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Q&A with Gen. Zinni

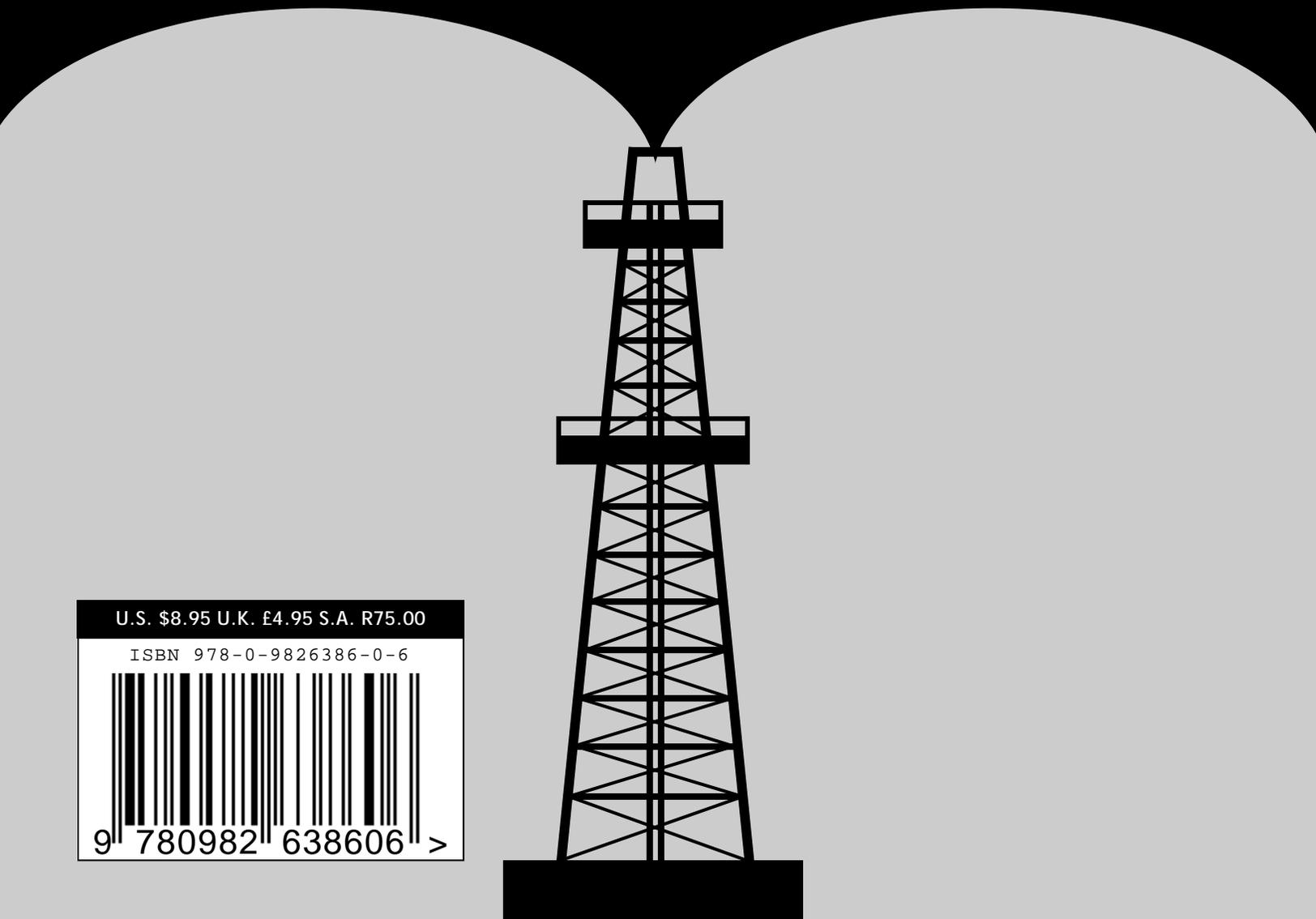
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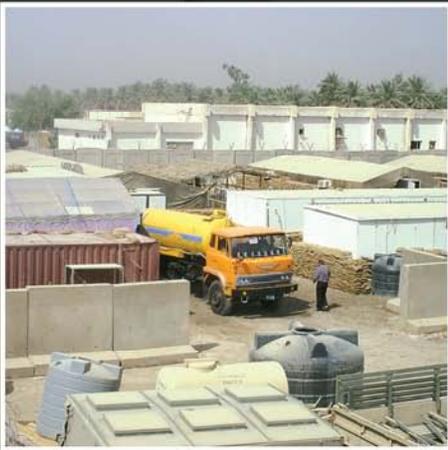
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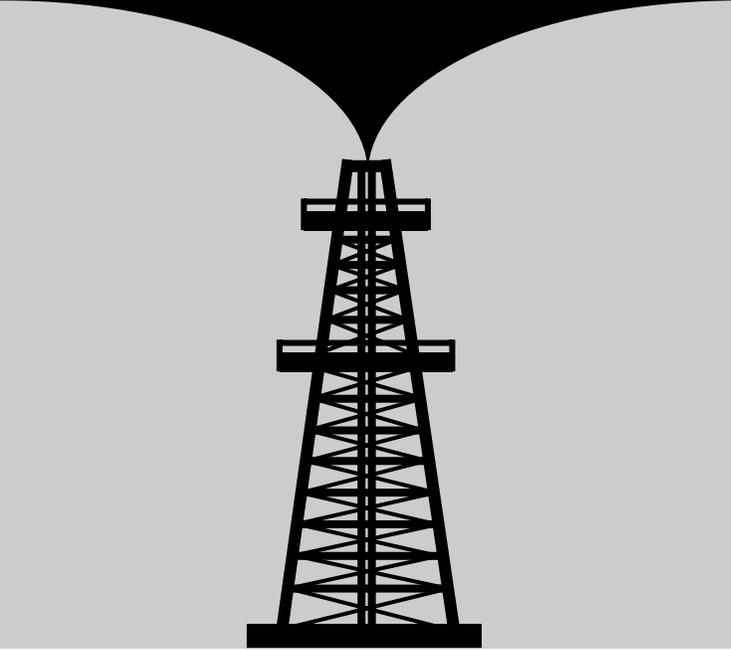
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Editor-in-Chief.....J. J. Messner Contributing Editor Naveed Bandali
Publisher.....Doug Brooks Asst. Editors....Caitlin Tyler-Richards
Business Manager.....Melissa Sabin Callie Wang

1634 I St. NW, Suite 800 Telephone +1 (202) 464-0721
Washington, D.C. 20006 E-mail ipoa@ipoaonline.org
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Doug Brooks

Are Contractors Military?

Terminology Matters, Especially in International Regulations and Law



Sometimes the pen helps the sword. Photo: Stock

SINCE I first began my academic research into the role of the private sector in conflict and post-conflict operations, there has been disagreement over the proper terminology for these companies. Unfortunately, in the 1990s, the choice of terminology often had more to do with ideology and emotion than rational academic analysis. Now, with the progress of the Montreux Document and, following that, the international code of conduct, the desire for and discussion of new wording has become more urgent, more rational and, perhaps, more prickly.

The impartial term used to be “private military companies.” More recently the term “private military security companies” has come into vogue. But are the terms really accurate, or even appropriate? Obviously, these companies work beside

and even support military forces and operations. As I often point out, international peace and stability operations from Afghanistan to Darfur simply could not function without private sector support. Nevertheless, this industry is by no means replacing or looking to attach its self to militaries either. In truth, employing military terminology obfuscates the largely benign role the industry actually plays in conflict and post-conflict arenas.

IPOA, for instances, uses the U.S. Department of Defense term “contingency contractor.” Contingency contractors are firms that perform services of relatively limited length in overseas operations. The term is neutral, descriptive and accurate. We do our best to use the term in our communications, convince others of its value and to promote its use in the ongoing international regulatory efforts.

Using “military” terminology hinders discussions of international law and clouds the privileges and protections due contractors in the field. The reality is that 85 to 95 percent of the industry supply services that do not involve carrying weapons or combat. The last thing we would want is to give governments, militaries or industry personnel the

impression that industry employees are legitimate combatants under international law.

There is a need to explicitly recognize that contingency contractors are civilians. Even though some contractors may be armed in order to carry out their authorized services, their operations remain defensive and protective in nature, similar to those of security guards. And while peacekeeping and stability operations can be chaotic arenas with multiple players private firms are not and should not be perceived as additional participants. Rather, they act only in support of the conflict’s victims and/or governmental bodies. Taking time to clear up any ambiguity on this point can go a long way to ensuring that everyone knows for what contractors can, and cannot be used.

Yes, some civilian contractors are armed, and yes, some are doing security work. But their role and their rules for the use of force are far more defensive and limited than militaries – they are not there to take war to an enemy. It is a shame that more academics and media refuse to acknowledge this reality. And if employees in our industry begin to believe the pundits, then this impression will in fact cause a great deal of harm. ■

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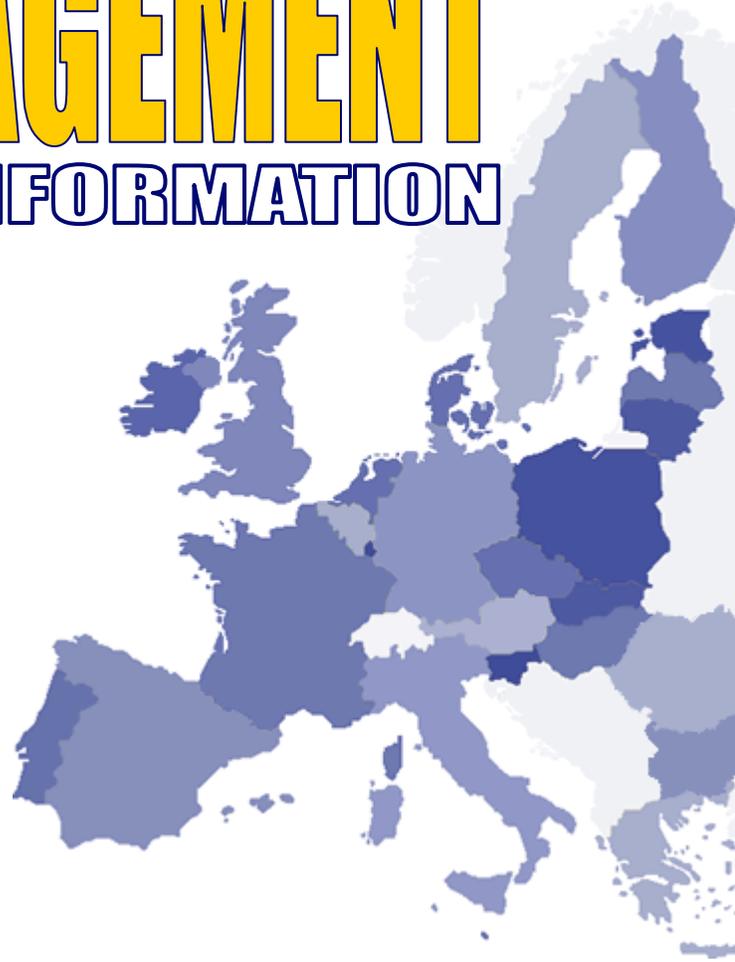
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Charlotte Gambling

New Ideas from “Hard Lessons”

SIGIR’s Newest Report Introduces a New Strategy to the Issue of Oversight

06



Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction Stuart W. Bowen Jr. Photo: U.S. Department of State

SINCE 2001, Congress has appropriated more than \$39 billion to humanitarian and reconstruction assistance in Afghanistan. To ensure independent and objective oversight of these funds, Congress created the Office of the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) in 2008. Though Major General Arnold Fields (ret.) has received much praise for his work as Special Inspector General thus far, coordinating efforts between the various agencies involved in Afghanistan’s reconstruction and limiting financial waste remain ever-present concerns.

