

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

PERCEPTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ETHICS IN THE TRAINING
AMONG MILITARY LEADERS: THE CASE OF LATIN AMERICAN
LEADERS AT THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY
COOPERATION

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

FERNANDO MATEO

Norman, Oklahoma
2005

UMI Number: 3164565



UMI Microform 3164565

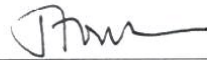
Copyright 2005 by ProQuest Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

PERCEPTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ETHICS IN THE TRAINING
AMONG MILITARY LEADERS: THE CASE OF LATIN AMERICAN
LEADERS AT THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY
COOPERATION

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

BY



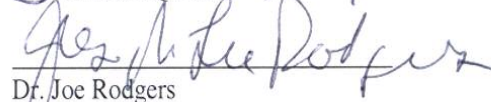
Dr. Tom Owens (Chairperson)



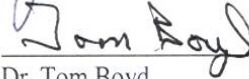
Dr. Rosa Cintron



Dr. Frank McQuarrie



Dr. Joe Rodgers



Dr. Tom Boyd

DEDICATION

First and foremost, to God Almighty, my creator and source of all knowledge and wisdom, for His grace allowing me the opportunity to pursue a dream and complete this work. Most of all, I am grateful to God for His son, my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and for allowing me to live this experience. I am thankful to Him for the gift of life, health and for a great family and friends with which to share this very especial journey and for the hope to always make a positive difference especially among the Hispanic people.

This work is also dedicated in loving memory of my mother Abigail Mateo, who because of the times and economics was denied access to an education beyond 5th grade, but who was a great teacher and had the vision to inspire me to seek higher grounds in education. She was a very especial woman who because of circumstances of life become mother and father to me and gave me unconditional love and taught me the word of God and to always search for perfection. She also taught me to dream and to follow those dreams regardless sacrifice, time and effort. She truly was the best mother/father I could ask for.

Also, I want to dedicate this work to my unborn son, Fernando, a little angel who came to this world for a short period of time to give me happiness and to brighten my life without measures.

**The soldier above all other people prays
for peace, for he must suffer and bear the
deepest wounds and scars of war.**

GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR.

This work is dedicated with respect and admiration to all my Band of
Brothers, The United States Army soldiers past, present and future especially to
those who made the ultimate sacrifice fighting for peace, freedom, democracy and
respect for human rights all over the world. This work is presented in honor of
their sacrifice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I begin this journey, I was concern with many things. Being a soldier, I was worried about future deployments that might be an obstacle to the Doctoral Program, I was pondering about the length of time it would take me to complete the degree and my age at graduation. I was thinking about the numerous sacrifices along the way. My wife responded to my thoughts with, “What is a few years of sacrifice compared with a whole life of benefits?” The answer was clear. I can and will do this! I am so proud that I made the right decision to pursue a Ph.D. in Organizational Leadership at the University of Oklahoma. The work has been both challenging and rewarding and gave me the opportunity to meet great professional people along the way.

So many people have provided support, encouragement, knowledge, and guidance. Thanks to my family for their loving support in this journey. I could not do it without their support. I dedicate this work to my wife Marie and want to thank her for all her love, patience, encouragement, prayers and most of all for being there for me in the good times and bad times, for sharing with me the pursuit of this dream, for her understanding of all the days and nights that I worked in this project away from home without complaining and being always ready to give a word of support with a great smile. Thank you for allowed me space and time when other things would have been a lot more pleasant and interesting. She has been the greatest supporter. To my daughter Alexandra for her love, prayers and understanding and for being a great young lady, to my son Daniel, for his love and support and must of all, for allowing the “old man” to be

away from many games. Both my kids, have been a great source of strength for me, they made possible the fulfillment of this dream. To my sister Norma for believe in me and giving me the opportunity to come to this great nation, for her guidance, her unconditional support and must of all her love. To my brother Milton for his love, all his words of encouragement and for supporting me in this long journey. Special appreciation is expressed to the members of my family, to all my friends and to all my brothers and sisters from the Church of Christ.

Among those who deserve my most humble thanks, Dr. Tom Owens, Committee Chairperson has been a great source of inspiration. I want to thank Dr. Tom Owens for the immeasurable mentorship, patience, motivation, and leadership he gave me on this journey, he introduced cognition, research strategies, and captioned more than one targeted project with thoughtfulness, structure, and the final goal in mind throughout my graduate school. He is truly a friend and a mentor. To Dr. Rosa Cintron whose motivation was contagious, for the orientation and counsel provided and for her tireless support in my pursuit of an idea. To both Dr. Owens and Dr. Cintron for gracefully opened the doors of their home in my numerous trips to Norman, Oklahoma. Dr. Frank McQuarrie has been an inspiration since I was in the Masters Program, and who shed light when I needed the most, Dr. Tom Boyd whose ethics class was memorable, he introduced methodology strategies that were very important to the culmination of this work Dr. Joe Rodgers whose statistic class was challenging, for taking time in his busy schedule to be part of my dissertation committee.

I want to thank my friend, fellow graduate student and travel companion to Oklahoma, Amy Mcdowell, for all her prayers, and encouragement, thanks for being a great friend. Also I want to thank the authorities of the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) for allowing me to conduct the research in the institute and for all their support throughout my work. Lastly, I want to express my gratitude to all the participants in this project, for openly sharing their thoughts with me with such honesty and for gave me time to conduct the interviews in their busy schedule.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| Dedication | |
| Acknowledgements | iv |
| Abstract | x |
| | |
| Chapter I: The research Problem | |
| Introduction | 1 |
| Background of the Problem | 3 |
| Purpose of the Study | 4 |
| Research Question | 4 |
| Problem Statement | 4 |
| Summary | 8 |
| | |
| Chapter II: The History Background | |
| School of the Americas History | 10 |
| WHINSEC History | 17 |
| WHINSEC Mission | 19 |
| WHINSEC Location and Traditions | 22 |
| | |
| Chapter III: The Literature review | |
| | |
| <u>Leadership</u> | |
| Definitions of Leadership | 25 |
| Leadership in Military Organizations | 27 |
| Traits of Military Leadership | 29 |
| Leadership in the United States Army | 31 |
| What leaders must BE | 36 |
| What leaders must KNOW | 36 |
| What leaders must DO | 36 |
| Summary | 37 |
| | |
| <u>Ethics and Democracy</u> | |
| Ethics Principles | 38 |
| Ethics and Military Leadership | 42 |
| Democracy Principles | 52 |
| Historical Origins of Democracy | 54 |
| Defining Democracy | 55 |
| The Core Beliefs of Democracy | 56 |
| Summary | 57 |
| | |
| <u>Human Rights</u> | |
| Introduction | 58 |
| History of Human Rights | 59 |
| Defining Basic Human Rights | 61 |

Table of Contents (cont.)

| | |
|---|-----|
| World Conference on Human Rights | 62 |
| The Importance of Teaching Human Rights | 64 |
| Summary | 65 |
| Chapter IV: Design and Methodology | |
| Research Design | 67 |
| The Sample | 69 |
| Methodology | 70 |
| Research Setting | 71 |
| Materials | 71 |
| Methods of Data Analysis | 72 |
| Standards of Rigor | 74 |
| Credibility | 75 |
| Dependability and confirmability | 77 |
| Establish Confidence, Validity and Reliability | 77 |
| Protection of Human Subjects | 79 |
| Chapter V: Findings | |
| Introduction | 81 |
| Coding Analysis and Interpretation | 82 |
| Participants | 83 |
| Alberto | 83 |
| Daniel | 83 |
| Eduardo | 84 |
| Pedro | 84 |
| Ana | 84 |
| Maria | 85 |
| Elena | 85 |
| Alexandra | 85 |
| Primary Themes | 85 |
| Our Sacred Duty, Human Rights | 86 |
| Latin America, no Place for Ethics | 89 |
| United States the Greatest Democracy | 93 |
| Summary | 96 |
| Chapter VI: Discussion and Implications | |
| Introduction | 102 |
| General Comments | 102 |
| Final Thoughts | 110 |
| References | 116 |
| Appendices | 126 |
| Appendix A: Graduates from The School of the Americas | 127 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Appendix B: Charter of the Organization of Americas States | 128 |
| Appendix C: Interview Guidelines (English) | 133 |
| Interview Guideline (Spanish) | 134 |
| Appendix D: Informed Consent for Participation in Research (English) | 135 |
| Informed Consent for Participation in Research (Spanish) | 136 |
| Appendix E: Participant Recruiting Script (English) | 137 |
| Participant Recruiting Script (Spanish) | 138 |
| Appendix F: Glossary of Terms | 139 |
| Appendix G: Participants Interview Responses | 140 |
| Appendix H: The Case of LTC Allan West | 157 |

ABSTRACT

PERCEPTIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ETHICS IN THE TRAINING AMONG MILITARY LEADERS: THE CASE OF LATIN AMERICAN LEADERS AT THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE INSTITUTE FOR SECURITY COOPERATION

Major Professor: Tom Owens

Fernando Mateo

The United States Army has been training ethics, human rights and democracy to Latin American military and civilian personnel, in the past, through the School of the Americas and lately, in the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC).

The purpose of this study was to examine ethics, human rights and democracy in the context of the Latin American soldiers, police officers and civilian students attending The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC). Eight Latin American Officers and Noncommissioned officers were the focus of the study. A qualitative methodology research was used to investigate the perceptions held by the students attending The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) located at Fort Benning, Georgia, regarding ethics, human rights and democratic principles.

CHAPTER I

The Research Problem

Introduction

In December 2000, The School of the Americas located at Fort Benning in Columbus, Georgia, officially closed its doors. The school was the United States Army's Spanish-language training facility for Latin American military personnel. Over the course of its half-century existence, this institution played an important role in the history of the Americas. Born in the Panama Canal Zone, in the aftermath of the Second World War, the school was a key element in the emerging Latin American democracies. For more than 50 years the School of the Americas responded to the hemisphere's needs for military training and education. The school accomplished its mission to provide doctrinally sound, relevant military education and training to military personnel of the nations of Latin America; promoted democratic values and respect for human rights; and fostered cooperation among multinational military forces (Leuer, 2000). Over 63,000 officers, noncommissioned officers and soldiers from 21 countries attended courses at the School of the Americas during a period that coincided with the epic struggle of the Cold War (see appendix A). Its graduates, including more than 1,500 U.S. service members, have helped foster a spirit of cooperation and interoperability among militaries throughout Latin America and have served their nations proudly and professionally (Leuer, 2000)

As the School of the Americas closed, a new Department of Defense institute was created. The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation

(WHINSEC) was established to provide professional education and training to eligible personnel of nations of the Western Hemisphere within the context of the democratic principles set forth in the Charter of the Organization of Americas States (see Appendix B). The establishment of this new Army educational institution came in response to allegations that during the Cold War the School of the Americas (SOA) taught terrorist tactics to some notorious Latin American figures. The School of the Americas has been the subject of criticism for several years. Critics have argued that the human rights abuses perpetrated by some of the school's graduates are the direct result of the training they received while students at School of the Americas. WHINSEC as a new congressional chartered institute is focusing on the challenges of the future, especially strengthening Western Hemisphere democracies. Throughout the 21st century, governments and military will confront new obstacles to peace and security in the world. The commitment of The United States remains in order to help the leaders and soldiers of Latin American military departments meet the new challenges of the 21st century. WHINSEC will carry forth the United States' enduring commitment to meeting these challenges.

The phenomenological study will seek to find the results of meeting those challenges. It will attempt to clarify whether the changes in instruction of human rights, and democracy established in WHINSEC have been positive. It will also explore issues related to the perceptions regarding democracy and human rights that the students attending instruction in WHINSEC have. Also, it will explore if the teaching of ethics (incorporating morals, ethics foundations and the interplay

between the two) and Army Values (such as duty, honor, integrity, physical and moral courage, loyalty, respect, and selfless service) parallel the instruction of human rights and democracy.

Background of the Problem

The researcher believes that the United States Army set the example for other countries seeking the proper role of an army in a democracy. In nearly every nation, the dominant armed service is the army. Many armies, especially in the Western Hemisphere, however, are learning how an army serves its nation, without running the nation. Training with the United States Army units and participating in the Army's institutional training programs (such as WHINSEC), soldiers of emerging democracies receive important lessons in democratic values, ethics and respect for human rights. Teaching those important lessons and training with others takes significant time and effort, but they are very important contributions from The United States to the regional stability.

The researcher is a Noncommissioned Officer serving at WHINSEC. As such, he has had many contacts with students attending the institute. In that period of time, the researcher has come to believe that those foreign military officers and civilians seek to learn more about The United States, its Army, and its democracy. They seem to be interested in having closer ties and cooperation with The United States. Those foreign personnel are representative of a new generation of individuals who are genuinely receptive to learn the respect of human rights and the rule of law and democracy and consistently demonstrate a

sincere interest in the instructional material and its implementation in the field of military operations, be they conducted in peace or times of conflict.

This study will be conducted using the operational assumption that this new generation of leaders of the Western Hemisphere believe and understand the value of democracy, respect for human rights and the rule of law and are committed to learning it and respecting it. Data analysis collected during this study will either confirm or contradict this assumption.

Purpose of the Study

This study will focus on how students at WHINSEC perceive human rights, ethics and democracy. The purpose of this study will be to understand and describe those perceptions regarding human rights, ethics and democracy held by those students. The research approach will be qualitative. Subsequent analysis will be conducted using phenomenological approach to data.

Research Question

This phenomenological study will seek to answer the following question:

What perceptions regarding ethics, democracy and human rights are held by the students attending WHINSEC?

Problem Statement

WHINSEC exists to train Western Hemisphere soldiers and civilians in order to improve the performance of those Latin American and Caribbean militaries as institutions accountable to the elected democratic governments of the region. It is a United States Army Institute, which teaches the same doctrines taught at other schools in the United States Army school system. To meet the

unique requirements of the region, it includes more training in ethics, democratic principles and respect for human rights than any other United States Armed Forces schools. How does WHINSEC accomplish this task? The primary response is to create an effective educational environment and a culture of respect for human rights within the armed forces of the Western Hemisphere. Such as:

- An environment where human rights are taught, emphasized, promulgated, and respected.
- An environment made possible through the learning and practice of leadership, ethics and moral values.
- An environment where the more the leader knows, the better, in order to have the ability to identify its own leadership strengths and weaknesses (WHINSEC Course Catalog, 2002-2003)

WHINSEC authorities believe the developing respect for human rights among uniformed personnel and civilians from the Western Hemisphere lies more in the affective psychological domain than in the cognitive domain.

Why is it so important to teach human rights and democratic principles to the Latin American students who come to learn and train every year at WHINSEC? That question brings to light many issues that would be important to address in this study. Since WHINSEC and its teaching of human rights and democracy represents only a brief contact in the middle of a Latin American soldier's life that is very different than the average United States soldier, it will be worth while to mention the extent that this institution through classrooms and training will equip a Latin American military officer (including

Noncommissioned Officers and civilians) with skills and abilities in a highly structured social context like the one in the United States. Here we introduce an element of uncertainty when those skills and abilities are brought into play, in an entirely different social context like the one in Latin American countries.

According to Kaurin (2002) this is a valid observation since:

In academic and other circles there are critiques of the military's authoritarian and male oriented structure in defense of a multicultural, egalitarian society; ethical critiques related to the nature of war itself, to a particular action (Vietnam) and to the military's connections with some groups accused of human rights violations, such as The School of Americas. (p. 3)

Some people argue that military personnel should not be accountable to usual ethical standards because "all is fair in love and war." Toner (1995) argues that ethics in the military is possible, desirable, and necessary. The same author concludes that the true faith and allegiance of the military ethics rests on three pillars of moral philosophy:

First, recognition that evil exists and should be resisted, by force if necessary. Second, acknowledgement of human duty, obligation, and responsibility is paramount, and third, appreciation of virtue and of the attempt to inculcate it by word and deed. (Toner, 1995, pp. 4)

Some critics raise the concern that the military's values are badly out of touch with the essential democratic tradition they pretend to represent and defend.

To add more material for those critics, during the Cold War and following foreign policies in the name of internal security, our own United States Government in the past empowered militaries of other countries and supported regimes that should cause us considerable collective embarrassment. However, Kaurin (2000) argues that this problem has another side. There are some, especially within the military, who insist that it is civilian society that is badly out of touch with our essential democratic values and virtues. Others have argued that the military focuses on virtues “like honor, duty, country, truth-telling, sacrifice, loyalty, obedience, integrity, spirit of corps and team work building, while the civilian culture focuses on individual rights, free expression, material consumption, equality, personal achievement and multiculturalism” (Kaurin, 2000, pp.5)

Even though those differences exist, historically, the United States military has responded to the desires of civilian administrations even when those civilian authorities have misgivings about the mission or the means of our Armed Forces. The public standing of the military forces is important. The founding fathers of our country were preoccupied that a standing active duty military force might overthrow the government. Hence, the United States Constitution entails the clear subordination of the military leadership to the President and the Congress. In the United States, civilian authorities properly determine when military force may be used and perhaps participate in broad strategic decisions, but they violate the autonomy of military professionals if they attempt to direct tactical decisions, sometimes with tragic results (such as Vietnam and Somalia to mention a few). It is not a challenge to civilian authority if officers and soldiers

in general to interference of this sort (Kennedy, 2000). Certainly, it is wrong for the civilian leadership to put soldiers' lives in jeopardy for immoral reasons. It is just as certain that the military's senior leadership is required to point out to civilian leaders when they feel the civilian leadership is doing so. The roles of the senior military leadership today often overlap with those of civilian leaders, who because they are elected and appointed leaders of the people and the nation have the last say, even if they are wrong. In such situations, the job of senior military leaders is a difficult one; nonetheless, their duty should be clear. It is also clear that the leadership traits of our military as well as the civilian leadership of the military must demonstrate above all else a commitment to integrity and ethics on a daily basis in everything they do.

Summary

The nature of military operations in the 21st century places significant demands on military leaders at all levels, for all nationalities. For all the changes in the dynamics of international power for all the novel problems and opportunities associated with emerging technologies, the fundamentals of leadership have not significantly changed over the years. Sullivan and Harper (1996) argue that a military leader, like a business leader, must be a master of details as well of the big picture; "he must be a superb motivator and influencer; must understand human beings and what makes them tick; and must know his organization inside and out" (p. xviii)

This study will be divided into historical background, literature review, a phenomenological study, analysis of research findings, and the results of the

findings. First the historical background of the School of the Americas and The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation will be reviewed. Research literature from leadership in military organizations, ethics principles, ethics and military leadership, democracy, and human rights will be researched to help to understand the problem. Second, a phenomenological study will be conducted to explore the perceptions of individuals who attend the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation. The research procedure and participants will be defined. Third, an in-depth analysis of the research finding will be presented. The themes that evolved from the phenomenological interviews will be illustrated with appropriate quotations. Fourth, the results of the findings will be discussed to see what recurring themes evolved and to present suggestions to help future studies in The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation.

CHAPTER II

The History Background

In order to understand the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation, it is necessary to mention some historical background of its Army institution predecessor, The School of the Americas. This chapter will review the historical context of both institutions. It will begin with a brief history of the School of the Americas (SOA) and will continue with a short historical context of the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC), followed by its mission and will end with a section of its location and traditions. As convenience for the reader, it is worth mentioning that the bulk of information and source for the School of the Americas history will be a synthesis of work from J. C. Leuer, 2000 (unless it is otherwise specified). This situation is a direct result of a lack of references regarding the topic.

School of the Americas History

The United States School of the Americas (USARSA) traces its lineage to The Latin American Center Ground Division, an institution established in 1946 at Fort Amador on the Pacific side of the Canal Zone to coincide with the end of WWII and the signing of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (the Rio Treaty) the following year. The original mission was to train United States personnel in the Panama Canal Zone. A network of three additional schools operated through the Canal Zone at Fort Clayton, Canal Zone, and Fort Gulick on the Atlantic side of the Canal Zone. The U.S. Army Caribbean School (USARCARIB School) was established three years later, on February 1, 1949, in

response to the implementation of the Truman Doctrine as the primary pillar of United States foreign policy throughout the newly established bipolar world (Cold War). It is the true father of the modern USARSA. Throughout its history, USARCARIB and USARSA evolved as United States policy in the region evolved as well, and it consistently supported the cooperative hemispheric defense policy of the United States as promulgated by every administration since that of Harry S. Truman. The school's role was to support the strategic goal of the hemisphere at peace within a collective security system.

In the early 1960s, the executive branch gave the School of the Americas the mission of providing counterinsurgency training to Latin American militaries in support of United States policy in that area. This new USARCARIB's mission became later a controversial issue and historical legacy. This mission was part of President Kennedy's efforts to "oppose aggression and subversion anywhere in the Americas." USARCARIB was asked to act as a training center for Latin American soldiers who fought the revolutionary wars in Central America and South America regions as a result of the East-West ideological competition of the Cold War.

This policy was successfully executed by the thousands of United States and Latin American soldiers who passed through this Army school, ironically this success brought the closure of USARSA at the end of the century as a result of allegations that the school served to teach and to inspire criminal conduct by its graduates. According to LaPlante (2000) in the early 1960s, President John F. Kennedy initiated a hemispheric security policy to protect the Alliance for

Progress in the Americas and to contain the spread of communism. This led to the Army expanding the role of the School to include more tactical and operational courses in addition to its original technical ones. Since that kind of program cannot survive an environment of revolutionary warfare and terrorism, a comprehensive strategy of both defense and development would be necessary to achieve the President's goal.

Changes in national security policies and United States requirements in Latin America demanded a change in structure and organization in the United States Army Caribbean School. The USARCARIB Command was renamed and re-flagged the United States Southern Command. This change also required the USARCARIB School to change its name to better reflect its new mission and roles for the Western Hemisphere. Therefore, the United States Army School of the Americas (USARSA) was activated on July 1, 1963 with Col. Henry J. Muller, Jr. as commander. This school added new courses such as parachute rigging, basic airborne and air movement, and the Jumpmaster/Pathfinder Course among others.

During the 1960s and 1970s The Soviet Union sponsored guerilla wars in Latin America that severely undermined the establishment of stable and democratic governments in the hemisphere and also weakened the regional relationships that the Inter-American mutual defense system was designed to promote. Under President Nixon, The United States embarked on a policy of "Benign Neglect" toward Latin America. The pressure of economic stagnation, rising expectations, Marxist insurgencies, and diminished influence of the United

States in the Inter-American network stimulated a rise in the number of military dictatorships in Latin America. Many Latin American militaries displaced civilian regimes through coup d'état, citing civilian incompetence and corruption or states of military emergency as their rationale. As a consequence, by the middle seventies, only four nations south of the United States had civilian-led democratic forms of government.

The seventies brought external factors that impacted USARSA and United States foreign policy in Latin America. The demands to defeat communist penetration of the hemisphere over other foreign policy goals induced the United States to maintain supportive relationships with dictatorial regimes that in other circumstances would have been treated differently. This policy changed in 1976, when President Carter began to cut off military aid and otherwise sanction countries that did not comply with established human-rights standards. USARSA experienced a drop in enrollment as countries, one by one, were denied military aid to attend training at United States military schools. In 1979, only nine of the usual eighteen Latin American countries were allowed to attend USARSA. A modernization plan was implemented and modeled on the initiatives emanating from the newly created United States Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC). The changes were intended to enhance the quality of training conducted by USARSA. The school adopted TRADOC's systems approach to course design to ensure the correct tasks, conditions, and standards were identified, grouped, taught, and measured. In addition, the school updated its

training literature by translating the recently released series of training circulars and field manuals published by TRADOC.

As part of the 1977 Panama Canal Treaty, the School of the Americas that has occupied building 400 on Fort Gulick since 1949 soon had to find a new home since those installations were scheduled to revert to Panamanian control on October 1, 1984. The United States immediately began to develop plans for USARSA's future location, either in Panama or some other place. By August 1984, the decision to move the school was made. On September 21, 1984, under the command of Col. Michael Sierra, USARSA closed the doors of building 400 at Fort Gulick, having trained 45,331 professional soldiers in the republic of Panama. A month later, on October 23, 1984, the Secretary of the Army announced the interim relocation of USARSA at Fort Benning, Georgia, and its operational control passed from the United States Southern Command to the United States Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC). Still, Fort Benning was not the official home of the school at that time and had to compete with Fort Stewart, Georgia, and Fort Polk, Louisiana as possible homes for USARSA. Fort Benning, Georgia won the competition and on November 25, 1986, the Secretary of the Army, John O. Marsh, Jr., gave USARSA a new permanent home near the banks of the Chattahoochee River.

On December 4, 1987, USARSA revised purpose was specified by the United States Congress by codifying the school's existence in Section 4415 of Public Law 100-180. USARSA reorganized to conform to the TRADOC institutional model, as it was not a full-fledged member school, falling directly

under the Commander, Combined Arms Center located at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The Army and the United States Government saw USARSA as an important shaping tool for foreign policy and whose support to the United States regional foreign policy has assisted in attaining the current hemispheric situation of emerging and stabilizing democracies with professional and supportive militaries (LaPlante, 2000, Leuer, 2000)

On January 11, 1990, the acronym “USARSA” was changed to “SOA”, or School of the Americas. The rationale for the change was to emphasize its hemisphere orientation and the level of the Latin American contributions to the school’s mission. In 1994, with the end of the Cold War, the School underwent another significant revision of its curriculum and purpose in line with United States National Security Strategy of “Engagement and Enlargement.” The same year, the United States Army Infantry Center and School assumed management control over SOA on behalf of the Commanding General, TRADOC. In September 1995, the Department of Defense issued the United States Security Strategy for the Americas in support of the White House’s earlier national strategy. The Defense Department held a series of Defense Ministerial meetings in 1995 and 1997 to reinvigorate hemispheric cooperation and outline emerging missions for the military forces to the region. After the release of the 1997 version of National Security Strategy for the next Century, a third Defense Ministerial was held in 1999 at Santiago, Chile. Finally, the same year, the Commander-in-Chief of United States Southern Command issued his Theater

Engagement Plan, highlighting the United States Army School of the Americas as one of his tools to achieve the nation's foreign policy goals.

