

119TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 4455

To provide for reform of the Department of State with respect to security assistance.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 16, 2025

Ms. JACOBS (for herself and Mr. MOYLAN) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in addition to the Committee on Armed Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

---

## A BILL

To provide for reform of the Department of State with respect to security assistance.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “United States Security  
5 Assistance Effectiveness Act”.

6 **SECTION 2. ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM.**

7 (a) UNDER SECRETARY FOR ARMS CONTROL AND  
8 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY.—The duties of the Under

1 Secretary for Arms Control and International Security re-  
2 lating to security assistance shall include—

3 (1) within the Department and across United  
4 States diplomatic posts—

5 (A) providing strategic policy guidance on  
6 objectives, metrics, and priorities for security  
7 assistance; and

8 (B) ensuring strategic integration of budg-  
9 ets and planning for security assistance; and

10 (2) overseeing Department coordination with  
11 the Secretary of Defense and the heads of other rel-  
12 evant Federal departments and agencies on all mat-  
13 ters relating to security assistance, including by  
14 leading or delegating Secretary concurrence for all  
15 security assistance and security cooperation authori-  
16 ties under title 10, United States Code.

17 (b) OFFICE OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE.—

18 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary shall des-  
19 ignate an existing office or establish a new office to  
20 be the Office of Security Assistance, which—

21 (A) shall be located in the Office of the  
22 Under Secretary for Arms Control and Inter-  
23 national Security; and

1 (B) shall report to Office of the Under  
2 Secretary for Arms Control and International  
3 Security.

4 (2) COORDINATOR.—The head of the Office  
5 shall be the Coordinator for Security Assistance,  
6 who shall be an individual who is a member of the  
7 Senior Executive Service and of demonstrated com-  
8 petency in the fields of security assistance and inter-  
9 national diplomacy.

10 (3) DUTIES.—The duties of the Coordinator  
11 shall include within the Department and across  
12 United States diplomatic posts—

13 (A) guiding and supporting security assist-  
14 ance;

15 (B) maintaining the common database de-  
16 scribed in section 5;

17 (C) coordinating the assessment, moni-  
18 toring, and evaluation program established  
19 under section 6; and

20 (D) establishing the framework described  
21 in section 7.

22 (c) COORDINATION WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT.—

23 (1) DESIGNATION.—Not later than 1 year after  
24 the date of the enactment of this Act, and subject  
25 to paragraph (2), the head of each bureau of the

1 Department that is involved in directing or imple-  
2 menting security assistance shall designate an officer  
3 of such bureau to be responsible for coordinating the  
4 responsibilities of such bureau with respect to secu-  
5 rity assistance.

6 (2) NON-ELIGIBILITY.—An officer of a bureau  
7 of the Department shall not be eligible to be des-  
8 ignated pursuant to paragraph (1) if the officer is  
9 responsible for conducting human rights vetting pur-  
10 suant to 620M of the Foreign Assistance Act of  
11 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2378d).

12 (3) TRAINING.—Each individual designated  
13 pursuant to paragraph (1) shall successfully com-  
14 plete the training described in section 3.

15 (d) COORDINATION WITHIN UNITED STATES DIPLO-  
16 MATIC POSTS.—

17 (1) DESIGNATION.—Not later than 1 year after  
18 the date of the enactment of this Act, the chief of  
19 mission of the United States in a foreign country  
20 that receives security assistance shall designate a  
21 senior diplomatic officer at the embassy or highest  
22 ranking diplomatic post if no embassy exists in the  
23 foreign country to be responsible for coordinating se-  
24 curity assistance for the foreign country.

1           (2) DUTIES.—The senior diplomatic officer des-  
2           ignated pursuant to paragraph (1) shall be respon-  
3           sible for—

4                   (A) overseeing personnel and activities of  
5           Federal departments and agencies at the rel-  
6           evant embassy or diplomatic post with respect  
7           to the provision of security assistance for the  
8           country; and

9                   (B) ensuring implementation of section  
10          620M of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961  
11          (22 U.S.C. 2378d), section 362 of title 10,  
12          United States Code, and other relevant authori-  
13          ties relating to the end-use of United States-  
14          transferred defense articles with respect to the  
15          country.

16          (3) TRAINING.—Each individual designated  
17          pursuant to paragraph (1) shall successfully com-  
18          plete the training described in section 3.

19          (e) PLAN FOR COORDINATION.—

20                   (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
21          after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Sec-  
22          retary shall submit to the appropriate congressional  
23          committees a plan for the implementation of this  
24          section, including on the coordination within and

1 outside of the Department relating to security assist-  
2 ance programs.

