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INTERNATIONAL PEACE OPERATIONS ASSOCIATION

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QUICK FACTS

- In the past decade, more than 200 UN civilian staff have been killed, while an additional 300 UN workers (civilian staff and peacekeepers) have been taken hostage.†
- Between 1985 and 1998, one-third of all deaths among humanitarian workers occur within the first 90 days of service.‡

†Source: The Economist

‡Source: British Medical Journal

LESSONS FROM IRAQ: RETHINKING THE FUTURE OF CONTRACTOR SUPPORT

By James Jay Carafano
Heritage Foundation
Washington DC, USA

The Pentagon is famous for trying to learn the lessons of the last war so that it can reorganize and prepare to fight the next battle better. Operations in Iraq are no exception. Before the first American troops kicked-up their feet in Saddam's palaces, the military rushed to thoroughly review how its troops and tanks had performed in combat.

In contrast, the military maintains a persistent tradition of forgetting when it comes to the conduct of post-conflict operations. The after

action report from the U.S. occupation of the Rhineland after World War I said it best. "Despite the precedents of [U.S. military occupation] ... in Mexico, California, the Southern States, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Panama, China, the Philippines, and elsewhere," the report lamented, "the lesson seemingly has not been learned."

That's a tradition that needs to be broken. There are important lessons to be learned from the occupation of Iraq. One of the

most vital is understanding the private sector's potential to address critical security needs. Learning these lessons will require bold rethinking by the Defense Department.

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A security contractor stands guard beside a road in northern Iraq.

PRIVATE MILITARY FIRMS IN AFRICA: ROGUE OR REGULATED?

By Angela McIntyre
Institute for Security Studies
Pretoria, South Africa

In a 2003 article, Peter Singer described a fictional scenario in which a private military firm (PMF), in response to a genocide unfolding in the shadow of international inertia, steps forward with an offer to secure safe havens for refugees. Fiction moved a step closer to reality recently when

the United States pledged more than \$200 million (US) in the form of private contracts in support of the African Union Mission in Sudan.

Although the nature of the support is logistical and may therefore seem innocuous, it nonetheless enables scarce military resources to be concentrated where they are most needed. True to the new mantra of north-south peacekeep-

ing collaboration, it also spares the donor country the risk of putting its soldiers' lives at risk in a conflict that is, for the moment, of marginal interest to its foreign policy goals.

ECOMOG (Economic Community of West Africa Monitoring Group) forces and currently UNMIL (Liberia), UNAMSIL (Sierra Leone) and MONUC (the Demo-

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IPOA Member Profile



Company: ICI of Oregon

Year Founded: 1993

Location: Salem, Oregon

Key Services: Rotary & Fixed Wing Aviation

Background: International Charter Incorporated of Oregon is a unique and comprehensive aviation services company that combines the skills and experience of former Special Forces operators with the cost effectiveness and capabilities of Russian equipment and personnel. For their operations in support of U.S. embassies and peacekeeping in West Africa, ICI won the 1998 "Small Contractor of the Year Award." More recently, ICI helicopters ferried in Special Operations and Marine security units to fortify the U.S. Embassy in Monrovia, Liberia shortly before the intervention in 2003, and provided the heavy air lift to support West African peacekeepers in Côte d'Ivoire in 2004. With a remarkable record of safety, ICI has proven itself time and time again with complex air support operations in extremely dangerous environments. Currently, the company is expanding its operations beyond Africa and has been considering contracts in Iraq and Afghanistan with both the private sector and government services.

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MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

Time and again IPOA members tell me of their desire for coherent industry regulation and government guidelines. Unfortunately, what we have seen thus far are awkward legislative efforts in a number of countries that address sensationalized perceptions rather than real issues. In most cases the industry's perspective has largely been ignored while legislators are monopolized by the partisan perceptions of industry critics – to the tragic detriment of effective peace operations.

