious mistake.

The Leahy Law. Efforts to enforce the Leahy Law in the past year were limited, and State moved forward slowly with mechanisms to standardize its application. The Leahy Law bars foreign military units from receiving training if there is "credible evidence that such unit has committed gross violations of human rights" and the government is not taking "effective measures to bring the responsible members of the security forces unit to justice." While the State and Defense Departments assert that they actively "vet" military units and individuals to enforce the Leahy Law, it is difficult to examine this implementation.³² Units that have failed the vetting test might be mentioned publicly by State Department officials, but a full list of banned brigades or battalions has to be requested through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Even when trainees are vetted quite thoroughly, this is not likely to be based upon adequate human rights information.³³ One of the difficulties of applying the Leahy Law is the executive branch's determination that "the unit trained is the unit vetted"—if individuals are being trained, individuals rather than larger units will be vetted. But only rarely are the names of the individual perpetrators known—as opposed to their brigades or battalions.³⁴

The Leahy Law is utilized most where there is the most public and congressional pressure—such as the case of Colombia. Even there, however, it is loosely applied. The State Department recently told the Colombian government that the United States "will not consider providing assistance to the 17th Brigade (in Urabá, northwestern Colombia) until all significant human rights allegations involving the unit have been credibly addressed."³⁵ But the 18th Brigade in oil-rich Arauca, northeastern Colombia, the focus of numerous allegations, continues to receive major U.S. assistance.³⁶

The State Department is launching a new vetting database centralized in the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. Human rights groups welcome attention to improving vetting, but express concerns that the amount

of information required by the new database system will set the bar so high that many cases will not be included. Technical fixes, including adequate specific funding for vetting, and greater political will on the part of State, as well as more vigorous attempts to test the Leahy Law in Latin America on the part of U.S. and Latin American human rights groups, are all needed to make this tool more useful.

9. U.S. insistence that U.S. soldiers be protected from International Criminal Court limits U.S. aid to region

Ironically, the most significant current limitation on U.S. military training to the Western Hemisphere stems not from human rights concerns but from U.S. conservatives interested in protecting U.S. soldiers from the International Criminal Court (ICC). In 2002, the Congress passed the “American Servicemembers’ Protection Act” to ensure that no U.S. soldier or government personnel could be tried by the ICC. The law cuts off non-drug, Foreign Operations-budget U.S. military aid (principally IMET and FMF) to countries that are signatories to the Rome Statute establishing the ICC, unless the country has signed a so-called “Article 98” agreement, pledging not to seek prosecution of U.S. citizens in the ICC.³⁷

The FY05 and FY06 foreign operations bills extended the sanctions to include one category of economic aid, Economic Support Funds (ESF). Only countries eligible for the Millennium Challenge aid program are automatically excluded from such economic sanctions (currently Nicaragua and Honduras in the case of Latin America). The President may waive this provision for a specific country if he determines it is in the national interest. ESF-funded programs affected by sanctions include efforts to strengthen judicial systems, support free and fair elections, fight corruption, promote local governance, and support civil-military dialogue.

The American Servicemembers’ Protection Act has been criticized, for different reasons, by U.S. military officials and by human rights groups. Southern Command chief General Bantz J. Craddock notes that the legislation “has

the unintended consequence of restricting our access to and interaction with many important partner nations.³⁸ Human rights objections to this legislation—especially to its extension to economic assistance—is that just as the United States should be asking Latin American governments to respect international law and to prosecute security forces for human rights violations, we are sending the message that our own soldiers should be protected from prosecution. The ICC is a popular cause in Latin America precisely because judicial systems have often failed to bring justice, particularly in cases involving security forces and the state, and Latin American civil society groups have thus turned to the international system for relief.

