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Beyond the Shores of Tripoli

An Interview with Stuart R. Bowen Jr.

Empowering Afghan Women

Expeditionary Diplomacy: To Juba and Beyond

The Publication of the International Stability Operations Association

Humanitarian Response

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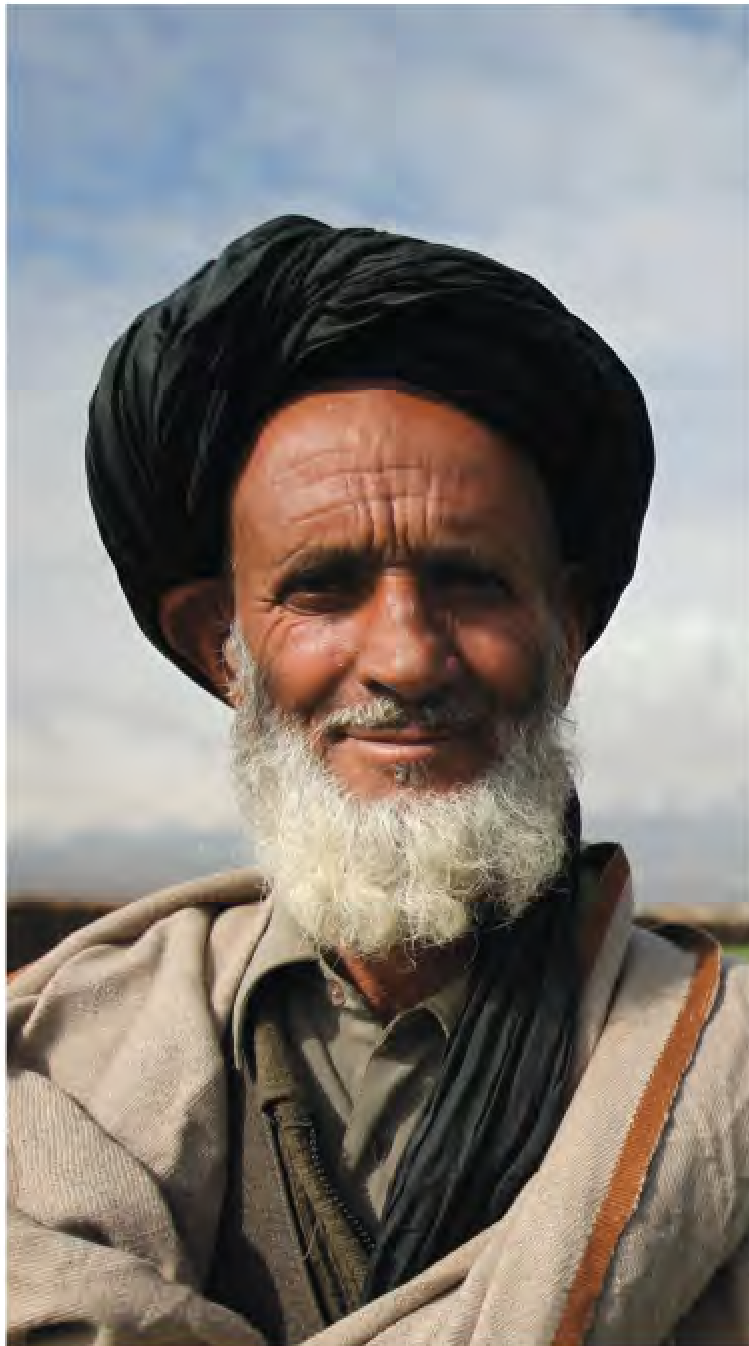

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Doug Brooks

When Taxes are Taxing

Afghan taxes as an impediment to client-contractor partnerships

When the U.S. government is your client, which one of these buildings do you call for help? Photos: State Department, USAID DoD

THE Afghan Ministry of Finance – in direct contravention of existing legal agreements – insists on sending tax bills to businesses operating in Afghanistan under U.S. Government contracts. While clearly a vexing issue, even more troubling is the fact that the U.S. Department of State refuses to raise, much less resolve, this issue with their Afghan counterparts.

Carefully negotiated agreements between coalition governments and the Government of Afghanistan specify that non-Afghan contractors that support the stability and reconstruction missions are not subject to Afghan taxation. This exemption is completely sensible, as the Afghan Government and its people are the ultimate beneficiaries of partner-funded, contractor-provided assistance; in the United States, Congress would certainly be incensed – particularly at a time of an especially tight budget – if foreign governments dare to charge the American taxpayer for providing foreign aid. Nevertheless, the Afghan Ministry of Finance has repeatedly submitted tax bills that are not allowed under government-to-government agreements and that frequently indicate inflated, arbitrary, or even fraudulent tax rates to companies providing such aid. An additional complication is that Afghan officials have indicated the intent to withhold work permits if the companies refuse to pay the illicit taxes.

Clearly, the governments which are funding the much-needed stability and reconstruction missions and which negotiated the agreements should address this problem. In the U.S. case, our State Department did negotiate the initial agreements to ensure that U.S. funds spent in support of stability and reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan would be exempt from Afghan taxation. Unfortunately, the State Department has proven inexplicably reluctant to enforce these agreements, creating enormous problems for contractors. In refusing to pay the improper taxes, these companies cannot receive the required work licenses and permits from the Afghan government – and thus cannot perform the vital stability and reconstruction missions for which the U.S. Government hired them. The end result is that contractors are squeezed between an obstinate Afghan Ministry of Finance and an unresponsive U.S. Department of State.

Contingency contractors are hired to provide services in conflict, post-conflict and disaster relief operations, not to make strategic decisions or negotiate with foreign governments. Too often of late, contractors have spent inordinate amounts of time and resources not on their contractual responsibilities but instead on ancillary tasks, including delicate negotiations with customs or immigration officials to get vital equipment or expert personnel into the country.

While these kinds of ancillary tasks often come with the job for contingency contractors, where problems can be foreseen and easily addressed by the governmental client, that client should create the conditions for successful, professional and timely completion of contracted tasks. The Afghan tax issue would be a great place for this kind of support.

To its credit, the U.S. Department of Defense recently provided helpful guidance to contractors, although this guidance is likely meaningless to Afghan officials because it does not constitute government-to-government resolution of this issue. The U.S. Agency for International Development has proven to be the most proactive agency at ensuring U.S. taxpayer funds are spent

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J. Peter Pham

Beyond the Shores of Tripoli

The Revolt against Muammar Qaddafi and its impact beyond Libya's borders

Tripoli coastline, in a "peaceful" Libya. Photo: Creative Commons

WHILE, as of this writing, the fate of the revolt against Libya's Muammar Qaddafi remains uncertain, notwithstanding the deployment by the United States military of armed Predator drones in support of NATO's Operation Unified Protector, it is nonetheless not too soon to be looking at the likely impact of the geopolitical shifts that the uprising has already set in motion—and will continue to do, irrespective of its outcome.

Mercenaries

There have been repeated reports of "African mercenaries" fighting to defend the Qaddafi regime. Rebel forces have put bodies on display alleged to be those of slain mercenaries as well as live prisoners whom they accuse of having fought against them. Veteran correspondents have tracked down efforts to recruit fighters from groups as disparate as tribesmen in Mali and the Polisario separatists from camps in Algeria. Amid the many allegations of mercenary use, the one thing that is clear is that there is a "foreign fighter problem" in Libya and it is by no means new.

Dr. J. Peter Pham is Director of the Michael S. Ansari Africa Center at the Atlantic Council, as well as Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of the Middle East and Africa.

Relatively early in his rule, Qaddafi created an international mercenary force, the Islamic Legion (al-Failaqa al-Islamiya), whose members were recruited primarily from youth of the countries in the Sahel—including significant numbers of Tuareg and Zaghawa tribesmen from Mali, Niger, Chad and Sudan—to help him in the various conflicts in which he was embroiled with his neighbors. While the Islamic Legion was officially disbanded in the late 1980s, many of its members were either placed into special units within the regular Libyan armed forces or otherwise resettled in Libya. For years Qaddafi also ran a network of training camps for aspiring African warlords such as Liberia's Charles Taylor and Sierra Leone's Foday Sankoh. While the former is now behind bars—and likely to stay there for the rest of his life—and the latter died awaiting trial, there were thousands of other alumni from across Africa, some of whom have been inducted into the elite units like the 32nd Brigade (the so-called "Khamis Brigade" commanded by Qaddafi's youngest son, Khamis). In more recent years the regime has also recruited Africans with military experience transiting Libya as clandestine immigrants en route to Europe.

Thus, whatever the outcome of the battle for Libya, plans need to be made to identify and disarm these fighters before they return from whence they came and create problems far beyond Libya's borders.

Refugees and returning emigrants. As if Tunisia and Egypt, having both come through their own revolutions this year the outcomes of which are still to be determined, did not have enough challenges on their hands, they have had to cope with hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing the fighting in Libya. These mass movements of people will seem like a mere trickle if the security situation worsens and the estimated one-fifth of the Libyan population thought to be made up of Sub-Saharan African emigrants begins to flee southward back to countries in the Sahel which are ill-equipped to receive them, much less to absorb them. Yet if the military balance, as the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Mike Mullen, has warned, is indeed "moving towards stalemate," this is precisely what is likely to happen and provision needs to be made for the eventuality if a humanitarian emergency is to be averted.

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Refugees transitcamp. Photo: UN OCHA/David Ohana

Islamists

Traditionally, Islam in Libya has been overwhelming Sunni and largely moderate. And for all his appropriation of Islamic motifs and building of mosques named after himself across the length and breadth of Africa, Muammar Qaddafi adopted a hard stance relatively early against militant Islamism, indeed against any form of political Islamism, because he viewed it as a threat to his absolute control of life in Libya. The regime ruthlessly eliminated the Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) that had been formed by returnees from the fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan. In fact, the eastern areas around Benghazi, Derna, and Ajdabia which constituted the heartland of the current uprising against the regime were home to one or another Islamist opponent of Qaddafi throughout the 1980s and 1990s. In fact, the largest anti-regime demonstration to break out in Libya before this year's revolt was the May 2009 funeral following his death in custody of militant Ali Mohamed al-Fakheri, a.k.a. Ibn al-Sheikh al-Libi, a trainer for al-Qaeda who was handed over to Libya after several years in American and Egyptian custody following his capture in Pakistan in 2001. Thousands of mourners turned out for his funeral in his hometown of Ajdabia.

While this does not mean that Islamists will necessarily gain the upper hand among the various groups currently struggling for the Qaddafi regime's downfall, it would be naïve to deny their strong presence in that coalition. Moreover, other Islamist groups, like al-Qaeda's North African franchise, al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), are certainly well poised to take advantage of the vacuum created in southern Libya by the focus on the fight along the country's Mediterranean coastline. Given the burgeoning ties which AQIM has forged with drug traffickers, criminals, and other elements in the last few years, it would not be a bad idea to strengthen counterterrorism capabilities of friendly states on the frontlines of this threat.

African assets

Qaddafi long harbored ambitions of hegemony in Africa. What he failed to win by military conquest, he has more recently sought to gain through a series of shrewd investments, fueled by the substantial revenues that the regime has derived from the country's hydrocarbon resources. There is scarcely an African country that the sovereign wealth funds of the regime in Tripoli have not reached. Blatant examples abound: the 100,000 hectares of agricultural land leased in Mali to majority ownership of the Novotel in Kigali, Rwanda, and the Golden Tulip in Accra, Ghana; a 69 percent stake in Uganda Telecom; and Oil Libya Holding Company's more than two thousand gas stations in some twenty different countries. Libyan financing has been critical to the building of infrastructure in Sub-Saharan Africa, including the reverse flow-capable extension of the Mombasa-Eldoret oil pipeline in Kenya to the Ugandan capital of Kampala. The recently announced tender for the construction of a 230-kilometer pipeline from Lake Albert to Kampala is predicated upon the completion of a pipeline from Kenya by Libya's Tamoil, while soon-to-be-independent Southern Sudan's dreams of someday bypassing the North with its oil exports is largely based on the completion of the proposed Ugandan pipeline. Whoever picks up these Libyan assets in the coming months may well shape the course of Africa's economic development for years to come.

In short, the ripples of events presently unfolding around Tripoli will travel far beyond that shoreline. The most probable outcome for Africa, irrespective of how the fight for the control of Libya unfolds, will be a diminishing of the outsized role the North African country has played in the politics and economics of the continent for over four decades. Should the rebels succeed in ousting Qaddafi, they will need to focus all of their resources on rebuilding their country—socially, politically, and economically—after the long misrule of the "Brotherly Guide." If Qaddafi somehow manages to put down the uprising, he will likewise have to deploy all of the resources he commands to keep another one from threatening his grasp on power. In either case—or in the increasingly probable scenario that the conflict is protracted and Libya is returned to the divided state it was just half a century ago—a new geopolitical and economic balance will most certainly emerge in Africa as the smoke of the current battles clears. And in that new dispensation, there will be plenty of need for security and stability operations—as well as a not insignificant bit of strategic opportunity for forward-thinking states and firms. ■

Can Qaddafi hold on to power? Photo: Evan Schneider/UN

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Humanitarian Response

Preparing for and implementing effective response to conflict and disaster

A smile amid a chaotic Haiti earthquake relief effort. Credit: Triconphoto, Flickr

Humanitarian response is an all-encompassing term for a wide range of operations, from delivering food aid to providing temporary shelter to training and preparedness. A quick and efficient response is key and oftentimes the sociopolitical and physical environment present seemingly insurmountable obstacles and risks. Procuring the necessary resources, employing the right people, collaborating across actors and proactively planning for all scenarios ensures that when disaster strikes or conflict spreads, affected populations are protected and cared for.

The earthquakes in Haiti and Japan, along with the growing humanitarian crisis as a result of the unrest across the Arab world, provide recent case studies. Japan's response to the massive earthquake earlier this year proved that preparedness, training and collaboration are the prime contributors to success in humanitarian operations. Increasingly, NGOs, international organizations and governments are implementing a wide range of trainings and preparedness strategies that benefit participants and populations alike.

