

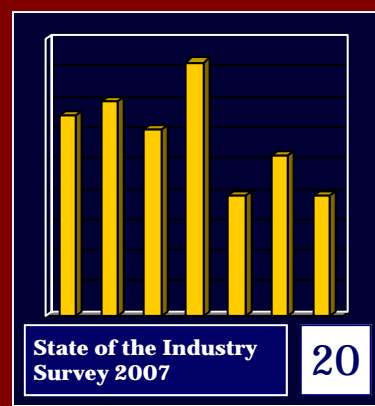
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Stress Disorder

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Responding to Natural Disasters



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THE PUBLICATION OF THE
INTERNATIONAL PEACE OPERATIONS ASSOCIATION

Founded in 2004 as the IPOA Quarterly
Volume 3, Number 4
January-February 2008
ISSN 1933-8189

Publisher..... Douglas Brooks
Editor-in-Chief J. J. Messner
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PRINT EDITION SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE
An annual subscription includes six issues.
United States US\$30.00
Worldwide US\$35.00
Please visit www.peaceops.com or contact Derek Wright at dwright@ipoaonline.org to order.

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FRONT COVER PHOTOGRAPH CREDITS
Cover Photo Chad Purser
PTSD Photo Stock Image
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DOUG BROOKS



Spreading the Word

Publicizing the Industry's Ethical Commitment

I GIVE presentations almost weekly to conferences and forums on IPOA and the peace and stability operations industry – to government bodies, international organizations, militaries and NGOs. I highlight the role of the industry in supporting ethical private sector operations and I stress the value of the leadership of the private sector to ensure that companies operate to the highest professional and ethical standards in conflict and post-conflict environments. While being clear on the limits of industry-led standards, I do reiterate how jealously the IPOA Members safeguard the Code of Conduct.

The question that often comes up after I emphasize the value and proactive ethical leadership of IPOA members is whether a specific company is a member of this

standards-bearing association. Too often I can only say, "no, but they should be." While we have more than 30 member companies demonstrating their support for higher industry ethics and standards, too many companies 'going it alone.' Non-membership certainly does not mean that a company is necessarily unethical, but membership does demonstrate a proactive sense of responsibility to establishing industry-wide standards.

Professionalism and ethics are not trivial issues these days. Governments and NGOs are coming out daily with new investigations, rules and regulations – they do care about ethical behavior from contractors in contingency operations. Ensuring professional private sector operations in conflict and post-conflict environments does take a higher level of ethics and, frankly, clients should be demanding that the companies they hire are willing to go that extra mile.

U.S. laws and regulations now include clauses requiring larger contractors to provide ethics training for their managers and employees. This is similar to past contract language requiring that companies provide managers with training on human trafficking issues. These clauses are clear proof that government clients are becoming more aware of the potential harm errant contractors can cause to state building missions. IPOA advocates that all companies – both large and small – include ethics training for their managers. We believe all contractors should be expected to operate professionally and ethically.

Ensuring professionalism and ethics in contracting in contingency operations is a founding goal of IPOA, and we are happy that NGOs and governments are moving in this direction. Our member companies have been ahead of the curve on these and many similar issues, and we are pleased that more and more clients are taking notice.

*Email Doug Brooks at dbrooks@ipoaonline.org
The author is the President of IPOA.*

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DEREK WRIGHT

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Lessons to be Learned for Responding to Disaster

The Indian Ocean Tsunami Demonstrated a Clear Need for Better Practices



THE 2004 South East Asian tsunami was one of the worst natural disasters of modern times, affecting 14 countries around the Indian Ocean. Over 227,000 people lost their lives, with approximately 1.7 million more displaced.

While the scale of the response to the tsunami was unprecedented, the magnitude of the disaster was not. In the past forty years, less known disasters that have killed, displaced and affected more people. For example, a storm surge in the Bay of Bengal in 1970 killed nearly 500,000 in one night. The Tangshan Earthquake in China killed at least 242,000 in 1976. Flooding in Bangladesh in 2004 affected over 30 million people. The tsunami holds more fascination for the international community than any other disaster. Encouraged by the global media, the international response to the tsunami raised an unprecedented US\$14 billion. For the first time NGOs were able to reduce their dependency on restrictive donor funding.

With hundreds of international organizations arriving in the region, one must recognize the significant local response already present. Within minutes, survivors were distributing aid, assisting with clean-up and rebuilding, burying the dead, and caring for survivors. National and international military response was also exceptional, especially when considering the logistical coordination between civilian and military intervention.

The following are some of the key findings from major assessment and evaluation reports, conferences, papers and focus groups since December 2004.

Program Design and Data Collection

Wise program decision-making requires needs and appraisal data of high quality, even if gathering this information necessitates a delay in response. NGOs must not spend valuable time developing new programs—time that could be spent collecting data. Instead, it is more helpful to adapt already designed and tested programs, adjusting them to the cultural context and particular material and social needs of the target population.

Transitioning from Relief to Recovery

Organizations must consider longer-term recovery planning earlier. Relief and recovery are not separate phases. Projects in the relief phase influence future development options. Therefore, organizations need to think medium-to-long term from as early as day two or three, if not day one. Security personnel in particular can

be responsible actors in relief operations as they can play a role in alleviating suffering and assisting in the immediate needs of the population.

Responsible Shelter

Pressure for NGOs to spend money quickly and “visibly” resulted in irresponsible construction away from resources and economic opportunities. Additionally, some NGOs failed to consult beneficiaries about culturally sensitive shelter designs. For example, some shelters were not large enough for extended families, while others failed to provide beneficiaries with adequate privacy.

Managing Expectations

Pressured to provide a quick response, aid agencies failed to manage the target populations’ expectations for how long it would take to replace homes. Three years after the tsunami, some people are still living in transitional shelters. Expectations were created, mostly by local governments, that total reconstruction would be achieved within two years. Aid agencies face severe consequences from these expectations. For example, families in camps were reluctant to accept temporary shelters because they believed permanent houses would be ready earlier than was realistic.

Toward a More Community-Oriented Approach to Shelter

NGOs ought to use a community-oriented approach to shelter restoration and give more attention to infrastructure and essential services. To build a community, people need ‘homes’ rather than simple houses, but more resources went to building houses than all other facilities required to make these houses practical places to live.

As the ultimate decision-makers, government officials must be responsible and consistent when creating policy. If resources are not allocated accordingly it becomes impossible to apply “best practices.” For example, government and donor policies may require housing reconstruction projects to provide for basic infrastructure, but when forced to work with insufficient funds, agencies often prioritize part of a project over another.

Disaster Risk Reduction

One of the lessons learned from inter-agency evaluations is the need for the international community to incorporate disaster preparedness planning in ongoing field programs. So far, the aid community has done little to invest tsunami funding into long term disaster risk reduction making it unclear whether NGOs have a serious



The Indian Ocean tsunami devastated the beachside resort city of Phuket in southern Thailand.

PHOTO: GOVERNMENT OF CANADA/ENVIRONMENT CANADA

interest in reducing risk.

Neglected Solutions

NGOs can mitigate future risks by incorporating environmental impact assessment and disaster risk reduction strategies to ensure smarter and better reconstruction. Developing local partnerships in high-risk countries fosters local and national disaster preparedness as well as enabling faster need assessments and general international NGO responses after a disaster.

The tsunami relief and recovery effort was a disappointing era for people with disabilities. Approximately 10 percent of the world’s population is disabled—usually more in developing and post-conflict regions — and that number rises as disasters cause new injuries. Many aid agencies need to increase their awareness and training for disability needs when offering post-disaster assistance.

Children and youth have repeatedly proven that they can provide innovative solutions in the midst of complex emergencies. Aid agencies must involve youth in the recovery process as active participants, not passive beneficiaries.

International NGOs rapidly increased their local staff in order to spend large donations quickly. They hired new recruits with no previous exposure to humanitarian

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FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

aid and little understanding of humanitarian principles and took little time to train this new staff on essentials like the mission of their organizations, Sphere Standards, Do No Harm principles, basic M&E, and communicating with beneficiaries. A common theme that emerged at a Tsunami Symposium in Washington, D.C. was that even agencies who had standardized methods and policies to deal with local beneficiaries were unable to follow their own guidelines.

Cooperation versus Competition

Coordinating Strategy

Logistical coordination has been cited as the single greatest challenge organizations faced in the tsunami recovery. While the unprecedented level of funding meant organizations had more resources, it also meant that aid groups were working in an uncommonly complex environment. In some areas, the lack of coordination significantly hindered the aid effort. Aid actors did not tend to engage the national or district governments constructively, if at all.

Good Management Necessitates High Levels of Coordination Not Control

As a result of competition between NGOs over whole villages, many beneficiaries perceived that an NGO was "in charge" of a certain area (particularly for IDP camps) and therefore responsible for all

aspects of recovery or reconstruction in that area. Some NGOs did little to dismiss these perceptions and attempted to conduct all aspects of recovery. Large donations enabled this mentality after the tsunami, and this approach is destructive to the beneficiaries and the NGOs themselves.

Consultation & Local Engagement

Community Engagement versus Disingenuous Consultation

Agencies must genuinely engage local communities into their programs, making it crucial to keep the local community engaged in the process of their own recovery. "Keeping them engaged," however, is not a question of keeping their interest but rather including them in each organization's decision-making processes, and the NGO community often fails in this way. Local communities expect NGOs to keep beneficiaries informed and to be transparent about relief processes.

The Cost of Providing Unneeded Aid

Distributing material aid without conducting needs assessments costs thousands of dollars, adds insult to injury to "beneficiaries" of such aid and costs NGOs their credibility. A participant at the above mentioned symposium witnessed the distribution of soccer balls to a village that had asked for a generator.

Conflict and War

The response community has not sufficiently addressed the impact of conflict

on relief or the impact of relief on conflict. The Tsunami Evaluation Coalition found that "international tsunami assistance had a positive effect on the peace and governance situation in the Aceh province." Meanwhile, in Sri Lanka, aid exacerbated the conflict.

Lessons on Peace and Aid

It is crucial for relief agencies to conduct conflict analyses; designating sufficient resources for this task is an essential step for relief agencies to avoid "doing harm." Aid agencies know conflict analysis is necessary when entering a conflict-affected area. Not only do they fail to complete such an analysis, they are surprised when the conflict interferes with their work.

Equity is key. As donor agencies focus attention on victims of disasters, relief work should be designed to prevent further marginalization of conflict or poverty-affected families.

The aid community must address how to incorporate the lessons of many post-tsunami evaluations into new humanitarian practice but there are structural and internal pressures on organizations that prevent them from implementing the best strategies and practices. As these pressures are often overlooked, the supposed "new" lessons are the same as those identified in the 1970s. Therefore, the aid community needs to hold itself accountable to ensure that changes are remembered and implemented through a holistic approach.