Of the 23 countries worldwide currently prohibited from receiving assistance, twelve are in Latin America and the Caribbean: Barbados, Bolivia,³⁹ Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Uruguay and Venezuela. (Of these, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico and Peru are among the world’s top recipients of U.S. military aid—though most flows through counternarcotics programs unaffected by the ASPA.) Mexico ratified the Rome Statute in October 2005, leading to the cutoff of an \$11.5 million judicial strengthening program.⁴⁰ U.S. embassies throughout Latin America have spent much diplomatic capital over the past two years urging governments to sign Article 98 agreements, but with little success.

According to officials and diplomats in seven countries interviewed by the *New York Times*, “the cuts are generating strong resentment at what many see as heavy-handed diplomacy.”⁴¹ Ecuadorian President Alfredo Palacio, whose country stands to lose one of the greatest amounts from sanctions—\$15 million since 2003 and perhaps another \$7 million this year—told a Quito TV station he would not budge for the United States. “Absolutely no one is going to make me cower.”⁴² Costa Rican Foreign Minister Roberto Tovar called the immunity proposals “offensive” and added: “One can be poor, but dignified.”⁴³

The ASPA is doing great damage to U.S. foreign policy goals in Latin America. Most importantly,

it sends the wrong human rights message and undercuts efforts to address impunity. Moreover, it reinforces the image of the United States as a bullying superpower. Consider the contrast: while U.S. diplomats threaten aid cutoffs for the ASPA, drug certification and other requirements, the Bush Administration's main rivals in the region—particularly populist leaders like Venezuela's Hugo Chávez—are winning support through offers of increased aid and solidarity. Finally, the extension of ASPA sanctions to economic funding further guts the already insufficient U.S. economic support for the region.

10. U.S. policy fails to comprehend rise of Andean populist movements

As it has since the launch of Plan Colombia in 2000, the Andean region – Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Venezuela – still accounts for more than 85 percent of all military and police assistance to the hemisphere, and more than 70 percent of all trainees.⁴⁴

This sub-region makes by far the most frequent appearances in U.S. policymakers' statements of concern about Latin America. Officials worry about drug-trafficking; the Colombian conflict; the presence of all four of Latin America's designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations; and presidential elections to be held in every country in the region next year (starting in Bolivia in December). Colombia is discussed separately in section 11.

Above all, 2005 saw dramatically increased expressions of concern about so-called "radical populist" movements in the Andes. The Bush Administration uses this term to describe left-leaning governments in Venezuela and now Ecuador, which whom relations are souring, as well as movements that helped force presidents out of office in Ecuador and Bolivia this year. In President Bush's November speech in Brasilia, he warned of a trend that "seeks to roll back the democratic progress of the past two decades."

U.S. policy toward the rise of populism in the Andes is confused and at cross purposes. It has been unable to address a rising popular frustration with democratic institutions which, in

most countries, are relatively new, weakened by years of "structural adjustment" and budget cuts, and perceived as corrupt and unable to bring either citizen security or gainful employment.

Instead, hardliners' rhetoric has been increasingly confrontational. So far, we have yet to see this rhetoric translate into an aggressive and potentially counter-productive containment policy. For instance, we have not documented a significant move toward employing military assistance as a bulwark against these political movements. We continue to warn against such a move, however, as it would repeat one of the most serious mistakes of the Cold War.

Venezuela. Venezuela is the current flashpoint in U.S. security policy with Latin America. The country is now receiving almost no U.S. security assistance. The cutoff occurred at the initiative of the government of Hugo Chávez, which has steadily increased the tone of its criticisms of the United States, often eliciting strong responses from Bush Administration officials. For their part, administration officials have regularly expressed concerns about concentration of power in Venezuela's executive branch, a potentially restrictive new law governing media, the formation of a national guard, and increased arms purchases by the Chávez government. "I think we have to view, at this point, the government of Venezuela as a negative force in the region," Secretary of State Rice said in her February confirmation hearing.