Much of this anxiety comes from the experiences of SIGAR’s predecessor, the Special Inspector for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR), – commissioned in 2004 in response to the growing reconstruction effort in Iraq – which found execution of the operation severely lacking. SIGIR’s latest report, “Applying Iraq’s Hard Lessons to the Reform of Stabilization and Reconstruction Operations,” contains a number of recommendations based on lessons learnt from the Iraq reconstruction effort, aimed at improving planning, management and the execution of stability and reconstruction operations (SROs).

One of the report’s main recommenda-

tions is the creation of a new oversight department, the U.S. Office for Contingency Operations (USOCO). This office would serve as the sole authority for reconstruction in Iraq and Afghanistan; and eliminate the confusion and inter-agency rivalries that currently hinder effective reconstruction, and help obviate the occurrence of fragmented processes, which seek to circumvent the reconstruction process.

Under the current oversight system, important planning and management decisions appear to be driven by immediate circumstances rather than clear mandate. Overall, the reconstruction effort in Iraq has been hampered by a series of poor and/or ill-communicated decisions, which have resulted in the limited progress and unstable security situation that exists today. A better executed SRO plan, as orchestrated by USOCO, could have instilled a more sustainable governance in Iraq – and done so without wasting billions of tax-payers’ dollars.

To date, sixty-two federal agencies have been involved in the planning and management of SRO policy in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is naive to believe that all sixty-two agencies could integrate well

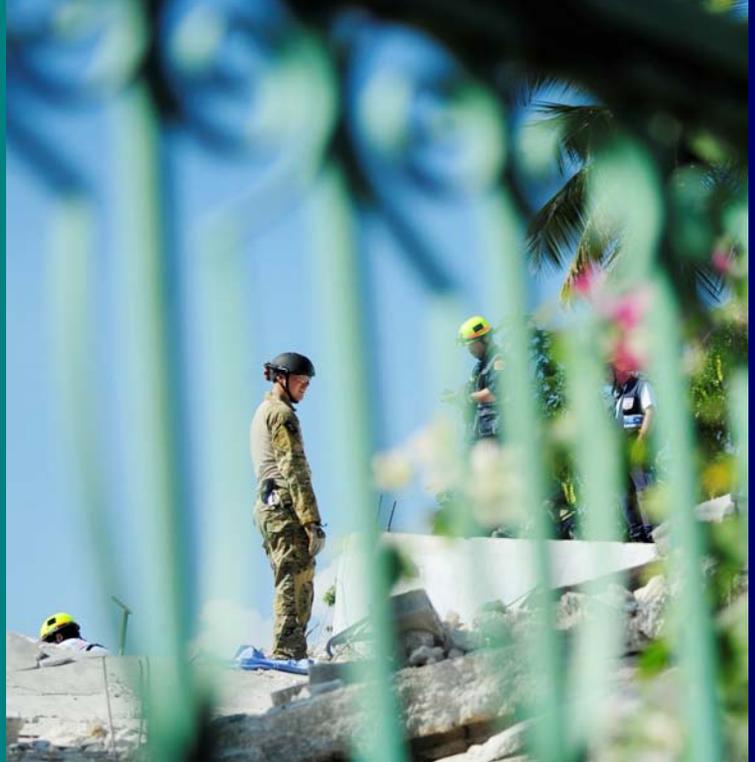
enough to maintain the control, communication and cooperation requirements necessary to ensure that U.S. resources are utilized to maximum efficiency. Iraq reconstruction has shown us that, if nothing else, USOCO would eliminate this coordination obstacle by serving as the sorely needed, overarching facilitator of action between USAID, the Department of Defense (DoD) and the Department of State. This would strengthen the unity of command and thus fortify the execution of viable SROs.

Of course, there are issues. Some, such as Commissioner Clark Kent Ervin, wonder a new office would actually improve efficacy, when the larger obstacle facing reconstruction is a lack of resources. DoD is also concerned, as the creation of USOCO would require they cede the majority of their control over reconstruction and organization efforts. However, ideally, the USOCO would not introduce further organizational sectors, but bring together those working under the current system into a successfully functioning civilian-military entity.

For now, the USOCO inspires mixed responses and the call for more audits. The only thing everyone can agree on is the need for change. ■

A Security and Development Dilemma

Haiti Faces Significant Hurdles to Reconstruction



A bleak and desperate task. Photo: James L. Harper/U.S.A.F.

TWO months have passed since a devastating earthquake destroyed Haiti's capital city of Port-au-Prince and several nearby communities. With over 200,000 dead, an equal number injured and more than 300,000 without homes, we are only now becoming aware of the scale of destruction that Haiti sustained in the mere 30 second duration of the earthquake. It is the largest recorded disaster in the Western Hemisphere.

Devastation of this kind would stop even the most developed of nations. A quick glance at the impact of Hurricane Katrina on the city of New Orleans exemplifies the way in which natural disasters create chaos. Even with federal organizations such as the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) the logistical challenges of evacuating people, setting up emergency shelters and providing food and water were difficult to execute. In Haiti, a country that is at best fragile and at worst teetering on the edge of state failure, the situation is exacerbated. This earthquake tests a nation whose government buildings are no longer standing, whose public records are lost and whose president holds his cabinet meetings at a table set up under the shade of a mango tree. Only a year and a half ago, Haiti was

hit with three consecutive hurricanes that buried the port city of Gonaïve under tons of mud, killed several thousand citizens and flooded many parts of Port-au-Prince. When the earthquake struck on January 12, Haiti was just beginning to emerge from the disaster these hurricanes had wrought.

Since 2004, Haiti has been host to the United Nations Stabilization Mission, MINUSTAH. When it came into being, this peace operation's mandate recognized the important nexus between security and development. The multi-dimensional peacekeeping operation made progress in security by providing police training and helping to create a professional policing capacity in a country that disbanded its army in 1995. Indeed, the United Nations hoped that, after providing the basic security needs of the country with a police force of 9,000 – 11,000 men and women, it could exit Haiti by 2011.

After the earthquake, Secretary General Ban Ki-moon told the U.N. General Assembly that the organization had three priorities when responding to Haiti's needs: first, the management of a humanitarian relief operation, especially in light of the government of Haiti's near total institutional collapse; second,

providing security for the immediate future with U.N. peacekeepers; and finally, rebuilding for the future.

What is stunning in the case of Haiti is the global solidarity that has emerged in response to the United Nation's emergency appeal. Of the \$575 million requested in a U.N. Flash Appeal just four days after the earthquake, the international community has contributed and pledged \$334 million. This money will cover the food, water, shelter and emergency medical care of 3 million people for six months. The United Nations and the United States also signed a memorandum of understanding concerning the division of labor – the United Nations will manage the humanitarian operations and the United States will provide security and additional logistics.

The "friends of Haiti," an informal association of 20 donor countries, reached a consensus that rebuilding will take as long as 10 years; moreover that the reconstruction's financial strategy will require sustained donations, investment and debt forgiveness. Haiti's government will be the primary driver of this strategy, something that bilateral donors and aid



This will cost a bit. Photo: James L. Harper/U.S.A.F.

07 ◀

agencies acknowledge as a central assumption for going forward. Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper also noted that, given Haiti's long history of corruption and diversion of donor funds, its reconstruction will require a more accountable and trustworthy system to ensure that the vast sums collected are used for their intended purposes. Haiti's prime minister, Jean-Max Bellerive, estimates that it will take four to five years to restore Haiti to what it was before the earthquake, and at least another 10 to put it on a path toward more sustainable development.

There are thus several reasons for optimism in the wake of such a disaster. We are seeing the United Nations and the donor community take a more aggressive role in helping Haiti solve its problems of extreme poverty and underdevelopment.

On the security front, Haiti will continue to face ongoing problems that the Haitian National Police (HNP), along with MINUSTAH, will have to address immediately. The loss of the head of MINUSTAH and the civilian police in the quake created a leadership gap that in turn resulted in several days of chaos and disorganization. However, members of

the police force began to emerge immediately after the earthquake. Police officers reported to direct traffic, manage crowds, direct water trucks and guard gasoline stations and cash delivery outlets.

According to reports from the field, there were about 2,500 officers in Port-au-Prince before the earthquake. At least 66 died, 50 were seriously injured and 491 have yet to be found. U.N. Deputy Police Commissioner Richard Warren recalled, "In the old days, you ran away from the Haitian police, you didn't run toward them.... That has changed, and you can see the change with your own eyes."

Today, the HNP may be the only presence of the state visible in Port-au-Prince. The chief of police, Mario Andersol, is working out of a makeshift office near the U.N. logistics base. Their presence is especially important given the hobbled national government, the death of so many civil servants and the great needs the country will face in the weeks and months ahead.

The immediate security issues faced include the overlapping of forces, as both the police and peacekeepers are tasked to provide security for the convoys of supplies that are being sent daily to the capital. Looting has been reported and

tensions will continue to grow, as assistance is slow to get through to all who need aid. More personnel are needed – some countries from Latin America, especially Brazil, have already sent reinforcements. Another problem will be managing crime in the short and medium term: policing is difficult with the court system in shambles, many judges dead and no place to put criminals. The earthquake destroyed the main prison, releasing more than 4,000 convicts into the streets of Haiti. These convicts will be difficult to find and pose an obvious threat to ordinary citizens trying to survive. Finally, the outward migration of citizens to the countryside will overwhelm rural areas that are usually calm and self-policing. The United Nations, along with the police, will have to consider how to redeploy forces that can work outside major cities.

Reconstruction will require a multifaceted approach to security, justice, economic development and governance. A strategy addressing the country's long-term needs must confront the demands of daily survival. A good plan will incorporate humanitarian assistance with the renewal of infrastructure, the creation of jobs and a focus on how to renew the earth – with almost 98 percent of the country deforested, Haiti faces grievous environmental conditions.

Lessons learned from recent studies about fragile states and peacekeeping suggest that among the most important factors in the ultimate success of any reconstruction effort is the on-going presence of peacekeepers. The United Nations and the countries that contribute troops will need to maintain a security and development presence for at least a decade. These personnel will also require outside support from NGOs and private contractors to ensure that the violence that often arises from instability is contained. Only by having a security-based approach to this rebuilding effort can Haiti renew the progress it was making in 2009. If the international community abandons Haiti in this time of exceptional need, it does so at its own peril. ■

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Principled Security

The Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights

10



Setting standards. Photo: Stock

LAUNCHED in 2000, the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights (Voluntary Principles) are an international, multi-stakeholder initiative designed to assist energy and mining companies in maintaining the security of their operations globally while ensuring respect for human rights.

In early 2000, the U.S. and U.K. governments, in collaboration with a selection of mining and energy companies, as well as international human rights NGOs, initiated a year-long, multi-stakeholder process to address concerns associated with security and human rights. The participants sought to draft a set of human rights guidelines customized for the mining and energy sectors that specifically addressed security issues and provided practical guidance on implementation. The Voluntary Principles, which were officially announced in December 2000, consist of three components that provide guidelines for:

1. conducting a comprehensive risk assessment with regard to security and human rights issues, the criteria of which are designed to build accountability;
2. engaging with public security forces, both military and police; and

3. engaging with private security forces.