One such training is the United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS) rapid response training. This type of humanitarian operation focuses on reducing dangerous threats to innocent populations, as opposed to more traditional operations such as delivering aid. **Vanessa Arrington** reports on the importance of creating a realistic post-conflict environment in hypothetical "Sandland," based on an amalgamation of real-life conflicts including Kosovo, Eritrea, Gaza and South Lebanon. Rapid response is key and the involvement of a hugely diverse participant list is a positive case study in collaboration.

The effects of such trainings are often felt beyond the involved participants. **Colonel Peter VanAmburgh** traces the evolution of Natural Fire 10, an annual theater cooperation event in East Africa involving local soldiers and U.S. military, and its positive impact on the local population. In addition to building preparedness for disaster relief operations, the training includes relationship building, process ownership and open communication. He reports that the lessons learned and experiences reached far beyond the direct participants.

If local preparedness is a major contributor to the success of humanitarian operations, then the frustrations stemming from the response and reconstruction efforts in Haiti are no surprise. After returning from Haiti, **Whitney Grespin** outlines the continuing challenges to humanitarian efforts on the ground. Lack of preparedness and training, coupled with high poverty levels and limited infrastructure, have created a difficult environment that is far from conducive to collaboration between the many organizations attempting humanitarian response operations.

In Haiti, as in many other nations affected by conflict and disaster across the globe, the most vulnerable populations suffer the most. **Oscar Davis** shares his experiences over a long career delivering aid, especially to children. Their needs differ greatly from those of adults and the elderly. A simple gesture such as a small gift, can mean the world to a suffering child, and delivers a glimmer of hope in an otherwise grim situation. He encourages all humanitarian responders to plan for and think of the children as they develop and implement humanitarian operations, from delivering aid and purifying water, to building shelters and securing displaced populations.

Next Issue, the Feature section will be **Pakistan.**■

Vanessa Arrington

UN Rapid Response Training

Achieving authenticity and intensity in hypothetical conflict

Setting the stage for a realistic conflict environment is no easy task. Photo: Vanessa Arrington

IN the heart of the Swedish countryside, deep inside the UNESCO-recognized region of the High Coast, rapid response simulation training has been taken to a new level. For nearly two weeks every summer, dozens of U.N. employees and international mine action operators gather together in the forest, where a raging conflict in the fictional country of "Sandland" comes to life. With the help of a team of exercise control staff and extensive scenario information, the exercise is done as a full immersion, and the goal is nothing short of realism.

"This is the most practical training that exists inside of the United Nations because you have real-life scenarios being played out for 10 to 12 days straight by a wide variety of U.N. and NGO staff," said Chris Clark, a U.N. mine action specialist and one of the creators of the exercise. "There is no substitute for actually experiencing a post-conflict scenario firsthand, but this exercise is the closest you'll get."

In today's environment of increasing natural disasters and fast-changing conflicts on the ground, the need for skilled individuals who can deliver services quickly and efficiently in difficult and developing situations is greater than ever. The Sandland exercise, in which participants receive hands-on exposure to the challenges of rapid response deployment while practicing the use of relevant equipment and managing a seemingly never-ending series of tasks, serves as a solid model for other operators in the stabilization industry.

Importantly, participants are constantly evaluated on their readiness for operating in high-stress environments, creating a roster of qualified and talented employees ready for rapid response challenges. "The exercise is very intense, and participants definitely come out better prepared," said Liban Holm, Program Officer with United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS). "The most important output is the number of highly qualified first responders to post-conflict situations that we train."

Before the exercise, participants receive several pages of elaborate background information on Sandland. They learn about the history of the fictional country, its conflicts and the recent U.N./NATO "intervention" that is now allowing them to enter the post-conflict region and set up a Mine Action Coordination Center (MACC). They even get details on the country's fictional political parties, ethnic groups and geography.

The highly realistic scenario is based on an amalgamation of real-life conflicts including Kosovo, Eritrea, Gaza and South Lebanon.

After arriving to Stockholm from across the globe, the participants receive a morning debrief before hopping onto a military plane and heading north into the High Coast region. The scenario gets put into play as soon as they land at the Kramfors Airport, where the Swedish military awaits on site and simulates a military airport with prisoners, tanks and checkpoints. The trainees are then taken into the middle of the forest, where they will spend the next two weeks working, eating and sleeping at a makeshift camp set up by a logistical support team provided by the Swedish Civil Contingencies Agency, or MSB.

"Within 48 hours of arrival, people are really into the scenario – it's 100 percent," said Jorgen Mohlin, an MSB instructor who serves as the Swedish-based coordinator of the exercise.

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Vanessa Arrington is the Director of Conflict Mitigation at Pax Mondial. She served as Media Coordinator on the 2010 UN Sandland Exercise.

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"During the exercise, the participants are completely engaged – they are living in a camp and talking about Sandland 24 hours a day. The problem isn't getting people into the scenario, it's getting them out of it when it's all finished."

Participants must set up the Sandland MACC and start working on a landmine threat assessment and proposed methodology for threat reduction, assignments that are due by the end of the two weeks. In the meantime, however, they must also deal with a barrage of challenges thrown their way by the exercise control staff, whose job in the simulation is to mirror the uncertainties, headaches and dangers of a complex and high-risk environment.

While many of the U.N. staff in the 2010 exercise had flown in from already difficult operating environments such as Afghanistan, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo, not all of them had rapid response experience and many were trying on new roles.

The mine action exercise, which first began in 2004, has steadily evolved over the years. The exercise control staff now includes professionals from a broad range of U.N. agencies and NGOs, selected to help develop and promote inter-agency cooperation among the mine action community. In 2010, exercise control staff came from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Danish Demining Group, DanChurchAid and Geneva International Humanitarian Demining Center as well as the United Nations' World Food Programme, Department of Safety and Security, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and UNICEF. Even a lieutenant colonel from Thailand from the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping, Military Planning Service was there to ensure an authentic "transfer of power" from NATO to U.N. troops.

"Part of what makes the exercise so effective is that people in the control staff are role-playing their real jobs," said Clark, who serves as team leader of a newly established Standing Mine Action Capacity (S-MAC), which provides key support to UNMAS' ability to deploy a predictable and efficient response capability to swiftly address the humanitarian impact of explosive remnants of war. By having a standing rather than a stand-by capacity, UNMAS will be able to deploy a trained and proven capability quickly. In addition to being the first response to emergencies, the S-MAC will also support all UNMAS programs through technical help, reinforcement and assistance with Boards of Inquiry in the unfortunate event of an accident involving staff.

Alongside the U.N. staff getting trained and evaluated in the Sandland exercise are two Swedish technical teams comprised of medics, team leaders and EOD (Explosive Ordinance Disposal) operators. These teams also confront a series of challenging technical tasks they must complete throughout the two weeks, including survey and clearance of simulated mine and cluster munitions areas and disposal of everything from a 2,000-pound aircraft bomb to a hand grenade.

Sandland's "conflict" looks real to many. Photo: Vanessa Arrington

Steer clear of these signs. Photo: Vanessa Arrington

The simulation provides opportunities to practice and employ technical skills as well as innovation and self-sufficiency, according to Ivo Palm, Sandland's EOD team supervisor. "We are training them to work with no support system in place," says Palm, a Swedish police officer who himself has worked as an EOD operator in places like Iraq, Somalia and Sudan. "The simulation is very close to real life, especially considering that we are in the middle of Sweden."

The EOD teams bond quickly, working several tasks a day under intense, albeit simulated, pressure. Some "assignments" are a stone's toss away from the base camp, others may take a 3 1/2 hour-drive to get to. According to Palm the ongoing and realistic practice means "they will be very effective in real-life scenarios," especially when they get to work with each other again out in the field.

In 2010, some 85 people participated in the exercise, including the trainees, exercise control staff, Swedish military and additional role players brought in from the local Kramfors community to portray everyone from rebel forces to journalists. A few Swedish children even gave participants an additional task when they wandered into camp asking for candy in return for mine remnants they had discovered nearby.

Sandland will again come to life in the heart of Sweden this June. "The annual rapid response training is an essential activity of UNMAS and will continue to grow in impact with the implementation of the Standing Mine Action Capacity," said UNMAS Director Max Kerley. ■

Colonel Peter VanAmburgh, Ed.D

One Mission to Africa, Lessons for a Lifetime

Exploring the local impact of disaster and humanitarian response training

East African and US forces working together during Exercise Natural Fire 10. Photos: Peter VanAmburgh

THE thought of African military engagements rarely invokes images of preparation for disaster relief or humanitarian operations. The effect that this type of operational training can have on participants, including local populations, is not widely recognized. Exercise Natural Fire 10, the largest humanitarian and disaster relief exercise conducted on African soil to date, is contributing to stronger and more robust disaster response capabilities and a better understanding of the local impact.

Natural Fire 10 involved moving National Guard and Reserve forces from the continental United States and Germany, along with representative forces from Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Tanzania, to several sites in Uganda. The three-week mission aimed to build partner capacity and interoperability, but went much farther than its stated goals. It left all participants with key lessons for multinational operations and a deep appreciation for one another and the Ugandan people.

Col. Peter VanAmburgh is an Army National Guard Officer with a doctorate in Organizational Leadership & 27 years of special operations and other mission experience.

Exercise Natural Fire 10

Exercise Natural Fire is an annual theater cooperation event orchestrated between the United States and the East African countries of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. It evolved from a bilateral exchange into multinational exercise designed to prepare participants for regional response to humanitarian and disaster crises. Natural Fire 10 was the largest of the Natural Fire endeavors and rose to the "graduate level" with its three mission components: (1) a Table Top Exercise among East African Countries and nongovernmental organizations in Kampala; (2) employment of a Coalition Joint Task Force headquarters in Entebbe; and (3) a tactical element (Task Force Kitgum) to conduct medical, dental and engineer activities, and train partner nation personnel in critical activities necessary to function collectively in disaster environments.

The main effort of Natural Fire 10 was conducted in the Kitgum, and where 1009 personnel from the U.S. Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines and soldiers from Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda assembled to conduct Field Training Exercises, Humanitarian Civic Assistance operations, and joint logistics support of the mission objectives. This multinational force was called Task Force Kitgum and built proven operating structures, lasting relationships and synergy among the mission force, the local nongovernmental organizations and, most importantly, the local Ugandan people.

Organizing, Relationships, Communications and Impact

The Natural Fire 10 exercise was the culmination of over a year of planning among interagency and multinational representatives. While formal arrangements were made at the macro-level, a majority of the actual participants would meet for the first time in Kitgum when the operation commenced. The environment in Kitgum required a structure characterized by innovation, unique outputs from multidisciplinary teams, the temporary arrangement of people and resources; and because of unpredictable requirements and limited command authority, influence largely came from mutual adjustment and coordination.

The Task Force faced three major organizational challenges: (1) assembling people with the right

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skills and knowledge; (2) exercising influence over participants without being able to rely on formal controls; and (3) balancing the administrative need for efficiency and economy with the requirement for responsiveness.

In order to address these challenges, forces established an integrated command structure to provide unity of effort. The United States provided the formal commander and coordinating staff, the deputy commander was a Lieutenant Colonel from Uganda and the remaining staff was composed of key representatives from the other five East African countries involved. Standard operating procedures and drills such as medical evacuation were developed and rehearsed in detail for potential contingencies Task Force members would potentially execute. English was chosen as the common language among the command and staff while subordinate elements of the Task Force had the challenge of working through English, Swahili and French.

There is a common lesson often learned in complex multinational operations: relationships will sustain the mission when bureaucratic structures and systems fail. Previous experience and knowledge of the psycho-social aspects of group development among the Task Force leadership ensured relationship building was a priority from the start. Careful arrangement of personnel, the physical design and flow of the headquarters facility into tabletop cells to encourage crosstalk, coupled with official and unofficial social engagements were all employed to assist in relationship and team building.

In conjunction with a relations approach to building teams, process ownership was a guiding principle to structure and direct the semi-autonomous operations undertaken by the Task Force. The sub-components were organized for functional expertise and complete integration. Each country brought medical and dental professionals, engineers, and military security personnel. All participants were arranged into multinational-functional teams for the missions. The medical and dental elements were dispatched to clinics at various locations to practice the site preparation, triage and treatment of the local population. The engineer teams focused on renovating two schools and one hospital while the security teams conducted training and actual force protection of the Task Force's elements.

The value of establishing multinational teams cannot be overstated. After overcoming initial language and group formation issues, each team quickly matured and worked successfully in the cooperative competitive environment. This enhanced the unity of purpose across the force and mitigated the potential for country-level elements to become isolated in the mission.

Understanding the local people, issues, politics and mediums of communications are critically important to all multinational operations and particularly when conducting humanitarian and disaster assistance. Natural Fire 10 was a superb test of the ability of the participating forces to understand the local customs and laws, and to act accordingly. This was no small feat given the language, religious, cultural, political and other differences among the six countries and residents of the Kitgum region.

Communications proved decisive to educating, shaping perceptions, setting expectations and engendering the Task Fork Kitgum's internal and external support. The primary mediums used to communicate with the local residents were meetings, radio broadcasts, individual interactions and the universal gestures of smiles and waving. A key objective of the mission was for the Ugandan government and African partners to be the "face" of Natural Fire to the local inhabitants. All first level engagements with the local Ugandans, including the large-scale triage of patients, were made with coalition members and Ugandan civilian leaders. Local radio stations offered opportunities to provide information and call-in dialogue where local Ugandans could question the Task Force leadership. These radio forums were invaluable to alleviating fears and rumors, and to providing information about scheduled events.

Results

The final results of Task Force Kitgum during Natural Fire 10 included 11,698 persons treated through the medical and dental capacity building events, three facilities (two schools and one health center) renovated, 636 soldiers from five countries trained in a variety of disaster response measures, seven radio broadcasts conducted, and a successful logistics and forward staging operation established. This all occurred with an integrated multinational tactical operations center synchronizing, resourcing and tracking the 1009 joint and East African personnel accomplishing the mission. During Natural Fire 10 there were only two injuries, no equipment losses or damages, no violations of local law and all of the units returned to their host countries safely. The lessons learned among the participants were many, including the value of employing integration as an organizing principle; the importance of relationship building and its ability to sustain the mission; the criticality of public communications to engender support among the local population; and the knowledge that performing humanitarian and disaster relief is difficult, but there is nothing more rewarding then building the capacity to help people in need.