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WILLIAM F. SHUGHART II

The Importance of Adequate Government Response

Hurricane Highlights a Failure of Governmental Management of Natural Disasters

HURRICANE Katrina formed in the Bahamas on Thursday, August 25, 2005, and quickly reached Category 3 strength. Two days later, meteorological models run at Louisiana State University showed Katrina hitting New Orleans hard enough to produce flooding. Despite advance warning of impending catastrophe, officials were not ready for action when Katrina slammed into the Gulf Coast on Monday, August 29. Unpreparedness converted natural disaster into human tragedy when Katrina's powerful storm surge caused three major breaches in New Orleans's levee system. Water rushed in at dozens of other weak spots, ultimately submerging 80 percent of the city, 20 feet deep in some places.

The story of Hurricane Katrina is a story of policy failure. Neglect of levees by agencies fully informed of their vulnerabilities proximately caused the deluge of New Orleans. But not shoring up the city's defenses was only one of a litany of governmental shortcomings. Paralysis gripped officialdom as the storm barreled toward the Gulf Coast and persisted in its immediate aftermath.

Louisiana officials delayed ordering civilians out of harm's way and failed to pre-position emergency supplies. First-responders were overwhelmed by mass exodus from the impact area and, once the fury had passed, by rampant looting and vandalism. Muddled chains of command, interagency and intergovernmental coordination failures, compounded by the breakdown of telecommunications networks, and sheer incompetence combined to produce chaos.

Most of New Orleans's levees were built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, but the daily operations of the floodwalls, floodgates, earthen embankments and pumping stations comprising the complex system were overseen by four separate boards. Bureaucratic responsibility was Balkanized, between construction and maintenance on the one hand, and between independent, geographically defined levee districts on the other. A National Science Foundation-sponsored team sent to New Orleans in Katrina's wake attributed the system's serious flaws to administrative parochialism. Floodwall heights often were

ill-matched. At one pumping station, under the jurisdiction of at least three agencies, a concrete barrier connected to a much lower earthen levee. Katrina's storm surge overtopped the shorter structure, rendering the stronger one useless.

Perhaps complacent after a string of mild hurricane seasons, undoubtedly responsive to the interests of local developers, realtors, financial institutions and other pressure groups, and deaf to repeated warnings that subsidence had lowered sections of the levee system as much

operations facility. Nagin and his advisers consequently were offline for two days as telephones went out and radio batteries were drained of power.

Louisiana Governor Kathleen Babineaux Blanco was also slow to act. Although she declared an emergency on Friday, August 26, thereby triggering her state's disaster plan, she deferred to Mayor Nagin on the timing of the critical mandatory evacuation order. After Katrina struck, disrupted communication systems prevented Governor Blanco from gathering information from officials on the ground. It was Thursday, September 1, before she was able to transmit to Washington specific requests for federal emergency aid. Appearing "casual to the point of carelessness", according to the *New York Times* on September 1, President Bush did not take the disaster seriously until Thursday night. He reacted initially to mounting criticism of the slow federal relief effort by praising the people in charge ("Brownie, you're doing a heck of a job") and pointing fingers at state and local authorities. Only on Tuesday, September 13, did the president accept personal

responsibility for the government's sluggish response.

Failures elsewhere notwithstanding, the Federal Emergency Management Agency's reaction to Katrina was singularly inept. Transferred to the fledgling Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in 2003 as part of the massive federal governmental reorganization following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, over the next two years FEMA gradually was stripped of responsibility for disaster preparedness, saw its duties confined to disaster response and its mission reoriented towards terrorism. Natural disasters no longer were an agency priority. Neither FEMA's director, Michael



A Coast Guard officer surveys the flooded city of New Orleans.
PHOTO: PETTY OFFICER 2ND CLASS NYXOLYNO CANGEMI/U.S. COAST GUARD

as three feet below original grade, the levee boards expanded their bureaucratic fiefdoms. Exercising its powers of eminent domain, the board of the Orleans Levee District became Lake Pontchartrain's biggest landlord. It built two marinas there, along with parks, walking paths and other amenities. Roads, a commuter airport and a dock leased to a casino boat, the latter in return for a share of the gaming revenue, were added on. The largely invisible job of levee maintenance took a backseat to more newsworthy – and politically rewarding – lakefront development initiatives.

Despite a personal telephone call from the director of the National Hurricane Center alerting him to the seriousness of the threat New Orleans faced, Mayor C. Ray Nagin did not issue an order to evacuate the city until Katrina was within 48 hours of landfall; only 24 hours remained before evacuation was mandatory. He and his crisis team sought refuge at the Hyatt Regency hotel rather than taking charge at the city's Mobile Command Center or joining other officials at Baton Rouge's emergency

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The author is F.A.P. Barnard Distinguished Professor of Economics at the University of Mississippi. This article is based on Shughart, William F. II. 2006. *Katrinanomics: The Politics and Economics of Disaster Relief*, *Public Choice* 127 (April): 31–53.



Former Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge, President George W. Bush and former FEMA Director Michael Brown; the latter two came under criticism for their handling of the Katrina response effort. PHOTO: THE WHITE HOUSE

action should have jumpstarted the federal response, putting FEMA in charge, cooperating with state and local authorities to prepare for looming disaster. But it did not. According to a former senior FEMA official, the agency failed to pre-deploy enough supplies: "Nobody pulled the trigger on resources. The director of FEMA didn't pull the trigger ... The Department of Homeland Security didn't pull the trigger. The resources simply did not get there."

Inattention to levee maintenance doomed New Orleans. Lethargic decision-making at the top, coordination failures and logistical breakdowns fatally compromised the public response to the Katrina crisis. It should therefore be no surprise that, in a January 2006 survey of survivors, only 25 percent of the respondents identified the government as their chief source of post-disaster aid.[1] The lesson of Katrina is that politicians and bureaucrats have weak incentives to prepare for emergencies and to promptly mobilize the resources necessary to alleviate hardship when catastrophe strikes. "Risk management" is not in government's lexicon.

ENDNOTE

[1] Chappell, William F., Forgette, Richard G., Swanson, David A. and Van Boening, Mark V. 2007. Determinants of Government Aid to Katrina Survivors: Evidence from Survey Data. *Southern Economic Journal* 72 (October): 344-362.

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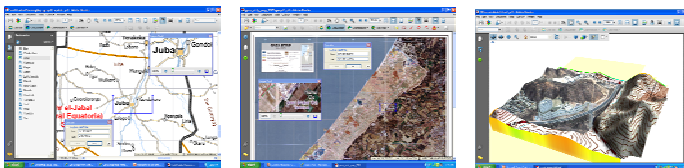
Brown, nor his boss at DHS had significant disaster management experience. Frustrated by bureaucratic infighting at FEMA, Brown actually was planning to resign as Katrina moved onshore. DHS Secretary Michael Chertoff, on the job just six months when Katrina hit, procrastinated for a day before

activating his agency's National Response Plan. Chertoff remained so aloof from events that as late as August 31 he was unaware that thousands of people were stranded at New Orleans's Convention Center and the Louisiana Superdome.

At FEMA's urging, President Bush did declare an emergency in the State of Louisiana on Saturday, August 27. That

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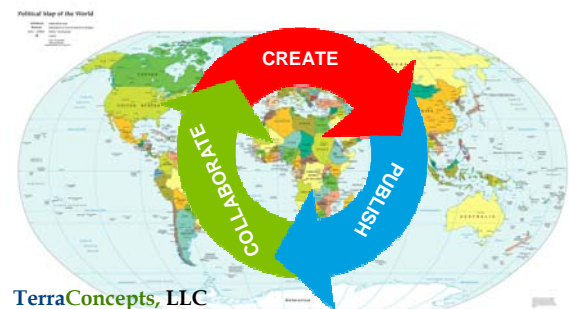
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Centralization Proves Inadequate to Disaster Aid

Private Sector Efforts Were Thwarted by a Centralized Governmental Response

ON August 25, 2005 Hurricane Katrina ravaged the Gulf Coast, causing over US\$90 billion in damage. This was more than twice as damaging as the costliest hurricane in United States history before Katrina, Hurricane Andrew. The havoc Katrina wreaked killed more than 2,000 citizens and the debris it generated—some 100 million cubic yards—was 35 times the rubble left after the attacks of September 11, 2001 in Manhattan. Chaos reigned in the aftermath of this tragedy. Although some of this chaos was unavoidable, a significant portion was preventable. Man's folly compounded nature's fury, exacerbating one of the most horrific disasters in U.S. history.

The largest failures following Hurricane Katrina were results of government attempts to centrally plan the disaster relief response. Private sector entrepreneurial efforts were thwarted, delayed, and stifled by FEMA and other government agencies that insisted on centrally planning disaster relief efforts. The few pockets of success that existed were the result of private, decentralized decision-making undertaken by for-profit businesses, such as Wal-Mart, and non-profit organizations, such as the Red Cross. In many cases these success stories are tales of how private individuals were able to circumvent the layers of bureaucracy and restriction imposed on economic transactions in the wake of the storm.

Central planning fails to coordinate economic activity under "normal" circumstances. It fails even more miserably under conditions of uncertainty and rapidly-changing supply and demand, such as those that attend natural disaster. Government's failed response to Katrina was simply a reflection of the inherent failure of central planning itself. The superiority of private decision making over central planning is as pronounced for natural disaster relief as it is for traditional economic activities.

When the Soviet Union crumbled in 1991, the entire world witnessed the unavoidable failure of central planning. Despite this, societies have continued to run various aspects of their organization in the same way the Soviet Union ran its economy, as though if only the central planning were limited to certain critical aspects of our lives its failure could be avoided. Unfortunately, this view is seriously mistaken. Nowhere can this be seen more readily than in the case of natural disaster relief in the U.S., evidenced most recently by Hurricane Katrina.

Any activity involving multiple and disparate actors must overcome a basic

"coordination problem" to be successful. Whether we are dealing with how to organize the production and distribution of shoes, or how to respond effectively following a category-five hurricane, somehow the plans and decisions of relevant individuals must come into alignment for the required cooperation to take place. The reason for the omnipresence of the coordination problem is simple enough. The information needed to align the interests and activities of diverse individuals is dispersed. It does not exist in a centralized form in the hands of any one individual or group of individuals. Information always exists in scattered, fragmentary form. It is held by individual actors and often inaccessible by others.

In the case of natural disaster relief the problem, then, is this: How can we coordinate the demands of disaster victims, which only they individually know (and which of course differ from victim to victim), with the supplies of potential disaster relievers, which are again known only locally by each agent (and again differ from supplier to supplier), who have resources that could be brought to bear on the situation of those in need?

Socialism failed because government planners could not solve this problem in the case of clothing, food, transportation, and indeed every other economic decision planners needed to make. The Federal Emergency and Management Agency (FEMA) in the United States failed to adequately respond to Hurricane Katrina because it could not solve this problem in the context of disaster relief.

