



The Global Peace Operations Initiative: Background and Issues for Congress

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Summary

The 111th Congress may consider extending the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI), the centerpiece of the Bush Administrations efforts to prepare foreign security forces to participate in international peacekeeping operations. Established in mid-2004, GPOI is a multilateral, five-year program with planned U.S. contributions of some \$660 million from FY2005 through FY2009. GPOI's primary purpose is to train and equip 75,000 military troops, a majority of them African, for peacekeeping operations by 2010. GPOI also provides support for the Center of Excellence for Stability Police Units (CoESPU), an Italian training center for gendarme (constabulary police) forces in Vicenza, Italy. In addition, GPOI is promoting the development of an international transportation and logistics support system for peacekeepers, and is encouraging an information exchange to improve international coordination of peace operations training and exercises in Africa. In June 2004, G8 leaders pledged to support the goals of the initiative.

GPOI incorporates previous capabilities-building programs for Africa. From FY1997 to FY2005, the United States spent just over \$121 million on GPOI's predecessor program that was funded through the State Department Peacekeeping (PKO) account: the Clinton Administration's African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) and its successor, the Bush Administrations's African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program. (The term ACOTA is now used to refer to GPOI's training program in Africa.) Some 16,000 troops from ten African nations were trained under the early ACRI/ACOTA programs. Some \$33 million was provided from FY1998 to FY2005 to support classroom training of 31 foreign militaries through the Foreign Military Financing account's Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities program (EIPC).

Within a year after GPOI was initiated in late 2004, the Administration began expanding the geographical scope of GPOI to selected countries in Central America, Europe, and Asia. In 2006 and 2007, the program was further expanded to countries in Asia, South Asia, and the Pacific. GPOI now includes 51 "partner" nations and organizations throughout the world, although the emphasis is still on Africa. According to figures provided by the State Department, almost 57,600 peacekeeper trainees and peacekeeper trainers were trained as of January 31, 2009. Funds allocated to the GPOI program from FY2005 to FY2007 totaled, as of May 2007, some \$278 million. For FY2008, Congress fully funded the Bush Administration's \$95.2 million GPOI request, and the State Department allocated a bit more, some \$96.44, million to GPOI. Through March 6, 2009, the State Department notified Congress of \$26.72 million allocated to GPOI.

Congress has tended to view the concept of the GPOI program favorably, but the 109th Congress balked at providing funding for a number of reasons: a lack of a strategic plan and evaluation program, perceived laxness in management, and a sense of a less than full commitment to the program by State Department, among others. The State Department has taken some steps to remedy these perceived shortcomings.

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Introduction

As the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) enters the last of its five planned years, the 111th Congress may begin considering whether to extend training for foreign military and police forces through this program. (In October 2008, the National Security Council's Deputies Committee approved a five-year renewal of GPOI's mandate.) Previous Congresses have generally endorsed the concept of this program, but also have questioned whether the program is as well-managed as possible and whether it will achieve its goals. The 111th Congress may wish to consider whether its concerns, stated in past legislation, have been met.

Purposes and Goal

Established to train 75,000 international peacekeepers by 2010, GPOI was the George W. Bush Administration's signature initiative to build international peacekeeping capacity. The Administration launched the five-year \$660 million (in FY2005-FY2009 funds) initiative in mid-2004 as a means to alleviate the perceived shortage worldwide of trained peacekeepers and "gendarmes," as well as to increase available resources to transport and sustain them ("Gendarmes," also known as constabulary police, are police with a combination of policing and military skills considered vital to the semi-stable environments of peace operations, where the potential for outbreaks of rioting and other violence creates a need for specially-trained police forces.). While the United States has provided considerable support to implement several peace processes and to support peacekeepers in the field from a variety of budget accounts for well over a decade, until GPOI it had provided relatively little funding to build up foreign military capabilities to perform peacekeeping operations.¹

In plans for GPOI after 2010, State Department officials state that the program's emphasis would shift from direct training to building the capacity of foreign nations to develop their own peacekeeping infrastructure and capabilities.

Achievements to Date

As of the end of January 2009, GPOI funds have supported the training of 54,245 military troops as peacekeepers and of 3,350 military personnel to train others in peacekeeping skills. Of those trained, GPOI reports that as of January 30, 2009, some 46,115 troops from 21 countries were deployed to 18 peacekeeping operations and 1 election observer mission, and another 4,860 troops were in the process of being deployed.² In addition, GPOI has supported the training of

¹ The term "peacekeeping" is used generically here. It covers the range of activities referred to elsewhere as peace operations, stability operations, or stabilization and reconstruction (S&R) operations.

² These missions include the U.S.-run mission of Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF), two NATO-run operations, x African Union run operations, 10 United Nations operations, a joint African Union- United Nations mission, and two other operations. The NATO missions are the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) within Operation Enduring Freedom, in Afghanistan, and the Kosovo Force (KFOR.). The African Union-run operations are AMIS in Sudan and AMISOM in Somalia. The 10 U.N. operations are MINURSO in Western Sahara, MINUSTAH in Haiti, MONUC in the Democratic Republic of Congo, ONUB in Burundi, UNFIL in Lebanon, UNMEE in Ethiopia and Eritrea, UNMIL in Liberia, UNMIS in Sudan, UNOCI in the Ivory Coast, and UNOSIL in Sierra Leone. GPOI trained troops have also contributed to UNAMID, the joint African Union-United Nations operation in DARFUR> The other two missions are the Central African Multinational Force (FOMAC) and the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI).

1,932 police trainers from 29 countries at the Italian-run Center of Excellence for Stability Police Units (CoESPU) in Vicenza, Italy.

In addition to training peacekeepers, GPOI supports a variety of institutions specializing in or contributing to peacekeeping operations. These include 22 peace operations training centers around the world, as well as the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

GPOI also provides funds for the Transportation Logistics Support Arrangement (TLSA), which has supported troops deploying to several peacekeeping missions,³ and other GPOI deployment equipment funding has supported troops deploying to some of these and other missions.⁴ In total, as of January 30, 2009, GPOI had contributed \$65.4 million to provide equipment to and transport troops deployed to seven missions, according to GPOI officials.

