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# Capabilities of Police and Military Forces in Central America -- A Comparative Analysis of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua

Carmen Rosa de León-Escribano

*Instituto de Enseñanza Para el Desarrollo Sostenible, Guatemala*

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**WESTERN HEMISPHERE  
SECURITY ANALYSIS CENTER**

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*A Comparative Analysis of Guatemala,  
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Applied Research Center  
Florida International University  
10555 W Flagler Street  
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*The views expressed in this research paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the US Government, Department of Defense, US Southern Command or Florida International University.*

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A difficult transition to a new paradigm of Democratic Security and the subsequent process of military restructuring during the nineties led El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua to re-consider their old structures and functions of their armed forces and police agencies. This study compares the institutions in the four countries mentioned above to assess their current condition and response capacity in view of the contemporary security challenges in Central America.

This report reveals that the original intention of limiting armies to defend and protect borders has been threatened by the increasing participation of armies in public security. While the strength of armies has been consolidated in terms of numbers, air and naval forces have failed to become strengthened or sufficiently developed to effectively combat organized crime and drug trafficking and are barely able to conduct air and sea operations.

Honduras has been the only country that has maintained a proportional distribution of its armed forces. However, security has been in the hands of a Judicial Police, supervised by the Public Ministry. The Honduran Judicial Police has been limited to exercising preventive police duties, prohibited from carrying out criminal investigations. Nicaragua, meanwhile, possesses a successful police force, socially recognized for maintaining satisfactory levels of security surpassing the Guatemalan and El Salvadoran police, which have not achieved similar results despite of having set up a civilian police force separate from the military. El Salvador meanwhile, has excelled in promoting a Police Academy and career professional education, even while not having military attachés in other countries. Regarding budgetary issues, the four countries allocate almost twice the amount of funding on their security budgets in comparison to what is allocated to their defense budgets. However,

spending in both areas is low when taking into account each country's GDP as well as their high crime rates.

Regional security challenges must be accompanied by a professionalization of the regional armies focused on protecting and defending borders. Therefore, strong institutional frameworks to support the fight against crime and drug trafficking are required. It will require the strengthening of customs, greater control of illicit arms trafficking, investment in education initiatives, creating employment opportunities and facilitating significant improvements in the judicial system, as well as its accessibility to the average citizen.

## **INTRODUCTION**

Central America has experienced periods of progress and setbacks, marked by major institutional weaknesses, which resulted in the present difficult situation of regional insecurity and poverty. During the difficult transition from the post-conflict period to democracy, El Salvador and Guatemala implemented major policies of repression and violence within the context of armed conflict and civil war, confronting them with new common problems resulting from an unprecedented increase in violence and poverty levels. On the other hand, Nicaragua and Honduras have also shared a legacy of social tensions and political instability and even today they are going through a delicate process of democratization while facing challenges in overcoming underdevelopment and social marginalization.

This report is a comparative study of the Armed Forces and Police in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua within the new paradigm of Democratic Security, which is concentrated on protecting individual rights. Democratic Security distances itself from the concept of popular control

and the resulting repression while aiming to ensure institutional stability.<sup>1</sup> Under this new paradigm's agenda of security threats, economics, politics, nutrition, health, environment, people and communities have become its focus.<sup>2</sup> This coincides with the adoption of the concept of Human Security by the United Nations Development Program (1994), which declares that security is freedom from fear and freedom from needs.

The Central American Democratic Security Model is based on the supremacy and continued strengthening of civilian power, maintenance of a reasonable balance of forces, the security of people and property, elimination of poverty, the direction of resources to social investment, promoting sustainable development and environmental protection. Its objectives also include the eradication of violence, corruption, impunity, terrorism, drug trafficking and arms trafficking.

The Treaty calls for the creation and strengthening of the police as an expression of the supremacy of civilian power. Likewise, Guatemala and El Salvador signed the Peace Accords with the purpose of building a sustainable peace and eliminating the causes of conflict. Thus, four countries established new models of armed forces and armies subordinated to civilian power as in democratic societies.

The essay is organized in four sections. First, it will examine the reform of the defense sector in Central America. More specifically, it will study its scope of operations, duties,

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<sup>1</sup> The Treaty for the Framework for Democratic Security in Central America (from now onwards referred to as "the Treaty"), was signed by the Presidents of the Central American States on December 15, 1995 at the Summit of San Pedro Sula. As a fundamental goal, it calls for the integration of Central America to consolidate it as a region of peace, liberty, democracy and development.

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Program for Development, *Report on Human Development 1994* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford Press).

organizational structures, training, skills and budgets. Second, it will analyze, in comparative perspective, the Police in the four countries under investigation. Third, it will develop a general comparative analysis of these institutions and finally, it will provide some conclusions.

## **DEFENSE SECTOR REFORM IN CENTRAL AMERICA**

### *Scope and Duties*

In the nineties, a process of military restructuring began. The transformation of the regional armies was essential to enable the strengthening of civilian security agencies in the region. Military institutions suffered significant changes, such as the abolition of conscription, downsizing, re-assignment of duties, the division of security and defense duties and the return of police, under civilian control, to the responsibility for security duties. In Honduras, the duties of security and defense were assigned to two separate institutions. Nicaragua created a new police force, while Guatemala and El Salvador, as mandated by the peace agreements, sought to strengthen a civilian police force separated from the armed forces. In the past, the police had been subordinated to the military within the framework of counterinsurgency operations. Major changes within the Armed Forces themselves took place to achieve professionalization through training and awareness of human rights.

To lay the groundwork for the Reform of the Defense Sector, they attempted a delicate transition from the model of National Security to Human Security as a paradigm within the context of peace. Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua reduced the size of their armed forces, modified their deployment, doctrine and scope of action to remain consistent with the vision of democratic security as a result of the Peace Accords (Guatemala and El Salvador), the



internal negotiations among civilian sectors (Honduras), or revolution, as in the case of Nicaragua.<sup>3</sup>

In this new period, laws assigned new defense duties in times of peace incorporated territorial defense and sovereignty of the people, implying military protection of national territory, waters and airspace along with the maintenance of domestic peace, constitutional rule and the supremacy of the political system. In the case of Honduras, a new law also gave the armed forces power to intervene to protect the development of educational projects and land reform.

Most countries established responsibilities related to the fight against organized crime and international terrorism as well as assistance in natural disaster response. However, a debate has arisen over the scope of action for the region's armed forces regarding citizens' security.

With the signing of the Framework Treaty on Democratic Security in Central America and the subsequent Peace Agreements, the trend was to limit armies to external defense, as well as the strengthening and renewal of police forces that would be responsible for citizen security. As a result, defense duties were reoriented from domestic police duties to defense of national territory. These initiatives are a response to the role played by the armies in the region during past internal conflicts in Central America, which had raised all types of criticism for their repressive action toward the population.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> De León Escribano, Carmen Rosa, *Participación de la Mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas de Centroamérica, México y en las organizaciones de Paz*. (Guatemala: IEPADES), 2009.

<sup>4</sup> These abuses were broadly documented by the Truth Commissions in Guatemala and El Salvador. The case of the army in Nicaragua is different because it emerged as a new institution after the regime change in the post-Somoza period. During the Somoza period, the National Guard was in charge of carrying out repressive duties.

Two main facts have hindered the process of military restructuring. First, the attacks against the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001 led the United States to modify its policy toward Central America. The United States initiated defensive responses on its territory and promoted a series of hemispheric alliances to contain the terrorist threat. In identifying possible allies and attempting to close spaces vulnerable to terrorism, the topic was introduced in the Central American defense agenda as an attempt to realign security forces in a war against terrorism. The regional police reform agenda suddenly found itself trying to strengthen its institutions in the midst of a new agenda.

Increasing crime rates have also become a challenge that police in Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras have to face with scarce resources in a new environment. The effective work of law enforcement is threatened by expanding gangs, increased crime in suburban areas and its increasing associations with drug trafficking. Meanwhile, Nicaragua, the only country apparently immune to this phenomenon, has been able to maintain adequate standards of effectiveness in controlling crime as a result of police operations characterized by close proximity to the people, an effective strategy based on the high level of recognition and respect police enjoy within the population.

In 2005, the territorial defense agenda in the United States culminated with the signing with Mexico and Canada of the Alliance for Northern Security and Prosperity. From that moment on, Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras constituted the northern continent's southern border. This alliance demanded increased border control, especially in Guatemala. This fact led to a second crucial moment in the definition of the duties of the armed forces in the region: the involvement of armies in citizen security activities which were originally exclusive responsibilities of the police. The insecurity largely generated by the movement of drug trafficking cartels from Mexican territory (since Plan

Mérida) and the Mexican government offensive against these groups obviously deteriorated the internal security of the countries of the northern Central American triangle.

Due to the absence of a security strategy from the Central American governments, the armed forces have become involved in the fight against organized crime and insecurity, deploying soldiers for patrol operations in the most dangerous neighborhoods. This not only distorts the responsibilities of armies and police forces, but also hinders the professionalization of both institutions, since these actions are not carried out as part of a medium and long-term security strategy.

### ***Structures of the Region's Armed Forces***

The Armed Forces of the region are composed of ground forces -or armies- and air forces and navies. If we examine the division of forces, it seems that the distribution of military strength is more proportional in Honduras, since 12% of the total military force corresponds to the Navy, and 13% with the Air Force. In the case of Guatemala, the Air Force and Navy barely reach 6% each and in the case of El Salvador, the Air Force and Navy each accounted for 4% in comparison to the total military force.<sup>5</sup>

During defense re-structuring, the Naval and Air Forces were not strengthened, a peculiar trend since more coverage of the border was expected to effectively counter narcotics trafficking. However, the military structure operating during the civil wars of the region remained, meaning armed forces continue to be dominated by ground troops.

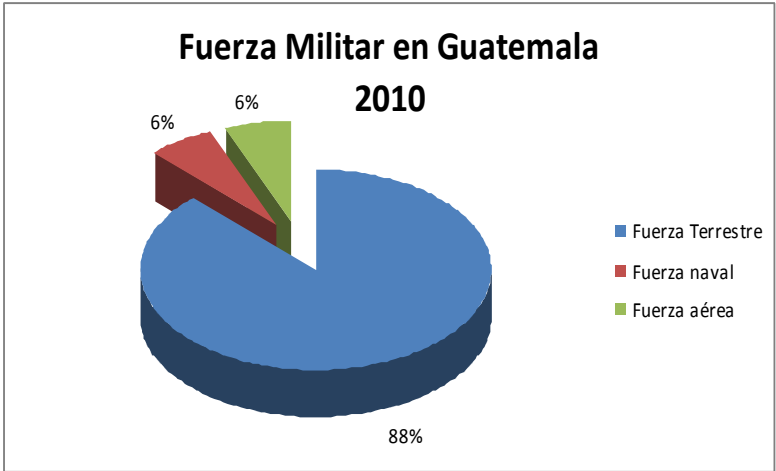
Regarding the fight against organized crime and drug trafficking, the capabilities of the armed forces are underdeveloped, barely able to operate in air and sea environments. Thus, it is evident that re-structuring was not

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<sup>5</sup> Resdal. *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, 2010.

based on a serious analysis of military transformation. It was based on keeping what they had, without investing in equipment and technology without developing an effective army to confront new threats.