Legislation *can* be effective and constructive, providing essential controls, guidelines and oversight while allowing companies the critical flexibility and initiative to quickly and effectively respond to the most significant aspects of complex international emergencies.

From an industry perspective good regulation is good business. Clients – be they governments, NGOs or other companies – should be comfortable that peace and stability companies are properly regulated even when they operate in environments lacking in operating legal systems and law enforcement. Standardized international regulations and governmental guidelines enhance competition, reduce insurance rates, reduce contractual and operational costs, and ultimately ensure better services from the industry as a whole.

In our experience, most legislative concerns are based on exaggerated fears and false perceptions of industry intransigence. Many legislators would be surprised to learn of the industry's enthusiasm for rational regulation and to find that individual company standards are generally quite high. Quality stan-

dards are in fact common sense for good business practices.

Companies desire to operate professionally since their behavior enhances their ability to renew and gain future contracts. At the same time, clients have a right to demand firms to live up to higher standards - especially in peace and stability operations where so many lives are dependent on superior performance.

It is significant that IPOA members publicly support IPOA's code of conduct and openly commit to higher standards than non-member companies doing peace and stability operations. This does not mean that IPOA companies are the only high-end companies doing peace and stability operations, but it does indicate that our members have superior vision of the private sector's potential to enhance peace and stability operations. IPOA members have been proactive in pushing for industry standards and have been ardent supporters of standardized international regulations and guidelines.

2004 was a year of rapid industry maturation, and we see a greater recognition of the value of our industry group as indicated by our growing membership. The mounting international recognition of the immense capabilities that the private sector brings to enhance peace and stability operations means the market is only going to grow in 2005 and into the future.

And for those of us interested in making international peace operations succeed, that can only be a good thing. ■

-Doug Brooks, IPOA President

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECURITY IN HUMANITARIAN AID

By Terrance Wesbrock
Church World Service Security

Humanitarian aid organizations and NGOs have historically operated from the strategic stance of “acceptance.” According to this stance, aid organizations are neutral and impartial parties to a conflict. They insist conflicting parties should accept them and leave them to help the people who are suffering from the problems brought on by militants, governments, and situational disasters.

The primary and best known representative of this strategic philosophy is the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) who has worked over the past century in the world’s conflict zones without much interference.

However, during the 1990’s, the protection offered by an “acceptance” strategy began to dissipate. Humanitarian organizations around the globe found themselves suffering more and more losses at the hands of belligerents.

Furthermore, the full extent of the situation remained unknown due to poor or non-existent reporting requirements of the NGOs and the lack of a central clearing house for statistical information on humanitarian security incidents.

In the latter half of the last decade, the U.S. Government and NGOs recognized the negative security trend and initiated a security training program through InterAction, a liaison organization between the two. The InterAction training program, predominantly developed by humanitarians

from various organizations, brought to light two other security strategies for consideration, the strategies of “protection” and “deterrence.”

“Protection” focuses on the education of staff and the implementation of security protocols and procedures. “Deterrence,” on the other hand, focuses on the use of armed personnel for protection, a strategy most NGOs abhor.

In general, the training programs were well received. Yet, the mindset of most humanitarian organizations was one that

targets. But the true recognition that initiated change among the NGOs in regard to security began during the deployment of aid workers in Afghanistan and Iraq.

These two theaters of operation thrust the NGOs into a new working environment, an environment of on-going conflict, a situation that was new for most in the NGO community. It is in these two theaters that the NGO community specifically became targets of opportunity for the extremists, forcing most to take a good hard look at security and scramble for implementation.

A few organizations, however, recognized the need for security even back in the late 1990’s, when InterAction first hosted its training program. Church World Service, World Vision and Red R are three such organizations that not only recognized this need, but developed training programs to share with the NGO community. All three programs are based on the InterAction/USAID recommended practices, and all three approach security from the NGO perspective. Yet, each training program takes a slightly different approach to security strategy.