In total, all GPOI-funded activities helped deploy 46,115 troops from 21 countries to 18 peacekeeping operations and 1 election observer mission, as of January 30, 2009, with an additional 4,860 troops about to deploy at that time.

Funding to Date

Through FY2008, GPOI funding totaled \$374.46 million. In addition, the State Department has notified Congress of \$26.72 million that it intended to obligate through March 6, 2009. With these funds, GPOI has provided for the training of 57,595 peacekeepers and peacekeeping trainers as of January 31, 2009.⁵ (For a breakdown of this number by country, see **Table 2**, below.) The Bush Administration's FY2009 request called for \$106.2 million in peacekeeping operations funds. According to GPOI officials, if funded for FY2009 at the FY2008 level of \$95.2 million, the program is on track to reach the 75,000-person training goal by mid-2010.

Background

Before mid-2004, the United States provided peacekeeping capacity-building assistance to foreign militaries primarily under two programs, the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance program (ACOTA) and its predecessor program, and the Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities program (EIPC). Both ACOTA and EIPC have been subsumed under the GPOI budget line. ACOTA is still the term used to refer to the Africa component of GPOI, however, and is implemented by the State Department's Africa Bureau.

Overall responsibility for GPOI rests with the State Department Bureau of Political-Military Affairs' Office of Policy, Plans, and Analysis (PM/PPA). (Information about GPOI is available at <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/ppa/gpoiteam/gpoi/index.htm>). PM/PPA works closely with DOD offices to plan and carry out the program.

³These are AMISOM, AMIS, UNAMID, and UNIFIL.

⁴ These are AMIS, AMISOM, MINUSTAH, UNMIS, and OEF/ISAF.

⁵ Information provided by Department of State, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, e-mail of February 23, 2009.

Impetus for GPOI came from the Department of Defense (DOD), where officials in the Office of Special Operations and Low-Intensity Conflict (SO/LIC) worked with the State Department for over a year and a half to develop the proposal. Officials in SO/LIC's section on peacekeeping developed the plan as a means to expand and improve the ACOTA program—with more and better exercises and more equipment—as well as to extend the program beyond Africa to other parts of the world. Policymakers hoped that the availability of peacekeeping training would encourage more countries to participate in peacekeeping operations, enable current donors to provide a greater number of troops, and increase the number of countries which potentially could serve as lead nations, according to some analysts.

The GPOI budget is part of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Peacekeeping (PKO) account, also known as the “voluntary” Peacekeeping account, under the Military Assistance rubric. The PKO account funds activities carried out under Section 551 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (FAA).⁶ Section 551 authorizes the President to provide assistance for peacekeeping operations and other programs to further U.S. national security interests “on such terms and conditions as he may determine.” (This provides some flexibility to the President, but is not tantamount to the discretion that he can exercise when funding is provided “notwithstanding any other provision of law.”)

GPOI Purposes and Activities

In his September 21, 2004 address to the opening meeting of the 59th session of the U.N. General Assembly, President Bush asserted that the world “must create permanent capabilities to respond to future crises.” In particular, he pointed to a need for “more effective means to stabilize regions in turmoil, and to halt religious violence and ethnic cleansing.” A similar rationale prompted the Clinton Administration to formulate the ACRI training program in 1996 and underlies the current search for new strategies and mechanisms to prevent and control conflicts.⁷

GPOI Goals and Needs

To accomplish these ends, the Bush Administration set three major GPOI goals:

- Train some 75,000 troops worldwide, with an emphasis on Africa, in peacekeeping skills by 2010. (The number is the total to be trained by all participating countries, according to a State Department official.)
- Support Italy in establishing a center to train international gendarme (constabulary) forces to participate in peacekeeping operations (see section below); and

⁶ The State Department's Peacekeeping Operations account (i.e., PKO, also known as the “voluntary” peacekeeping account) funds U.S. contributions to peacekeeping efforts other than assessed contributions to U.N. peacekeeping operations. U.N. assessed contributions are funded through the State Department's Contributions to International Peacekeeping Account (CIPA).

⁷ For more information on this topic, see CRS Report RL32862, *Peacekeeping/Stabilization and Conflict Transitions: Background and Congressional Action on the Civilian Response/Reserve Corps and other Civilian Stabilization and Reconstruction Capabilities*, by Nina M. Serafino.

- Foster an international deployment and logistics support system to transport peacekeepers to the field and maintain them there.

Through GPOI, the State Department also promotes the exchange of information among donors on peace operations training and exercises in Africa. This is accomplished through donors meetings which serve as a “clearinghouse” to facilitate coordination. The first of these State Department meetings was held in Washington, D.C. on October 7-8, 2004.⁸ The United Kingdom hosted a second meeting in February 2006, the Russian Federation hosted a third in June 2006, and Germany hosted a fourth in March 2007. All four of these meetings focused solely on Africa, according to a State Department official. The State Department is planning the first global clearinghouse for later this year (2007), which will include information exchanges on efforts to build peacekeeping capabilities worldwide.

Demand for Peacekeepers

For many analysts, a continued effort to improve the peacekeeping skills of African and other military forces is an important step towards controlling devastating conflicts, particularly in Africa. In the mid-1990s, several developed nations provided most of the peacekeepers. The perception that developed nations would not be able to sustain the burden indefinitely, as well as the perception that the interests of those nations in Africa were not sufficient to ensure needed troop commitments there, led international capacity-building efforts to focus on Africa.