**Figure 1. Armed Forces in Guatemala**



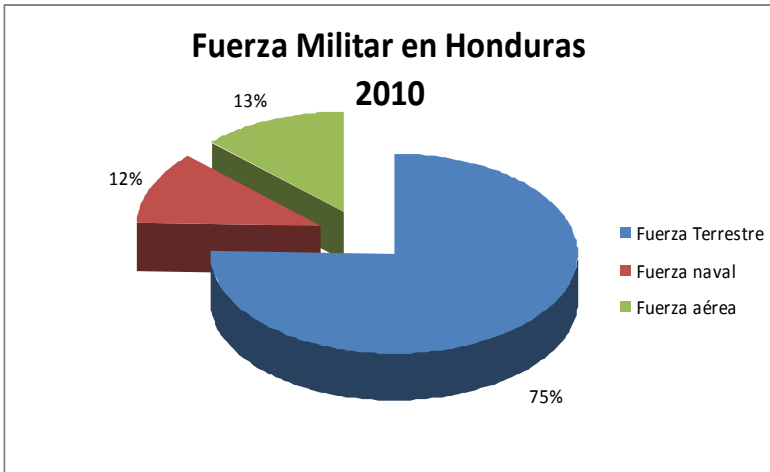
Source: RESDAL, *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, 2010.

**Figure 2. Armed Forces in El Salvador**



Source: RESDAL, *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, 2010.

**Figure 3. Armed Forces in Honduras**



Source: RESDAL, *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, 2010.

In the case of Guatemala, the budget reduction, agreed to in the peace negotiations, was done by preserving the middle and upper officer ranks of the institution, producing armed forces saturated with officers without troops to lead.<sup>6</sup> Nor was it modernized but, on the contrary, the induction of troops for military service declined. This resulted in an expensive and ineffective military for a country that abandoned its borders as the primary objective for territorial control.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to the considerations mentioned above, we must add concerns about the real commitment of the armed forces to take on the challenges of hemispheric security. It seems

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<sup>6</sup> The 2005 Accountability Report to the Ministry of Defense of Guatemala establishes the number of officers at 2,393 and troops at 9,315 meaning that there is less than four troop members per officer, *see: IEPADES. Política pública de defensa y modernización de las Fuerzas Armadas a través de la formulación del presupuesto*, (Guatemala, 2006), pp. 170.

<sup>7</sup> It is estimated that there are 100 blind spots along the Guatemalan border.

that they are in a process of validation and subsistence, wanting to grow at the expense of performing police actions when in fact they should focus on their role of containing organized crime outside regional boundaries. Furthermore, the case of Honduras and the recent political crisis where the military was actively involved in defending and executing a coup against a sitting President of that country returned to the table the issue of the aspirations of military leaders seeking to recover political space and power through mechanisms outside of the framework of the rule of law.

### ***Organization***

The armed forces are governed by a vertically hierarchical command led by the President of the Republic, who has authority over Ministries or Departments of Defense led by a civilian or military officer, respectively. In descending order, a Chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who is usually the Commanding General of the Armed Forces, undertakes actions ordered by the Ministries and the President of the Republic. Unlike other countries, the Defense Minister of Nicaragua is not part of the chain of command (which includes the Commander in Chief, the Chief of Staff and the General Inspector). (See Appendix).

An important fact is that Guatemala and El Salvador have never had a civilian Defense Minister. While Guatemala's constitution prevents it, it has not had a civilian vice minister either.<sup>8</sup> In Nicaragua and Honduras, the Minister of Defense is a civilian. While in Nicaragua civilian Ministers of Defense have existed since the origins of the Ministry itself, in Honduras the armed forces made this decision relatively recently in 1999.

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<sup>8</sup> Coincidentally, these two countries experienced long internal conflicts. In addition, the Armed Forces had control of basically the whole State in both countries.

It should be noted that a merger between the armed forces and the ministries of defense has taken place. The latter, subordinated to the military, have a structure in which civilians only occupy low ranking administrative positions, or are assimilated as experts. Thus, there is no possibility of having Ministries of Defense that respond to a political vision of that sector, or modify society's perceptions of the ministry itself while defining the separation between military power (led by the Chief of Staff) and political power (represented by the Minister of Civil Defense). Without this possibility, the door is open to army politicization where each presidential election also becomes a competition inside the institutions of the armed forces.

### ***Training***

In Guatemala, military careers in the Army, Navy and Air Force are developed during 4 years of training and education at a Polytechnic School, as well as the Military and Naval Schools of Aviation. Graduates from these institutions are commissioned with the rank of Ground Forces Lieutenant, Second Lieutenant in the Air Force and Midshipmen in the Navy, with Bachelor degrees in Military Science and Technology. In the Ground and Air Force Intermediate Training schools, graduates are Lieutenants, First Captains and Second Captains. Likewise, in the Command School and Staff College, graduates are in the Major, Lieutenant Colonel, Brigadier and Major General ranks. At the Naval Academy, graduates are Second Lieutenants of Ship and Frigate, Lieutenants of Frigate and Ship, Captains of Frigate<sup>9</sup> and Corvette, Captains, Admirals and Vice Admirals.

In the case of Honduras and Nicaragua, the completion of a Bachelors' degree in Military Sciences takes four years. In Honduras, the first graduation rank is Sub-lieutenant, while in Nicaragua the rank is Lieutenant. In the case of Nicaragua,

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<sup>9</sup> A Captain of frigate graduates from the School of Higher Strategic Studies.

the ranks of Lieutenant, Captain, Major, Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel are obtained at the Staff College (ESEM). In the case of Honduras, the intermediate ranks of the Ground Force are obtained at the School for Officers, while the ones for the Air Force and Navy are obtained at the Middle Management Training School and finally, the ranks of Captain and Major are obtained after taking a course at the Staff College.

In both countries, officers graduate with ranks of Major, Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, Brigadier General, Major General (in the case of Honduras) and General Staff and Army General (only in the case of Nicaragua). On the other hand, the Navy of Nicaragua and Honduras train Lieutenant Commanders, Commanders, Captains, Rear Admirals and Vice Admirals (in the case of Honduras) and fleet Admirals, Generals, Major Generals and Generals of the Army (in the case of Nicaragua).

In El Salvador, the School of Command and Chiefs of Staff train both ground and air forces with the ranks of Second Lieutenant, Lieutenant, Captain, Major,<sup>10</sup> Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel, Brigadier General and Major General. Except for the Air Force, the upper ranks are Brigadier General of Aviation and General of Aviation. The ranks of the Naval Force of El Salvador are: Corvette Lieutenant, Lieutenant of Frigate, Lieutenant, Lieutenant Commander, Commander, Captain, Rear Admiral and Vice Admiral.

### ***Offices of Military Attachés***

With the exception of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala have Offices of Defense Attachés and/or Military Attachés in various countries (as noted in Table 1). However, these military attachés are limited to certain Central America

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<sup>10</sup> Up to these ranks, they graduate in the School of Command and Staff College: Staff College Courses.



countries, Mexico, the Caribbean and three countries in South America, without any explanation of a strategy defined for such assignments available.

**Table 1: Offices of Military Attaché**

Country	Offices of Defense and or Military Attaché-Country of Origin
<b>Guatemala</b>	Belize, México, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Colombia and
<b>Honduras</b>	México, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Colombia and Chile
<b>Nicaragua</b>	Guatemala, México, Honduras, El Salvador and Cuba.
<b>El Salvador</b>	N/A

Source: Compiled by author based on data from *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, RESDAL, 2010

### ***Information on Admission and Training***

The information shown below indicates that with the exception of Nicaragua, there is a regional trend towards the admission of new applicants in the educational centers of the armed forces, given that national universities offer opportunities to pursue higher education and start a military career. The selection and admission process appears to be very competitive, especially in the case of Honduras and Nicaragua.

**Table 2: Admission to Academies & Defense Educational Centers 2010**

Country	Applicants	Admitted	Admission Average
<b>El Salvador</b>	557	196	1 out of 3 applicants
<b>Guatemala</b>	691	216	1 out of 3 applicants
<b>Nicaragua</b>	130	100	3 out of 4 applicants
<b>Honduras<sup>11</sup></b>	375	375	1 out of 1 applicant

Source: *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, RESDAL, 2010.

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<sup>11</sup> Figure shows the average of applicants and admissions to the Ground Force of the Honduran army.

**Table 3: Applicants to Academies & Defense Educational Centers 2008-2010**

Country	2008	2009	2010
<b>El Salvador</b>	550	376	557
<b>Guatemala</b>	459	529	691
<b>Nicaragua</b>	219	140	130
<b>Honduras<sup>12</sup></b>	354	170	375

Source: *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, RESDAL, 2010.

### *Number of Forces*

As can be seen in Table 4, the region reported a total of 47,146 service personnel. Guatemala and El Salvador appear to have the largest armies, followed by Honduras and Nicaragua.

**Table 4: Number of members in the Armed Forces (2010)**

Country	Ground Force	Naval Force	Air Force	Total
<b>Guatemala</b>	13,078	909	919	14,906
<b>Honduras</b>	6,467	994	1,105	8,566 <sup>13</sup>
<b>El Salvador</b>	12,661	830	771	14,262
<b>Nicaragua</b>				9,412

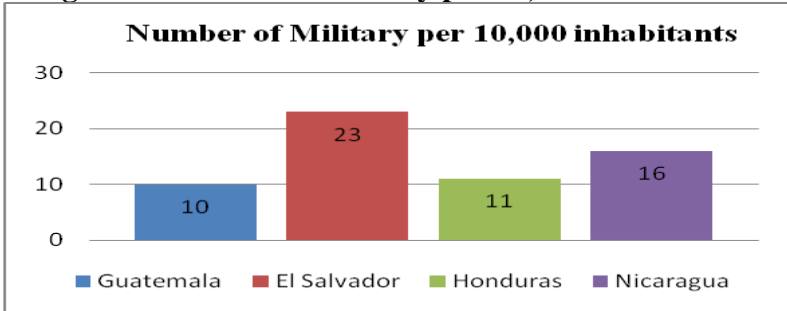
Source: *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, RESDAL 2010.

If a calculation is performed to determine the ratio of service personnel for every 10,000 inhabitants, the results would be as shown below.