Parting Thoughts

An event for commerce and cultural exchange between the Task Force participants and local residents was scheduled at the conclusion of Natural Fire 10. Local vendors and entertainers were permitted on the forward operating base to sell their wares and entertain the soldiers. By the end of the formal dancing exhibition an inspiring scene of friendship had emerged: the crowd was completely integrated: it appeared that every U.S. serviceperson had a Ugandan child on his or her lap, and the various camouflage patterns were mixed with the bright colors worn by the residents of Kitgum. People were singing and dancing, and then the rain came – a tremendous downpour. Unbeknownst to most, it is considered good luck among the people of Kitgum when rain occurs during dancing. The result was even more enthusiasm, wilder dancing, and louder singing, with red mud covering and splashing on everyone. It was at that moment that a local Ugandan woman dancing in the crowd, soaked with rain and covered with mud, tears of joy in her eyes, grabbed the U.S. Command Sergeant Major, hugged his face and cried, "This is the best day of my life."

The Ugandans in the Kitgum region have endured incredible hardships over the last 15 years, including famine, civil war and unbelievable brutality at the hands of insurgents. Many of the locals who came to the Task Force encampment, like the overjoyed Ugandan woman, walked for several days for a few moments of interaction with the group of U.S. and East African partners. I think that her display of emotion summed it up for us all. ■

Whitney Grespin

Aid and Relief in Haiti: Lessons Learned?

Assessing international reconstruction efforts, one year after disaster

Are the peacekeepers talking to the NGOs? Are the NGOs talking to the private organizations? Photo: Whitney Grespin

OVER a year after relief groups kicked off operations in Haiti, many people are left wondering, why are we still asking the same questions about aid delivery and efficacy, and facing the same problems with implementation and reach that were painfully apparent in the days both before and after the tragedy? Foreign aid and disaster assistance have inarguably improved the living standards and recovery capacity for the millions affected, yet such assistance treats Haiti's complex challenges on a case-by-case basis and does little to reform the country's long term aid dependency issues.

Challenges

In the earthquake's wake, the shattered country saw a complete breakdown of social contracts. The vast majority of the government's ministries were destroyed, as were the lives and institutional knowledge that gave the buildings a purpose. The vital stabilization knowledge housed in MINUSTAH, the U.N. peacekeeping force in Haiti, was also crippled by the deaths of scores of experienced staff. These losses speak nothing of the suffering of the wider population, in which nearly everyone lost someone close to them.

So, where to start when all seems lost? Many hands do make light work, but post-disaster environments frequently have too many cooks in the kitchen. In a country like Haiti, where the needs are vast and immediate, it seems that rushing in to respond to a problem does not necessarily lead to successful solutions. Scores of NGOs inundated the country and set up projects that were independent both of government supervision and of each other. This uncoordinated multiplicity of effort was, and still is, confusing at best and wasteful at worst.

Slow program implementation in Haiti is often blamed on NGOs themselves. Even the most successful programs have borne the culpability for not having emptied their coffers months ago. However, only a limited amount of the money pledged by international actors has actually been delivered, and of the funds that have been received, only a small portion has been dispersed. A lack of funds challenges even the largest organizations with the most abundant resources.

There has been a frequent, perhaps even systematic, isolation of the NGO world from local governments, local industries, community groups, and private organizations. This isolation – sometimes self-imposed and sometimes circumstantial – inhibits any coordination among groups and vice versa. There is a lack of both basic logistical coordination and conceptual consensus. Such chaos has further weakened the already tenuous condition of state power. Local leaders' open frustration over their inability to track progress has led to local government intervention. It is in these instances that both legitimate and illegitimate actors exercise any power they might still possess – or merely appear to be possessing.

Superficial media reports expound upon the premise that reconstruction efforts are hampered by the extreme poverty and lack of infrastructure that inherently comes with operating in Haiti. Substantially less attention has been paid to whether aid policies may have actually contributed to the state of impoverishment that gripped the country before the earthquake.

Whitney Grespin is a Programs Specialist at New Century and served as a public service delegate to Haiti on behalf of the group Young Professionals in Foreign Policy.

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What Civil Society?

Startlingly, many aid programs have picked up where they left off before the earthquake, making it unlikely that efforts will be any less futile than in the past. There are some professional NGOs that do impeccable work; yet, despite promoting "capacity building," these organizations still breed dependence on foreign resources. Much of the advice on how Haiti ought to rebuild and restructure after the disaster sounds disturbingly familiar to edicts of the past. It is time to pursue new policies that mandate self-sufficiency and accountability for community leaders while simultaneously weaning the country away from dependency on foreign donors and financial institutions. While accountability and compliance procedures have made invaluable contributions to improving aid efficiency and efficacy, they have also limited the capacity for responsiveness of programs on the ground.

Larger organizations have an exponentially greater pool of resources to draw from; however, those resources often come with red tape that strangles innovation. Bureaucratic oversight of local knowledge and proven appropriate technology is a burdensome obstacle, perhaps as troublesome as the local fraud and abuse that can stall the implementation of aid programs. By aggregating power, the NGO community aggravates the problem of dependency. A culture that fosters the expectation of – or even entitlement to – handouts from foreigners is calamitous. As one aid worker proffered, "I think you would literally have to have all the foreigners leave Haiti to bleed out the mentality of dependence."

Alarmingly, gaining formal or informal employment experience with NGOs is one of the most viable forms of occupational training in existence.

The Red Cross does what it can. Photo: John Butler

Haiti has the highest per capita occupancy of NGOs in the world and is often referred to as a republic of NGOs. In an attempt to deliver goods and services "here and now," the groups often pass these provisions through mechanisms that bypass (admittedly ineffectual) government agencies and investment. Therefore the fledgling government has no chance to expand appropriately or become effective.

Beyond the underperforming civil service structure is the challenge of imperfect law enforcement across Haiti. Given the relative calm and stability that pervades the Haitian countryside, it is likely more relevant to consider drawing down the massive peacekeeping forces and further reallocating resources towards development, with U.N. funds going towards UNDP goals rather than blue helmets. The U.N. forces active throughout Haiti are not peacekeeping forces in the traditional sense of the word; they are not separating two armed groups, and there is no imminent threat to the governing structure by another state. This peacekeeping is providing security for development – or, rather, redevelopment.

The biggest contribution that U.N. forces make – other than donating discretionary income into local markets – is attempting to minimize gang activity and gender-based violence, specifically within the displaced persons camps. This task could be undertaken for a fraction of the cost by well-trained Haitian National Police forces that are culturally literate to the nuances of socioeconomic and political tensions that run high throughout IDP populations. Indeed, MINUSTAH's current mandate does not give them independent executive authority anyway; on paper they are already a support system for Haitian police. Even if it were impossible to remove the peacekeeping troops, it would be a better use of resources to task them with training responsibilities in order to teach best-policing practices and bequeath responsive leave-behind doctrine for future refinement.

Growing Pains

Yes, there will be growing pains as the government reconstitutes itself, but Haiti must make the best of what has come its way and embrace the potential that exists in the country. Viewing the tragedy of the earthquake as an event of creative destruction could well be the best step forward. As it stands, foreign support fills a gap where the Haitian government should be providing services. Until, or unless, the state takes charge again, Haiti will remain chronically reliant on foreign aid.

In a field that strives to make itself obsolete through capacity building and human capital development, the question always lurking beneath the surface is, "Will this program be effective enough to put itself out of business?" Will foreign programs at their most effective, at their most ambitious, have a transformative effect on Haiti? Will the skills and knowledge imparted be enough to allow projects to be sustainable, if not self-sustaining? And, when good is the victim of perfection, when will one be able to say, "We taught you how to fish – go forth and find your own dinner?"

Haitians are resilient – there is no doubt about that. However, there must be a broad call for the fostering of a more resourceful and self-reliance mentality amongst the locals. Haitians have been treated as if they are incapable of running their own country for hundreds of years and the time has come for them to prove the international community wrong. The local leadership is capable when it is pushed. The international community cannot incentivize the status quo any longer. We should not abandon all support for development and relief projects, but rather implement them – build their skeletons – in a way that local communities can flesh out as possible and appropriate.

Just as the international community is stressing a drawdown of troops in Iraq and Afghanistan in order to promote independence, the international community should seriously consider a tiered drawdown of international assistance in Haiti. Projects should not be abandoned or face a total withdrawal of support, but a calculated process that takes community-articulated information into account should transfer responsibilities and resource management from foreign groups to local actors. Relief and development initiatives have alleviated human suffering and improved human capital capacity on a colossal scale, yet more needs to be done to minimize the ease of dependence on aid and ameliorate its historic deficiencies.

Relief and development assistance saved thousands, but aid agencies and international donors cannot "fix" Haiti. Only Haitians can do that. ■

Oscar Davis

Humanitarian Relief for Children

It is often the innocent that suffer the most in man-made disasters

Children, blinded by conflict, at Milton Margai School for the Blind learn about their new visitor. Photo: Oscar Davis

SADLY, over the years I have witnessed many communities experience a set back because of civil war. I particularly feel for the vulnerable children that suffer in a conflict situation due to circumstances far outside their control. I think of my own childhood and reflect on how lucky I was to have been brought up in a safe environment by a very loving family. I know that children in conflict situations often witness scenes that remain imprinted in their minds for the rest of their days. It is in their eyes you can see how traumatized their short lives have been.

Some years back, I was responsible for humanitarian relief in a number of leading international relief agencies. I distributed the usual array of relief goods, medicines, shelter, clean water, food and vehicles, and I added what I considered very important, a "toy" for the children. At first the aid community considered such gifts a waste of funds. However, it slowly proved to be a great success. I remember taking a BBC TV crew, led by the former breakfast show host Selina Scott, to Mekele, Ethiopia to witness the distribution of aid to thousands of internally displaced people (IDPs). The aid consisted of high-energy biscuits, blankets, donated children's clothing and, most importantly, toys, such as skipping ropes and colorful balls. We witnessed the roar of excitement at the sight of the toys, not just amongst the children, but also their families. For one moment in time their lives returned to a near normal existence. The joy in the children's eyes will remain with me for a long time to come.

Oscar has worked in Aid & Humanitarian operations for over 34 years at HQ and field postings for leading International Organsations, travelling extensively. Oscar is RMA Group's UN Sales Manager.

It is to Sierra Leone that I return when I think about the consideration of children in humanitarian situations. During a recent visit to Freetown, I was able to see how much the country has progressed in its bid to consolidate peace, enhance national unity and cohesion and achieve its development goals. There is, like in many other developing countries, a growing problem of youth unemployment. However, the free health care initiative launched by the present government has begun to show encouraging results, especially in reducing child and maternal mortality. Young children are also receiving treatment for malaria; the effectiveness is beginning to show with a noticeable reduction in the malaria fatality rate in hospitals.

At the Milton Margai School for the Blind in Freetown that I was presented with a new challenge: how to relate and communicate with blind children. Eye contact was out of the question but I soon learnt to communicate through touch. My photographer colleague, who is of Chinese origin, soon became the center of attention as some of the boys wanted to know where he came from. Touching and feeling his head, eyes and mouth soon resolved their inquisitive minds and in no time they were able to place his heritage.

The Milton Margai School for the Blind, founded in 1956, caters to around 80+ pupils. The school has pulled through the recent turmoil of Sierra Leone's savage civil war. It was evacuated during the coup in 1998, and was affected by shelling in 1999 due to its close proximity to the neighboring army carracks. A number of pupils were blinded by rebels during the conflict, and many others were affected through loss of family members. The school, which is supported by private donation, has the most basic of facilities, but strives hard and achieves high academic standards. Many of pupils leave to go onto higher education and the school has an active choir that is

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renowned throughout Sierra Leone and beyond. Still, students battle daily with the difficulties they face by living in a culture that does not always value the disabled.

They used to say to me that those involved in relief, aid and development eventually become immune to the suffering – I can assure you that this is not the case. I have come across many a humanitarian worker who has had a harrowing experience in the field that changed their outlook on life. It is a very humbling but privileged experience to share just a few moments with those who receive aid. At first I used to feel anger at not being able to change things and frustration at not being able to do more to mitigate the suffering. I remember clearly being told when working in the troubled townships of South Africa that the best thing I could do to help was to go back home and tell people their story. This message was repeated on many other occasions, from Cambodia to Nicaragua.

Reconciling contrasting worlds is probably one of my biggest problems. I remember one year returning home from a field trip in a conflict zone a few days before the Christmas holiday season. My wife and our four children were all ready to enjoy the good food and the traditional present exchanges, but all I could feel was the sadness for those that I had just left behind. From time to time I have had to take a break from "front line" involvement in relief, aid and development work. However, at present I am lucky to work for an organization that keeps me in direct touch with what is happening in the field.

A few months ago my wife and I were able to visit some of the projects in Cambodia that we were involved in thirty years ago. It was, again, quite a humbling experience to spend some time in those communities. The children, who at the time of the relief programs were very young, were now proud parents themselves. Children's laughter had returned to the country and everywhere we saw evidence of the progress that has been made.

A place to play helps children forget their suffering. Photo: UNICEF USA

I greatly admire and respect the work of international humanitarian and U.N. agencies that continue to bring relief to children in current conflicts. The commitment and dedication of their staff in the field is exemplary. However, despite the existence of international humanitarian law (primarily the Geneva Conventions and the Convention on the Rights of the Child), we still sadly witness children caught in conflict today. According to U.N. estimates, in the past two decades, two million children have been killed, six million children displaced and twelve million injured or disabled as a direct result of wars across the globe.

How does she stay strong in the face of disaster? Photo: UNHCR

We currently address the physical and immediate needs of children in conflict situations. In many cases I have seen that immediate needs take priority over long term healing. We treat wounds, we provide prostheses for mine victims and we house the displaced, but how do we foster a return to normalcy after the immediate wounds are healed? How do we address the long-term nutritional, environmental, emotional and psychological effects of conflict? From my experience, these are growing concerns and their answers are paramount. These answers will not only address the long-term socio-economic and psychological wellbeing of children, they will also help reduce the chances that the children ever see and/or participate in conflicts again. Graça Machel clearly states in her study for the United Nation on children in war: "War undermines the very foundations of children's lives, destroying their homes, splintering their communities and breaking down their trust in adults." Finding new and innovative ways to heal that emotional and sociological wound will be the key to peacebuilding in post-conflict societies.