Central planning is unable to tap into the dispersed and fragmented information discussed above. The simplest way to see why is to consider how the private sector is able to do so. In the marketplace, the buying and abstaining from buying decisions of individual actors generate market prices. Market prices thus reflect the needs of diverse and separated individuals. They act as a telecommunication system that generates and conveys important information to consumers and producers.

Consumers can observe price changes of the goods and services they buy and know "automatically" how they should respond. If, for example, a disaster in Iowa destroys corn, the consumers of corn-based products, such as cereal, do not need to know this. Through the market system, the price of



Hurricane Katrina led to a rare troop mobilization on U.S. soil.
PHOTO: KENTUCKY GOVERNMENT

cereal rises, which leads consumers indirectly to consume less corn. On the other hand, the rising price of corn "tells" corn producers from other parts of the country that they should bring their corn to Iowa. Producers have an incentive to do this because they stand to make money by doing so. In this way, market prices generate the information required to overcome the coordination problem and provide the incentives for market actors to behave in ways that achieve this.

Unlike the private sector, the political process does not generate market prices, nor does government have the incentive to be a careful steward of the resources it controls. For market prices to emerge, goods and services must be bought and sold. But the government is not in the business of selling anything. It only takes resources (taxes), and then gives them to others (through government purchases or direct transfers). Consequently, political decision makers do not have market prices directing them where expenditures are needed most.

Private non-profit organizations also do not sell anything (or more accurately, do not sell goods and services at market prices) and so may face a similar problem. However,

CONTINUED NEXT PAGE

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Flooding in downtown New Orleans.
PHOTO: MARTY BAHAMONDE/FEMA

any particular case, it is not in any danger of “going bankrupt.” When one is able to legally compel others to support him, he is not dependent upon satisfying his supporters’ to continue to operate.

These simple differences between the private and public sectors explain the mountain of government gaffes when it came to responding to Hurricane Katrina, and private sectors successes, such as those of Wal-Mart, State Farm Insurance, and others. Even for activities as essential as protection of private property—a function traditionally seen as belonging exclusively to the state—government failed and the private sector activity was

successful. It is difficult to forget the images of New Orleans police officers looting the very stores they were charged with protecting. Most observers found these actions unconscionable, which indeed they were. But they were also predictable using the basic logic discussed above. What incentive did public police officers have to protect the property of hurricane victims following Katrina? Essentially none. The

absence of appropriate incentives here was not only manifest in corrupt police officers, but also manifested in the many police officers who simply fled the scene when it became apparent what kind of mayhem was in store.

To deal with the failure of public property protection after Katrina, some Gulf Coast residents sought private sector assistance. Unlike public sector actors, who had neither the information nor the incentives required to effectively react to this need, for-profit security firms, such as Blackwater USA, which were hired by residents, successfully secured the property rights of their customers. This wasn’t magic. It was the simple result of the market’s ability and incentive to learn of needs for their services and to satisfy these needs successfully.

Nobel Laureate F.A. Hayek called central planning the “fatal conceit.” Hurricane Katrina demonstrated just how fatal this conceit can be. Central planning for natural disaster relief, just like in all other affairs, is destined to fail. Private sector activity, also as in all other affairs, provides the best chance of succeeding. Government’s role after a disaster should be no greater than its role in the everyday economy. This means leaving the coordination of flows of goods and services to the marketplace.

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

unlike government, private non-profit organizations at least have an incentive to use resources effectively, since if they do not, their donors are likely to stop giving them money. Government, in contrast, cannot “go out of business” in this way. Whether government does a good job or a bad job in



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The Private Sector Experience in New Orleans

Lessons to Be Learned from the Private Response to Hurricane Katrina



USING a private sector solution for catastrophic incidents or to provide extra capacity is not a new concept for the U.S. Government. However, the growing need for broader crisis response, or the “just in time” delivery of critical services, using the private sector has become an increasingly cost efficient way to bring tailored services and best practice to bear in complex situations.

In this regard, the situation following Hurricane Katrina was not so different from those faced by the U.S. Government elsewhere. It was a highly complex crisis which, for a short time, generated physical risk to the lives and assets of first responders and the general population. The situation was further aggravated by the information, coordination and communication challenges raised by an already serious crisis. Perhaps what was so different about Katrina was the actual scale of the disaster, both in terms of the destruction itself and the nature of the response mobilization efforts that followed.

The United States has never experienced a natural disaster on the scale of Katrina: damage was estimated at US\$96 billion; at least 1,800 people lost their lives in the hurricane and subsequent floods; and around 300,000 homes were destroyed. The immense devastation raised, and continues to raise, fundamental questions about how the public and private sectors can best work together to prepare for and respond to large scale crises.

Events in New Orleans unfolded very quickly. On August 29, the levee broke and flooded about 20 percent of the city. By the next day the first reports of mass looting appeared. On September 1, Mayor Nagin issued his “desperate SOS” to federal officials. The next day large numbers of federal law enforcement and out of state National Guard units deployed to New Orleans to support the overwhelmed local law enforcement and National Guard forces.

What complicated the official response was that within hours of Katrina’s landfall thousands of private citizens, freelance craftsmen, and independent adventurers descended on the city to help in whichever way they could. Unfortunately, in some cases, some of these first responders contributed to the confusion on the ground. Therefore the immediate situation was confused and severely hampered by the limited remaining infrastructure, in terms of command and control systems, communications and adequately trained people.

The core competency of private security

companies resides in the delivery of risk management and defensive protective security services in the most challenging environments. This extensive experience of operating in areas of non-existent or destroyed infrastructure provided an immediately workable framework for ArmorGroup’s response over the initial days and weeks.

Rather than deploying en masse to New Orleans on the presumption that the company’s services would be needed, ArmorGroup prepared and positioned its resources until it was called upon to deliver its services. Anticipating that it would be called on to assist in the large recovery effort, the company initiated a Crisis Response Planning Cell (CRPC) on August 29. The CRPC conducted initial mission analysis to establish a sustainable supply chain system and identify the appropriate skill sets required to meet anticipated future requirements.

With a forward operating team in New Orleans reporting back real time intelligence on the conditions, a plan for dual-based operations (in anticipation of a request for assistance and to continue gathering information and planning for deployment) was initiated. The CRPC established the following framework for any future support operations:

- a crisis response forward operating base in Louisiana;
- a logistics and supply-chain base in Texas; and
- a business support operations team in Virginia to provide corporate oversight and functional support to the crisis teams.

When the first call for assistance came on the morning of August 31, the teams were prepared to operate prior to deploying and so were able to respond effectively and immediately. This deliberate planning approach enabled the company to activate, and later sustain, its crisis response capabilities in a methodical manner and allowed it to respond to multiple requests for assistance from other major organizations.

ArmorGroup’s support strategy evolved through four distinct phases, each requiring a different security specialization:

- Pre-deployment – there was a strong focus on information gathering and coordination as well as reviewing standard operating procedures and support structures;
- Crisis – risk management and personal security details to protect clients’ employees and assets, knowing the local



An example of the power of the Hurricane and the ensuing flood waters.

PHOTO: ARMORGROUP NORTH AMERICA

ground rules, maintaining a professional approach and staying flexible were key to success in this phase;

- Local area recovery - from a barge on Lake Pontchartrain, teams provided vulnerability assessments, site security and personal security details;
- Stability and reconstruction - security advisory and integration services. ArmorGroup continued to be engaged in the recovery effort in the Gulf Coast region and currently employs over 300 off duty law-enforcement officers at 17 sites across Louisiana, supporting The Road Home Housing Program for the State of Louisiana's Office of Community Development.

In reality no amount of planning anticipates every nuance of crisis response and ArmorGroup’s experiences in Katrina taught or reinforced many of the operating principles the company gained in other security support activities in hazardous regions around the world.

Katrina showed that public and private sector coordination is necessary to make the best use of all available resources, capabilities, and expertise and to prepare for the next catastrophe. Government outsourcing to reliable partners is not new. In the words of Stanford Professor, Paul Romer, “a crisis is a terrible thing to waste.”[1] We wait to see if the lessons of 2005 have been learnt effectively.

ENDNOTES

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JAMES E. BAYNES

Developing a Targeted Private Response to Disaster

Private Sector Solutions to Fighting Wildfires

EVERY year, thousands of hectares of forest are destroyed and lives and property lost as a result of wildfires. From California to Indonesia and from Australia to Greece, fires threaten lives, economies, ecosystems and the environment. But regardless of whether fires are started deliberately or by act of nature, the reality is that precautionary measures, like back-burning and clearing, can only do so much. Thus, there must be a way to effectively combat wildfires when they occur.

Since early 2003, Evergreen International Aviation has worked to

engine-out climb performance and product support.

Preliminary tests determined that the Supertanker is capable of attaining significant coverage levels and drop line lengths, greater than the capacity of existing air tanker capabilities. Compared to the existing aerial fleet, the Supertanker will offer at least seven times the drop capability. This large gallon increase gives the Supertanker an opportunity to have a substantial "loiter time" and place a single large drop or various segmented drops over a single or multiple targets. An aircraft of this size would also provide a suitable

variable pressures and nozzle configurations, one valve or all four (depending on the coverage level desired) can be selected. This capability allows the aircraft to make multiple strategically placed drops over a single fire or multiple fires (i.e. initial attack) without landing.

The advanced tank system allows the aircraft to propel the product directly to the target at the speed of falling rain, as opposed



develop the Evergreen Supertanker, an advanced aerial firefighting aircraft using a Boeing 747. The aircraft's drop capabilities, effectiveness, safety standards and operational flexibility are revolutionary. With more than \$50 million invested, and tens of thousands of engineering hours, Evergreen is poised to deliver a final system for the 2008 fire season.

The Supertanker was designed for the sole purpose of providing a safe and overwhelming response to emergency missions worldwide. Besides just being an exceptional firefighting platform, the Supertanker will also have the capacity to support other emergency response missions such as biohazard response, oil spill containment, soil stabilization, and even the potential of weakening hurricanes. The Supertanker can not only capably fight environmental hazards, but it can also do so relatively cost-effectively. It is capable of providing desperately needed support services around the world.

A joint Boeing and Evergreen panel performed an extensive analysis to determine what airframe is best suited for a next generation firefighting aircraft. The panel analyzed airframe cost, quantity manufactured, date of last manufacture, payload, takeoff performance, drop performance, spare part availability and damage assessment capabilities. The panel selected the Boeing 747 as the safest and most economical aircraft. This aircraft has exceptional payload versus drop speed,

platform for advanced GPS navigation and forward-looking infrared (FLIR) capabilities. These tools could enhance navigation, possibly leading to night operations, and assistance in helping flight crew identify specific drop zone locations. A Supertanker, with point-to-point speeds in excess of 450 knots, will get to an emergency quicker than existing aircraft. All of this can be accomplished within the aircraft's design envelope. A greater power-to-weight ratio, provided by a Supertanker, will enhance aircraft performance in all phases of flight.