The U.S.-Venezuela relationship could be a case study in unhelpful tit-for-tat diplomacy. In May 2004, President Chávez ejected the U.S. Embassy's Military Group from its offices in Venezuela's Fuerte Tiuna military headquarters. In August 2005, Chávez expelled the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration from the country, claiming that its agents were spying for the United States, allowing them to return a few days later. The Bush Administration responded in September by de-certifying Venezuela as a partner in the drug war; of all countries in the world, Burma was the only other to be singled out.

U.S. officials have made several unspecific allegations that Venezuela may be assisting

Colombian guerrillas by tolerating their presence on the Venezuelan side of the two countries' long, remote border. "There is concern that narco-terrorist groups consider the areas of the Venezuelan/Colombian border a safe area to rest, refit, and transship drugs and arms," said Southern Command chief Gen. Bantz Craddock in March.⁴⁵

It is not clear, however, that the guerrilla presence on the Venezuelan-Colombian border is different from what one might find in the border zones of any of Colombia's neighbors. Carlos Palacios, the governor of Putumayo, Colombia, described a situation in Ecuador in July that sounds no different than what Venezuela is accused of tolerating. "For years, this entire border has been a corridor of FARC activity. They constantly go to Ecuador, that is where they do all of their logistics, their stockpiles of food, and where they have some encampments."⁴⁶ Moreover, the rightwing Colombian paramilitary forces, the AUC, also find a home on the Venezuelan side of the border, suggesting problems with a porous border rather than, necessarily, political support for one faction.⁴⁷

Ecuador. U.S. relations with Ecuador changed sharply with the hasty April 2005 exit of unpopular President Lucio Gutiérrez. His replacement, former vice-president Alfredo Palacio, has taken a much more critical stance toward the United States. Palacio has promised closer oversight of U.S. activity at the Manta naval base, where U.S. military and contract personnel maintain a presence under a 10-year counternarcotics agreement. The Palacio government has taken a stronger line on aerial herbicide spraying in Colombian coca-growing areas near the Ecuadorian border, alleging that it is causing damage in Ecuadorian territory. The Ecuadorians have increasingly criticized Plan Colombia itself; "Plan Colombia ... has not achieved its desired results, and the situation remains as it was before," said Interior Minister Mauricio Gándara.⁴⁸ The new government has flatly refused to seek an article 98 agreement, triggering a significant cutoff of non-drug military aid.

Bolivia. Bolivia has become a particular focus for Bush Administration security officials, who

regard the country as the likely next domino to fall to "radical populism." They are outspoken in their opposition to former coca-growers' leader turned presidential candidate Evo Morales. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Western Hemisphere Affairs Roger Pardo-Maurer, the most senior civilian Defense official for Latin America, said in a July 2005 speech that Bolivia may be the first target of a Cuban-Venezuelan attempt to remake Latin America along radical-leftist, anti-U.S. lines. "I'd like to draw your attention to the place where I think the set—if you'd like—the set battle piece in what's truly going on right now, which is the battle for the future of Latin America, where I think this is happening—Bolivia—and what Cuba and Venezuela are doing there."⁴⁹ A Defense Department news release published during Secretary Rumsfeld's August 2005 trip to Peru and Paraguay reported, "A senior defense official told reporters traveling with Rumsfeld that Cuban ideology, backed by Nicaraguan financing, is targeting nations like Bolivia that are teetering between democracy and leftist governments and could go either way."⁵⁰

Though Bolivia may see a 25 percent decrease in ACI military and police assistance between 2004 and 2006, non-drug missions, particularly counter-terrorism, are increasingly taking precedence. U.S. military and police aid to Bolivia is presented to Congress both as combating narcotics and as ensuring "that Bolivia does not become an active transit point for international terrorism."⁵¹ In February 2005, U.S. assistance helped the Bolivian Police to inaugurate a new elite "counter-narco-terror" unit within its Special Force for the Fight Against Narcotrafficking (FELCN), known as the Special Operations Force (FOE). Equipped with high-tech gear and manned by some of the country's most experienced police agents, the 700-man FOE "has everything necessary to carry out high-level operations to dismantle the cartels that are trying to establish themselves in the country, such as the Mexican and Colombian organizations," according to FELCN commander Luis Caballero.⁵²