It was Jimmy Carter who famously said, "We will not learn how to live together in peace by killing each other's children." There is simply no arguing against that point. ■

Ambassador Robert G. Loftis

Expeditionary Diplomacy: To Juba and Beyond

The Civilian Response Corps' role in conflict prevention and stabilization

Looking back on the beauty of Sudan, and vulnerable civilians. Photo: UN/Albert Gonzalez Farran

LAST summer, the State Department sent a demography expert from the U.S. Census Bureau named Oliver Fischer to Southern Sudan to support the U.S. effort to ensure a peaceful, on-time referendum on independence in January 2011. In preparation for voter registration, Fischer helped the Southern Sudanese crunch data and fill in gaps in population information so that the government would be able to calculate whether enough voters supported independence.

Before long, Fischer was doing much more than crunch numbers. He helped expand the U.S. government's reach into rural Southern Sudan, an area the size of France with fewer than 100 miles of paved road. On one occasion, he helped mediate a cattle grazing dispute between two clans, drinking tea with clan leaders and assisting them in planning a dialogue for peace in a situation that could have escalated to regional violence.

Ambassador Robert G. Loftis is the Acting Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization at the U.S. Department of State.

Why is a Census expert negotiating clan conflict? Fischer, a member of the U.S. Civilian Response Corps, deployed to Southern Sudan to focus specifically on conflict monitoring and response. He and the Corps – experts drawn from nine U.S. government agencies and trained to work in fragile environments – are part of a growing effort to conduct diplomacy outside of traditional embassy environments, providing additional manpower, specialized knowledge, and logistical flexibility to complement our diplomatic missions. There is no set checklist for accomplishing these tasks, but they are part of the future of U.S. diplomacy.

In the coming years, America and its allies will face ever more threats from fragile states and non-state actors, which will require a shift toward more expeditionary forms of diplomacy. We will do more to provide strategic planning and conflict prevention expertise; to team up with the military and nongovernmental partners; and to provide unique skills to fill gaps in places like Sudan. We will work with other countries to leverage, coordinate, and help improve their capacity—and ours. As we work to implement the Secretary of State's vision for civilian power, we will improve our ability to support more Southern Sudans and deploy more Oliver Fischers to the places where they are needed.

21st-Century Diplomacy

Already, the Department of State is embracing conflict prevention and stabilization as a core mission. In 2010, the Civilian Response Corps made 292 deployments to 28 posts overseas, nearly triple the number in 2009. The mission also includes conflict prevention assessments in more than 20 countries and hundreds of millions of dollars in the pipeline for stabilization projects to bridge the gap between immediate post-conflict response and long-term development.

Our work in Southern Sudan serves as a good example of how this work is under way. Oliver Fischer was part of a broader U.S. strategy that reflects this change in emphasis. It requires coordination among U.S. offices in Washington and Sudan on a range of activities: supporting full implementation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the north and south, facilitating a political agreement in Darfur, and promoting regional engagement to counter terrorism and support stability. As President

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Obama put it: "what happens in Sudan matters to all of sub-Saharan Africa, and it matters to the world."

In Southern Sudan, the first part of our work was to build up the U.S. Consulate General in Juba in the lead up to the referendum. Our expeditionary personnel, working alongside USAID and others, traveled to remote areas to monitor and deter conflict. Making peace was up to the Southern Sudanese, but we provided assistance where we could. In one case, it was as simple as helping a state governor connect with officials in the capital of Khartoum, giving voice to his concerns and enabling negotiations with a neighboring state. Elsewhere, we helped identify areas that had not yet received critical voter registration materials and helped a governor broker an agreement between two tribes who couldn't come together to discuss grievances on their own.

We now have teams in Southern state capitals to expand their contact with local officials, nongovernmental organizations, church groups and ordinary citizens, and improve our understanding of the potential for instability and conflict. Temporary housing in boxcar-type containers allows officers to work and live for up to six months in these far-flung spots to monitor and facilitate the region's transition to independence. We have also deployed additional vehicles and chartered an airplane, cars, and drivers to travel the undeveloped region efficiently. This work facilitates diplomacy at the most local level, carried out well beyond normal diplomatic environments.

The Civilian Response Corps provides specialized, short-term help, but it was only part of the broader U.S. mission in Sudan. Once the situation stabilizes, local actors, supported by traditional U.S. diplomacy, will continue the work of building a new country. As Southern Sudan moves toward independence and the United States expands its permanent diplomatic presence, we will continue to fulfill our stabilization role until conditions no longer require it.

The Future of Civilian Power

Our work reflects the recommendations of the State Department's recently released Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, which will establish permanent structures and processes for the civilian mission in fragile states. The Secretary of State defined this mission: to "prevent conflict, save lives, and build sustainable peace by resolving underlying grievances fairly and helping to build government institutions that can provide basic but effective security and justice systems."

The Sudanese people will decide their future—but only in a secure country. Photo: UN/Eskinder Debebe

The QDDR identified the need for diplomats and development experts to work fast to prevent the escalation of violence and set conditions for peace. We must work with the military regularly so that our defense, diplomatic, and development resources complement each other. We can't start from scratch in each crisis to set up the necessary teams and find expertise across the U.S. government. We must support embassies in rapidly changing environments with expertise in conflict prevention and response. Addressing these issues is critical to protecting our national interests and those of our friends and allies.

The Civilian Response Corps is a major resource for the Secretary to use in leading this mission. The Corps stands ready to deploy at a moment's notice and includes members from State and USAID as well as other agencies, such as the Departments of Energy and Transportation, and, like Oliver Fischer, the Department of Commerce. This model allows us to assemble expertise from across the government and avoid duplication of effort. As Fischer's experience suggests, skillful practitioners can be found in many agencies, not just at State and USAID. The Corps and its partners within State are already working on many national security priorities, including in 11 of the top 15 states on the Fund for Peace's Failed States Index, published annually in Foreign Policy magazine.

In Southern Sudan, the credit for a successful referendum goes to the Sudanese people and provides hope that peace will emerge from decades of violence there. Our diplomatic and development personnel, and responders like Fischer, also deserve great credit for months of quiet work to head off conflict and improve our ability to anticipate crisis in one of the world's most difficult regions. This work in Sudan and elsewhere is teaching us new ways to confront our security challenges. Though less heralded, this work is no less a priority than response to open conflict, and its importance will continue to grow in the years ahead. ■

Iveta Cherneva

A Jurisdictional Triangle

The UN Security Council, the ICC, Qaddafi and the case of Libya

ICC Prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo has his work cut out for him this year. Photo: UN/John McIlwaine

THE International Criminal Court (ICC) prosecutor Luis Moreno-Ocampo and his team have been given a central role to play in addressing the widespread and systematic attacks against the civilian population in Libya since February 15, 2011, which "may amount to crimes against humanity," as stated in U.N. Security Council Resolution 1970. Approved unanimously on February 26, 2011, paragraph 4 of the Resolution referred the situation in Libya to the ICC, the proceedings for which the Court initiated on March 3, 2011.

Council Resolution 1970 deplores the civilian deaths and systematic human rights violations occurring on the territory of Libya since mid-February this year, as well as the incitement to hostility and violence against the civilian population made from the highest level of the Libyan government. On a number of occasions grad rockets have been reportedly fired into clearly defined civilian areas; military tanks were reported to enter residential areas in cities such as Benghazi and Misrata, among other reported violations.

The ICC is often criticized for its limited reach and activity, especially in high-profile cases of mass violence and atrocities, when the Court's hands seem to always be tied, often due to issues of jurisdiction. Therefore, a few questions arise in this legal context. What is the applicable legal procedure and how is it that what usually ties the Court's hands in situations of mass atrocities, is no longer an obstacle in the present case? What is different about Libya? What is the role of the U.N. Security Council referral that allows the Court to proceed in this case and what limitations may exist?

Establishing ICC Jurisdiction

Generally, ICC jurisdiction is grounded in state sovereignty and acceptance. Thus, a state needs to explicitly agree to give the international court the competence to try international crimes allegedly occurring on the territory of that state (Art. 12. 2a ICC Rome Statute), or allegedly perpetrated by a national of that state (Art. 12. 2b ICC Rome Statute). Libya is currently not a party to the ICC Rome Statute, nor has indicated the desire to become one.

The key for establishing jurisdiction in the Libya case, is Art. 13b of the ICC Rome Statute, which allows the U.N. Security Council to refer a situation to the ICC. Resolution 1970 referral is based on this article, in conjunction with Security Council mandated under Chapter 7 of the U.N. Charter that defines the Council's role as one to determine threats to, and breaches of peace, and to maintain or restore international peace and security (Art. 39 U.N. Charter). It is through this channel of Security Council referral that the ICC can assert jurisdiction, while it fails to do so in similar situations.

Questions might arise as to whether, in the case of Lybia, the Council is legitimately acting under its Chapter 7 mandate. Chapter 7 provides the mandate of maintenance of international peace and security. The most often debated question is whether maintenance of international peace and security includes internal conflict. It could certainly be argued that, given the volatility of the political situation in the Middle East, the grave human rights situation in Libya affects Middle

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East regional security, and therefore, international security.

Furthermore, the U.N. Security Council has on more than one occasion acted in a way that expands the institutional mandate, which is often humorously referred to as acting under "Chapter 7 and a half," (i.e. extending mandate to imply language not originally contained in Chapter 7 wording, this way going beyond the legal language almost like writing another chapter to the U.N. Charter) . However, institutionally speaking and following a dynamic interpretation of the U.N. Charter as a living instrument, there are a number of examples of issues occurring "in-between borders" that have been taken up under the Council's mandate, including resolutions on Darfur, Sudan.

In addition, the Council often does not include legal basis when issuing a resolution, leaving many commentators to wonder on which part of the U.N. Charter the Council is basing its decisions. Given that there is no international body that has reversed a Council decision, whereby acting as the Council's judicial check, it remains largely up to the Council's own discretion to determine what counts as a matter of international peace and security. In the present case of Libya, this might not be such a bad thing.

Limited Applicability in Other Cases of Grave Human Rights Violations

This particular situation is likely an exception to the rule. It is rare that the five stars that make up the U.N. Security Council align in a constellation in favor of international criminal justice. Due to veto power possessed by the P5, the U.N. Security Council-ICC referral approach has proven limited in the majority of cases. Often even though the ICC would be capable of putting forward a plausible case for investigating international crimes committed by one of the five permanent members, or for investigating individuals or states safeguarded by the veto of one of the five permanent members, legally the referral would not materialize.

The ICC Libya referral marks the first time in the U.N. Security Council's history that China and the United States, neither of which are parties to the ICC, support ICC referral.

For that reason, Art.13b is a limited route to international criminal justice. In fact, since the establishment of the Court in 2002, referral passed only once in 2005, when the Council referred the situation in Darfur to the ICC by adopting resolution 1593, from which the United States and China still abstained.

What is remarkable about the present Libya referral is the unanimity of Resolution 1970. Irrespective of U.N. structure and limits to the ICC referral approach, it takes nothing away from the good intentions of Ocampo and company. ■

Security council meetings like this one, will occure at a much higher rate this year. Photo: UN/John McIlwaine

◀ 04 | When Taxes are Taxing | Doug Brooks

as intended, and the agency will reportedly dispatch lawyers to the Afghan Ministry of Finance to ensure that their contractors are not taxed. Again, though, these actions do not represent resolution.

Only the Department of State can take the lead on this Afghan tax issue and provide for a long-term solution. State Department must stop abdicating its responsibility, engage the Afghan government, and ensure the effective, efficient use of U.S. taxpayer money to benefit the people of Afghanistan.. ■

Visit the ISOA website at www.stability-operations.org for more information on the Afghan tax issue, as well as other advocacy issues that ISOA addresses on behalf of its members every day.

Naveed Bandali

Improving Oversight of Contingency Operations

A conversation with the SIGIR, Stuart W. Bowen, Jr.

Left: Stuart W. Bowen at the Commission on wartime contracting hearing. Right: Iraq Provincial Reconstruction Team. Photo: Department of State

STUART W. Bowen, Jr., has served as Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR) since October 2004. Prior to this post, he served as the Inspector General for the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA-IG) in 2004. Previously, Bowen also served as Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Staff Secretary and Special Assistant to the President and Associate Counsel in the George W. Bush Administration. He also served four years active duty as an intelligence officer in the United States Air Force.

JIPO: Can you elaborate on your vision of a robust doctrine and structure for contingency relief and reconstruction operations, as articulated in "Hard Lessons: The Iraq Reconstruction Experience" (2008).

Bowen: There is now no single agency devoted to stabilization and reconstruction operations (SROs). Duties are divided among the Department of Defense (DoD, Department of State (DoS) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), with the Department of Justice (through the International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP)), the Department of the Treasury (through the Office of Technical Assistance), and the Department of Agriculture playing significant roles.

However, no leader or director is in charge of planning and managing contingency relief and reconstruction operations. That is that hardest lesson from Iraq — and certainly from Afghanistan, as well. I have proposed that the Congress bring together the various pieces that have been created to execute SROs, which are now scattered among the departments, and give them a single home: the U.S. Office for Contingency Operations (USOCO). The USOCO director would report to the Secretaries of Defense and State. Within USOCO you could house the Office for the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (S/CRS), now at State, which was created in 2005 in response to address the Iraq staffing problem; the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) ,now in USAID , and formed in 1994; the Treasury Department's Office of Technical Assistance, formed in 1990; and the International Criminal Investigative Training and Assistance Program (ICITAP), formed in 1986. Also, certain Department of Defense (DoD) stability operations initiatives, formed over the past eight years, could move under USOCO's aegis. This reorganization would give coherence and continuity to future stabilization and reconstruction operations. More important, it would ensure that someone is clearly responsible for planning, executing, and being held accountable for stabilization and reconstruction operations.

JIPO: In retrospect, have the reconstruction efforts in Iraq been successful, or have the last eight turbulent years largely been for naught? Is the current government of Iraq sufficiently capable, prepared and uncorrupt to shoulder the burden?