In 1999 it was announced that the House of Representatives had voted 230-197 in favor of an amendment to prohibit use of Foreign Operations funding at the United States Army School of the Americas. In the Senate however, a joint committee later voted 8-7 against passing to the Senate a bill that deleted funding SOA for fiscal year 2000. Taylor (1999), states that the same year, The Secretary of the Army Louis Caldera called for remodeling the school under a new name with an expanded curriculum and student body to better address post-Cold War Security concerns.

The legislation in both the Senate and House versions of the fiscal year 2001 Defense Authorization Act repealed the past authority for the United States Army School of the Americas and authorized the secretary of defense to operate a new institute dedicated to hemispheric security cooperation (Leuer, 2000). The TRADOC Implementation Plan for a smooth transition to a new Department of Defense-level institution was briefed to Secretary of the Army Caldera on June 29, 2000. The Secretary approved the plan, directing Col. Weidner, currently school commander, to close SOA by the end of December 2000 and open the new Institute in early 2001. On December 15, 2000, SOA closed its doors after a ceremony before Ridgway Hall at Fort Benning, Georgia. According to Leuer (2000) records show that the school trained 45,331 students while located in Panama and an additional 14,450 students during the final 15 years at Fort Benning, Georgia.

WHINSEC History

The creation of the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) is rooted in the Floyd D. Spence National Defense Authorization Act for fiscal year 2001, signed by President William J. Clinton on October 30, 2000 (WHINSEC Course Catalog, 2002-2003). Title 10, United States Code, Section 2166, establishes the authority for the Secretary of Defense to operate a facility that will provide professional education and training to eligible personnel of the nations of the Western Hemisphere within the context of the democratic principles set forth in the Charter of the Organization of American States (OAS) (see Appendix B) and is also based on the Inter-American Democratic Charter. Adopted on September 11, 2001 by the Organization of American States (OAS) General Assembly in Lima, Peru, the Inter-American Charter unambiguously sets out: “The peoples of the Americas have a right to democracy and their governments have an obligation to promote and defend it.” It goes on to include respect for human rights, transparency in government activities and subordination of all state institutions (include armed forces) to civil authority as benchmarks for true democratic states.

The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) was established on January 17, 2001 to signal renewed emphasis in the Americas for the new century and to address future challenges of strengthening democracy in the Western Hemisphere. The Secretary of Defense initially directed the Secretary of the Army to assist in the start-up of the new institute (WHINSEC Course Catalog, 2002-2003). Official verbal directives and written orders were

issued by the Department of the Army, through the Commanding General, United States Army Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), on December 28 2000, allowing the Army to begin standing up the new unit (Permanent Orders 363-3, Department of the Army, 28 Dec 2000) Then on May 29, 2001, the Secretary of Defense formally designated the Secretary of the Army as the executive agent for the day-to-day operation of the institute. The Secretary of Defense has retained oversight responsibilities.

Colonel Richard D. Downie was selected as the first Commandant of the WHINSEC and took command of the unit on January 17, 2001 with the explicit mission from senior leadership to effect substantive and lasting changes (WHINSEC Course Catalog, 2002-2003). Colonel Downie was welcomed by the local media and introduced to the public in an in-depth article published by the Columbus Ledger-Enquirer on April 29, 2001, in which he described the institute's mission and his vision for the newly inaugurated Institute; he stated that he was in charge of a "New Institute for a New Century" (Columbus Ledger-Enquirer, April, 2001)

Colonel Downie was well prepared to achieve those goals after having served 25 years in the United States Army with much of his time spent serving in the Latin American region and on the staff of the United States Southern Command (Leuer, 2002). Colonel Downie came to WHINSEC after service 18 months as the United States Defense Attaché to Mexico. His first order of business was to oversee a thorough mission analysis of WHINSEC, to streamline the curriculum, and to focus the course offering on the emerging challenges of the

new century. After the mission analysis was completed and approved by the Commanding General of the Combined Arms Command, the institute was prepared to offer its courses to the nations of the Western Hemisphere and begin the process of developing a firm foundation from which to build WHINSEC into a viable military and educational institute (Leuer, 2002)

WHINSEC Mission

The WHINSEC mission, as mandated by the United States Federal Law, is to provide professional education and training to military, law-enforcement, and civilian personnel of the Western Hemisphere within the context of the democratic principles of the Organization of Americas States (OAS) as well to support the principles of the Charter of the Organization of Americas States (OAS) by fostering mutual knowledge, transparency, confidence, and cooperation by promoting democratic values, respect for human rights, and an understanding of United States customs and traditions (WHINSEC Course Catalog, 2002-2003)

The congressionally mandated curriculum includes instruction in leadership development, counter-drug and peace support operations, disaster preparedness, and relief planning. The Commander in Chief, United States Southern Command, in coordination with the Secretary of Defense, directs additional training and education programs that directly support United States policies throughout the Western Hemisphere (WHINSEC Course Catalog, 2002-2003)

The United States has strong economic, strategic, cultural, and security ties to Latin America and the Caribbean, which are of significant importance to our national security. In addition to the legal and economic reasons to maintain

strong relationships and support in the Inter-American system, this hemisphere is a region of very diverse populations, economics, languages, cultures, histories, and traditions. Two broad democratic principles of the Organization of Americas States (OAS) which essential to the WHINSEC mission are: to ensure peace in the Western Hemisphere and to promote human rights and welfare through inter-American cooperation that is fully grounded in international law. According to Leuer (2002), the military component of the organization of Americas States (OAS) and raison d'etre of WHINSEC is founded in the inherent right of the nations of the Western Hemisphere to preserve regional peace and prosperity through exercising collective self-defense. Self-defense through the use of military force is established by international law and codified in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, Article 3 of the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (Rio Treaty), and reaffirmed in Article 2, 3, and 15 of the Charter of the Organization of Americas States (Charter of Bogotá)

The command structure and mission was reaffirmed and validated by the Army through the release of the capstone United States' Military and Army Doctrine Guides. WHINSEC, while located on Fort Benning, Georgia, is a Department of Defense facility under the administrative direction of the United States Army and the Army's Training and Doctrine Command (TRADOC), located at Fort Monroe, Virginia, and its subordinate entity, the Combined Arms Center (CAC), located at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas (Permanent Orders 363-3, Department of the Army, 2000)

The institute is a vital instrument in United States strategic objectives in both peace and conflict. United States Army's recognition of WHINSEC's role as a strategic instrument was published on June 14, 2001, by the Chief of Staff of the Army in his capstone document, FM-1, The Army, which describes the mission of WHINSEC as an integral part of the Institutional Army. As such, WHINSEC creates a favorable strategic environment throughout the Western Hemisphere for the Operational Army to conduct successful offensive, defensive, stability, or support operations when called upon by the National Command Authorities to fight and win the nation's wars (Field Manual No 1, the Army, Department of the Army, 2001)

When directed by the National Command Authorities, the Army conducts operations in response to requests from the United Nations or other treaty organizations. In the case of WHINSEC, the immediate concern is the mutual defense of the Western Hemisphere. The United States' mutual defense obligations are enumerated and codified in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, Article 3 of the Rio Treaty, and reaffirmed in Articles 2, 3, and 15 of the Charter of the Organization of Americas States (see Appendix B). The United States Army is a signatory and major contributor of training, materials, and, when called upon a military force (Leuer, 2002). WHINSEC is a reflection of the United States' leadership position and is a clear demonstration of the United States commitment to the ideals expressed by the Organization of Americas States while providing the United States a ready pool of willing and capable allies to work toward those goals (Army Field Manual No. 1, 2001). A good example of

the accomplishment of those goals was the September 12, 2001 Organization of American States vote to enact the mutual-defense clause of the Rio Treaty in response to the terrorist attacks against the United States.

According to Leuer (2002) as an Institutional Army component, WHINSEC directly supports the accomplishment of two of the six Army Core Competencies through its curriculum and acting as a forum for multinational cooperation and dialog (shaping the security environment and support to civil authorities). Additionally, WHINSEC provides the Operational Army the capability to achieve the remaining Core Competencies (Army FM-1, 2001). WHINSEC creates and maintains competent allies with which to share the burden of responding promptly to threats, mobilizing for regional contingencies to include possible forced entry, and the conduct of sustained land dominance, which is unattainable without the cooperation of the security forces of the region.

WHINSEC Location and Traditions

The institute occupies historic Building 35, located on main post at Fort Benning, Georgia. Building 35 was completed in the middle 1930s and was originally designed to house the United States Army Infantry School; as such, it continues to be known as the “Old Infantry School.” The building was dedicated in 1994 in honor of United States Army General Mathew B. Ridgway for his outstanding service to the United States in both peace and war. Today, the WHINSEC headquarters building is known as Ridgway Hall (Leuer, 2002)

WHINSEC continues this fine tradition of dedicating buildings, classrooms, and halls in honor of prominent leaders by linking its hemisphere-

wide mission with notable figures from the region's common past. Six classrooms are named in honor of the liberators of Latin America from their colonial status under the Spanish Crown. Those classrooms honored with historical names are: Classroom 223 is named in honor of Chilean General Bernardo O'Higgins who was a leader in Chile's war for independence. Classroom 219 is named in honor of Venezuelan General Simon Bolivar, who is considered the liberator and unifier of the Americas. Classroom 114 is named in honor of Mexican Priest Miguel Hidalgo, who allied himself with the Indian and Mestizo populations and unified them with the movement to liberate Mexico from Spain. Classroom 115 is named in honor of the Argentinean General San Martin. He campaigned for the liberation of South America and was later proclaimed the Liberator of and protector of Peru. Classroom 160 is named in honor of Honduran General Francisco Morazan, who was the leader and president of the Central American Federation in 1830 and again in 1835. Finally, classroom 158 is named in honor of the Cuban poet, essayist, and journalist Jose Marti, who became a symbol of Cuba's struggle for independence from Spain.

To pay tribute to the role Columbus, Georgia and the neighboring communities have served as friends and mentors to the Latin American and Caribbean students attending WHINSEC, the library, the focal point of the academic institution, was named in honor of the late Mr. John Amos. He was a central figure in Columbus' business and civic communities. His wife, the late Helena Diaz-Verson Amos, was active in Latin American affairs and in the promotion of human rights throughout the region. Future accomplishments of

WHINSEC will no doubt ensure the continuation of this tradition creating strong ties with neighbors nearby and within the Western Hemisphere.

CHAPTER III

The Literature Review

This chapter will be dedicated to a review of literature related to leadership, ethics, democracy and human rights. It will be divided in two sections as follows: The first section will be concentrated in the literature concerning leadership and ethics. It will consist of brief definitions of leadership, military leadership, and will end with a section to study ethics and will end with a section of ethics and the military. The second section will be dedicated to study of democracy and human rights.

Definitions of Leadership

The issues that surface in a review of the literature on leadership include a basic description of leadership theories, an enumeration of qualities that a leader must possess, an analysis of the different types of leadership and a discussion of what constitute effective leadership. Literature indicates that, in general, leadership is viewed as an active process and the act of defining one's voice (Matusak, 1997). There is also an important relationship between the leader and the follower. The leader shares the vision through listening and sharing information.

Greenberg and Baron (2000) define leadership as the process whereby one individual influences group members toward attaining defined group or organizational goals. According to this definition, leadership primarily involves influence; that is, a leader changes the actions or attitudes of several group members or subordinates. Crosby (1996) states that the four absolutes of

leadership are a clear agenda, a personal philosophy, enduring relationships, and worldliness. According to Smith (1998), leadership permanently can affect an organization by creating and implementing a strategic vision with specific long-term goals. Heifetz (1997) agrees with Smith and states:

Leadership is more likely to produce socially useful outcomes by setting goals that meet the needs of both the leader and the followers. This has the benefit of distinguishing leadership from merely “getting people to do what you want them to do.”

Leadership is more than influence, (p. 20)

There are as many definitions and descriptions of leadership as there are people who write and speak about it (Taylor and Rosenbach, 1992; Bass, 1990).

Krass (1998) gives his definition of leadership. He states:

Leadership is the ability to inspire other people to work together as a team, following your lead, in order to attain a common objective, whether in business, in politics, in war, or in the football field.

(p. 4)

Toner (1992) says that leadership is the ability to inspire appropriate conduct beyond the expectable and is critical to every human enterprise. In order to find a clear definition, Yukl (1998) view leadership as:

The process wherein an individual member of a group or organization influences the interpretations of events, the choice of objectives and strategies, the organization of work activities, the motivation of people to achieve the objectives, the maintenance of

cooperative relationships, the development of skills and confidence by members, and the enlistment of support and cooperation from people outside the group or organization. (p. 5)

Heifetz (1997) argues that we often equate leadership with authority, calling leaders those who achieve high positions of authority. He adds, “Because we equate leadership with authority, we fail to see the obstacles to leadership that comes with authority itself.” (p. 49)

Leadership in Military Organizations

With the continuing growth in war fighting doctrines that depend on individual initiative and decentralized decision making, effective leadership on all levels of military operations becomes even more crucial. Because military leadership remains basically an exercise in human motivation, we will always prize intelligent analysis of the traditional leader’s attributes. Matthews and Brown (1989) argue that in any predictable circumstance, courage and commitment will remain essential for leaders at all levels. They declare that character is the essence of professionalism, and an essential quality for effective leadership.

Leadership has been considered a critical factor in military successes since records have been kept; that is, better-led forces repeatedly have been victorious over poorly led forces (Bass, 1990). It is extremely important for leaders to know the people, who are working for the leader, to establish a framework in which everyone can operate comfortably, and to set challenging goals that will motivate and inspire. Leadership is not unique to the military. Taylor and Rosenbach

(1992) declare that nonetheless, there are existing commonalities in the understanding of organizational leadership, and, in some ways, the military has provided a model that has been adopted by other organizations.

Military organizations and their missions are always quite clear. The complexity with which military organizations deal requires much clear thinking, that takes time, and that time is not often seen as “productive” in many organizations. If the leaders or pacesetters will not take the time to define their mission, what is it that people within the organization are to concentrate on? The same question goes about vision. Poor and ineffective leadership might argue that it does not have the time. Developing (or ensuring developing of) mission and direction (vision) for an organization are (along with values) the primary reasons they have their jobs.

Military organizations are very special. They have their own command and structure, judicial body, and laws that require a kind of obedience not found elsewhere. Every large organization has its own culture. The only difference between the military organizations and any other organization are the laws and judicial body and the level of compliance expected. However, the laws are pretty much common sense for people in combat. Many of them are traditional without being constraining. According to Summers (1997) while in many respects the rules for the military are similar to civilian law, they also include prohibitions that have no civilian equivalent. These include such wartime capital offenses as cowardice in the face of the enemy, disobedience of a direct order, and striking a

superior officer. Laws are also included to ensure good military order and discipline.

Carey (1996) believes that the military institution in the United States has survived for more than 200 years because it has created an effective team-based organization with strong leadership. The military's team process retains two aspects of organizational success often missing from corporate teams, short turnaround and accountability.

Traits of Military Leadership

Military leadership is defined as the art of direct and indirect influence and the skill of creating the conditions for organizational success to accomplish missions effectively (FM 22-100). In general, junior leaders exercise their influence directly, while senior leaders must employ both direct and indirect influencing methods. Good leadership is essential to organized action where any group is involved. A good leader must project power and act as the one who causes or inspires others. What should be the desirable traits of military leadership? Matthews and Brown (1989) state that there are many qualities and essential characteristics, or traits in effective military leadership. Among those they consider the most important are:

The leader must know his job, without necessarily being a specialist in every phase of it. He/she must get around or show interest in what their subordinates are doing. Leaders must possess human understanding and consideration for others. Leaders must also have confidence in themselves, their units, their subordinates

and their plans. Leaders must also possess imagination and above all, character. Leader is a person who has the high ideals, who stands by them, and who can be trusted absolutely. (p. 1-8)

Matthews and Brown (1989) contend that as far as leader character is concerned, initiative in a leader flows from his willingness to step forward, take charge of a situation, and act promptly, completely on his own authority, if necessary. Taylor and Rosenbach (1992), emphasize General Matthews B. Ridgway words (1966), he believes that there are three chief ingredients of leadership and calls them the three “Cs” (character, courage, and competence). Out of the three, Ridgway argues that character is the bedrock on which the whole edifice of leadership rests. According to Maxwell (1995) some of the qualities that make up good character include honesty, integrity, self-discipline, dependability, perseverance, conscientiousness, and a strong work ethic. Ciulla (1998) states: “the quality and worth of leadership can only be measured in terms of what a leader intends, values, believes in, or stands for. In other words, character” (p. 37)

Pfaff (1998) contends it becomes important to develop leaders of character who understand what it means to be a good leader, not just what it means to follow rules, and perform duties. Furthermore he suggests:

It becomes important to construct a theory of ethics that will tell us what good character is and how it can be developed. A virtuous leader is more concerned with being the kind of leader that does

the right thing at the right time and in the right way and not as much on the act itself. (p. 8)

In reference to character and ethics, Kanungo and Mendonca (1996) contend:

There is a growing awareness that ethical principles ought to govern the decisions of our leaders, and that schools ought to regard character formation as the core element of their mission. (p. 5)

Character and competence solidify army leadership, and also the excellence of its leaders, their values, attributes, skills, and actions. Leaders are not born with character. It is developed by the experiences and decisions that guide their lives. Each leader creates, develops and nurtures his/her character. Being a leader of character is not an easy task. It requires tough decisions, many of which put the leader at odds with the more commonly accepted social custom of the times. Cowardliness in character, manifested by a lack of integrity, or honor, will sooner or later manifest itself as cowardliness in other forms. According to Hawkins (2000) leaders who have the courage to face up to the ethical challenges in their daily lives, to remain faithful to sacred oaths, have a reservoir of strength from which to draw upon in times of great stress in the heat of battle.

Leadership in the United States Army

The nature of operations in the 21st century places significant demands on Army leaders. The primary purpose of the Army is to fight and win the nation's

wars. This doctrine suggests that leaders must lead in peace as they would in war or any other army or joint operation. The Army's leadership training and development efforts recognize that the requirements for effective leadership change as one advances in rank and responsibility. Colloway and Ketter (1986) have identified three distinct levels of leadership in the Army, such as, direct-level leadership, senior-level leadership, and executive-level leadership. The Army requires confident leaders of character and competence to lead its teams, units, and organizations against 21st century challenges.

Zimmerman (1999) argues that the perfect leader is a 21st century soldier who is adaptive in nature and he adds:

This soldier knows and can read enemy actions, can make sense out of those actions, can adapt the commander's plan while maintaining its integrity, and then has the strength to deal with the changes. Reduced to its essence, adaptive leaders are those who have a feel for the fight. (p. 1)

The Army is reshaping itself in order to be responsive to the requirements of the national military strategy and to meet the challenges of the post-Cold War era and all the new challenges that will arise in the 21st century. Moilanen (1999) in reference to the types of leaders needed in the United States Army in the new century agrees with Zimmerman (1999) and states:

The army is working on producing leaders for change, not just leaders who are doctrinally capable and competent leaders for war fighting but leaders also for all kind of missions, capable of

continuing to deal with an evolving global situation in which the array of threats they will face goes across the entire spectrum. (p 2)

Accordingly, Donoue and Wong (1994) state that:

Young Army leaders will operate on decentralized mission execution only after thoroughly understanding their commander's intent and scheme of maneuver. Their leadership style will evolve around transformational leadership behavior versus transactional leadership; developing and communicating a vision that their soldiers can rally around, and individualized soldier concern and self-sacrifice. (p. 24-31)

Van Fleet and Yukl (1986) maintain that military men are expected above all else to be leaders. They must possess certain characteristics found more frequently in military leaders. Those characteristics according to them are: "Courage and daring, willingness to assume responsibility, leadership effectiveness and achievement, and ethical conduct and personal integrity." (Van Fleet & Yukl, 1986, p. 20)

Field Manual (FM) 22-100 The Army Leadership Manual lays out a framework that applies to all Army leaders, officers and non-commissioned officers, military and civilian, active and reserve component. This manual is also taught in all Army schools including the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC). At the core of leadership doctrine is the same Army Values embedded in the force: loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, and personal courage (LDRSHIP). America's army needs

leaders who possess and live all those Army Values. Field Manual (FM) 22-100 offers a framework for how to lead and provides points for leaders to consider when assessing and developing themselves, their people, their teams, and their organizations. The manual does not presume to tell leaders exactly how they should lead every step of the way. Leaders must be themselves and apply this leadership doctrine as appropriate to the situations they will face.

Field Manual (FM) 22-100, Army Leadership describes what leaders must **BE**, the skills they must **KNOW**, and the characteristics and knowledge they must apply to **DO** what they must. This framework of **BE**, **KNOW**, and **DO** describes the characteristics of Army's 21st century leaders in any army of the world.

Throughout FM-22-100, one theme resounds: Army leaders of character and competence use their influence to operate and improve their organizations. At all levels of the Army, direct, organizational, and strategic, they produce a quality force prepared to fight and win the nation's wars and to serve the common defense. Training soldiers, accomplishing missions and winning wars are Army trademarks.

Army leadership begins with what a leader must **BE**, the values and attributes that shape a leader's character. These values and attributes define who the leader is; they give a leader a solid footing. These values and attributes are the same for all leaders, regardless of position, although the leader certainly refines his/her understanding of those values and attributes as he/she becomes more experienced and assumes positions of greater responsibility. For example, a

Sergeant with combat experience has a deeper understanding of selfless service and personal courage than a new soldier does.

The skills are those things the leaders **KNOW** how to do, their competence in everything from the technical side of their job to the people skills a leader requires. The skill categories of the Army leadership framework apply to all leaders. However, as the leader assumes positions of greater responsibility, he/she must master additional skills in each category. For example, a Company commander will have to develop a whole range of different skills than a platoon leader. Character and knowledge, while absolutely necessary, are not enough. The individual cannot be effective, cannot be a leader, until he/she applies what he/she knows, until acts and **DO** what the leader must. As with skills, leaders will learn more leadership actions as he/she serves in different positions.

Becoming a leader involves developing all aspects of oneself. This includes adopting and living in the Army Values. It means developing the attributes and learning the skills of an Army leader. Only by this self-development will a person become a confident and competent leader of character. Hesselbein (2002) suggests that most of us who are leaders work hard on our language until we have crafted messages that are short, clear, and compelling. “Be, Know, Do is a great model for all who appreciate the power of language” (p. 1)

What Leaders Must BE

Soldiers enter the army with values and attributes formed by environmental influences, such as family, friends, schools, religion, television, and media in general. However imperfect these values are, they define the essence of what that person stands for. The intent is to enhance, refine, and develop their existing values into the seven Army Values described in FM 22-100 (loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honor, integrity, and personal courage). These values are the foundation of leadership for the army (and any army). They are “points of light” that drive soldier’s actions in peacetime, through combat, and collectively influence what a leader must **BE**.

What Leaders Must Know

The 21st century leaders are tactical and technical experts who rely on concrete values to assimilate the complex information flow, conceptualize plans and actions, and utilize interpersonal skills for leadership. **Knowing** their occupation becomes an essential variable of the leadership model, as 21st century leaders are passionate learners with a drive for increasing their skills. Proficiency demands challenging training from the time a soldier enters the army through unit training to build on the success of previous training and maintenance of skills.

What Leaders Must DO

Army leadership is the art of brining together values and attributes, knowledge and understanding of the working environment and applicable skills. The 21st century leaders will find their leadership styles (the **DO** portion of leadership) fluctuating between direct, participating, delegating, transformational,

and transactional leadership styles. Varying conditions will determine the style used and, to a certain degree, the mixture of each style for mission accomplishment. Leadership in the pursuit of that mission is each army leader's primary responsibility, challenge, and opportunity.

Summary

Soldiers represent what is best about our Army. They execute through missions whenever and wherever the nation calls. They deserve our very best, leaders of character and competence who act to achieve excellence. Military leaders bring together everything they are, everything they believe, and everything they know how to do to provide purpose, direction, and motivation. Military leaders work to influence people, operate to accomplish the mission, and act to improve their organization.

Good military leaders are made not born. If a person has the desire and willpower, he/she will become an effective military leader. Good military leaders develop through a never-ending process of self-study, education, training, and experience. The challenge for most military leaders is to perform two functions simultaneously: to accomplish missions and tasks with excellence, and to take care of their soldiers and their own well-being. Military leaders potentially have to make life and death decisions that affect their soldiers through the orders they issue. Soldiers must have absolute trust and confidence in their leaders, at the critical time when orders need to be followed without question, doubt and lack of confidence in the leader will create casualties. Confidence and trust create discipline, which saves lives.

