

*The Numbers are In:*  
**Total U.S. Military Aid Cut to ICC Member States  
For Fiscal Year 2005**

**Background**

At a time when the Bush Administration needs the international community the most—from Iraq to Afghanistan to the “war on terrorism,” it is squandering the goodwill of key allies and friends by punishing them for being members of the [International Criminal Court \(ICC\)](#).

The ICC is the only permanent international court to try individuals accused of the worst violations of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The ICC is made operational only when national courts are destroyed or unable to handle a case, or are purposefully shielding the accused from justice. This Court embodies fundamental [American values](#) of accountability, equality, and justice, and abides by the highest standards of judicial fairness and due process.

Despite the fact that [100 countries](#), including the UK, Germany, and South Africa are members, the Bush Administration strongly opposes the ICC. **This opposition is based on ideology, not fact.** President Bush’s chief criticism of the ICC is that it is a politicized court that will unfairly target U.S. servicemembers abroad. In an attempt to shield U.S. servicemembers from the Court, Congress passed the [American Servicemembers Protection Act \(ASPA\)](#) in 2002, the same year that President Bush “unsigned” the Rome Statute establishing the ICC. ASPA conditions military aid to ICC member states upon the execution of [Bilateral Immunity Agreements \(BIAs\)](#) that grant U.S. personnel blanket immunity from the ICC. This is military aid that the U.S. State Department itself has described as “vital” to U.S. foreign policy objectives, and ultimately, national interests. The choice given to ICC member states is therefore a stark one: these countries must choose between violating their obligations under the Rome Statute of the ICC or risk losing millions of dollars in military aid from the U.S.

The use of this strong-arm tactic by the U.S. is both extreme and [counterproductive](#). By aggressively pushing its BIA campaign, the Bush Administration is cutting off its nose to spite its face: BIAs undermine important foreign policy goals as articulated time and again by the Bush Administration, such as **fighting terrorism, preventing drug trafficking, establishing the rule of law, and promoting democracy**. Rather than protect U.S. servicemembers from an imagined threat, BIAs burn political capital and alienate the U.S. from its closest friends and allies.

**Military Aid**

The U.S. provides other countries with two types of military aid, namely International Military Education and Training (IMET), and Foreign Military Financing (FMF). According to the State Department, IMET is often used for providing professional military education, improving civil-military relations, resource management, and democratic institution building. FMF focuses on providing equipment, training assistance, and sustaining operations. Both types of aid are also intended for key counter-terrorism efforts. The American Servicemembers Protection Act conditions both types of aid to ICC member states on the execution of a BIA.

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## I. Numerical Analysis: International Military Education and Training (IMET)<sup>1</sup>

### IMET Funding for ICC Member States that have NOT signed a BIA (\$ in thousands)

Country	FY 05 Requested <sup>2</sup>	FY 05 Actual	FY 06 Requested
<b>AFRICA</b>			
Kenya	650	139	650
Lesotho <sup>3</sup>	50	0	50
Mali	175	0	50
Namibia	100	0	100
Niger	100	0	50
South Africa	50	0	50
Tanzania	100	0	50
<b>SOUTH PACIFIC</b>			
Samoa	50	0	50
<b>EUROPE &amp; EURASIA</b>			
Croatia	50	0	50
Malta	125	0	50
Serbia	250	0	50
<b>LATIN AMERICA</b>			
Bolivia	800	0	800
Brazil	50	0	50
Costa Rica	50	0	50
Ecuador	300	0	50
Mexico <sup>4</sup>	1250	1253	1100
Paraguay	250	0	50
Peru	300	0	50
Uruguay	150	0	50
Venezuela	50	0	50
<b>CARIBBEAN</b>			
Trinidad & Tobago	50	0	50

<sup>1</sup> The data provided in this section was obtained from the U.S. State Department's 2005-2007 Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations.

<sup>2</sup> Since the passage of the American Servicemembers Protection Act in 2002, many countries receiving U.S. military aid have requested significantly lower aid amounts in the hope that the lower amount will be granted. To view FY 2002 actual IMET and FMF aid granted, FY 2003 aid estimated, and FY 2004 aid requests, please visit [www.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/cbj/2004](http://www.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/cbj/2004).

<sup>3</sup> As of August 2006, the government of Lesotho signed a BIA with the U.S.

<sup>4</sup> Mexico was not yet a member state of the ICC during FY 2005. Mexico ratified the Rome Statute that establishes the ICC in October 2005.