<sup>12</sup> Figure only reflects the average number of applicants to the Ground Force of the Honduran army.

<sup>13</sup> Data from 2009.

**Figure 4. Number of Military per 10, 000 Inhabitants**



Source: Compiled by author based on data from *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, RESDAL, 2010

Table 5, shows a disparity in some categories of the region’s armed forces. Guatemala, for example, has a smaller number of officers and non-commissioned officers, while Honduras has a proportional percentage of troops closer to Nicaragua and El Salvador.

**Table 5: Number of Military Personnel by Rank**

Force	Rank	Army	Nava l Force	Air Forc e	Total	Total Percen- tage of Member s
<b>Guatemala</b>	Officers	1,652	161	118	1,931	13
	Non- commission -ed officers	3,047	275	296	3,618	24
	Troops	8,379	473	505	9,357	63
<b>El Salvador</b>	Officers	1,444	133	205	1,782	12
	Non- commission -ed officers	820	54	242	1,116	8
	Troops	10,397	643	324	11,364	80
<b>Honduras</b> <sup>14</sup>	Officers	526	163	214	903	10
	Non- commission -ed officers	109	54	323	486	6
	Troops	5,832	777	568	7,177	84
<b>Nicaragua</b>	Officers	1,500			1,500	16
	Non- commission -ed officers	302			302	3
	Troops	7,610			7,610	81

Source: Compiled by author based on data from *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, RESDAL, 2010.

These three countries highlight the gap between officers and non-commissioned officers. It seems that there are either no future generations to replace high ranking senior officers or opportunities for promotion are foreclosed, with the intention of reducing the weight of officers on the institution, in view of a possible budget cut in the future.

### ***Budgets***

The budget figures of the armed forces in Central America vary. Honduras is the country in the region that invests the most resources in defense with nearly \$137 million dollars, representing 3.64% of total national budget. Nicaragua

<sup>14</sup> Figures from 2009.

invested \$41 million dollars in defense, with armed forces smaller in size in comparison to Honduras, representing 2.84% of its total national budget. It is followed by El Salvador, which invests in defense 2.80% of its total national budget, while Guatemala's military budget (2.62%) has the lowest percentage in relation to that country's total budget. It is worth noting that many activities undertaken by the Guatemalan Ministry of Defense entail additional activities for the Army that are not necessarily quantified in the general budget. Among them are costs for combined patrols with the Ministry of the Interior, for support to state institutions and participation in United Nations peacekeeping operations.

Military budgets however, do not include the significant expenditures on pensions and benefits. Given the large number of military officers, pension and retirement funds have become unmanageable. Guatemala has had to disburse additional funds from the National General Budget to cover the functioning and obligations of the Military Security Institute-in this case, funds that complement others from the Ministry of Defense itself.<sup>15</sup> While it seems that the defense budget remains low, when you add these expenses, its volume increases.<sup>16</sup>

When assessing the budget by dividing operating and investment costs, a higher percentage of them are directed to pay personnel: Guatemala 66.1%, El Salvador 7.6%, Honduras 71.5% and Nicaragua 62.6%.<sup>17</sup> If we analyze the

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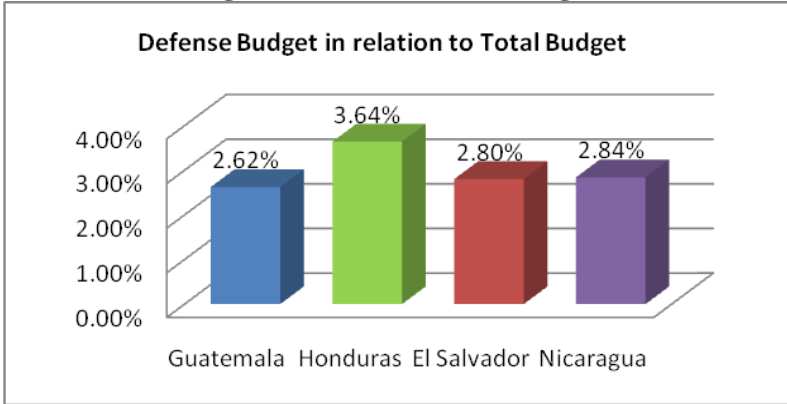
<sup>15</sup> Occasionally, the amount of funds is equivalent to the amount of security funds, around 8 million and a half dollars, offered by the Ministry of Defense of Guatemala, a total of 17 million dollars.  
<http://www.gam.org.gt/public/comunic/2008/Abr/comunicado0804408.pdf>.

<sup>16</sup> According to the RESDAL's 2010 *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, Latin America armed forces spend 68% of the budget on staff expenses, 42% on pensions and retirements funds and 58% on salaries. In the case of Guatemala, pensions are adjusted to the state's general budget without being considered as direct expenses of the Ministry of Defense.

<sup>17</sup> RESDAL Op. Cit.

investment in military modernization (technology and capacity for effective action), we find a shoestring budget dedicated for this purpose: Guatemala 2.3%, El Salvador 7.4%, Honduras 4.9%, and Nicaragua 2.6%.

**Figure 5. National Defense Budgets as a Percentage of Total National Budgets, 2009**



Source: Compiled by author based on data from financial institutions of each country.

These figures can be compared to other countries in the region such as Chile 31% and Colombia 25.5%.<sup>18</sup> This analysis does not attempt to justify a bigger budget for defense. But to highlight the lack of a strategic restructuring of the budget needed to have men and basic modern technology to defend their territories. Unfortunately, due to lack of public transparency of defense budgets in Central America, it is difficult to establish the precise amount of allocation, as well as of expenditure of, defense funds.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> For more information, see the following publications from IEPADES: De León Escribano, Carmen Rosa and Sagone Aycinena, Miguel Angel. *Presupuesto de Defensa en Guatemala: Auditoría Social y Análisis Político*. (IEPADES: Guatemala, 2004) and *Manual para el análisis y monitoreo de los presupuestos de seguridad y defensa*. (IEPADES: Guatemala, 2004); Sagone, Aycinena, Miguel Ángel and Trujillo, Pedro, *Fortalecimiento de la participación ciudadana y control civil de la asignación y supervisión presupuestaria del sector de defensa*. (IEPADES: Guatemala, 2004); IEPADES. *Política pública de defensa y*

## REGIONAL BODIES

### *The Conference of Central American Armed Forces (CFAC)*

The Conference of Central American Armed Forces (CFAC) is a regional agency created in 1997 by the governments of Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua with the aim of creating a space for direct military consultation within the region, to contribute to regional security and military integration in an effort to maintain cooperation, coordination and mutual support among the Armed Forces. The CFAC originated as a reaction to the signing of the Framework Treaty on Democratic Security, which creates a Security Commission composed of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Defense and Interior. Among its goals are to propose joint actions, exchange of information and experiences in all aspects of cooperation and promote mutual confidence building measures among member countries. In addition, a main goal of the CFAC is to maintain constant communication with the General Secretariat of the Central American Integration System (SICA). (See Appendix for details on the activities, results and achievements of the Conference of the Armed Forces of Central America, CFAC).

### *Peace Operations*

Guatemala's Armed Forces have been the pioneers in Central American in the search for actions abroad, in compliance with functions that fall within its framework of action. This leadership was consolidated with the establishment of the Regional Command for Peacekeeping Training Operations (CREOMPAZ), which operates under the CFAC. Guatemala's participation in peacekeeping operations is fundamentally linked to the Kaibiles special unit, originally

formed to conduct counter-insurgency warfare and known for its toughness and challenging training regimen.

**Table 5: Military and Police Forces in Peacekeeping Operations**

Peacekeeping Operation	Guatemala	El Salvador <sup>20</sup>	Nicaragua	Honduras
MINUSTAH (Haiti)	146			
UNMIL (Liberia)		2		
MINURSO (West Sahara )		5		12
UNMIN (Nepal)	1			
UNIFIL Lebanon)	3	52		
UNMIS (Sudan)	8	4		
MONUSCO (RDC)	156			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>314</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>12</b>

Source: Compiled by author based on data from *Atlas Comparativo de Defensa*, RESDAL, 2010.

## THE POLICE FORCES OF GUATEMALA, HONDURAS, EL SALVADOR AND NICARAGUA

### *Guatemala's National Civilian Police*

The Peace Accords of 1996 provided a new concept of security, inseparable from the exercise of the rights and duties of citizens, which requires absolute respect for human rights and the multi-ethnic, multicultural and multilingual characteristics of a democratic society. The new National Civil Police, as established under the Agreement on the Strengthening of Civilian Power and the Role of the Army in a Democratic Society, is a professional institution in charge of maintaining and restoring order and public security. It is responsible for investigating, preventing and combating crime, arresting people by court order or in the commission of a crime, managing public security information,

<sup>20</sup> In the case of El Salvador, most participants are police observers. By 2008, only 15 military observers participated.



collaborating with civil defense in case of emergencies, enforcing laws, controlling private security activities, regulating traffic and providing assistance to civil security forces of other countries.

The Guatemalan police model consists of one body with a decentralized structure. It consists of ten Directorates, eight Secretariats, a General Inspector and an Internal Audit Unit. This reorganization is not unique; Guatemala's PNC has undergone several transformations without achieving institutional consolidation. The first one, under the government of Guatemalan Republican Front in 2004, witnessed a change in the law allowing the appointment of a director outside of the police force. This change destabilized the police career advancement system and annulled the Academy as a mechanism for promotion.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the new law, the former senior and middle ranking officers managed to maintain control of the institution, preventing the entrance of external professionals and preserving the corrupt and repressive practices of the previous model. This led to juxtaposition between the new model (supported by international cooperation) and the old practices and vices of the past. As a result, internal control mechanisms were ignored and high levels of corruption and infiltration of organized crime were generated. The second reform took place with the completion of a Governmental Agreement, which included the restructuring of the police force and a new design of the Criminal Investigation System.

### ***Organization***

The General Directorate, led by the General Director, is the higher body of the PNC. The institution comprises the

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<sup>21</sup> The creation of a new National Civilian Police has established the need to open an Academy with the goal of regulating the police career, promotion and specialization as well as training new agents, inspectors, officers and high ranking officers and to update the training of those who are currently serving in the police.

following General Branches: Public Security, Crime Prevention, Criminal Investigation, Specialized Units, Personnel, Finance and Logistics and Health. The Sub-Directorate of Public Security has the following duties: to maintain and restore order and public security and assist and protect citizens and their goods through territorial deployments geographically organized in district headquarters, police stations, and substations. With the organizational restructuring of the PNC, the Crime Prevention and Office of the Inspector branches are no longer the principal organs of control and the academy is relegated to secondary consideration, thus stagnating education as a mechanism for admission, selection and promotion.