The Voluntary Principles illustrate the opportunities and challenges of a multi-stakeholder initiative, as well as the unique strengths that each partner brings to the process. Companies offer the experience of working on the ground and the reality of implementing concepts at an operational level. Governments are able to convene diverse stakeholders around mutual goals and provide diplomatic channels through which to engage other governments. NGOs bring an expertise in human rights issues (including knowledge of local civil society in the geographic areas where companies operate), challenge companies to aspire to the best practices and support the development of tools with which to encourage wider Voluntary Principles implementation.

The Voluntary Principles have gained strong support globally from the private, public and civil sectors since their launch. In addition to attracting a growing number of participants, the Voluntary Principles have also been adopted and implemented by a number of companies that are not official partners. Moreover, multilateral institutions, such as the International Finance Corporation (IFC) and the Organization for Economic Co-

operation and Development (OECD), are now referencing the Voluntary Principles in their guidelines and standards.

As a voluntary framework, each of the official members have approached implementation of the Voluntary Principles in a different way, influenced by company culture, operating environments and other factors. Also, as companies continue to join the process, there are varying levels of progress among participants in the group. However, significant milestones have been achieved in the initiative's first decade.

Specifically, all companies are including the Voluntary Principles in at least some of their contracts, particularly with private security; many companies have conducted Voluntary Principles-related training for public and private security, or other company staff; most companies have a process for anonymously reporting human rights abuses and "whistle-blower" protection; and many companies believe the Voluntary Principles have caused a noticeable shift in company culture regarding awareness of human rights and security issues.

On the government side, the Republic of

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Principled fellows. Photo: Marathon Oil

10 ◀

Colombia has become the first government outside of North America and Europe to join the Voluntary Principles. A case study on the initiative's web site outlines the lessons learned and activities undertaken within Colombia to implement the Voluntary Principles. In addition, an in-country group in Indonesia is working to encourage the country's entry as the first Asian government participant. Since host governments have such a pivotal role to play in implementation, the inclusion of more host governments as participants is a major priority for the initiative.

The most important lesson one may take from the Voluntary Principles is that a multi-stakeholder partnership can successfully address issues that may be impossible for any single actor to resolve alone.

More information, including a list of the official members, the full text of the Voluntary Principles, a brief history, case studies on company implementation efforts and contact information for the secretariat, are available online at www.voluntaryprinciples.org. ■

Government Participants

						
<i>Canada</i>	<i>Colombia</i>	<i>Netherlands</i>	<i>Norway</i>	<i>Switzerland</i>	<i>United Kingdom</i>	<i>United States</i>

Non-Governmental Organization Participants

Amnesty International	Human Rights First	Oxfam
Fund for Peace	International Alert	Pact, Inc.
Human Rights Watch	IKV Pax Christi	Search for Common Ground

Observer Organizations

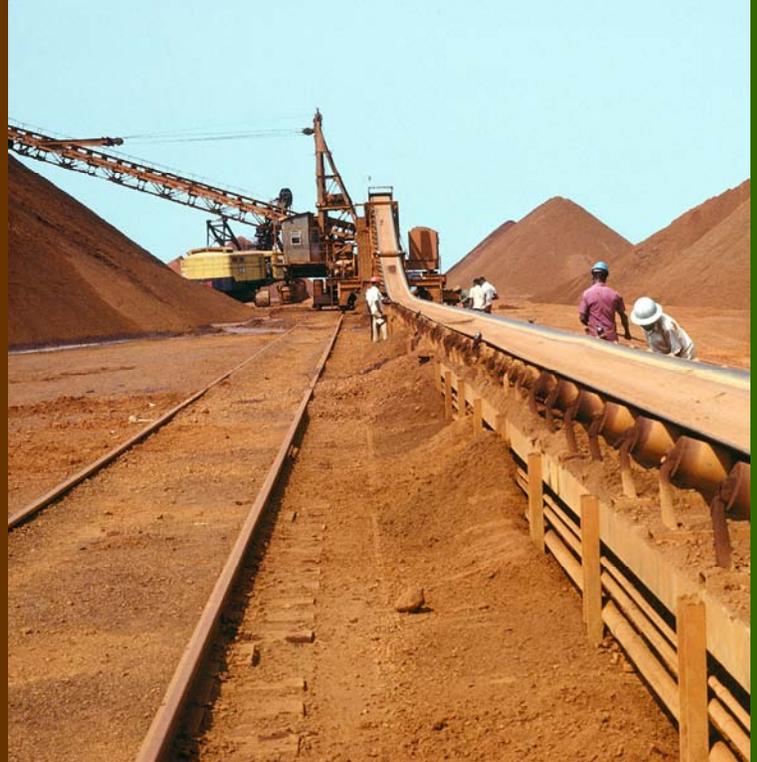
International Committee of the Red Cross	International Council on Mining & Metals	International Petroleum Industry Environmental Conservation Association
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Participating Companies

AngloGold Ashanti	Hess Corporation
Anglo American	Marathon Oil
BG Group	Newmont Mining Corporation
BHP Billiton	Occidental Petroleum Corporation
BP	Rio Tinto
Chevron	Shell
ConocoPhillips	Statoil
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Assessing Risk and Finding Opportunities

A Holistic Approach is Gold for Extractive Companies



Keeping things on the right track. Photo: B. Wolff/U.N.

EXTRACTIVE companies have come under increasing scrutiny due to their operations in areas with weak or oppressive governments, impoverished communities and overall potential for conflict. Often blamed for creating or exacerbating conditions that could cause violence to erupt or human rights abuses to occur, extractive companies have become more aware of their potential impact on and within communities. To protect their employees, physical assets, ability to operate and international reputations, extractive companies assess not only their own security, but also that of neighboring communities and often the country as a whole.

The extractive industry, however, is increasingly assessing risks beyond those included in traditional security assessments, taking a more holistic view of threats and opportunities. They consider not only how to block access to vulnerabilities, but also how the threat can be diminished in a positive way. For example, a company can address the risk of theft with heightened security in the form of fences, lights and guards. However, it can also combat the same risk by decreasing the number of unemployed male youth in the community through its

and its suppliers' local hiring practices.

Every opportunity to reduce the need for a security response is a reduction in the risk of human rights abuse and a corresponding reduction in the risk profile of the business. As every security manager knows, all the vetting and training in the world cannot guarantee that emotion or human error will not lead to their greatest fear – a serious injury or death on their watch. Developing a holistic approach, which takes into account the entire operating environment, can provide management with the ability to identify opportunities to improve security by understanding all potential impacts, both positive and negative, of the company on the community.

Different departments may be more appropriate to assess different risks or work in coordination with third-party assessors. The resulting information should, however, be brought to all managers for the development of all-encompassing strategies for the project site, allocating responsibility to appropriate departments for implementation and monitoring.

Companies also need to understand what threats exist or could exist for the

community. For example, they should evaluate the potential for human rights abuses if there is a protest or an altercation with one of their employees. They should understand whether and how the company's presence could potentially impact the security and human rights of community members. While the government is ultimately responsible for the security of its citizens, the international community is increasingly holding companies accountable for any abuses that occur in or around their operations. Understanding potential threats to the community can help the company identify ways it can work with others, such as the government, to ensure that its presence has a net positive impact on community security and human rights protection.

Companies must understand not only the reality of their operating environment, but also the perceptions that exist regarding their relationship with the local government. Extractive companies are sometimes viewed as extensions of the government and, therefore, must understand the relationship between the community and the government. When communities are impoverished, undereducated and underserved by their governments, their attitude towards a company –



A light at the end of the tunnel. Photo: Stock

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particularly one that is generating wealth in their vicinity for a government with which they have no social contract – can be dangerously negative. In the past, many companies have misinterpreted silent acquiescence and the desire for jobs as evidence that they have community support for their project. The company's own power, or lack thereof, can have disastrous consequences if not addressed.

The Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights (Voluntary Principles) were developed to provide guidance and support for companies in these situations, bringing together extractive security companies with non-governmental organizations and governments to develop practices and tools to reduce the potential for human rights abuses. The Voluntary Principles recognize that security risks can result from political, economic, civil and social factors, and prescribe policies that take these factors, as well as specific conflict risks and the history of human rights, into account.

To successfully assess the potential for

risk and abuses, as well as opportunities to mitigate potential consequences, companies should involve the local communities in on-going dialogues concerning a range of issues, including security, but also economic and other social concerns. By working with civil society organizations to develop participatory methods of undertaking assessments, companies are developing mechanisms that foster a stronger understanding of social and economic needs and environmental and political conditions. In the process, they are finding opportunities to increase security by improving the livelihoods of the communities around their operations – based not only on independent assessments of the communities' needs, but also on assessment and development of projects in which the community is an equal participant, not a dependent recipient.

This is not as simple as a survey of community members or focus groups. For communities that lack education, feel disempowered in relation to the multinational company or just feel that they have little to lose (or potentially much to gain

by acquiescence), ensuring that their opinions and needs are voiced requires commitment and a major investment on the part of the company. If a company does not make this investment, however, it will quickly find that a few loud voices, even those not actually from the communities themselves, come out in protest against the company.

Empowering the community so it can give (and take) a social license to the company to operate is one of the most important mechanisms through which a company can protect both itself and the community. The issues that the community will raise as it is empowered to discuss its grievances openly will not be limited to those within the control or responsibility of the company. Most certainly, many grievances will have to do with the lack of infrastructure and public services that should be a part of the social contract between the government and its citizens. This empowerment may threaten the local and even national government and public security forces, so it is crucial that the company works closely with the authorities to gain support for such activities.

While companies may find opportunities to promote greater social well-being by providing some services directly, they must consider carefully the social contract that should exist between the community and its government. If they elect to provide some services that the public sector should be providing, they should work with others to build programs that they can eventually transfer to a public institution, a service provider or a combination of the two. The company's overall strategy should be to develop programs that allow it, over time, to focus on its appropriate role in the community: an employer, a buyer of goods and services, a taxpayer and a good neighbor supporting social projects and sustainable community development. Assessments (and their resulting programs) designed to mitigate risks, secure the protection of the company and protect the human rights of community members can play a pivotal role in achieving this long-term goal. ■

Getting it Right

Security Forces and Community Relations in the Extractive Sector



Photo: Marathon Oil

NATURAL resources are often found in emerging economies beset by challenges such as conflict, weak governance and inadequate infrastructure. Many extractive companies operate in these contexts; therefore, ensuring the safety and security of operations and personnel is paramount. Indeed, national governments regularly view oil, gas and mining operations as a national interest that requires protection. However, the past decade has seen high profile court proceedings against companies, including accusations of company complicity in abuse perpetrated by public and private security forces associated with the operations.

Given these risks to operations and company reputation, international oil, gas and mining companies recognized the need to embed corporate social responsibility frameworks and processes into their security arrangements. They proactively sought to engage with stakeholders, invest in community development projects and endeavor to respect human rights.

A significant tripartite dialogue on this issue is the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights (Voluntary Principles). The governments of the United States, the United Kingdom, the

Netherlands and Norway, in collaboration with extractive industry companies and NGOs with an interest in human rights and corporate social responsibility, developed the Voluntary Principles. The principles guide companies in maintaining safety and security of operations, while ensuring respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The Voluntary Principles emphasize respect for human rights as outlined in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law. They also promote observance of international law enforcement principles, such as the U.N. Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials and the U.N. Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms. The Voluntary Principles also outline the need for appropriate due diligence with comprehensive risk assessment processes. Risk analyses depend on the specific context and may include security assessments, investigation into security personnel human rights records, assessment of the potential for violence and risks associated with equipment provision.