Flight and ground testing, computer design and simulation, data analysis, and the input of expert consultants have verified that the Evergreen Supertanker can safely deliver firefighting materials to a target area consistently and accurately.

The Evergreen Supertanker is capable of dispersing 20,500 gallons of material. It offers a pressurized drop system, allowing the aircraft to be effective at two to four times the drop altitude of current firefighting aircraft — a far greater margin of safety. Advanced avionics can be offered to provide the ability to participate in night fire suppression activities, a unique capability never before available.

Controlled air pressure tanks regulate the constant flow of fire fighting materials, which include water, foam, retardant, and firefighting gel. Four sixteen-inch nozzles give the Supertanker the capability to safely drop more fire suppressant per second than most other tankers can carry. Allowing

to gravity-fed systems. This allows the aircraft to fly within its design envelope, at a safer altitude and on the periphery of the fire's turbulent environment.

To date, the aircraft performed nearly 200 actual drops in proof-of-concept and final design configuration and more than 150 "dry runs" in over 100 flight hours. A total of 1,550,000 gallons have been dropped. The drop height was typically 350 to 600 feet, with maximum heights reaching 10,000 feet.

The Evergreen Supertanker demonstrates the immense capabilities of the private sector in developing and deploying innovative solutions to effectively respond to operations of many varieties, not least natural disasters.

BACKGROUND: EVERGREENINTERNATIONAL AVIATION



The Supertanker can carry and drop 14 times the amount of material than the previous generation of bombers, such as the CL-415, developed 20 years ago.
PHOTO: TOM NEBBS/GOVERNMENT OF ONTARIO



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DR. NEIL GREENBERG



Studying the Psychological Effects of Conflict Zones

British and U.S. Military Experiences Provide a Useful Guide for Private Security

WORKING in hazardous environments has the potential to cause psychological problems.

Whilst the media would have us believe that it is the bombs, explosions and corpses that are the main cause of difficulty, a plethora of evidence which suggests that relationship difficulties, physical health problems and ongoing conflicts with professional colleagues are also important causes of pressure at work. [1] However, hazardous work conditions do increase the potential for employees to be exposed to extreme situations which can, at times, overwhelm an individual's ability to cope.

Private security companies should take into account a number of key psychological considerations when sending personnel to hazardous work environments. Firstly, it is impossible to screen out "vulnerable" individuals. This approach was tried in the Second World War in the United States. By 1943 the U.S. military had run out of troops and therefore allowed all those who had been screened out back into service. About 80 percent did very well without any signs of breaking down. [2] Similar studies carried out in the British Armed Forces on troops deployed to Iraq in 2003 found a similar outcome; only one in five people who would have screened positive for having mental health difficulties before deployment subsequently developed problems after deployment. [3] Evidence also shows that factors related to the event and even more importantly to after the event, such as provision of social support and ensuring a "low pressure" recovery environment, are far more important than pre-incident factors. [4] Screening out "vulnerable people" simply does not work.

Another issue is that of post-incident counseling. Whilst such an approach might seem attractive, robust scientific evidence shows that the majority of people recover well within four to six weeks after a particularly traumatic incident. [5] Therefore it is both unnecessary, and potentially

harmful, to "fly in" external counselors in the aftermath of incidents. In past years there was an almost cult-like movement to psychologically debrief anyone who had been exposed to a traumatic event; the evidence has shown that for most people this

personnel might translate to the employees of private security companies is less clear. But the message is clear: deploying to unpleasant areas of the world does carry at least some risk of developing mental health problems. Another issue which is perhaps rather worrying is that within the robust environment of the military, many people who suffer with mental health difficulties do not come forward and ask for help. The stigma associated with mental health problems is a real issue for the military and there is no reason to imagine that it is different for PSCs who have many ex-service personnel on their books. [10]

Evidence from both the U.K. and U.S. demonstrates that some groups, such as combat troops and reservists, are more likely to be distressed than the rest; however extensive research shows that there is no epidemic of "psychological disorder" in the British military. How such data translates to British private security companies is unclear. Therefore given the potential for both legal liability and the need to ensure that private security companies continue to deploy able and psychologically fit personnel to undertake difficult duties, it

appears that there is a need for the private security industry to invest in academic research on the issue.



Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder is an increasingly common problem that seriously affects a growing proportion of those returning from conflict zones.

PHOTO: STOCK PHOTO

was not only not useful, it also had the potential to cause harm. [6] So another important lesson is that although mental health professionals do have a place as advisors, providing treatment for the few that need it, the majority of personnel do well by talking to those they trust such as friends, colleagues and family.

Evidence about the effects of deployment on the mental health of military personnel varies considerably between nations. The studies carried out in the British Armed Forces have shown that in the majority of cases, personnel have not been unduly affected by deployment. [7] The same, however, is not true for U.S. troops who appear to have markedly increased rates of psychological disorder if they have deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan in recent years. [8] However some similarities between nations do exist. Those who are "in the thick of it" are more likely to be affected than those in safer areas, and also the longer personnel are deployed, the bigger the risk of problems. [9] How these studies of military

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PTSD: The Company Perspective

Managing the Impending Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Crisis

JOHN decided to do the honorable deed of serving his country by working for a contractor in Iraq who provided security services to the United States government. Although his wife and children were apprehensive about the dangers of working in a war zone, they supported his decision and believed the high salary was worth the risk. During his 12 months in Iraq, John's convoy was subject to small-arms fire and, on two occasions, improvised explosive devices (IEDs). One of the IED blasts led to the death of his friend, who was riding in an armored vehicle just behind his own. Although the death of his friend was a shock, John felt that he had successfully coped with the event. Upon his return home to the U.S., John was relieved to resume a normal life. However, three months after his return, he had flashbacks of the incident in which his friend had died. He also found himself having difficulty sleeping, becoming irritable over trivial matters, and isolating himself from others. People who knew him best thought he wasn't the same person he was before he left for Iraq. He was suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

John's situation is no different from the experiences of many other individuals who have been employed by contractors working in hostile environments. In fact, a recent study conducted on U.S. civilians working in Iraq in support of the war indicated that 24 percent show signs of PTSD.

PTSD is an anxiety disorder that can occur after a traumatic event. The onset can develop months or years after an incident. The symptoms can be devastating, including insomnia, flashbacks, inability to concentrate, irritability, depression, and inability to form relationships.

Successfully dealing with PTSD is a function of an individual's awareness of the disorder and the ability to get appropriate treatment. However, the extent to which contractors have heightened the awareness of PTSD and educated employees on treatment options has varied widely.

Most contractors and their insurers recognize that the problem of PTSD among their employees is serious and growing as more and more individuals make their way home from Iraq and Afghanistan. The inherent potential for liability in these cases is readily apparent. But some companies have recognized and accepted the moral obligation to support those who risked their lives for the sake of their employer.

Collaboratively, Mission Critical Psychological Services and DynCorp International developed a comprehensive

model to ensure that appropriate psychological support systems are in place to minimize the impact of PTSD among DynCorp's employees. This model includes seven fundamental components:

Pre-Employment Screening

Evaluations are conducted prior to employment to ensure that the candidate does not currently have PTSD. This is particularly important for applicants with backgrounds in law enforcement or security since they are more likely to have been exposed to traumatic events in their careers.

Pre-Deployment Awareness Training

Many people set to deploy overseas to a mission in a hostile theater are unaware of what the cause and symptoms of PTSD are, and without this knowledge they are less likely to seek help.

Post-Incident Counseling

An individual who was involved in or witnessed a violent incident should be debriefed shortly thereafter. DynCorp International deploys psychologists to overseas locations where hostile action is likely in order to ensure that their employees receive proper psychological care.

Post-Deployment Debriefing

Just before completing their contract, employees should be provided with an understanding of the signs of PTSD, and taught how to successfully integrate back into home and work life. Since it is difficult to assess the existence of PTSD while people are still operating in a hostile theater, a formal assessment may not be of much value at this time.

Three-Month PTSD Assessment

A more objective assessment of PTSD can be made only after a person has been out of a hostile environment for a set period of time. Most professionals familiar with PTSD recommend that a three-month period elapse before a person is reviewed. If signs of PTSD exist, a referral to a local health-care provider familiar with PTSD resulting from working in a hostile environment should be provided.

Nine-Month PTSD Assessment

Since the onset of PTSD can occur at any time after a traumatic event, a second call should be made to assess people and further heighten their awareness of what to look for in the future. A referral should be made should signs of PTSD exist.

24/7 Support Line Access

People in mission, as well as those who have returned from mission, should have access to a psychologist who has a thorough understanding of the working environment. Here, immediate crises can be addressed,

How DynCorp Addresses PTSD

DynCorp International supports its civilian police employees with a number of programs that address their special needs. The company has been particularly proactive regarding PTSD, providing its employees with resources and assistance both before and after international policing missions.

PTSD is included in pre-mission training, which includes presentations by mission veterans, who discuss their own experiences dealing with PTSD. DynCorp International's CIVPOL Employee Assistance Program (CEAP) assists severely injured officers and the family members of employees who are killed while in mission. CEAP personnel, who are all mission veterans, provide personal assistance during recovery and rehabilitation, and individual support to help families cope.

DynCorp International has engaged Mission Critical Psychological Services, LLC, to provide psychological services to employees returning from conflict zones. CIVPOL employees are evaluated twice for PTSD and depression – initially on return to the U.S., and again six months later. If signs of PTSD are detected, a psychologist notifies CEAP personnel to initiate first injury reports and support. CEAP also works closely with the psychologists on special intervention needs.

DynCorp International's working committee on Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) includes risk managers, insurers, psychologists, and casualty-claims consultants. The committee ensures support for PTSD claims, working closely with insurance companies to facilitate the claims process and see that occupational-injury reports document the possibility of PTSD.

In 2006, DynCorp International established a CIVPOL Alumni Advisory Committee, which led to the creation of the CIVPOL Alumni Association (CAA), an independent non-profit organization. DI helped establish the CAA and was instrumental in organizing its first conference, which focused on PTSD. The three-day event was attended by 184 former CIVPOL mission veterans and surviving family members. Five psychologists and a legal expert spoke at the conference, which also featured workshops on PTSD and related topics.

information dispensed, and referrals provided.

There is no simple solution to solving the PTSD problem for those who were involved in traumatic events while deployed to a hostile environment. However, providing adequate psychological support will mitigate the growing concern and help those individuals who generously served their country readjust to home life.

The author is CEO of Mission Critical Psychological Services, LLC. The psychologists at MCPS have an 11-year history working with DynCorp International employees in hostile areas across the globe. Together, MCPS and DynCorp have developed comprehensive psychological support programs.