The Church World Service Security Program, for instance, places an emphasis on the strategy of “protection,” while still holding “acceptance” near and dear to its heart. The training program stresses the need for proper protocols, specific security measures, and individual awareness and compliance with the protocols. In addition, the program is designed for both large international organizations and smaller indigenous organizations and addresses the needs of senior management all the way down to field staff.

Programs such as this would have been unheard of fifteen years ago, but they have gradually been gaining acceptance.



Emergency medical workers help several civilians in Sudan, where the conflict in the Darfur region has forced several aid organizations to pull out.

Photograph courtesy of Nathan Jones

almost excluded the thought of security (probably because of its implied association with terms like “military” or “police,” groups generally seen by many humanitarian organizations as those who created the problem they have come to solve).

The true turn-around came in the aftermath of September 11th and with the onset of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. September 11th was truly a wake up call to the fact that civilians could be seen as

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PMF'S IN AFRICA: ROGUE OR REGULATED?

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cratic Republic of the Congo) are all supported by private firms. A decade ago, the U.S. Department of Defence was already backing up American military peacekeeping interventions (a time when the U.S. still sent troops on African peace missions) in Somalia and Rwanda.

There has also been a great deal of involvement of the private sector in protecting industries in conflict areas, as well as in supporting governments in the training, equipping and restructuring of armed forces, intelligence gathering, and many other tasks. Private Military Firms are as pervasive in Africa as security problems themselves. According to the watchdog organization Public Integrity, there are few African states that have not, at some time or another, engaged the services of a Private Military Firm in some capacity. The lack of state legislation and/or regional agreements aimed at governing PMFs is not surprising and even predictable, given that the activities of PMFs, in keeping with the general opacity of the defence sector worldwide, have come to light only in exceptional cases.

Public awareness and policy responses have been shaped by a few remarkable events: the involvement of the now-defunct South African PMF Executive Outcomes (EO) in supporting the Angolan government in training its armed forces and fighting the UNITA insurgents in the

brutality of an onslaught of the RUF as a result of the company's intervention. Yet allegations of payment-in-kind in the form of diamond mining concessions and the company's ties with oil industry interests have raised concerns about the accountability of PMFs. But the unusual example of EO is bound to polarize opinions. There are few, if any, PMFs that have had the combination of corporate structure, effectiveness and mandates of Executive Outcomes and thus the more mundane players in the sector tend to go unnoticed. Furthermore, the transmutations and permutations of companies, some of which have remained in place before, during and after conflicts and adapted their services accordingly, defy static typologies.

The reactive approach to the private military sector elicited by EO's work is unlikely to address the complexity of issues that surrounds the use of PMFs. In 1998, the South African Government passed the Regulation of Foreign Military Assistance Act (FMAA), largely in response to the activities of EO in Sierra Leone, which sought to restrict the involvement of South African

"Many PMFs are anxious to see the development of rational regulatory frameworks and are willing to submit to the monitoring of their activities."

early 1990's and in leading an assault in Sierra Leone that prevented the rebel Revolutionary United Front (RUF) from completely overrunning the Sierra Leonean capital of Freetown in the latter part of the decade.

Thousands of people were spared the

Continued on next page

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PMF'S IN AFRICA: ROGUE OR REGULATED?

citizens in conflicts abroad and to control the activities of companies operating on South African soil.

Critics of the FMAA point out that it offers no distinction between legitimate private military activity and mercenarism. One result of this may be that potential recruits to the industry prefer to circumvent the requirement of seeking permission from the National Conventional Arms Control Committee rather than running the risk of becoming enmeshed in a process that appears to lack clarity, and for some, is felt to penalize a sector of the population, namely former SADF soldiers demobilized during the post-Apartheid transformation, whose military backgrounds and skills are in demand elsewhere, if not in their home country.

Given the many gaps in state security potentially filled by PMFs, over-regulation could have the adverse results of reducing already-minimal state transparency regarding the defence sector and driving private actors underground. The risk of the emergence of mercenary groups in this scenario could increase.