Bowen: We have reported on the U.S. reconstruction program in Iraq for seven years in 29 quarterly reports, which reveal that while some projects succeeded, many failed. Khan Bani Saad, a prison project in Diyala Province, for example, was an important security project that was not finished. $40 million in taxpayer money was spent on Khan Bani Saad, but it will never hold a prisoner. That $40 million was entirely wasted. By contrast, our recent evaluation of large projects

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showed that the Irbil water treatment plant — one of the top five projects the U.S. government has accomplished — is operating very effectively and the citizens up in the Kurdish region benefiting from the plant are very pleased with the outcome. Corruption has been an incessant problem in Iraq -- and it was so before the 2003 invasion — Saddam Hussein's regime was fundamentally corrupt. The succeeding years after the fall of Saddam, however, have not shown significant improvement in rolling back that practice and culture of corruption. The Iraqis have several systems in place created by the Coalition Provisional Authority in 2003 and 2004 to enable them to fight corruption, but they are not operating particularly well. The Commission on Integrity and the Inspectors General are not operating effectively. Corruption continues to be a cancer on the Iraqi government. Ali Baban, the Iraqi Minister of Planning, once told me that the path to privatization — that is, privatizing the oil and gas sector, which is really the only source of income for the Iraq government must be accomplished for corruption to seriously be rolled back.

JIPO: U.S. troops are set to withdraw from Iraq by the end of 2011, barring an invitation from the host government to maintain some presence. In your view, are the conditions on the ground amenable for the planned withdrawal — that is, are you satisfied that Iraq is now a "permissive environment?"

Bowen: Iraq is not a permissive environment. It is still a dangerous place to operate. The Iraqis have to shoulder the burden of providing their own security at this stage; the United States has invested about $25 billion in building a police force and army so that Iraq could develop the capacity to sustain its security. Are they doing that today? No. Will they be there by the end of the year? They will be closer to full operational capability, but it is going to be a significant challenge. Iraq still suffers from daily deadly criminal attacks, terrorist attacks, assassinations, kidnappings — significant instability still exists. It is nothing like it was in 2007 at the height of the Surge, but nevertheless it is one of the least stable environments in the Middle East — a region that is now quite widely unstable.

JIPO: Can you speak to the necessary factors for a successful leadership transition process from the DoD to the DoS in Iraq?

Bowen: Significant work is being done by the U.S. Forces- Iraq (USFI), led now by General Lloyd Austin, and by the U.S. Embassy in Baghdad, led by Ambassador James Jeffrey. I meet with them both whenever I travel to Iraq, which is once each quarter. My 30th trip will occur later this spring, and I will discuss with them again the very important transitions that are ongoing. The impending reality is that the U.S. footprint and expenditure levels will be greatly reduced after the military withdraws. Last year, as General Austin has said, the USFI costs amounted to about $75 billion to maintain its presence of about 50,000 troops in-country. That is dropping down to what Amb. Jeffery says is about 17,000 civilian contractors, government employees, and some remaining military personnel in the Office of Security Cooperation. Costs will similarly drop significantly; the DoS has asked for about $6.2 billion to support operations for next year.

Whether that is sufficient to sustain the level of effort desired is being debated. Transition will be tough; there is no doubt about it. There are so many moving parts and so many issues related to maintaining security for those 17,000 personnel in Iraq. There is not much time left, and that means that the DoS and DoD have got to increase their efforts to ensure that the transition is as effective and alacritous as possible.

JIPO: As the U.S. military footprint decreases and its diplomatic presence increases, it is expected that the contractor footprint will likely have to increase as well, notably in the security sector. What are the implications of this shift in service provision? Based on your experience, what are the pitfalls that must be avoided to ensure success during this crucial evolution?

Bowen: One of the pitfalls to avoid is the repeat of an incident such as Nisoor Square, which occurred in September 2007 — the most devastatingly, damaging incident for the United States or contractors in Iraq over the last eight years. I am confident that such an incident will not be repeated; lessons have been learned. The key, of course, are effective and clearly communicated rules on the use of force for private security contractors. The DoS is in charge of monitoring this and will have its hands full as the number of security contractors is expected to double next year. Managing the greater volume in the security sector will be a challenge, particularly given the loss of the security backdrop that USFI provides. a question moving forward is how frequently will DoS civilians be able to engage with Iraqis outside its security posts.

JIPO: The Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan (CWC) recently released its second interim report, "At what risk?: Correcting Over-Reliance on Contractors in Contingency Operations." It puts forward 32 recommendations for enhancing government oversight and improving the delivery of services, thereby reducing waste, fraud and abuse. Among these recommendations is for a permanent inspector general office for contingency operations — a modification of your proposal of an agency for contingency operations (see: JIPO, Vol. 6, No. 1: July-August 2010). To what extent would such an office help standardize the oversight and accountability of the contingency contracting industry?

Bowen: Yes, I think this CWC recommendation is very sound and crucial for bringing effective oversight to future reconstruction and stabilization operations. Certainly the absence of such an office in Afghanistan for most of the life of that operation, and the absence of one in Iraq for the first year, caused significant waste. Ensuring that there is a well-organized, well-staffed, well-trained oversight entity that is ready to deploy to help ensure the best use of taxpayer dollars in stabilization operations is crucial for not just protecting taxpayer interest, but ensuring efficient and effective execution of those operations. The United States has been engaged in some form of stabilization and reconstruction operation pretty much continuously since 1980. Having that resource — a permanent inspector general with the capability to carry out oversight in unstable settings — will significantly improve the protection of U.S. national security interests abroad.

JIPO: Of waste, fraud, and abuse, is it fair to suggest that it is in fact primarily waste — as a result of poor planning, mismanagement and a lack of oversight on the part of the government — that is by far the most significant factor?

Bowen: Yes, and I have testified to that

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Ashraf Haidari

Empowering Afghan Women

A humanitarian imperative for the future of a fragile nation

After decades, women finally receive a place in education. Left Photo: UN/Sebastian Rich; Right Photo: UNAMA

IN the 1990s, the world had completely forgotten Afghanistan and thanks to the Taliban regime, Afghan women were probably the most isolated human beings on Earth. They were deprived of the traditional freedoms granted by Afghan culture, as well as the equal rights they were later guaranteed under Afghanistan's post-Taliban constitution. Even though Afghan women were silently suffering as the primary victims of factional infighting and the atrocities committed against them by various warring parties, they were rarely featured, or even mentioned, in the news reports on Afghanistan's protracted war.

In 1997, one courageous American woman, Mrs. Mavis Nicholson Leno, succeeded in breaking global silence on the suffering of Afghan women. Unfortunately, her call for action against the suppression of not only Afghan women, but the entire Afghan nation, failed because Afghanistan no longer enjoyed the strategic importance it previously had in the last decade of the Cold War. Had the United States remained firmly committed to Afghanistan's post-Cold War stabilization and reconstruction – after the West helped Afghans defeat the Soviet forces – Afghan women and children would not have been exposed to unspeakable atrocities throughout the 1990s.

In her first radio address dedicated to Afghan women and children on November 17, 2001, former First Lady Laura Bush aptly summarized the consequences of neglecting Afghanistan: "Afghan women know, through hard experience, what the rest of the world is discovering: The brutal oppression of women is a central goal of the terrorists. Long before the current war began, the Taliban and its terrorist allies were making the lives of children and women in Afghanistan miserable."

In the weeks following the First Lady's radio address, the Afghan women were liberated. Today, the first female provincial governor and district mayor in Afghan history are serving their constituencies. The key ministries of public health and women's affairs are led by women, as is Afghanistan's Independent Commission on Human Rights. Moreover, the Afghan Parliament continues to convene with a higher percentage of female representatives (27.3 percent) than the legislative bodies of many of the most established democracies, including the U.S. Congress (15.2 percent) and British Parliament (19.7 percent).

In the last few years, schools and universities have opened their doors to a record number of women. Of the 4.8 million children in grades one through six, 36.6 percent are girls. The number of girls in high school almost doubled from 2007 to 2008, from 67,900 to 136,621 students. In 2008, 8,944 university students graduated in Afghanistan, which included 1,734 females.

Public health has also seen tremendous improvement over the past nine years. Up to 80 percent of the Afghan population currently has access to basic health care, up from just 8 percent in 2001. More than 1,650 professional midwives are employed by the Ministry of Public Health, providing health care and childbirth services across the country. This has helped reduce infant mortality rates by 23 percent, saving 80,000 newborns each year.

In addition to taking these concrete steps, the Afghan government is working to change societal mind-sets. In some of Afghanistan's most traditional regions, cultural attitudes hamper women's progress. Unlike most governments in the world,

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the Afghan government not only makes and implements policies, but also functions as an agent of social change. In practice this means that the government is working to ameliorate the traditional views that hold women back from fully developing their abilities and contributing to society.

The Afghan Ministry of Women's Affairs is partnering with local elders and religious figures to ensure that attitudes change. For example, through the National Solidarity Program, more than 22,000 Afghan women actively work alongside with men in more than 10,000 community development councils to assess local needs, receive and implement grants from the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development and lead project design and implementation.

Despite these landmark achievements, the challenges facing Afghan women are many and daunting; Afghan women still list insecurity as the number one obstacle to their progress in any area. Ten years on, the Taliban have expanded their presence in areas where the government is absent, particularly in the countryside where most women live The Taliban have targeted and killed female teachers, and burned down hundreds of girls' schools. This campaign of terror will continue so long as the Taliban's leadership remains intact in Pakistan, where they find a safe haven, arms and ideological support.

Lack of international assistance has resulted in weak state institutions, which in turn has deteriorated the security situation in Afghanistan. Without capacity and resources, most of Afghan state institutions – including those focused on women – are unable to enforce the adopted legal framework, provide basic public services or generate employment. The Afghan Ministry of Women's Affairs is a prime example of a government institution lacking both the capacity and budgetary resources to execute its broad mandate. Its annual $1.3 million budget is dwarfed by the tens of millions of dollars that non-governmental international organizations spent each year in Afghanistan.

However, last July at the Kabul Conference, the Afghan government presented the priorities of our national development strategy to the international community and our nation-partners, including the United States, responded positively. They pledged to channel at least 50 percent of their aid resources through the Afghan state over the next few years. This will go a long way in helping us implement the cross-cutting objectives of the National Plan for the Women of Afghanistan. Success in this effort will secure the future of women and children against the violence and oppression that they have already endured for more than three decades. ■

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future organizations with better quality of governance. The practical advantages of these governance plans include:

- Identifying the internal guidance and controls, as well as the outside influences and interactions with the "environment," impacting current governance.
- Identifying cultural traditions that explain the unique nature of regions' respective security challenges. In my experience, this may be the single most important part of the engagement plan: know the cultural terrain. Without it, programs are meaningless and ineffective.
- Managing expectations among the planning participants to establish realistic governance objectives and capabilities, thus avoiding "pie-in-the-sky" plans resulting in disappointing outcomes.
- Developing a financing process that looks at the projected needs for upcoming years and determines how funds will be allocated.
- Enabling the governing body, lender or investor to assess business skills, plans, proposals and paths of performance.
- Helping the program participants manage and sustain their plan through ownership of the plan by training the trainers, and instilling a culture of responsibility through periodic follow-up. By committing a plan to paper, the overall ability to manage the governing objective will improve and allow those involved to build the next plan with confidence.

Strong governance before strong military.Photo: UN

I have one serious concern regarding Africa's ability to plan their flight and fly their plan: the presence of other "pilots." Numerous Chinese companies within the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) are leading an increasing volume of China-aided projects throughout the continent with positive outcomes for China, but not necessarily Africa. Africa needs to own their governance process, meaning they, not any other actor, should plan their flight and fly their plan.

In summary, a better planning process that places Africans in the cockpit has the best chance for stability and sustainability for the future. Africa's future will depend on their people contributing their own unique local, regional and national perspective on governance issues to the planning process.

Plan you flight and fly your plan, Africa, for a better governance future. ■

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would be in charge of stabilization and reconstruction operations and would absorb the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization staff; but it is not clear how that new functional bureau is going to significantly improve the interagency integration issues. Moreover, it will continue to compete with the regional bureaus at State for operational hegemony in SROs. ■

Johanna Mendelson Forman and Hardin Lang

Waiting for Governance

MINUSTAH's next challenge

Governance challenges abound in Haiti, but the people will participate if given the chance. Photo: UN/Logan Abassi

THE earthquake was a game changer for the U.N. Mission in Haiti, MINUSTAH. Not only did it present the peace operation with an overwhelming natural disaster to manage, but it also brought in a wide range of international actors, including U.S. and Canadian military forces numbering over 20,000 to manage the immediate aftermath of the humanitarian crisis. MINUSTAH went from a multidimensional peace operation to a rescue effort that far exceeded its capacity or original mandate.

Even though MINUSTAH lost more than 100 souls in the tragic events of January 12, 2010, including its head of Mission, the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG) Hédi Annabi and scores of other leaders, the military component labored to provide security. It also managed the other U.N. agencies flooding into the country. The secretariat was able to send a replacement leader, the former SRSG Edmond Mulet, back to Haiti to perform the promethean task of rebuilding the mission, supporting relief and reconstruction, and strengthening governance. MINUSTAH's original drawdown date was scheduled to commence in 2011 when conditions had improved and state institutions had greater capacity. However, a Special Session of the U.N. Security Council, held on April 5, 2011, suggested that the presence of a U.N. Mission will extend beyond that date, and with a different profile.

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Governance in Haiti also suffered when the February 2010 presidential elections were postponed. An Interim Haitian Reconstruction Commission, supported by Haiti and the United Nations, now supplemented a weak government. Former President Bill Clinton, the U.N. Special Envoy to Haiti, co-chaired this Commission with the Haitian Prime Minister Jean Max Bellerive. This body was charged with economic rebuilding and socio-economic projects, but it too was hampered by the challenges posed by 1.3 million displaced Haitians and tons of rubble that prevented infrastructure and projects from starting on time. In spite of what many felt would be a boom for construction contracts and investment, Haiti remained in extremis.