## II. Aid Specifics: International Military Education and Training (IMET)<sup>5</sup>

**\*The country information and military aid specifics below have been pulled from the State Department website and have not been substantively altered by Citizens for Global Solutions.\***

### ❖ AFRICA

#### 1. Kenya

- “Kenya is the linchpin of East African stability and security. Kenyan support for the war on terrorism has been solid and wholehearted. Kenya remains a principal point of access for U.S. military and relief operations in the region.
- **IMET** aid in Kenya is used for supporting peacekeeping and counter-terrorism efforts, increasing the professionalism of the Kenyan military and providing specialized border and coastal security training.”

#### 2. Lesotho

- “The priority of U.S. interests in Lesotho is helping Lesotho combat HIV/AIDS, fostering economic development and advancing democratization. Assisting Lesotho in its efforts to address the HIV/AIDS crisis, improve its economy, and strengthen its democratic foundation will serve to enhance regional security and lay the groundwork for continued national and regional stability.”
- **IMET** funding for Lesotho will promote a stable military by assisting the military’s leadership, management, civil-military relations, and human rights training.

#### 3. Mali

- “Mali is a model for democracy in the region and an active member in regional organizations. Mali has a close relationship with the U.S. government and supports U.S. interests in the region.
- **IMET** funding for Mali will be used for programs aimed at reinforcing progress towards professionalization of the Malian Armed Forces through training and seminars. IMET funds will also promote respect for and understanding of human rights and civilian control of the military.”

#### 4. Namibia

- “Independent for only fifteen years, Namibia is one of Africa’s most stable democracies and has one of its most open and promising economies. [A]ccelerating Namibia’s political, economic, and social progress will enhance regional stability.
- **IMET** funding for Namibia will provide training and education for military officers, enhance the military’s capacity and management of existing resources to support the war on terrorism, engage in peacekeeping operations, and perform civic action.”

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<sup>5</sup> See Note 1.

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## 5. Niger

- “Niger is the second poorest country in the world. However, Niger continues to hold the promise of democracy in a moderate and secular state.
- **IMET** funds for Niger are designed to reinforce the military’s role as a professional institution subordinate to Niger’s democratically elected civilian government. IMET funds will support the continued enhancement of civil-military relations, military justice, and peacekeeping capabilities.”

## 6. South Africa

- “South Africa is the cornerstone of regional stability and the leading catalyst for economic growth in southern Africa. South Africa is a cooperative partner of the U.S. in addressing terrorist and international criminal threats, nonproliferation, and regional instability.
- **IMET** funding will expand connections with South Africa’s current and future military leaders and support their interest in strengthening military-to-military relations and continue to lead participation in regional contingency planning and requirements.”

## 7. Tanzania

- “Tanzania’s strategic location makes it a vital partner in assuring the stability of East Africa. Tanzania is a strong supporter of the war on terrorism, and has historically enjoyed international political stability while continuing to support peace and stability in the region.
- **IMET** funding will help improve the professionalism of the Tanzanian Peoples’ Defense Force (TPDF) and train it to better control the country’s borders as well as manage refugee flows from conflict areas like Burundi.”

## ❖ SOUTH PACIFIC

### 8. Samoa

- “U.S. interests in Samoa directly support the U.S. government’s national security interest in regional stability.
- **IMET** funding will help Samoa develop an effective maritime law enforcement and surveillance capability. Training in basic coastal surveillance and seaborne law enforcement skills will emphasize civilian control. Previous IMET funding has helped Samoan police officers participate more effectively in the United Nations sponsored peacekeeping force in East Timor, as well as peacekeeping operations in the Solomon Islands and Liberia.”

## ❖ EUROPE & EURASIA

### 9. Croatia

- “Croatia is a key contributor to regional stability in the Balkans. Its integration in the Euro-Atlantic community is well underway...[s]uch integration will serve important U.S. interests, such as fighting terrorism, organized crime, trafficking in persons, and

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other transnational threats.

- **IMET** funds will support professional military education and exchanges. This training will facilitate interoperability with NATO.”

## 10. Malta

- “Malta’s location in the center of the Mediterranean allows it to play a critical role in the region. Nearly one-third of the world’s maritime traffic passes by or through this island nation. Malta joined the European Union in 2004 and cooperates fully with both the U.S. and its European partners to promote regional security and stability. Malta has become an active partner with the U.S. in combating terrorism and WMD proliferation and it is in the U.S. government’s interests to continue to assist Malta in strengthening its capabilities to support these efforts.
- **IMET** funds will be used to professionalize Malta’s officer and enlisted corps and to provide maritime interdiction training.”

## 11. Serbia<sup>6</sup>

- “The U.S. continues to have a compelling national interest in securing the sustainable political and economic stability of Serbia and Montenegro. Serbia and Montenegro’s size, location, ethnic composition, and economic potential make it a linchpin for durable stability in the region.
- **IMET** funds will be used to support professional military education and exchanges, as well as English language training.”