Values and strong bonds are what make leaders successful and inspire the sense of purpose necessary to sustain soldiers in combat and help them deal with the demanding requirements of all other military operations. Values are the core of everything an Army is and does. Values are the solid foundation upon which the Army is built, values that define the fundamental character of the United States Army.

Ethics Principles

The words ethics and morality have Greek and Latin origins, respectively. Traditionally they referred to customary values and rules of conduct (as in cultural ethos and social morals), as well as insights about as human excellence and flourishing (Perry, 2000). According to Socrates, ethics was the search for the good life in which one's actions are in accord with the truth. For Bass (1990) ethics is creative, searching for human fulfillment and choosing it as good and beautiful. He goes further and states:

Ethics is practical in purpose. It seeks the full flowering of the human person and excellence in the actualization of the human capacity. Moral virtues are the life-giving patterns of behavior, moral vices and destructive patterns. (p. 906)

Ethics, or a lack thereof, is a major issue across the spectrum of our society, challenging our institutions in business, government, politics, theology, sports and the military. In a post-Vietnam and post-Watergate era we find in the United States a great deal of attention being paid to professional ethics (Wakin, 1986). Ethics and morality are words often used interchangeably by us today.

Toner (1995) argues that there is a difference between ethics and morality. “In the strict sense” he says, “ethics refers to theory, and morality to behavior.” (p. 9). Toner (1992) argues that the word moral would refer to custom, and in a more practical sense, the word ethics would refer to a code that transcends social convenience. Ethics and morals are related as theory and practice, thus “ethics” (McClendon, 1988) “is the study (or systematization) of morals, while morals (or morality) means the actual conduct of people viewed with concern for right and wrong, good and evil.” (p. 47). Toner (1995) agrees with that definition and states that ethics “is the study of good and evil, of right and wrong, of duty and obligation in human conduct, and of reasoning and choice about them.” (p.10). Piersee (2003) defines ethics as that body of principles, and behavior that define one’s actions.

Kanungo and Mendonca (1996) define ethics as related to morals. They argue that moral is concerned with character or disposition, with the distinction between right and wrong. Further explained it means:

Morals or ethics go well beyond etiquette, protocol, and even the mere observance of the laws of the country. It is not a question of an act being legal or illegal but whether the act is good or evil. A legal act may not necessarily be a morally good act. (p. 33)

Kanungo and Mendonca (1996) emphasized Thomas Aquina’s views in the following:

A morally good act has three parts of factors: (a) the objective act itself, (b) the subjective motive of the actor, and (c) the situation or

circumstances in which the act is done. The actor must always have good intentions. (p. 33-34)

According to Boyd (2000), after much reflection on the array of ethical theories available in contemporary thought, one has to conclude that there are fundamentally three categories of theories. “Each theory is determined by its primary concentration on the actor, the action, or the outcome of action.” (p. 1). Also, it is mentioned in the literature that ethics and values are closely connected. Hitt (1990) affirms that even though the nature of values and the roll of values in our everyday lives are difficult to comprehend, we can agree that they are the bedrock of ethics. Sullivan and Harper (1996) contend that the inner strength that derives from values gives each member of an organization strength and confidence; “it motivates and inspires performance and builds genuine loyalty.” (p. 75). They add that shared values are the foundation of leadership. Values are what leaders will take into the future.

Ethics, according to Toner (1995), “is a matter of the mind, as well as of the heart, involves study and theory and academic discipline.” (p. 9). He adds: “ethics derives from custom, from rules (deontology), from goals (teleology), and from circumstances (situationalism).” (p. 21). According to the WWWebster (1999) ethics is defined as “a set of moral principles and values.” Hitt (1990) agrees with that definition and states that a set of values is what guides a person’s life, and “any description of a person’s ethics would have to revolve around his or her values” (p. 6). Regarding to the importance of values to the individual, Hitt (1990) reflects in the word of Abraham Maslow who states:

The human being needs a framework of values, a philosophy of life, a religion or religion-structure to live by and understand by, in about the same sense that he needs sunlight, calcium, or love.

(p. 28)

Bottoroff (2002), defines ethics as:

Ethics is a body of principles or standards of human conduct that govern the behavior of individuals and groups. Ethics arise not simply from man's creation but from human nature itself making it a natural body of laws from which man's laws follows. (p. 1)

Toner (2000) argues that ethics begins with a concern for the happiness we experience when we do the good or right thing. "Virtue is therefore more than obedience to law, for virtue is, in the end, good character." (p. 71). Literature on ethics presents all manner of approaches to ethics. Among those, are: The "virtue ethics" of the golden mean, the "utilitarian ethics" of the greatest good for the greatest number, and the "duty ethics" of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. According to Boyd (2000), each of these principles, along with other candidates, has a certain appeal. He states: "Each strives to meet the criteria required of an ethical principle capable to guiding and providing a basis for moral judgment of all human acts." (p. 1). Boyd (2000) goes further and argues that the major criteria required of any proposed ethical principle are:

Impartially, any ethical principle should be impartial in its applicability. Universality, the aim of ethical principles is to cover all cases relevant to moral decisions and actions. Authoritative

precedence, the wisdom of the past comes from the use of ethical principles and the discovery of their consequences for moral well-being. Practicability, ethical principles should prove applicable to actual moral conditions and situations. (p. 1)

Kanungo and Mendonca (1996) argue that despite the differences in theories of ethics, there is a substantial agreement among people that “some types of actions are better than others, and better in an unconditional way, not just better for a particular person or better in relation to a particular set of cultural norms.” (p. 35). Moral acts then, are based on moral laws that are universal because they incorporate fundamental values such as truth, goodness, beauty, courage, and justice. These values are found in all cultures, although cultures may differ with regard to the application of these values (Kanungo & Mendonca, 1996). Ethics then, is a body of moral principles or values governing or distinctive of a group or culture. Toner (2000) contends that ethics is about having a sense of responsibility both to what will come about “because of who we are and what we do and those who have gone before and who have given us our moral starting point.” (p. xv)

Ethics and Military Leadership

Events of the recent past remind us that personal and professional ethics must concern every soldier, every member of the military, especially those entrusted with leadership roles and responsibilities. Traditionally, the military ethos and ethic has been associated with the idea of honor (Toner, 1992). Ethos is defined as: “the complex of fundamental values that underlies, permeates, or

actuates major patterns of thought and behavior in any particular culture, society, or institution” (Toner, 1992, p. 238). Field Manual (FM) 100-1, The Army, simply states that we have an Army Ethos, which defines as:

The guiding beliefs, standards and ideals that characterize and motivate the Army, but is succinctly described in one word, duty.

And then, contained within the concept of duty are the values of integrity and selfless service.

Legitimacy, commitment, and moral values, all are key terms in the area of military ethics (Brown and Collins, 1986). The term military ethics itself might be called an oxymoron, because some wonder what the military has to do with ethics. After all, the ultimate function of every military organization, (included the United States), is to execute collective violence in the service of the nation and in order to obtain social goals. Yet, ethics and military leadership go hand-in-hand. Gal (1985) argues:

Military leaders, perhaps more than any other professionals, are expected to demonstrate not only outstanding skills and professional competence, but also such intangible qualities as honesty, loyalty, commitment, courage, and above all, moral integrity (p. 553)

The unique or functional aspect of the military has often been discussed in terms of the military mind (Wakin, 1986). Because of this idea we generally assume that any expression of attitude or value coming from a military leader

reflects the military mind. Wakin (1986), gives us a clear definition of the military mind. He suggests that:

The military mind consists of the values or attitudes, and perspectives which inhere in the performance of the professional military function and which are deducible from the nature of that function (p. 39)

Huntington (1985) argues that an alternative approach is to define military values by source. That is to assume that any expression of attitude or value coming from a military source reflects the military mind. In reference to military mind, Huntington contends:

The military mind consists of values and attitudes. A value or attitude is part of the professional military ethic if it is implied by or derived from the peculiar expertise, responsibility, and organization of the military profession (p. 37)

Huntington (1985) also assumes that certain values are military and that military men therefore hold those values. This may or may not be true, but there is nothing in the procedure that requires it to be so. Bennis and Nanus (1985) state: "The leader is responsible for the set of ethics or norms that govern the behavior of people in the organization. Leaders set the moral tone" (p. 186). Hitt (1990) argues that an ethical environment is conducive to effective leadership, and effective leadership is conducive to ethics. Wright (1999) in reference to leadership and ethics, states:

Strong leaders inspire loyalty, encourage personal achievement, gain consensus and commitment to the organizational mission, promote dedication and hard work, foster care for one another, moderate job stress, and expect moral and ethical behavior (p. 6)

Leaders make choices that affect the lives of other people. When making these choices, leaders must make normative assessments regarding human ends and the means to those ends. As such, the decisions that result enter the realm of the ethical (Pfaff, 1998). Regarding ethics in leadership, Bass (2003) argues that the ethics of leadership rests upon three pillars, such as:

- (a) The moral character of the leader
- (b) The ethical values embedded in the leader's vision, articulation, and program which followers either embrace or reject
- (c) The morality of the processes of social ethic choice and action that leaders and followers engage in and collectively pursue (p. 2)

Toner (1995) argues that military ethics can help maintain the integrity of the profession of arms by requiring soldiers to distinguish right from wrong. He adds: "Military ethics is the study of honorable and shameful conduct in the armed services" (p. 4). Mattox (1999) contends that future military leaders will require, more than ever before, a commitment to those moral values that are the source of enduring strength in a free society. In terms of leadership, Pfaff (1998) argues: "in order to lead well, the leader must instantiate certain virtues that facilitate good leadership. An ethically good leader, when confronted with a choice, acts to instantiate the appropriate virtue" (p. 9)

Military personnel, more than most citizens, live under a sense of duty, aligned with a strong base of order, obedience and discipline, traditions and sentiment. They have taken oaths admitting them into the ranks of the military. They swore to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. According to Kaurin (2001) sentiment and shared tradition, community and values is central to military ethics and military ethics cannot survive without them. What sustains the military ethics, Kaurin says, “is not abstract principles but habitation, custom and shared ritual, all of which are based in and expressly appeal to sentiment” (p. 15). Yalanis (2001) maintains that obedience is a moral bridge that is needed for the military to flourish. But it is only moral when its framework is made of moral authority. He contends: “the individual uses the military system as a means to the end of supporting and defending the Constitution of the United States” (p. 3)

Hackett (1986) speaking at the United States Air Force Academy, said:

The major service of the military institution to the community of men it serves may well lie neither within the political sphere nor the functional. It could easily lie within the moral. The military institution is a mirror of its parent society, reflecting strengths and weaknesses. It can also be a well from which to draw refreshment for a body politic in need of it. The highest service of the military to the state may well lie in the moral sphere (p. 119-120)

Toner (2000) suggests the essential character of the military ethic is based “upon the conviction that there is something worth living for and perhaps dying

for that is more important than one's own skin" (p. 19). Toner (1995) contends that soldiers are supposed "to follow the general principle of honorable conduct, but they must conduct themselves honorably in the context of achieving their mission" (p. 68). Even junior military leaders learn that the military ethic incorporates two-fold responsibility: to accomplish their mission and to provide for the welfare of their men (Toner, 1992). Any leader, civilian or military, can be said to have a similar duty: to do his job and to look out for his subordinates. It is only in the military, however, in which the two duties can conflict absolutely (Toner, 1992). To understand military ethics he says, "we must understand both the nature of ethics itself and its peculiar application in the context of the armed forces" (Toner, 1992, p. 20). Ciulla (1998) contends that the ethics of leadership, whether they are good or bad, positive or negative, affect the ethos of the military leaders and thereby help to form the ethical choices and decisions of the followers.

While there are many effective styles of leadership, there are also two basic and essential ingredients of successful military leadership, integrity and ethical behavior. Military leaders at all levels need to display consistently the actions that match words and deeds, between rules and compliance, between institutional values and behavior. Military leadership must have a moral base, a set of ethical values, to keep followers true to the high ideals of our forefathers who provide the American people the cherished inheritance of freedom and liberty, and respect for the basic human rights. Leadership by example must

come from the top leadership, be consistent with the highest standards and be visible for all to see, especially, followers.

The United States Army is increasingly concerned with the study of ethics. Officers and Noncommissioned officers alike are studying ethics more than ever before in their respective academies. The past decade, military professionals at the service academies and educational centers have shown increasing interest in the study of ethical principles. Most Army training schools, such as WHINSEC, now include at least one class on professional ethics, in which soldiers are encouraged to construct codes of ethics for the military service. Certainly, ethics have always been important in the military, but recently it has taken center stage. This has resulted in an increased concern with ethics on all levels, as evidenced by the increased focus on morals and ethics in military rhetoric and the visible changes and emphasis on ethics at the service academies and schools. Toner (1995) argues that moral conviction flows from education, experience, and inspiration. Buckingham (2002) contends there are two essential requirements in educating military leaders to make ethical military decisions, and there is one prerequisite as follows:

From the beginning of their military education and throughout their careers, leaders should study the elements of ethical decision-making. Each leader must be taught to take responsibility not only for his actions but also for the actions of the entire military profession. The basic prerequisite is that each leader must be fully convinced of the legitimacy of the military profession (p. 5)

The three fundamental principles of the American military are, civilian supremacy, just war tradition, and an absolute conception of military ethics. Gatliff (2000) argues that the United States military attempts to provide a moral grounding or base for military decision-making has tuned to a form of virtue ethics. In virtue ethics he suggests, “One does not focus on the conditions under which an action is moral or immoral, but rather on the character of the actor” (p. 1). The profession of arms exists because it is necessary for a defenseless society to train a military force capable of defending its territory and promoting its legitimate interests abroad. According to Starz (2000) the Constitution establishes the principles of our society and subsequently the principles of our military. The United States military forces have developed a code, called the professional military ethic (PME) that upholds those principles in the application to the profession of arms.

Although the issues of military ethics are very old, it is only when major issues arise in a military, issues that test the institution as a whole, such as the My Lai massacre case, that military ethics comes again to the fore. Gans (2001) contends:

Essentially, the values of military ethics are outlined in the commission scrolls: integrity, honesty, obedience, loyalty, courage, and trustworthiness. All of these issues are important. They are character traits that are essential in a professional military person of whatever rank, but they are particularly important in those to whom the responsibility of command is given (p. 4)

Hawkins (2000) argues that ethics in the military is not easily quantified.

He further explains:

Ethics is closely associated with the cultural aspects of functional leadership and with morality in our conceptual framework. Ethics flow from foundations and responsibilities of the leader.

Foundations consist of values, standards and will; whereas a leader's ethical responsibilities are: to be a role model, promote ethical development, and sustain an ethical climate. The payoff is moral toughness, as expressed by strength, confidence and consistency (p. 14)

The professional function of the military is to defend society by being able to fight and win wars. To do so, it must have leaders who are committed to principles "outside of themselves" (Kilner, 2001). Military leaders must be willing to risk their own welfare for the good of others. It is clear that military personnel in general, unlike other professionals, are required to adhere to their profession-driven, higher moral standards even in their personal lives. Loyalty is included in the Soldier's Guide on a list of what men expect from their leaders, listed in FM 22-100 (a guide on military leadership) under military virtues and virtues of leaders in particular and is perhaps the one virtue most closely associated with the military. Kaurin (2001) describes our collective image of the soldier as one who wears the symbols of our nation, swears to defend them with his/her life if necessary, and follows the orders of his commanders in carrying out all duties.

The United States military is an effective fighting force. Much of that effectiveness comes from the trust that has been developed between enlisted, officers, senior military leaders and the civilian leadership. Bowen (2000) contends that it is one thing to discuss environment of the United States. He argues:

In the military, especially in the midst of threatening situations overseas, the relationship between character, leadership and trust is much more important and real. Subordinates watch everything that a leaders does, constantly analyzing how much they can trust their leader with their lives (p. 10)

Pfaff (2000) argues that when military leaders consider how to accomplish the end, the mission, they are legally, morally, and pragmatically obligated to consider how much force. In other words, for the military, where conditions of peace exist, military leaders, like police, must consider what is the least amount of force necessary, rather than what is the most amount of force permissible. It is clear then, that the centerpiece of military ethics should be the moral application of military force. The Army is imparting ethics to its people in the same manner it imparts tactics or military discipline. According to Challans (1999) The Army has ethics doctrine, and this doctrine is in its leadership manual. He argues that it is not called doctrine by accident, since “The Army fully intends to impart its doctrine to its members through the process of indoctrination” (p. 5). Some military people have been very skeptical about doctrine for a long time. Wingrove (1998) argues that indoctrination is an effective method of developing

the ethical judgment and decision-making skills of military officers and leaders.

Instead, he contends:

Ethical training of military officers and leaders must use a model that involves development of critical thinking skills, discussion of approaches to ethics and moral issues, and case studies and role-playing. Ethical training that focuses on the development of judgment and decision-making skills must involve the application of critical thinking skills to ethical situations (p. 3)

According to Mattox (1999), military leaders must not forget that the higher perspective concerning the correct moral aim for which wars are (or are to be) fought is the perspective that moral military leaders must maintain if they are to fill the measure of their higher calling as defenders of the defenseless and guardians of peace and justice. There is no reason to believe that the demands of morality will ever change. The principles of moral leadership are the same today as they were in the past. He contends the virtues that moral principles embody are ideals to live by and use as the measuring rods for every decision the military leader makes. They are ideals that must find their expression in the deeds of military leaders who seek to make a positive difference in the emerging world of chaos and change.

Democracy Principles

Democracy is a complex word. It can be thought of as a listing of rights, and the struggle for those rights on a political level is a common theme of the history of the last three centuries. Democracy is widely accepted as an

overarching political ideal in the West, and is increasingly gaining similar acceptance in the rest of the world. Over the past two decades, a democratic revolution has been sweeping the world, starting in Latin America, and then spreading through Eastern Europe and most recently across Africa. According to the research organization Freedom House, 117 of the world's 191 countries are considered democratic. This is a vast increase from even a decade ago. Over the past two centuries, the rise of constitutional forms of government has been closely associated with peace, social stability, respect for human rights, and rapid socio-economic development. Democratic countries have been more successful in living peacefully with their neighbors, educating their citizens, liberating human energy and initiative for constructive purposes in society, economic growth and wealth generation.

In spite of its enormous contribution to social development, the process responsible for the emergence and successful adaptation of democratic institutions in society is not yet well understood. Most people are vague about what democracy actually is. Some people might say a democratic system is one that has elections. Others might say that democracy protects individual rights, human rights. Another response could be that a democratic government takes good care of its people, its citizens. Others might say that a democratic government reflects the will of the people. We know for sure, that the Western idea of democracy began with the ancient Greeks, especially the Athenians. Unlike most ancient societies, Athens was ruled not by a political class, but by a popular assembly in which all citizens had equal voice and standing.

Historical Origins of Democracy

Among western political scientists the origins of democracy are usually traced back to the ancient Greek city-state of Athens. In fact the word democracy is of Greek origin, meaning, “rule by the people” (kratos=rule, demos=people). The political system of Athens has been widely upheld by western theorists as the ideal toward which contemporary democracies should strive. The democratic ideas of government responsible to the governed, of trial by jury and of civil liberties of thought, speech, writing and worship have been stimulated by Greek history.

Athenian democracy was based on direct popular decision making. Government decisions were made in public assemblies in which all male citizens could attend, speak, and vote. In Athens, most public officials were chosen at random, by lot, so that every male citizen had a roughly equal chance at holding public office. Athenian direct democracy was not perfect. Most of the population, women and slaves, were excluded from the assembly and office holding. Athens’ democracy died over two thousand years ago. For almost two millennia there were few other cases of popular government. There were some republics that approximated some of the practices of Athenian democracy.

The early Roman republic before the rise of the empire and medieval Italian City States are the most frequently cited in the literature. Modern theory of self-government only emerges as a significant political force in the late 18th century with the American and French revolutions. It was in the United States that self rule in a large country first survived, and American thinkers have played

an important leading role in a defining the theory of popular government ever since.

Defining Democracy

Democracy may be a word familiar to most people, but it is a concept still misunderstood and misused in a time when totalitarian regimes and military dictatorships alike have attempted to claim popular support by pinning democratic labels upon themselves. In the WWWebster (1999), democracy “is government by the people in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected officials under a free electoral system.” In the phrase of President Abraham Lincoln, democracy is a government “of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

Freedom and democracy are often used interchangeably, but the two are not synonymous. Democracy is indeed a set of ideas and principles about freedom, but it also consists of a set of practices and procedures that have been molded through a long history. Democracy is the institutionalization of freedom. Democracies fall into two basic categories, direct and representative. In a direct democracy, all citizens, without the intermediary of elected or appointed officials, can participate in making public decisions. Such system is clearly only practical with relatively small numbers of people. Athens the first democracy managed to practice direct democracy with an assembly that may have numbered as many as 5,000 to 6,000 persons. Modern society, with its size and complexity offers few opportunities for direct democracy. Today, the most common form of democracy is representative democracy, in which citizens elect officials to make political

decisions, formulate laws, and administer programs for the public good. A great example is the American democracy that is considered a representative democracy. The people of United States elect people to represent their ideals in the government.

In a large national democracy, the procedure used to aggregate people's decisions is ordinarily specified in a written constitution. Almost every national democracy in the world today has one. A written constitution usually states the rules by which the most important government agents are elected, their duties, and the penalties for not carrying out their duties properly. It also tells how voters and/or elected representatives can introduce and pass bills.

The Core Beliefs of Democracy

Literature illustrates many ideas about some of the principles of democracy. Among those are: constitutional government, separation of power, federalism, rule of law, civil rights, majority rule, human dignity, and social justice. The Inter-Parliamentary Union based in Geneva, Switzerland, in its council celebrated in Cairo, Egypt, the 16th of September, 1997, issued a "Universal Declaration on Democracy" and urged governments and parliaments throughout the world to be guided by its contents. Among several articles, that declaration states that democracy is a universally recognized ideal as well as a goal, which is based on common values shared by peoples throughout the world community irrespective of cultural, political, social and economic differences. Most importantly, democracy is founded on the primacy of the law and the exercise of human rights. In a democratic state, no one is above the law and all

are equal before the law. Peace and economic, social and cultural development are both conditions for and fruits of democracy. There is thus interdependence between peace, development, respect for and observance of the rule of law and human rights.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union also calls for the international dimension of democracy in which a democracy should support democratic principles in international relations. In that respect, democracies must refrain from undemocratic conduct, express solidarity with democratic governments and non-governmental organizations that work for democracy and human rights, and extend solidarity to those who are victims of human rights violations at the hands of undemocratic regimes. In order to strengthen international criminal justice, democracies must reject impunity for international crimes and serious violations of fundamental human rights and support the establishment of a permanent international criminal court (United States currently refuses to be subject to international courts)

Summary

Throughout history, the most important aspects of the democratic way of life have been the principles of individual equality and freedom. Applying democratic principles in everyday life can be challenging. The basic drive of democracy is the concept of equality. Equality amongst all people has its roots in the experiences of the common people with the struggles against tyranny and oppression. Democracy is more than a form of government. It is a way of life in which human personality is judged of supreme and measureless worth.

Democratic governments' main concern is to protect the rights of its people and their well-being. In the United States, for example, the First Amendment to the Constitution protects freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly. The characteristics of democracy vary from one country to another. But certain basic features are more or less the same in all democratic nations.

Visible, effective democracy requires civic participation, association, vigilance, and certain values and practices that temper the demands and restrain the conflicts of a politically active citizenry. Democracy cannot be sustained by participation alone. It requires some measure of balance between conflict and consensus, between scrutiny of government and support for its authority. Citizens need to understand the basic principles of democracy that transcend countries, cultures, and historical eras. This means inculcating certain core values and ideas. It means teaching an appreciation for freedom, constitutionalism, respect for law, political choice and accountability for rulers.

Human Rights

Introduction

Human rights became a concept on the international agenda with the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948 without a dissenting vote. It is the first multinational declaration mentioning human rights by name, and the human rights movement has largely adopted it as a charter. The United Nations Charter, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and United Nation Human Rights Covenants were written and implemented in the aftermath of the Holocaust,

revelations coming from the Nuremberg war crimes trials, the Bataan Death March, the atomic bomb, and other horrors smaller in magnitude but not in impact on the individuals they affected. Today human rights as defined by the United Nations Universal Declaration go far beyond the right to life free from torture. They included many civil, economic, and cultural rights in their wish list for a better world, like freedom of religion and speech, from starvation, for an education, and many other things.

History of Human Rights

The concept of human rights has existed under several names in European thought for many centuries, at least since the time of King John of England. After the king violated a number of ancient laws and customs by which England had been governed, his subjects forced him to sign the Magna Carta, or Great Charter, which enumerates concepts that later came to be thought of as human rights. Among them was the right of the church to be free from government interference, the rights of all free citizens to own and inherit property and be free from excessive taxes. It also established principles of due process and equality before the law.

In the 18th and 19th centuries in Europe several philosophers proposed the concept of “natural rights,” rights belonging to a person by nature and because he was a human being, not by virtue of his citizenship in a particular country or membership in a particular religious or ethnic group. In the late 1700s two revolutions occurred which drew heavily in this concept. In 1776 most of the British colonies in North America proclaimed their independence from the British

Empire in a document, which still stirs feelings, and debate, the U.S. Declaration of Independence. The first sentence of the Declaration says: “we hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” In 1789 the people of France overthrew their monarchy and established the first French Republic. Out of the revolution came the “Declaration of the Rights of Man.” Henry David Thoreau expanded the concept. Thoreau is the first philosopher known to use the term, “human rights” in his treatise, *Civil Disobedience*. Other early proponents of human rights were the English philosopher John Stuart Mill, in his *Essay on Liberty*, and American political theorist Thomas Paine in his essay, *The Rights of Man*.