As of the end of December 2004, shortly after GPOI first started up, almost 25,000 of the nearly 58,000 military personnel who were participating in the current 17 U.N. peacekeeping operations were from the 22 African troop-contributing nations. (African nations provided over half of the military personnel—roughly 24,000 of 47,000—in the seven U.N. peacekeeping operations in Africa.) Africa’s military contribution to U.N. peacekeeping at the end of 2004 was over double that at the end of 2000; five of the top ten African contributors, who provided some 98% of the military contribution, received training under the ACRI/ACOTA program. African contributions to the U.N. international civilian police pool (CIVPOL) remained just about the same over those four years: 1,213 in December 2004 (of a total of 6,765 from all nations) compared to 1,088 in December 2000.

African militaries also participate in regional peacekeeping operations under the auspices of the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union (AU). (The first ECOWAS peacekeeping mission was deployed to Liberia in 1990. Subsequent missions were deployed to Liberia once again, Guinea Bissau, Sierra Leone, and most recently the Côte d’Ivoire. The AU deployed its first peacekeepers to Burundi in 2003 and Sudan in 2004. All missions but Sudan eventually became U.N. operations.) Both organizations are trying to develop an African stand-by peacekeeping force, comprised of contributions from five regional organizations, by 2010. Under GPOI, the United States will work to enhance and support the command structures and multilateral staff of ECOWAS and the AU.

⁸ The United States European Command (EUCOM) held two previous “clearinghouse” meetings in May and December 2004.

Need for Gendarme/Constabulary Forces

A second capability in short supply is the specialized units of police with military skills to handle temporary hostile situations such as unruly crowds.⁹ Several countries have such forces (e.g., the Italian *carabinieri*, the French *gendarmerie*, and the Spanish *Guardia Civil*, among others). In the United States these are referred to as constabulary forces.

U.S. Peacekeeping Training and Assistance, Pre-GPOI, in Sub-Saharan Africa

From 1996 through 2004, the United States provided field and staff training to develop military capabilities for peacekeeping through the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) and its successor program, ACOTA. Early in FY2005, ACOTA was subsumed under GPOI. Under ACRI/ACOTA, the United States trained some 16,000 troops from 10 African nations:¹⁰ Benin, Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Senegal,¹¹ and Uganda. (It also trained a small number of gendarmes who received the same training as the others.)

The United States also provided non-lethal equipment to the militaries that it trained. This included communications packages, uniforms, boots, generators, mine detectors, Global Positioning Systems (GPS), and medical and water purification equipment.

Initially, under ACRI, U.S. soldiers provided field training and oversaw classroom training provided by private contractors. Because of the demand for U.S. soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan, private contractors also began to conduct field training. By the time GPOI was initiated, private contractors, many of whom reportedly were retired military personnel and reservists, conducted most of the training, while active duty military officers played a minimal role. This remains true today.

⁹ Gendarme/constabulary forces are trained in both military and policing skills, but are less heavily armed than soldiers. According to the Clinton Administration's Presidential Decision Directive 71 (PDD-71), constabulary tasks include the regulation of peoples' movements when necessary to ensure safety; interventions "to stop civil violence, such as vigilante lynchings or other violent public crimes" and to "stop and deter widespread or organized looting, vandalism, riots or other mob-type action;" and the dispersal of "unruly or violent public demonstrations and civil disturbances." (Text: *The Clinton Administration White Paper on Peace Operations*, February 24, 2000, pp 9-10.) Constabulary forces often can deploy more rapidly than other international civilian police because they usually deploy as "formed units" (i.e., in previously formed working groups) instead of as individuals. They also are often equipped with their own communication and logistical support. See CRS Report RL32321, *Policing in Peacekeeping and Related Stability Operations: Problems and Proposed Solutions*, by Nina M. Serafino.

¹⁰ ACRI provided training in traditional peacekeeping skills where there is an existing cease-fire or peace accord. The more muscular ACOTA, initiated in 2002, has also provided training in the skills needed for African troops to perform peacekeeping tasks in more hostile environments, including force protection, light-infantry operations and small-unit tactics. Information from a State Department official and Col. Russell J. Handy, USAF, *Africa Contingency Operations Training Assistance: Developing Training Partnerships for the Future of Africa*. Air and Space Power Journal, Fall 2003, as posted online at <http://www.airpower.maxwell.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj03/fal03/handy.html>. ACOTA also put greater emphasis on the "train the trainer" aspect. As of 2005, training packages included Command and Staff Operations Skills, Command Post Exercises (i.e., exercises, often computer-bases, of headquarters commanders and staff) and Peace Support Operations Soldier Skills field training, according to a State Department fact sheet.

¹¹ Military personnel from two of these nations were trained only briefly under ACRI. Training for the Côte d'Ivoire was halted because of a military coup, and for Uganda, because of that country's involvement in the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Funding for ACRI, which like ACOTA was provided under the State Department's Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) account, totaled \$83.6 million during its six fiscal years (FY1997-FY2002). (Additional support for ACRI was provided through the Foreign Military Financing program.) ACOTA was funded at \$8 million in FY2003 and \$15 million in FY2004.

Other support for classroom training of foreign militaries was provided through the EIPC, a "train the trainer" program which began in FY1998 and was subsumed under the GPOI rubric. EIPC provided assistance to selected countries—some 31 as of early 2005—by designing and implementing a comprehensive, country-specific peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance training and education program to enhance a nation's institutional structure to train and deploy peacekeepers. EIPC funding, provided under the Foreign Military Financing Program, totaled about \$31.5 million through FY2004.

The Transition to GPOI Training and Assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa

GPOI was designed as a program with worldwide reach, but its emphasis was always intended to remain on Africa. In FY2005, all but a few hundred peacekeeper trainees were from outside Africa, and thus far the great majority of trainees are Africans. (For a detailed account of the number of trainees from each country, see **Table 2** at the end of this report. This table provides the number of trainees trained using the funds from each fiscal year, not the number of trainees actually trained in that fiscal year. Because training is still being conducted with previous fiscal year funds, these numbers will change.) Training in Africa continues to be conducted under the ACOTA program, which is implemented by the State Department's Africa Bureau.