U.S. policymakers have expressed interest in helping the Bolivian government obtain riot gear and crowd-control equipment. The 2006 Foreign Operations Congressional Presentation indicates

that Foreign Military Financing (which in fact remains frozen by the ASPA) would be used to “provide equipment and training assistance to Bolivian Armed Forces and to military police units to increase their effectiveness in their traditional national security role and ensure effective control of crowd disturbances in urban settings.”⁵³ This is probably the most significant example we have yet seen of military and police assistance being directed against “radical populism.”

While there is cause for serious concern over the weakness of democratic institutions in Bolivia, U.S. security officials unfortunately seem to be casting about for external explanations of the level of popular discontent rather than the abundant internal reasons, including historic neglect of poor and indigenous populations.

In Bolivia and elsewhere, the Bush Administration should be less concerned about Venezuelan influence and recognize instead that populist movements are homegrown phenomena. If it wants to keep such movements from turning virulently anti-American, it will have to respond with very different methods than visits from Rumsfeld and gifts of riot gear. It is time to try smarter diplomacy, less high-handedness and bullying, a principled focus on the importance of continuity of democratic institutions, and more economic aid to help democratic governments become more responsive, more accountable, and better able to deliver basic services.

11. U.S. drug policy in Colombia at standstill, involvement in war grows

Colombia continues to be by far Latin America’s number-one recipient of U.S. military and police assistance, with over \$600 million expected to be delivered in 2005. This makes Colombia, by a wide margin, the world’s largest military-aid recipient outside the Middle East. Aid levels have been steady between 2003 and what is anticipated for 2006. As in previous years, this military assistance is four times the United States’ contribution for economic, humanitarian and institution-building aid.

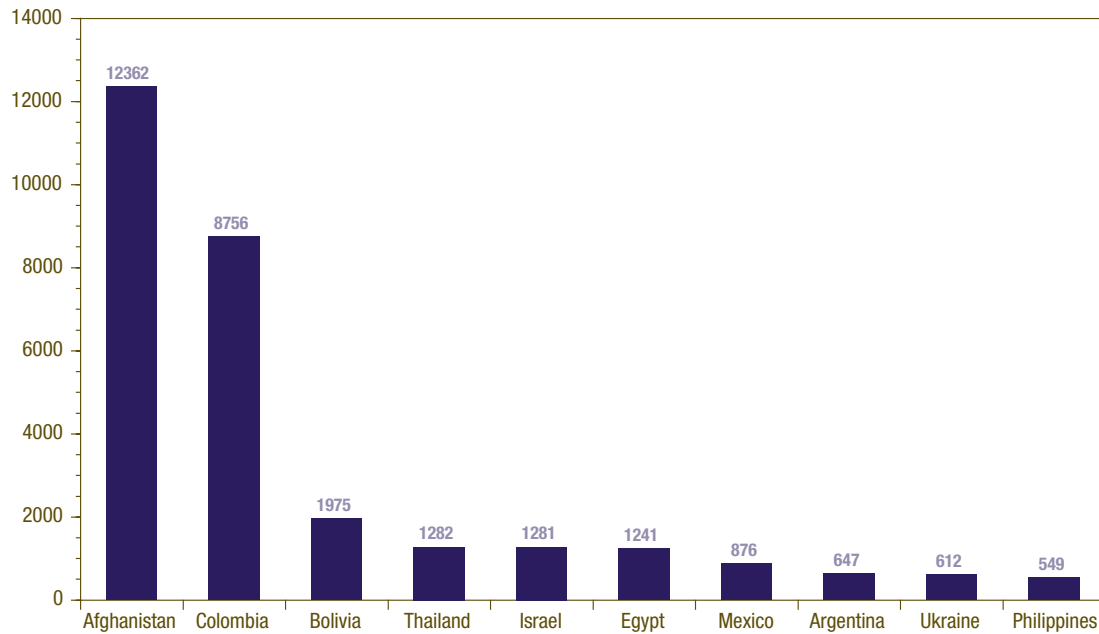
The United States’ close partnership with the Uribe Administration is contributing to a