The middle and late 19th century saw a number of issues take center stage, many of those issues in the late 20th century would be considered human rights issues. They included slavery, brutal working conditions, starvation wages, child labor, and, in the Americas, the “Indian problem”, as it was known at the time. For the last part of the nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century, though, human rights activism remained largely tied to political and religious groups and beliefs. Nonetheless many specific civil rights and human rights movements managed to affect profound social changes during this time. Labor unions brought about laws granting workers the right to strike, establishing minimum work conditions, forbidding or regulating child labor, establishing a 40 hours workweek in the United States and many European countries. The global human rights movement is rooted in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human

Rights and its later elaborations, especially the 1966 International Human Rights Covenants. These documents reflect what is being called “the Universal Declaration Model” of international human rights. This document focuses on rights, the restriction to individual rights, the balance between civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights; and national responsibility for implementing internationally recognized human rights.

Defining Basic Human Rights

Worldwide revulsion at the crimes of the Holocaust served as a major impetus for the adoption by the United Nations of documents declaring certain rights to be universal human rights. These are fundamental and inalienable rights to which all people are entitled, regardless of who they are or where they happen to be born. Although the concept of human rights transcends any particular international document, it is generally associated with the initiatives and documents of the United Nations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted unanimously in 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly, was the first step to establish a set of human rights standards to serve a legal structure and a moral code to hold governments accountable for the ways in which they might violate or deny the human rights of those living within their borders. The declaration contains thirty articles that address basic political, civil, social, economic and cultural rights, including, but not restricted to, rights to life, speech, religion, equality before the law, asylum, food, shelter, nationality, assembly, social security, and education. Its creators declared the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to be a “common standard of achievement for all

people and all nations,” a moral measure of the behavior of governments toward their people. The creators of the Universal Declaration wanted human rights to have the force of international law. Elaborating the rights’ guarantees stated in UDHR are the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (and the optional Protocol) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, both of which were drafted and opened for signature by United Nations member states in the 1960s. These binding international treaties seek to establish clear guidelines and monitoring procedures for measuring the progress of the world community in safeguarding human rights. The UDHR and the two international covenants are known as the International Bill of Rights.

As we entered the 21st century, we have witnessed the creation and implementation of important human rights instruments that have been incorporated into a so-called international human rights regime. As a result of new communication technologies and increasing independence, governments are finding it increasingly difficult to violate their citizens’ human rights without attracting the attention of interested individuals, governments, and international organizations around the world. Overall human rights practices have improved worldwide during the last generation.

World Conference on Human Rights

The United Nations designated 1968 as the International Year for Human Rights to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and convened an International Conference on Human Rights in Tehran, Iran, to enhance national and international human rights efforts and initiatives.

The Conference approved the Proclamation of Tehran, which formulated a program for the future, addressing the problems of colonialism, racial discrimination, illiteracy and the protection of the family. Twenty-five years later, the World Conference on Human Rights, convened in Vienna, Austria in 1993, reassessed the progress of United Nations human rights work over the years. The Vienna Conference was marked by an unprecedented degree of support by the international community. Some 7,000 participants, including delegations from 171 States and representatives of more than 840 non-government organizations, gathered for two weeks to set out a revitalized program for global human rights action. In adopting the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action by consensus, the World Conference reaffirmed the centrality of the Universal Declaration for human rights protection, and recognized, for the first time unanimously, the right to development as an inalienable right and integral part of international human rights law. They also emphasized that, as human rights are universal and indivisible as well as interrelated and independent, they should be promoted in an equal manner.

The Vienna Declaration provides the international community with a new framework of planning, dialogue and cooperation that enables an integrated approach to promoting human rights. The recognition of the interdependence between democracy, development and human rights, for example, laid the groundwork for increased cooperation among international development agencies and national organizations in promoting human rights.

The Importance of Teaching Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) proclaims, “that every individual and every organ of society...shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures...to ensure their universal and effective recognition” (UDHR, 1948). When reading the newspapers or listening to the news, today’s students learn about people from diverse areas and cultures of the world who are demanding civil rights, legal rights, economic rights, and social rights. For educational institutions that want to discuss these current events with their students, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is an excellent vehicle and tool for learning democratic and humanistic values. Perhaps the best rationale for teaching students about this great document is found in the declaration’s preamble: “Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world.”

When teaching about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), educational institutions and organizations in general, will want to accomplish certain important goals. They will endeavor to increase students’ understanding of the nature and scope of human rights and develop their appreciation of the struggle for an evolution of human rights in the United States and in the rest of the world. Students should come to appreciate the leadership that United States has taken in the development of human rights. Students need to recognize the affirmation and denial of human rights on the world scene and be aware of the present-day problems involving human rights.

Interwoven with the traditions of moral, global, multicultural, and peace education, human rights education is fundamental to citizenship education in a democracy. Human rights education, particularly when informed by study of the Holocaust and other genocides and atrocities, requires students to grapple with questions related to ethnocentrism, relativism, universalism, responsibility, conflict, and justice. In military educational institutions, the study of human rights themes is of utmost importance, particularly when related to genocide including the violation of scientific and medical ethics by the use of torture and experimentation on prisoners, human survival in concentration camps and prison, the meaning of conscience, ethnic cleansing, and efforts to limit or eradicate cultural or national identities through state-sponsored violence or oppression.

Human rights education also requires that students examine perspectives other than their own and recognize that human rights problems occur not only in foreign lands but also within their own country and community. It challenges them to become more competent at understanding the complex world before them and to see themselves as participants in a global community. It calls on them to develop greater empathy for the suffering of their neighbors and be “courageous enough to act on behalf of the common good” (Wood, 1992, p. 81)

Summary

The United Nations continues to reorient its human rights program to respond more effectively to today’s challenges, whether they arise as massive human right violations, systematical political oppression or persist in more complex and pervasive forms of discrimination (affecting the right to

development) or the right to a healthy environment). It is internationally recognized that the prime responsibility for the promotion and protection of human rights remains with the Member states. For this reason, in order to strengthen human rights at the national level, the United Nations has greatly expanded its human rights work in the field. Through the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, the focal point for all system-wide integration of human rights activities, the United Nations assists Governments and other national and international partners in their promotion and protection of human rights. Strengthening international human rights law and increasing accountability of individuals and Member States in the area of human rights are crucial steps towards an effective implementation of human rights standards. All these complementary approaches advance and enhance United Nations efforts to create a global culture of human rights.

CHAPTER IV

Design and Methodology

The purpose of this chapter will be to describe the method, materials, and procedures used in this study. It will demonstrate a systematic means of gathering the necessary information, analyzing the data and drawing conclusions.

Research Design

A qualitative methodology research design was used to explore the perceptions regarding democratic and ethic values leadership, human rights and military leadership training that students attending WHINSEC hold. Merriam (1998) argues that a qualitative methodology design is employed to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and meaning for those involved. The interest is in process rather than outcomes, in context rather than a specific variable, in discovery rather than confirmation. Insights gleaned from qualitative studies can directly influence policy, practice, and future research.

According to Gall, Borg and Gall (1996), a qualitative study is done to shed light on a particular situation, which is the process, events, persons, or things of interest to the researcher. A qualitative research study in education seeks to discover and understand a phenomenon, a process, or the perceptions and worldviews of the people involved (Merriam, 1998). As a form of research, qualitative study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996). It is an approach to social science research that involves watching people in their own territory and interacting with them in their own language, on their own terms (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996). In qualitative research, data are collected through interviews, observations, or documents analysis. According to Merriam (1998), at the most basic level, data

are organized chronologically or sometimes topically and presented in a narrative that is largely, if not wholly, descriptive.

The researcher's goal through this investigation was in keeping with what Stake (1995) claimed was the final aim of all qualitative research conducted within a constructivist framework:

Qualitative research shares the burden of clarifying descriptions and sophisticating interpretations. Following a constructivist view of knowledge does not require the researcher to avoid delivering generalizations. A constructivist view encourages providing readers with good raw material for their own generalizing. The emphasis is on description of things that readers ordinarily pay attention to, particularly places, events, and people, commonplace description but thick descriptions, the interpretations of the people most knowledgeable about the case. (p. 102)

Conducting and writing qualitative research is an evolutionary and inductive process. It is not a predictable or finite event; rather, it needs time and space to grow and change (Meloy, 2002), Qualitative research on top of that made for an especially interesting time of learning, reflection, and practice. Qualitative research methods typically include interviews and observations, but may also include case studies, surveys, and historical and documents analysis. Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that qualitative research is done in a neutral setting. The main data-gathering instrument is the human researcher. The researcher uses tacit, that is, intuitive or felt, knowledge, as well as propositional knowledge. The type of

qualitative research done in this study was phenomenology. The phenomenological researcher seeks to find how it is that the individual understands the phenomenon in his/her experience. Moustaks (1994) argues that evidence from phenomenological research is derived from first-person reports of life experiences. Accordingly, Creswell (1998) states that a phenomenological study describes the meaning of the lived experiences for several individuals about a concept of the phenomenon. According to Moustakas (1994) in a phenomenology study, perception is regarded as the primary source of knowledge, the source that cannot be doubted.

The Sample

The sample in this study consisted of subjects selected from a pool of individual students attending the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC). The sampling strategy or selection of subjects for this phenomenological study was in accordance with Creswell (1998) sampling strategy of “criterion”. He argues that in this strategy “criterion sampling works well when all individuals studied represent people who have experience the phenomenon.” (p. 118). All participants were selected by the researcher through the use of the Participant Recruiting Script (see Appendix E) that describes openly the nature and content of the study. The number of students interviewed was eight from groups that are differentiated by sex, country of origin and ranks. All eight participants had indicated interest in participating and even suggested participants. The sample size in a qualitative study is typically small. In fact, according to Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996), the sample size might be a single case.

Interview respondents typically express their thoughts and their responses are recorded by the interviewer, either verbatim or audiocassette or handwritten notes. According to Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996), the interviewer is largely in control of the situation by scheduling a mutually agreeable time and place and controlling the question, pace and sequence. Moustakas (1994) claims that the interviewer is responsible for creating a climate in which the research participant will feel comfortable and will respond honestly and comprehensively. The interviewer attempted to comply with that statement and arrangements with individuals were made.

Methodology

Once human subjects were identified and agreed to become involved in the study, each one was provided with a copy of the approved ethics review form that clearly outline the nature and scope of their involvement in the study. Also, they were aware of considerations such as anonymity, confidentiality, and the right to withdraw from the study if they consider doing so. Each individual was interviewed in the Spanish language on one occasion with interview lasting as long as two hours and as short as 30 minutes with the average length being 45 minutes. Later a follow up meeting was conducted with each of the participants.

The interview protocol consisted of seven questions (see Appendix C), follow up questions were asked to clarify responses to the questions from the interview protocol. This provided the researcher with immediate clarification on the points that were unclear and allowed the participant to more fully explain their beliefs or position.

Research Setting

The setting for this qualitative study was in the institution location, Building 35, Fort Benning, Georgia. Interviews with those individuals selected were conducted in specific areas and locations. The interviews took place in an informal atmosphere. Interviews were conducted in a small, seldom used classroom that is away from the main traffic flow of the hall. The classroom is a neutral, unthreatening, easily accessible environment. The researcher's reason for choosing this room was that the subjects could find it easily and would feel more comfortable in this private and familiar setting. The student's lounge would create some problems such as unexpected visitor, noise and other distractions. The location for actual interviews was determined as soon as the sample of individuals was selected. Location of interview were set with the individual prior the interview, and strived to hold the interview in the respective individual's classroom, or place of duty.

Materials

In an effort to standardize the interviews focused, the researcher had a list of interview questions (see Appendix C). These questions helped and were used to guide the interview and the discussion that arise. However, the discussions, conversation and course of dialogue of interviews were not limited by those questions designed for the meeting. The researcher was prepared to discuss any other information that came to light and were not part of the initial list of questions. The researcher used a tape recorder to accurately record the conversations and free the interviewer for thoughtful probing; authorization from

the individuals was obtained beforehand (see Appendix D). All interviews were transcribed to obtain an accurate analysis. Also, the researcher had tablet or notebook on hand, in order to record impressions and observations regarding unexpected answers and comments during the interview as well as log to write all those thoughts that came afterward. Merriam (1998) states that besides writing field notes during interviews, the researcher writes memos to him/herself about methodological aspects of the study, including emerging findings, reactions and reflections.

Methods of Data Analysis

The researcher made the decision that all tape-recorded interviews in Spanish were analyzed in Spanish without being translated to English to avoid the loss of important meaning and innuendo in the native language. This compression of time and commitment to return transcripts promptly helped to establish trust and to maintain a positive relationship with each of the respondents. A second interview was conducted in order to clarify responses from the original interview. It was directed by questions, which the researcher has after he had read the transcripts from the first interview. In addition, the committee's chair reviewed the transcripts of the interviews. The researcher had all the results organized for the purpose of establishing a data bank and preserving all information on file. Copies of those results were kept in separate files to ensure the data was always available.

Initial analysis of the data began after each interview, and was followed by further examination immediately following the interview, which resulted in a

short summary paper of initial impressions of the subjects' viewpoints. Merriam (1998) argues that: "in a qualitative study the investigator is the primary instrument for gathering and analyzing data and, as such, can respond to the situation by maximizing opportunities for collecting and producing meaningful information" (p. 575)

The researcher was aware of his status as member of WHINSEC and as such, some personal bias would be present. Since the researcher was a member of the organization being studied, his presence could influence the results. Similarly, his prior experiences or upbringing could bias him initially toward observing or recording certain phenomena, and later how he saw the patterns of the data. In subsequent reports, therefore, this subjectivity is honestly acknowledged. Lincoln and Guba (1985) emphasize that in order to ensure the quality of the study, a detailed field journal should be maintained. They suggest keeping a daily log of activities, and a personal log. They add that safeguards should be implemented to avoid distortions that result from the researcher's presence and bias that arises from the researcher, respondents, or data-gathering techniques.

Data analysis was conducted using, phenomenological approach to data analysis. Data analysis in a qualitative research, claimed Stake (1995), is the search of meaning, and "the search for meaning often is a search for patterns, for consistency, for consistency within certain conditions, which we call correspondence" (p. 78). As researchers become engaged in the process of searching for patterns in the data from which interpretations and assertions can be constructed, they "have certain protocols that help them draw systematically from

previous knowledge and cut down misperceptions” concluded Stake. “Still, there is much art and much intuitive processing to the search for meaning” (p. 72). Bogdan and Bikien (1992) claimed that there are really two stages of data analysis: “the first stage of analysis as data is being collected, and the second stage after data collection has been completed” (p. 154). Merriam (1998) contended that the researcher who fails to recognize the importance of the first stage of analysis that occurs during data collection “runs the risk of ending up with data that are unfocused, repetitious, and overwhelming in the sheer volume of material that needs to be processed” (p. 124). In the search for meaning, writing and analyzing the data is one way to make visible what appears to be happening. Because qualitative research requires personal rather than detached engagement in context, it requires multiple, simultaneous actions and reactions from the human being who is the research instrument.

Standards of Rigor

In addressing the question of rigor in qualitative research, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) put forth the contention that:

The use of multiple methods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. Objective reality can never be captured. Triangulation is not a tool or strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation. The combination of multiple methods, empirical materials, perspectives and observers in a single study is best understood,

then, as a strategy that adds rigor, breadth, and depth to any investigation. (p. 2)

Triangulation is one of those ideas that sound great in qualitative research because this practice of triangulating data or the practice of checking multiple sources is often considered as one of the strengths of fieldwork. In this study the sources of triangulation did rely on the interviews of respondents from different referent groups, by collecting data over a period of time and regular meetings with the dissertation committee's chair.

Credibility

The primary means of enhancing credibility was the regular and thorough conversations with the dissertation committee members (members check). According to Gall, Borg, and Gall (1996), triangulation helps to eliminate biases that might result from relying exclusively on any one data collection method, source analyst, or theory. Researcher attempted to provide for triangulation in three ways:

1. By including several respondents from different referent groups within the institution site, a diversity of perceptions, of constructed realities of each case, were incorporated.
2. By collecting data over a certain period of time there were multiple opportunities for triangulation in each case. Data collected over this time period reflected complexities of the case that would not likely have been perceptible if data was collected over a short period of time.

3. At regular meetings with researcher's committee chair during the data collection, analysis, and writing of the study reports and companions to the study reports, patterns of meaning, interpretations and assertions were presented.

Also, presentations based on the on-going study were made to other committee members, providing more opportunities for investigator triangulation. These interactions with the committee members were helpful in preparing the draft and revised versions of the dissertation.

Validity of the researcher's observations and analysis of the individuals interviewed was corroborated by members check. Member check, "whereby data, analytic categories, interpretations, and conclusions are tested with members of those stake holder groups from whom the data were originally collected, is the most crucial technique for establishing credibility" (Guba & Lincoln, 1985, p. 314). This testing is also referred to as "member check" which is define as: "the process of having these individuals review statements made in the researcher's report for accuracy and completeness." (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996, p. 575) According to Merriam (1998) those members who check the process are: "taking data and tentative interpretations back to the people from whom they were derived and asking them if the results are plausible" (p. 204). Furthermore, Merriam states that long-term observation is conducted at the research site or repeated observations of the same phenomenon, gathering data over a period of time in order to increase the validity of the findings and peers examination is: "asking colleagues to comment on the finding as they emerge" (p. 204)

Dependability and Confirmability

Lincoln and Guba (1985) provide a level of helpful suggestions in the area of ensuring confirmability. They recommended triangulation with multi-methods and various sources of data, keeping a reflexive journal and most powerfully, conducting a confirmability audit. In order to enhance dependability and confirmability, an on-going audit was conducted as part of this study. As part of the on-going audit, during the data collection, analysis, and writing stages of the study, researcher communicated and met regularly with the dissertation committee chair to review decisions made and questions that arose. A record of those contacts and meetings were kept. The audit trail according to Guba and Lincoln (1985) is: “the residue of records stemming from the inquiry” (p. 319). For the purpose of this work, audit trail included records of activities, decisions, and concerns that appeared during all phases of the study. The audit trail comprised electronic and paper entries that were assembled in such a way as to allow for others audits. The audit trail, along with the extensive member check undertaken during throughout the data collection, data analysis, and writing stages of this study was an important techniques that was used to enhance dependability and confirmability.

Establishing Confidence, Validity, and Reliability

The questions were designed to establish confidence in the findings. They were used to check the perceptions of the interviewees and convince the reader that the conclusions are accurate. Whereas some authors use a qualitative phraseology and others use the quantitative words, the underlying constructs are similar---establishment of confidence, validity, and reliability. Merriam (2002)

recognizes that both quantitative and qualitative research must evidence credibility.

According to Worthen (2002) the researcher demonstrates validity by: Showing that he collected the data in a thorough and authentic manner, was rigorous in his/her analysis, can explain alternative competing meanings, and can show through the steps of data transformation the path it took to develop the knowledge statement or findings. (p. 141)

Using this framework, the following techniques were used:

- Since the interview was semi-structured, the initial questions and thrust of the questions were similar at each interview. Subjects replies were compared looking for similar replies within the interview process as well as comparing replies for patterns and trends among subjects.
- Use of a tape recorder documented the conversation, and resulted in accurate transcripts of the interview for analysis purposes.
- By visiting with each subject before the interview, an initial sense of trust was attempted. Knowledge that their anonymity would be preserved hopefully contributed to the authenticity of their statements during the interview.
- The codes or categories established were checked against the transcriptions by the Chair of the doctoral committee.

The purpose was to double-check the codes and categories against the transcripts. The Chairperson also compared them with the later analysis.

- Finally, any bias of the researcher was addressed in the final report.

Protection of Human Subjects

Several procedures were utilized to ensure that the interviewed individual's rights to privacy were protected. The Study was submitted to The University of Oklahoma Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the Norman Campus for review and approval. Also, the researcher abided by all the professional codes and federal regulations concerning and dealing with issues common to all social science research, such as the protection of subjects from harm, the right to privacy, the notion of informed consent, and the issue of deception. Before approval by the IRB, the researcher contacted Chain of Command and WHINSEC authorities to obtain permission to conduct the research and interview students. A copy of the letter of authorization from WHINSEC authorities was sent to the Institutional Review Board. After the approval from the IRB, the researcher began the selection and drew the sample that was used for the study.

While interviewing, the researcher was careful to acknowledge that the interview carries with it risks (due to political repercussions) and could bring complications to the individuals being interviewed. Also, when questioning, the researcher was particularly conscious and observant of the participant's individual sensibilities. At the same time, was prepared and ready to react when a

respondent felt his/her privacy was invaded. Subjects were aware of the purpose of the research study and reassured their privacy was protected. The researcher considered the welfare and interests of the informants, that is, the collaborating subjects first. Informant's rights and interests were safeguarded and they were not exposed.

While negotiating permission to conduct the study with WHINSEC authorities, the researcher relied on three established principles of fieldwork: informed consent, anonymity, and nonintervention (Babbie, 1999). Researcher agreed with human subjects that his role was as an observer and interpreter of events as they naturally occurred. Researcher believe that those were enough and adequate safeguards and reached an agreement to conduct the study.

CHAPTER V

Findings

Introduction

The subjective experiences of Latin American individuals, students attending WHINSEC, were explored in this research project. Eight Latin American students told their experiences, with human rights, ethics and democracy while attending WHINSEC, in-depth interviews conducted in a single session that took 90 to 120 minutes. The participants included four males and four females. Noncommissioned officers and Officers who were all enrolled in different courses being taught at WHINSEC. The participants were briefed in the initial meeting that the interview would be taped but would remain confidential with only the interviewer knowing the participant on each tape. They were also informed about the reasons the research project was being conducted and how the results will be used. They were reassured of the confidentiality of the interview and asked to sign an informed consent form (see Appendix D). The interview tapes were coded to ensure participant anonymity; a pseudonym or a fictitious name was given to each participant and each reply was labeled accordingly.

The interview sessions began by asking students to tell about their experiences in ethics, democracy and human rights prior to attending WHINSEC. Interviews were conducted using the interview protocol (see Appendix C) and appropriate follow up questions were asked to further clarify answers from the initial interview. Each participant seemed more than willing to discuss their experiences regarding ethics, democracy and human rights. After a short

explanation on what the researcher was trying to accomplish and how the research might be used, the participants talked easily, in a freely manner and were open about their experiences.

The first question, “Let’s begin by talking about your experiences in democracy, ethics and human rights prior to attending WHINSEC? Was primarily designed to break the ice, in order to set the stage for a comfortable, quality discourse inquiring about their experiences, feelings, and situations that he/she remembered prior attending WHINSEC. Appropriate follow-up questions were used to further explore information in answers. A warm, conversational tone was used throughout the interview to encourage responses. Following that opening question, the interviewer began probing for information about beliefs, about democracy and human rights as well as their perceptions of the topics being explore on this study. The interview concluded with questions established in the interview notes (see Appendix C). Occasionally, the interviewer paraphrased long answers to make sure the interviewee meant what was said and to demonstrate the participant that the interviewer was listening. The data from these questions were used to compare responses and organize in such manner as to explore common meanings and patterns.

Coding, Analysis, and Interpretation

Analysis began by listening for patterns and themes, repetitions of ideas, words, and attitudes during the interview. Once the interviews were completed and written as transcripts, the researcher wrote a summary profile of what he understood the participants to say. The next step was to code the transcripts

responses. The coding was accomplished by comparing the responses in the transcript. Each participant's replies were examined for consistent and inconsistent patterns within the interview as well as compared to other replies.

Once the coding was complete, the researcher began to analyze the data within groups. The replies were systematically divided into units determined by the research questions (see appendix C). Each group of replies based on the questions was examined for patterns. Units were also established to examine similarities and dissimilarities between groups. Summary sentences and paragraphs were then composed. As the summaries were developed, much thought went in to the creative exploration and interpretation of the data before the final writing began.

Participants

Alberto

Alberto is a graduate from the officer academy of his country. He is very energetic person and proud of being an officer and a soldier. In his military institution, Alberto had to participate in a selection process to attend the institute. He wanted to come to the United States and to attend WHINSEC because he was interested in learning more about America, its way of life, government and Armed Forces. He has been at WHINSEC for over four months taking different courses.

Daniel

Daniel is a graduate of the officer academy of his nation. He is a very smart individual who graduated first in his class. As a reward, his army selected him to attend different schools and training such as the WHINSEC. He seemed to

be happy at the institute and was very interested in learning more about the United States Army and its role in the American democracy. He had been at the institute for over three months.

Eduardo

Eduardo is a senior noncommissioned officer of his country. His military institution is in the process to establish its own noncommissioned officers corp. He was selected to come to WHINSEC in order to learn and to understand the role of the United States Army noncommissioned officers corp. He had been at the institute for three months.

Pedro

Pedro is a noncommissioned officer who is expecting to be transferred to the Officers Corps of his country. He is also a combat veteran of the civil war of his nation. As such, he is a very interesting soldier to talk with, and since he is an experienced combat soldier, he has many stories to tell. He was wounded in combat several times fighting what he calls “communist terrorists.” He loves to be a soldier and is very proud of his uniform. He has been at WHINSEC for four months.