In GPOI's first year, during FY2005, nearly 11,000 African troops were trained using funds initially appropriated for ACOTA under the regular budget and additional funds appropriated for GPOI. This number included six battalions from Senegal that were then deployed to specific peacekeeping missions.¹² Other ACOTA partners whose troops were trained using FY2005 funds were Botswana, Gabon, Ghana, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Nigeria, and Senegal; at least one other may have been trained with FY2005 funds.

GPOI's Africa ACOTA component now consists of 20 partners: 18 partner states and two partner organizations. The states are Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia. (However, as the State Department has suspended all non-humanitarian assistance to Mauritania and Niger, no GPOI assistance is being provided to those countries at this time.) In addition, GPOI provides assistance to the African Union and ECOWAS, which are also partners. This assistance includes sponsoring retired U.S. Army officers contracted as advisors to these institutions.

As of February 23, 2009, GPOI funds have provided training under the ACOTA program for 55,263 peacekeepers, according to the State Department GPOI office. Of these, some 45,606 have been deployed or where in the process of deploying to a UN or other peace operation as of that date. In addition, since FY2005, ACOTA has trained 12,627 more peacekeepers from GPOI

¹² The Senegalese were trained to participate in missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, and Darfur.

partner countries using other PKO funds and funds from the Netherlands. Of those, 12,127 have been deployed or were in the process of deploying as of February 23, 2009.¹³

In addition, GPOI supports five peace operations training centers in Sub-Saharan Africa. These are located in Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Nigeria, and South Africa.

Development of a “Beyond Africa” Program

In July 2005, the State Department initiated a training and equipping program for countries outside of Africa (informally referred to at the time as the “Beyond Africa” program)¹⁴ in order to extend GPOI training to three new regions: Latin America, Europe, and Asia. (As in Africa, some equipment is provided during training, but only that needed for the training itself. Trained troops are not provided with equipment needed for operations until they deploy.) The number of partner countries outside of Africa has grown to 31.

The largest number of partners outside Africa are in Asia/South Asia and the Pacific Islands, where there are 14 partner states. Ten partner states are in the Western Hemisphere, six in Europe and Eurasia, and one in the Middle East.

Western Hemisphere

The Latin American program began in Central America, where GPOI funds were initially used to train and equip soldiers from El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, as well as to upgrade an existing facility in order to establish a peacekeeping training center in Guatemala. Through this support, Central American countries were able to stand up a battalion of about 600 Central American troops, as part of the *Conferencia de Fuerzas Armadas Centroamericanas* (CFAC).

There are now 10 Western Hemisphere partner states: Belize, Bolivia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay. Some 1,867 peacekeepers and trainers from Western Hemisphere partner countries and 5 from Canada (which is not a partner) received GPOI training, as of January 31, 2009. Although Bolivia is a partner state, it has not yet participated in GPOI activities.

GPOI supports eight peace operations training centers in the Western Hemisphere. These are located in Belize, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay.

The U.S. Southern Command (SOUTHCOM) runs major peacekeeping exercises under GPOI auspices. In 2009, the PKO of the Americas will be held in multiple phases geared to the needs of each participant. Events are now scheduled to be held in March and May at six locations, with additional events in June or July.

¹³ Department of State, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, e-mail of February 23, 2009.

¹⁴ The Department of Defense transferred the \$80 million in P.L. 108-447 (Division J Section 117) supplemental appropriations to be used for GPOI programs in June 2005. Funds became available for obligation in mid-July, 15 days after the State Department notified Congress of its spending plans.

Asia/South Asia/Pacific Islands

In Asia, the first countries to be extended train-and-equip assistance and provided some logistical support were Bangladesh, Malaysia, Mongolia, and Thailand (which was subsequently suspended because of a military coup and reinstated in February 2008). GPOI funds were also used establish and install communications equipment in a Peace Support Operations Collaboration Center (PSOCC) in Mongolia.¹⁵

Currently, there are 14 partner states in good standing in these regions: Bangladesh, Cambodia, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Tajikistan, Thailand, Tonga, and Vietnam. In addition, Fiji is a partners state, but it is currently under sanctions and not eligible for GPOI assistance. India chose not to join GPOI as a partner state, but Indian personnel have participated in some GPOI training events through the use of non-GPOI funds. Personnel from Australia, Brunei, Japan, Laos, Papua New Guinea, Republic of Korea, New Zealand, and Singapore have also participated in GPOI training events, although GPOI did not fund the travel and accommodations for personnel from these countries. In all, some 3,287 peacekeepers and peacekeeping trainers from those regions have been trained using GPOI funds.

GPOI supports peacekeeping operations training centers in five countries in these regions: Bangladesh, Cambodia, Indonesia, Mongolia, and Thailand.

Greater Europe (Europe and Eurasia)

In Europe, the first countries whose troops were offered training and other support under GPOI were Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Ukraine. Bosnia was provided information technology support for its training center and a U.S. instructor with FY2005 funds.

Currently, GPOI has six partners states in greater Europe: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Romania, Macedonia, and the Ukraine. Some 53 peacekeepers and peacekeeping trainers from this area have participated in GPOI training events, including 12 from France, Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom, which are not partner countries.¹⁶

GPOI funds supports peace operations training centers in three countries in Greater Europe: Albania, Bosnia and Ukraine. GPOI also has provided pre-deployment equipment to SEEBRIG, the seven-member multinational South East Europe Brigade, composed of personnel from Albania, Bulgaria, Italy, Greece, Macedonia, Romania, and Turkey.¹⁷

¹⁵ This project was part of plans for what was formerly referred to as the Asia-Pacific Area Network (APAN).

¹⁶ However, GPOI did not pay the individual costs of each of these participants, including travel, per diem, and any other expenses.