3 (2) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The plan re-  
4 quired under paragraph (1) shall include the fol-  
5 lowing:

6 (A) A plan for how the Department will ef-  
7 fectively coordinate internally, with diplomatic  
8 posts, and with the Department of Defense with  
9 respect to security assistance programs.

10 (B) A description of the process by which  
11 the requirement for training described in sec-  
12 tion 3 will be fulfilled.

13 (C) The benefits, feasibility, and steps nec-  
14 essary to detail personnel—

15 (i) on a reimbursable basis from the  
16 relevant bureaus and offices of the Depart-  
17 ment to provide staff to the Office; and

18 (ii) from the Department of Defense  
19 and other relevant Federal departments  
20 and agencies to provide staff to the Office.

21 (D) A list of recommendations for any ad-  
22 ditional legislative measures necessary to im-  
23 prove the capacity and capabilities of the De-  
24 partment to plan and implement security assist-  
25 ance programs and activities.

1           (3) FORM.—The plan required under paragraph  
2           (1) shall be submitted in unclassified form, but may  
3           include a classified annex if necessary.

4           (4) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
5           TEES DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term “ap-  
6           propriate congressional committees” means the  
7           Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Rep-  
8           resentatives and the Committee on Foreign Rela-  
9           tions of the Senate.

10 **SEC. 3. WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT.**

11           (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after the  
12           date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall es-  
13           tablish curriculum at the Department’s Foreign Service  
14           Institute to provide employees of the Department with  
15           specialized training with respect to security assistance.

16           (b) MATTERS TO BE INCLUDED.—The training re-  
17           quired by subsection (a) should be aligned with the Secu-  
18           rity Cooperation Workforce Development Program and de-  
19           veloped in coordination with the Defense Security Co-  
20           operation Agency, including through an agreement under  
21           section 1535(a) of title 31, United States Code (commonly  
22           referred to as the “Economy Act”), or any other appro-  
23           priate agency-specific authority. The training shall include  
24           the following:

1           (1) Awareness of the full range of agencies, of-  
2           fices, personnel, statutory authorities, funds, and  
3           programs involved in security assistance and trans-  
4           fers and the respective decision-making timelines.

5           (2) Familiarity with relevant military and police  
6           security force systems and structures and institu-  
7           tions at the time such training is occurring.

8           (3) Familiarity with security assistance reform,  
9           research regarding options for improvement, and  
10          United States interagency and external resources  
11          and experts.

12          (4) Familiarity with planning, implementation,  
13          and monitoring and evaluation for programmatic ac-  
14          tivities.

15          (5) Familiarity with the requirements to coordi-  
16          nate and consult with the Department of Defense on  
17          certain security cooperation programs, to include  
18          any programs that require Secretary concurrence or  
19          joint formulation.

20          (6) Familiarity with implementation of—

21                (A) section 620M of the Foreign Assist-  
22                ance Act of 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2378d) and sec-  
23                tion 362 of title 10, United States Code;

1 (B) arms transfer requirements under the  
2 Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et  
3 seq.);

4 (C) end-use monitoring and other relevant  
5 authorities pertaining to the end-use of United  
6 States-transferred defense articles; and

7 (D) best practices related to human rights  
8 and civilian protection.

9 (7) Awareness of common risks to effectiveness  
10 of security assistance, including corruption, political  
11 instability, and challenges relating to absorptive ca-  
12 pacity, partner commitment, and transparency.

13 **SEC. 4. INTERAGENCY COORDINATION OF SECURITY AS-**  
14 **SISTANCE, TRANSFERS, AND SECURITY CO-**  
15 **OPERATION.**

16 (a) COMPTROLLER GENERAL REPORT.—Not later  
17 than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
18 the Comptroller General of the United States shall submit  
19 to the appropriate congressional committees a report that  
20 assesses the effectiveness of existing mechanisms that re-  
21 quire the concurrence and coordination of the Secretary  
22 of State with respect to security assistance and security  
23 cooperation programs, and other applicable provisions of  
24 law that provide for coordination between security assist-  
25 ance programs, projects, and activities of the Department

1 and security cooperation programs, projects, and activities  
2 of the Department of Defense that includes the following:

3 (1) An identification of relevant security assist-  
4 ance and security cooperation programs, authorities,  
5 and resources that require Secretary of State coordi-  
6 nation or concurrence, and their mandated coordina-  
7 tion and concurrence mechanisms and processes be-  
8 tween the Secretary and Secretary of Defense, in-  
9 cluding the definitions and guidance for such mecha-  
10 nisms and processes to include—

11 (A) joint coordination;

12 (B) Chief of Mission and Secretary concur-  
13 rence; and

14 (C) joint formulation.