Ana

A very bright and smart soldier, she graduated from the military academy of her country at the top of her class. In a world historically dominated by her fellow male officers, being number one of the class, she had the option to select her branch and she chose to be an Artillery Officer. She is very proud of her

military accomplishments and talks freely of her experiences as soldier and as an officer. Ana had been at WHINSEC for over two months.

Maria

Maria is a police officer in her native country. She graduated in the top five percent of the class at Police Officer Academy. She had distinguished herself in many leadership positions and many counter narcotics activities. A very proud police officer, she seems to love what she does. She had been at WHINSEC for over three months.

Elena

Elena is an officer and a graduate from the Officer Academy of her country. She finished the academy in the top ten percent of the class, and was selected to attend two courses at WHINSEC. Elena is interested in learning more about the United States Army and its role as defender of the American Constitution. She has been at WHINSEC for five months.

Alexandra

Alexandra is a police officer graduate from the Police Officer Academy of her nation. As an officer within her organization, she has been in several leadership positions and currently is assigned to the Office of the Commission of Human Rights. She has been at WHINSEC less than three months.

Primary Themes

The analysis of the interviews revealed primary themes discussed by all the participants. The themes are what will provide the insight necessary to address the question posed at this study. The themes that evolved from these narratives also enrich the understanding of Western Hemisphere military leaders

and police officers and give voice to individuals whose opinions were never heard. The following themes each evolved:

1. Our sacred duty, human rights
2. Latin America, no place for ethics
3. Unites States, the great democracy

Our Sacred Duty, Human Rights.

The military professional faces two conflicting demands, loyalty to fellow professionals in arms and to the good of humanity and society in general. In fulfilling both demands, it is critical that priority be given to the good of humanity and the civilian authority over military authority should enforce that priority. In Latin American, the military professionals have a strong tendency to give priority to what is best for their profession and this situation unfortunately can lead, as it often has, to the exercise of ultimate power without any moral constraint.

Participants of this study have a common bond related to the political history of their countries. All of them were born and have grown up in countries with military dictatorship regimes and bureaucratic-authoritarian governments where democracy was a political theory and respect for human rights were almost non-existent. According to them, totalitarian regimes were a continuing threat to democratic institutions. Citizens' human rights were completely ignored and abused. Dissident groups were suppressed and the struggle for power was contained within restricted circles.

While the core responsibility of the soldier, *“the main defenders of human rights against foreign and domestic enemies”* (Daniel, Eduardo, Pedro, Elena), is consistent across time, there is a new generation of military leaders in Latin America. These new leaders, such as the students attending WHINSEC, believe and understand the value of democracy, respect for human rights and rule of law and who are committed to learn it and respecting it. Discussing their political past, participants agree that the fragility of democratic civilian rule in their area is evident. Given this history, it is all the more important that the military have a clear commitment to the maintenance of human rights Daniel eloquently summarized this when he stated:

“In a country such as mine where we are proud to say that in each citizen is a soldier of the fatherland and in every soldier is a hero, we the people in uniform, the soldiers, must never forget, nor let our comrades to forget that we are flesh and bones, blood and sweat of that people, hence, our sacred duty is to look after them, to provide the environment necessary for safekeeping of their rights as a humans and as a citizens.”

In discussing human rights the participants made comments, which described the role of the soldier in a manner not consistent with what they had seen in their countries. They generally spoke of sources of authority, the Constitution, the people, civilian leadership and the attendant responsibilities to those legal and moral authorities.

At the heart of their conversations on human rights are the people; the people as their personal originators, the people as they formed the Constitution, the people as represented by their elected leaders. This first idea, *“we are flesh and bones, blood and sweat of the people”* was mentioned by others with similar conviction. Eduardo described, *“since soldiers come from the people, they must realize their first responsibility is to the people.”* Alexandra sounded a similar note when she stated, *“the people of the nation are and always will be the foundation where democracy is established.”* These narratives make clear that they understand their power and responsibility come from the people.

Pedro explained the soldier role in society: *“A soldier’s participation in democracy is to carry out the national constitute mandate to keep internal security and to protect the nation from foreign attacks.”* This idea of being bound by a constitution was repeated by Ana, *“a soldier is first and foremost protector of the nation’s constitution and democracy.”* Furthermore Alexandra stated that, *“a soldier has to be the constitution’s shield against any political danger and any political situation that may arise.”*

While these comments supporting a constitution are crucial, they also demonstrate a significant difference between Latin America and the United States. Both Pedro, when refers to *“internal security,”* and Alexandra when she speaks of *“political danger”* are referring to uses of the military that are inconsistent with the history of the United States.

In most Latin America the defenders against foreign attacks are also those responsible for internal strife and unrest. This has frequently led to soldiers being ordered to attack their own people. So there is an embedded conflict in that while the soldiers recognize the need for civilian authority, they know from experience that this authority has been misused. Eduardo clarified that *“a soldier must understand that his role in a democracy is to allow the civilian authorities to do their job.”* This is a commendable notion if that civilian authority shares a similar commitment.

As experience has taught them, some of the individuals provided responses that recognized that their submission to chain of command did not element their responsibility. As one of the participants stated, *“a soldier has to be able to understand his mission and must have the capacity to analyze the legal and morals reasons of that mission.”* This statement contains the official refusing of an order and making independent moral decisions in the face of less honorable orders from either civilian or military authority.

Maria captured the sentiment best that human rights are a moral and sacred commitment to the soldiers when she said that:

“For a soldier, the protection of citizens’ human rights should be a priority of understanding the difference between a legal or illegal order, a moral or immoral act, in order to defend those sacred rights.”

Latin America, no place for Ethics.

In Latin America ethics is meaningless and simultaneously ethics is vitally important. This paradox is born out of the experience and having

lived under unethical authoritarian structures and yet recognizing the need to make value judgments about what is right or wrong. Seven of the eight participants stated that there was no place for ethics in their countries. Their comments were:

“It is impossible to talk about moral and honesty when corruption has been a way of life”- Maria

“The word ethics has no meaning at all when people without morals run a country”- Eduardo

“(Ethics) lost its purpose and was totally prostituted- Alberto

Ethics could not exist, since corruption was the norm of the government in power”- Ana

“Ethics have no reason to exist in a country with a very corrupt government”- Daniel

“(Ethics) have no place in a country involved in a bloody civil war”- Alexandra

“Ethics (are not possible) in a government that has no respect for its citizens”- Elena

How does this the recognition of the irrelevance of ethics impact the leadership within the armed forces of their countries? Military leaders must make and execute moral decisions and must possess, therefore, moral integrity and competence. Moral integrity refers to a commitment to specific morals principles; a person with moral integrity will do what is right regardless the situation and will not change those principles or ideals. Competence is the skill and knowledge necessary to realize those morals objectives once they are determined. As the United States Army states, *“a military professional has the moral obligation to be competent.”*

Military leaders as well as other professions are required by their code of ethics to follow similar moral principles and to possess moral integrity and competence. What makes the military profession different and unique is that they have the obligation to be constrained by moral integrity and competence in the conduct of war. Sometimes this obligation creates tensions and ideas to substitute those obligations for individual decision-making in favor of their profession. When that is done, moral integrity is lost and the military leaders exercise the power of their professions without any moral restraint.

The most obvious manifestation of that attitude of military leaders, to put first their own profession is the occurrence of military dictatorships in Latin America. Those countries lack the strong emphasis of the principle of civilian control of the military and that situation made easy for Latin American military to take control of the country using false reasons. During the 60's, Latin American countries were under totalitarian military regimes in control of the governments. The area was notorious for a series of military regimes where the basic rights of the people were ignored and abused. Democracy as we know it, was nonexistent and the norm on those countries was a constant and brutal repression directed to citizens who dare to express their opinions against the government.

The primary means that a government has to demonstrate ethical actions is the extent to which they recognize and respect the rights of their citizens. In other words, the absence of ethics and morals in leadership

transfers into violation of the basic rights of the individual. The sentiments about human rights parallel the previous comments about ethics.

Respondents said:

“Respect for humans rights is not possible in totalitarian regimes, because the dominant governing principle behind those type of government is the preservation of power and the privileges of the elite in power, being this military, civilian or religious”- Elena

“Human rights were violated all the time, day and night, people felt the authority of a brutal regime whose only rule of law was the rule of the cannon”- Alberto

“The military institution and its officers saw the struggle against communism as a holy war similar to the crusades where military abuses and violations of human rights were justified since the military believe that all is valid in war, and soldiers are outside the law”- Alexandra

“Human rights were constantly violated, not just in the case of jail time, or torture, but also as a lack of opportunities for young people, poor health care programs, education system that did no work and terrible economic measures”- Daniel

All participants recognized the importance of training. They agree that receiving classes such as ethics, the Armed Forces and Democracy, Human Rights and the Humanitarian International Law, have enlarged the spectrum of knowledge related to human rights and democracy, strengthening the thinking and feeling of the individual's rights of the citizen, to whom soldiers owe protection and the guarding of it safety and the rule of law of a democratic nation where the individual's freedom are respected over any circumstance.

They are aware that training in ethical behavior can help them to confront the ethical issues inherent in a position of power. People with decision-making power who are responsible to design and implement laws

should receive ethics training. All participants agree and showed concern for the need of their superior officers and chain of command to attend and receive that training. Without morals values and an ethical conscience a person may diminish the meaning of democratic principles and the importance of human rights.

Participants state that ethics in leadership means placing the value of human spirit over the value of any other interest, being this national security or any needs that the state might have. True ethics leaders try to ensure that integrity exists in the decision-making process. There is no room in ethics leadership for falseness or dishonesty. There is little room for the inconsistency that comes from decisions based on personal ambition alone. Ethic leaders almost always have undergone a number of character-shaping experiences. These experiences help provide a time-tested inner strength that usually leads to the right response under the most difficult of circumstances. Another great attribute of ethic leaders is the ability and willingness to pass on what has been learned and to share experiences and lessons so others can benefit. Ethic leadership requires a faith and absolute conviction that leaders can make a difference.

Participants believe that *“as leaders we must reexamine our concepts of the ethical and the legal in order to be a truly fine person and a consummate professional and totally in control of the situation”*. They also expressed:

“Given our professional obligation to shape our conduct and behavior in ways that are ethical and right, we must look for help in doing so. As

we have seen in the classes at WHINSEC, discovering what is right is usually not so difficult; doing what is right presents the challenge”.

Participants believe *“military power, in and itself, is neither, ethical or unethical. It is the purpose for which it is used which gives it ethical content”.* Finally, they agree that this is what which does not happen in their countries, that every human life is precious and that each human life is worth protecting and enhancing behavior that is consistent with this view of life is considered ethical.

United States the Greatest Democracy

A democracy, like The United States, is a system of government in which ultimate political authority is vested in the people. United States has nourished in the principles of equality established in its laws and have been developed in the investigation and the constant innovation for more than two hundred years of economic freedom, and the state of law uninterrupted sustained.

Participants of the study hold in a high place their opinions regarding what America and its democracy means for the world in general and particularly for Latin America. They Expressed admiration for the American democracy, its Constitution, its values and ideals. They clearly manifested that during the interviews. Pedro expressed other participant’s opinions and views of America when says *“America is the greatest democracy on earth and an example for other countries to follow, a mirror that reflects what a great democracy is and should be”.* Maria adds: *“There is a lot we need*

to learn from the world's greatest democracy, the United States that is an example of how a democracy should work where the individual liberties are respected".

Regarding the American Constitution, they expressed:

"The constitution of the United States is an example as the universal legal instrument for the constitutions of other democratic countries, with specification of human rights, the respect for the persons and their free will to choose their ruling class in a democratic environment"- Maria

"The American Constitution is a great text book and a great source of knowledge for young democracies such as my country"- Alexandra

"The American Constitution is a great document where one can see the greatness of the America's ideals"- Daniel

"The American Constitution declares all the basic rights of its citizens and is a model imitated by many nations"-Ana

Participants believe that even though The United States has been involved in a war against international terrorism, it has been respectful of international laws, and has been the only country in the world with history of respecting international treats such as the Geneva Convention for the treatment of enemy combatants. They are aware of situations where a few members of America's Armed Forces have broken the law and how America's authorities have deal with those instances.

Regarding those situations, Eduardo says: *"The United States has been always respectful of the Geneva Convention."* Ana clearly expresses all participant opinions when says:

"In their fight against international terrorism America has conducted war operations according to international laws. As always, the human

factor has been an issue for debate and controversy. Specifically it comes to my mind the actions of LTC West, an American Commander in Iraq who violated a prisoner's rights during an interrogation. Arguable a moral action to save his troops, it was illegally according to international laws and the American Army authorities set an example and punished him. I do not believe that would be the case in my country or other Latin American country”.

Participants also mentioned the My Lai massacre and the way the United States government acted in that regard as another example of that country being respectful of international laws. On the other hand, we need to accept the fact that the Vietnam War will be remembered as one in which individual American soldiers frequently abandoned their individual moral integrity and yielded to peer pressure to exercise military power without moral restraint.

Analysis of Primary Themes

Participants expressed that although it is difficult to admit, prominent western hemisphere leaders have failed to wholeheartedly adopt, much less practice, true democracy in those countries. They have much left to do in establishing authentic democratic systems, and they have much to learn regarding the value of human life and respect for the intrinsic rights of the people, the same people, they swore to serve and protect. Despite what has been previously stated, those countries have made progress over the past periods of their history; moreover, without going back too far, progress have been made over the last few decades, but there is still much work to be done.

This situation must sound conflicting with what participants expressed before, especially in the two first primary themes: “Our sacred duty, human rights” and “Latin America, no place for ethics”, one must have to concluded that regardless what the situation is in those countries, this new generation of military leaders are aware of their duties, their know their responsibilities toward the people and will fulfill their role as military leaders with a defined moral code of conduct.

Summary

The life narratives of the participants of this phenomenological study revealed similar experiences among those telling their stories. The major themes of their reports focused in their experiences regarding democracy and human rights in their native countries and their experiences while attending WHINSEC.

Participants also expressed that in Latin American, and the Western Hemisphere, people live within the confines of struggling systems of democracy. They elect their leaders by of way of electoral process that are generally but not always open and reliable; therefore, democracy and its principles, has not been able to take root fully and succeed in other pertinent areas. On the other hand, in the region, a reform process has been implemented in several public institutions and new ones have been created, (such as the Human Rights Commission and similar institutions), over the last two decades. These efforts have produced a positive effect on democratic growth. These primarily involve judicial and legal reform, in addition of electoral reform. Their national constitutions contain rights and freedom recognized and accepted at the international level, and they depend on several institutions to ensure that these are respected and not violated. In

addition, Western Hemisphere nations have taken the responsibility of sending abroad a new breed of military and civilian leaders to be trained and educated in important matters such as ethics, democracy and human rights. The United States through WHINSEC and similar educational institutions has been an important ally for those countries and their fragile democracies.

The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation is a great tool where those nations have the opportunity to send its best and bright people to learn and to acquire and to practice the basic knowledge of democratic principles and to strengthen their moral values and ethics in an environment designed to do exactly that, the training and formation of a new leaders responsible for their actions and capable to respond to any circumstance where they can prove their personal value.

CHAPTER VI

Discussion and Implications

Introduction

This study was designed to explore answers on the perceptions of Latin American military leaders attending the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation about democracy, human rights and ethics. This phenomenological qualitative study asked the question: “What perceptions regarding ethics, democracy and human rights are held by the students attending WHINSEC? The study sought answers to that research question through the perceptions of four men and four women, officers and noncommissioned officers attending the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) at Fort Benning, Georgia.

General Comments

The understanding of the importance of democracy and respect for human rights is paramount for leaders across the world, especially for leaders in newly democracies, such as the ones in Latin America. Ethics plays an important role in this situation. Throughout the literature we find that ethics is the study of human actions in respect to their being right or wrong. Knowing and doing are two different things, Knowing what is right in a given situation is one thing, doing what one knows is to be right takes courage and a selflessness which as a human is hard to be demonstrated. In the last decades of the twentieth century the subject of ethics returned to the curriculum of professional schools with a great force. Through the teaching of ethics had always had some presence in these schools, especially those with a religious affiliation; it was never really an important

presence. If ethics has a legitimate place in the professional curriculum it must have practical effects. Participants expressed their concern for their leaders in matters of ethics. Since those leaders are the decisions makers and responsible for their country's actions, they also have the need to learn the topic and have the duty to execute laws accordingly. In this sense, WHINSEC needs to enhance the teaching of human rights, democracy, ethics and the developing of military personnel from the Americas to a level commensurate with their rank and responsibilities in their respective countries. There is absolutely no reason to believe that learning those important subjects is in any way different than learning any other skill that the Western Hemisphere military personnel and civilians need in order to conduct their mission. While is extremely necessary to teach the rules and values that comprise the ideals of military honor and the warrior ethos, it is also essential to teach everyone, any leader who comes to WHINSEC classrooms the grounds of those rules and values and why they are so important in democracy and human rights. This will ensure that those values and rules are truly integrated in every way into the military culture, regardless of nation and territory, rather than being an externally imposed structure of authority. Greater diversity everywhere asks leaders as individuals and as members of organizations and societies to operate differently. Understanding and knowing this diversity and its implications constitutes a competency of a leader.

It is no honor to do the right thing when someone is looking over one's shoulder; the true test is whether the leader does the honorable thing when nobody

is looking. The leader has to do well to remember that without ethics and honor there is no mission, because without honor there are no soldiers, only hired killers.

According to interviews results, WHINSEC has expressed a serious commitment to the ethical education, training and development of the western hemisphere military and civilian leaders, officers and noncommissioned officers alike. The institute contends that education can for the most part be thought of in terms of people; their history, their culture, their relationships. Training, by contrast, involves instruction in using things. Education without training in some basic skills may appear useless, but training without understanding of values can be dangerous. In other words, it is not enough just to teach democracy, human rights and ethics, it is also necessary to train those topics with examples to avoid the mistakes of the past. According with the students interviewed, WHINSEC is doing exactly that, teaching with examples in many ways. The ultimate task of education in ethics is to help soldiers or students at least to think through their ethical codes and standards. The essential characteristics of a good army are that it is well trained and well disciplined. Those two characteristics are apparent in every unit achievement, whether in peace or war.

Currently there is no instrument to evaluate neither the level of an individual's moral formation nor putting into focus the standardization to improve the individual's moral growth. It ought to keep focus on training people how to become good ethical leaders who respect human rights and protect democracies.

This is especially true when it comes to teach Western Hemisphere military in democracies, being old and new, and to know and understand the ethical, legal and moral obligation of disobeying an unlawful order. The Army model for leader development is based on three elements: education and training, on-the-job experience, and self-development. We will never have successful leadership without a focus on leader development. Character and values and a commitment to those things that really matter are what drive success here.

Besides the understanding of the basic points of an army's values, the most difficult task for a leader or for an educational institution for that matter is to execute a significant training that goes further than memorization and standards of conduct. There have to be a deep understanding of the spirit behind the rules.

Making the right ethical choice to do the right thing must become a habit. Decisions cannot be situational, based on other's actions or dependent upon whom is watching. Ethic questions an individual responsibility to respond to any situation and to gain understanding of what is right and what is wrong. Human beings cannot act unjustly simply because somebody acted that way against them. They must strive to behave justly regarding the situation. One way to organize ethical problems is by making the distinction between problems of the will and problems of the understanding. The problem is in having the will to do what we know we should do.

Military leaders must know that morality is more than a lot of rules and its applications. In order to be and act moral they must deal with the humanity of the situation. They must practice a moment of constraint; they must be leaders with

the inner capacity for constraint. Morality does not deal with training, does not mean getting back at someone (revenge). Morality is the deep quality of understanding of what helps humanity to do the right thing. Effectiveness in leadership means following a moral course. It is pragmatically more effective to treat people well, to treat others consistently. In military leadership the qualities for which one (a leader) stands for good are a highly developed hierarchy of command, straight forward rules, having a moral orientation when the task or mission is to be done in a specific situation.

In the final analysis, leaders have to understand that the essence of ethics of the military leaders has to be larger than the rules and principles by which it is expressed. They must have a sense of what the military purpose is, a sense of what the military system, that carried it those purposes, is doing to sustain itself. The environment that military leaders create needs to be ethical as well as predictable. Ensuring an ethical command climate requires commitment to values and leadership, as well as an unswerving commitment to doing what is normally and legally right.

WHINSEC responsibility is a difficult one, since the final justification for leadership development is the work of making leaders of everyone, leaders with understanding of values, ethics and the total respect for human rights and democracy. Future Western Hemisphere leaders will require, more than ever before, a commitment to those moral values that are the source of enduring strength in any free society, especially the newly established democracies in that continent. According to participants, WHINSEC have provided clear evidence

that is truly serious about the training and teaching of democracy, human rights, ethics and Army Values to Western Hemisphere students in order to enhance its prestige as a new institute for a new century and to avoid criticism and comments from people who contends that the institute is nothing more than the School of the Americas with different name but with the same mission.

In reference of the civilian control over the military, the participants in this study expressed that many Western Hemisphere nations nominally have civilian control over their military, but that is frequently more appearance than substance. They talked about many instances in the history of Central and South American nations with democratically elected civilian governments where a highly educated, elite trained officer corps (supported by their troops) who believe and had being trained in many of the same moral values as our military does, overthrew what they saw as degenerate and corrupt civilian governments in order to preserve what they believe are the true values of the nation. The most obvious example is that of Chile in 1973 and Argentina in the early 1970s.

Participants believe that WHINSEC in principle is dedicated to change that obscure side in the Western Hemisphere history with the profound conviction that all security activities should be conducted in accordance with international standards and with an absolute respect for the human rights of individuals involved in conflicts, and the reaffirmation, embedded with each Western Hemisphere military personnel trained at the institute, that unconditional subordination to the legitimately elected democratic civilian government and the democratic system itself is the only form of government that involves the genuine

participation of the population in the transcendental government decisions regarding the well-being and progress of all citizens.

This study was conducted in the understanding that these new generations of the Western Hemisphere leadership believed and comprehended the value of human rights and democracy and the rule of international law and were committed to learning it and to respecting it. Participants' interviews confirmed that thought. These new generations of leaders constitute the main audience of the human rights program of WHINSEC and they are representative of a new breed of officers, non commissioned officers and civilians who are genuinely receptive to human rights teaching and the rule of international law who consistently demonstrate a sincere interest in the materials and its implementation in the field of military operations, be them conducted in peacetime or in times of conflict.

In order to be fully practical, the military professional must be educated in ethics, which moves his attention beyond efficiency and effectiveness to real issues of good and bad. A democracy deserves no less that this from its military members, and for the sake of their personal integrity, military personnel in training must require nothing less from those who would form them.

According to participants, WHINSEC maintains a keen focus on the areas of human rights, ethics and the rule of international law. It consists of classes, lectures and panels on professional ethics, international human rights laws, and international humanitarian laws. Also includes case studies where the lessons learned in the classroom and lecture hall are applied to real life situations.

Additionally, it includes the participation of a Delegate from the International Committee of the Red Cross and several professors, all experts in their field. Similar to professions such as medicine and law, the military controls the education, training and socialization of its members by means of its own specialized training programs, including schools. Such is the case of WHINSEC where the course catalog and the education format is determined by its authorities, which defines content, means, methods and planning with minimal influence exercised by the student. Students interviewed manifested that those concepts are very excited training program, very useful to them in order to learn and understand more the rule of law and the respect for and observance of international human rights rules. In this new millennium, the emergence of new and different threats to nations and the security system of their inhabitants make necessary to train the armed forces and police officers of the Americas and the Western Hemisphere in general, in order to deal properly with those new concepts.

There is no overarching norm or standard or set of ethical universals to which we may appeal in the quest to know and do what is right. What can WHINSEC do to improve the characters and consciences of those people coming to its classrooms to train and learn? Students interviewed said they believe and understand that there is no book, there is no one school, there is no one teacher or professor, there is no training program that can ensure and warranty that WHINSEC graduates or graduates of any other school for that manner, will practice what they learned, what they experience while attending the institute,

there is hope that personal values and morals will flow naturally and those graduates will do what is morally right regarding the situation in which they find themselves.

The professional function of the military is to defend society by being able to fight and win wars. In order to do so, it must have leaders who are committed to principles outside themselves. Military leaders must be willing selfishly to risk their own welfare for the good of others. It is clear that military personnel in general, unlike other professionals, are required to adhere to their profession-driven, higher moral standards even in their personal lives. There is no assurance that WHINSEC will bring to its campus only morally and mentally sound people; people who truly possess “ordinary sense and understanding”

Participants stated that WHINSEC must continue the improving of its curriculum in order to find solutions to those predicaments that represent the greatest challenges for the Western Hemisphere nations and for the Institute in particular in this new millennium.

Final Thoughts

The researcher is a soldier serving proudly in the Army of our nation, the Army of the people of the United States. In a democracy an army ultimately depends on the people to provide the resources necessary for the national defense. To be willing to provide this support, the people must understand the need for an army and respect and trust it as an institution. The American Army is an army of democracy, and its strength comes from the very soul and history of our nation.