J. J. MESSNER AND YLANA GRACIELLI

Surveying the Peace & Stability Operations Industry

A Rare Insight into the Size, Operations and Reach of the Private Sector

THE private peace and stability operations industry is definitely not new. However, there is still much that remains to be learned about this rapidly growing industry. It is hoped that the annual State of the Peace and Stability Operations Industry Survey will help to fill some of those gaps in knowledge and understanding, and will present a more complete picture of the industry and its activities. Indeed, at the time of writing, the Annual State of the Peace and Stability Operations Industry Survey remains the only one of its type in the world.

A sample group of 24 companies responded to the second annual Survey. This was an increase over the previous Survey, and although the sample size is still too

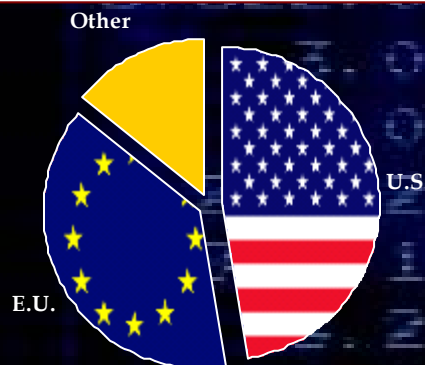
small for any meaningful conclusions to be made, the results nevertheless provide an interesting insight into the industry. Indeed, perhaps of most interest are certain perceptions of the industry that this Survey, if not entirely disproving, at least undermines.

A common complaint against many large corporations, not just those in the peace and stability operations industry, is that they are registered in countries of convenience, where laws may be more relaxed. The responses of the companies in this survey demonstrated that this perception may not be true of this industry. Almost half of the respondent companies are headquartered in the United States, with most of the remainder based in the European Union. It should be noted that although a company may be registered in a particular country, its primary operations may be conducted in another country, and that its field operations may take place in yet many more countries.

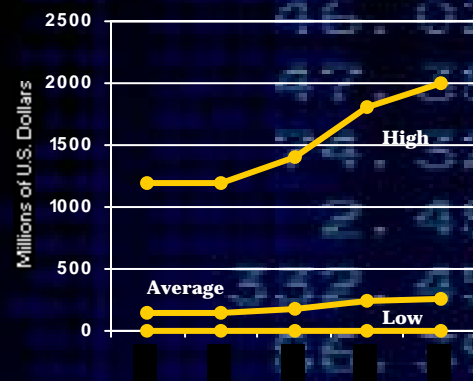
Another commonly-held belief about the private peace and stability operations industry is that it arose as a result of the U.S.-led operations in Afghanistan and Iraq in the period following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States. Although some companies may have come into existence based on the demand from the U.S. government generated by the conflicts in these operations, the results of this Survey demonstrate that most respondent companies existed prior to September 11, 2001. Indeed, of the respondent companies, 57 percent were in existence prior to September 11; 43 percent of companies were founded after September 11.

The Survey discovered that the average gross revenue of the respondent companies increased by 86 percent over five years, from US\$ 137 million in 2002 to US\$ 256 million in 2006. The lowest level of gross revenue reported in 2006 was US\$ 50,000, while the highest was US\$ 2 billion. In comparison, the lowest level of gross revenue reported for 2002 was US\$ 100,000 while the highest level was US\$ 1.2 billion. This highlights the great diversity in the size of companies within the industry, and although the largest company reported revenues of US\$ 2 billion, it should be noted that the average was one-tenth that figure. Also, it should be understood that these figures represent *revenues* and not *profits*, meaning that although a company may receive relatively

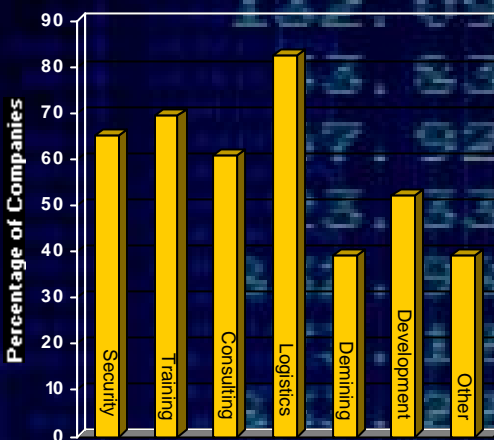
Company Headquarters Location



Average Gross Revenues, 2002-2006



Services Offered by Companies



high revenues, their contracts may also involve equally large outlays.

When it comes to private contracting, some immediately think of private security. But the reality is that the peace and stability operations industry is particularly broad,

Read the Full Report



Messner, J.J. and Ylana Gracielli. 2007. *State of the Peace and Stability Operations Industry*. Peace Operations Institute: Washington, D.C. ISBN: 143482599X. US\$19.95 from Amazon.com.

The full report is also available for free download from the Peace Operations Institute web site, www.peaceops.org.

To ensure that your company is included in the 2008 Survey, please visit www.peaceops.org.

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encompassing services from security and training to logistics and humanitarian development. Two-thirds of respondent companies offer private security services, but 83 percent of companies are engaged in logistics. Similarly, there are more companies providing training and security sector reform services than those providing private security.

A common misconception about the industry is that companies work exclusively for governments, and in particular, the U.S. Government. While companies do work with government, they also conduct operations for private companies, non-governmental organizations (such as the UN, African Union and NATO) and to a lesser extent, private individuals. Governmental entities account for 87 percent of companies' operations, but the type of client most common among companies is actually other private companies, with only one respondent company answering that they do not contract with other private companies. After government, the type of client most contracted with is international organizations, with which 74 percent of companies contract, followed by non-governmental organizations (70 percent).

A distinguishing factor of the industry is how very international it is. The industry has a worldwide presence – indeed, just the small sample of respondents to this Survey are active in 144 countries around the world. But this is also true in terms of recruitment. It is common for companies to employ workers from around the globe. Host-country nationals (HCNs) are hired by 96 percent of respondent companies, demonstrating that the policy to hire employees from the local population is heavily ingrained in the industry. While some companies responded that over 95 percent of their employees are HCNs, on average HCNs constituted 59.67 percent of the staff of respondent companies. Third-country nationals (TCNs) are hired by 74 percent of respondent companies. At the low-end, one company responded that only two percent of their employees are TCNs, while at the high-end, one company responded that 95 percent of their employees are TCNs. On average, TCNs constituted 29.82 percent of their staff.

Of particular interest to those seeking high ethical standards in the industry, the number of companies that adhere to some form of internal ethical code rose to 91 percent, from 79 percent the previous year. Furthermore, 65 percent of companies adhere to the IPOA Code of Conduct; in all, companies abide by ten different major external ethical codes, a clear signal of the importance of ethical standards to companies within the industry.

PETER EZRA WEINBERGER AND PATRICK CULLEN

Private Sector Cost-Effectiveness

Study Seeks to Determine the Efficiency of Outsourcing



Editor's Note

Critics of the Peace and Stability Operations Industry sometimes claim that private contractors charge the government exorbitant fees for their services. These critics will argue that it would actually be far more cost-effective for the military to carry out these tasks in-house and to not outsource them at all.

In order to begin to answer the question of whether government outsourcing is or is not more cost-effective than the military conducting certain tasks itself, the Peace Operations Institute commissioned a study to analyze and discuss the economics behind defense outsourcing in order to spark debate on the issue. By no means is this study the definitive be-all and end-all on the matter. Indeed, this study is intended to be merely the starting point for an ongoing, serious analysis of what is a critical issue to government, taxpayers and contractors alike: is defense outsourcing really a more cost-effective alternative?

THIS report shifts the discussion of the government's role in defense contract oversight away from an exclusive focus on guarding against contractor malpractice—an important issue that has nevertheless been exaggerated in the media—towards an understanding of contract oversight as a process of government-industry partnership. Here, contract oversight is understood in terms of specific technical problems that can be resolved or ameliorated by proactive cooperation between government and industry partners. In addition to, and in accordance with this pragmatic vision of government oversight, the report seeks to achieve the following:

- Discuss the possibility for a convergence of opinion between advocates and skeptics regarding the cost savings associated with defense privatization. The report finds room for agreement on both sides of the debate, that cost savings can be, and are being, achieved.
- Specify concrete examples of value-added from government-industry partnership at the various pre and post award stages of a contract. The report explains why it is not necessary to rely on altruism, but rather mutual self-interest, to facilitate a partnership that leads to cost savings.
- Deliver a basic tutorial on fixed price and cost-reimbursement contracts to explain the complexities faced by the government

when choosing an appropriate contract vehicle.

- Provide an introduction to economic theories used to either question or endorse defense outsourcing.
- Offer an explanation of metrics and how the government is able to measure contractor performance on the battlefield.
- Highlight the necessity of appropriate government contract oversight and discuss current deficiencies of government contracting personnel.
- Present several key attributes that the private sector brings to the defense outsourcing table: productivity, continuity, flexibility, and surge capacity.

Read the Full Report



Weinberger, Peter and Patrick Cullen. 2007. *Reframing the defense debate: Merging government oversight with industry partnership*. Peace Operations Institute: Washington, D.C. ISBN: 1434825981. US\$14.95 from Amazon.com.

The full report is also available for free download from the Peace Operations Institute web site, www.peaceops.org.

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ROBERT VAINSHTEIN

Afghanistan Crackdown on PSCs

Karzai Risks Creating a Volatile Security Vacuum

FOLLOWING a recent government review of recent alleged crimes and license violations committed by private security companies, President Hamid Karzai has ordered an unprecedented crackdown on firms operating in Afghanistan. At least ten firms have been shut down by Afghan police, while others have been raided and subject to arrests and weapons confiscations.

The recent sting comes in response to a wave of crime and other illegal activity involving primarily Afghan security firms in Kabul. With the Afghan national police and army slowly rebuilding, a number of Afghan-owned security companies have taken advantage of the weak security situation to partner with organized crime elements. Such is the case with a group of Afghan companies that have been implicated in a series of armed robberies at Kabul banks they were hired to protect. [1]

According to the Ministry of Interior, three categories of security firms are currently being investigated: 1) those that are known to be involved in crime; 2) those that are not registered with the Ministry of Interior; and 3) those whose work permits and weapons licenses have expired. [2] Yet in practice, any company suspected of falling into one of these categories has been summarily raided or closed down. These have included Afghan firms responsible for protecting embassies and Western contractors supporting the U.S., Britain and other coalition partners. "They are all illegal," a Ministry of Interior spokesman has said. "We will close them all." [3]

Since his inauguration in October 2001, the private security issue has been an ongoing political dilemma for President Karzai. Lacking a properly trained, indigenous security force of his own, he chose to be protected by American security contractors provided by the State Department after surviving an assassination attempt in 2002. Since then he has not been similarly threatened. Nevertheless, opponents see the president's reliance on security contractors as a political weakness—a sign that he still depends on American support six years after the Taliban's fall. Others contend that he doesn't trust Afghans to do the job. [4] After dodging these criticisms for years, the crackdown has allowed Karzai to prove his mettle amid the demands for greater accountability for private security companies worldwide. By getting tough on

Western private security companies, the president has calculated a strategy to boost his legitimacy while gaining the upper hand over his detractors.