One of the units with chronic problems is the anti-drug trafficking unit, which is funded primarily by the United States. The problem with this unit lies with the ineffective institutional apparatus of intelligence and criminal investigations bureaus of the PNC. This has led to the consolidation of intelligence work, research and operations are into the anti-drug trafficking unit, creating conflicting responsibilities with other units, generating more corruption among its members, who are aware of all processes.

The permanent closure and conversion of these units within the PNC should question the way it is confronting drug trafficking, since it does not constitute a unified strategy but tends to be a unit managed with American support. To improve the performance and effectiveness of the police, we must promote the modernization of criminal investigation and the strengthening of police intelligence and internal controls. At the present, it is expected that the Commission for Police Reform, led by human rights activist Helen Mack, will start functioning shortly. The first progress report of the Commission is still in progress. It is expected that funding will be provided by the Guatemalan State with support from the international community.

## ***National Police of Honduras***

The National Police of Honduras is designed, according to Article 293 of the country's Constitution, as "... a permanent professional institution of the State, apolitical in the partisan sense, purely civilian, responsible for guaranteeing the preservation of public order, prevention, control, the fight against crime, the enforcement of decisions, regulations, mandates and legal decisions of the authorities and public officials, all with strict respect for human rights."

The military was directly involved with the National Police of Honduras until 1998, when the Organic Act created the National Police, which definitively separated the functions of the armed forces with those of the then Public Security Force (FUSEP). In this way, two State Secretariats were created: the Secretary of National Defense and Secretary of Security.

By 1993, the National Bureau of Investigation had been dismantled as a result of the numerous human rights violations committed by the Honduran Armed Forces in the past. Thus, investigations by the National Bureau of Investigation became a task for the Attorney General - through the Criminal Investigation Department (DIC)<sup>22</sup> - now turned into a specialized police organization for criminal investigations within the Public Ministry.<sup>23</sup>

This change provoked conflicts between the Public Ministry, the military and the police. Both police and military sectors, under the protection of FUSEP senior officials and the traditional political class, called for a reduction of the power of the Public Ministry and prevention from conducting research. The Organic Law of the National Police, in 1998, managed to transfer the research function from DIC to the

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<sup>22</sup>In this same way, the Anti-Drug trafficking Directorate was created.

<sup>23</sup> Herrera, Fabricio. *La Mujer en las Fuerzas Armadas y la Policía. Una aproximación de Género a las Operaciones de Paz. El caso de Honduras*. (RESDAL National Reports, Buenos Aires, 2009).

General Directorate of Criminal Investigation (DGIC), creating the National Preventive Police (PNP) under the Ministry of Security. Thus, the DIC, now DGIC, along with the Public Security Force (FUSEP) were combined to create the National Civilian Police of Honduras.

During this reform stage, the National Homeland Security Council (CONASIN) composed of officials from government and civil society to exercise democratic control of police activities and provide advice on policy formulation and evaluation of security was created. They also created an Internal Affairs Unit to prevent and investigate crimes committed by members of the police from either the technical or administrative staffs that are under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of Security. Despite progress, CONASIN has been a weak institution. Despite its important role, CONASIN has rarely convened since its creation.

Another significant reform was the transformation of the Internal Affairs Unit into a National Directorate. This unit was created to ensure the protection of police officers who are investigating other members of the police. Since the Directorate is still under the leadership of the Secretary of Security, this limits the scope of its duties. It should be noted that this change established a police career in internal affairs.

### ***Organization***

The new police structure is characterized by a centralized command. The National Directorates of Preventive Police, Criminal Investigation, Preventive Services, Traffic, Special Investigation Service and Internal Affairs fall under this command. These Directorates are geographically organized in the following order: Regional Headquarters, Departmental Headquarters, Metropolitan Headquarters, District Headquarters, Municipal Headquarters, Fixed or Mobile Headquarters, Police Stations and Police Posts.

### ***Education and Income***

In accordance with Article 56 of the Organic Law of the National Police of Honduras, membership to the Police requires Honduran nationality, not having violated human rights, 18 years of age and health in agreement with the fulfillment of the position. Also it is required to have completed at least primary education and have not been punished or been prosecuted for disciplinary action that has classified the individual as deficient. All applicants who meet the requirements have access to an entrance exam and should be no more than 30 years of age to enter the police. These requirements differ from those for the investigative unit (Article 58 of the Act) which requires the successful completion of higher education.

The Organic Law of the National Police of Honduras states that the office of the Chancellor of the Police Education System oversees educational centers such as the National Police University of Honduras (UNPH), the National Police Academy (ANAP), the Non-Commissioned Officers School (ESO), the Police Technology Institute (ITP) and the Polytechnic High School Police, among others. An officer with a minimum rank of Sub-Commissioner will be in charge of each of these centers.

The General Directorate of Police Education includes two institutions that offer police training by rank: the National Police Academy, founded in 1976, which trains the highest-ranking officers and the Police Training Center (CIP), created in 1982, which trains low-ranking patrol officers.<sup>24</sup>

The police force also has a Training School for Police Officers (ECOP), founded in 1984 and a Superior Institute of Police Studies (IESP), created in 1996. Finally, police officers can opt for a bachelor's degree in Police Science, but

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<sup>24</sup> Since 2009, the law calls for the creation of the Police Science Technology Institute which absorbs the Center for Police Education.

there is no collegial body to approve a professional curriculum for a police career (although it is stated by the Organic Law). By 2006, all the degrees are of a civilian nature; therefore, there is no police career by definition.

### ***National Civil Police of El Salvador***

The National Civil Police (*Policía Nacional Civil*—PNC) of El Salvador originated from the 1992 Peace Accords, signed by the Government of El Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). These agreements specify that "the National Civil Police is a professional body, independent of the armed forces and foreign to any partisan activity". This is seen as a central institution with urban and rural police duties, designed to ensure order, security, public tranquility and collaboration in the process of criminal investigation.

The PNC is subordinated to the Ministry of Public Security and Justice. It is a professional, career-based force. Its organizational structure consists of a General Directorate that is responsible for the Technical Center, the Police Intelligence Center, the Disciplinary Court, the General Inspector and the Internal Audit Unit. One step down from the General Directorate is the General Sub-Directorate, which coordinates the Sub-Directorates of Public Security, Research, Specialized Area Operations, Ground Transportation and the Rural Police, as well as Administration and Finance.

Public Safety tasks entail territorial deployment activities and functions, patrolling, prevention, deterrence, control of firearms violations, the capture of suspected criminals in the act, criminal investigation, and traffic control and road safety, among others. The deployment is divided by territorial Delegations, Sub-Delegations and Posts.

The Public Safety Sub-Directorate also coordinates the implementation of police strategies on crime prevention. It is

responsible for the following divisions: Public Security, Youth and Family Services, Registration and Control of Private Security Services, Tourist Police, Maritime Police, the 911 Emergency Division and the Regional Public Security force. Territorial deployment is divided by Delegations and Sub-Delegations.

Its strategic priorities are based on a 4-year plan, which includes strengthening the culture of complaint (through mechanisms such as protection of witnesses), Criminological Statistical Systems (to monitor the violence and apply corrective measures) and surveillance in high-risk areas (especially areas controlled by gangs.) This requires a greater number of PNC officers and an allocation of adequate and modern equipment for investigations and combating crime. The permanent struggle against drug trafficking and money laundering are also the focus of similar efforts.

Finally, El Salvador's PNC's strategy seeks to develop closer relationships to enable coordination with federal and local governments in the United States to jointly carry out programs to prevent youth gang violence, a result of the strong presence of Salvadoran gangs in their jurisdictions.

### ***Education System***

The signing of the 1992 Peace Accords created the National Public Security Academy (ANSP) as the sole educational institution. This is an autonomous and independent institution in charge of police training both at the basic and advanced levels. The ANSP has a director appointed by the President and utilizes an Academic Council that administers the highest governing body of police training, consisting of well-known personalities appointed by the President.

Entrance at the basic level requires a bachelor's degree and to be between 18 to 28 years of age. For the executive level, the requirements are to be no older than 30 years of age and have an undergraduate college degree. In both cases,

candidates must not have criminal or police records and pass a series of physical, medical and psycho-technical tests as well as a series of personal interviews to assess the candidate's capacity to be a policeman, among other things.

Basic training for the basic level is five months and three months of in-service training. To be eligible for promotion, the Police Career Law requires a vacancy in need of filling and that the applicant has had at least minimal effective service at the level or next lower level to which he aspires.

**Table 7: Police Career in El Salvador**

Rank	Time
<b>Officer</b>	2 years
<b>Sergeant</b>	3 years
<b>Sub Inspector</b>	4 years
<b>Inspector</b>	4 years
<b>Chief Inspector</b>	4 years
<b>Sub Commissioner</b>	5 years
<b>Commissioner.</b>	5 years
<b>General Commissioner</b>	3 years

Source: Compiled by author based on data from Career Law Police Decree No. 773.

### ***Civilian Police in Nicaragua***

The National Police of Nicaragua was founded in 1979<sup>25</sup> after the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship that ruled the country for 45 years. It has an extensive background as a civilian institution separate from the army. However, during the eighties, it suffered great instability as a result of the political and military situation. It is only until the nineties when the process of institutional strengthening began.

Between 1989 and 1992, the National Police of Nicaragua was formed in the midst of a transition to peace. According to a constitutional mandate, its mission is to ensure domestic

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<sup>25</sup> Until 1979, the institution that existed in Nicaragua was the National Guard of the Somoza dictatorship which worked in the military and police spheres.



order, the security of citizens, crime prevention, prosecution and anything else stipulated by law.

Between 1993 and 1997, the institution was strengthened and its institutional foundation, function, organization and the police profession as a career were defined.<sup>26</sup> The National Police was then conceived as the only police force in the country,<sup>27</sup> designed to be non-political, non-partisan, non-deliberative and civilian in nature. During this period, the first institutional analysis to identify future challenges took place and projects for modernization, development and training, including its Academy, were developed.

Similarly, the 2001-2005 Modernization and Development Program for the Strengthening of Public Security, which sought to achieve a broader view of the security demands of the population, as well as the internal demands of the institution, was implemented. Goals for the development of Human Resources, Social Media, Legal Reform and Gender Approach were drafted. Finally, a "National Police Strategic Plan for Strengthening Public Security (2005-2009)" was prepared. This plan aims to improve the effectiveness of the intervention model - its responsiveness and relationship with the community - to optimize the model of institutional management and organization including: financial management, personnel management, human resources development, coverage and quality of services, institutional infrastructure and organizational culture.

Despite the progress of the police, the law authorizes military intervention in police functions. In Article 92, the Constitution states that "only in exceptional cases, the President, meeting with his Cabinet, could order the Nicaraguan army to intervene in support of the National

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<sup>26</sup> According to Executive Decree 45-92, law of the National Police's duties regarding Judicial Assistance defined new duties to the Institution.