¹⁷ SEEBRIG as an entity does not hold the presidential determination necessary to receive direct GPOI support, but GPOI provides support to SEEBRIG through direct assistance to Romania, which hosted the SEEBRIG headquarters. Original plans were to provide pre-deployment training for troops participating in the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), the NATO peacekeeping operation in Afghanistan, but were changed when it was determined there was no need for it.

Middle East

GPOI's first and currently only Middle Eastern partner state is Jordan, which was added in FY2006. Two peacekeepers from Jordan have participated in GPOI training. (One person from Lebanon also participated in GPOI training, but his participation was not funded by GPOI.). GPOI funds support a peacekeeping operation center in Jordan.

Foreign Response and Contributions

G8 leaders¹⁸ endorsed the GPOI goals (above) at their June 2004 summit meeting at Sea Island, GA, adopting an "Action Plan on Expanding Global Capability for Peace Support Operations."¹⁹ (This was actually the third G8 Action Plan concerning peacekeeping in Africa. In June 2002, the G8 Summit at Kananaskis, Canada, adopted a broad Africa Action Plan that contained sections on conflict resolution and peace-building efforts. The more specific Joint Africa /G8 Plan to Enhance African Capabilities to Undertake Peace Support Operations was developed over the next year and presented at the June 2003 Summit at Evian-les-baines, France.²⁰)

As indicated by the GPOI "clearinghouse" concept, several G8 countries have significant programs in Africa that predated GPOI. In addition to the United States, France and the United Kingdom (UK) conduct bilateral training programs with African militaries. Germany and the UK provided the assistance necessary to launch the regional Kofi Annan International Peacekeeping Training Center in Ghana, which opened in 2004, and Germany is providing continuing assistance. The European Union and other countries, most prominently Canada, Italy, France and the Netherlands, have also assisted the Center. Italian Center of Excellence for Stability Police Units (CoESPU)

In his September 2004 speech to the United Nations, President Bush referred to Italy as a joint sponsor of GPOI, because it co-sponsored with the United States the Sea Island G8 peacekeeping action plan. Italy also had moved to establish a school for training gendarme forces even before the United States Congress had provided funding for U.S. support for the school. Italian *carabinieri*, who are widely viewed as a leading model and have played a prominent role in providing constabulary forces to peacekeeping and stabilization operations,²¹ established the Center of Excellence for Stability Police Units (CoESPU) as an international training center at Vicenza in March 2005.

Italy is providing not only the facility, but also most of the staff for the "train the trainer" program. As of mid-2006, some 145 carabinieri were attached to CoESPU, of which about 25 were instructors and training staff. At the same point, two U.S. military service members were attached to the center. One serves as the Deputy Director, although DOD's commitment to fill that slot extends only through 2010. CoESPU would like a commitment of five U.S. military service

¹⁸ G8 refers to the "Group of 8" major industrialized democracies: Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States. G8 heads of state, plus representatives from the European Union, meet at annual summits.

¹⁹ Text available at http://www.g8usa.gov/d_061004c.htm.

²⁰ Texts available at <http://www.g8.gc.ca/2002Kananaskis/kananaskis/afraction-en.pdf> and <http://www.g8.gc.ca/AFRIQUE-01june-en.asp>.

²¹ According to *Carabinieri* officials interviewed by the author, as of mid-November 2004, some 1,300 *carabinieri* were deployed in missions to Iraq, Afghanistan, Eritrea, Albania, and Palestine.

members, one as Deputy Director and others to assist with information, training, and studies and research efforts, including the development of doctrine. France and Russia have provided guest instructors.

A U.S. contribution of \$10 million for the school's operation and training programs was transferred to Italy in late September 2005. (According to CoESPU officials, the U.S. contribution covers about one-third the cost of running the school.)²² CoESPU's goal, by 2010, is to train 3,000 mid-to-high ranking personnel at Vicenza and an additional 4,000 in formed units in their home countries.

CoESPU offers high-level courses (for staff officers ranking from Lt. Colonels to Colonels and their civilian equivalents) consisting of four-and-a-half weeks of classes (approximately 150 classroom hours) in international organizations, international law (including international humanitarian law), military arts in peace support operations, tactical doctrine, operating in mixed international environments with hybrid chains of command, and the selection, training, and organization of police units for international peace support operations.

The Center also offers a course for junior officers and senior non-commissioned officers (sergeant majors to captains) and their civilian equivalents. This course covers the materials taught in the high-level course with an emphasis on training in the more practical aspects, including checkpoint procedures, VIP security and escorts, high-risk arrests, border control, riot control, election security, and police self-defense techniques.

(The first high-level class graduated 29 officers on December 7, 2005. The first class consisted of officers from Cameroon, India, Jordan, Kenya, Morocco, and Senegal. A pilot course for the middle-management level began on January 13, 2006, and seven weeks later graduated about 100 officers. Students for this course were drawn from the same six countries as those at the first-high level course.)

CoESPU is also developing a lessons-learned and doctrine writing capability in order to serve as an interactive resource for SPUs. It intends to develop a coherent and comprehensive SPU doctrine to promote interoperability in the field, to ensure that doctrine is the basis of training standards and methods, and to respond to questions from SPU commanders in the field, as well as to support pre-mission and in-theater training exercises.

Administration Funding Requests and Congressional Action

FY2005-FY2008 GPOI Funding

Funding for GPOI totaled \$374.46 million from FY2005 through FY2008. Initial dedicated funding of \$96.7 million in FY2005 was contained in the Consolidated Appropriations Act for FY2005 (H.R. 4818/P.L. 108-447), split between the Department of State (almost 20%) and the

²² Author's interviews at CoESPU, June 2006.