The researcher is also a noncommissioned Officer who was serving at the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC). In view of

this situation, while conducting the study, the researcher believed that ethical issues might arise, ethical dilemmas that would emerge that he has not anticipated. Specifically, the researcher was troubled by the conflicting social and professional prerogatives of the research. As the researcher share time with participants felt a range of emotions. He respected their commitment to learning and their ingenuity. He also admired their skillful management and negotiation of a variety of challenging situations. The researcher have come to appreciate the untold hours they spent studying, working and analyzing with other students, preparing presentations and lessons etc. He is grateful for their generosity in opening their busy schedule and taking time to talk with him. In the conversations (interviews) researcher tried to highlight their strengths and successes. When they faced difficulties, the researcher noted the structural and cultural impediments that might be outside their control.

A qualitative study with limited number of participants is not done in order thoughts of the whole WHINSEC's student population, but the study contributes to the current body of research literature as a first attempt of examination to the perceptions of student participants regarding ethics, democracy and human rights. Perhaps, the study will help to open the doors for the conduction of more studies about those topics. This study allowed individuals who have live under totalitarian regimes and then in newly democracies to explain their perceptions of ethics, human rights and democratic values. They are eager and willing to fight for achieving those dreams, and their goals of a peaceful, democratic, and prosper Western Hemisphere. The achievement of those dreams

and goals requires a structure that no major sector of the world has ever had: a multinational security roundtable without a perceived immediate foreign military threat. WHINSEC is just one of the tools for creating this mechanism. The immediate concomitant to the structural imperative is the strategy of fostering military and law enforcement professionalism. To WHINSEC programs, the conceptual dimension is a continuing process of cognitive (dealing with facts) and affective (dealing with values). Cognitive professional education is available to most Western Hemisphere military and police personnel through a wide spectrum of schools and foreign advisory mechanisms, both at home and abroad. What makes the WHINSEC and other American Institutions so valuable is the affective dimension of the education they provide.

An officer or a non-commissioned officer can memorize a tactical or technical procedure in the cognitive domain, but one converts those procedures into functional morality and professionalism via the affective learning channel. In WHINSEC, students study military and police topics in Spanish, as the most universal of the region's native languages, sharing the experience with Western Hemisphere classmates who face different challenges but who also share cultural bonds.

WHINSEC programs are established in the belief that the securing of human rights by the armed forces of the Western Hemisphere countries is an universally attainable goal. Putting to rest the past conflicts and repressions in the area is an agenda which cannot be avoided. Those who have the opportunity to work directly with the Western Hemisphere's younger generation of military

officers see hopeful signs: armies are getting smaller, new police forces are being created, and the rising junior officers in many forces now concern themselves with professionalism, not ideology. Respect for human rights in Western Hemisphere countries and societies go beyond the framework of its legal boundaries. Only by promoting this issue as a vitally important concept can standards and procedures be implemented so that, at some point, the defense of these rights will surpass mere rhetoric and become an indispensable condition for human existence. A simply truth is that the militaries in the Western Hemisphere remain important institutions in their society and are unlikely to disappear. Researcher believes that the United States policy has proceeded from the premise that is far better to work with these militaries, currently reinforcing the role of a professional military in civil society, than to leave them to themselves. The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) was established to help carry out that policy, and this is what it continues to do. The overwhelming majority of the Western Hemisphere graduates, military and civilian, proudly and professionally serve their nations.

The research believes that democratic principles and its freedom is the greatest gift from God to human kind and to the United States of America. The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) is the greatest gift from United States of America to the nations of the Western Hemisphere. He also hopes as well that those ideals and dreams will not stay as theoretical concepts but that they will become a reality.

United States promotes democracy and freedom, by working with and developing America's allies in the mutual defense of this nation and the nations of the Western Hemisphere. Working cooperatively with the other armed forces and federal law enforcement agencies, the United States Army throughout WHINSEC, is the logical agent to carry out democracy in the Western Hemisphere, America is building a new institute on new paradigms and new challenges. America is building the military linkage that will make that continent, once and for all, the bastion of freedom and opportunity in a democratic system respectful of the rights of the citizen. It is this great vision, this great ideal and fundamental effort to which Western Hemisphere leaders and authorities are committed now and always, in order to create an environment with freedom and respect for human precious rights for generations to come. It is also a serious commitment from established democracies such as The United States to contribute to that vision, to that dream. Democracy can only be revived by more democracy. The United States has to demonstrate that it is willing to exercise its duty to the newly Western Hemisphere democracies by providing the tools necessary to those nations in order for them to improve and to growth within a legal framework of international law

Regardless of what we might think, participants clearly believe that we hold ourselves to a higher standard. However, it comes one to question some of the most recent policies, actions or statements of our own Government and its political leaders. We may never know all the violations of moral integrity and competence that happened in the war of Iraq because

of the politicians encouraged the military leaders to give higher priority to a quick victory than to the long-range interests of humanity and the nation. The most common idea of our leadership is that if we want to win wars quickly and avoid the waste of human life and American soldiers' lives, we should ignore moral restraints. Some people argue that civilian opposition to war and to send large number of American best to foreign lands means an end of patriotism and nationalistic pride, but it may be motivated by a growing desire to impose moral restraints in the way we conduct wars. As we saw in the Iraq war, our political and military leaders reacted to that civilian opposition by planning and executing swift, low casualty campaigns based on the use of high technology weapons, thinking that in doing so, the intentional destruction of innocent civilians and collateral damage will be greatly reduced.

We must realize that are great inconsistencies between what is said and what is done. We need to practice what we preach as a nation that has been historically a democratic example for the world and protector of human rights around the globe. The United States cannot convince the world of the superiority of America's democratic values or the virtues of American society. What our country can do on the other hand, is to develop a campaign, around the world at all levels, regarding the process of creation of values and democratic system.

We ought to learn about the great tragedies of the past (such as, the massacre of Greenwood District in Tulsa, Oklahoma in June of 1921, the My

Lai massacre, Republic of Viet Nam in March of 1968, and the Kent State University students protest in May 1970) to avoid remain ignorant of other similar tragedies (such as, Mexico City Massacre, Oct 1968 and the Tiananman Square massacre in China in Dec 1999). This lack of knowledge diminishes our credibility and leads us into situations like we have at home and abroad.

In the final analysis, we must be aware that the power of persuasion, the ability to promote the values that are at the heart of what America means, is dependent upon the example. Absent that, we have not earned the moral right to teach others, especially Latin America. Given the poor history of the Latin America military leaders regarding appreciation for democracy and human rights it is important to understand whether or not the efforts made by the United States military through WHINSEC are perceived as having any positive impact in that area of the Western Hemisphere.

REFERENCES

- Allen, N., & Burgess, T., (2001). *Taking the Guidon: Exceptional Leadership at the Company Level*. Delaware: Center for Company-Level Leadership.
- Babbie, E. (1999). *The Basics of Social Research*. Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- Bass, B. M. (2003). *Ethics, Character, and Authentic Transformational Leadership* NY: Center for Leadership Studies, School of Management.
- Bass, B. M. (1990). *Leadership and performance beyond expectations*. New York: The Free Press.
- Bennis, W., & Nanus, B. (1985). *Leaders: The strategies for taking charge*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Bogdan, R. C. & Biklen, S. K. (1992). *Qualitative research for education: an introduction to theory and methods* (2nd Ed.) Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Bottorff, D. L. (2000). *What is Ethics?* Ethics quality for Organizational Excellence.
- Boyd, T. W. (2000). *Criteria for Determining Ethical Principles*. Paper presented to The University of Oklahoma, Doctoral Program. European Cohort II Class, 2002.
- Bowens, P. S. (2000). *Kosovo and the Aftermath*. JSCOPE.
- Bradley, O. N. (1981). *On leadership*. In Matthews, L. J. & Brown, D. E (Eds.) (1989). *The challenge of military leadership*. Virginia: Pergamon-Brassey's.

- Brown J., & Collins, M. J. (1986). *Military Ethics and Professionalism: A Collection of Essays*. Fort McNair, Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press.
- Buckingham, C. T. (2002). *Ethics and the Military Profession*. International Military Symposium, Riga, Latvia.
- Carey, R. (1996). From the barracks to the boardroom; executives with military experience set the armed forces manage teams the right way; here are the leadership lessons they took into business with them. *Sales and Marketing Management*, v148. (online) Available: Info Trac Web: General Reference Center Gold.
- Challans, T., (1999). *Theory and Practice: The Possibility of a Professional Ethic*. JSCOPE.
- Cavallaro, G. (2003, December), *A Hero's Welcome for Punished Officer*. The Army Times.
- Ciulla, J. B. (1998). *Ethics the heart of leadership*. Westport, Connecticut: Praeger.
- Collins, A. S., (1998). *Common Sense Training. A working philosophy for leaders*. Novato, CA: Presidio Press.
- Colloway, C. & Kettler, K. (1986). *Leadership: A multidimensional framework*. In Matthews, L. J., & Brown, D. E. (Eds.) (1989). *The challenge of military leadership* Virginia: Pergamon Brassey's.
- Columbus Ledge-Enquirer, September 27, 1998, p. 1.
- Creswell, J. W., (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design. Choosing Among Five Traditions*. Sage Publications, Inc.

- Cronin, T. E. (1984). *Thinking and learning about leadership*. In Taylor, R. L. 7
- Rosenbach, W. E. (Eds.) (1992). *Military leadership: In pursuit of excellence* (2nd Ed.) San Francisco: Westview Press.
- Crosby, P. (1996). *The absolutes of leadership*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Denzin, N. K., & Wong, L. (1994). *Understanding and applying transformational leadership*. *Military Review*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 8.
- Donohue, K. S., & Wong, L. (1994). *Understanding and applying transformational leadership*. *Military Review*, Vol. LXXIV, No. 8.
- Gal, R. (1985). *Commitment and Obedience in the Military: An Israeli Case Study*. Armed Forces and Society.
- Gall, M. D., Borg, W. R., Gall, J. P. (1996). *Education Research an Introduction* (6th ed.) White Plains, NY: Longman Publishers.
- Gans, A. E. (2001). *Professional or Bureaucrat: A Meditation on the Military at the turn of the millennium*. JSCOPE.
- Gatliff, J., (2000). *Gertian Morality and Moral Considerations in Military Decision Making*. JSCOPE.
- Greenberg, J., & Baron, R. A. (2000). *Behavior in organizations* (7th Ed.) New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River.
- Hackett, J. W. (1986). *The Military in the Service of the State*. In War, Morality, and the Military Profession, 2nd Ed. Wakin, M. M. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

- Hawkins, C. F. (2000). *Toward a Theory of Military Leadership*. (On line)
www.militaryconflict.org.
- Heifetz, R. A. (1994). *Leadership Without Easy Answers* Cambridge,
Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Hillman, R. S. (1997). *Understanding Contemporary Latin America*. Boulder,
London. Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Hitt, W. D., (1990). *Ethics and Leadership: putting theory into practice*.
Columbus, OH: Battelle Press.
- Huntington, S. P. (1985). *The Soldier and the State*. Cambridge, Mass: The
Belnap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Kanungo, R. N. Mendonca, M. (1996). *Ethical Dimensions of Leadership*.
Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Kaurin, M. P. (2001). *A Question of Loyalty: Two Rival Versions of Moral
Education in the Military*. JSCOPE.
- Kaurin, M. P. (2000). *The Siege: Facing the Military-Civilian Culture Chasm*.
JSCOPE.
- Kennedy, R. G. (2002). *Does Professional Ethics Fail the Profession of Arms?*
Paper presented to the Joint Services Conference on Professionals Ethics,
Washington, DC.
- Kennedy, R. G. (2000). *Why Military Officers Must Have Training in Ethics*.
JSCOPE

- Kilner, P., (2001). *The Alleged Civil-Military Values Gap: Ideals vs. Standards*.
Paper presented to The Joint Services Conference on Professionals Ethics,
Washington, DC.
- Krass, P. (1998). *The book of leadership wisdom: Classic writings by legendary business leaders*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Lacey, J. (2003, May). *The Men Who Won The War: An 'embedded' Looks at our Soldiers*. *National Review*.
- LaPlante, K. (2000). *U. S. Army school of the Americas: Accomplishing the Mission Under Fire*. Foreign Area Officer Association.
- Leuer, J. C. (2002). *The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation: A Historical Review*. Public Affair Office. WHINSEC.
- Leuer, J. C. (2000). *Adelante, U. S. School of the Americas: Historical Edition*.
Public Affairs Office. School of the Americas Printing Office.
- Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publications,
Beverly Hills.
- Matusak, L. R. (1997). *Finding your voice*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass
Publisher.
- Matthews, L. J. & Brown, D. E. (Eds.). (1989). *The challenge of military leadership*. Virginia: Pergamon-Brassey's.
- Mattox, J. M. (1999). *Fifth Century Advice for 21st Century Leaders*. JSCOPE.
- Maxwell, J. C. (1999). *The 21 indispensable qualities of a leader: Becoming the person others will want to follow*. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, Inc.

- Maxwell, J. C., (1995). *Developing the Leaders Around You*. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Inc.
- McClendon, J. M. Jr. (1988). *Systematic theology: Ethics*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press.
- Meloy, J. M. (2002). *Writing the qualitative dissertation: understanding by doing*. (2nd Ed.) Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.
- Merriam, S. (1998). *Quality Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers
- Merriam S. (2002). *Qualitative Research in Practice. Examples for Discussion and Analysis*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Miner, J. B. (1975). *The uncertain future of the leadership concept: An overview*. In Hunt, J. G., & Larson, L. L. (Eds.) *Leadership Frontiers*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press.
- Moilanen, J. H. (1999). Chief of Staff, Task Force TLS, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, *TLS Strategy Brief*. TRADOC DCST Training & Conference, Fort Benning, Georgia.
- Moustakas, C. (1994). *Phenomenological Research Methods*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Myers, S. L. (2000). *Army Training School to Rise Again, Recast But Unmoved*. New York Times.
- Osborne, D. C. (1997). *Senior Leader Ethics: A Sword, Not a Shield*, Paper presented at a Joint Services Conference on Professional Ethics and

- Leadership in a Multi-National Environment at the National Defense University, Ft. McNair, Washington, DC.
- Perry, D. L. (2000). *Ethics in Public Service*. Paper presented at a leadership Workshop, Santa Clara, CA. 2000.
- Pierssee, C., (2003). *Not just a Shadow!*. JSCOPE.
- Pfaff, C. A., (2000). *Peacekeeping and the Just War Tradition*. JSCOPE
- Pfaff, C. A. (1998). *Virtue Ethics and Leadership*. In *American Forces Under Supranational Control*. JSCOPE XIX.
- Ridgway, M. B. (1966). *Leadership*. In Taylor, R. L., & Rosenbach, W. E. (Eds.) (1992). *Military leadership: In pursuit of excellence* (2nd Ed.) San Francisco: Westview press.
- Skidmore, T. E. & Smith, P. H. (1997). *Modern Latin America* (4th Ed.) New York: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, P. M. (1998). *Rules and Tools for Leaders: A down-to-earth guide to effective managing*. New York: Avery, Penguin Putnam Inc.
- Stake, M. H. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research in Education: A Qualitative Approach*. San Francisco, CA: Sage Publications.
- Starz, M. H. (2000). *The Non-Toleration Clause: The Bedrock of the USMA Honor Code*. JSCOPE
- Sullivan, G. R. & Harper, M. V. (1996). *Hope is not a Method: What business leaders can learn from America's Army*. New York: Broadway Books.

- Summers, H. G. (1997). *An Officer and a Gentlemen: Why the concept isn't as silly as it may seem*. Washington Monthly, 29(9) (online) InfoTracWeb: General references Center Gold. Electronic collection: 90G3051.
- Taylor, M. (1999). *U.S. to Seek New Image for Much Criticized School of the Americas*. San Francisco Chronicle.
- Taylor, R. L. & Rosenbach, W. E. (Eds.) (1992). *Military leadership: In pursuit of excellence* (2nd Ed.) San Francisco: Westview Press.
- Toner, J. H. (2000). *Morals Under the Gun: The cardinal virtues, military ethics, and American society*. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Toner, J. H. (1995). *True Faith and Allegiance: The burden of military ethics*. Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky.
- Toner, J. H. (1992). *The American Military Ethic: A Meditation*. New York: Praeger.
- United Nations General Assembly, A/CONF.157/23, 12 July 1993. *Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action* , Par. 5.
- U. S. Department of Defense. (2002). *WHINSEC Course Catalog*. Public Affair Office, WHINSEC.
- U. S. Department of the Army. *Field Manual FM-1* (Washington, DC Government Printing Office, 2001)
- U. S. Department of the Army. *Field Manual 100-1* (Washington, DC Government Printing Office, 2001)

- U. S. Department of the Army. *Military Leadership, and Field Manual 22-100*.
(Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 31 August 1999)
- Van Fleet, D. D. & Yukl, G. A. (1986). *Military Leadership: An organizational behavior perspective*. Greenwich, Connecticut: Jai Press Inc.
- Wakin, M. M. (1986). *War, Morality and the Military Profession* (2nd Ed.)
Westview Press Inc.
- WWWebster (1999-2002). Internet site. [Hhttp://www.m-w.com/dictionary.htm](http://www.m-w.com/dictionary.htm).
Editor, Merriam-Webster Inc.
- Whickman, J. A. (1998). *The role of values in organizations*. In Taylor, R. L. &
Rosenbach, W. E. (Eds.) (1992). *Military leadership: In pursuit of
excellence* (2nd Ed.) San Francisco: Westview Press.
- Wingrove, H.E. (1998). *The End of War and the Needs for Ethics: Current and
Forthcoming Changes in the Mission and Force structure of U.S. Military
and Their Implications Regarding Military Ethics and Ethical Training*.
JSCOPE
- Worthen, V. E. (2002). *Phenomenological Research and the Making of Meaning*.
In Merriam, S. (2002). *Qualitative Research and Practice. Examples for
Discussion and Analysis*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publisher.
- Wood, G. (1992). *Schools that work*. New York: Penguin.
- Wright, K. N. (1999). Leadership is the key to ethical practice in criminal
justice. *Criminal Justice Ethics*, Vol. 18 Issue 2.
- Yalanis, C. P., (2001). *The Virtue of Obedience: Some Notes for Military
Professionals*. JSCOPE.

Yukl, G. (1998). *Leadership in organizations* (4th Ed.) New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Upper Saddle River.

Zimmerman, R. E. (1999). *Looking for the perfect leader*. Army Maneuver Support Center. (online) Available Electronic Collection: A65350712.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

GRADUATE STUDENTS AT THE SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS

| COUNTRY | STUDENTS |
|---|----------|
| Argentina | 650 |
| Barbados | 1 |
| Belize | 4 |
| Bolivia | 3803 |
| Brazil | 336 |
| Chile | 3346 |
| Columbia | 9325 |
| Costa Rica | 2413 |
| Cuba | 237 |
| Dominican Republic | 2540 |
| Ecuador | 3392 |
| El Salvador | 6602 |
| Guatemala | 1546 |
| Haiti | 49 |
| Honduras | 3770 |
| Mexico | 1416 |
| Nicaragua | 4318 |
| Panama | 3631 |
| Paraguay | 1029 |
| Peru | 4414 |
| Uruguay | 987 |
| Venezuela | 3369 |
| United States | 1580 |
| | |
| Subtotal | 58,758 |
| Helicopter School Battalion | 1670 |
| | |
| Total Number of Graduates as of 1 July 1999 | 60,428 |

Source: School of the Americas Course Catalog 2000

APPENDIX B

CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAS STATES

IN THE NAME OF THEIR PEOPLE, THE STATES REPRESENTED AT THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN STATES

Convinced that the historic mission of America is to offer to man a land of liberty and a favorable environment for the development of his personality and the realization of his just aspirations;

Conscious that the mission has already inspired numerous agreements, whose essential value lies in the desire of the American peoples to live together in peace and, through their mutual understanding and respect for the sovereignty of each one, to provide for the betterment of all, in independence, in equality and under law;

Confident that the true significance of American solidarity and good neighborliness can only mean the consolidation on this continent, within the framework of democratic institutions, of a system of individual liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man;

Persuaded that their welfare and their contribution to the progress and the civilization of the world will increasingly require intensive continental cooperation;

Resolved to persevere in the noble undertaking that humanity has conferred upon the United Nations, whose principles and purposes they solemnly reaffirm;

Convinced that juridical organization is a necessary condition for security and peace founded on moral order and on justice; and

In accordance with Resolution IX of the Inter-American Conference on Problems of War and Peace, held in Mexico City,

HAVE AGREED

Upon the following

CHARTER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERCAS STATES

PART ONE

Chapter 1

Nature and Purposes

Article I

The American States established by this chapter the international organization that they have developed to achieve an order of peace and justice, to promote their solidarity, to strengthen their collaboration, and to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity, and their independence. Within the United Nations, the Organization of American States is a regional agency.

The Organization of American States has no powers other than those expressly conferred upon it by this Charter, none of whose provisions authorizes it to intervene in matters that are within the internal jurisdiction of the Member States.

Article 2

The Organization of American States, in order to put into practice the principles on which it is founded and to fulfill its regional obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, proclaims the following essential purposes:

- A) To strengthen the peace and security of the continent;
- B) To promote and consolidate representative democracy, with due respect for the principle of nonintervention;
- C) To prevent possible causes of difficulties and to ensure the pacific settlement of disputes that may arise among the Member States;
- D) To provide for common action on the part of those States in the event of aggression;
- E) To seek the solution of political, juridical, and economic problems that may arise among them;
- F) To promote, by cooperative action, their economic, social, and cultural development;
- G) To eradicate extreme poverty, which constitutes an obstacle to the full democratic development of the peoples of the hemisphere; and
- H) To achieve an effective limitation of conventional weapons that will make it possible to devote the largest amount of resources to the economic and social development of the Member States.

Chapter II

PRINCIPLES

Article 3

The American States reaffirm the following principles:

- a) International law is the standard of conduct of States in their reciprocal relations;
- b) International order consists essentially of respect for the personality, sovereignty, and independence of States, and the faithful fulfillment of obligations derived from treaties and other sources of international law;
- c) Good faith shall govern the relations between States;
- d) The solidarity of the American States and the high aims which are sought through it require the political organization of those States on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy;
- e) Every State has the right to choose, without external interference, its political, economic, and social system and to organize itself in the way best suited to it, and has the duty to abstain from intervening in the affairs of another State. Subject to foregoing, the American States shall cooperate fully among themselves, independently of the nature of their political, economic, and social system;
- f) The elimination of extreme poverty is an essential part of the promotion and consolidation of representative democracy and is the common and shared responsibility of the American States;
- g) The American States condemn war of aggression: victory does not give rights;
- h) An act of aggression against one American State is an act of aggression against all the other American States;
- i) Controversies of an international character arising between two or more American States shall be settled by peaceful procedures;
- j) Social justice and social security are bases of lasting peace;

- k) Economic cooperation is essential to the common welfare and prosperity . the peoples of the continent;
- l) The American States proclaim the fundamental rights of the individual without distinction as to race, nationality, creed, or sex;
- m) The spiritual unity of the continent is based on respect for the cultural values of the American countries and requires their close cooperation for the high purposes of civilization;
- n) The education of peoples should be directed toward justice, freedom, and peace.

Chapter IV

FUNDAMENTALS RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF STATES

Article 10

States are juridically equal, enjoy equal rights and equal capacity to exercise these rights, and have equal duties. The rights of each State depend not upon its power to ensure the exercise thereof, but upon the mere fact of its existence as a person under international law.

Article 11

Every American State has the duty to respect the rights enjoyed by every other State in accordance with international law.

Article 12

The fundamentals rights of States may not be impaired in any manner whatsoever.

Article 13

The political existence of the State is independent of recognition by other States. Even before being recognized, the State has the right to defend its integrity and independence, to provide for its preservation and prosperity, and consequently to organize itself as it sees fit, to legislate concerning its interests, to administer its services, and to determine the jurisdiction and competence of its courts. The exercise of these rights is limited only by the exercise of the rights of other States in accordance with international law.

Article 14

Recognition implies that the State granting it accepts the personality of the new State, with all the rights and duties that international law prescribes for the new States.

Article 15

The right of each State to protect itself and to live its own life does not utilize it to commit unjust acts against another State.

Article 16

The jurisdiction of States within the limits of their national territory is exercise equally over all inhabitants, whether nationals or aliens.

Article 17

Each State has the right to develop its cultural, political, and economic life freely and naturally. In this free development, the State shall respect the rights of the individual and the principles of universal morality.

Article 18

Respect for and the faithful observance of treaties constitute standards for the development of peaceful relations among States. International treaties and agreements should be public.

APPENDIX C

Interview Guidelines

1. How do you understand your participation as a soldier with regard to democracy?
2. How do you understand your participation as a soldier with regard Human rights?
3. In what circumstances might you imagine the needs of the state to be more important than the protection of human rights and democratic principles?
4. How do you feel your country compares with The United States with regard to human rights and democracy?
5. Are there any ways or instances in which you perceive that The United States is inconsistent regarding human rights and democracy practices?
6. Do you believe that the teaching of ethics in WHINSEC have helped you to understand better democracy and respect for human rights?
7. Have you had any experience in WHINSEC that change your understanding of human rights and democracy?