drift away from the original impetus for Plan Colombia, counternarcotics. The drug war still accounts for the majority of U.S. assistance to Colombia, with large outlays for aerial herbicide fumigation, the maintenance of planes, helicopters and boats used on counterdrug missions, and support for an “airbridge denial” program to interdict drug trafficking on planes. Every year, Colombian police and U.S. contractor pilots set a new record for the number of acres fumigated. However, cultivation of coca, the plant used to make cocaine, is no longer decreasing; State Department data show that record spraying in 2004 failed to decrease coca plantings by even one acre.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, non-drug military aid programs continue to receive increasing focus. U.S. Special Forces remain in Colombia’s northeastern department of Arauca, supporting Colombian military and police units who are protecting oil infrastructure from sabotage in this guerrilla-heavy zone. The initial U.S. training of thousands of members of the Colombian Army’s 18th Brigade and 5th Mobile Brigade has been completed; the end of this effort accounts for much of the drop in Colombian military trainees from 12,947 in 2003 to 8,801 in 2004.⁵⁵ Delivery of eight UH-1 Huey and two UH-60 Black Hawk helicopters to Arauca is nearly complete, while in mid-2005 the Colombian military launched a U.S.-backed offensive, called “Operación Escudo” (Operation Shield), aimed at re-taking territory from guerrilla groups in the zone.⁵⁶

Meanwhile, U.S. logistics and intelligence personnel continue to support a major offensive begun nearly two years ago in a vast area of southern Colombia. Known as “Operation JM” or “Plan Patriota,” this offensive involves over 15,000 Colombian troops and hundreds of U.S. military personnel and contractors. Supporting “Plan Patriota” was the principal reason given for the Defense Department’s successful 2004 request to Congress to raise the legal limit on the U.S. military presence in Colombia, from 400 to 800. While combat remains frequent, critics of the operation point out its failure to capture senior guerrilla leaders; its heavy-handed treatment of the civilian population, including reports of human-rights abuses; and the lack of

Top Ten Trainees, 2004



planning to increase social investment in “re-taken” areas. Other critics question the choice to carry out a costly offensive in an area where few people live, and argue that the FARC has responded by stepping up its attacks in other parts of the country. Indeed, guerrilla attacks increased in scale during 2005. One of the hardest-hit zones has been Putumayo province, the very place where U.S.-funded operations under Plan Colombia kicked off in 2000-2001. Moreover, while over 10,000 rightwing paramilitaries have demobilized following peace talks with the Colombian government, there is a high degree of skepticism about whether the paramilitaries’ underlying financial, military and drug-trafficking structures are being fully and permanently dismantled. An intensive investment of resources, Plan Patriota seems to be producing limited lasting results.

Conclusions

From the global perspective of U.S. military personnel, policy makers and analysts, Latin America couldn’t be on a farther back burner

than the one it is on now. But the general trend that we have observed for several years continues: gradually increasing U.S. military attention and training programs for the region, while U.S. civilian government attention and economic programs lag behind.

At the October 2005 Summit of the Americas, the dissatisfaction with neoliberal economic policies that have failed to visibly improve the lives of the poor and middle class in Latin America was voiced emphatically not only in the alternative civil society meetings but also in the official summit by several Latin American governments, resulting in a summit declaration that described two separate views. The rise of center-left and populist governments and movements that offer to address this inequality—whether or not they are successful in doing so—needs to be understood by the United States as a response to economic and political realities, and not as a security problem.