Last year, on November 28, 2010, presidential elections were held with the support of the United Nations, the Organization of American States and CARICOM. With 19 presidential candidates in the mix and a third of the Senate and all of the Chamber of Deputies up for grabs, election day turned chaotic. The three top vote getters, former First Lady Mirlande Manigat,, Michele Martelly, and entertainer turned politician Jude Celestin (hand-chosen candidate of Haitian President Rene Preval) all claimed fraud and stopped the election. The situation turned violent. Putting down riots while managing to collect remaining electoral urns, the United Nations helped to bring the voted documents to the Provisional Electoral Council's headquarters. The count revealed fraud and it was apparent that a second round of elections would be needed to select a new president. After much deliberation, a special Organization of American States (OAS) and Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Commission report challenged the results of the first round. Negotiations with Haitian political leaders to determine the run-off candidates resulted in new elections on March 20, 2011, with front-runners Mirlande Manigat and Michele Martell as the contenders. President Preval's candidate Celestin was eliminated after the OAS/CARICOM commission found that he had not gained the second place in balloting, as the government and his campaign alleged. Michele Martelly was

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declared the winner of the second-round election on April 5, 2011, gaining 67 percent of vote, compared to 31 percent of Madam Manigat. While the official results will not be confirmed until the April 15, the large margin of victory suggests that the results will not be contested.

Supporting a multi-donor funded election was the central mission of MINUSTAH. During the second round, U.N. peacekeepers were stationed at every polling center and were tasked with the safe delivery of voted ballots to the central counting center, run by the government of Haiti's provisional electoral commission (CEP). The United States, Canada, Brazil, Spain, France and the entire E.U. provided the necessary financial and technical resources. Two hundred election observers provided a layer of oversight and transparency for this final round of presidential elections. Given the difficult circumstances for running an election, voter turnout in the run-off was estimated at 22 percent, although some have claimed that it was as low as 17 percent. This was not unusual for a second round. More impressive is that in contrast to the November round, Election Day was calm, with few incidents requiring MINUSTAH's attention.

In spite of this apparently successful collaboration of domestic and international efforts, the Haitian government still faces possible instability as at the time of this article's publication the CEP announced a four day delay in announcing preliminary results. These actions beg the question of whether what many perceived of as a new day for Haiti governance will still be marred by the legacy of past misdeeds that continue to slow the progress of Haiti's road to reconstruction

MINUSTAH's Future Role?

With the runoff hopefully behind it, how does MINUSTAH fit into the post-election landscape? First, a little context: MINUSTAH is not your father's traditional peacekeeping outfit. It did not deploy on heels of a formal peace accord between warring factions to ensure the latter abided by the terms of the agreement, as is usually the case. Nor was it empowered with an executive mandate a la Kosovo or East Timor. Rather, it was sent in 2004, following the meltdown of former President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's government, to help stabilize the country, maintain security and reform institutions – primarily those responsible for maintaining the rule of law.

From the outset, MINUSTAH's prime directive has been to ensure that Haitians remain in the driver's seat of the stabilization and reform process. Given the divisive nature of Haitian politics, this has been a tricky path to navigate. At times, the undertaking seemed almost Sisyphean: support a weakened Haitian state hobbled by infighting to rebuild its institutions, so that it might not only provide basic services, but also weather the next wave of said infighting.

Despite these challenges, MINUSTAH was widely viewed as one of the United Nations' peacekeeping success stories. Robust operations in 2006 and 2007 broke the collective back of gangs that had previously terrorized the slums of Port-au-Prince. Over 800 gang members, including some of their most notorious leaders, were apprehended and detained. A similar joint effort to combat kidnapping led to a significant drop off in such crimes by 2009.

The MINUSTAH mission was dealt a hard blow, but this peacekeeper won't stand for failure. Photo: UN

Perhaps more importantly, MINUSTAH worked hard to put itself out of business. In 2006, the Security Council endorsed the Haitian National Police (HNP) reform plan, which aimed to recruit, train and equip 14,000 HNP officers by 2012. With significant assistance from bilateral donors (namely the United States and Canada), the mission managed to train almost 10,000 Haitian police by the end of 2009. The HNP had taken on the brunt of law enforcement responsibilities and recent opinion polls indicated that 70 percent of the Haitian population considered the national police to be the most reliable state institution. Lamentably, progress on the judiciary and corrections had not kept pace.

Fast forward to the present day: The next Haitian president must give citizens some tangible sign that expectations will be met with results. With so many Haitian homeless (800,000 in Port au Prince) and with the additional challenges of an ongoing cholera epidemic, the new government will have its hands full – and that is where the ongoing presence of the MINUSTAH will be essential. The "surge" in the number of MINUSTAH forces following the earthquake (4,000 more troops and police) remains a significant contribution to the maintenance of a secure and stable environment, and aided in the recovery of post-earthquake Haiti. The presence of U.N. security forces will also be needed since crime is once again on the rise. Significant police infrastructure was destroyed. Of the 5,600 prisoners who escaped in the aftermath of the earthquake, only 8 percent have been re-incarcerated and there is growing evidence to suggest that the gangs have begun to reconstitute themselves. Women and children displaced by the disaster remain particularly vulnerable, despite efforts to afford them special protection.

Haiti in 2011 and Beyond?

Further complications await, with two former exiled presidents Aristide and "Baby Doc" Duvalier now back on Haitian soil. Their homecoming took place without significant turmoil or violence, which could either be a signal of reconciliation with the rule of law, or a challenge to governance that will require that Haiti be the subject of an international peace operation for much longer than originally planned. This means a longer timeline and a higher price tag.

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Douglas Bove et al.

Capacity Building in Afghanistan

A case study in Explosive Ordnance Disposal

Pay attention is this lesson for your safety and for your country's future. Photos: RONCO Consulting Corporation

THE ongoing war in Afghanistan has significantly shifted the objectives of military intervention and the perception of successful development efforts. As a result of this difficult and complicated engagement, successful stabilization and reconstruction is no longer solely the responsibility of state actors and NGOs.

Today, capacity building programs are the lasting derivative of development efforts implemented by organizations and corporations. Where non-governmental development organizations provide funding to create the infrastructure or micro-loans crucial to fostering emergent economies, private companies reinforce those gains by providing employment and skills training to local populations as they execute essential tasks such as building roads or training police forces.

Afghanistan's ability to shed external sources of development indicates a burgeoning and vital independence. Beginning with one schoolhouse location in Mazar e Sharif in 2007, RONCO Consulting Corporation's (RCC) Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) training program has expanded to serve key Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) installations in Kabul, Gardez, Jalalabad, Kandahar and Herat. With graduation rates often above 45 percent, the program is performing above all expectations for such a difficult environment. To date, over 2,800 trainees have graduated from the school's various programs of instruction (Improvised Explosive Device (IED)-Defeat, EOD and Counter-IED) and gone on to do invaluable work in the field. Most notably, however, is that of those 2,800 or so graduates, over 2,200 have also graduated with Train-the-Trainer components, ensuring a robust, self-sustaining program within the Afghan military that will continue operating long after the war ends.

Douglas Bove works in Business Development for RCC. RCC's John Stone, Adam Wheeler and Robert Brady have also contributed to this article.

The EOD School in Afghanistan aims to augment NATO and International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) security training for Afghan National Security Force (ANSF). In addition to the school, RCC trains locals to handle explosives detecting dogs (EDD) and provides training and mentoring to the Afghanistan National Police (ANP) in countering and defeating IEDs. By taking a dynamic approach where local populations play a significant role it is possible to not only achieve development goals, but also to accommodate for the inherent challenges – lack of formal citizenship documentation, low literacy rates, and poor communication – that hinder successful and sustainable development. As a result, Afghanistan not only possesses development capabilities, but has used its internal building programs as a tool to help end the fighting rather than just preserving peace.

Capacity Building through Training

RCC's EOD school for the ANSF was constructed to address the staggering issue of Unexploded Ordnance (UXO) in Afghanistan. Prior to 2007, the Afghan government's internal EOD & IED-Defeat capacity was limited. Because Coalition Forces (CF) units were not available to conduct training, it was decided that a highly-specialized commercial company should be contracted to address the capacity shortfall.

The Ministry of Defense (MoD), having had a prior working relationship with RCC on demining projects, brought this challenge to the company in 2007. The MoD was curious to understand how the company was able to carry out demining and UXO clearance at a lower cost than other companies in Afghanistan and whether this approach

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could be applied to their need for EOD services. The answer was quite simple and planted the seed for what would become a highly successful example of capacity development in Afghanistan.

Costs were low because rather than relying on expatriots or third country nationals (TCN) to staff contracts, RCC was training local nationals (LN) up to international standards. There are myriad reasons for adopting this approach. By incorporating local communities into planning, implementing and managing aspects of EOD and UXO clearance programs, host countries are eventually able to independently rehabilitate contaminated territories without the need for foreign assistance. Additionally, locals' familiarity with mine and ordnance contamination in the areas in which they live augments staffs' broader technical knowledge and experience. Locals also do not need incentivizing to work in Afghanistan, unlike expats and TCNs, which lowers costs for the customer. Finally, using LNs has the effect of pumping money into the local economy. The idea that host nationals should take a leading role in the clearance of their homeland is central to the RCC's philosophy.

Train-the-Trainer

Whenever possible, RCC employs the Train-the-Trainer concept. This is probably the single most important aspect of any training program as it not only ensures the gains made in training are reinforced, but also allows them to become self-sustaining. These programs often go on to great success with almost no further assistance required from foreign or commercial entities, allowing training companies to allocate resources to setting up programs in other troubled areas of the world.
RCC President Jack McClanahan affirms that concept: "The objective is not to go into a conflict zone, do all the work ourselves, squeeze out every last dollar we can and then move onto the next problem area. That isn't development. We ardently advocate and employ Train-the-Trainer programs because we believe it's more in line with the goals of the developing country, which are to put people to work, impart to them a skill set that will keep them working, and identify and nurture future leaders who will go on to positions of great responsibility within their militaries and governments."

This is the approach that was presented to the Afghan government to address the indigenous shortfall in qualified EOD and IED-D operators. The plan was to put an accelerated EOD/IED-D training facility in Mazar e Sharif where a Train-the-Trainer program for the Afghan security forces would ultimately be the focus. These candidates are trained in everything from mine and other UXO clearance to the highly sensitive job of countering and defeating IEDs. Creating an accelerated program for the Afghan military was imperative. At the time, their shortfall of qualified EOD & IED-D operators was extremely severe due to desertion and Taliban efforts to target Afghan EOD operators.

It takes a trainee roughly 22 weeks to achieve the certification of IED Operator from the school. Upon graduation, the operator is then deployed to a "Regional Area" where he undergoes a collective training and mentoring process that builds a cohesive operational team. Upon successful training validation, the team is then ready to conduct IED defeat missions.

A large part of the program's success is due to the approach taken after trainees graduate. Once a student finishes the program, the trainers maintain a mentor relationship with that graduate. This ensures that the learning continues after the official program ends. This gives students an experienced voice that helps them bring the training into practice, but also has a positive impact on the trainer as operators report back on what they are encountering on a day to day basis, keeping the trainers abreast of burgeoning IED trends.

Challenges in Capacity Building

Capacity building is not without its challenges. The trainers encountered a number of difficulties along the road to success. Initially, procuring equipment, such as robots, was exceedingly difficult. Project managers were forced to alter the program to put more of an emphasis on less technical methods for addressing UXO and IEDs. Over time, however, this logistical bottleneck resolved itself and robots now play an integral role in the curriculum.

Another difficulty that arose early on was the pervasive illiteracy among trainees. Without the ability to read and write, it is almost impossible to obtain a high level of training. This necessitated the creation of remedial education classes in the evenings. These classes cover everything from how to read and write Dari and Pashtu, to introducing trainees to basic mathematics. They are now a cornerstone of the program curriculum and have significantly improved basic education indicators among enrollees.

The most frustrating obstacle, however, was and continues to be desertion. Often trainees were not informed by their leadership what they had been signed on to do and, upon learning what they were being trained for, would go AWOL. Explosive ordnance disposal is a dangerous job and often operators were instructed that they would be posted to their home districts after graduation. This put early graduates at a high risk of retaliation, as locals sympathetic to the insurgents would leak information to the Taliban about who they were and how to find them. It took some protracted negotiation to hammer this fact home to the Afghan leadership, but eventually that point was made and now EOD operators do not work in their home districts.

Although desertion has not completely stopped, this policy shift has greatly improved the rate of attrition. The only thing that will fully solve the problem of desertion is greater transparency in the recruiting process, which is still an area of concern. In this kind of volatile environment there will always be new challenges to deal with and awareness of this fact is both necessary and prudent; however, there have not yet been any insurmountable problems.

To say that the conflict in Afghanistan has shifted strategies is an understatement. Militarily and academically, the engagement has challenged long held beliefs about how to fight wars and execute successful reconstruction. Afghanistan has also inalterably changed the philosophy of development. Fostering growth and development is no longer solely within the realm of governments and NGOs. In today's world, private companies can and do play a pivotal role in supporting and reinforcing reconstruction and stabilization. Governments simply do not have the resources to support all aspects of reconstruction. The experience of RCC supports the concept that providing locals with the tools and training needed to rebuild has greater returns to the reconstruction effort than just doing it for them. ■

Robert S. Wells

Getting African Governance Right for Future Stability

"Planning Their Flight and Flying their Plan"

Having the right plan in place ensures success—both in the air and in the halls of government. Left Photo: Christine Njeuma; Right Photo: UN/Evan Schneider

LIKE a pilot flying across the Pacific, building any capability and capacity to address a variety of governance challenges requires a good plan. A good pilot is meticulous in the development of a well-researched flight plan that takes into consideration the route, passenger safety and comfort and the amount of fuel needed for the journey; and the resulting plan is the creation and responsibility of the pilot. When it comes to developing good governance in Africa, the genesis and execution of that plan requires the insight and desire of Africans in concert with a variety of international partners.

Like Africa, the pilot is not alone. Others help to survey the routes, provide weather forecasts, tune communication networks, deliver the fuel and prepare the passengers for flight. These prior actions provide the pilot with an important framework that allows the flight to be governed and managed after it begins.

This well thought out and carefully developed process involves a fundamental principle applicable to good governance. It applies to a variety of functions involving people and governance, and is essential for the success of good governance programs in Africa.

Robert S. Wells serves as a Governance Consultant at ISOA member Whitney, Bradley and Brown, Inc. and is a former Special Advisor on Africa and Defense Affairs Cheney (2003-2007).

The fundamental principle: Plan your flight and fly your plan. Using this principle of governance helps generate ownership, responsibility and confidence. In Africa, greater progress in the quality of governance for current and next generation will be a natural result if African planners embrace this principle.

Why does this principle work?