Public security's primary role is to maintain law and order. Central to the Voluntary Principles is engagement and

consultation with government and public security on deployment, conduct and response to security incidents – with the prevention of human rights abuses as a priority.

Private security forces, or those employed directly by the company, have a primary role to protect employees and assets. The Voluntary Principles guide companies in applying a security personnel code of conduct with guidance on use of force. They also underline the need for adequate training and proper investigation and reporting of incidents. In addition, the Voluntary Principles state that companies should not employ personnel credibly implicated in human rights abuses.

Marathon Oil Corporation, as a participant in the Voluntary Principles since 2005, is committed to implementing and promoting these principles. This article is intended to demonstrate the manner in which such an extractive company, working in such an environment, implements the Voluntary Principles on the ground.

When entering a new country, the company's risk assessment process should identify issues in the local social context

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as well as potential impacts on local communities, including the use of security forces.

It is important to emphasize the importance of cultural awareness and sensitivity when entering a new area; for any good company, this is the basis of earning trust and ensuring good relations. Understanding personalities and traditions, as well as cultural and religious attributes, is imperative; mistakes, unintentional ones, are difficult to repair. Exploration activities involve complex and multi-layered interactions that can exist between a company, the government and communities in a new operating area.

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Engagement not only encompasses federal and local governments, but also the communities' ethnic and religious leadership. All have a role, sometimes conflicting, in decision-making for the local communities. Due diligence identifies key groups with whom to engage. Ignoring any group may have ramifications for the business and could potentially be a source of conflict. This includes understanding relationships among the different groups and ethnic factions in the local community.

Following assessment of risks associated with the local situation, earning the trust of the affected population is the next step in the engagement process. This takes time and patience. The company's aim is that security be an integral, rather than controlling, part of the community. This is not a quick process, but is essential for security personnel to fulfill their role. For example, it is important to employ individuals from the local area to ensure security and stakeholder engagement. With local people hired to fill both security and support staff positions, the extractive company can internalize the local context, language and culture, which assists in building trust and strong relationships.

In a region where literacy levels are poor, retired and ex-police officers provide a local skilled labor pool with suitable levels of education and training for security



Teach a man to fish... Photo: Marathon Oil

positions. Background checks, consultation with local stakeholders and interviews help identify the right people.

Community relations and security personnel from the company should be located within the community from an early stage of exploration planning. The local population should not differentiate between the two groups. The company

should engage the local community on its plans and listens to their concerns and opinions. This helps the company's representatives understand the needs of the local communities and identify opportunities to create mutually beneficial solutions.

All security personnel employed by an



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Mike Faessler

Working with Local Security

A Case Study from the D.R. Congo



An insecure place, but all sorts of security to choose from. Photo: Martine Perrett/U.N.

MANY global extractive companies have been drawn to the mineral wealth in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). However, one of the first questions they must ask before investing is, “Can we operate there?” Indeed, there are a number of challenges to operating in the DRC; and perhaps no challenge is greater than that of security.

After years of civil war, armed groups run rampant in the DRC. In the east, there are more than seven different militia groups operating with impunity, either within the country’s borders or from safe havens in neighboring countries. Much of their financing comes from the illegal access to and sale of minerals. They are well armed, and as they have shown in much of 2008 and 2009, they have the ability to mount defensive and offensive military operations, and at times, route the DRC army. Despite peace deals and dialogues, these groups present a variety of security risks in the sector through murder, robbery, extortion and the widespread displacement of local communities.

In unstable regions such as the DRC, a company should employ three distinct layers of security in order to operate safely – a strategy I supported during my time as

security manager in the extractive industry.

The inner ring should consist of the company’s own security department, guards whom have the most experience and training, and thus the capacity to handle overall security management on the ground. The second ring should be filled in by local security forces, which are comprised of sub-contractors and state security. The third, outermost ring of security – or the strategic ring of security – is the local community.

The company I worked with while in the DRC had limited options when building their second ring of security. In their case, and likely in many others, the easiest option became to sub-contract a multinational guard force company. They supplied a contingent of about eighty men and women – 95 percent selected from the local community.

There were growing pains when training and motivating the local-hire security guards, who had never been exposed to the company’s operating methods, such as uniforms, or its approach to discipline and responsibility. However, the benefits of hiring within the local community far outweighed the challenges.

Still, we faced limitations with the sub-contracted man-guard force. Principally, the guards were unarmed. Present laws in the DRC, and many other African countries, do not allow private sector security to have weapons so as to minimize the threat private sector security could pose to the national government. Therefore, the private sector security alone was insufficient should we need to mount a credible defense to protect the company’s people and assets against armed and aggressive militias.

To fill in the gaps created by this restriction, we turned to the state security. However, the DRC army, while a potential partner in security, is under-trained, and its ability to engage and defend against the militia groups is suspect – it has been routed on numerous occasions.

Additionally, the DRC army is, by design, made up partially of former militia members; they were offered positions within in the army as part of the peace agreements. So, to have a contract with the army is to risk having known human rights abusers in one’s midst. This is no small matter as the international community holds the multinational corporation

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accountable for the actions of all security forces supporting company initiatives.

We established contracts with the police from the beginning, and they were more than willing to provide special augmentation to bolster our security efforts. However, on the whole, DRC police lacked training, particularly in the fundamentals of respect for human rights; yet, to their credit, they openly embraced the company's efforts to provide such training.

But, while a police contingent serves as an "accredited" armed, state security presence – this is a total role mismatch. The police force's mission and the little training it receives leaves it completely unprepared to defend against the threat posed.

A group of officers knows nothing about preparing a defensive perimeter or the basic tactics needed to defend against an attacking militia force of any size. In reality, having a police contingent may actually be a security manager's worst nightmare – it only creates a false sense of

security.

Finally, some executives might assume that their company's assets are "adequately protected" by virtue of the company's proximity to the DRC's U.N. peacekeeping mission, MONUC. MONUC is the largest operation in the world, and includes more than 17,000 in uniform.

However, as I found when speaking with a Pakistani infantry company posted near us, multinational companies are outside of the scope of the U.N. mandate, and accordingly, MONUC should not be relied upon for support, cooperation or even warning of impending fighting in the area.

There is no magic bullet, no easy way, for multinationals to quickly establish a security force that can present a credible defense and sufficiently protect their people and investment. At the policy level, the government of the DRC and supporting parties need to embrace concepts that acknowledge the importance of foreign investment; and find strategies the balance the security interests of nation building, while simultaneously

waging war with internally-born militia groups.

Perhaps the DRC can learn from the case study of Colombia. Over the last decade, Colombia has developed a defense strategy that recognizes the importance of foreign investment and provides special security for strategic sectors, including extractive industries. As security statistics have continued to improve over the last six years, the economy has benefited by a 400 percent increase in foreign investment.

The Colombian army supervises a sophisticated and transparent process of companies gaining access to soldiers in order to incorporate them into the overall security plan. Colombian soldiers are trained and capable of deterring militia threats: their human rights strategy has continued to evolve and shows significant progress. The private sector security is regulated, but licensed companies and their employees are allowed to carry weapons. It may not be a "perfect" system, but it is a strong and functioning model. ■

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extractive company should receive training to ensure they have the appropriate tools to protect employees, assets and themselves. Security personnel should abide by a code of conduct and rules of engagement. The importance of respect for other employees and for the local population's human rights must always remain a priority.

For example, in Indonesia, temporary removal of floating fishing devices, called rumpons, from the exploration block meant disrupting the livelihood of many in the local communities. In response, individuals affected by offshore activities were employed as security personnel to guard the stored rumpons at night. This gave them active employment while they waited for rumpon redeployment, as well

as enabled them to develop new skills. The community itself chose the individuals to perform this role. Community participation in decisions affecting their lives remains essential as it empowers them, demonstrates respect and again, helps to build trust.

The rumpon removal and payment of compensation was successful. Even when minor tensions arose, those involved actively sought company personnel to help facilitate meetings and resolve issues. It could be said that a company will know when it has built trust and respect when the local community is approaching it to inform or warn it of issues arising in the area.

Social investment is also an important part of engagement. With community

participation, companies are able to focus on sustainable income generation projects to enable self-sufficiency in the long-term. Consequently, companies are able to assist in creating social, health and economic programs funded and staffed by the community.

These experiences highlight the Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights as an important tool in successful community relationships. Due diligence, before engaging with the community, is key to understanding context and risk. Ensuring cultural appropriateness and sensitivity, the employment of vetted and trained people and patience are critical in helping to build relationships and trust. This is an ongoing process and integral to ensuring successful operations. ■

Getting it Right

Smart Reforms and Stability Operations

An Interview with
General Anthony C. Zinni (Ret.)



Gen. Anthony Zinni (Ret.). Photo: U.S.G.

General Anthony C. Zinni (USMC-Ret.) currently serves as Chairman of the Board of Directors of BAE Systems, Inc. He previously served as Executive Vice President of DynCorp International and is a former U.S. Peace Envoy in the Middle East and former Commander-in-Chief United States Central Command (CENTCOM). General Zinni retired as a four-star general from the United States Marine Corps in 2000.

JIPO: *The military takes on so many tasks these days, from warfighting and counterinsurgency in Afghanistan to peacekeeping in the Balkans, from anti-piracy off the coast of Somalia to disaster relief in Haiti. Can the military continue to commit to all these overseas contingency operations; and how must it evolve for the future?*

General Zinni: It is going to be difficult, especially given the Afghanistan and Iraq commitments, but it is an issue of scope, not of type of operation. When the scope is too large, it affects the ability of units to train, the quality of life of soldiers, wear and tear on equipment – and funding is also affected because operational costs come out of supplementals; they are not part of the budget. At this rate, it will be difficult to sustain for very much longer.

JIPO: *Do you agree with those who believe that U.S. diplomacy and foreign aid are being militarized. What are the implications of this progression?*

General Zinni: I think there is an attempt now to use what has been called

“whole-of-government” and efforts to enhance the capabilities of the Department of State and United States Agency for International Development (USAID), as well as an effort by the Department of Defense (DoD) to shift responsibilities to other agencies of government. The problems soon to be faced relate to capacity. The military, compared to other agencies, has far superior logistics and transportation capacity, as well as the ability to arrive on scene very quickly. The military also has a culture of planning and administration. I think you are always going to find that the military has a role to play, especially in the first stages – the emergency stages – of large-scale operations because they can respond quickly and with the necessary capacity.

If we are serious about the State Department, USAID and others, there must be a large investment in their capabilities, as well as potential partnerships with non-governmental organizations, international private volunteer organizations and other governments around the world to build a capacity that goes beyond the military.

But again, I think there will always be a military role, just not such a dominant one.

JIPO: *Many are critical of the significant role of the private sector in international policies in Afghanistan and Iraq, among other theaters. Looking ahead, do you believe the military will turn back the clock to “insource” many of the tasks currently supported by private firms?*

General Zinni: No, I think there will be a review of the whole contingency contracting industry, with several reforms. First, I think the question of what should or should not be contracted will be important. Because of political reasons, contracting out things like personal security will no longer be acceptable. The issues of accountability and private organizations using weapons create problems.

Second, I think there will be a true cost-benefit analysis as to what is contracted. There have been false equations, such as

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comparing salaries without understanding long-term commitment, cost-benefits, development of structure and duplication of structure. I think that certain things are more cost-effective and less controversial – like maintenance, dining facilities and logistics – and it will make sense to privatize or outsource in the way we have done.