DOD (80% as funds to be transferred to State) budgets.²³ For FY2006, the State Department allocated \$100.4 million to GPOI, which was slightly more than half of the total PKO account, but some \$14 million below the President's request.²⁴ For FY2007, the Administration requested \$102.6 million for GPOI funding. House and Senate action signaled some discontent with the program.²⁵ The final continuing resolution²⁶ that funded most government operations and programs through FY2007, including GPOI, left the decision on the amount of GPOI funding for FY2007 largely to the State Department, albeit in the context of a reduced availability of funds.²⁷

²³ Although the initiative had long been in the works, President Bush approved GPOI in April 2004, two months after the FY2005 budget request was submitted to Congress. To fund the initiative at approximately \$100 million in FY2005, the Administration proposed that 80% be DOD funds and the remaining 20% be ACOTA State Department funds. The Armed Services committees did not back GPOI because of concerns that its inclusion in the DOD budget would divert funds from U.S. troops. GPOI's strongest support seemed to come from Senate foreign affairs authorizers and appropriators. Nevertheless, in the end, Congress divided the FY2005 GPOI funding in the Consolidated Appropriations Act for FY2005 (H.R. 4818/P.L. 108-447) as follows. Section 117 of Division J ("Other Matters") provided that "\$80 million may be transferred with the concurrence of the Secretary of Defense" to the Department of State Peacekeeping Operations account, where it was allocated to GPOI. Division D of H.R. 4818/P.L. 108-447 contained \$20 million in State Department PKO funding for the ACOTA account and nearly \$1.8 million in EPIC Foreign Military Financing funding. Both accounts which are now subsumed under GPOI.

²⁴ The Bush Administration requested \$114.4 million for FY2006 GPOI funding. The House FY2006 Foreign Operations appropriations bill, H.R. 3057 (as reported by the House Appropriations Committee (HAC), H.Rept. 109-152, on June 24 and passed on June 28), contained \$96.4 million for GPOI. In its report, the HAC expressed its support for GPOI as a means for the United States to "reduce the emphasis on the use of military troops for these operations." It explained that it had provided \$18 million less than the request because it did not expect that all \$63 million indicated for equipment and transportation outside of Africa could be obligated and spent in 2006. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee version of the State Department authorization bill for FY2006 and FY2007 (S. 600, S.Rept. 109-35, reported on March 10, 2005, and returned to the calendar on April 26) would have authorized \$114.4 million for FY2006 and such sums as may be necessary for FY2007 for GPOI. The House version (H.R. 2601, H.Rept. 109-168, as reported by the House International Relations Committee on July 13, 2005 and passed on July 20) The Senate version of the bill (as reported June 30 and passed July 20), contained \$114.0 million for GPOI. does not mention GPOI and does not detail accounts in such a way as to indicate whether GPOI is funded. There was no further action on the bill.

In the end, Congress did not dedicate any funds specifically for GPOI (or for any other program in the PKO account) in the conference version of the FY2006 Foreign Operations appropriation bill (H.Rept. 109-265, P.L. 109-102, signed into law November 14, 2005), which funded the PKO account at \$175 million—\$20.8 million below the Administration's request of \$195.8 million. The State Department eventually allocated an estimated \$100.4 million for

²⁵ The House was disinclined to provide full funding.²⁵ Senate appropriators expressed discontent with State Department management of the program. They proposed that GPOI funding be transferred to a new FMF program and recommended that the COESPU program be either fully funded by other countries or be transferred to the State Department Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) In the Senate Appropriations Committee (SAC) version of H.R. 5522, the State, Foreign Operations and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for FY2007 (S.Rept. 109-277), approved by SAC on June 29, 2006, funding for GPOI would be transferred from the PKO account to a new program under the Foreign Military Financing Program. S.Rept. 109-277 stated that the State Department "has failed to demonstrate a requisite level of commitment to the program, instead viewing funds provided for GPOI as a funding source for other activities." [The State Department transferred \$57 million in GPOI funds to support urgent needs of the African Union Mission in Sudan (AMIS) in Darfur, Sudan, according to a State Department official.] The report also scored the State Department for ignoring committee guidance on GPOI and for its inability "to articulate any plan for the use of fiscal year 2005 funding until calendar year 2006." S.Rept. 109-277, p. 92. The SAC recommended that a Combatant Commanders Initiative Fund be created under FMF, the purpose of which would be "identical to GPOI, namely, to identify the critical shortfalls in the training, equipment, and capabilities of our allies to serve in peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations." To decide on the allocation of funds, the Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military [Pol-Mil] Affairs would consult with commanders of the U.S. regional military commands (U.S., Pacific, Central, European, and Southern) to identify "the most critical training and equipment shortfalls of our peacekeeping partners and regional allies" in order to develop a three year plan and program to address those needs. S.Rept. 109-277, p. 92.

²⁶ Revised Continuing Appropriations Resolution, 2007 (H.J.Res. 20, P.L. 110-5, signed into law February 15, 2007. Amends P.L. 109-289, division B, as amended by P.L. 109-369 and P.L. 109-383.)

²⁷ Congress, in effect, reduced the amount of funding available for the GPOI program by funding the overall PKO (continued...)

The State Department's FY2007 GPOI obligations totaled \$81 million (i.e., \$1 million less than provided for in the House-passed FY2007 Foreign Operations bill, H.R. 5522). (An earlier version of the Continuing Resolution had set the House-passed amount as the level for FY2007 GPOI funding.) For FY2008, Congress fully funded the Bush Administration's budget request for \$92.5 million in GPOI funding. (This funding was contained in the omnibus Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2008 [H.R. 2764, Division J; P.L. 110-161, signed into law December 26, 2007]).²⁸ The State Department allocated almost \$4 million more.

Table I. GPOI Allocations, FY2005-FY2008

(in \$ millions)

Category	FY2005 Actuals ^a	FY2006 Actuals ^b	FY2007 Actuals	FY2008 Actuals	FY2009 Notified to Congress through 3/06/09 ^c
African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA)	28.92	35.00	40.39	44.00	11.28
Africa Regional HQ Support: African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)	10.01	9.71	7.15	7.16	4.51
East Asia and the Pacific	7.74	11.00	6.55	9.42	7.73
Europe and Eurasia	5.05	6.00	4.00	5.80	0
Near East (i.e., Jordan)	0	0.65	1.30	1.00	0
South & Central Asia	0.93	5.00	7.36	10.33	0.50
Western Hemisphere	6.49	11.70	8.45	11.65	2.70
Deployment Equipment and Depots	16.98	15.82	1.79	2.52	0
Center of Excellence for Stability Police Units (CoESPU)	15.00	0	0	0	0
Transportation and Logistics Support Arrangement	5.00	4.00	4.00	3.18	0
Program Management	0.55	1.51	0	1.39	0
Total	96.66	100.36	81.00	96.44	26.72

Source: Department of State, as of February 18, 2008.