## ❖ LATIN AMERICA

### 12. Bolivia

- “The primary U.S. goal in Bolivia is to maintain our historical partnership on issues of common interest such as strengthening Bolivia’s democratic institutions, promoting economic and social development, and stopping the illicit production of coca and export of cocaine to the U.S.
- **IMET** funds will provide professional military education to key Bolivian military personnel, principally through attendance at U.S. military command and staff colleges, with a focus on civil-military relations, resource management, and democratic institution building.”

### 13. Brazil

- “Brazil is a regional leader and is seeking to expand its presence on the world stage. U.S. national interests in Brazil include promotion of sustainable economic growth and regional stability, expansion of free trade, control of international crime, terrorism, drugs, poverty alleviation, environmental protection, and the reduction of infectious disease. The U.S. and Brazil cooperate effectively on numerous issues of mutual concern including promoting democratic values and stability and combating international crime.

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<sup>6</sup> The U.S. State Department’s 2006 Congressional Budget Justification for Foreign Operations was released before Montenegro seceded from Serbia and declared its independence on May 22, 2006.

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- **IMET** will be used for mid-level and senior non-commissioned officers and will support Brazil's efforts to modernize and professionalize its armed forces and help strengthen the principle of civilian control of the military. Other training in equipment maintenance and logistics will enhance Brazil's ability to maintain its inventory and further encourage Brazil's participation in international peacekeeping and humanitarian operations."

## 14. Costa Rica

- "U.S. national interests in Costa Rica are the promotion of trade and a vibrant, diverse economy, counter-narcotics cooperation, support for sustainable development and sound environmental management—areas where Costa Rica has been a regional leader. The government of Costa Rica has for decades proven itself to be a strong ally.
- **IMET** programs will professionalize the Coast Guard and law enforcement services through courses such as counter-drug operations, rule of law, and discipline in military operations and technical training."

## 15. Ecuador

- "Ecuador is a staunch U.S. ally against narco-trafficking and terrorist violence. It maintains a strong bilateral relationship with the U.S. on all issues. Our support will strengthen Ecuador's democratic institutions, promote economic prosperity, help the government address security concerns along its northern border with Colombia, combat narcotics, terrorism and human trafficking, and promote sustainable development.
- **IMET** funds will fund courses for military officers and civilians with a focus on the following themes: civilian control of the military, respect for human rights, military justice reform and management of defense resources."

## 16. Mexico

- "With a 2,000-mile border, the U.S. and Mexico share concerns that include security, health, environment, commerce, demographics, and border infrastructure. Mexico has been an effective partner in addressing counterterrorism and border security vulnerabilities. This bilateral relationship is marked by unprecedented cooperation in such areas as immigration, law enforcement and counter-narcotics, hemispheric affairs, and trade and investment expansion. Mexico is the U.S.' second largest trading partner.
- Mexican military cooperation is critical to U.S. homeland defense and counter-narcotics programs. **IMET** funds will be used to strengthen military command and technical capabilities, human rights standards, resource management, and English language skills. These programs will increase interoperability and enhance cooperation in counterterrorism as well as counter-drug and other law enforcement support missions."

## 17. Paraguay

- "In Paraguay, we are working to strengthen democratic institutions, combat terrorism and terrorist financing, and disrupt criminal organizations.

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- **IMET** funds will continue to help promote regional stability and democracy in Paraguay by increasing the professionalism of military personnel and continuing to develop military respect for civil authority. IMET-funded courses will be used to train Paraguayan officials and officers with a focus on civil-military operations and sustaining democracy.”

## 18. Peru

- “Peru continues to be one of our closest regional partners, and shares our objectives on foreign policy, counter-terrorism, economic reform, democracy, and counter-narcotics.
- **IMET** funds will be used for training in human rights and the rule of law, and discipline in military operations. The goal of IMET funds will be to help reinforce the notion of civilian control of the military and reinforce support for the principles of human rights. Training in counter-narcotics operations, professional military education, resource management, logistics and equipment maintenance provide the tools needed to professionalize and modernize Peru’s military and enhance its capabilities in search and rescue operations.”

## 19. Uruguay

- “Uruguay will be an important partner for the U.S. in promoting regional stability. Other U.S. national interests include maintaining Uruguay’s strong democratic institutions, advancing peacekeeping and other military cooperation, and helping Uruguay fight narcotics trafficking, international crime, and money laundering.
- **IMET** funds will be used for promoting regional stability by strengthening the Uruguayan military as a democratic institution. Participation by civilians and military officers in the Center for Hemispheric Defense Studies and IMET-funded courses will improve civil-military relations, rationalize the defense policy planning process, build civilian expertise in defense matters, and inculcate the principles of human rights in future military leaders. Technical, resource management, and logistics training will help Uruguay maintain and manage its defense resources, improving the Uruguayans' ability to cooperate with U.S. and international forces in peacekeeping operations, disaster relief missions, and other joint operations.”