Interview Guidelines

Spanish Version

1. Siendo soldado, como entiende Ud. su papel en referencia a la democracia?
2. Siendo soldado, como entiende Ud. su papel en referencia a los derechos humanos?
3. En que circunstancias Ud. se imagina que las necesidades del estado/pais, son mas importantes que la proteccion de los derechos humanos ya la democracia?
4. Como considera ud. que su pais se compara con Los Estados Unidos con respecto a los derechos humanos y la democracia?
5. Hay alguna manera o circunstancia especial que Ud. considera que Los Estados Unidos es inconsistente (en hacer o decir) con respecto a los derechos humanos y la democracia?
6. Cree Ud. que la ensenanza de etica en WHINSEC le ha servido para mejorar su entendimiento de la democracia y derechos humanos?
7. A tenido Ud. alguna experiencia en WHINSEC que haya cambiado su manera de pensar o de entender los derechos humanos y la democracia?

APPENDIX D

INFORMED CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

This research is being conducted under the auspices of the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus. This document serves as the participant's consent to participate.

INTRODUCTION: The study, "Perceptions of human rights and ethics in the training among military leaders: The case of Latin American leaders at The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation," is being conducted by Fernando Mateo and sponsored by Dr. Tom Owens.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY: The purpose of this study is to look at the Training of Latin American leaders in The western Hemisphere for Security Cooperation and their perceptions regarding human rights and democracy. Participants will be asked to talk with the primary researcher for 30- 120 minutes. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed. Transcriptions will be double checked for accuracy. The research project will be shared with the participants and their opinions of findings will be sought.

POTENTIAL BENEFITS AND RISKS OF PARTICIPATION: The study may give the participant personal insight into his/her conduct regarding human rights and democracy principles. The information will add to knowledge about Latin American's understanding of human rights and democratic principles, and possible reasons why those principles are/are not important in that area. If the participant becomes uncomfortable talking about his/her personal experiences, he/she can delay, postpone, or terminate the interview at any time. If the participant finds the discussion useful in learning more about human rights and democratic principles, further discussion can be arranged to talk about the subjects.

AUDIO TAPING OF STUDY ACTIVITIES: To assist with accurate recording of participant responses, interviews may be recorded on an audio recording device. Participants have the right to refuse to allow such taping without penalty. Please select one of the following options.

☐ I consent to the use of audio recording.

☐ I do not consent to the use of audio recording.

PARTICIPANT'S ASSURANCES: Participation in the study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without penalty. Your identity will be protected at all times by keeping records in a locked file cabinet. Neither your name, rank, nationality, title, gender, country of service or other identifying material will appear in the transcripts, written notes, papers, or published reports. If you have any question about the research or about your rights as a research participant you may contact the researcher, Fernando Mateo, at (706) 545-2749 (work) or (706) 682-1372 (home); or Dr. Tom Owens at (405) 325-325-4202 or email at jtowens@ou.edu. Questions about your rights as a research participant or concerns about the project should be directed to the Institutional Review Board at the University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus at 405-325-8110 or email at irb@ou.edu.

I am eighteen years of age or older.

I agree to participate in the study described above.

Participant's Signature

Date

Researcher's Signature

Date

CONSENTIMIENTO PARA PARTICIPAR EN INVESTIGACION

Esta investigacion sera conducida bajo la proteccion de la Universidad de Oklahoma, en el recinto de la ciudad de Norman. Este documento sirve como consentimiento del participante para aparecer en este proyecto.

INTRODUCCION: El estudio “Perecepciones de los derechos humanos y etica en el entrenamiento entre lideres militares: El caso de lideres Latino Americanos en el Instituto de Cooperacion para la Seguridad Hemisferica”, sera conducido por Fernando Mateo bajo la responsabilidad del Dr. Tom Owens.

DESCRIPTION DEL ESTUDIO: El proposito de este estudio es observar el entrenamiento de lideres Latino Americanos en el Instituto de Cooperacion para la Seguridad Hemisferica y sus percepciones con respecto a los derechos humanos y la democracia. A los participantes se les pedira que hablen con el investigador principal entre 30 a 120 minutos. Entrevistas seran grabadas y transcritas. Las transcripciones seran revisadas dos veces para lograr una buena calidad. El proyecto de investigacion sera compartido con los participantes y sus opinions sobre el mismo sera solicitada.

BENEFICIOS Y RIESGOS PARA LOS PARTICIPANTES: Este estudio puede dar al participante un discernimiento personal sobre su conducta con respecto a los derechos humanos y los principios democraticos. La informacion obtenida sumara al conocimiento sobre el entendimiento de los Latino Americanos acerca de los derechos humanos y los principios democraticos y las posibles razones por las cuales estos principios son o no son importantes en esa area del continente. Si el participante se siente incomodo hablando sobre sus experiencias personales, el/ella podran esperar, posponer, o cancelar la entrevista en cualquier momento. Si el participante encuentra la discucion util para aprender mas sobre los derechos humanos y los principios democraticos, se podra arreglar una futura discucion para hablar mas sobre los topicos de interes.

GRABACION AUDITIVAS DE ENTREVISTAS: Para ayudar con la precision en anotacion de las respuestas de los participantes, las entrevistas podran ser grabadas usando una maquina de grabacion auditiva. Los participantes tienen el derecho de reusar permiso para tal grabacion sin ninguna penalidad. Favor de seleccionar una de estas opciones:

- ☐ Doy permiso para que graben mi entrevista.
- ☐ No doy permiso para que graben mi entrevista.

GARANTIA DE LOS PARTICIPANTES: Participacion en este estudio es voluntario y usted puede retirarse en cualquier tiempo sin ninguna sancion. Su identidad sera protegida en todo momento asegurando que todos los archivos seran guardados en una caja de seguridad. Ni su nombre, rango, nacionalidad, titulo o material que lo identifique aparecera en las transcripciones, notas escritas, papeles o reportes publicados. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta al respecto, sobre este estudio, o sobre sus derechos como participante de la investigacion, puede contactar al investigador, Fernando Mateo, al telefono de su residencia, (706)- 682-1372, o al numero telefonico de su oficina (706)545-2749. Tambien puede llamar al Dr. Tom Owens al numero telefonico (405) 366-6255 o contactarlo por correo electronico a jtowens@ou.edu. Preguntas sobre sus derechos como participante en esta investigacion, o preguntas sobre el proyecto propio se pueden dirigir al Institutional Review Board en La Universidad de Oklahoma-Norman Campus al telefono (405) 325-8110 o por correo electronico a irb@ou.edu.

Certifico que soy mayor de 18 anos de edad.
Estoy de acuerdo para participar en el estudio arriba mencionado.

Firma del Participante

Fecha

Firma del Investigador

Fecha

APPENDIX E

PARTICIPANT RECRUITING SCRIPT

Date _____

Dear _____

I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Tom Owens in the Education Department at The University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus. I invite you to participate in an interview as part of a research study being conducted under the auspices of The University of Oklahoma-Norman Campus, entitled “Perceptions of Human Rights and Ethics in the Training Among Military Leaders: The Case of Latin American leaders at the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation.” The purpose of this study will be to investigate what perceptions regarding ethics, human rights and democracy are held by the students attending WHINSEC.

Your participation will involve private interviews and the interview will be audiotape recorded. It should only take about 30 – 120 minutes as the longest and 45 minutes as average. Your involvement in this study is voluntary, and you may choose not to participate or to stop at any time. The results of the study will be published, but your name will not be used. In fact, the published results will be presented in summary form only. All information you provide will remain strictly confidential and released only with explicit written permission.

The findings from this project will provide information on your perspectives as student attending WHINSEC regarding human rights and democracy with no cost to you other than the time it takes for the interview.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to call me at 706-545-2749 or 706-682-1372 or Dr. Tom Owens at 405-325-4202 or email at jtowens@ou.edu. Questions about your rights as a research participant or concerns about the project should be directed to the Institutional Review Board at the university of Oklahoma-Norman Campus at 405-325-8110 or irb@ou.edu.

Thanks for your help!

Sincerely,

Fernando Mateo
Researcher

FORMA DE RECLUTAMIENTO DE PARTICIPANTES

Fecha_____

Estimado_____

Soy un estudiante de escuela de graduados, bajo la diretion del professor Dr. Tom Owens en el Departamento de Educacion de la Universidad de Oklahoma, en el recinto principal en la ciudad de Norman. Le invito a participar en una entrevista como parte de un estudio investigativo que sera conducido bajo la proteccion de la Universidad de Oklahoma, titulado: : Percepciones de los derechos humanos y etica en el entrenamiento entre lideres militares: El caso de lideres Latino Americanos en el Instituto de Cooperacion para la seguridad Hemisferica.” El proposito de este estudio sera investigar que percepciones son mantenidas por los estudiantes que asisten a este instituto, con respecto a la etica, los derechos humanos y la democracia.

Su participacion consistira en entrevistas privadas las cuales seran grabadas en cassette. Tomara entre 30-120 minutos siendo este tiempo el mas largo y 45 minutos como promedio. Su participacion en este estudio es voluntaria, y usted puede escoger no participar o suspenderly en cualquier momento. Los resultados publicados de este estudio seran publicados, pero su nombre no sera utilizado. De hecho, los resultados publicados seran prsentados en forma de resumen. Toda informacion que usted provea sera mantenida de maner estrictamente confidencial y compartido solamente con permiso y autorizacion de parte suya.

Los resultados obtenidos de este proyecto proveeran informacion de sus perspectivas como estudiante que asiste a este instituto military con respecto a los derechos humanos y la democracia sin ningun otro costo para usted mas que su tiempo para conducir esta entrevista.

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta sobre este estudio investigativo, por favor sientanse libre de llamarme al (706) 682-1372 a mi casa o a mi oficina al (706) 545-2749. Tambien puede llamar al Dr. Tom Owens al (405) 325-4202 o enviar un correo electronico al jtownes@ou.edu. Preguntas sobre sus derechos como participante de este estudio deben ser dirigidas a la Junta de revision Institucional de la Universidad de Oklahoma en su recinto universitario principal en la ciudad de Norman en el telefono (405) 325-8110 o al correo electronico irb@ou.edu.

Muchas gracias por su ayuda y cooperacion!

Sinceramente,

Fernando Mateo, Investigador principal.

APPENDIX F

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

1. Article 15: An Army non-judicial procedure.
2. CAC: Combined Arms Center
3. DOD: Department of Defense
4. ETHOS: Standards and ideals that characterize and motivate the Army.
5. IRB: Institutional Review Board
6. LDRSHIP: Army Values (loyalty, duty respect, selfless service, honor integrity, and personal courage)
7. OAS: Organization of American States
8. PME: Professional Military Ethic
9. POW: Prisoner of War
10. SOA: School of the Americas
11. SOUTHCOM: Southern Command
12. TRADOC: Training and Doctrine Command
13. UCMJ: Uniform Code of Military Justice
14. UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights
15. U.N. United Nations
16. USARSA: United States Army School of the Americas
17. WHINSEC: Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation

APPENDIX G

Participant interview responses

Alberto

Alberto is a graduate from the officer academy of his country. He is very energetic person and proud of being an officer and a soldier of his nation. In his military institution, Alberto had to participate in a selection process to attend the institute, he wanted to come to The United States and to attend WHINSEC because he was interested in learning more about America, its way of life, government, Armed Forces, etc. He has been at WHINSEC for over four months taking different courses.

When asked about his experiences with democracy, ethics and human rights prior attending WHINSEC, Alberto speaks without hesitation and with priority about life in his country. He mentions that he was born and grow-up in a country under military regimes. His early recollections about democracy are just what he saw during the long period of military dictatorship in power. The norm was a constant and brutal repression against the citizens who dare to express their opinions against the government. He says: "Human rights were violated all the time, day and night," people felt the authority of a brutal regime whose "only rule of law was the rule of the cannon." Citizens did not have the right to express his will thru their vote in a free elections contest. The word ethics he express, "lost his purpose and was totally prostituted."

When asked how he understood his participation as a soldier regarding democracy, Alberto responded that the soldier has to be a truly democrat. "In any country, the soldier also has to be the warrantor of democracy, a soldier is the last reserve of a nation that sees its democracy threaten or broken. In those circumstances, the soldiers are responsible for reestablishing order in their country. The soldier is the moral reserve of every society and has to be seen as such."

Reference to human rights, Alberto expressed that a soldier must respect human rights regardless the situation. Since the soldiers hold weapons and have the warlike power they must be the main defenders of human rights against foreign and domestic enemies of that universal right.

When questioned if he imagines a circumstance where the needs of the state to be more important than the protection of human rights and democracy principles Alberto categorically stated: "in no circumstance the state is above those principles or above the international law for that matter."

Comparing his country with the United States regarding human rights and democracy he believes that "we have to answer that in the context of the development of each nation." His country before the 90s did not know much about human rights and democracy, the reasons are already expressed. Currently they know more about the subjects, and he feels they are advancing in those fields, especially when they have the opportunity to learn more about human rights and experience democracy while attending Americans institutions such as WHINSEC. He adds: "We are not perfect, we are moving in the right direction,

but slowly if compared with other developed nations or the United States.” Alberto speaks frankly about some flaws in the judicial system of his country. “There have been sporadic cases of police brutally that have been addressed accordingly, those actions are not the general norm in my country and any government official who breaks the law is charged with all legal means available and is send it to the human rights court judge to be trial and convicted.”

About his perceptions of The United States being inconsistent regarding human rights and democracy practices he expresses that since The United States is a very powerful country sometimes he has some doubts about how the country deals with those topics. When being asked about clarification he said that two things come to his mind, both are contradicting each other. One is they way Untied States Government “treats his black population that are still fighting for a complete equality of rights even though the American declaration of Independence gave them same rights and privileges.” The other subject is the way the nation responded to the attack of September 2001 where the government acted promptly giving an appropriate responds to those attacks without breaking international laws. “When one country is so powerful like United States, they can get away with almost everything.” Alberto believes that United States is the only country that abides by the Geneva Convention Laws, and as an example he refers to the legal actions of the United States Army Chain of Command in the case of LTC West a Battalion Commander in Iraq and a hero in the eyes of the American Public, who was punished after he mistreated an Iraqi prisoner in order to obtain vital information that might save his troops lives. LTC West’s actions under the circumstances Alberto thinks: “where normally correct since he was trying to save the lives of his subordinates, but were totally illegally under international laws.” On the other hand he says: “When acted against LTC West actions, United States Army authorities proved that they are respectful of international laws and human rights and it showed.”

Alberto believes that the teaching of ethics in WHINSEC have helped him to understand better democracy and human rights. “Having the opportunity to hear a subject matter expert who talks about those subjects leave always a basic teaching and fundamental doctrine principles.” “So far,” he says, “the classes at WHINSEC have been very productive and have clarified many doubts that will be very useful in the future.” Furthermore he says: “it would be a plus if superiors officers of my country and government authorities could receive ethics classes regardless the institution that teaches those topics.”

Responding to the question that if he had any experience at WHINSEC that changed his understanding of human rights and democracy, Alberto says: “Just the fact of being present at WHINSEC’s classrooms is an experience itself that helped me to clarify many doubts and answered many questions about those topics.” He adds: “Speaking of changing my way of thinking regarding human rights and democracy goes hand to hand with the clarification of doubts that arise in all human beings.” Asked about a particular or a specific experience at WHINSEC he talked about the “My Lai massacre class” where he had the opportunity to hear the testimony of one of the two American pilots who brought that massacre to the public arena and also the presentation of the Chilean Pedro

Matta who displayed a model of the prison camp where he was tortured and held for 16 months by the DINA (National Intelligence Department) in Chile. Alberto says “Matta spoke out against human right violations and provided a unique perspective for the students. Another important subject has been the teaching of Army values that help me to understand more about the conduct of the American soldier and have created an impression on me beyond words.”

Daniel

Daniel is a graduate of the officer academy of his nation. He is a very smart individual who graduated first on his class and in that position, always as a reward, his army selected him to attend different schools and training such as the WHINSEC. He seems to be happy at the institute and is very interested to learn more about the United States Army and its role in the American democracy. He has been at the institute for over three months.

Daniel also was born and grew-up in a country infamous for a numerous military coups. Democracy he says: “Was the heavy rule of a heavy armed government.” Respect for human rights were almost non-existent. There was always the fear of the people for the secret police and the government retaliation for speaking one’s mind. He adds: “Ethics have no reason to exist in a country with a very corrupt government where bribes and other type of monetary schemes was the constant norm.”

Since the return to civilian governments in his country, the Armed Forces have changed in many ways with many opportunities for young men like Daniel, reason that motivate him to join the military and to apply for the Officers Academy.

Daniel believes that in a democracy a soldier has a tremendous participation in many capacities. “A soldier is the defender and last bastion. His duty is to protect the constitution he swore to uphold under any circumstances. Remembering the political history of my country, democracy is worth to fight for, even though I realize ours is not perfect yet, it is not where we want it to be, but we are looking forward regardless obstacles, problems etc. Our goal is to achieve someday a democratic system that we can be proud of and for generations to come.”

Daniel affirms with propriety, “Without democracy, it will not be respect from human rights. For a soldier, whose cradle and foundation have roots in the people, there is nothing nobler than to fight with all his might in order to protect the basic rights of the citizens, the people of his country. In a country such as mine where we are proud to say that in each citizen is a soldier of the fatherland and in every soldier is a hero, we the people in uniform, the soldiers, must never forget, nor let our comrades to forget that we are flesh and bones, blood and sweat of that people, hence, our sacred duty is to look after them, to provide the environment necessary for safekeeping of their rights as a humans and as a citizens.”

Daniel says: “There is not a circumstance, there is not a valid excuse that allow the imposition of the nation’s needs over the rights of its citizens. A great American President said wisely that the government is from the people, of the people, and by the people. Those words I dare to say represent the feelings of all

my comrades in arms, and yours truly. We still have fresh the wounds from the past, our spirits just begin to heal and we hope as a soldiers and as citizens that we never, ever, will perpetrate the mistakes done during our tragic past.”

Daniel says “There is no way we can compare our newly democracy with one of the greatest or THE greatest democracy of the world. Our young constitution has been in effect over two decades, America’s over two hundred years. We can assure that our legal system is better than the past, no more repression, or detentions without legal due process. We do have now the Office of the Human Rights Commission, an institution responsible for the protection of those basic rights and also to address past violations with the sole purpose of bring to justice the persons responsible for violations of human rights and crimes against our people (being civilians or military personnel). This Commission does not look for revenge, just justice. Our authorities are committed to restore a genuine democracy and to avoid past errors. Our legal system is not flawless, we have had a few instances of police mistreatment of prisoner but those cases have been addressed accordingly to our laws and have been sent to the Human Rights Commission. Every four years the people have the freedom of voting for the candidate they prefer, but we remember that our political contest have been branded in the past as being controlled by the Army or by the elite in power, for that reason we understand the importance of a clean electoral process and we have to request the presence of representative from OAS and other non-government organizations to come and supervise the process. One important step toward democracy is to send civilians and military personnel overseas to attend institutions such as WHINSEC in order to learn more about the democratic process and prepare people who will comeback to the country to teach and to share the knowledge acquired. We are full of dreams and expectations for our nation, but we depend of great powers such as The United States to help us to fulfill those dreams.”

Daniel does not think The United States is inconsistent regarding human rights and democracy practices. “America, regardless what some people might say, has been a mirror where other countries reflected their own ideas of democracy. The Declaration of Independence and the American Constitution are great documents where one can see the greatness of the America’s ideals. The American Armed Forces, in my view have been the only forces respectful of the Geneva Convention and other international treaties. After the attacks of September 2001, United States has been involved in a war against international terrorism in a manner that is an example for others countries to follow. My country fought a civil war and used national security interest as an excuse to suppress basic people’s rights. It comes to my mind the attitude of the American Army officials who punished a Battalion Commander in Iraq (LTC West) for illegal treatment of a prisoner, that situation could never happen in my country when we were involved in the insanity of a civil war.”

The opportunity to attend WHINSEC is considered by Daniel as an “unique.” “One interesting topic, ethics, will be an important tool in my development as a soldier and as a citizen of my country. I hope many more, being civilian authorities and even officers in my chain of command, could have the

same opportunity I had to come to WHINSEC or any other institution to learn and discuss ethics the way I have done.”

“My experience at WHINSEC has been positive. I have been blessed with the opportunity to share my own experiences with other officers of other nations, and to have the chance of making new friends and continue old friendships with people from the Western Hemisphere. I have been learning from their experience as well. Also, class discussions, arguments, disagreements with classmates have been a source of enrichment and of knowledge. Another great experience has been the chance to see in action professional instructors of the quality of My Lai massacre class. Also the learning and study of the Army Values helped me to understand more about the American Army and open my eyes about the characteristics of the American Soldier. In general, I believe that coming to WHINSEC has been worth the sacrifice of being away from home and my country for many weeks. I have received so much information that exceeded my expectations. I will always be grateful to my government and to my chain of command for allowed me to come to America where I have seen democracy at work, certainly has been one in a million opportunity.”

Eduardo

Eduardo is a senior noncommissioned officer of his country. His military institution is in the process to establish its own noncommissioned officers corp. He was selected to come to WHINSEC in order to learn and to understand the role of the United States Army noncommissioned officers corp. He has been at the institute for three months.

Coming from a country notorious for a series of military regimes, Eduardo's first recollection of democracy was “the rights and words of the powerful armed elite.” Typical Latin American countries during the 60's and 70's and early 80's, citizens say their Armed Forces as an elite group with privileges beyond measures. Human rights were constantly violated, not just in the case of jail time, or torture, but also as a lack of opportunities for young people, poor health care programs, education system that did not work and terrible economic measures. In a corrupt government, Eduardo believes, ethics has no role. “The word ethics has no meaning at all when people without morals runs a country like a family mafia.”

Eduardo decided to join the military as a way to challenge him physically and mentally. Also, he believes that after the civil power was restored the best way to serve his country was in the military. He has no regret at all of his decision to become a soldier of his nation and is very proud of his service record.

In his newly elected democracy of his country, his participation as a soldier has to be by all means to protect and defend the constitution that he swore to obey. He express: “A soldier must understand that his role in a democracy is to allow the civilian authorities to do their job. Politics is for politicians and the defense of the nation and the constitution is the duty of the soldier.”

Eduardo argues that when there is a democracy, the human rights of the people are respected. “A soldier has to be prepared to defend those human rights at all cost. There is no reason, or excuse to violate the basic rights of the people, since the majority of the soldiers are coming from that people, they must realize

his first responsibility is with the people itself. A soldier has to be able to understand his mission and must have the capacity to analyze the legal and moral reasons of that mission. There is no substitute for a clear conscious and peace of mind regarding the protection of people's human rights."

Eduardo thinks that the most important component in a nation is the people, the citizens. With that in mind, he does not see why the needs of the nation have to be more important than the needs of the people and the protection of the rights of that people. He affirms: "When we talk about needs of the nation we can not forget that besides those needs the nation and its leaders have also moral obligations with the people they represent. The soldiers as members of an organization that its purpose of existence is the defense of the nation have to support those leaders and most of all protect the democracy and the human rights of the citizens."

When comparing his country's democracy with the democracy of the United States, Eduardo sees the former as a newborn human being, the latter as an adult full of accomplishments. He adds: "One can not make a comparison between a third world country democracy and the democracy of the most powerful country on earth. My country is still in the process of adapting from a government where the basic rights of the people were ignored and abused, to a country where the government is respectful and protector of those basic rights. There have been a few cases of police misconduct but those police officers implicated have been punished accordingly. As the United States we elect every four years our government authorities in an environment with freedom of expression and the right of the citizens to exercise the power to vote. To making sure the process is clean without stain we request the help of international organizations interested in democracy to come to our country and supervise the electoral process. There is a lot that we need to accomplish, a lot of work toward the building of a democratic state whose main concern has to be the development of an environment with freedom and respect for the rule of law. Fortunately, we are heading in the right direction and focused on the task ahead."

Eduardo does not see any instances or actions from the United States that seems inconsistent regarding human rights and democracy. He says: "After that attacks of September 2001 United States has been involved in a war against international terrorism and it is natural that his Armed Forces have been mobilize to accomplish that mission, interesting part is the fact that in doing so, America has not been acting violating international laws. The prisoner from Afghanistan have been treated humanly in Cuba and the war against Iraq even though some countries opposed, it was conducted in my view as part of that international war against international terrorism. Hussein government as we all know, was corrupted and with disregard for the rights of its people. Human rights violations were the norm of conduct for that totalitarian regime. Contrary to other countries in the world, United States have been always respectful of the Geneva Convention and when an American soldier, and American officer violated laws of war in Iraq, he was punished for that action. As an example, one that comes to my mind is LTC West a Battalion Commander who mistreated an Iraqi prisoner of war and as result he was relieved from his command. Mistreating prisoner was a norm long

time ago in my country and none of the military personnel involved were treated in military or civilian court.”

Eduardo opinion about his ethics classes in WHINSEC is a positive one. “I have learned a lot about ethics from my instructors and from my peers’ experiences. I expect that in the future I will have the opportunity to share that topic with my fellow officers and soldiers of my country. Since ethics is an important tool for the success of a democracy and the respect of human rights, and the civilian and military authorities of my country are the people who create laws and give orders, I hope they might have the fortune to come to the United States to learn the topic in WHINSEC or another educational institution of this great nation.”

He mentions: “Just to be attending class at WHINSEC has been a lifetime experience. I have met so many officers from other countries and have learned a lot from them. Their struggles are similar to mine, and the vision of the future for us the military it is also the same. WHINSEC in my concept is a great source of knowledge and powerful method used for United States authorities to teach human rights and democratic principles to the newly democracies of the Western Hemisphere. Every day I have been fortunate enough to learn more about human rights and democracy. I have learned in the classrooms (theory) and in practice, in action (in the trips to government offices). A great example is the My Lai massacre class that opened my eyes and helped me to comprehend and understand more about the importance of human rights and democratic principles. I cannot express with words the mark that the teaching of Army values has left on me. It has helped me to understand the policies of the American Army and why the American soldier is what he is, a soldier respectful of human rights and great defender of the American Constitution.”