<sup>27</sup> As established by article 1 of the Police Law, Law number 228 of August 23, 1996.

Police when the stability of the Republic is threatened by large-scale internal strife, disasters or natural calamities. "Likewise, the Code of Organization, Jurisdiction and Military Social Welfare authorizes the Armed Forces to "assist the National Police in the fight against drug trafficking in the country under the provisions of the Law" (Law 181, Chapter I). Indeed, an "Agreement of Cooperation and Coordination regarding Anti-Drug Activity" (2000) allowed for the joint operation of military and police forces for this purpose.

### ***Organization***

The organizational structure of the National Police is governed by the General Directorate, located in the National Headquarters and is composed of the General Director, General Sub-Directors and General Inspector. After the National Headquarters, the organizational structure consists of the following:

- National Specialized Organizations composed of specialized criminal economic, drugs, personal safety and public transit investigation departments.
- Support organizations composed of the Police Academy and General Administration, General Counsel, Internal Affairs, National Archives and Criminology departments.
- Police delegations at the department, district and municipal levels and,
- Advisory Structures: National Council and the Council of Specialists.

Under the Police Act, the rank hierarchy is defined as follows: General Director, General Sub-Director and General Inspector, Director, Division Chief, Department and/or Office Head, Section or Unit Chief, First Officer, Officer and Executive. The National Police also has a Volunteer Police force, which is an "auxiliary and support body of the National Police, with an organizational structure subordinated and attached to police stations ...it is composed

of Nicaraguan citizens, that after a process of selection, preparation and swearing, accept the terms of service on a voluntary, temporary and free manner. Members of the Volunteer Police will mainly work on support, prevention, surveillance, public safety and transit. They will be properly identified with uniforms and badges and will be considered as conditional law enforcement officials."<sup>28</sup>

***Police Training***

The Police Academy of Nicaragua is recognized by the National Council of Universities (CNU) as an institution of higher education. Characteristics of the Police Training System in Nicaragua are as shown below:

**Table 8: The Police Training System in Nicaragua**

Characteristics	
<b>Leading Organ of the Police Education System</b>	Police Academy and its Institute for Higher Studies of the National Police.
<b>Function</b>	Organize, plan, lead, coordinate and supervise professional training and development of the applicants and police in active service and the auxiliary forces.
<b>Rank:</b>	Superior Technician in Police Science with an undergraduate degree in Police Science.

Source: Compiled by author based on data from RSS by FLACSO, Chile; National Police Law and its Reforms, Law No. 228. Republic of Nicaragua, 2008 Statistical Yearbook of the National Police of Nicaragua.

Admissions to the Training subsystem take place by means of public summons, followed by a competitive qualification and examination system.

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<sup>28</sup>Articles 43 and 45 of the Police Law.

**Table 9: Training Sub-systems**

Sub-System	Training
<b>Training Sub-system</b>	New police, sub-officers and officers.
<b>Promotion and Training Sub-system</b>	Active police, sub-officers and officers, as well as auxiliary staff.
<b>Continued Education Sub-system</b>	Guarantee permanent and systematic communication at all levels to update knowledge regarding police performance.

Source: Compiled by author based on data from RSS by FLACSO, Chile; National Police Law and its Reforms, Law No. 228. Republic of Nicaragua, 2008 Statistical Yearbook of the National Police of Nicaragua.

Admission requirements to the basic level that grants policeman degrees are: to be between 18 and 30 years of age, a minimum stature of 1,60m for males and 1,55m for women, have at least six years of primary education and pass physical, medical, psychological and general education exams.

The Promotion and Training Sub-system, which trains police officers, Sub-Officers and active officers, as well as auxiliary staff, facilitates advancement within a police career track. Admitted officers and senior officers have the possibility of taking five month long graduate courses and / or completing a degree in five years. It should be noted that a significant contribution to the modernization and professionalization of the police is the integration of gender through the Office of Gender. Since 2006, the Nicaraguan National Police is headed by a female police officer with the rank of First Commissioner in the National Headquarters.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Today, 26% of Nicaraguan police officers are women, the highest proportion of female police officers in the world. Nicaragua’s police services have been described as the most “women-friendly” ones in the region and are praised for its successful initiatives to address sexual violence. The reforms have also helped the police gain legitimacy and credibility in the eyes of the general public. See: *Gender and SSR Tool Kit, Security Sector Reform and Gender*. Practice Note No. 1, [se2.dcaf.ch/service engine/Files/DCAF09/...en/Practice+Note+01.pdf](http://se2.dcaf.ch/service-engine/Files/DCAF09/...en/Practice+Note+01.pdf).

### ***Regional Scope***

Within the Central American Integration System (*Sistema de Integración Centroamericano--SICA*) and in compliance with the Framework Treaty in Central America, a regional police institution, the Association of Chiefs of Central American Police, was founded in 1992.<sup>30</sup> Its organization counts with the respective Directors of Police Academy and Legal Advisors. It also has a Regional Council for Gender, an Intelligence, Communication and Image Community, as well as Tourism Security and Statistics. It also has specialized units against vehicle theft and another in charge of resisting gangs and/or “*maras*.” In the same way, it provides attention to and the prevention of, police corruption and drug and human trafficking.

Its activities include the adoption of the Regional Plan Against Organized Crime, including nine types of crime such as kidnapping, bank robberies and transportation security for high value items, illegal trafficking of arms, ammunition, explosives and related materials, human trafficking, smuggling, vehicle theft, money and asset laundering, illicit trafficking in cultural property and drug trafficking.

New Regional Plans have been approved in the fields of terrorism, high-risk children and human trafficking. Other plans such as the Regional Plan against Criminal Gang Activity and/or Maras, Border Security, and Tourism Security have also been approved. Police attaché offices have been created and gender perspectives has been adopted within the regional police agenda.

It should be noted that a statistical yearbook has been prepared. Haiti and the Dominican Republic have adopted

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<sup>30</sup> Commission of Chiefs, Directors of the Police in Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean. “*Principales avances y su rol en la comisión de seguridad de Centroamérica*” February 2010.  
<http://www.policia.gob.ni/cedoc/ReHisCJPAMC.PDF>.

this initiative and several European police agencies, such as Interpol, play the role of observers.

### ***Comparison of Law Enforcement Units in Central America***

It is difficult to compare the evolution of Central American law enforcement units given their relatively recent creation and specialization. Nevertheless, we can say that there are differences in the understanding of their roles and the effectiveness of their activities.

Without a doubt, the most successful police force is the Nicaraguan Police, because not only does it enjoy the recognition of society but has proven to be the most effective one in maintaining security. In the case of Honduras, the Judicial Police falls under the aegis of the Public Ministry, which relegates it to the exercise of preventative duties, with no responsibility for criminal investigation. Moreover, El Salvador is characterized by its emphasis on education and the police academy, which has preserved the police career track.

It is important to note that there is a separate educational institution from the police structure, which ensures fairness in the selection, preparation and promotion of personnel. On the other hand, if one examines the number of policemen in the four countries, we see that none come close to the international standard of 40 policemen for every 10,000 inhabitants. Although Guatemala has the largest number of members, when divided by the number of inhabitants, it falls in last place.

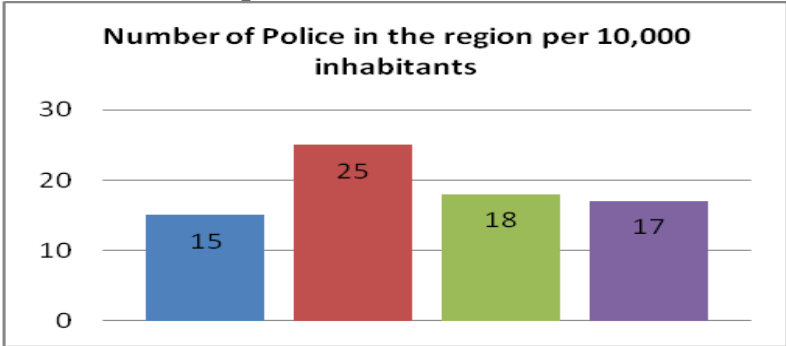
**Table 10: Police per 10,000 inhabitants**

Number of police per 10,000 inhabitants	
<b>Guatemala</b>	15
<b>El Salvador</b>	25
<b>Honduras</b>	18
<b>Nicaragua</b>	17

Source: Compiled by the author based on data from multiple sources.

Although Guatemala has the largest number of members, when divided by the number of inhabitants, it falls in last place.

**Figure 6. Number of Police in the Region per 10,000 Inhabitants**



Source: Compiled by the author based on data from multiple sources.

In terms of numbers of police per 10,000 inhabitants, El Salvador occupies first place, followed by Honduras, Nicaragua y Guatemala. The region has a total of 60,909 policemen.

**Table 11: Number of Members in the National Civilian Police Forces**

Country	Police Force
Guatemala	19,713
Honduras	14,832
Nicaragua	9,709
El Salvador	16,655

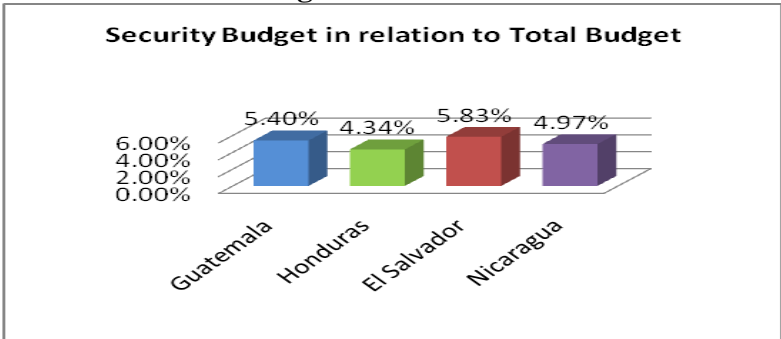
Source: Compiled by author based on data from multiple sources.

In relation to budgetary issues, it is evident that the four countries allocate almost double the amount to the police budget in comparison to the defense budget, but in general terms it is not enough considering the high levels of insecurity in the region.

According to a report provided by the National Human Rights Commissioner of Honduras, the country went from a rate of 40 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2007 to 58 in 2008, while El Salvador fell from 57 to 52; Guatemala rose from 45 to 48, Belize increased from 30 to 32; Panama from 13 to 19; Nicaragua remained at 13 and Costa Rica increased from 8 to 11.<sup>31</sup>

When analyzing the security budget invested by the countries under review, it appears that in the case of the first three, it is inversely proportional to the number of murders in their countries. The case of El Salvador seems to show that a greater investment in security results in the reduction of the level of homicides. Honduras, on the other hand, already proven to be the country that invests less in security, has the highest number of homicides in the region.