Notes: Some totals do not add due to rounding.

(...continued)

budget at \$223.25 million, while earmarking \$50 million for peacekeeping operations in Sudan. Congress thus provided \$173.25 million for other (than Sudan peacekeeping) PKO programs in FY2007, i.e., \$27.25 million less than the Administration's \$200.5 million PKO budget request and the same as the FY2006 PKO budget. State Department plans for FY2007 included spending for two new programs totaling some \$31 million, the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI) and Liberia, that were not included in the FY2006 budget.

²⁸ Although the Act does not specify funding for GPOI, the Joint Explanatory Statement on the final version of the omnibus appropriations bill specifies that the executive branch is to take into account House and Senate Committee report language on bills incorporated into the omnibus when implementing the legislation. The House Report (H.Rept. 110-197) accompanying the original State Department, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs appropriations bill recommends full funding.

- a. As GPOI was not created until late 2004, FY2005 actuals include funds originally appropriated elsewhere: \$14.88 million in Peacekeeping Account (PKO) funds for ACOTA; \$1.79 million in Foreign Military Financing for Enhanced International Peacekeeping Capabilities (EIPC), and an \$80 million transfer from DOD.
- b. FY2006 funding includes \$57 million from FY2006 supplemental appropriations.
- c. FY2009 funding levels have not been finalized, although it is expected the total amount will be similar to FY2008. The amounts reported in this column are those notified to Congress through March 6, 2009, under the continuing resolution.

Issues for the 111th Congress

Over the past few years, the State Department responded to concerns of the 109th and the 110th Congresses to strengthen GPOI. Its steps included producing a strategic plan (the executive summary of which is publically available),²⁹ facilitating procedures to speed planning and implementation, and implementing an evaluation program. As of 2008, Congress requested³⁰ that the Government Accountability Office (GAO) investigate a number of remaining concerns: the GAO expressed several concerns about GPOI performance and management in a June 2008 report.³¹

Among the points the Congress requested the GAO to address were (1) the extent to which contributing and participating countries maintain records and databases; (2) the quality and sustainability of the training of individuals and units; (3) the extent to which those trained are equipped and remain equipped to deploy in peace operations; (4) participating countries capacity to mobilize those trained; (5) the extent to which trained individuals are deployed; and (6) the extent to which contractors are used and the quality of their results. The committee also requested an assessment of whether GPOI is achieving its goals and recommendations as to whether a country's participation in GPOI "should require reciprocal participation."

In its June 2008 report, the GAO doubted, based on information available to it in its investigation, that GPOI would be able to reach its goal of training 75,000 peacekeepers by 2010. The GAO stated, however, that it could not evaluate information that the State Department subsequently provided to demonstrate that GPOI would reach its goal. As of February 2008, GPOI officials are stating that 75,000 will be trained by mid-2010. GPOI officials also state that the program will, as recommended by the GAO, ensure that plans for extending GPOI activities beyond 2010 identify

²⁹ U.S. Department of State. Office of Plans, Policy, and Analysis. Bureau of Political-Military Affairs. *Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI): Summary of GPOI Strategy for Fiscal Years 2005-2006*. September 4, 2006.

³⁰ In action on the FY2008 National Defense Authorization Act, the Senate Armed Services Committee (SASC), in Section 1204 of its version of the bill (S. 1547, reported June 5, 2007), called for a GAO study describing and assessing the activities and implementation of the GPOI program. This requirement was retained in the final bill (H.R. 4986, P.L. 110-181, signed into law January 28, 2008). In the SASC report accompanying the Senate version of the bill (S.Rept. 110-77), SASC stated that it wanted to "strengthen the likelihood that GPOI will be administered in such a fashion, and that there will be an expectation, if not a requirement, that GPOI training recipient countries contribute troops to U.N. missions in the near-term, and that GPOI will increase the number of peacekeepers who can remain ready via sustained training and equipping programs." SASC expressed concern as to whether the readiness of GPOI-trained troops "is being monitored or maintained" and noted that program objectives calling for the establishment of an equipment depot for and of a multilateral transportation logistics support arrangement (TLSA) have not been fulfilled.³⁰ SASC also expressed concern that participation by other G-8 members has not met expectations.

³¹ Government Accountability Office. *Peacekeeping: Thousands Trained but United States is Unlikely to Complete All Activities by 2010 and Some Improvements are Needed*. GAO-08-754, June 2008.

the necessary resources for developing long-term peacekeeping skills and infrastructure in Africa.³² They point to plans to concentrate on building infrastructure in any post-2010 program.

The GAO made several recommendations to improve human rights vetting, program management, and training content. The following bullets note the recommendations and the steps that GPOI is taking to meet them. Congress may wish monitor progress on the GAO recommendations.