But before Karzai can reap the political benefits of the crackdown, he is bound to send his country into a freefall. In targeting private security companies, Karzai has threatened not only the companies that make possible the massive, international reconstruction effort in Afghanistan, but also the central condition of security that private firms are working to establish for his people and his state. Given the exceedingly volatile environment that characterizes Afghanistan, and the government's extremely limited security apparatus, private security companies have been utilized to protect a wide array of clients and assets throughout the country, ranging from the UN, humanitarian NGOs and development agencies to embassies, banks, offices, warehouses, and reconstruction sites. In addition, international security companies have been relied upon to provide specialized services necessary to Afghanistan's stabilization, including training and reforming the Afghan National Police and Army, managing polling sites nationwide during the 2004 presidential election, and coordinating demining projects across the country that have made previously unusable roads and walking paths safe for Afghan communities. Should the government persist in cracking down on international and local security companies for minor infractions—such as having expired licenses for weapons or vehicles—the crucial services of these companies will be drastically scaled back, spurring a mass exodus of businesses, NGOs, financial institutions and even embassies.

The Afghan government needs to engage security companies in a dialogue over the obstacles these companies face in the licensing process. Most security firms are ready to conform to the government's licensing procedures once these procedures are clarified for them (and now that they are aware of the costs of not complying). At the same time, such a dialogue will help promote rule of law on a government-business level in Afghanistan, setting the stage for future engagement that can advance sensible laws over the private security sector.

ENDNOTES

[1] Hamid Shalizi, "Private security firms a problem in Afghanistan study," Reuters (12 November 2007). [2] Sayed Yaquib Ibrahim, "Security Firms in Afghanistan: Part of the Problem?," RAWA News (7 December 2007). [3] Ibid. [4] Jon Lee Anderson, "The Man In the Palace," *The New Yorker*, June 6.

DEREK WRIGHT

U.S. Congress Funds NDAA



Also Makes Raft of Recommendations

THE U.S. Congress has finally presented the widely anticipated FY08 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA). The NDAA is the U.S. federal law that is enacted each fiscal year to specify the budget and expenditures of the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD).

Of particular import are provisions within the FY08 NDAA that aim to enhance the management and oversight capabilities of the DoD. The provisions call for:

- The establishment of a Special Inspector-General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (modeled after the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction), to improve the oversight capability of the DoD for its contracts in Afghanistan;
- Information on the extent to which major defense contractors have internal ethics programs (including training) in place, as well as other internal ethics monitoring and facilitating programs;
- The DoD, Department of State (DoS), and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to enter into a Memorandum of Understanding within 120 days that covers categories of contracts; roles and responsibilities; responsibility for coordination of contractor movement; common databases; accounting for the number of contractors in theater;
- The DoD and DoS to promulgate regulations on the selection, training, equipping, and conduct of personnel performing private security functions under a covered contract in an area of combat operations. This provision also requires that guidance be given to the commanders of the combatant commands that will make use of PSCs, and that a contract clause be added to the Federal Acquisition Regulations (FAR) addressing the selection, training, equipping, and conduct of personnel performing private security functions under such contract.

The FY08 NDAA also includes the Acquisition Improvement and Accountability Act of 2007. The provisions of this Act will further improve the management and oversight of the DoD

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acquisition programs, and require specifically that:

- Private security contractors operating on the battlefield in Iraq and Afghanistan comply with DoD regulations and rules on the use of force, as well as orders and directives from combatant commanders regarding force protection, security, health, safety, and interaction with local nationals;
- A Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan be established to study and investigate federal agency contracting for reconstruction, logistics support, and security functions in those countries, and make recommendations as to how contracting processes could be improved in the future;
- A defense acquisition workforce development fund be established to provide a minimum of \$300 million in Fiscal Year 2008, and increasing amounts thereafter, to ensure that the DoD has the people and the skills needed to effectively manage its contracts;
- Statutory protections for contractor employees who blow the whistle on waste, fraud and abuse on DoD contracts be strengthened by providing, for the first time, a private right of action in federal court for contractor employees who are subject to reprisal for their efforts to protect the taxpayers' interests;
- The rules for DoD acquisition of major weapon systems and subsystems, components and spare parts be tightened to reduce the risk of contract overpricing, cost overruns, and failure to meet contract schedules and performance requirements.

Congress has clearly made oversight and accountability a central theme in its dealings with the peace and stability operations industry. Along with the language in the FY08 NDAA, there are nearly a dozen additional bills that were introduced in the House and Senate this year. IPOA as an Association is strongly supportive of Congress' efforts to enhance oversight and accountability for the industry in a practical manner. It is our belief that well-written laws are not only good for our industry, but necessary for governments and international institutions to be able to fully realize the benefits of contracting with the industry.

IPOA looks forward to a continuing dialogue with members of Congress, the DoD, the DoS, and other institutions within the U.S. Government on issues of accountability and oversight. By involving industry in the discussion, government clients will be sure to achieve results that allow for the greatest amount of good for all sides.

UN Group Meets in Panama

Working Group Continues to Grapple with Key Issues

DOUG BROOKS



IPOA was honored to be invited to participate in a regional meeting of the 'UN Working Group on Mercenaries' in Panama City in December. IPOA's presentation welcomed the Working Group's important and useful efforts to improve labor and human rights, but cautioned that to gain the full support of the peace and stability operations industry the offensive name of the Working Group must be changed – we suggested the "Working Group on Contingency Contractors."

The Chairperson of the Working Group, José Luis Gómez del Prado, was a gracious moderator and was careful to ensure that all perspectives on the key issues were heard. The Working Group raises important issues relevant to the peace and stability operations industry, including the need for labor safeguards for third country nationals (TCNs) working for contingency contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan. In addition to IPOA, participants included representatives from many Latin American countries such as Chile, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Honduras, as well as from the British Association of Private Security Companies and a number of experts.

The IPOA presentation clarified that while the Working Group has expanded its mandate far beyond the current UN definition of 'mercenaries,' it has retained the outdated name which alienates the very companies it hopes to influence. IPOA made the point that the areas of focus are all important to our industry and deserve to be addressed in a cooperative manner, but expecting contractors to respond to a derogatorily named UN group was akin to asking lawyers to cooperate with a "UN Working Group on Ambulance-Chasers."

IPOA emphasized that the industry works regularly with human rights organizations, other UN entities and academic research projects but companies are frustrated that the very name of the UN Working Group precludes better collaboration. Unfortunately, while the members of the Working Group used alternative terminology themselves and apparently recognize the incongruity, they also emphasized the difficulty in changing the title of the Working Group – or even publicly requesting the modification.

From an IPOA perspective this is extremely frustrating since there are so many key issues on which we should be cooperating. Nevertheless, there was some sympathy with IPOA's position among both the group and the Latin American delegates, and we are optimistic that this complication

will be resolved. Labor and human rights are too important to be sidetracked by something as insignificant as accepting a non-derogatory title for the Working Group.


About the UN Working Group

The *Working Group on the Use of Mercenaries as a Means of Violating Human Rights and Impeding the Exercise of the Rights of Peoples to Self-determination* was established in July 2005 pursuant to Commission on Human Rights resolution 2005/2. It succeeded the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the use of mercenaries, which had been in existence since 1987 and was serviced by Mr. Enrique Bernales Ballesteros (Peru) from 1987 to 2004 and Ms. Shaista Shameem (Fiji) from 2004 to 2005.

- In paragraph 12 of resolution 2005/2, the Commission requested the Working Group:
- To elaborate and present concrete proposals on possible new standards, general guidelines or basic principles encouraging the further protection of human rights, in particular the right of peoples to self-determination, while facing current and emergent threats posed by mercenaries or mercenary-related activities;
 - To seek opinions and contributions from Governments and intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations on questions relating to its mandate;
 - To monitor mercenaries and mercenary-related activities in all their forms and manifestations in different parts of the world;
 - To study and identify emerging issues, manifestations and trends regarding mercenaries or mercenary-related activities and their impact on human rights, particularly on the right of peoples to self-determination; and
 - To monitor and study the effects of the activities of private companies offering military assistance, consultancy and security services on the international market on the enjoyment of human rights, particularly the right of peoples to self-determination, and to prepare draft international basic principles that encourage respect for human rights on the part of those companies in their activities.

The Working Group is composed of Ms. Najat Al-Hajjaji (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Ms. Amada Benavides (Colombia), Mr. José Luis Gómez del Prado (Spain), Mr. Alexander Nikitin (Russian Federation), and Ms. Shaista Shameem (Fiji). The Chairperson-Rapporteur is Mr. del Prado.

Courtesy the UN Working Group Web Site, <http://www.ohchr.org/english/issues/mercenaries/index.htm>

 Email Doug Brooks dbrooks@ipoaonline.org
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YLANA GRACIELLI

The Missing Piece

Deconstructing the Good and the Bad of Media Reportage

RECENTLY, I had the opportunity to chat with a journalist from a magazine that sometimes examines security-related issues. As the conversation progressed, I discussed my general unease with some of the media reportage concerning the peace and stability operations industry. I explained that while a certain amount of reporting was very balanced, the general rule for many journalists is to bash the peace and stability operations industry no matter what, even if the facts don't necessarily support their arguments or version of the story. He patiently listened and then asked me: "so what is the missing piece? What do you think could be done better?"

It then occurred to me that defining something by its absence is much easier – and not as effective – than actively seeking to offer a better, viable alternative. Simply whining about how bad the media reporting is and what they are doing wrong is not enough in trying to improve the relationship between the media and the industry and ultimately to provide the reader with a better understanding of this industry and its operations.

In previous Media Watch columns, we have simply examined a sample of the good and the bad of the previous months' reportage on the industry. But this time, I have decided to compare two particular articles from the past couple of months and then propose suggestions for improvements when reporting the peace and stability operations industry.

It all starts with the title. The first article, from *Jane's*, is entitled: "Shield of Safety? - The Role of Private Security Companies." [1] The reader is subtly invited to think about the subject, inciting curiosity, without prejudicing the reader one way or the other, as it does not immediately disclose or even hint at the tenor of the article. Such a benign, neutral title does not tell the reader what to expect. Instead, it invites the reader to reflect on the role of the companies before classifying them as somehow "evil" or "mercenary" – such as this second example, published by *The Seattle Times*:

"Blackwater: Bulging Biceps Fueled by Ideological Purity." [2] Immediately, the reader is able to accurately predict the content of the article that follows.

It does not take long for anyone to realize the intent behind each article. In the very first paragraph of *The Seattle Times* article, it states that:

"Blackwater, the secretive private army now emerging into public view, is a perfect hinge linking two key elements of the Republican political base: America's war machine and a muscular form of fundamentalist Christianity."