## 20. Venezuela

- “Venezuela is a leading supplier of oil to the U.S., host to considerable U.S. investment, and a significant trans-shipment point for illegal drugs. Our efforts in Venezuela focus on promoting human rights and rule of law, supporting at-risk democratic groups, and disrupting and interdicting narcotics.
- **IMET** funds will be used for strengthening military links and providing important training to the Venezuelan military, including training on human rights.”

## ❖ CARIBBEAN<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>The country of Barbados also lost military aid in FY 2005. The actual amount of aid, however, cannot be determined from the State Department’s website as Barbados is included with six other countries under the heading of “Eastern Caribbean.”

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## 21. Trinidad and Tobago

- “Trinidad and Tobago enjoys the benefits of its rich energy resources and close economic partnership with the U.S. Trinidad and Tobago is our largest supplier of natural gas and a source of oil for many Caribbean countries.
- **IMET** funds will be used to professionalize the military, as well as provide training in medicine, electronics, and defense management to help maintain technical proficiencies. Training in communication and maritime operations will help strengthen counter-narcotics efforts.”

### III. Numerical Analysis: Foreign Military Financing (FMF)<sup>8</sup>

#### FMF Funding for ICC Member States who have NOT signed a BIA (\$ in thousands)

Country	FY 05 Requested	FY 05 Actual	FY 06 Requested <sup>1</sup>
Kenya	7000	0	7000
Bolivia	3000	0	1800
Ecuador	2000	0	750
Peru	1000	0	300
Uruguay	500	0	150

### II. Aid Specifics: Foreign Military Financing (FMF)<sup>9</sup>

\*The country information and military aid specifics below have been pulled from the State Department website and have not been substantively altered by Citizens for Global Solutions.\*

#### ❖ AFRICA

##### 1. Kenya

- “**FMF** will be used to enhance Kenya’s ability to protect its borders and coast from terrorists. Specifically, it will enhance Kenya’s capability and confidence to participate effectively in peacekeeping operations through the provision of equipment and training.”

<sup>8</sup> See Note 1.

<sup>9</sup> See Note 1.

## ❖ LATIN AMERICA

### 2. Bolivia

- “**FMF** will provide essential support to Bolivian Armed military police battalions, counter-drug units, and a counterterrorist unit. FMF will be used to educate, train, and equip a Bolivian Military Police Command, as well as continue to increase the effectiveness of their counterterrorist and counter-narcotics forces that support the global war on terrorism and other traditional national/internal security roles. FMF funds will also provide individual equipment communications and data processing equipment, and support for field activities.”

### 3. Ecuador

- “**FMF** will provide individual equipment, repair parts, and specialized equipment to address deficiencies of units operating along the border. FMF will also provide tactical vehicles, communications equipment, equipment to enhance coastal and riverine mobility, and logistics packages for the armed forces. Ecuador has sent peacekeeping troops to Haiti, and FMF funds will increase Ecuador’s readiness for such peacekeeping operations.”

### 4. Peru

- “**FMF** funds will improve the military’s capabilities to protect Peru’s borders, control its national territory, and promote regional stability. FMF will upgrade medical, engineering, and general field support to increase the ability of security units to operate in remote areas where illicit crop cultivation and drug production are prevalent.”

### 5. Uruguay

- “**FMF** will support Uruguay’s efforts in international peacekeeping by providing spare parts and maintenance support, especially for aviation units and specialized naval patrol boats, and will complement Uruguay’s eligibility to receive Excess Defense Articles (EDA).”

## Conclusion

Conditioning military and economic aid on the execution of a Bilateral Immunity Agreements is a counterproductive policy that harms stated U.S. interests and estranges U.S. friends and allies. Given the substantial role that U.S. believes military aid plays abroad, BIAs are simply not worth the cost of endangering international security and stability and further isolating the U.S.

Citizens for Global Solutions calls on Congress and the Administration to recognize the negative impact of BIAs and move toward a more pragmatic, less ideological approach to U.S. concerns about the International Criminal Court. The U.S. should be fighting alongside Croatia, Mexico, and South Africa to end genocide and ethnic cleansing—not against them.

*For more information or to obtain a digital copy of the Fiscal Year 2006 BIA Database, please contact Golzar Kheiltash, Legal Analyst, at [gkheiltash@globalsolutions.org](mailto:gkheiltash@globalsolutions.org), or (202) 546-3950, ext. 117.*