Third, I think there will be a cleaning up of the actual business of contracting. I think many of the contracts were written in a hurry and organizations such as the State Department did not have a large contracting capability. The way contracts are written, monitored, supervised and the way costs are determined must be cleaned up. I think it would be wise for the contracting industry to have representation in this; much of the fault was not of the private sector.

However, there should be increased cooperation between the private sector and the government when drafting contracts – obligations, commitments, requirements, costs and mechanisms must be clear.

JIPO: If the United States continues to evolve towards “smart power” policies, how do you see the role of the stability operations industry changing?

General Zinni: I think this evolution might take those in the private sector into new areas of support for government operations, such as capacity building in traumatized societies, helping to build economic systems, political systems, security systems and other things.

When I was involved in humanitarian operations, I was amazed by just how much the office of U.S. Foreign Disaster Assistance and the U.S. government did contract out. Again, I would think we would learn from the lessons of Iraq and Afghanistan to clean up much of the way we contract out. It just may be that the private sector becomes involved in new areas to help in capacity building – to support any efforts to stabilize and reconstruct.

JIPO: What institutional changes are needed in the U.S. government for better interagency and civil-military cooperation?

General Zinni: I think that there needs to be some type of integrating organization. We could take the civil affairs part of the military out of special operations and create a civil affairs command. This civil affairs command would be much like our Transportation Command or the commands that integrate the capacity to enable planning, deployment, support and that sort of thing.

Although it would be military in its structure, because of the planning, deployment and logistics, operationally it would be composed of people from the State Department, USAID and a number of other civilian agencies. So the civil affairs command would be a true civilian-military integrated organization from its



strategy and operational direction; and each of the agencies of government would provide the staffing for its respective component.

In my mind, the military framework would be retained, but it would not be a total military organization. The military is good at administration, at deploying forces and at logistics. The command's support and planning functions can remain primarily military, but the actual conduct – operationally and strategically – would be done by a totally integrated staff, perhaps led by a diplomat.

JIPO: As the political and security situation in Iraq improves and the U.S.-led coalition continues to draw down its forces, what are some of the key lessons learned from Operation Iraqi

Freedom?

General Zinni: On the military side, we made the mistake of not understanding that these kinds of missions require a lot of boots on the ground. For security, for stabilization, you cannot go into operations like that and create vacuums, or else you suffer the problems we did – as the society fragments, there is looting and a loss of control.

The military, or DoD, cannot be in charge of political, economic and social reconstruction. They can certainly work on security, rehabilitation and development of police and military forces, but I think the other elements have to be civilian-led. There needs to be standing organizations that plan for such missions. I think that the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance were an example of ad hoc organizations that made tremendous mistakes in judgment, and really did not have the kind of competence, understanding and experience in the region to be effective.

JIPO: In light of the decision to send more NATO troops to Afghanistan, the next 12 - 18 months look to be very crucial for the broader region. What gains do you realistically believe can be made by the United States, its allies and the Afghan government? And do you see any political or military opportunities that are being missed?

General Zinni: I think that the increase in forces serves the purpose of buying time and securing space to do other things. The key is the ability to do the other things, which consists of seriously developing the Afghan security forces – police and military – so that they can take over, and in three to five years, relieve the Coalition forces. In the meantime, it is critical to develop political and economic institutions that the people see as credible and responsive to their needs. Increased security forces can buy time and can protect, but political, economic and social reconstruction, and the building of institutions, must also be present.

In terms of opportunities that could be



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A young child with dark skin is walking from left to right across a dry, dusty landscape. The child is wearing a bright yellow headscarf with a red and orange floral pattern. They are also wearing a light-colored, patterned dress with a floral design. The child's expression is neutral. In the background, there are some white plastic bags on the ground, suggesting a rural or developing area. The overall scene is captured in natural light, highlighting the textures of the clothing and the ground.

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missed, I think that there needs to be increased engagement with potentially reconcilable elements that are now considered enemies. Are there elements of the Taliban that could be brought to the table? Are there others that could be weaned away? Also, I think we are doing a good job in trying to put more pressure on the Karzai government to be responsive. There are assets we can provide – like a border control system – that both sides, Afghanistan and Pakistan, will agree would help mutual security. I think that motivating the international community to provide more support, not necessarily military, but in the areas of political, economic and social development, would be key, too.

JIPO: What are some of the key national security principles you would like to see the Obama Administration follow that would set the tone for a more secure United States and world in the future?

General Zinni: I think the key is building more regional and international partnerships that would deal with international problems. We tend to try to drive international policymaking, narrowly looking at our own interests, and then they become America's problems – or they become America's wars. I think we need to do a better job of helping create and support regional and international institutions that can deal with these problems more effectively, and in many cases the United States can act in a supporting role in rectifying and stabilizing some of these situations.

I would like to see a policy of investing more in building local security and economic communities, in social and political change and something done on a regional basis with international organizations that are in support of these goals. I think the United Nations is in dire need of reform, but I think it is a useful body. Others could be created that specifically work on certain aspects of stabilization and reconstruction. That is where I would like to see more investments, in line with smart power. ■

Police for Peace

Governments Move to Make Peacekeepers Out of Local Police



The thin blue line. Photo: Christopher Herwig/U.N.

ACCORDING to data from the United Nation's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, on average some 40 women are raped every day in the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo. In the first quarter of this year approximately 463 women were victimized, more than half of the total number of violations registered for the whole of last year. Another recent study by Physicians for Human Rights found that militias in Sudan's western region of Darfur had raped an extensive number of women.

These horrifying statistics only worsen as conflicts on the African continent spread and civilians become prime targets.

Given the collapse of the criminal justice system during the recent times of conflict, some experts believe that local police, if properly trained, could be a key factor in reestablishing law and order. Indeed, increasingly, local police are even engaging in direct combat when the lives of civilians are concerned.

By 2004, there were fewer than 1,000 African police officers charged with peacekeeping duties within and outside the continent. Today, that number has grown by more than ten-fold and looks

set to rise exponentially. Experts link this growing demand for local police officers as peacekeepers to a trend in the continent's conflicts, which have become more internal in nature and born an increased number of civilian casualties.

More often than not, these conflicts are fueled by ethnic differences, ethnic-based power struggles and an unbalanced sharing of national resources. Unfortunately, with civilians playing an increasingly central role in the distribution of power, they are more often targeted by opposition militias.

While armies are useful in pacifying conflict areas, the calm they leave behind is usually short-lived and degenerates into human rights abuses, such as rape and theft. Police, experts say, could serve as effective peacekeepers by preventing these "aftermath" atrocities and helping to rebuild the institutions of law and order.

According to Dr. Steven Kasiima, who heads the police training and development wing of the Africa Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), "This concept, where the police peacekeepers take over as soon as the army peacekeepers pacify an area was first successfully used in

Monrovia, Liberia. Since then, the army has demanded the police should take over where missions succeed in stabilizing."

In Sudan's troubled western region of Darfur, the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation (UNAMID) is running short of police peacekeepers. Out of the target of 2,660 officers, only 700 are available. A similar shortage is facing AMISOM.

Despite this shortage, statistics from the U.N. Police department website shows the number of police officers from Africa servicing peacekeeping missions around the world has increased by 970 percent, from 348 officers in 2003 to 3,587 by June 2009. Countries like South Africa, Kenya, Egypt and Morocco are still contributing dismal numbers – a trend analysts say could dramatically change with the implementation of the Africa Standby Force, a robust peacekeeping mission that is expected to be operational some time this year.

Ideally, the need for more police in peacekeeping missions will only rise as Africa lessens its dependence on international troops.

Xavier Ejoyi, a peacekeeping researcher with the pan-African human security think tank Institute of Security Studies (ISS), attributes the growing demand for police peacekeepers to an equally increasing need to reconstruct criminal justice systems, which are the first casualties in Africa's internal conflicts: "The Cold War changed the dynamics of conflict in the continent such that instead of conflicts being between the armies, they have become intra-state. States facilities, which include criminal justice systems, are some of the first casualties."

Militias opposing the state typically aim to destroy anything associated with the state, and when the criminal justice systems break down, they are able to commit atrocities with impunity, without fear of prosecution.

And it is no easy task rebuilding these institutions, even once countries are stabilized.

"Before, peacekeeping was more of [a case of] monitoring ceasefire between the armies. Today, it is about protecting civilians, establishing law and order and institutions which go with that. This is the only way to make the society start functioning again," says Ejoyi.

The practice of cleaning up after the army, however, is only applicable where stability exists, Kasiima of AMISOM says. "In countries like Somalia, it is currently difficult to use this practice. We are only using police peacekeepers at the government police headquarters." However, this is complimented by the ongoing training of 500 Somalia police officers in Puntland, a peaceful, semi-autonomous break-away region of Somalia, and additional police officers and Somalia military officers being trained in Kenya, Djibouti, Uganda, Ghana and Nigeria.

When relative stability is established in Somalia, these police officers are expected to begin working with their foreign counterparts to reconstruct criminal justice systems that have been destroyed in the country and protect civilians at the



Executing policing policy. Photo: Christopher Herwig/U.N.

grassroots level. In pursuing this option, the police peacekeepers are playing the role of mentors and trainers; this will be critical to ensuring that when peace is finally established, the affected host-county has adequate police officers to maintain law and order, and prevent a resurgence of conflict.

However, it is not all about waiting for "stable heavens" before police engage in conflict zones. A new concept of crack units, known as Formed Police Units (FPUs), is now operational in Africa.

FPUs are comprised of 140 heavily armed officers with special training, who can engage in combat situations to help the local police force or protect civilians in case of hostile armed attacks. Only half a dozen such units are operational in Darfur, compared to the target of 19 such units. Still, similar arrangements are being planned for Somalia.

But even with this rapid response capacity, peacekeeping experts like Andrews Atta-Asamoah at the ISS say their services are required a few weeks after the army mission settles in, and peaks when relative stability is established. Their withdrawal is also gradual, dependent on the improving police capacity to meet local needs.

"In some nations, which have characteris-

tics of failed states, police peacekeepers may be given executive powers to take up the roles of national police," says Atta-Asamoah.

Research published by the Henry L. Stimson Center on the capacity of Africa police forces to take over international peacekeeping operations shows that the nations' ability to contribute is limited by the need for police at home. Data available shows that most African countries fail to meet the United Nation's recommended police-to-civilian ratio of one police officer for every 400 civilians. Ghana's ratio, for instance, is 1 police officer to 1,200 civilians; Kenya's is 1 to 1,150; and Tanzania's is 1 to 1,400. These countries, like many of their counterparts on the continent, are overstretched by local police needs and find it hard to contribute.

Forming the special crack police units is also expensive, and most of the cash-strapped African governments find it hard to finance them. As of 2007, it cost \$6 million to set up one FPU.

In the meantime, the situation – especially for civilian women and girls who appear to bear the brunt of human rights atrocities – remains dismal. ■

This article was first published by the International Relations and Security Network.

Anthony Feinstein MPhil., PhD., FRCPC

Psychological Well-Being in Conflict Zones

Assessing the Psychological Effects of Conflict on Journalists and Contractors



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Data collection can be a real headache, too. Photo: Stock

JOURNALISTS who risk their lives repeatedly for a story or photograph fulfill an essential function. They keep us, the general public, safely ensconced in a comfortable chair far away from the turmoil in distant lands, informed of events that are increasingly relevant to our own societies. For the past decade, the psychological health of these individuals who have been dispatched to work in zones of conflict has been the focus of my research.