- Noting that a number of foreign military troops who received GPOI training had not been properly vetted, the GAO recommended that the Secretary of State develop a system for monitoring all GPOI vetting activities and for ensuring that all individuals are vetted. According to GPOI officials, the recommendation applies not only to GPOI, but to State Department vetting in general. To improve the vetting system, according to those officials, the Department has secured funding to establish a database that will facilitate record-keeping and access to past vetting cases. GPOI program implementers will use the system when it is available.
- Judging that GPOI was unable to account for the delivery and transfer of nonlethal training equipment to partner countries, the GAO recommended that the Secretary of State monitor implementation, on an ongoing basis, of new procedures to account for delivery and transfer of nonlethal training equipment to partner countries. According to GPOI officials, the State Department GPOI Evaluation Team had identified this accountability problem before the GAO investigation. The ACOTA program has instituted a sole-source logistics contract to improve the entire logistics process from acquisition to delivery, and is establishing a mechanism with its African partners to manage joint inventories. The State Department is developing procedures with other stakeholders to better account for equipment that is commercially acquired through the State Department's Office of Acquisition Management's regional procurement support offices. Similarly, new procedures have been developed by the State Department and the Defense Security Cooperation Agency to account for training equipment provided through the Foreign Military Sales system, with the U.S. government retaining title to and custody of defense articles until a designated U.S. government agent confirms and documents delivery of GPOI material to a recipient country's authorized representative or agent.
- In order to improve training, GAO recommended that the Secretary of State develop, in consultation with DOD a training program for GOP that uses standard military task lists and related training standards in order to establish program-wide criteria for evaluating the quality of training and measuring trainee proficiency. According to GPOI officials, a GPOI contractor, Detica, is working closely with the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations to develop a set of essential tasks and corresponding training standards to improve training programs.
- In regard to U.S. support to CoESPU, GAO recommended that the State Department work with DOD in order to help Italy staff key unfilled positions in order to better evaluate progress and monitor results. GAO also suggested that

³² Peacekeeping: Thousands Trained. op. cit., p. 35.

GPOI provide additional guidance to U.S. missions to help the United States and Italy collect data on the training and deployment of CoESPU graduates. The State Department is looking into the possibility of using GPOI funds to provide additional staff at CoESPU who would help with evaluation and monitoring, including the development of an alumni database, outreach materials, and tracking mechanisms. Also, according to GPOI officials, U.S. Embassy staff and others have been asked to help administer a survey regarding the training activities and deployments of CoESPU graduates. The results may be available by mid-2009.

Table 2. GPOI Training Summary, FY2005-First Third, FY2009

(#s trained to standard as of January 31, 2009)

Region/Country/ Organization	Total # Peacekeepers Trained	Total # Peacekeeper Trainers Trained	Total #
Sub-Saharan Africa			
Benin	4,260	195	4,455
Botswana	118	47	165
Burkina Faso	2,535	161	2,696
Burundi	1,291	0	1,291
Cameroon	692	101	793
ECOWAS	287	2	289
Gabon	1,212	161	1,393
Ghana	5,965	169	6,134
Kenya	189	5	194
Malawi	1,063	25	1,088
Mali	880	130	1,010
Mauritania - Suspended	284	20	304
Mozambique	868	161	1,029
Namibia	817	71	888
Niger – Suspended	1,041	107	1,121
Nigeria	9,463	586	10,049
Rwanda	4,789	92	4,881
Senegal	7,829	435	8,264
South Africa	211	114	325
Tanzania	775	24	799
Uganda	4,149	137	4,286
Zambia	563	113	676
<i>Sub-Total Africa</i>	<i>49,254</i>	<i>2,856</i>	<i>52,110</i>
Asia/South Asia/Pacific Islands/Middle East			
Australia	20	0	20
Brunei	47	5	52
Bangladesh	190	50	240
Cambodia	187	29	216
Fiji (Khaan Quest participant, see notes) – Suspended	45	2	47
India	83	2	85
Indonesia	361	72	433

Region/Country/ Organization	Total # Peacekeepers Trained	Total # Peacekeeper Trainers Trained	Total #
Japan	3	0	3
Jordan	2	0	2
Korea, Republic of	46	6	52
Laos	3	0	3
Lebanon	1	0	1
Malaysia	322	75	397
Mongolia	640	77	717
Nepal	372	35	407
New Zealand	5	0	5
Papua New Guinea	2	0	2
Philippines (Khaan Quest participant, see notes)	16	0	16
Singapore	12	0	12
Sri Lanka	60	7	67
Thailand	356	35	391
Tonga (Khaan Quest participant, see notes)	113	7	120
<i>Subtotal Asia/Central Asia/South Asia/the pacific</i>	<i>2,888</i>	<i>402</i>	<i>3,290</i>
Greater Europe (Europe and Eurasia)			
Albania	254	0	254
Bosnia-Herzegovina	3	0	3
France	3	0	3
Germany	4	0	4
Italy	1	0	1
United Kingdom	5	0	5
Ukraine	27	26	53
<i>Subtotal Greater Europe</i>	<i>297</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>323</i>
Western Hemisphere			
Belize	55	10	65
Canada	5	0	5
Dominican Republic	13	2	15
El Salvador	215	7	222
Guatemala	751	16	767
Honduras	255	26	281
Nicaragua	445	5	450
Paraguay	36	0	36
Peru	18	0	18
Uruguay	13	0	13
<i>Subtotal Western Hemisphere</i>	<i>1,806</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>1,872</i>
Total	54,245	3,350	57,595

Sources: Compiled from information provided by the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Political-Military Affairs, February 18, 2009.

Notes: This table does not include soldiers trained by GPOI-trained trainers. The standard used by evaluators for inclusion was mastery of at least 80% of the coursework and an 80% or better attendance record. NA = Not Available.

This table includes three countries that are not GPOI partners but were provided support because they participated in the GPOI-funded August 2006 Khaan Quest multilateral peacekeeping training exercise in Mongolia on the invitation of the Mongolian government. It also includes Cameroon, which is not a GPOI partner (i.e., eligible to receive bilateral assistance). It is listed here as receiving training because it sends students to the Italian Center of Excellence for Stability Police Units (CoESPU).

Peacekeepers = # soldiers (and occasionally gendarmes) trained in peacekeeping skills in GPOI courses in order to deploy to peacekeeping operations.

Peacekeeper Trainers = # soldiers trained to train other military personnel in peacekeeping skills for deployment to peacekeeping operations (i.e., soldiers trained under the “train-the-trainer” program).

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