**Figure 7. Security Budget in Relation to Total Budgets in Central America**



Source: Compiled by author based on information from financial institutions from each country.

Nicaragua has an average size security budget compared with the other three, yet it has the lowest number of homicides in the region. Nicaragua has been investing in security and is obtaining favorable results in fighting crime, providing a safe space for its inhabitants.

<sup>31</sup>El Nuevo Diario de Nicaragua, electronic version. March 23, 2010. <http://www.elnuevodiario.com.ni/nacionales/70952>.



Guatemala is the country that allocates the least resources to defense in relation to the overall budget. Reviewing the security sector,

Honduras allocates less to security spending in proportion to the overall budget while El Salvador is the country that allocates the most resources on security, followed by Guatemala. Honduras shows some discrepancy when comparing the cost of both security and defense of the four countries.

**Table 12: Implementation of Defense and Security Budgets in Relation to National Budgets (2009)—in thousand US dollars**

Country	Defense Budget	Security Budget	National Budget	Percentage of Defense Budget/ Total Budget	Percentage of Security Budget/ Total Budget
<b>Guatemala</b>	148,525.46	305,707.24	5,662,256.40	<b>2.62%</b>	<b>5.40%</b>
<b>Honduras</b>	136,785.12	162,919.91	3,757,042.08	<b>3.64%</b>	<b>4.34%</b>
<b>El Salvador</b>	135,225.20	281,583.40	4,827,132.50	<b>2.80%</b>	<b>5.83%</b>
<b>Nicaragua</b>	41,293.70	72,243.06	1,453,557.53	<b>2.84%</b>	<b>4.97%</b>

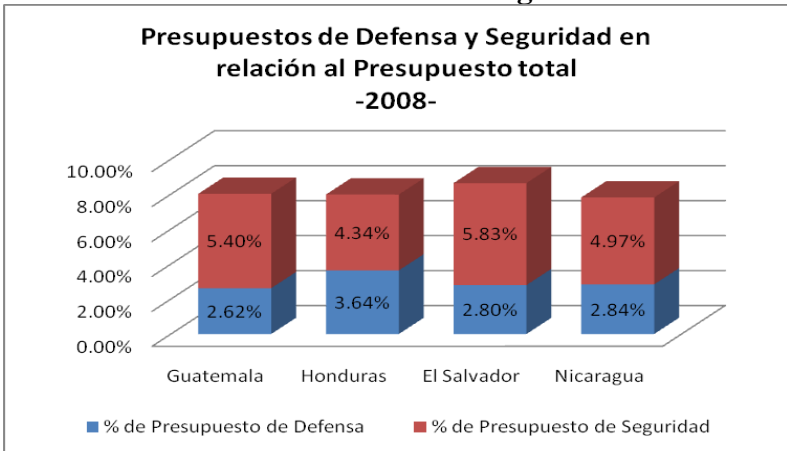
Source: Compiled by author based on data from Budget Implementation and Expenditures from each country.

If we combine defense and security budgets, El Salvador is the one that invests the most in both sectors (8.63%), followed by Guatemala (8.02%) and Honduras (7.98%), concluding with Nicaragua investing proportionately less in both areas (7.81%). However, the differences are not significant. In conclusion, we can say that the four countries lack resources, particularly in the field of security.

By analyzing these costs in relation to other countries on the continent, it is noteworthy that in general terms the average defense spending in relation to total budgets is 3.7% for all

countries.<sup>32</sup> From this point of view, the budget allocated to this area in Central America is close to the continental average. However, the results do not necessarily reflect the same effectiveness in peacekeeping. While the budget appears proportionate regarding expenditure, it is not intended to improve equipment and technology, or result in effective action by the Central American armies under their constitutional powers to combat organized crime in the region.

**Figure 8. Defense and Security Budgets in Relation to Total Budgets**



Source: Compiled by author based on Implementation and Expenditure Reports of Honduras, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Overall, the countries examined have reduced security and defense spending in relation to GDP especially when compared to increasing crime and insecurity levels. Additionally, as homicide, juvenile crime, extortion and kidnapping, crimes have a major impact on the social fabric; the social demand for higher police effectiveness is not reflected in the allocation of the expenditures in these countries. Moreover, the direct challenge against drug trafficking and the increasing presence of drug gangs,

<sup>32</sup> RESDAL, op.cit. p. 53.

especially in the northern region of Central America do not seem to be accompanied by greater investment in technology, capacity expansion and strengthening of the militaries to fulfill their responsibility for border protection. To this must be added the fact that there is no increase in investment on other agencies that should have more active roles in combating drug trafficking and smuggling in general. This calls for a strengthening of customs agencies, the control of weapons in private hands, the creation of units for tracking and combating illicit arms trafficking, increased investment in youth education and employment and improving the institutions of justice and its accessibility to it by populations of the Central American nations.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

1. It is necessary to review the process of military reconversion. The military remains involved in public security issues - especially Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras - that have not been restructured according to their own defense activities, especially regarding border protection. It is imperative to promote better-equipped air and naval forces with more insistence and detail within the area's institutions.
2. It is urgent to regain control of the borders in Central America, since the armed forces are responsible for safeguarding the national territory of each country.
3. The restructuring of the region's militaries should be one that favors investment over maintenance of high-ranking human resources. With a situation of low human development indices in the region, increases in defense spending cannot be expected.
4. It is important to develop Ministries of Defense that do not intersect with military institutions. It is

therefore, recommended to include civilians in high positions and other areas in the management and operation of the ministries.

5. Regional armed forces are tempted to regain the level of dominance they had in the past through their involvement in public security. However, collaboration in joint patrols only diverts attention from what should be one of its priority missions, border control.
6. Law enforcement agencies also have budget and institutional capacity deficits, although progress has been achieved in their institutionalization. It is necessary to strengthen four key areas: intelligence and law enforcement, criminal investigation, internal controls, selection processes and education.
7. To improve police capacity to respond to criminal threats, they cannot act through isolated specialized units within the institution. It is necessary to strengthen the axis described above throughout the regional police forces. In this sense, the coordination between the various countries directly involved in the institutional support of specific units, police authorities and the Ministries of Interior, is crucial, especially to define the goals for growth and institutional strengthening, as well as coordination strategies with the Armed Forces and other institutions for an effective comprehensive action to respond to the security demands of the region's populations.
8. Given the multidimensional nature of the threats that Central America faces in terms of security and defense, it is essential to combat the growing organized and common crime, not only from a reactive approach, but also from a preventive

perspective through social investment projects and poverty reduction. Also, goals should focus on fighting human, weapon and drug trafficking and its activities in general.

9. It is necessary to manage defense and security resources at the national and regional level in a more intelligent way. Indeed, the implementation of the Mérida Plan has had the effect of displacing of drug gangs into Central America, particularly to regions outside state control with weak institutions and lacking response capacity. Therefore, strategies must focus on rethinking regional combined responses by its security and defense forces, but from the perspective on how each force can contribute, thus, fostering a true separation of duties.
10. If the answer is drawn from a perspective of regional capacity, the inclusion of agencies such as the SICA is essential. It should take advantage of regional structures but in terms of inter-institutional coordination. To achieve this goal, the Association of Chiefs of Police must be developed and strengthened. This Association has been making progress by exchanging information, coordinating actions and establishing a regional platform for agencies from different countries. CFAC's role may be important, but if it fails to operate within a regional approach as SICA does, it will lose effectiveness, and will actually hinder coordination with other sectors, even for efforts requested for specific circumstances. For this reason, it should be a priority to review and transform SICA's security proposal, which has not been approved yet, into a real plan.
11. Given that one of the main points for a regional approach is the management and control of borders, it

is imperative to include actors, such as customs agencies, in any regional proposals.

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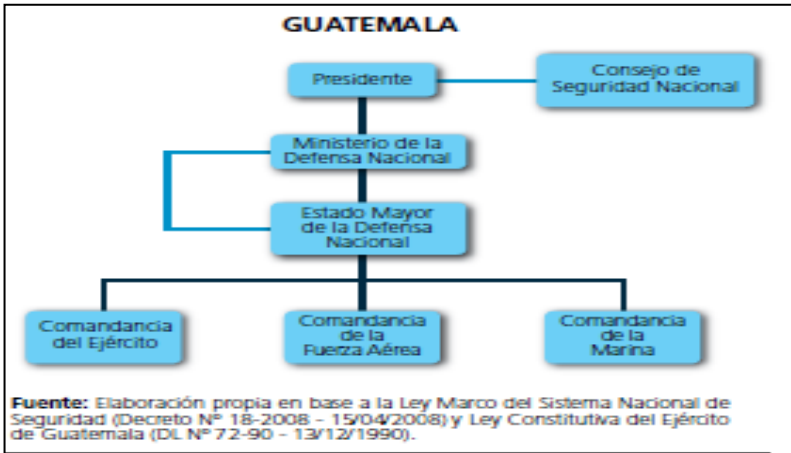
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## APPENDIX

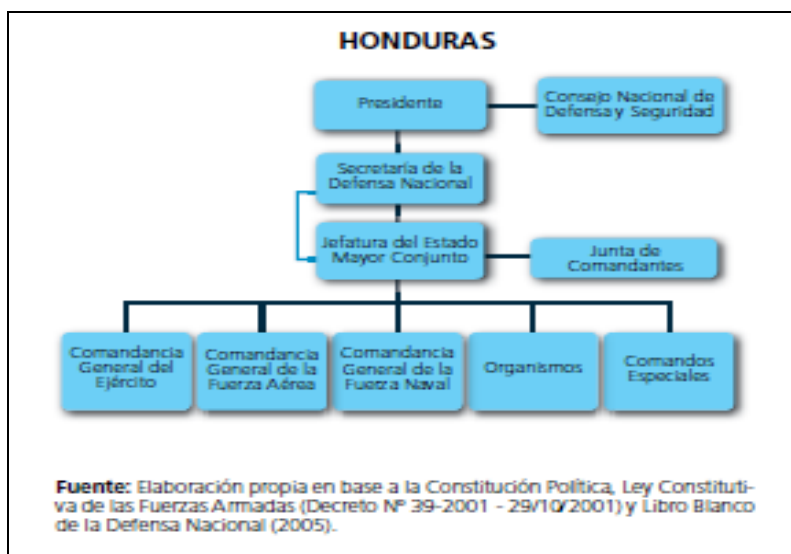
### Hierarchical Chart of Central American Armed Forces