The content of this article owes much to data collected from war journalists, those members of the press, be they stills photographers, cameramen and women, print reporters and editors, whose careers are devoted to and defined by their work in the midst of warfare. The topic is not just of academic interest. The research methods tried, tested and refined in journalists over time can be used as a template to explore how other groups, such as contractors, are faring psychologically in far away, hostile environs.

The psychological health of journalists working in war zones has until recently been ignored. While attitudes are slowly changing, psychological health plays a distant second fiddle to physical health, with expertise languishing when com-

pared with that in trauma surgery and disease prevention. This omission has come about because of a number of factors: the macho image of a frontline journalist; a mistaken belief that equates bravery with psychological immunity; and the cavalier attitudes of some news managers to safety, to mention but three.

War journalists are a difficult group to study. They are often on the move. They spend long periods away from home, in regions that researchers are reluctant to enter because of concerns for personal safety. Adding to these hurdles, confidential data can be difficult to gather via traditional methods. To overcome these challenges, all data were collected via a secure website. Study participants were asked to complete a series of validated questionnaires probing symptoms of depression, anxiety, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and substance abuse. To date, this methodology has been used successfully with three separate studies of journalists and one of contractors.

The initial study compared the psychological response of 140 war journalists (contact details supplied by CNN, BBC, Reuters, Associated Press, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) with those from 107 journalists who had done

domestic reportage only. The former had significantly more evidence of psychopathology. This included prominent symptoms of PTSD: intrusive, unwanted nightmares and recollections of traumatic events, emotional numbing, irritability, insomnia, poor concentration, a prominent startle response and hypervigilance, the latter continuing even after the journalist had returned home from war. The war group was also demonstrably more depressed, with symptoms that went beyond low mood and included those of poor self esteem, prominent guilt, loss of motivation, changes in appetite and sex drive, a sense of pessimism over their futures and thoughts of suicide. Finally, the war journalists drank significantly more alcohol than their domestic colleagues, with a weekly consumption that exceeded the 14 units for a man (9 units for a woman) recommended by the Canadian Medical Association (a 'unit' of alcohol refers to a bottle of beer, shot of spirits or a glass of wine).

Interesting as these findings were, the one result that resonated with the news bosses was the finding that journalists in psychological difficulties were no more likely to have received help from a mental health specialist than their colleagues who

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were no in distress. It was also found that the war group were significantly more likely to be single or divorced, which perhaps spoke to the attrition of war and stress when it came to sustaining relationships.

A second study was undertaken in the immediate aftermath of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. A group of 46 domestic journalists who had never worked in a war zone suddenly found themselves forced by circumstance to report the calamity on their doorstep. For many journalists this unexpected role proved traumatic and the frequency of PTSD and depressive symptomology three months after September 11 rivaled that recorded from the war group in the earlier study. But the good news from this study was that with the passage of time and the absence of further threat, these manifestations of emotional distress spontaneously settled so that by the one year anniversary of the attacks psychological health had essentially returned to baseline. Psychometric scores obtained from this group are now well below those of the war journalists, whose responses remain consistently high given their frequent expose to events that threaten death either to themselves or others.

The final study took place in Iraq soon after the current war began. The question addressed was to what extent did embedding with the military protect or harm the psychological health of journalists? Two groups were compared: embeds versus unilaterals. A notable finding was that both groups had been exposed to similar levels of violence during the opening phase of the war, namely an average of three life threatening events. This statistic, a further indication of the hazardous nature of the work, should be viewed within the broader context of frontline journalists who, on average, confront more than two dozen life threatening events over the course of a career that spans up to two decades in war zones. The fact that embedded and unilateral journalists did not differ in their exposure to violence

helps explain their overlapping psychological scores – there were no differences between the groups with respect to PTSD, depression, anxiety or substance abuse. This result however had little chance to influence how journalists should work in Iraq. Events in that country rapidly overtook the reasons for undertaking the study in the first place. Iraq's rapid slide into sectarian chaos meant that it was soon too dangerous for journalists to wander the streets of Fallujah, Mosul or Baghdad without military protection. Journalism de facto became embedded journalism, the luxury of choice removed.

We have recently collected similar data from a group of contractors working in Iraq and Afghanistan. While the demographic and educational backgrounds of this group differ considerably from the war journalists' (all male, predominantly high school qualification versus 70 percent male and mainly university educated) the two groups share high rates of psychopathology and the fact that psychological distress is going undetected and untreated. While comparisons between disparate groups is problematic, what is incontrovertible is that a propensity to take risk, driven in large measure by the biological determinants of character, has a high psychological cost.

The contractor data were derived from a sample of 79 men, so one has to be cautious in drawing too many general conclusions from this study. Nevertheless, what is telling is the paucity of psychological resources provided by employers. While on deployment, two thirds of the sample reported no access to psychological help. Post-deployment, the figure fell to 11 percent. Thus, it would appear that the onus of psychological care is largely being passed from employer to employee, an approach doomed to fail because it ensures the majority of depressed and traumatized individuals will go unrecognized and untreated.

Disorders like PTSD and depression carry a considerable morbidity and mortality, but they are treatable. When the diagnosis is missed, as it surely will be when there is

no mechanism in place for an assessment, the negative effects on an individual's life are considerable. Work productivity suffers. The desire and ability to socialize are impaired. Moreover, the individual's safety and that of work colleagues may be compromised because distress can cloud judgment and promote erratic behavior. In situations already fraught with danger this may prove catastrophic.

Employers have a duty to provide appropriate care to those they send into harm's way. The data from the various studies make clear that this must also extend to psychological help when needed. Which raises a practical dilemma: how to detect psychological problems in an employee who is far from home, working in a society where there may be a language barrier and where psychological services are often rudimentary or have collapsed entirely along with the implosion of civil society. One answer is to learn from the methods employed in collecting the data that inform my studies – use the internet. An offshoot of my research has been the development of a website, www.safetyinmind.com, where individuals complete an online, detailed confidential psychological assessment and immediately receive feedback on their results. There is also a small, focused education component relating to PTSD, depression and substance abuse built into the program.

Psychological health has always been a “Cinderella” discipline, pushed to the back of many corporate health care agendas. This suggests the road ahead will be long when it comes to increasing awareness of the scope and severity of the issues confronted. But the situation is slowly starting to change as the realization grows that the fall out from disorders like depression and PTSD are every bit as harmful, and often more so, than a gunshot wound or tropical infection. In an increasingly dangerous world, with journalists, contractors and NGO workers now the target of assassinations and kidnappings, it is imperative that these early first steps are bolstered and the necessary psychological care provided. ■

M. Ashraf Haidari

South-South Cooperation

How Brazil can Secure the Future of Afghanistan



A long way from Kabul. Photo: J. J. Messner

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BRAZIL may be geographically distant from Afghanistan, but there is an enormous potential for fruitful cooperation between us. Brazil has impressed the international community with explosive development, especially in agriculture, and its ascent to global leadership. Afghanistan is a traditionally agricultural country and therefore reconstruction of Afghanistan's once-vibrant farms is critical to its rebirth. But despite the fact that 80 percent of Afghanistan's population resides in regions dominated by agriculture, the sector has been severely underinvested by the international community.

Real progress in agriculture is critical to the attainment of Afghanistan's goals. If we cannot assure Afghanistan's rural population access to a legitimate livelihood, they will grow increasingly disillusioned, lose trust in the government and, for lack of other options, support the Taliban. Through a thriving agricultural sector, we can win the information war against al-Qaeda and the Taliban, reduce poverty and rebuild and develop Afghanistan's economy.

Unlike most of the nations currently involved in rebuilding Afghanistan, Brazil is a developing country itself. Further-

more, having built its agricultural system from the ground up and developed special expertise in the same issues Afghanistan faces, Brazil is in a unique position to assume an important role in reconstruction. The South American country has quadrupled its agricultural production since the 1970s by transforming dry, formerly unproductive soil, offering aid to farmers and using improved seeds and irrigation.

The key to Brazil's success lies in its research. Embrapa, the Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture's research arm, is heralded worldwide as a leader in agricultural research. Embrapa is responsible for more than nine thousand technological advances in Brazilian agriculture that have reduced costs, increased production, protected natural resources and improved Brazil's self-sufficiency. Embrapa's soil research has transformed entire regions of Brazil, such as the Cerrado region in central Brazil. Once considered a wasteland unfit for farming, the Cerrado is now one of the world's most productive agricultural regions, on par with America's Midwest.

Embrapa has expanded its operations to 36 countries in hopes of making a difference in agriculture around the world.

In 2006, Embrapa opened their first office in Africa as part of an effort to "transfer and adapt" technology pioneered in Brazil, working in cooperation with local embassies to ensure security and coordination with the host governments.

Brazil takes a holistic approach to agricultural development, from education and seed development to agribusiness and export markets. In partnership with Angola, Embrapa is funding graduate education in Brazil for the future leaders of Angolan agriculture. Embrapa has provided seeds and fertilizers, and operates a school on agriculture and food processing, at no cost to Angolan farmers; in just a few short years these programs have proven very successful.

Embrapa could be similarly successful in Afghanistan, a country that has already proven it can be a breadbasket. The potential clearly exists, but Afghanistan needs Brazil's modern technology and expertise for its agriculture to blossom once again.

Many hold the lack of coordination between agencies responsible for the inefficiency and inadequacy of many

aspects of Afghanistan's reconstruction, which leaves some jobs undone while others are duplicated. Therefore, they may question the logic of adding yet another organization to the equation. However, Embrapa knows the value of cooperation and coordination between agencies and governments. Many Embrapa projects are coordinated with the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO); these same agencies are already active in Afghanistan.

Through partnership between a new Brazilian Embassy in Kabul and a new Afghan Embassy in Brasilia, Embrapa could focus significant efforts on close collaboration with international organizations, other donor countries and the government of Afghanistan. Embrapa has the experience necessary to not only provide expertise and tools directly to Afghan farmers, but also to work together with other players to deliver the best results on the ground.

Luckily, the green shoots of close relations and cooperation between Afghanistan and Brazil have already sprouted. Brazil has attended international conferences on Afghanistan and pledged support for reconstruction on multiple occasions. In 2004, Afghanistan and Brazil reestablished non-resident diplomatic relations. In 2006, they signed a Basic Agreement for Technical Cooperation. In March of 2009, Afghanistan's former Minister of Rural Rehabilitation and Development and the author of this article made an official visit to Brazil. We had the opportunity to speak with many government officials, including the Minister of Agriculture and the head of Embrapa.

At our March 2009 meeting, we found many similarities in the challenges and the potential of the two countries. First, Embrapa has been operating research centers for years in areas with similar climates to those in Afghanistan. They, therefore, can provide important guidance and technology that Afghan farmers currently lack. In addition to soil



President Lula da Silva, a man of the people. The Afghan people. Photo: Paulo Filgueiras/U.N.

treatments, such as those used in the Cerrado, Embrapa has also developed seeds that require little water or fertilizer, critical for Afghanistan's unpredictable rainfall. We agreed to exchange technical delegations in order to improve agricultural cooperation. This was a very positive first step in what will hopefully be a close, vibrant and cooperative relationship.

Devastated agricultural infrastructure is a large part of Afghanistan's agricultural woes. All of the Ministry of Agriculture's 24 research stations remain closed and 40 percent of Afghanistan's irrigation network is still non-operational. Embrapa technology transfer could temporarily fill the research void while Afghans undergo training in the areas necessary to restart the ministry's research. Brazil also has experience in developing irrigation: between 1950 and 1990, Brazil essentially built its irrigation network from scratch and now irrigates about 3.5 million hectares. Again, Brazil's own experience in developing its agricultural sector could sow a productive relationship between the countries.