During my involvement with the national and U.S. Navy programs involving Africa, I observed that an increase in the involvement of Africans at the beginning of a governance planning process resulted in vast improvements occurring across a range of institutional programs, including Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) plans, the President's Emergency Program for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR), local medical enterprises, coffee agribusinesses, fisheries protection strategies and the Africa Partnership Station Maritime Security program, to name a few.

Based on these observations, I concluded that an effective governance planning process for Africans that places the African talent at the center of governance plans will go a long way to ensure that enterprises are sustainable and successful against the continent's unique security challenges.

Security challenges that exist in Africa are diverse and many. Moreover, they are unique to each country that makes up the continent.
Poverty, mismanagement of resources and lack of opportunities for personal and professional development challenge economic security. Agricultural and environmental degradation like resource depletion and water availability cause food security and public health crises, the latter of which is fortified by diseases like HIV/AIDS and malaria. Personal insecurity, violence, specifically gender-based violence, and conflict obstruct the opportunities and possibilities that are present in Africa. Moreover, crime, specifically piracy and illicit trafficking of drugs and arms, forms an incredible security challenge for many African nations.

Keeping these security challenges in mind, good planning is essential to helping Africans create

▶ 26

Photo: Olivier Chassot/U.N.

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Ambassador Herman J. Cohen (Ret)

Are Elections the Solution to African Conflicts?

From Angola to Rwanda and now, Côte d'Ivoire

Candidate votes in Ivorian Run-off Election. Photo: UN/Basile Zoma

WHERE is it written in any holy scripture that free and fair elections hold the answer to deep-seated internal conflicts in Africa? It seems to me that if the core reasons for the conflicts are not settled first through negotiations, then elections can actually make matters worse.

When I was running the Africa Bureau in the State Department (1989-1993), we were heavily involved as mediators or helpful observers in seven African internal conflicts. At that time, the various diplomatic players, including us, were accused of perpetuating a syndrome called "signature obsession." The pattern was that mediators would push the conflict participants to sign a peace agreement that would lead to an election. The details in the peace agreements were not that important – just sign it and have an election. After that, everything will fall into place.

Today, the "signature obsession" has been upgraded to the "election obsession." No need for a full peace agreement, with a new constitution and other bells and whistles, just declare a cease-fire, establish a government of national unity and proceed to an election. I regret to report that today's mediators have forgotten the mistakes that others and I committed twenty years ago.

Ambassador Cohen is a former Assistant Secretary of State for Africa and is President of Cohen & Woods International.

Just look at two examples of the early 1990s

In 1989, after Assistant Secretary for Africa Chet Crocker had negotiated a deal that removed both Cuban and South African troops from Angola, the internal conflict between the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) regime and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) rebel movement remained active and bloody.

An ad hoc group of twenty African heads of state came together in August 1989 to discuss the next step. They proposed a period of co-habitation, with the MPLA and UNITA sharing power for five years, after which a regular election would take place. UNITA rebel leader Jonas Savimbi would be vice president and could use the time to demonstrate his capabilities as a peacetime political leader.

Unfortunately, Savimbi rejected the proposal and continued his guerrilla warfare. He wanted a nothing less than a "free and fair election" right away. After another year, the United States persuaded both sides to enter negotiations. At the core of the negotiation was an election that took place in September 1992. UNITA lost, and predictably, they went back to fighting. The underlying reasons for the conflict were not discussed during the negotiations. The result was ten more years of war and devastation, ending in UNITA's military defeat. It was a high price to pay to settle a conflict that is still simmering today.

The second example is Rwanda. An internal war between the rebel Rwanda Patriotic Front and the Rwanda government was mediated by the East African regional organization Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). A peace agreement leading to an election was signed in 1993. Any unbiased reading of the agreement could only reach the conclusion that the proposed election could never have been held because it would have resulted in the political suicide of both sides. The protagonists signed the agreement in order to have the time to prepare for more war. The result was the Rwanda genocide of 1994. Yet, the international community celebrated the 1993 agreement as a victory for peace because it called

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for a "free and fair" election.

Fast forward to Côte d'Ivoire today

The underlying cause of deep-seated civil conflict in Côte d'Ivoire is demographic. The primary indigenous ethnic groups of Côte d'Ivoire have seen their majority eroded over the past 50 years by the emergence of immigrant communities from countries to the north, mainly Burkina Faso. The workers from Burkina came to do the back-breaking work required to produce 65 percent of the world's cocoa. Their children and grandchildren were born in Côte d'Ivoire and consider themselves Ivoirian. They want their share of power.

The conflict was masked from 1960 to 1994 by the benevolent hand of the country's first president, Felix Houphouet-Boigny. He told the emigrant communities that they were equal as his children. They had the right to vote in municipal elections. He promised greater rights with time.

When Houphouet died in office in 1994, the mask came off and the country's governance started to fall apart. The first act of conflict took place when the then Prime Minister Allasane Ouattara refused to honor the constitution that called for the President of the National Assembly to become the interim president. He tried to persuade the army to support him for the succession. He failed, as Assembly President Henri Bédié used loyal troops to force his way into power. From that point on there have been one military coup, two mutinies, and a country divided between north and south sections, acting under two different authorities since 2002.

Negotiations led to a cease-fire, a so-called "government of national unity," and an election in 2010. The north-south divide was not lifted, not after the peace agreement, or during the election. No wonder that the loser in the election, incumbent President Laurent Gbagbo, could not possibly believe the northern results – the enemy was in charge of the voting in the north. The result of this continuing and unacknowledged divide is what we have seen since March 2011: increasing violence, mostly against civilians.

Just like UNITA in Angola in 1992, Gbagbo refused to accept the election results. The "New Forces" movement, which has controlled the north since 2002, received arms and money from neighboring countries and re-started the armed conflict. The physical devastation has been high and the human rights situation horrendous. As this was being written, the "New Forces" movement supporting Alassane Ouattara was in the process of killing their way to victory in Abidjan, and Ouattara should be ruling as the elected President by mid-April. Everyone will celebrate the victory of "democracy'. The election obsession will remain alive and well.

If anyone reading this believes that Ouattara's election victory will lead to future "free and fair"

A smudge of ink may not lead to peace. Photo: UN

elections, and that the underlying civil conflict caused by demographic change is over, I have a bridge in Brooklyn I would like to show you. Indeed, the bitter ethnic feelings that surfaced after Houphouet's death have only become worse as the result of the election. There is some good news, insofar as Ouattara should provide the same "good governance" that marked his time as Prime Minister between 1990 and 1993.

Let me sum up by stating Cohen's second law of democratic transition in Africa: When there is underlying deep-seated conflict in an African country, that conflict must first be settled through negotiation before an election can be successful.
An excellent example of this working is the Mozambique civil conflict that ended in 1992 with the significant underlying problems settled before the successful election. The US played a major role in the negotiations. ■

◀ 28 | Waiting for Governance | Forman and Lang

Whether the donors are willing to continue this support will depend on how effective the next Haitian government is at institution building. Fortunately, the last five years suggest success is possible.

Even before the earthquake, the United Nations had recognized that establishing a lasting safe and secure environment – one that Haiti's state institutions could sustain on their own – might not be enough to allow MINUSTAH to depart – people cannot eat security. With most of Haiti's population living on less than two dollars a day, it does not take much for grinding poverty to spill over into social unrest. The people of Haiti have endured a tragedy of biblical proportions. They have done so with a patience and dignity almost impossible to fathom. But that patience wears thin with each passing day. If the international community cannot generate a modicum of social and economic security for Haiti's poor, the peacekeeping force risks becoming the lid that keeps the pot from boiling over.

No one likes to be occupied. The Haitian people have a proud tradition of throwing out all those who have tried. The longer MINUSTAH stays, the greater the danger that popular sentiment will turn against it. Yet the Mission – like any peacekeeping operation – is ill-equipped to jumpstart economic growth, much less drive a reconstruction process on the schedule required. Donors must step up to the plate and provide the funding if the Interim Haiti Reconstruction Commission and others are to do their job. As late as March, international donors had disbursed just 37 percent of funds pledged for 2010-2011 recovery effort.

But the international community is only part of the equation; strong Haitian partners will be the key to success. The next six months will require very tangible signs of progress if Haitian citizens are to gain confidence in their government after so many years of neglect. Moreover, Haiti's citizens will be looking to that leadership to help them heal. Words and deeds will be closely monitored, and the new chief executive will have to ensure that public expectations are realistic. ■

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Entico Corporation are pleased to announce the inaugural Pakistan Reconstruction and Development Conference (PRDC), held on 24th - 25th May 2011 in Dubai, United Arab Emirates.

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COUNTER-NARCOTICS & BORDER CONTROL SUMMIT

La Palm Royal Beach Hotel
Accra, Ghana
July 13-14 2011

THE SUMMIT

Global Investment Summits are pleased to confirm the hosting of our inaugural Counter-Narcotics & Border Control Summit to take place in Accra, Ghana.

This historic event will bring together regional governments, key agencies and industry leaders to develop strategies and implement technologies to counter the growing threat of the narcotics trade through the West African region.

Drug trafficking threatens global security with a regional impact that creates complex interdependencies and security challenges that requires international and regional cooperation.

THE OBJECTIVES

With a local, national and global focus on the problems caused by drug smuggling, there is a strong will from the highest level to stem, and eventually end, this trade.

During the course of this two day event, Government Ministers and senior Military figures from across Africa, NATO representatives and high ranking members from the American Military will outline their needs and hold meetings with reputable private companies that can provide solutions to the tough challenges presented by the key issues of counter-narcotics and border control.

THE BENEFITS

After the morning plenary addresses, the summit will be transformed in to a series of pre-scheduled roundtables meetings, arranged in advance via our meeting scheduling website and available to all attendees.

Attending organisations will be presented with the opportunity to hold private discussion with the various international delegations in attendance.

The opportunity presented by bringing together the leading stakeholders and international counter-narcotics experts together under one-roof over a two day period is unrivalled and not to be missed.

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ADVANCED DEFENCE & SECURITY TECHNOLOGY SUMMIT

THE SUMMIT

Global Investment Summits are pleased to announce the forthcoming Advanced Defence and Security Summit (ADST), held with the support of the ISOA.

The defence and security sector in the middle east has seen substantial investment in the last decade with on-going, vigorous commitments from within the region and all over the world.

Cutting edge technologies are at the forefront, whether for border protection, biometric systems, counter terrorism, infrastructure security or promoting and establishing regional communications and cooperation.

THE OBJECTIVES

ADST will bring together forward thinking, sector leading operators to meet with ministers and security officials.

The focus of this summit is procurement and partnerships, and participants such as GCC Defence Ministries and Armed Forces, U.S. Regional Commands and leading NATO Members will be seeking to partner with innovative, reputable and leading private sector companies utilising our unique summit format, designed to provide the platform for business leaders to showcase and discuss the best defence, security and communications solutions for the future.

THE BENEFITS

Leading companies who wish to add their expertise and form partnerships with attending Ministries, Militaries and Commands would gain an unrivalled opportunity to present their ideas and hold private discussions on how best to find solutions to the challenges presented.

High ranking representatives from the private sector with an interest in doing business in the Gulf Region would find this summit crucial in fostering relationships with Ministers, Directors General, Chiefs of Staff and procurement officers.

By bringing these key decision makers together under one roof for the duration of this two day event, the opportunities presented by ADST are unrivalled.

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Afghanistan Reconstruction Summit

Al Hamra Hotels & Resort
Ras Al Khaimah, UAE
5-6 May 2011

THE SUMMIT

Global Investment Summits are pleased to announce the second ARS, to be held in November. Afghanistan continues to hold the world's gaze, with the international community having a vested interest in its future. The need to build an infrastructure capable of supporting a stable economy is paramount to the reconstruction efforts.

The geographic location of Afghanistan provides an ideal platform on which to build. With a wealth of natural resources combined with an urgent need for security, education and construction, a picture emerges of an economy with vast growth potential given the right amount of support.

THE OBJECTIVES

On-going reconstruction and development efforts are vital to the stabilisation of the region. The Afghanistan Reconstruction Summit will provide an opportunity for achieving these objectives, outlining key business opportunities in various sectors and enabling companies to play a leading role in the development of a country rich in potential.

Our unique summit format combines plenary addresses on key areas with the opportunity for private discussions between attending companies and the various international delegations in attendance.

THE BENEFITS

The Afghanistan Reconstruction Summit will serve the needs of businesses already operating in the area or looking to get involved in the reconstruction and development process of Afghanistan.

With key decision makers in attendance, this summit will provide a platform on which the future economic success of the region will be built. Leading companies can schedule meetings with procurement officers, relevant ministries, departments and organisations in order to open dialogue and secure contracts in their area of expertise.