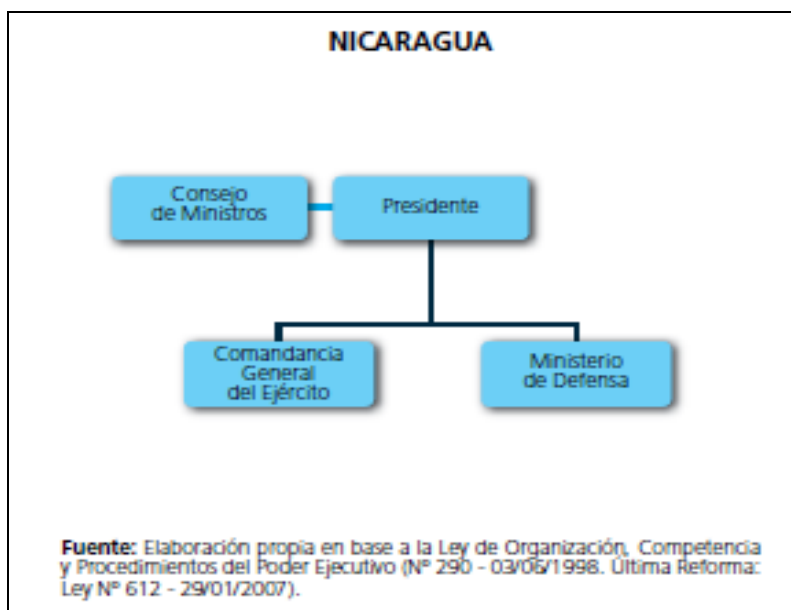
Source: RESDAL



Source: RESDAL



Source: RESDAL



Source: RESDAL

# MILITARY RANKS

## Guatemala

Rank	Ground and Air Force	Naval Force
<b>General Officers</b>	Division General	Admiral
	Brigadier General	Vice-Admiral
<b>High Officers</b>	Colonel	Captain of Ship
	Lieutenant Colonel	Captain of Frigate
	Major	Captain of Corvette
<b>Junior Officers</b>	First Captain	Lieutenant of Ship
	Second Captain	Lieutenant of Frigate
	Lieutenant	Ensign of Ship

Source: Compiled by author based on data from Army Law, art. 41, Decree Number. 72-90.

## El Salvador

Rank	Ground and Air Force	Naval Force
<b>General Officers</b>	Division General	Vice-Admiral
	Brigadier General	Rear-Admiral
<b>High Officers</b>	Colonel	Captain of Ship
	Lieutenant Colonel	Captain of Frigate
	Major	Captain of Corvette
	Captain	Lieutenant of Ship
<b>Junior Officers</b>	Lieutenant	Lieutenant of Frigate
	Second Lieutenant	Lieutenant of Corvette
<b>NonCommissioned Officers</b>	Sergeant	
	Sub-sergeant	
	Officers	

Source: Compiled by author based on data from Law of Military Career, Decree Number. 476.

## Honduras

Rank	Ground and Air Force	Naval Force
<b>General Officers</b>	Division General	Vice Admiral
	Brigadier General	Rear Admiral
<b>High Officers</b>	Colonel	Captain of Ship
	Lieutenant Colonel	Captain of Frigate
	Major	Captain of Corvette
<b>Junior Officers</b>	Captain	Lieutenant of Ship
	Lieutenant	Lieutenant of Frigate
	Second Lieutenant	Ensign of Frigate

Source: Compiled by author based on information from the Armed Forces Law, Decree 39-2001, (Tegucigalpa: October 29, 2001).

## Nicaragua

Rank	Ground and Air Force	Naval Force
<b>General Officers</b>	General of the Army	Admiral
	Major General	Vice Admiral
	Brigadier General	Rear Admiral
<b>High Officers</b>	Colonel	Captain of Ship
	Lieutenant Colonel	Captain of Frigate
	Major	Captain of Corvette
<b>Junior Officers</b>	Captain	Lieutenant of Ship
	First Lieutenant	Lieutenant of Frigate
	Lieutenant	Lieutenant of Corvette
<b>Junior Officers</b>	Junior Officers I, II & III	Ensign

Source: Compiled by author based on information from the Book of Defense 2005.

## National Civilian Police Of Guatemala

Hierarchical Scale of the PNC of Guatemala	
<b>Directorate</b>	General Director.
	Assistant General Director and General Sub-Director
	General Sub-Directors
<b>High Officers</b>	Police General Commissary
	Police Commissary
	Police Sub-Commissary
<b>Junior Officers</b>	Police First Officer
	Police Second Officer
	Police Third Officer
<b>Basic Scale</b>	Police Inspector
	Police Sub-Inspector
	Police Agents

Source: Compiled by the author based on information from the Organic Law of the PNC 11-97

## Civilian National Police of El Salvador

Hierarchical Scale of the Civilian National Police of El Salvador	
<b>Authorities</b>	General Director of the National Civilian Police of El Salvador
	General Sub-Director of the National Civilian Police of El Salvador
<b>Superior Level</b>	General Commissioner
	Commissioner
	Sub-Commissioner
<b>Executive Level</b>	Chief Inspector
	Inspector
	Sub-Inspector
<b>Basic Level</b>	Sergeant
	Corporal
	Agent

Source: Compiled by the author based on information from Law of Police Career, Decree Number.

## National Police of Honduras

Hierarchical Scale of the National Police of Honduras	
Superior Scale	General Commissioner
Executive Scale	Sub-Commissioner
	Commissioner
	Commissary
Inspector Scale	Sub-Commissary
	Inspector
	Sub-Inspector
Basic Scale	First Sub-Officer
	Second Sub-Officer
	Third Sub-Officer
	Police Class I, II and III
Cadet Scale	Cadets
	Aspirants
Auxiliary Scale	University Professional
	Support and Service Technician

Source: Compiled by the author based on information from LOPNC. 733.

## Civilian Police of Nicaragua

Hierarchical Scale of the National Police of Nicaragua		
<b>Officers</b>	General Officers	First Commissioner.
		General Commissioner.
	High Officers	General Commissioner
		Major
		Commissioner
		Sub-Commissioner
	Junior Officers	Captain
		Lieutenant
		Inspector
<b>Executive</b>		Sub-inspector
		Major Sub-Officer
		Police Subofficer
<b>Aspirants</b>		Student Cadets

Source: Compiled by author based on information from Law of National Police and its Reforms, Law Number. 228. Republic of Nicaragua.

## Areas of Specialization of the Civilian National Police of Guatemala

Area	Duty
<b>Crime Prevention (General Sub-Directorate)</b>	Responsible for crime control and prevention. To carry out preventive education work and maintain proximity with the community, it counts with units in charge of various areas such as children, gender equality and multiculturalism.
<b>Gender equality (Gender Equality Division –DIVEG-),</b>	Organ in charge of designing strategies and policies to integrate the focus on gender equality through awareness and training. It is also responsible for establishing links with communities to prevent gender related crimes.
<b>Multiculturalism (Multiculturalism Division–DIMULT-)</b>	Responsible for designing strategies and policies to train, create awareness, integrate multiculturalism and establish a relationship with communities to prevent discrimination and exclusion.
<b>Police Studies (General Sub-Directorate of Studies –SGES-)</b>	Responsible for proposing the education policy of the PNC, administering and coordinating the education centers, including the Academy and the School of the PNC. It is also responsible for institutionally developing the academic organizational structure and the framework of police education. This is the main unit overseeing all organs implementing education programs and the comprehensive educational system of the PNC. It coordinates and implements all policies regarding police education and training.
<b>Supervision and Control of Private Security Enterprises, Entities and Individuals (SCEPSP)</b>	Unit in charge of the General Sub-Directorate of Specialized Units (SGUE) and the Assistant General Directorate of the PNC. In charge of supervising, coordinating and controlling the legal and authorized functioning of businesses, entities, and individuals who offer private security services.
<b>Public Security (General Sub-Directorate of Public Security –SGSP-)</b>	Linked to the Assistant General Directorate of the PNC, it is in charge of directing and supervising deployment services at the national level, coordinates and administers police patrolling system, operationally supports territorial units and assists in its operational needs.
<b>General Sub-Directorate of Finance and Logistic (SGFL)</b>	Responsible for planning and managing Police resources and directing and coordinating maintenance, construction and records of real estate and infrastructure owned, rented, donated and as usufruct by the police.
<b>Community Police</b>	In charge of managing and monitoring the distribution of units at the national level. Its goal is crime prevention and having a closer relationship with the community.

Source: Compiled by the author based on information from the Governmental Agreement 662-2005.



## Areas of Specialization of the National Police of Honduras

Area	Duty
<b>National Directorate of Preventive Police</b>	Protect individuals, prevents, dissuades, controls and fights any type of crime, faults and violations, protect national and public goods, maintain public order and to reestablish it to guarantee social coexistence.
<b>National Directorate of Criminal Investigation,</b>	Under the technical and judicial supervision of the Public Ministry, it investigates common crimes and identifies who was responsible for them to offer objective elements to courts for the exercise of law against criminal action.
<b>National Directorate of Special Preventive Services</b>	It is responsible for management, control, and supervision of the prisons of the country.
<b>National Directorate of Traffic</b>	This is the unit of the General Directorate of the National Police authorized to direct, organize and implement traffic and road security at the national level.
<b>National Directorate of Special Investigation Services</b>	This organization seeks to take care of investigating special crimes such as smuggling, fraud, tax evasion, money laundering, corruption, human slavery and trafficking and computer crimes, as well as transnational crime and everything related to organized crime. It is in charge of Immigration, Border and Port Police regulated by the Agreements issued by the Executive Power and its duties are to support and coordinate activities with pertinent agencies regarding immigration, foreigners and population.
<b>Police Special Forces</b>	They are Police Special Forces directly under the command of the General Director of the National Police: 1) Commando for Special Operations (COE); 2) Center for Police Logistical Support (CALPO); 3) Air Transportation Unit; 4) Gender Unit; 5) School and Child Protection Police, 6) Any other needs demanded by society and established by the Secretary of State.
<b>School and Children Police</b>	Specialized force in charge of surveillance and security of students, educational centers in Honduras. Linked to the National Directorate of Preventive Police and works with its own budget.

Source: Compiled by the author based on information from the Organic Law of the National Police of Honduras. Decree 67-2006.