However, growing food is only part of the equation. Afghanistan has virtually no

agribusiness in place; it can be difficult for farmers to access credit and get their food to market. In fact, for many farmers, the only crop for which they can receive sufficient capital and have assured access to export markets is poppy. Brazil, on the other hand, has made huge strides in the development of agribusiness and export markets. Brazil's government provides loans and other aid to 800,000 family farmers. Brazil could provide critical guidance on adding value to agricultural products. For example, Brazil could help Afghanistan to not just grow wheat, but also mill and process it. Adding value to Afghan crops through processing improves farmers' income, reduces the incentive for poppy cultivation and helps further develop Afghanistan's economy.

The reconstruction of Afghanistan's agriculture is instrumental to the country's progress. With a bustling agricultural sector, Afghans will have access to legitimate jobs, poverty will decrease, the economy will come to life and the government will win the hearts and minds of its people. But we cannot do it alone. The time is ripe and the possibilities are limitless for cooperation between Brazil and Afghanistan. ■

Zaid Al-Ali

Stillborn Constitutionalism In Iraq

A Political System Beset by Problems



Remind me to tell you about that whole constitutionalism thing. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki and President Barack Obama. Photo: Pete Souza/White House

WHEN the Iraqi parliament, after months of delay, passed a new electoral law, few took it to mean that the country's woes were over. A number of fundamental mistakes have been made since 2003, but amongst the most crucial is the decision to grant the country's politicians the right to handle issues that should be managed by impartial technocrats or judges. Iraq's breed of politicians is on the whole no different from that of other countries: they are motivated by self-interest. This has been reflected in the way they have discharged all of their duties, including in relation to the elections.

In mid-January, the parliament's accountability and justice commission (AJC) ruled to ban 511 candidates from upcoming elections due to undisclosed links to the Baath party. Debaathification has been controversial from the start in Iraq; after the war in 2003, opinion differed as to what should happen to Baath party members. Some drew potential comparisons to the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, among the most successful national reconciliation initiatives in modern times and perhaps in history. Others called for the matter to be dealt with by the courts, and for only those individuals with blood on their

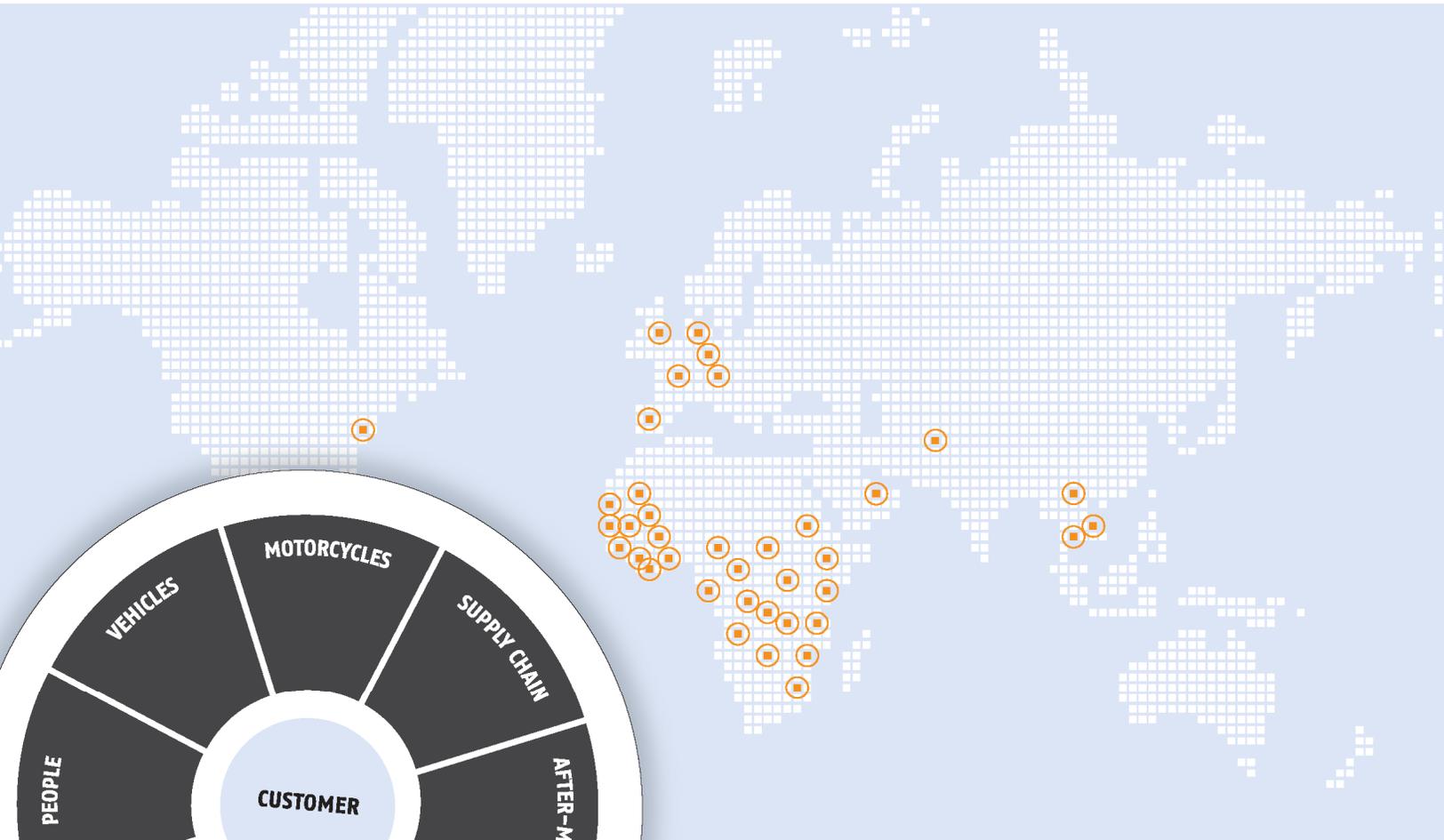
hands to be tried and prevented from holding office or working in government. A number of parties insisted that they should remain in control of the process and should have unrestricted power to decide whom to and whom not to ban from public office. Inevitably, the latter option was adopted and nothing but controversy has ensued.

Of the 511 candidates the AJC originally banned, 334 were replaced by the political parties themselves by other candidates – who may also at some stage face restrictions imposed by the AJC. Of the remaining 177, only 37 managed to lodge their appeals properly while the rest were dismissed altogether. Most, if not all, of those appeals have now been decided, with many of the most notable politicians now officially banned from the elections.

Salih Mutlaq, leader of the National Dialogue Front, was the most prominent of the candidates to be banned. Most observers, including Mutlaq himself, are confused by the decision: the AJC has not explained why an individual, who has served in the legislature for four years and participated in the drafting of the country's constitution, would be excluded from the political process so late and at such short notice. This has led to the

speculation that this most recent wave of debaathification was in response to the waning popularity of many of Iraq's most prominent parties (in particular religious parties). After years of gross mismanagement and astronomical levels of corruption, many Iraqis have either snubbed elections altogether or have started looking for alternative representation. Many in government, including those individuals that hail from religious parties, fear that voters may turn to secular parties, namely the Iraqiya Alliance to which Mutlaq belonged.

The new round of debaathification has also further stoked an atmosphere of political violence and intimidation, in which candidates for political office have been targeted and sometimes killed. Secular groups feel particularly threatened by this trend. Al-Forat, a satellite television channel operated by the Supreme Iraqi Islamic Council, regularly runs advertisement spots that mention Saddam Hussein's past crimes in the same breath as a supposed conspiracy to take over the Iraqi parliament. The result is that many individuals who have hitherto been considered a legitimate part of the post-2003 political process, including even Tariq Hashimi (one of Iraq's two



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Amb. Hank J. Cohen (Ret.)

Sub-Saharan Africa: The Next Front?

The War Against Islamic Terrorism Spreads, Somewhat



The attempted bombing of a Delta/Northwest flight over Detroit on Christmas Day 2009 throws an unfortunate spotlight on sub-Saharan Africa. Photo: Gietje

A few years ago, the president of the Republic of Mali spoke at the National Defense University. During the question period, President Amadou Toumani Touré was asked if the 500 million Muslims in the African countries south of the Sahara constituted a potential terrorist problem for the United States.

ATT, as the Malian president is called, was not offended by the question. As a devout Muslim himself, the president understood what was behind the question. His reply was interesting:

“In Black Africa, Islam is ‘tropicalized’. We are very tolerant of other religions. In West Africa, Muslims celebrate Christmas. We have a lot of mixed families. When ‘missionaries’ come visiting from Pakistan and Saudi Arabia with their Salafist teachings, we tell them they are wasting their time. African Muslims are devout in their religion, but they are not interested in mixing religion with politics.”

President Touré’s analysis remains valid. Sub-Saharan Muslims, who speak Bantu languages and are present from Senegal to Cameroon (and in every country in between), are not likely to embrace the

jihad preached from the Afghan-Pakistani border. This view of the world explains why Muslim majority countries such as Mali, Niger, Senegal and Mauritania are working so closely with American agencies in cooperative relationships designed to thwart jihadist penetration. They fear extremist Islamic terrorism even more than Americans because they have administrative weaknesses that are vulnerable to exploitation by outsiders seeking opportunities to overthrow regimes, blow up facilities and kill people at random.

In the Sahel states just south of the Sahara, the Osama bin Laden franchise in southern Algeria, known as “al-Qaeda in the Maghreb,” has been foraging in under-populated northern Mali, Niger and Mauritania in an effort to destabilize those governments and drive the populations toward extremist Islam.

The organization was defeated in Algeria after two decades of wanton terrorist murder in the villages and is now looking for new ways of remaining relevant by joining forces with dissident nomadic tribes, as well as South American drug traffickers who utilize the vast desert spaces to move narcotics to Europe. In addition to drug transit, some of the

terrorist revenue also comes from ransoms paid to free kidnapped European “desert tourists” and remote mining employees.

The northern Sahel has therefore become a “roaming land” for bands of Islamo-narco terrorists – who are keeping national armies on their toes. For this reason, the United States continues significant training in counterterrorism and counternarcotics for military and police in countries immediately south of the Sahara. Does this narco-terror activity constitute a real “Islamist” danger to the regimes? The answer is no, but it is a real threat to morale, to the countries’ fragile finances, and a deterrent to investment.

What about the aborted December 25, 2009 attack on a Northwest Airlines transatlantic flight by the Nigerian Muslim, Umar Farouk Abdul Mutallab? Is this the beginning of a trend in Africa’s most populated country? Probably not. Abdul Mutallab was clearly radicalized in the United Kingdom, where he went to school, and not in his home region of northern Nigeria, where his actions have been regarded with genuine disgust.

The middle belt of Nigerian states that

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separate the Muslim north from the Christian south is periodically the scene of confessional violence, where militants from both sides burn mosques and churches over real or imagined grievances that are exacerbated by extreme poverty. Could this tense area become the source of suicide bombers who are trained in Yemen or Pakistan? The answer is: Not likely. The Nigerians involved in those riots are not inclined to blame their troubles on the United States.

On the eastern side of Africa, in the Horn, significant populations speak Semitic languages and therefore trend toward Middle Eastern ways of thinking. For them, politics is normally a zero-sum game. In this sub-region, "Jihad Islam" has been acknowledged, but excluding present day Somalia, has not gained much traction.