While the Organization of African Unity produced in 1977 the Convention for the Elimination of Mercenarism, which is couched in the language of inter-state conflict and independence struggles, little has been done in the way of developing regulatory frameworks for the private military industry that could effectively legitimize the industry and prevent PMFs from going rogue.

Many PMFs are anxious to see the development of rational regulatory frameworks and are willing to submit to the monitoring of their activities. The development of benchmarks for good (and ethical) busi-

ness practice opens the doors to new contract opportunities and to the civil oversight of the industry.

In short, regulation of the private military sector in Africa has become an issue of governance, wherein the activities of firms can only be legitimized by their states of origin and those states, regional bodies, or, in the case of the United Na-

tions, international authorities, that employ their services.

The need for research and consultative processes supporting national and regional authorities toward legislation is a pressing one, and should be given priority by international agencies concerned with democratic oversight of the defence sector in Africa. ■

Journal of Stability and Reconstruction Studies

The Journal of Stability and Reconstruction Studies is a peer-reviewed, inter-disciplinary journal dedicated to examining and promoting effective post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction policies, strategies, operational doctrines, and best practices in the field.

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The Journal invites contributions from all constituencies interested in peace, stability and reconstruction efforts, including academic, military, corporate, humanitarian, governmental, and non-governmental agencies and organizations.

For more information, please contact Professor Paul Forage
at (561) 297-2889 or ForageP@aol.com



Join IPOA Today

The International Peace Operations Association is the world's only advocacy organization for private sector service companies engaged in international peace and stability operations.

IPOA works to institute industry-wide standards and codes of conduct, maintain sound professional and military practices, educate the public and policy-makers on the industry's activities and potential, and ensure the humanitarian use of private peacekeeping services for the benefit of international peace and human security.

For information on membership, please contact Garrett Mason, Director of Operations at GMason@IPOAonline.org or visit us online at www.IPOAonline.org.

LESSONS FROM IRAQ: RETHINKING THE FUTURE OF CONTRACTOR SUPPORT

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Nation-building is a task for which military forces are neither well-suited nor appropriate. In addition, prolonged occupation ties up valuable military manpower that might be needed elsewhere. Yet, in any post-conflict operation, the United States will have moral and legal obligations to restore order, provide a safe and secure environment for the population, ensure people are being fed, and prevent the spread of infectious disease. During World War II, they called it, appropriately, “the disease and unrest formula.”

Implementing the formula is never easy, and predicting the requirements for implementation is often the greatest challenge. Iraq has proven a case in point. That’s why private sector efforts are so important. They can supply the means to rapidly expand the military’s capacity, provide unanticipated services, and assist in reconstruction. Most importantly, contract support can free-up military forces to focus on their core missions and speed the transition to normalcy.

Among the many tasks that the private sector can perform, security assistance is the most essential. Establishing security is a precondition for implementing “the disease and unrest formula.” In particular, establishing effective domestic security forces must be the highest priority.

Private sector firms have a demonstrated capacity to provide essential services including logistical support, training, equipping, and mentoring, as well as augmenting indigenous police and military units. In particular, private sector assets can assist in providing an important bridging capability during the period when American military forces withdraw and domestic forces take over.

Marrying the private sector’s capacity to innovate and rapidly respond to changing demands and the government’s need to be responsible and accountable for the conduct of operations is no easy task. Improving on Iraq will require the Pentagon to think differently about how to best integrate the private sector into public wars. Changing the status quo, however, will mean learning the war’s lessons.

Lesson #1: Update Doctrine to Embrace the Private Sector.

The American military has an innate prejudice against contracting security operations. This is understandable since the modern state was built on transforming military activities from a private enterprise to a public responsibility. Civil supremacy and control of the military are the hallmarks of 20th century Western democracy.

But the 21st century is a different place. The private sector of the 21st century has the means to compete with the military. The Pentagon has to become more comfortable with the idea that companies can provide security services without threatening democratic institutions. The

doctrine of the Armed Forces has to acknowledge the importance of getting post-conflict activities right. This means getting the military to make companies part of the plan, rather than an afterthought.