## Areas of Specialization of the National Civil Police of El Salvador

Area	Duty
<b>Sub-Directorate of Investigation</b>	Regional Divisions of Investigation with the duty of increasing research effectiveness in their respective geographic zones. <sup>7</sup>
<b>Sub-Directorate of Specialized Operative Areas</b>	To coordinate and evaluate the implementation of operational support activities for the maintenance of tranquility, order, and public security. It will supervise Divisions, Groups and Units, Protection of Individuals and Explosive and Weapons units, the Air Police Group, Unit for Maintenance of Order and Police Reaction group, which will have the same hierarchical levels themselves.
<b>Sub-Directorate of Ground Traffic</b>	It will be responsible for coordinating police actions at the national level directed to monitor ground traffic for the purpose of guaranteeing road security in addition to the required support for public security. It will be in charge of supervising the following divisions: Traffic Accidents Investigation, Vehicle Control, Road Security and Road Education.
<b>Sub-Directorate of Rural Police</b>	It will be responsible for coordinating and evaluating police strategies and plans to guarantee tranquility, order, public security and crime prevention in the rural areas of the country. It will supervise the following Divisions: Regional Rural Police, Mounted Police, Environment, and Joint Command for Public Security which provides public security in the rural areas of the country through operational plans and programs oriented to prevent and fight crime.
<b>Sub-Directorate of Administration and Finance</b>	It supports the operational functioning of the institution through the implementation and maintenance of the administrative, logistical and technical systems. It will supervise the following divisions: Logistic, Personnel, Police Welfare, Infrastructure, Computer and Telecommunications and the Secondary Units of Institutional Financial Implementation and Institutional Purchases and Contracts.
<b>Secretariat of Communications</b>	It will be responsible for providing reliable and useful information to the population and institutional personnel through the use of social media. With the purpose of strengthening the image of the PNC, it will coordinate media events and will count with units that will cover activities related to Information, Public Relations and Protocol, Digital, Advertising and Editorial and Internal Communication.
<b>Secretariat of Community Relations</b>	In charge of drafting and implementing policies, plans, strategies and programs oriented to strengthening the relationship between the police and the community. It will be composed of the following units: Community Police and Liaison Police.
<b>Center of Police Intelligence</b>	Responsible for producing intelligence analysis through the compilation, elaboration, processing, control and diffusion of the information for an adequate decision making at all levels of the institution. It will supervise the police Intelligence and Operation and Statistics Units.
<b>Unit of Police Statistics (UEP)</b>	In charge of gathering and processing information received by regional units and has been working on developing a system with effective indicators that could allow the tracking of criminal actions.
<b>Unit of Institutional Planning</b>	It carries out institutional evaluations and identifies weak areas within the institution itself.

Source: Compiled by the author based on information from the Rule of the Organic Law of PNC of El Salvador. Decree Number. 82.

## Areas of Specialization of the National Police of Nicaragua

Specialization Areas	Duty
<b>Criminal Investigations</b>	In charge of criminal investigation, as well as the drafting of investigations to be sent to corresponding authorities. It oversees the Commissariat of Children and Women, created to give specialized attention in cases of physical, psychological and sexual violence against women or children.
<b>Public Security</b>	Responsible for the fundamental duties of prevention and assistance through service, surveillance, patrolling, and the granting of permits for arms and explosives and related objects.
<b>Traffic Security</b>	In charge of regulating, controlling or contributing to the solution of road problems, keeping vehicle records, issuing and controlling driver's licenses and vehicle plates, investigating traffic accidents, providing patrolling services and regulating road circulation.
<b>Economic Investigations</b>	It is responsible for investigating economic, fiscal, customs and illegal legitimization of capital related crimes.
<b>Drug Investigation</b>	It is responsible for investigating crimes related to drug possession, expenditures, and international traffic or money laundering and economic goods originating from it.
<b>Personal Security</b>	Responsible for the protection of the President and Vice President of the Republic, the Heads of National Branches of Government, state employees, personalities and diplomatic posts.

Source: Compiled by the author based on information from Reports on RSS FIACSO, Chile; Organic Law of the National Police and its Reforms, Law Number 228.

## Legal Framework and Spheres of Action According to Duties

Country	Legal Framework and Spheres of Action according to duties
<b>Guatemala</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The Army of Guatemala is an institution destined to maintain the independence, sovereignty and honor of Guatemala, the integrity of its territory, peace and internal and external security. The Army would cooperate in emergency situation or public disaster. (Art. 244 and 249 of the Political Constitution of Guatemala)</li> <li>◆ It works under the leadership of the President through the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense.</li> <li>◆ Regarding foreign affairs, its goal is to prevent and counteract threats and risks that politically affect the country and originate from external factors.</li> <li>◆ Regarding national defense, it develops the defense policy of the Nation and guarantees the convocation and mobilization of civil defense. (Framework Law of the National Security System, Decree N° 18-2008 - 15/04/2008, Art. 20)</li> </ul>
<b>El Salvador</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The Armed Forces have the mission of defending the sovereignty of the State and the integrity of the territory. It is part of the Executive Organ and is subordinated to the authority of the President of the Nation as Commander in Chief.</li> <li>◆ The President of the Republic could use the Armed Force for the maintenance of internal peace, according to the Constitution. The Armed Forces will collaborate in public service work assigned by the Executive Organ and will help the population in case of national disaster. (Constitution of the Republic, Art. 212).</li> <li>◆ National Security is defined as the set of permanent actions promoted by the State to create conditions that will overcome challenges such as international conflicts, alteration of public order, natural catastrophes and those vulnerabilities that limit national development and threatened the fulfillment of national goals. (National Defense Law, DL N° 948 - 03/10/2002, Art. 4)</li> <li>◆ They are obliged to collaborate with special commissions of Congress. (Art. 132).</li> </ul>
<b>Honduras</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The Armed Forces of Honduras are constituted to defend territorial integrity, the sovereignty of the Republic, maintain peace, public order and rule of the Constitution, free suffrage and alternation of the Presidency of the Republic. They will cooperate with the National Police in preserving public order. They will cooperate with the Secretaries of State and other institutions by their request on literacy campaigns, education, agriculture, environment, roads, communication, health and agrarian reform.</li> <li>◆ They will participate in international peacekeeping missions, based on international treaties and will offer technical logistical support in communications and transportation, in the fight against drug trafficking, they will collaborate with staff and resources to confront natural disasters and emergency situations that affect people and goods, as well as protection and conservation of the ecosystem, academic education and technical training of its members and other national interests. They will also cooperate with security institutions, as requested by the Security Secretariat, to fight terrorism, weapons trafficking and organized crime as well as the protection of the State's powers and the Election Tribunal, by their request, on their installation and functioning. (Political Constitution, Arts. 272 y 274).</li> </ul>

## Nicaragua

◆ The Army of Nicaragua is the armed institution for the defense of sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. Only in exceptional cases, the President of the Republic could order the intervention of the Nicaraguan Army to support the National Police when the stability of the Republic is threatened by major internal disorders, calamities or natural disasters. (Political Constitution, Art. 92).

◆ National Security is understood as a permanent condition of sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, peace, and social justice that within the framework of a social state of law provides necessary guarantees to the Nation for the protection of its interests and national goals in face of any threats, risks or aggression, as well as the protection of individual liberties and political rights, according to the law. Although it is not an end in itself, national security is a generic goal that includes all forces of the nation, as embodied by the national power (Book of the National Defense of Nicaragua, 2005).

◆ National Defense is defined as the capacity of the State to offer protection to national interests and goals, through the coordinated disposition and action of all energies and moral and material forces of the Nation (Book of the National Defense of Nicaragua, 2005).

Source: Compiled by the author based on information from 2008 *Atlas Comparativo* de RESDAL

## Conference of the Central American Armed Forces (CFAC)

### Activities, Results and Achievements of CFAC

The implementation of the annual program for Military Confidence Building Measures of CFAC with the goal of promoting integration, trust and cooperation among the armed forces of the region.

Creation and use of CFAC's Humanitarian and Rescue Unit (UHR-CFC) at the local and regional level.

Creation of the Peacekeeping Operations Unit of CFAC.

Incorporation of the Armed Forces from France, Spain, Germany, United States, Taiwan, Russia, Brazil, Canada, Belize, Colombia, Chile, United Kingdom and Argentina as Military Observers at CFAC.

Development of the Annual Plan of CFAC for Comprehensive Cooperation to Prevent and Counteract Terrorism, Organized Crime and related activities.

Permanent Communication of CFAC with the Permanent General Secretariat of the Central American Integration System (SICA), Inter-American Defense Board (IADB) and the Conference of American Armies (CCA).

Organization of 3 Military Forum for a Peaceful and Non-Violent Culture in coordination with UNESCO.

Signing of Cooperation Agreements with International Organizations like the Central American Court of Justice (CCJ), International Red Cross (CICR), Central American Natural Disaster Prevention Center (CEPREDENAC), Center for the Study, Analysis and Training on Human Rights (CECADH) and the Organization of American States (OEA).

Implementation of an exchange program for Officers in the area of education.

Incorporation of CFAC with an Observer status at the Conference of American Armies (CEA)

Compliance with the rotation process of the Presidency of the Superior Council and the Pro-Tempore General Secretariat among members from the Armed Forces and Armies.

Source: Compiled by the author based on information from CFAC ([www.cfac.gob.sv](http://www.cfac.gob.sv)).

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

**Carmen Rosa de León-Escribano** is the Executive Director of the *Instituto de Enseñanza para el Desarrollo Sostenible* (IEPADES) in Guatemala City, Guatemala. She is a national and international consultant on issues of public safety, security, and civil-military relations, among others. León-Escribano participated in Guatemala's peace negotiations as a representative of the Civil Society Research Centers. She has been an adjunct member of the Security Advisory Council of the Presidency of the Republic of Guatemala.

From 1986 to 1991, León-Escribano was Chairman of the Special Commission for Refugees, Returnees and Displaced Populations (as a delegate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs); Director General of Bilateral Relations at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Director of Central America and the Caribbean in the same ministry. Among her most recent publications are: "*Policía Nacional Civil: una visión crítica de la Reforma Policial en Guatemala*," (Guatemala: IEPADES, 2004); "*Manual de Seguridad Prevenida y Policía Comunitaria para Agentes*," (Guatemala: IEPADES, 2004); "*Guía Práctica de Seguridad Prevenida y Policía Comunitaria para Oficiales*," (Guatemala: IEPADES, 2004); "*Hacia un Modelo de Seguridad Preventiva en la Policía Nacional Civil*," (Guatemala: IEPADES, 2004); "*Presupuesto de Defensa en Guatemala-- Auditoria Social*," (Guatemala: IEPADES, 2004); "*Manual para el Análisis y Monitoreo de los Presupuestos de Seguridad*," (Guatemala: IEPADES 2004); "*Policía y Comunidad*", (Guatemala: IEPADES, 2001); "*Inteligencia Policial*", Compilación de Textos Cuadernos de IEPADES No.1, (Guatemala, 2000); "*Manual de Casos para Capacitación en Derechos Humanos*", Cuadernos de IEPADES No. 2, (Guatemala, 2001); "*Seguridad Civil y Seguridad Ciudadana, Relaciones Policía-Comunidad en Guatemala*", (Guatemala: IEPADES, 2001); *Violencia Social en Centroamérica , Ensayos sobre Gobernabilidad y Seguridad Ciudadana, Caso Guatemala*,

(Managua, Nicaragua: 1999). León-Escribano holds a Masters' Degree in Development Sociology from the *Universidad Complutense* de Madrid in Spain.

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