Drug trafficking, organized crime and corruption limit democracy in significant ways in many

U.S. Aid to Latin America and the Caribbean, 1996-2006

Last updated 11/11/05	1996		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005, est		2006, req	
	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc	Mil/Police	Econ/Soc
Argentina	9.50	0.00	1.62	0.00	6.06	0.00	7.87	0.00	1.56	0.00	2.28	0.00	3.29	0.00	3.62	0.00	2.05	0.00	2.46	0.00	2.70	0.00
Bahamas	0.53	0.15	1.10	0.19	0.90	0.06	1.28	0.30	2.44	0.20	2.93	0.06	2.91	0.06	2.82	0.05	2.76	0.50	2.72	0.50	2.70	0.00
Belize	0.33	1.02	0.39	0.98	0.70	1.02	0.54	1.23	0.40	1.28	0.82	1.40	0.82	1.46	0.86	1.58	0.88	1.61	0.80	1.72	0.80	1.69
Bolivia	13.27	64.93	17.95	76.89	33.81	65.85	43.51	75.82	49.91	159.77	35.32	73.33	51.85	105.67	53.47	109.79	55.07	102.72	52.07	103.38	45.89	103.38
Brazil	0.20	4.68	3.46	12.66	5.82	10.90	2.36	13.65	5.38	12.87	20.82	15.40	7.01	14.42	6.96	18.77	10.75	18.54	6.68	17.80	6.68	17.57
Chile	0.62	1.65	0.51	1.13	17.48	0.69	1.61	0.00	1.16	0.00	2.46	0.00	1.69	0.00	2.39	0.00	1.55	0.00	1.70	0.00	1.95	0.00
Colombia	54.15	0.62	88.56	0.00	112.44	0.52	309.18	8.75	765.49	214.31	242.97	5.65	401.93	120.30	620.98	136.70	555.07	134.98	641.60	131.29	641.15	138.52
Costa Rica	0.20	1.94	0.33	1.08	0.45	0.66	1.06	0.41	2.96	0.50	1.65	0.49	1.30	0.90	1.15	1.22	0.91	1.40	0.91	1.73	0.96	1.63
Dominican Republic	0.52	14.60	1.39	14.11	1.76	13.54	2.31	29.10	1.69	13.70	1.99	20.05	2.39	19.10	1.59	22.50	4.14	31.00	3.26	26.99	3.27	25.98
Eastern Caribbean	9.72	0.00	3.07	0.00	3.55	0.00	2.55	0.00	3.15	0.00	3.72	0.00	4.26	0.00	2.27	0.00	4.79	0.00	2.73	0.00	2.96	0.00
Ecuador	0.76	12.14	2.76	14.84	5.27	12.48	12.58	17.25	24.97	24.19	19.14	16.37	34.15	36.76	32.62	40.64	35.81	35.90	28.50	37.68	25.26	28.89
El Salvador	0.54	27.22	0.62	32.04	0.78	38.13	0.82	36.48	4.34	36.96	3.15	55.04	10.05	88.96	5.57	40.41	8.49	37.09	5.10	37.15	16.69	27.91
Guatemala	1.53	29.61	2.16	53.89	2.85	64.36	3.23	80.20	3.44	63.25	3.35	57.76	3.66	64.53	2.90	54.98	3.40	47.78	7.26	50.94	2.82	45.65
Guyana	0.29	2.99	0.18	3.46	0.28	4.02	0.47	3.71	0.37	4.20	0.59	5.37	0.69	5.18	0.75	7.70	0.51	11.14	0.45	18.15	0.45	26.82