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The ISOA Membership

The International Stability Operations Association

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- Aviation Logistics and Maintenance
- Aviation: Rotary
- Base Support and Logistics
- Communications and Tracking
- Construction
- Consulting Services
- Demining and UXO Removal
- Equipment
- Fleet Management, Leasing & Maintenance
- Ground Transportation Logistics
- Human Development and Capacity Building
- Information Technology
- Intelligence Services and Analysis
- Language Services and Interpretation
- Legal, Accounting and Compliance Services
- Logistics, Freight and Supply
- Medical Support Services
- Product Suppliers and Manufacturers
- Recruitment and Human Resources
- Risk Management
- Security
- Security Sector Reform
- Shelter
- Training

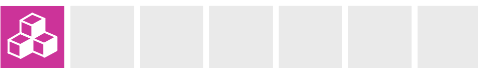
Abbreviations HQ Location of company headquarters W Website PC ISOA Point-of-Contact/Designated Delegate YM Number of years as Member of ISOA

AECOM Technology Corporation

HQ Los Angeles, California
W www.aecom.com
PC Col. Rick Orth (Ret.)
YM 3.0 years

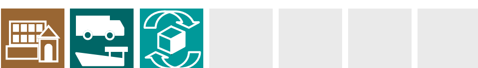
Aggreko

HQ Houston, Texas
W www.aggreko.com
PC Belinda Encarnacion
YM 0.7 years



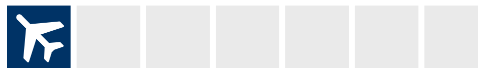
Agility

HQ Safat, Kuwait
W www.agilitylogistics.com
PC Rich Brooks
YM 5.2 years



Air Charter Service PLC

HQ Surrey, United Kingdom
W www.aircharter.co.uk
PC Tony Bauckham
YM 1.0 years

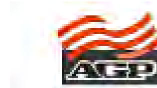
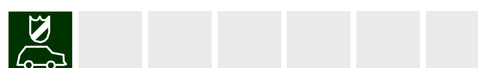


AMECO

HQ Greenville, South Carolina
W www.ameco.com
PC Paul Camp
YM 5.7 years

American Glass Products

HQ Ras Al Khaimah, U.A.E.
W www.agpglass.com
PC Tobias Beutgen
YM 2.9 years

ARINC Engineering Services LLC

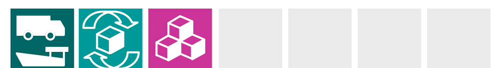
HQ Annapolis, Maryland
W www.arinc.com
PC Daniel Morris
YM 0.7 years

BAE Systems

HQ Rockville, Maryland
W www.baesystems.com
PC Mary Robinson
YM 0.3 years

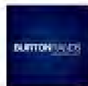
BMMI

HQ Sitra, Bahrain
W www.bmmigroup.com
PC Carla Geday
YM New Member



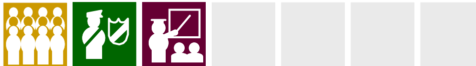
Burton Rands Associates

HQ Washington, D.C.
W www.burtonrands.com
PC Nicola Lowther
YM 2.2 years



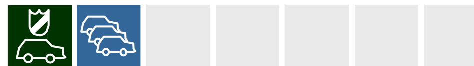
FSI Worldwide

HQ Dubai, U.A.E.
W www.fsi-worldwide.com
PC Nicholas Forster
YM 2.8 years



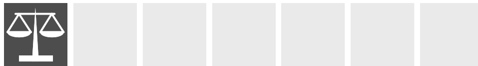
International Armored Group

HQ Ras Al Khaimah, U.A.E.
W www.interarmored.com
PC Sally Stefova
YM 3.7 years



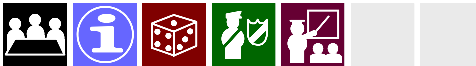
Crowell & Moring LLP

HQ Washington, D.C.
W www.crowell.com
PC David Hammond
YM 2.8 years



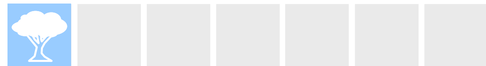
GardaWorld

HQ Dubai, UAE
W www.garda-world.com
PC Andrew Gibson
YM 2.5 years



International Relief & Development

HQ Arlington, Virginia
W www.ird.org
PC Jeffrey Grieco
YM 0.3 years

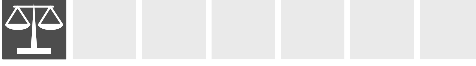


CSS International

HQ Grand Rapids, Michigan
W www.cssih.com
PC Timothy Doyle
YM New Member

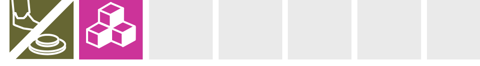
Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP

HQ Washington, D.C.
W www.gibsondunn.com
PC Joseph D. West
YM 0.8 years



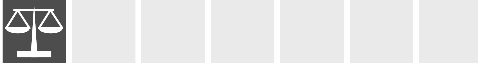
MineWolf Systems

HQ Pfaffikon, Switzerland
W www.minewolf.com
PC Philipp von Michaelis
YM 2.6 years



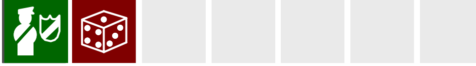
DLA Piper LLP

HQ London, United Kingdom
W www.dlapiper.com
PC Tara Lee
YM 2.2 years



Global Integrated Security—USA

HQ Reston, VA
W www.globalgroup-gis.com
PC Tom Marchegiano
YM New Member



Mission Essential Personnel

HQ Columbus, Ohio
W www.missionep.com
PC Idin Pirasteh
YM 2.6 years

DynCorp International

HQ Falls Church, Virginia
W www.dyn-intl.com
PC John Gastright
YM 4.0 years

HART

HQ Limassol, Cyprus
W www.hartsecurity.com
PC Claire Kee
YM 6.3 years

L-3 MPRI

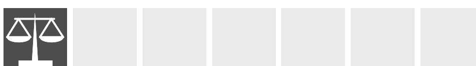
HQ Alexandria, Virginia
W www.mpri.com
PC Hank Allen
YM 8.2 years

EOD Technology, Inc.

HQ Lenoir City, Tennessee
W www.eodt.com
PC William Pearse
YM 5.2 years

Holland & Hart LLP

HQ Denver, Colorado
W www.hollandhart.com
PC Trip Mackintosh
YM 1.8 years

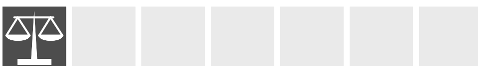


New Century U.S.

HQ Arlington, Virginia
W www.newcentcorp.com
PC Laura Engelbrecht
YM 2.6 years

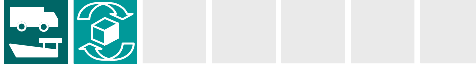
Frank Crystal & Company

HQ Washington, D.C.
W www.fcrystal.com
PC Jeffrey Wingate
YM 0.6 years



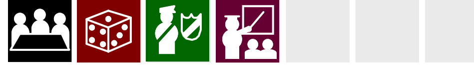
Interconex, Inc.

HQ Sterling, Virginia
W www.interconex.com
PC Kieran Kayatin
YM 0.4 years



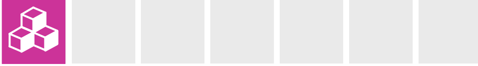
Olive Group

HQ Dubai, U.A.E.
W www.olivegroup.com
PC Christopher Beese
YM 5.2 years



OSPREA Logistics

HQ Cape Town, South Africa
W www.osprea.com
PC Salih Brandt
YM 1.5 years



OSSI, Inc.

HQ Miami, Florida
W www.ossiinc.com
PC John Walbridge
YM 5.3 years

Overseas Lease Group

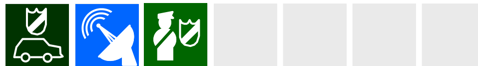
HQ Fort Lauderdale, Florida
W www.overseasleasegroup.com
PC Tracy Badcock
YM 3.0 years

PAE, Inc.

HQ Arlington, Virginia
W www.paegroup.com
PC Thomas Callahan
YM 4.7 years

Paramount Logistics

HQ Johannesburg, South Africa
W www.paramountgroup.biz
PC Richard Merrison
YM 1.9 years



Pax Mondial

HQ Arlington, Virginia
W www.paxmondial.com
PC Paul Wood
YM 2.2 years

Reed Inc.

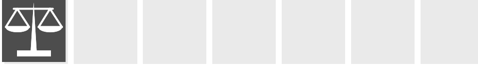
HQ Leesburg, Virginia
W www.reedinc.com
PC Marius van der Riet
YM 5.0 years

Relyant

HQ Maryville, Tennessee
W www.gorelyant.com
PC Susan Lynch
YM 1.6 years

Rutherfoord

HQ Alexandria, Virginia
W www.rutherfoord.com
PC Sara Payne
YM 3.0 years



Safenet

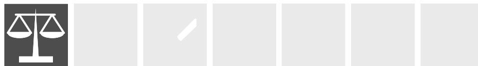
HQ Dubai, U.A.E.
W www.safenet.net
PC Laurence Maree
YM New Member

Shield International Security

HQ Seoul, South Korea
W www.shieldconsulting.co.kr
PC Lucy Park
YM 1.0 years

Shook, Hardy & Bacon LLP

HQ Washington, D.C.
W www.shb.com
PC David Douglass
YM 2.0 years



SOC, LLC

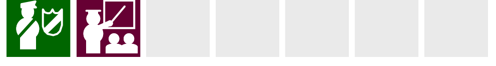
HQ Chantilly, Virginia
W www.soc-usa.com
PC Shawn James
YM 3.5 years

SOS International Ltd.

HQ Reston, Virginia
W www.sosiltd.com
PC Michael K. Seidl
YM 3.7 years

Telum Protection Corp

HQ Southern Pines, N. Carolina
W www.telumcorp.com
PC Alfredo Quiros
YM 0.5 years



Triple Canopy

HQ Reston, Virginia
W www.triplecanopy.com
PC Mark DeWitt
YM 4.3 years

Unity Resources Group

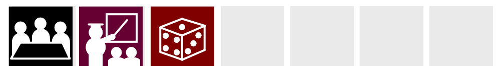
HQ Dubai, U.A.E.
W www.unityresourcesgroup.com
PC Jim LeBlanc
YM 4.2 years

URS

HQ Germantown, Maryland
W www.urs.com
PC Robie Robinson
YM 2.0 years

Whitney, Bradley & Brown Inc.

HQ Reston, Virginia
W www.wbbinc.com
PC Robert Wells
YM 2.5 years



WSI

HQ Arlington, Virginia
W www.armorgroup.com
PC Mike O'Connell
YM 7.3 years

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◀ 20| Improving Oversight of Contingency Operations: A Conversation with the SIGIR | Naveed Bandali

repeatedly on Capitol Hill. We have estimated that upwards of $5 billion in waste has occurred during the $61 billion Iraq reconstruction program. The true number may be higher because of the failure by the Iraqis to sustain the projects transferred to their control. Waste can be averted through better planning, more efficient execution, and stronger oversight. By creating the US Office for Contingency Operations to provide planning and management of SROs, we could get better outcomes. We could specifically improve oversight of funds in contingencies by creating a Special Inspector General for Contingency Operations (SIGOCO). Much waste could have been averted had a SIGOCO been in existence at the outset of the SROs in Iraq and Afghanistan.

JIPO: The CWC interim report also recommends that the U.S. government reduce its reliance on armed private security contractors (PSCs). Do you agree with this or do you have any alternative proposals?

Bowen: The challenge of using private security contractors in a war zone was uniquely experienced in Iraq and Afghanistan in an unprecedented way and was responsive, to a certain extent, to the situations that arose in each of those conflicts. The United States was not sufficiently prepared or well-structured to manage security and protection programs in Iraq through the private contractors. Whether the prevalence of private security contractors is a good thing is something that Congress is looking at now. I think Congress should carefully study what are the appropriately delegable duties to the private sector security contractors and what missions should be carried out by government personnel. This is a tough challenge because, if it is determined that a substantial portion of what is being done now by private contractors should be done by government personnel, it will require an expansion of public sector capacity. In an era of tight money, that will be difficult.

JIPO: To what extent is the current Federal Acquisition Regulation (FAR) system appropriate for stabilization and reconstruction operations?

Bowen: Our proposal is that, for such operations, a Contingency Federal Acquisition Regulation be devised. It would provide a more compact, user-friendly, efficient, effective and beneficial system for both contractors and government managers. Right now the FAR is implemented though different departmentally amended versions, such as the DoD's and DoS's modified systems; USAID also has its own acquisition modifications to the FAR. So there are many forms of contracting at play in contingency operations today. Our proposal is that these systems be made more uniform for efficiency's and clarity's sake.

JIPO: What can governments do to better utilize or oversee private firms supporting overseas contingency operations?

Bowen: For one thing, improved planning for stabilization or reconstruction operations must include better advance engagement with contractors, with the establishment of contracting relationships and agreements in advance of any operation, so that the expertise, capacity, and duties needed are available and ready. On the government side, this has to include the capacity to carry out an effective quality assurance program. That was a huge pitfall in Iraq — not enough personnel to visit projects out in the field – and without that oversight, a lot of projects failed and a lot of sub-contractors underperformed; thus, much waste occurred. The government has to improve its quality-assurance capacity in stabilization and reconstruction operations to ensure best value for the taxpayer and better outcomes in the execution of U.S. national security strategy.

JIPO: The Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR), your office's sister organization, has received a great deal of criticism since 2010 over what has been referred to as "poor performance." The SIGAR, however, argues that poor resourcing in terms of funds and personnel is to blame. Can you provide your perspective on this debate?

Bowen: First of all, Congress created SIGAR in 2008 — about six years after the Afghanistan program had begun — so it was a very late entry into the oversight arena and not enough oversight had been carried out there up to that point. Thus, it has been very challenging for the SIGAR to stand up an organization so late in the game. Afghanistan presents unique challenges. It is much larger than Iraq, much more diverse, more primitive, and has become much more dangerous. Each of those factors has worked against the SIGAR's capacity to be able to execute, particularly in light of the early funding shortfalls.

JIPO: Do you agree with those who believe that U.S. foreign policy and humanitarian assistance are being militarized, and what do you see as the future of interagency coordination?

Bowen: I do not believe foreign policy is being militarized. I think that stabilization and reconstruction operations are unique in that they are civilian-military operations. The development of a stabilization capacity within DoD has amplified U.S. capacity to execute stabilization and reconstruction operations. But these operations must be civilian led. The military has frequently filled the space with regard to contingency relief and reconstruction, which is simply a reflection of the lack of civilian capacity. This capacity has to be improved, not just in scope, but also in management skill and focus, and that means providing leadership so that unity of command and unity of effort will ensue. Insufficient unity of command in Iraq regarding reconstruction operations — and the constant turnover of personnel who worked in a series of ad hoc organizations — caused unity of effort to be severely diluted and the reconstruction program thus did not meet its goals. Providing unity of command could be achieved through the creation of the USOCO.

JIPO: Drawing on your past experiences and looking ahead, are lessons being learned and will the United States be able to carry out contingency operations more successfully in the future?

Bowen: There have been lessons learned and bona fide reforms developed in response to the problems in Iraq and Afghanistan. National Security Presidential Directive 44 (NSPD-44), issued in 2005, created a civilian reserve corps, but it did not ensure its funding or authorization. So it was slow to start up and the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization at the DoS had a difficult time developing sufficient capacity to realize the vision embodied in NSPD-44 and ultimately expressed by Congress in the Reconstruction and Stabilization Civilian Management Act of 2008.

I think the problems are well recognized, but the difficulties in interagency integration remain. Thus, innovation may be the path to success. The Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) recommends the creation of a new bureau – the Civilian Stability Office - that

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