The writer is not interested in bringing new information to the reader, but rather is seeking to use an attack on a private security company as a vehicle to criticize the current U.S. administration, a phenomenon that we have noted in previous columns. Despite Blackwater being the subject of the article, once the reader strips away a few layers of the writer's argument, one finds that it is neither Blackwater, nor the industry, but rather the Bush administration and the religious conservative wing of the Republican Party that is actually being attacked.

As both articles develop, the difference is even more clear. While the *Jane's* article recognizes the value of contractors and the possible source of problems as the diversity in quality and professionalism of the companies, the *Times* article focuses on repeating well-worn clichés such as the complete lack of oversight and supposed multi-million dollar salaries offered by the industry. It goes on to state that:

"military contractors have become an integral part of the American military, allowing the White House to understate troop numbers and avoid a military draft. Unpopular wars for oil or ideology can be waged without calling on middle-class families to send their children; mercenaries will fill the jobs if volunteers

don't come forth."

It is true that contractors have become an integral part of the U.S. military operations, but not the military itself. But even if the military were not overstretched and lacking man-power, the private sector is still able to provide the capacity and the force multiplier effect that allows the military to operate more effectively.

It is also worth noting that the *Jane's* article uses more objective language and even attempts to diffuse common place arguments about how the companies are interested in no one but themselves and their money.

"It is not in the organizational interests of a PSC to be involved in the killing of local nationals. Indeed, the use of PSCs in Afghanistan has not yet led to the scale of events alleged to have happened in Iraq in September and October."

The same piece acknowledges the poor treatment given to the industry:

"Stories including allegations of misconduct will always be more attractive to media commentators than a story portraying PSCs as doing their jobs effectively, without contact, casualty or compromise. ... Nonetheless, although it is almost impossible to grade the professionalism of PSCs without personally auditing each one, there are some extremely professional PSCs operating in Iraq."

Although it is not the role of the industry to act as 9th grade English teachers critiquing journalistic style, it is nevertheless obvious that most authors tend to favor drama and spicy headlines without necessarily having the facts to support their arguments. Journalists in the U.S. enjoy – and, we hope, will always enjoy – first amendment guarantees on freedom of speech, and critical, insightful approaches will always be welcome. But criticism must always be backed up by strong analysis and innovative ideas. The habit of reprinting the same-old worn arguments as new information seems to be endemic among much of the mainstream media. This must change in order to offer serious analysis to the reader.

ENDNOTES

[1] *Jane's*. 2007. Shield of safety? - The role of private security companies. November 16. URL located at: http://www.Jane's.com/news/security/capabilities/jir/071116_1_n.shtml [2] McKay, Floyd. 2007. Blackwater: bulging biceps fueled by ideological purity. *The Seattle Times*, November 14. URL located at: http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/opinion/2004012110_floyd14.html.

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COL. DENNIS GYLLENSPORRE

European Union Crisis Management

Europe Returns to the Fore of International Security



IN 1814, key states in Europe established an International Conference to plan and respond to crises threatening security in the region which became known as the Concert of Europe. This Conference pioneered peacetime multilateral crisis management and its security regime served as an inspiration for the League of Nations and later the United Nations. [1] With the current European Union (EU) comprehensive approach to crisis management operations, the Europeans appear once again to be at the forefront of a security regime.

After a long period of discord, a European chorus reemerged as the EU evolved in the aftermath of the Second World War. Only when Yugoslavia was torn apart in a violent civil war in the 1990s was a reluctance to intervene in international crises abandoned. At that point it became evident that Europe did not have the capability to respond to this crisis, without significant assistance from the U.S. Since 1999 the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) has evolved into a viable crisis management tool for the EU. To date, 18 operations, civil and military, have been launched on three continents. Another two operations are expected to start soon.

Jean Monnet, one of the founding fathers of the EU, argued that when you have a problem you cannot solve, enlarge the context. [2] From this viewpoint it is not surprising that the hallmark of the EU crisis management is its comprehensiveness. This article will shed some light on four facets of this holistic approach:

Broad Threat Perception

The threats and challenges defined by the EU include terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, failed states, and organized crime. Notably, all of these threats may have civilian and military components. Moreover the threats have an increasingly global nature and the EU is assuming the role of a global security actor. [3]

Multi-Dimensional Responses

Multifaceted threats require use of a panoply of tailored measures. As a fundamental principle, the EU operates in conformity with the principles of international law. To respond, the EU can engage in trade, diplomacy, humanitarian assistance, and development aid alongside crisis management deployments. In addition to using military forces, pledged by Member States on a case by case basis, the EU deploys civilian missions including police, rule of law, civil administration, civil

protection, and monitoring. In particular, the EU emphasizes the crucial link between security and development. Together with its member states' national programs, the EU is the world's largest aid donor and so crisis management activities seek to find synergies with aid programs. To ensure an effective response by the international community, the EU also works closely with its partners in the field.

is available to fund and kick-start measures to restore stability.

The security environment is becoming increasingly complex. Successful crisis management requires carefully tailored and multifaceted responses. The EU has established a multinational crisis management fabric where diplomatic, economic, humanitarian, civilian, and military lines of operations are intertwined



A European Union military mission remains active in Bosnia-Herzegovina.
PHOTO: EUROPEAN UNION PARLIAMENT

Adjusting to Regional Conditions

Arguably, the EU is the most successful regional institution in the world. In this spirit, the EU supports regional cooperation worldwide as a basis for sustained security and prosperity. Each crisis region requires tailored responses. Currently, 10 crisis management missions are being conducted each tailored to the relevant regional settings in Africa, Asia, the Caucasus, the Middle East and the Western Balkans.

Addressing All Phases of Conflict Cycle

The EU accepts responsibilities in all stages of the conflict cycle. While the EU experience and focus are rooted in a tradition of long-term programs for fostering a conducive security environment that prevents conflicts and restores stability in war-torn countries, there is sometimes a need to respond rapidly. The EU has at any given time two military task forces (Battle groups) on standby at high readiness. Civilian Response Teams can also be dispatched at short notice for assessment missions and to establish an initial presence in the field. To complement these deployments, a Rapid Reaction Mechanism

and tailored for the regional context and the conflict phase. This fabric can only be woven with extensive coordination and collaboration amongst EU actors, member states, and partners. Indeed a new European Concert is paving the way for a comprehensive approach to crisis management operations.

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J. J. MESSNER

A Controversial Calculus

What Makes the Likes of Bangladesh So Keen to Keep the Peace?

PAKISTAN, Bangladesh and India, apart from being neighbors, also happen to be the top three personnel contributors to UN peacekeeping missions. Each country contributes just above or below 10,000 troops, military observers and civilian police to UN missions, nearly 6,000 more than the next largest contributor, Nepal. These nations do far more than most by willingly putting their soldiers in harm's way in support of international peace efforts.

But when one considers the leading and most capable military nations in the world, few would list these three. Further, when one considers the leading contributors to promoting peace, one would tend to think more of countries like Canada, Japan or Norway. So how exactly did this very unlikely bunch of nations become the leading contributors of personnel to UN peacekeeping missions? Surely there must be something in it for these countries.

Take Bangladesh, for example. It has personnel deployed on no less than 13 missions, in Afghanistan, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, D.R. Congo, Darfur, Ethiopia/Eritrea, Georgia, Kosovo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Timor-Leste and Western Sahara. Bangladesh has few, if any, strategic interests in any of these countries. So what is in it for the Bangladeshis?

The first answer may be financial. Assuming a UN per diem of just over US\$1,000 a month per person, Bangladesh earns around US\$120 million a year from its UN peacekeeping duties. [1] Based on this figure, it means that UN peacekeeping per diem equates to roughly a fifth of Bangladesh's US\$600 million annual defense budget. [2] Though it would be inaccurate to say that Bangladesh's defense budget is wholly based on UN peacekeeping per diem, 20 percent is a not an insubstantial amount.

Beyond the financial incentive, Bangladesh has sought to leverage its commitment to UN peacekeeping with influence at the UN. The country has been able to improve ties with more powerful nations, claims to have improved trade relations and, according to their UN Ambassador, has never lost an election in the United Nations, allowing it to sit on, and thus influence, a raft of UN bodies and subsidiaries where the country has a seat. [3]

In this sense, Bangladesh's commitment allows it to hit above its weight within the UN structure.

Maybe it is not so naïve to believe that Bangladesh (and other lesser developed or developing countries) contribute to UN peacekeeping on such a grand scale out of the goodness of their collective hearts. But realistically, with tight budgets and even tighter resources, it is unlikely that any such country would consider participating in these missions without first considering "what is in it for us?"

That calculus brings us to an interesting and controversial question. If nations such as Bangladesh contribute personnel to participate in far-off conflicts where they have no strategic interest, and are instead motivated by the prospect of financial enrichment or power and influence, does this not make such countries "mercenaries"?

Now, it is important to understand that IPOA and the peace and stability operations industry in general has rejected the popular definition of what constitutes a "mercenary" as it is an outdated and inaccurate definition that is more commonly applied in a pejorative sense. But let us, just for a moment, assume that such a definition is accurate. The Geneva Conventions define a mercenary as a person who takes part in an armed conflict who is not a national of a Party to the conflict and

"is motivated to take part in the hostilities essentially by the desire for private gain and, in fact, is promised, by or on behalf of a Party to the conflict, material compensation substantially in excess of that promised or paid to combatants of similar ranks and functions in the armed forces of that Party." [4]

Sound familiar?

Now, no one would seriously describe contributors of personnel to UN missions as "mercenaries." Indeed, the contributions of nations such as Bangladesh, India and Pakistan should be applauded and encouraged as, given the dereliction of the west in its obligations to UN peacekeeping, these missions would be lost were it not for the generosity of these nations.

But the question, "are these peacekeeper contributors mercenaries?" is intended to illustrate an important point. This question should definitely not be construed as in any way denigrating the contributions of these countries, for they do form the backbone of UN peacekeeping, and are thoroughly indispensable. This is by no means a criticism of these nations.

But realistically, it is clear that lesser developed and developing countries that contribute personnel to UN missions are largely motivated by financial reward. Private companies that are contracted by governments, regional organizations, NGOs and corporations the world over, providing similar if not the same services as UN peacekeepers are also motivated by financial reward as any company in a capitalist market is. But what distinguishing factor makes private companies, but not UN peacekeepers, "mercenaries" in the minds of some?

Is it because UN peacekeepers serve under the flag of their nation and the UN? Well, it can't be, because so too do private companies when serving on, for example, U.S. or UN contracts. Is it because private companies exist to make profits? Well perhaps, but remember that countries like Bangladesh clearly profit from peacekeeping also. So what is it?

In all likelihood, it demonstrates an irrational rejection of the role of the private sector in such operations. Nations such as Bangladesh, India and Pakistan provide very high quality, well-trained and professional personnel to UN peacekeeping missions. But not every country does. So, while it seems perfectly fine for sometimes ill-equipped, untrained and unprofessional personnel of lesser developed countries to participate in UN peacekeeping, many observers balk at the concept of highly-trained, well-equipped, professional and ethical private companies providing the same services. There seems, however, to be no rational basis for such a rejection.