Haiti	3.25	123.50	0.50	95.95	0.94	104.03	0.55	88.38	1.14	78.99	2.98	73.33	3.30	55.52	3.37	71.44	3.67	131.58	3.37	163.15	17.47	181.26
Honduras	0.50	27.37	0.72	28.14	2.92	25.77	1.01	85.92	1.33	33.45	1.78	35.82	1.76	40.12	1.84	52.41	4.61	47.09	3.02	267.99	3.12	48.79
Jamaica	1.35	13.44	1.49	13.23	2.60	13.29	2.55	12.42	2.06	14.86	1.70	15.56	2.90	16.67	2.85	19.83	3.18	21.42	3.17	20.40	2.69	17.09
Mexico	3.38	2.74	79.04	16.27	26.08	10.78	21.30	9.33	16.68	16.31	27.64	20.71	54.30	23.85	29.68	27.95	55.48	33.65	57.82	33.00	50.55	32.89
Nicaragua	0.00	22.08	0.06	27.30	0.07	31.92	0.64	54.40	0.45	31.49	0.55	35.03	1.09	45.65	1.84	52.16	2.70	42.49	2.57	224.69	1.62	43.84
Panama	0.00	4.98	2.38	4.09	2.59	4.70	3.63	6.37	5.71	6.30	2.10	6.92	11.58	11.14	5.85	11.14	8.78	9.80	7.75	11.56	6.04	11.73
Paraguay	0.19	4.15	1.23	8.11	0.74	9.25	1.15	7.88	0.57	9.10	1.15	12.97	1.00	12.85	1.40	11.93	0.79	12.47	1.30	11.83	0.70	13.73
Peru	27.85	80.88	34.18	93.34	38.32	106.53	40.07	115.75	58.43	107.08	26.06	108.63	78.26	160.67	64.49	144.39	68.87	116.39	54.00	98.69	54.00	98.69
Suriname	0.15	0.73	0.15	0.80	0.08	0.75	0.12	0.86	0.69	0.89	0.15	0.74	0.36	0.84	0.44	1.00	0.29	1.21	0.27	1.26	0.27	1.25
Trinidad and Tobago	0.36	0.00	0.57	0.00	2.63	0.00	0.74	0.00	1.30	0.00	1.36	0.00	0.82	0.00	0.87	0.00	0.49	0.00	0.47	0.00	0.42	0.00
Uruguay	1.38	1.20	0.35	0.68	1.20	0.00	1.91	0.00	0.41	0.00	0.81	0.00	1.90	0.00	1.72	0.00	0.55	0.00	0.97	0.00	0.82	0.00
Venezuela	13.01	0.10	5.76	0.05	7.18	0.41	4.43	0.08	6.68	0.58	3.26	0.20	5.46	2.12	3.76	0.89	4.10	3.75	3.69	1.17	3.77	1.14
Regional Programs	17.46	104.31	19.37	85.90	20.73	114.61	37.41	135.07	21.21	122.57	23.44	132.56	27.69	137.02	18.56	189.55	14.48	178.71	9.63	132.20	12.26	158.07
Total	161.02	547.01	269.89	585.15	298.23	634.26	504.89	783.35	983.89	952.82	434.16	693.38	716.42	963.80	874.63	1,017.03	854.17	1,021.20	904.25	1,393.25	907.79	1,026.49
Total w/out MCA and HIV-AIDS	161.02	547.01	269.89	585.15	298.23	634.26	504.89	783.35	983.89	952.82	434.16	693.38	716.42	963.80	874.63	1,017.03	854.17	1,003.06	904.25	950.72	907.79	958.13