15 (2) An assessment of such processes and mech-  
16 anisms in practice.

17 (3) An identification of measures to improve  
18 such processes and mechanisms and the coordination  
19 between Department bureaus and offices involved in  
20 planning, executing, or overseeing security assistance  
21 programs and activities and the United States com-  
22 batant command or commands relevant to such bu-  
23 reaus and offices.

24 (b) JOINT PROCESS FOR SECTION 333 PROJECTS.—

25 Consistent with recommendations made by the Comp-

1 troller General of the United States pursuant to the report  
2 of the Government Accountability Office identified as the  
3 23–105842 report, the Secretary, in coordination with the  
4 Secretary of Defense, shall establish a process that speci-  
5 fies how and when the Department should be involved in  
6 the planning of projects pursuant to section 333 of title  
7 10, United States Code, including timelines for the De-  
8 partment’s review of concurrence packages.

9 **SEC. 5. ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMON DATABASE OF SE-**  
10 **CURITY ASSISTANCE AND SECURITY CO-**  
11 **OPERATION PROGRAMS.**

12 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 2 years after the  
13 date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary, in coordi-  
14 nation with the Secretary of Defense, the Director of the  
15 Defense Security Cooperation Agency, and the heads of  
16 other appropriate Federal departments and agencies, shall  
17 maintain a common database of information of all security  
18 assistance and security cooperation programs and activi-  
19 ties, funding, and transfers by recipient country.

20 (b) PLAN.—

21 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after  
22 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary,  
23 in coordination with the Secretary of Defense, Direc-  
24 tor of the Defense Security Cooperation Agency and  
25 the heads of other appropriate Federal departments

1 and agencies, shall submit to the appropriate con-  
2 gressional committees a report that contains a plan  
3 to meet the requirements of subsection (a).

4 (2) ELEMENTS.—The plan required by this  
5 subsection shall include each of the following ele-  
6 ments:

7 (A) A plan to ensure a standardized meth-  
8 od of capturing country-level data of security  
9 assistance and security cooperation programs  
10 and activities administered by the Department  
11 and the Department of Defense since fiscal year  
12 2017, to include—

13 (i) the identification of authorities and  
14 costs, by fiscal year, of each such program  
15 or activity;

16 (ii) the primary recipients by unit of  
17 each such program or activity within the  
18 relevant foreign partner government or or-  
19 ganization;

20 (iii) the purpose of each such program  
21 or activity, to include how each program  
22 advances United States regional and coun-  
23 try strategies and objectives and advances  
24 mutually beneficial security goals, includ-  
25 ing addressing shared threats;

1 (iv) narrative descriptions of all ca-  
2 pacity building activities and any lethal as-  
3 sistance, including the training, equipment,  
4 and sustainment plan associated with each  
5 such program or activity; and

6 (v) assessments of the recipient capa-  
7 bilities, absorptive capacity, and political  
8 will to achieve program or activity objec-  
9 tives.

10 (B) A description of potential logistical  
11 and methodological challenges to implementa-  
12 tion, including the necessary resources, staffing,  
13 and authorities to address such challenges and  
14 complete the requirements of subsection (a).

15 (C) A plan to update, as needed, existing  
16 systems that assess, monitor, and evaluate the  
17 execution of security assistance and security co-  
18 operation programs and activities, on a country-  
19 by-country basis, that are carried out by the  
20 Department and the Department of Defense.

21 (D) Options to enable visibility for the ap-  
22 propriate congressional committees of all coun-  
23 try-level data required by subparagraph (A).

24 (E) Options to promote increased trans-  
25 parency and visibility of security assistance and

1 security cooperation programs and activities for  
2 researchers engaged in research and develop-  
3 ment projects on security cooperation pursuant  
4 to section 384(g)(3) of title 10, United States  
5 Code, as well as evaluators contractors pursu-  
6 ant to section 383 of such title that promote se-  
7 curity cooperation lessons learned.

8 (3) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
9 TEES DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term “ap-  
10 propriate congressional committees” means—

11 (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the  
12 Committee on Armed Services, and the Com-  
13 mittee on Appropriations of the House of Rep-  
14 resentatives; and

15 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations,  
16 the Committee on Armed Services, and the  
17 Committee on Appropriations of the Senate.

18 **SEC. 6. ASSESSMENT, MONITORING, AND EVALUATION.**

19 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 18 months after  
20 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Coordinator  
21 shall develop and maintain an assessment, monitoring,  
22 and evaluation program to be conducted for any country  
23 receiving significant security assistance.