Until the general public and institutions such as the UN get past their irrational aversion to the use of the private sector, peacekeeping will inevitably suffer. The private sector is not a substitute for the troops of these countries. But rather, the private sector is a force multiplier. And until that important resource is properly tapped, peacekeeping will be the victim.

ENDNOTES

- [1] UNDPKO. 2007. Monthly summary of contributors of military and civilian police personnel: November. URL at: http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/contributors/2007/nov07_3.pdf. [2] Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies. 2007. Bangladesh. URL at: http://www.ipcs.org/Military_militaryBalance2.jsp?database=1002&country2=Bangladesh. [3] *The Washington Times*. Crisis in Congo. March 5. <http://insider.washingtontimes.com/articles/normal.php?StoryID=20050305-103700-9501r>. [4] Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol 1) Article 47.

BACKGROUND PHOTO: HELENA MULKERNS /UNMEE



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AMBASSADOR HERMAN COHEN (RET.)

Libya Seeks to Expand Its Sphere of Influence

Gadhafi Pursues Libyan Dominance in Africa



CAN a leopard change his spots? Can the esteemed "Leader" of the Libyan Revolution, Colonel Moamar el-Gadhafi, join the ranks of legitimate heads of state working to enhance global stability and prosperity? Judging from his state visit to France during the week of December 10, 2007, one might conclude that Gadhafi has definitely completed his ascent from pariah status to legitimacy begun in 2003 with the renunciation of Libya's efforts to build a nuclear weapon.

While Libya's foreign policy no longer promotes "revolution" in countries totally outside Tripoli's line of sight (i.e. Northern Ireland and Southern Philippines), the "Leader" continues to pursue a lively interventionist diplomacy in Africa. While active in the broader African Union covering the entire continent (with the conspicuous absence of Morocco), Libya's main sphere of interest lies in the states bordering the Sahara.

In 1998, Libya was the driving force in the establishment of the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) that has since become a sizable economic sub-region within the African Union, along with ECOWAS, SADC, and COMESA and several others. The basic concept underlying CEN-SAD is that economic integration will create larger markets and greater competitiveness within a global economy. So far, the impact has been minimal. From the Libyan point of view, however, Tripoli is exerting political leadership that raises Libya's profile on the international stage. Libya's message to the rest of Africa is that political union will give the continent the clout to resist the "capitalist predators" and "neo-colonialists" who continue to see Africa solely as a source of raw commodities.

The problem with Libya's emphasis on political union, supported with heavy financing of endless ministerial and summit meetings, is the masking of the urgent need to carry out internal economic and political reforms that are absolutely required to attract private investment. These reforms are required above all in Libya itself.

While Libya is promoting political union in Africa above the radar, it is also actively involved in politico-military action below the radar. For example, Libyan arms appear to be flowing to both Chad and Sudan which are sponsoring insurgencies against each other across the Darfur-Chadian border.



Colonel Gadhafi.
PHOTO: U.S. NAVY

In Somalia, the Ethiopian army is bogged down in a violent quagmire in the capital city of Mogadishu where an alliance of ethnic clans and Islamist militias are resisting the consolidation of power by the Ethiopian-sponsored Transitional Federal Government. Libya is apparently supplying arms to the Somali Islamic resistance forces via Eritrea which seeks to keep Ethiopia destabilized because of serious issues between these two bordering nations in the Horn of Africa. In this situation, Libya is also demonstrating solidarity with the government of Egypt that sees Ethiopia as a potential competitor for the waters of the Nile River.


In parts of Africa where Libya is not involved in conflict situations as a silent partner of one or both sides, Tripoli has been active in promoting conflict resolution. In the long war between the D.R. Congo and Rwanda (1998-2002), for example, Gadhafi hosted the first reconciliation meeting of the two heads of state, leading to serious, lengthy and successful negotiations hosted by South Africa.

Libya has substantial resources derived from its oil and gas production. Gadhafi has been trying to exercise constructive leadership in Africa, and is not reluctant to use some of those resources in this effort. What Libya lacks is a serious understanding of sub-Saharan African culture, politics and economic priorities.

Libya's emphasis in sub-Saharan Africa should move away from the promotion of political union, a long term elusive objective, in favor of promoting African economic development. Libya should emulate fellow Arab hydrocarbon producers like Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates in establishing development funds with professional management. This would give Tripoli more political influence in Africa than any of its current activities.

When it comes to Libya's politico-military activities beneath the radar, Washington and Tripoli need to develop a serious dialogue about conflict management in sub-Saharan Africa. Washington and Tripoli have important common interests, including a state of total war against Al Qaeda and other Islamist terrorist groups, a desire for stability in the Sahel region (with an emphasis on promoting reconciliation between Tuareg and Bantu ethnic populations in Chad, Mali and Niger), and the use of indigenous energy resources for industrialization.

U.S.-Libyan relations need to move beyond the lingering problems of bilateral normalization to a serious dialogue on mutual interests in Sub-Saharan Africa.

 [Email Amb. Herman Cohen at hancohen@aol.com](mailto:hancohen@aol.com)
The author is a former Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, and is President of Cohen & Woods International.

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CECILIE BEISE

Ethiopia and Eritrea

Under Trying Conditions, the UN Continues to Keep Peace Between Neighbors

THE United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE) was established on July 31, 2000 following a violent two-year border conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea and a subsequent agreement on cessation of hostilities between the two countries. UN Security Council Resolution 1320 of September 15, 2000 authorized the deployment of up to 4,300 military personnel – mandated to oversee redeployment of Ethiopian and Eritrean forces, ensure compliance with the cessation of hostilities agreement and monitor the Temporary Security Zone (TSZ).

In mid-August of 2002 UNMEE's mandate was adjusted in order to assist the Boundary Commission's expeditious implementation of its Delimitation Decision: UNMEE provided administrative and logistical support for the Boundary Commission's field offices and was also charged with de-mining activities within the areas of demarcation.

Hostilities and fighting between Ethiopians and Eritreans have been ongoing for decades, starting with the imposition of imperial rule over Eritrea by Ethiopian emperor Haile Selassie in 1962. Ethiopia's hold on Eritrea weakened with time and in 1974 Ethiopian forces suffered a crushing defeat in Asmara at the hands of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front. On May 24, 1993, Eritrea was declared an independent nation after an internationally recognized referendum on secession. Although Eritrea was formally recognized as a sovereign state, the governments of the two countries failed to demarcate their respective borders, thus creating a breeding ground for future conflicts to erupt. The resumption of war in May 1998 between Ethiopian militias and Eritrean armed forces has therefore been attributed to the lack of agreed upon and internationally recognized borders and the movement of Eritrean armed forces into territory previously administered by Ethiopia. By March 2000, the two-year war had directly affected approximately 370,000 Eritreans and 350,000 Ethiopians through displacement, deportation, injury and death.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations, through its Special Envoy in Africa, managed to bring the two parties to the dispute to the negotiating table in July 1999 where they agreed on "The Modalities for the Implementation of the OAU Framework

Agreement." Ethiopia and Eritrea agreed to redeploy their forces from positions taken during the war but tension continued and in May of 2000 fighting erupted again. In the same month, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1298 restricting the sale and provision of weapons and arms-related assistance to the two countries. In June, the Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities was signed by the Foreign Ministers of Ethiopia and Eritrea: the agreement represented a commitment to end violent hostilities, a reaffirmation of the OAU Framework, and also called for a peacekeeping force to help implement the agreement.

In November 2000, Canadian, Danish and Dutch units of the Standing High Readiness Brigade deployed to Ethiopia and Eritrea and helped set up UNMEE headquarters. Since 2004 the mission has seen several reductions in strength and personnel, starting with UNSC Resolution 1560 which decreased the number of UNMEE military personnel to 3,342. UNMEE was further reduced in May 2006 to 2,300 troops and as of June 30, 2007, the number of military personnel has been trimmed down to 1,684. This reduction has taken place despite a deterioration of the relationship between Ethiopia and Eritrea in the last year, Eritrean obstruction of UN mission tasks and Ethiopian refusal to accept the Boundary Commission's ruling. Arguably, these reductions in mission size have occurred at a time when the mission should be enhanced in order to more effectively deter the two countries from plunging back into war.

UNMEE's mission success is also being hampered by both Ethiopia and Eritrea's unwillingness to comply with the cessation of hostilities agreement. Since Eritrea banned UNMEE helicopter flights over Eritrean territory in October 2005, the UN mission has been unable to patrol and monitor about 60 percent of its area of responsibility and almost half of the mission's monitoring posts (18 of 40) on the Eritrean side had to be vacated as a result of the flight ban. In addition, since December 2006, the Eritrean government has been micro-managing the UNMEE personnel makeup by expelling all Western nationals, such as U.S., Canadian and European peacekeepers, and in March 2007, the head of UNMEE's de-mining unit, David Bax, a South African, was expelled due to accusations of violating local laws. Eritrea's continued hostility towards the mission impedes not only mission success but also complicates the delivery of food aid,

humanitarian assistance, de-mining along the border as well as ensuring the two countries' compliance with the Algiers peace agreement of 2000.

Some analysts believe Eritrea is debilitating the mission because the Eritrean government is frustrated with the international community's incapacity to force Ethiopia to accept and comply with the Boundary Commission's 2002 ruling. Ethiopia has not only refused to implement the ruling but has also declared it illegal, thereby leaving the peace process at a standstill.

Although some say that the Ethiopia-Eritrean conflict is turning into a Cold War, the two nations seem to continue a hot proxy war for influence on Somali soil. Indeed, Ethiopia has been lending military support to Somalia's Transitional Federal Institutions while the Eritrean government has been sympathetic to the Union of Islamic Courts.

BACKGROUND PHOTO: CECILIE BEISE



UN Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)

Acting SRSG:
Azouz Ennifar (Tunisia)
pictured left
Commander:
Maj-Gen. Mohammad Taisir Masadeh (Jordan)
Commenced:
July 31, 2000
Personnel:

Current Strength:
1,684 troops, 257 civilian staff
Contributors of Personnel:

Algeria, Austria, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Gambia, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, India, Iran, Jordan, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Mongolia, Namibia, Nepal, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Romania, Russian Federation, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Tunisia, Ukraine, United States, Uruguay and Zambia
Approved Annual Budget
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PICTURE: UN

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The author is a Research Associate at IPOA.



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The forthcoming Iraq Defence, Security & Communications Summit (IDSC) has received a huge boost with the news that Iraqi Defence Minister His Excellency Abdul Qadir Obeidi will be attending to hold discussions with international defence contractors over the course of the event. The summit, which will take place in Dubai on 16-17 February 2008, will welcome H.E. The Minister along with a team Deputies and Director Generals, to discuss Iraqi defence issues and to forge the relationships that will aid the development of the sector in Iraq.

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