All numbers in millions of U.S. dollars. Source: All aid numbers used in this chart and report are official U.S. government figures. See sources at <http://ciponline.org/facts/sources.htm>

parts of Latin America. But instead of turning to the region's militaries for answers to human security or citizen security challenges, the U.S. government must see these "emerging threats" for what they are: problems caused by a historic lack of economic opportunity, a weak rule of law, and the absence of the civilian part of the

government. Only by assisting Latin American civilian governments in addressing these chronic failures—not by increasing arms and training—can the United States improve its standing in the region. Doing so will allow the United States to be a full partner in a historic effort to bring human security to all of the hemisphere's citizens.

Endnotes

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- ¹⁶ A concept developed and promoted by Mahbub ul-Haq and the UNDP in the mid-1990s. Their intent was to encourage investment in anti-poverty, anti-disease, environmental and other programs by reframing them as "security" threats – and to pay for them by capturing a "peace dividend" from cuts in military budgets. It would be a perversion of the original intent of human security if the term ended up being used to encourage militaries to get involved these roles.
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- ²⁹ Interview by Lisa Haugaard with Colombian Attorney General's office, head of human rights unit Beatriz Silva, June 1, 2005.
- ³⁰ Other cases cited in the letter included: The lack of trials or sentences for the 1998 Santo Domingo bombings; the lack of progress in investigating "Operación Dragón," an intelligence operation targeting union organizers, human-rights defenders and members of the Colombian Congress; and reports of continued military-paramilitary collaboration in Chocó department, and failure to prevent paramilitary massacres in zones of heavy military presence in Arauca and La Guajira.
- ³¹ The State Department cited as the major advances the steps forward in the Cajamarca and Arauca trade union cases, above; the decision to switch venues for trying the 1997 Mapiripán massacre case, which is still unresolved; and the suspension, preventive detention and indictment of a number of low-level members of the Colombian security forces. Of the three convictions on human rights cases during the certification period cited by State as advances, one was the case of Cesar Alonso Maldonado, who once convicted, was allowed to escape from jail; and the two other cases dated back to 1994 and 1997, illustrating how slowly the wheels of justice turn, if they turn at all. U.S. Department of State, "Memorandum of Justification concerning Human Rights Conditions with Respect to Assistance for Colombian Armed Forces" (Washington: August 1, 2005).
- ³² The Leahy Law included in the Foreign Operations Appropriations Act each year states: "None of the funds made available by this Act for assistance may be provided to any unit of the security forces of a foreign country if the Secretary of State has credible evidence

that such unit has committed gross violations of human rights, unless the Secretary determines and reports to the Committees on Appropriations that the government of such country is taking effective measures to bring the responsible members of the security forces unit to justice: Provided, That nothing in this section shall be construed to withhold funds made available by this Act from any unit of the security forces of a foreign country not credibly alleged to be involved in gross violations of human rights: Provided further, That in the event that funds are withheld from any unit pursuant to this section, the Secretary of State shall promptly inform the foreign government of the basis for such action and shall, to the maximum extent practicable, assist the foreign government in taking effective measures to bring the responsible members of the security forces to justice." While the Foreign Operations law covers both training and assistance (such as weapons grants), the version of the Leahy Law included in the Defense Appropriations each year covers only training, and states: "None of the funds made available by this Act may be used to support any training program involving a unit of the security forces of a foreign country if the Secretary of Defense has received credible information from the Department of State that a member of such unit has committed a gross violation of human rights, unless all necessary corrective steps have been taken."

- ³³ In a test of the Leahy Law in Mexico, for example, the Latin America Working Group and Washington Office on Latin America found that many of the cases involving security force violations were not in the database used to vet units, and that the U.S. Embassy was not actively seeking updates to the database. WOLA and LAWGEF sent two letters containing questions and cases to add to the U.S. Embassy database in 2003 and 2004 and met three times with U.S. Embassy and DRL staff, but eventually stopped after receiving no responses to the letters.
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Written by Lisa Haugaard, Adam Isacson and Joy Olson

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Latin America Working Group Education Fund

424 C Street NE
Washington, DC 20002
202.546.7010
www.lawg.org

Center for International Policy

1717 Massachusetts Ave NW, Suite 801
Washington, DC 20036
202.232.3317
www.ciponline.org

Washington Office on Latin America

1630 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20009
202.797.2171
www.wola.org