24 (b) ELEMENTS.—The program described in para-  
25 graph (1) shall include each of the following elements:

1           (1) Baseline assessments that include the fol-  
2       lowing factors:

3           (A) The quality of security sector govern-  
4       ance of such country, based on the measure-  
5       ments of the following, and the manner in  
6       which the country's performance on such meas-  
7       urements are likely to be influenced by the pro-  
8       vision of security assistance:

9           (i) The level of state corruption, as  
10       defined under the Combating Global Cor-  
11       ruption Act (22 U.S.C. 10501), in the  
12       country's security sector.

13          (ii) The level of civilian oversight of  
14       the security forces.

15          (iii) The level of the security forces'—  
16               (I) involvement in politics;  
17               (II) commercial holdings; and  
18               (III) merit-based promotions.

19          (iv) The record of violations of inter-  
20       national human rights law, international  
21       humanitarian law, and civilian harm by se-  
22       curity force actors or their affiliates and  
23       subsequent meaningful investigations and  
24       accountability processes.

1 (v) Other factors relevant to assessing  
2 the level of security sector governance.

3 (B) The commitment and political will of  
4 the recipient to use such assistance in a manner  
5 that achieves mutual objectives.

6 (C) Recipient country threat perceptions  
7 and the manner in which such perceptions may  
8 inform the use of security assistance.

9 (D) The recipient's capacity to absorb the  
10 security assistance given and to achieve the ob-  
11 jectives of such assistance.

12 (E) Country- or region-specific opportuni-  
13 ties and risks that could enhance or impair the  
14 outcomes associated with providing security as-  
15 sistance.

16 (2) Identification of the short- and long-term  
17 desired outcomes or goals of the bilateral security  
18 partnership with the country and whether such as-  
19 sistance is achieving those outcomes or goals.

20 (3) Monitoring implementation of security as-  
21 sistance programs, projects, and activities to meas-  
22 ure progress toward achieving specific targets,  
23 metrics, or indicators.

1           (4) Identification of lessons learned in carrying  
2           out security assistance and recommendations for im-  
3           proving future assistance.

4           (c) OVERSIGHT AND FRAMEWORK.—The Coordinator  
5           shall guide and support, in coordination with relevant re-  
6           gional and functional bureaus, the assessment and moni-  
7           toring described in subsection (a) and shall create a com-  
8           mon evaluation framework.

9           (d) AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Funds available to  
10          the Political-Military Affairs Bureau, and other funds  
11          available to the Department of State for security assist-  
12          ance programs and activities of the Department of State,  
13          may be used to carry out the program required by this  
14          section.

15   **SEC. 7. SECURITY ASSISTANCE FRAMEWORK AND PLAN-**  
16                           **NING.**

17          (a) FRAMEWORK FOR SECURITY ASSISTANCE.—Not  
18          later than 18 months after the date of the enactment of  
19          this Act, the Coordinator shall create and submit to the  
20          Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representa-  
21          tives and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Sen-  
22          ate a framework to be used by relevant bureaus and diplo-  
23          matic posts to guide regional and country-specific plan-  
24          ning, such as joint regional strategies or integrated coun-

1 try strategies or their equivalents, with respect to security  
2 assistance based on the following:

3 (1) Identification and prioritization of overall  
4 goals and objectives for security assistance, in ac-  
5 cordance with the relevant National Security Strat-  
6 egy.

7 (2) Criteria for—

8 (A) identifying opportunities and risks cre-  
9 ated by the provision of security assistance; and

10 (B) tailoring and sequencing such assist-  
11 ance accordingly.

12 (3) Guidance for—

13 (A) incorporating the assessment, moni-  
14 toring, and evaluation program described in  
15 section 6 into the strategic planning cycle pur-  
16 suant to GPRA Modernization Act of 2010  
17 (Public Law 111–352), and the amendments  
18 made by that Act, and any other relevant law;  
19 and

20 (B) increasing coordination, as appro-  
21 priate, with other major international donors to  
22 maximize resources and unity of efforts.

23 (4) Metrics for assessing the effectiveness of se-  
24 curity assistance in—

1 (A) increasing the operational access and  
2 influence of the United States when there is a  
3 demonstrated, strategic need for such access  
4 and influence;

5 (B) improving partner capacity and com-  
6 mitment to countering shared threats and in-  
7 creased burden sharing, including in ways that  
8 enable reallocation of United States military de-  
9 ployments to other high priority missions; and

10 (C) contributing to the maintenance of ex-  
11 isting peace treaties between recipients of as-  
12 sistance.