Lesson #2: Improve Congressional and Public Confidence in Contracting.

The Pentagon won’t be able to exploit the capacity of the private sector if doubts persist about the efficacy and legitimacy of contractor support. In any private sector activity, people understand the marketplace and make smart decisions when there is transparency. Security services are no different. Companies providing contractor support must help build trust and confidence in their services. They must establish best practices and professional standards—measures by which their actions should be judged.

Lesson #3: Expand the Contractual Capabilities of the Military.

Contracting in Iraq was on a scale and complexity never imagined by Pentagon

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LESSONS FROM IRAQ

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planners. Many of the most perplexing challenges could have been solved by simply having the capacity to manage the contracts being awarded. The military needs to build into its force structure the means to rapidly expand its ability to oversee private sector support. This might be done through building additional force structure in the National Guard or a reserve civilian contracting corps.

Learning these lessons won't be easy. They require thinking very differently about how to fight wars and win the peace. They are, however, lessons that have to be learned if the Pentagon truly wishes to leverage the advantages of the private sector. ■

SECURITY IN HUMANITARIAN AID

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The Church World Service Security Program, for example, has trained over 2,500 participants in the basic security program over the past six years. In addition, they have also trained over 100 participants in the drivers program which teaches the skills drivers need to safely navigate in insecure environments, such as those in Afghanistan and Iraq.

Despite the advances that have been made in this arena, the NGO community has "a long row to hoe" when it comes to security, but it is changing. There are new things on the horizon that should make a significant difference in the way NGOs operate.

For example, InterAction (in cooperation with its members) is in the process of developing a set of Minimum Operating

Security Standards, or MOSS, that should set the stage for future security operations within the NGO community. The MOSS should be a good "shot in the arm" for NGO security.

Another plan, now in the implementation stage, is the incident reporting program that promises to provide some insight into the problems, trends, and patterns of NGO-involved security incidents.

These new program initiatives along with the growing acceptance of training courses are certainly indicative of the security problems which NGOs now face. But whether they choose to adopt a strategy of "acceptance," "protection," "deterrence," or a combination of these, the question of which security philosophy to embrace will be an issue with which NGOs will continue to struggle. ■

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UPCOMING EVENTS

IPOA Annual Dinner Jan 27, 2005 - Washington DC, USA

IPOA will host its annual reception and dinner on Thursday, January 27th from 6:30 to 10:00 pm. The dinner speaker for the evening will be Feisal Istrabadi, the current Deputy Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations and one of Iraq's most important constitutional thinkers.

Special thanks to Main Street Supply & Logistics and PAE for their generous event support.

For more information and to RSVP, please contact Garrett Mason:

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"Contractors on the Battlefield: Learning from the Experience in Iraq" Jan 28, 2005 - Washington DC, USA

George Washington University, in conjunction with IPOA, will host this one-day conference on current issues related to the use of private contractors in U.S. military and stability operations.

Panel discussions will include: Contract Management, Oversight, and Cost; Industry Structure and the Proper Role of Contractors; and Legal Issues and Liabilities.

For more information and to RSVP, please contact Laura Barker:

Email: barkerli@gwu.edu

"Private Military Companies and Global Civil Society" July 14-16, 2005 - KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

This interdisciplinary conference will examine the ethics, theory, and practice of using private companies to support military operations in today's globalized world.

All enquiries should be forwarded to Deane-Peter Baker:

E-mail: BakerDP@ukzn.ac.za
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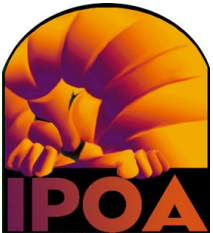
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If you would like to receive a hardcopy of this publication, please contact us at IPOA@IPOAonline.org or +1 202-464-0721. If you are interested in submitting an article or advertisement for an upcoming newsletter, please email our editor at GMason@IPOAonline.org.

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