Pedro

Pedro is a noncommissioned officer who is expecting to be transferred to the Officers Corps of his country. He is also a combat veteran of the civil war of his nation. As such, he is a very interesting soldier to talk with, and since he is an experienced combat soldier, he has many stories to tell. He was wounded in combat several times fighting to what he calls “communist terrorists.” He loves to be a soldier and is very proud of his uniform. He has been at WHINSEC for four months.

Pedro was born and grew-up in a country where democracy lost its meaning since the government was constantly changed from totalitarian military regimes to corrupt civilian regimes controlled by the army, without the expressed will of its citizens. His country he says: “experienced a series of regimes where the minority was in charge over the majority of the people and the rule of law was the rule of the weapons,” a country where repression had a new meaning. That situation was the cause for its country being involved in a heavy civil war. As a teenager he experienced what thousands of his fellow citizens have to live. He was given the choice of life in the military defending his country and “its democracy” against a “band of communists” or to join the ranks of the other group that was fighting against the “corrupt and repressive government.”

Pedro joined the Armed Forces of his country and participated in many battles. With time passed and being witnessed too many comrades dead in combat, he believed himself to be engaged in a “holy anti-communist crusade.” As a soldier he witnessed many human rights violations not just from his own army but from the group he was fighting against. Even though he swears, “I did not participate in any illegal combat activity,” he has no remorse about his military life, his combat experience and his combat wounds. To Pedro, ethics and the respect of life have an important place in combat. He believes that it is legal and moral to kill somebody in combat, but just to what he calls “active enemy full of hatred who is trying to kill me.”

After the armed conflict ended he decided to stay in the army and to try to mend things. He believes his country and its army is now more professional than before, “it is an institution that is respectful of its citizen, international laws and our current chain of command is working hard to implement changes in order to transform it into a truly and genuine people’s army. Sending soldiers to international schools to learn more about democracy and human rights constitute a serious commitment from the government and its Armed Forces.”

Pedro believes the soldier’s participation in a democracy is “to carry out the national constitution mandate to keep internal security and to protect the nation from the foreign attacks.” In the understanding he says, “that internal security means help the people during natural disasters, such as earthquakes, flooding, fires etc. A soldier has no political affiliation and he ought to distant himself from corrupt acts against the people and the democracy he sworn to protect and defend.”

Reference to human rights, he thinks a soldier’s participation is “in the strengthening and protection of that people’s rights. A soldier has to set an example respecting the political constitution that is the document that defines the soldier’s functions. A soldier must separate itself from actions that harm and destroy the security of the citizens.”

Pedro believes that in no circumstance the needs of the state are more important than the protection of human rights and democracy. He adds: “In a newly formed democracy such as ours, in any circumstance if we do not give priority to human rights and democracy, we will lose them and the nation becomes anarchic that might degenerate in armed conflicts. We still have fresh in our minds the consequences of such acts. The ruling class together with the armed forces must respect and protect the democracy because only democratic states propitious an environment of respect to human rights.”

Comparing his nation with the Untied States regarding human rights and democracy he understands there is no way one can compare those two nations. “America is the greatest democracy on earth, is an example for everybody to follow. My country is an incipient democracy, our constitution has been in effect for a few years (compared with more than 200 years of the American legal document), we still in the process of implementing changes and we just began to know and understand that democracy is respect for the rule of law and that nobody (included the state) is over that rule of law. Sometimes we have cases of police brutality against detainees and the responsible of those actions have been

legally treated and expelled from the police. We do not even have a pure and clear system of electing government officials and sometimes we have to ask international organizations to oversee our political process. My country is behind the example of the American model in many ways, but we are slowly improving and certainly are working toward the purpose of becoming a real democracy, where the dream of establishment and protection of human rights becomes a reality everyday.”

About his perceptions of the United States being inconsistent regarding human rights and democratic practices he believes that “American practices what it preaches. What that means is that they are respectful of international laws, being the only country in the world that has a history of respecting international treaties such as the Geneva Convention for the treatment of enemy combatants. As an example we can see it in the way the prisoners are treated in Guantanamo Base, Cuba, and the way the American Army acted in the situation created by LTC West, a Battalion Commander in Iraq. United States is a guide for our government to follow, a mirror that reflect what a great democracy is and should be.”

Pedro considers the teaching of ethics has been an important step to help him understand his position as soldier in a democracy. He says, “I hope that someday government authorities and my military superiors will have the opportunity to attend WHINSEC or any other American educational institution to learn about ethics and how this topic is an important tool for the survival of a democracy.”

He manifests: “My experiences at WHINSEC have been profitable and have enhanced my beliefs regarding democracy and human rights. WHINSEC is an example to others educational institutions of what means to be makers of democratic programs for students who come from nations that have been in anarchy an disarray for so many years.” He mentioned that the My Lai massacre class impacted him specifically in the way that it was taught. “Another class that impacted me is the teaching of the American Army Values that have been an important tool to understand why the American Soldier is above all a fighter with discipline and honor and protector of human rights and faithful to the American Constitution.”

Ana

Ana is a very special case. A very bright and smart soldier, she graduated from the military academy of her country at the top of her class. In a world historically dominated by her fellow male officers, being number one of the class, she had the option to select her branch and she chose to be an Artillery Officer. She is very proud of her military accomplishments and talks freely of her experiences as soldier and as an officer. Ana has been at WHINSEC for over two months.

Ana’s country has more than fifty years of dictatorial, and military regimes history. Democracy is word that she learned in books, mentioned Plato’s writings she said that in her country for many years “democracy and justice was the right of the powerful.” Since her childhood, she has been an admirer of the United States and its system of government, specifically she is very impressed

with America's Declaration of Independence, its Constitution and the way that important documents has lasted for so many years. In Ana's country there have been numerous changes in Constitutions and the current one it is only twenty-two years old. Historically, human rights in a country such as mine she says, "The idea of universal human rights and freedoms which we now identify as the essence of democracy was directed to the privileges and those rights were never extended to the rest of the citizens." At the same token she says, "Ethics could not exist, since corruption was the norm of the government in power."

Ana is ashamed of the conduct of her country's armed forces during those days. She decided to join the military in order to fight for justice and to change the image of the members of the military institution and the organization in general.

Ana believes that her participation in democracy in the capacity of a soldier is pure and simple: "Defend and protect it, with my life if it is necessary. It have been a long journey for my country to be where we are right now, there is no turning back just the hope of a better future in peace and democracy. A soldier is first and foremost protector of the nation's constitution and democracy."

Regarding human rights, she perceives soldier's participation must be "respect and dedication for the well-being of the people, regardless social position, status, education and wealth. Human rights is everybody's right and it is an obligation for a soldier to make sure that right is protected."

Ana finds no reason or circumstance where the need of the nation is more important than the protection of human rights. She adds: "Protecting those principles is not easy task, especially in a country such as mine where the mentality of old leaders have been of indifference and disregard toward people's rights. We advanced a lot since the restoration of civil authorities, but there is a lot more that we need to accomplish."

Comparing her country with United States regarding democracy and human rights she states: "I can not compare my country with America. We still are in the process of adaptation from an authoritarian government to a democratic one. We are like children still learning those basic principles but America is already an adult in those matters. Our constitution has been changed so many times and the current is practically brand new, America's has been there for more than 200 years. Our political system is weak and fragile but we have elections every four years. In order to have a clean electoral process we recur to international organizations to watch over the process. Also, our legal system is not flawless yet. There have been a few cases of police misconduct, where detainees' rights have been violated. Those cases are not indicative of widely illegal activity from our police but are a stain in our newly system. We need to learn more about human rights and democracy and the best way to achieve it is by sending our people, our military personnel (police included) to educational institutions such as WHINSEC to learn and to see an experience democracy in action. We have improved as a nation but there is more to do, the responsibility is now in hand of our authorities, it can not be a step back."

Speaking of her perceptions of United States as being inconsistent regarding human rights and democracy principles she ponder over for a second

and says: “America has been an example of how a democracy should be. There have been a few exceptions (the civil war) but we cannot judge that country for the mistakes of some of its leaders. There is no other country so preoccupied with its citizens’ rights than United States. America’s Constitution declares all the basic right of its citizens and is a model imitated by other nations. Internationally, as far as I know, America has been the only country that has respected the Geneva Convention laws. In their fight against international terrorism America has conducted war operations according to international laws. As always, the human factor has been an issue for debate and controversy. Specifically it comes to my mind the actions of LTC West, an American commander in Iraq who violated a prisoner’s rights during an interrogation. Arguable a moral action to save his troops, it was illegally according to international laws and the American Army authorities set an example and punished him. I do not believe that would be the case in my country or other Latin American country.”

Ana believes that the teaching of ethics in WHINSEC has been a positive experience. “The topic is extremely important in order to understand democracy and human rights. Without moral values and an ethical conscience a person diminishes the meaning of democracy principles and the importance of human rights. The way the topic of ethic is presented it becomes easily to understand, especially when is combined with theory and practice. I just hope that my military superiors and key civilian from my government may have the opportunity to attend ethics classes such as the one I receive at WHINSEC, it will make my job and of my superiors easier.”

Ana realizes that her experience at WHINSEC is invaluable. Just the fact of sharing classroom time with so many soldiers from different countries is a rich experience for her personal and professional life. She affirms, “I have learned a lot from my classmates, both military and civilians. They have been a source of knowledge and their stories are motive of incredibly information. The classes materials combined with testimonies from guess speakers are truly unique and a valuable opportunity to clarify doubts and to consolidate previous opinions and ideas. The best example of what I am talking about is the My Lai massacre classes were films and pictures are presented, as well as testimony of people involved in the situation. If I add the teaching of the Army Values where I learned more of the discipline and conduct of the Army Soldier, his warrior ethos, I definitely understand why America is what it is, a great nation where its soldiers are loyal to the American Constitution, their officers and the chain of command in general. Definitely my presence at WHINSEC has been so far more interesting than I expected or dream about it. I just hope to have the opportunity in the near future to comeback to learn more about America.”

Maria

Maria is a police officer in her native country. She is a graduate of the Police Officer academy where she came at the top five percent of the class. She has distinguished herself in many leadership positions and many counter narcotics activities. A very proud police officer, she seems to love what she does and it shows it. She has been at WHINSEC for over three months.

In her country democratic values and institutions existed as an authoritarian form of governance. In early 1960s the Army seized power directly, and for the next two decades conducted a campaign of generalized repression against citizens. Her country lacked a righteous distribution of power in society. An oligarchy of military strength, aristocratic lineage and landowners were the source of leadership.

Regarding ethics, Maria believes that it is impossible to talk about moral and honesty when corruption has been a way of life and precisely that have been the case of her native country for many years.

A soldier participation in a democracy is very important. She adds: "The soldier duty and responsibility is the protection of the citizens' political rights and promoting and guaranteeing political participation. Allowing citizens to choose their leaders in a clear political contest exercising their power of vote in a freely manner."

Regarding human rights, she believes "For a soldier, the protection of citizens' human rights should be a priority of understanding the difference between a legal or illegal order, a moral and immoral act, in order to defend those sacred rights."

Maria is absolutely convinced that the state has no needs that are more important than the protection of citizens' human rights and democratic principles. "Even in circumstances where the national security of the nation is at risk, government leaders and military personnel must have mechanisms in place to avoid the atrocities of the past. The democratic process and the constitution have to be safeguarded at all times."

Comparing her country with United States with regard of democracy and human rights, Maria opinion is clear. "We can not compare apples with oranges, my country's democracy is practically new comparing with more than two hundred years of the American democratic system. As in the United States, we elect our new government leaders every four years, the difference lies on the way it is executed. As a very fragile democracy we depend on the OAS and other international organizations to come and inspect our political process to avoid misconduct and to make sure the political contest is flawless. There is much to be done for our political development and our democratic system where individual's rights can be promoted and protected. We have had few cases of police violence against detainees and those officers have been severely punished according to our laws."

She continues, "The United States even though is the greatest power of the world, have conducted itself according to international laws. Their Armed Forces have been respectful of international treats such as the Geneva Convention for the treatment of prisoners of war and instances where an American soldier broke those rules he or she has been properly punishment under the UCMJ Articles. An current example is LTC West who mistreated a prisoner in Iraq and as a result he was relieved of his command pending an investigation from the Army Chain of Command."

According to Maria the classes on ethic has been very valuable. "There have been a lot of material and class discussions where time is always a factor. All

that information will be useful in my future as a person and as a police officer. I hope and expect that the doors of WHINSEC and other American institutions that teach ethics will be open for civilian authorities of my country and my superior officers since they are the policy and decision makers and they need to know and understand those ethics values.”

Maria’s experience at WHINSEC has been productive. According to her, “Being here, learning and sharing with other officers and civilians from all over the Western Hemisphere is an experience itself. If I have the chance to come back again I will not think twice and will be ready to attend this institution. I have clearly many doubts and have obtained a better understanding of ethics, human rights and democracy. I have learned the Army Values, what it means to America and to the American Soldier. I have witnessed the democratic process in action, during my visits to Town Halls; I have attended classes such as the My Lai massacre that is an experience unforgettable. The way it has been taught with history, pictures, films and testimonies from people involved is remarkable and touching; I have attended conferences with so many orators from all over the continent and from so many international organizations such as UN, OAS. Yet, it has been a fantastic and positive experience for me and for many students attending this Institute.”

Elena

Elena is an officer, graduate from the Officer Academy of her country. Finished the academy at the ten percent of the class, she was selected to attend two courses at WHINSEC. Elena is interested to learn more about the United States Army and its role as defender of the American Constitution. She has been at the institute for five months.

Coming from a country with a history of military governments and constant coup d’etats, where a person, a citizen could not have basic principles such as liberty of expression, she developed an appreciation for freedom, constitutionalism, respect for law, restraint of power, political choice, and accountability of rulers. She is very proud of her country’s quest for freedom and democracy, and its solidarity with struggles for democracy in other times and places. She joined her country’s armed forces believing that she can make a difference and can be an example for new generations.

Elena believes that “respect for human rights is not possible in totalitarian regimes, because the dominant governing principle behind those type of government is the preservation of power and the privileges of the elite in power, being this military or civilian or religions.” Same manner with ethics, “in a government that have no respect for its citizens, a manipulative government that run the country as an organized crime, could not possible know or understand honesty, morals and the meaning of the word.”

Elena understands her participation as soldier regarding democracy saying that: “The soldier’s mission is to give security to his country and provide personal protection to its citizens.” In order to accomplish those tasks, she believes “The soldier must have a clear concept of what are the citizens’ rights,” there she adds, “is the implicit democracy of a nation, which is the respect of those citizens’

rights.” Also, the participation of a soldier regarding democracy is “To keep a vigil over its maintenance, when giving a fair treatment to its citizens, respecting citizens’ rights within the legal parameters of the norms that rule the behavior of the people under the government.”

Regarding human rights, Elena says, “In peace time, a soldier ought to maintain the citizen’s tranquility.” A soldier in a democracy regarding human rights “must apply a total respect for human rights toward the citizens, simple actions such as respect for persons accordingly with legal norms of the rule of law.” In war times, “providing safety accordingly to international laws.”

Reference to a circumstance where the needs of the state are more important than the protection of human rights and democracy, Elena does not know of one that could apply. She believes that “in no circumstance, the state’s needs are more important than human right and democracy.” If the state fails to protect its citizens “we come back to the dark past history.” She recognizes that “The needs of the state are the needs of the people, of its citizens, the inhabiting, since those are the important pieces than form the state itself.”

Comparing her country with The United States regarding human rights and democracy she believes that “at the present time, freedom for its citizens and the example of how a democracy should work where the individual liberties are respected are subjects common to both nations, we elected our authorities every four years with the exception that we being new in the electoral contest, need to ask the OAS to send representatives to watch that our political event be clean and without stains.” She also believes that there is “A lot to learn from the world’s greatest democracy, the United States, and there is no other way to accomplish that goal, than visiting that country to see how a strong democracy works. Also attending educational institutions such as WHINSEC in order to obtain a better understanding of human rights and democracy principles.”

Asking her perceptions of United States inconsistencies regarding human rights and democracy practices, she does not think of one. Elena believes “The Constitution of United States is an example as the universal legal instrument for the constitutions of other democratic countries, with specification of human rights, the respect for the persons and their free will to choose their ruling class in a democratic environment.” Also, she thinks United States is respectful of international laws and as an example she mentions the case of LTC West, a Battalion Commander in Iraq who was punished for breaking international laws regarding the treatment of military prisoners. Even though “The American people sees him as a hero who throughout his action saved the lives of his subordinates, the American Army relieved him of command for breaking the rules governing treatment of enemy prisoners of war. Saving lives was a moral thing to do, but it was done illegally with total disregard of international laws and he had to pay for.”

Reviewing the teaching of ethics at WHINSEC, there is no doubt about it that she has learned a lot. She declares: “The classes presented at WHINSEC enhanced in a very professional way my understanding of human rights and democracy.” Elena would love to see her change of command and government

authorities, people with decision making power in her country, attending WHINSEC's ethics courses.

Responding to the last question, did you have any experience at WHINSEC that changed your understanding of human rights and democracy? Elena responded that yes, she had. "Receiving classes such as ethic, the Armed Forces and democracy, human rights and the humanitarian international law, have enlarged the spectrum of knowledge related to human rights and democracy, strengthening the thinking and feeling of the individual's rights of the citizens, to whom we owe as a soldiers of the fatherland, protection and the guarding of its safety and the rule of law of a democratic nation where the individual's freedom are respected over any circumstance."

Speaking of a particular experience at WHINSEC, Elena says that the "My Lai massacre class was very touching, the whole presentation was done very dramatic, with films and personal comments of people involved in the situation. I can not forget mentioning the classes on the Army Values, that have been an important tool that clarify my knowledge and make me understand the greatness of the American Soldier and the Army of the United States and to see with propriety why the American Constitution has survived more than two hundred years."

Alexandra

Alexandra is a police officer graduate from the Police Officer Academy of her nation. As an officer, within her organization, she has been in several leadership positions and currently is assigned to the Office of the Commission of Human Rights of her country. She has been at WHINSEC less than three months.

Alexandra comes from a country with a vicious cycle of insurgent conflict and authoritarian response that destroyed countless lives, economy, infrastructure and the democratic political system. Alexandra talks freely and without hesitation of a country where the military institution and its leaders adopted radical changes in structure, manning and resources, and its role in the political life of society. The military institution and its officers saw the struggle against communism "as a holy war similar to the crusades" where military abuses and violations of human rights were justified since the military believe that "all is valid in war, and soldiers are outside the law."

Ethics and morals according to Alexandra "have no place in a country involved in a bloody civil war where both parties were guilty of abuses and terrible crimes." She joined the Police Corp with "the intention of making a positive change in the image of that Corp and to fight for the defense and security of my nation."

Alexandra believes that "When a soldier has lived in the past under totalitarian and abusive regimes, he must recollect that past and ought to be careful of his actions to avoid the mistakes committed by former soldiers. A soldier has to be the cornerstone of the whole building called democracy. He has to be the constitution's shield against any political danger and any political situation that may arise."

She adds, "A soldier who is responsible of his actions and understands the meaning of the word democracy, also must understand the rights of the citizens."

He ought to be at all times protector of the citizens' human rights in any way possible. There is not a clean democracy if the rights of the people are not respected and it is the duty of the soldier to making sure that is happening."

She argues, "There is no reason for the state or its authorities to make the needs of the country more important than the rights of the citizens. In the name of national security and the fight against communism our former governments committed that mistake and chaos and violence were the results of that policy. The people of the nation is and will always be the foundation where the democracy is established, protecting their rights are the job of everybody in the government, including the Armed Forces."

Alexandra affirms: "There is no comparison between my country and United States regarding democracy and human rights. As many nations of the Western Hemisphere we are in the process of establishing a democracy and our current constitution is almost brand new. We realized that our democratic process is weak and fragile but we are trying to make it stronger. Sending people overseas, especially to America to learn more about democracy and human rights is one of the ways we are confronting our predicament and a good way to tighten our relationship with United States to learn more from that great democracy. We elect our civil authorities every four years and to make sure we have a clear political contest without doubts, we request the help of international organizations to be witness and guarantor of our process. We have not accomplished all our democratic goals and we still are in the process of mending some mistakes from the past. I am ashamed of the conduct of some of my peers who have mistreated detainees. Fortunately those actions have been treated accordingly and the officers responsible have been expelled from our police department. Our military power is not yet under the control of the civil authority and that process is in the making. Yes, we have a civil defense minister in charge of conducting military policies but he is struggling against the old ways. Yes, we do have problems but those problems will not be a reason to break down our young democracy."

She believes, "United States being the world power could be also the greatest violator of human rights but that is not the case. For more than two hundred years America has been an example for others democracies of the world. In time of economic crisis or natural disasters Americans have been the first nation to say present and to give up a friendly hand and to bring help. Currently they are fighting a war against international terrorism that should be a global war where all nations affected by this vicious activity should participate. To say that United States is inconsistent regarding human rights and democratic principles will be a negative statement. Their constitution is a great text book and great source of knowledge for young democracies such as my country."

Alexandra adds: "The study of ethics in WHINSEC has been a tremendous way of understanding and learning about the subject. Those classes will be helpful to understand more democracy principles and the respect for human rights. I am also getting ready to receive the instructor course that will be an important tool when going back to my country and have the opportunity to share my experience with my fellow police officers and countrymen. I will present a plan to my superiors to incorporate an ethics class in the curriculum of

the Police Academy. We have had some isolated incidents of police brutality that need to be addressed and the teaching of ethics will be a way of doing so. I am very excited about that plan and hope that my superiors will listen to my ideas. Also, it is important to mention that will be in the best interest of my nation to send civilians authorities and superior police officers with decision making power to WHINSEC or another similar institution that present ethics in their curriculum. I made that statement thinking that those people are the responsible to design and implement laws and will be very helpful for them to have the opportunity of learning ethics, its applications and its norms.”

She confessed, “My experience in WHINSEC has been an extraordinary as can be. The sharing of many anecdotes and stories with my fellow police officers from the continent and with soldiers made it unforgettable. Before I came here I have a basic idea of democracy and human rights, but being present in the classrooms and having participated in many debates and forums brought a new light and a better understanding of those topics. Also the unique experience of being present at democratic principles in action during our trips to City Halls and governmental offices make easier to understand and to value those subjects. Several classes have had an impact on me, the My Lai massacre and especially the classes on the American Army Values have impressed me and have helped to recognize the importance of the ideals of the American Soldier, his attributes, his greatness. No wonder the American Soldier is what he is, the Soldier of the American people and must of all respectful of human rights, the American Constitution and democratic principles. This has been so far a wonderful experience that I will always treasure the rest of my police career and my whole life.”

APPENDIX H

The Case of LTC Allen B. West

The following is an abstract of an Army Times article on LTC West story.

In October 4, 2003, almost after 20 years to the day he was commissioned as an officer, the Army relieved LTC West from his command for breaking the rules governing treatment of enemy prisoners of war (Cavallaro, 2003). LTC Allen B. West returned to United States from Iraq on December 17, punished for getting tough with an Iraqi detainee. During an interrogation, that took place on August 21st, when he found out the interrogation going nowhere, he directed the interrogators to tell the detainee that if he didn't cooperate, he would go there himself and kill him. When the prisoner did not respond to that threat, LTC West went to the detention facility with a few of his soldiers. According to Cavallaro (2003), LTC West sat down at the table in front of the detainee and threatened to kill him if he didn't talk. The detainee (an Iraqi policeman) continued refusing to respond to questioning, so LTC West took him outside and, after a short countdown, fired a shot in the air. When that didn't work, he had the detainee put his head into a box-like weapon-clearing container he then began another countdown, still nothing from the prisoner. LTC West shoved his pistol into the container, next to the prisoner's head and squeezed off a shot. Cavallaro (2003) states that the suspect, "shaken but unharmed, immediately gushed a stream of information, including names and the locations of weapons caches and what he knew of a planned attack in LTC West's Battalion (p. 10). According to

Cavallaro (2003), LTC West reported the incident to his superiors, prepared to accept the consequences of his actions.

LTC West believes that with his action he saved his soldier's lives. There have been no attacks on his unit since then. During his Article 15 hearing he was found guilty of violating three counts of aggravated assault and one count of communicating a threat. He was fined \$5,000 and was allowed to retire. According to Cavallaro (2003) during the hearing LTC West reflecting in his career, he was grateful for the respect and admiration he felt from his soldiers, and he expressed:

“The real punishment is when I was relieved from my command, when I had to pack my bags and say goodbye to my soldiers. The Army is two things, an institution and a living organism of men and women. We have the responsibility and an obligation as leaders to train and protect the living organism, but we also have the Army as an institution and you must have the order and discipline for that institution to carry on, and I have no problem with what has transpired” (p. 11)

According to Cavallaro (2003) that loyalty apparently went two ways. When LTC West boarded the helicopter that would carry him out of Iraq and to end his Army military career, soldiers with the unit he commanded, the 2nd Battalion of the 20th Field Artillery Regiment, stood at attention, some with tears in their eyes, and held their salute.