13 (5) A process to ensure that transfers regulated  
14 by the Department that are outside the scope of se-  
15 curity assistance, such as certain direct commercial  
16 sales, are factored into—

17 (A) the implementation of the assessment,  
18 monitoring, and evaluation program described  
19 in subsection (a); and

20 (B) the planning process described in sub-  
21 section (c).

22 (b) SECURITY ASSISTANCE PLANNING.—

23 (1) COUNTRY PRIORITIZATION.—Not later than  
24 2 years after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
25 and annually thereafter, the Coordinator shall de-

1       velop and submit in accordance with subsection (c)  
2       a list, including justifications, of priority recipient  
3       countries to receive security assistance, on the basis  
4       of—

5               (A) policy objectives determined by the  
6       Secretary; and

7               (B) the political conditions present in such  
8       recipient countries to achieve such policy objec-  
9       tives.

10       (2) INCLUSION IN REGIONAL AND COUNTRY  
11       STRATEGIES.—Any comprehensive regional strategy,  
12       such as a joint regional strategy or its equivalent,  
13       and any country strategy, such as an integrated  
14       country strategy or its equivalent, that is produced  
15       by the Department of State on or after the date that  
16       is 2 years after the date of the enactment of this  
17       Act, and each successor strategy to such strategy,  
18       shall integrate security assistance planning in a  
19       manner that incorporates the elements of the frame-  
20       work created pursuant to subsection (a) and include  
21       an annex relating to security assistance, which shall  
22       include—

23               (A) the assessment, monitoring, and eval-  
24       uation baseline assessments described in section  
25       6;

1 (B) requests to allocate security assistance  
2 with respect to the area covered by the strategy;  
3 and

4 (C) a description of the manner in which  
5 such resources will be used.

6 (3) COORDINATION OF RESOURCES.—In devel-  
7 oping annexes relating to security assistance for in-  
8 clusion in comprehensive regional strategies or coun-  
9 try strategies in accordance with paragraph (2), the  
10 relevant bureau, office, or diplomatic post shall co-  
11 ordinate with—

12 (A) the Office;

13 (B) the Office of Foreign Assistance Re-  
14 sources, or an equivalent entity in the Depart-  
15 ment, regarding the allocation of resources in  
16 line with priorities of the Department of State  
17 for security assistance; and

18 (C) the Department of Defense and other  
19 relevant Federal departments and agencies that  
20 provide security assistance, security coopera-  
21 tion, or other forms of foreign assistance.

22 (c) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—Beginning 3 years  
23 after the date of the enactment of this Act and annually  
24 thereafter, the Secretary shall include with any materials  
25 submitted in support of the budget for that fiscal year that

1 is submitted to Congress by the President under section  
2 1105 of title 31, United States Code, an unclassified re-  
3 port, that may include a classified annex, with the fol-  
4 lowing:

5 (1) A list of priority security assistance recipi-  
6 ents, along with descriptions of the policy objectives  
7 that the Secretary seeks to achieve by providing  
8 such assistance to such recipients, developed pursu-  
9 ant to subsection (b)(1).

10 (2) A description of the results of the evalua-  
11 tions conducted pursuant to section 6(c).

12 (3) A description of the manner in which the  
13 Department will allocate, monitor, and evaluate all  
14 security assistance pursuant to the program de-  
15 scribed in section 7 and the planning process de-  
16 scribed in subsection (b).

17 **SEC. 8. DEFINITIONS.**

18 In this Act—

19 (1) except as otherwise provided, the term “ap-  
20 propriate congressional committees” means—

21 (A) the Committee on Foreign Affairs and  
22 the Committee on Armed Services of the House  
23 of Representatives; and

1 (B) the Committee on Foreign Relations  
2 and the Committee on Armed Services of the  
3 Senate;

4 (2) the term “Coordinator” means the Coordi-  
5 nator for Security Assistance established under sec-  
6 tion 2(b)(2);

7 (3) the term “Department” means the Depart-  
8 ment of State;

9 (4) except as otherwise provided, the term “Of-  
10 fice” means the Office of Security Assistance des-  
11 ignated under section 2(b);

12 (5) except as otherwise provided, the term  
13 “Secretary” means the Secretary of State; and

14 (6) the term “security assistance” means assist-  
15 ance provided under the Foreign Assistance Act of  
16 1961 (22 U.S.C. 2151 et seq.), the Arms Export  
17 Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq.) (other than  
18 Foreign Military Sales or direct commercial sales),  
19 or any other provision of law.

○