There have been some sensational actions. The attacks on the American

embassies in Dar Es Salaam and Nairobi in 1997 were apparently carried out by Muslims from the "Kenya coast" who are descendants of Omani trading families going back several centuries. The fact that the vast majority of victims were local Africans did not endear al-Qaeda to Africa, regardless of religious affiliation.

The Islamic revolution in Sudan in 1990 established a religious-based tyranny in Africa's geographically largest country. Osama bin Laden himself found hospitality there for a few years. The regime's politico-religious godfather, Hassan Turabi, tried to export Islamic revolution to Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Morocco, but did not get far after the United States and Egypt issued strong warnings to Sudan's military leadership.

Today, the main danger comes from Somalia, which has been in a state of political anarchy since 1991. The historic Somali Islamist political movement, al Ittihad, is finally coming within striking

distance of power as it battles religious and secular movements in both southern Somalia and the capital city of Mogadishu. Today, al Ittihad goes by the name of al Shabaab. Will this movement come to full power in Somalia, thereby threatening the sovereignty and stability of Kenya, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Eritrea? This is very unlikely, but the Horn will experience much violence before the control of Somalia is finally decided.

What is the bottom line for Jihadist Islamic terrorism in Africa? Violent extremists are not likely to gain mass support anywhere, but there will be many opportunities to exploit, especially in the countries bordering on North Africa and the Gulf of Aden. For this reason alone, the United States will need to maintain vigilance and continue to shore up African allies. This latter category includes almost every African sovereign nation; Washington does not have to do much arm-twisting for counter-terrorist cooperation. ■

Constitutionalism in Iraq

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vice-presidents), are now targets for deBaathification and threats.

DeBaathification has also been a convenient way to force attention away from Iraq's other democracy issues. For example, Iraqi political parties are not subjected to any financial restrictions whatsoever. They are free to raise their funds from whatever source they please; they are under no obligation to declare who their donors are or to publish their accounts; and there is hardly any restriction on how these funds can be spent. The result is that political parties in Iraq have become large institutions: their support on the ground may be weak, but they have their own television channels, well managed websites and newspapers, as well as impressive public relations campaigns. Most Iraqis assume that funding mostly originates from outside the country. Despite these concerns, however, the only body that could possibly change the rules is the parliament



itself; and it seems unlikely to make those changes any time soon.

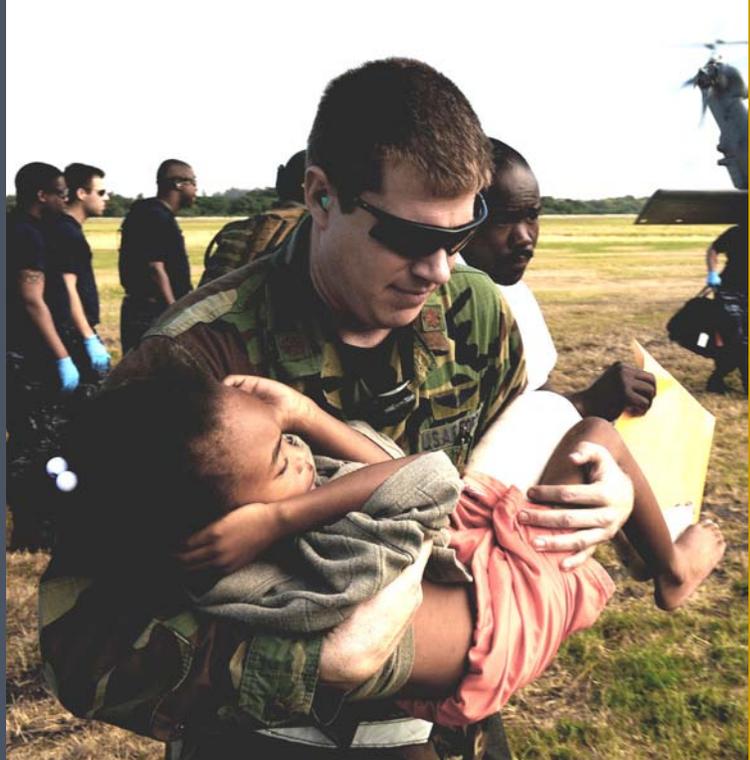
None of the above is likely to have any significant impact on the United State's planned withdrawal from Iraq. Only a return to full civil conflict would lead to a delay in the withdrawal of troops at this stage. Despite the higher incidence of explosions throughout Iraq over the past few months, security on the whole remains incomparably better today than it was from 2006 to 2008. Today, the Iraqi army is the only presence on Iraqi streets. Although military checkpoints have been relying on faulty equipment to detect explosives, the checkpoints have managed to restore a semblance of stability and

security in the capital.

Another likely development is a change to the country's oil sector. Depending on a number of factors (including, most importantly, fluctuations in oil prices in the coming few years), Iraq's annual state budget could very well quadruple as a result of a number of agreements with some of the world's largest oil companies. This will inevitably lead to a consolidation of power by those few parties that have been in control of government since 2005, the gradual improvement in services and, as capital continues to flow to Baghdad, the steady increase of corruption. Iraq's future will be democratic only to those that watch it from afar and who do not focus on it for very long. On the ground, Iraqis will continue to bear the brunt of decades of incompetence, mismanagement and self-interest by the ruling elites. ■

Constructive Reconstruction

The Only Things Plentiful in Haiti are Death, Suffering ... and Criticism



Invading Haiti, one rescue at a time. Photo: Tech Sgt James L Harper/U.S.A.F.

It has been nearly two months since an earthquake destroyed Port-au-Prince and left over 200,000 dead and thousands homeless. The scale of the disaster was massive. The international relief response – from governments, international agencies, NGOs and the general public alike – has also been massive. Worryingly, however, the criticism of this relief effort has been probably more active and vigorous than the effort itself.

The U.S. government learned early on that the road to intense international criticism is paved with good intentions. Only a week after the earthquake, Venezuelan president Hugo Chavez characterized the U.S. aid effort, which included bringing food, water and medical support, as well as taking operational control of the Port-au-Prince Airport, as an invasion, arguing that the United States used the earthquake as a pretext for covertly occupying Haiti. Of course, had the United States done nothing in response to the earthquake, Chavez would surely have decried the unconscionability of the world's superpower doing nothing to help its poor neighbors. In fairness, few reasonably-minded observers take Chavez seriously and his rants are generally seen as just that: rants. But the

criticism was also coming from the French, with Cooperation Minister Alain Joyandet describing the U.S. relief effort as an “occupation.”

The NGO community also launched blistering attacks at the United States for the military's control of Port-au-Prince airfield and the occasional forced diversion of relief flights to other airports, such as the Dominican Republic. Never mind of course that the Port-au-Prince Airport is tiny; that it has one runway, no taxiways and a usual daily schedule of only few dozen movements, but now must handle hundreds. Or that the U.S. military had to fly in air traffic control facilities after the earthquake destroyed the airport's own infrastructure. Without American management of the airport, far fewer flights would be able to land there, let alone safely. However, for some, no opportunity to lambast the Americans should ever be wasted.

Similarly, the relief community, including the United Nations, other international agencies and the NGO community, came under immense fire. Why is aid not moving faster? Why are we not treating more of the injured? Why have we not done X, Y or Z yet? With every criticism came a complete misapprehension of the

situation on the ground and the logistical difficulties of moving aid supplies, people and equipment around the earthquake-devastated and infrastructure-crippled country.

Many further criticized the relief community's failure to learn and employ lessons from previous natural disasters. Lessons learned are of course important, but so is an understanding that no two disasters – let alone contingency operations – are ever the same. Some critics pointed to comparison with Indonesia, in particular to the relief efforts following the 2005 Indian Ocean tsunami in Aceh and the 2009 earthquake in Padang, contending that the aid effort was relatively effective in these locations, so why not in Haiti? Of course, these critics forget that Indonesia had the benefit of a functioning government and relatively robust infrastructure, and that Haiti, well, does not. In reality, the international relief effort has been confronted with unprecedented obstacles in Haiti, ones which are only exacerbated by a lack of both infrastructure and local capacity.

The private sector has not been immune to insult either. The day after the earthquake, IPOA put together a page on



Air Traffic Control, Port-au-Prince style. Photo: Staff Sgt Desiree Palacios/U.S.A.F.

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its web site listing the available capabilities of its member companies that would be especially relevant to the relief effort in Haiti. The page received thousands of hits and became an effective clearing house for services eagerly sought by a myriad of organizations wanting to make a difference. Yet, the page also became an effective target of criticism, inspiring snipes from critical surfers whom labeled it everything from disaster capitalism to an attempt to deploy mercenaries into Haiti. In an interview with one journalist, I was even asked if the page proved that IPOA thought that the private sector should run Haiti. Yes, really.

In Haiti, the perceived profit-motive hangs over private sector companies like a specter. In order to escape this perception, one journalist proposed that the private sector offer its services for free in Haiti. Probably in the same way that the United Nations has suspended salaries of all staff working in Haiti, the Red Cross has refused all donations and CNN has deployed its team of all-volunteer news anchors, right? Really, this argument is outrageous. Just because a company is private, does not mean that it does not have bills to pay. Nearly everyone – be

they employed by the United Nations, a government, an NGO or a private company – has mortgages to service and kids to send to school. Why is it so wrong for someone to be paid for their efforts, especially if those efforts are ultimately helping a rescue, relief and reconstruction operation?

One contributor proclaimed that in a time of disaster like the earthquake, people have a moral obligation to help in return for human self-esteem and actualization, rather than wealth. Clearly the talent pool there would be restricted to trust-fund babies and wealthy dowagers. Indeed, it should be noted that many companies have donated time, equipment and expertise; but reality cruelly limits such actions. If we actually went down the road of expecting everyone to work for free, we would inevitably deprive Haiti of the best possible people and services. Relief and rescue can be dirty, dangerous and time-consuming. To attract the best talent from other projects and positions around the world requires organization and resources beyond the capabilities of all but the largest governments.

As time marches forward and operations in Haiti transition from rescue to

reconstruction, the private sector is going to be needed even more so. The reality is that if we want Haiti to be rebuilt properly, it is going to cost money. Indeed, construction itself is a good example. If we employ professional companies that build to more stringent building codes, they will likely be more expensive (and shock, horror, may even be for-profit companies). Of course, we could just rebuild Haiti on the cheap with no regard to building standards, and have the city's buildings pancake again in the next earthquake at the cost of thousands of lives. Private enterprise – and paying for quality services – is not a bad thing if it means that something is going to be done properly.

The private sector is being called upon to assist in the relief and reconstruction efforts because it possesses critically needed capabilities that do not otherwise exist or are not sufficiently plentiful. If it makes more sense to perform a particular function using the private sector, then so be it. Coincidentally, the most needed items in Haiti right now are security, logistics and transportation. Unfortunately, the only thing in plentiful supply right now is Monday-morning quarterback's bile – at least it's free! ■

Shakespeare on Military Contracting

Lessons from History About Private Contracting



One of the early writers on military contracting. Photo: Stock

“HE is the very antithesis of civic responsibility. He is unimpressed with the claims of good government. Falstaff has no interest in public values. . .”

At first glance, it is difficult to grasp what young Harry sees in Sir John Falstaff – an “old, fat, cowardly, drunken, amorous, vain and lying” man according to John Dryden.

And yet, over four centuries, theater audiences have warmed to William Shakespeare’s Sir John Falstaff, partly because he seems fundamentally good-hearted, and partly because he exposes the pomposity and self-interest of those who chase after honor and office – “Can honor set a leg? No. Or an arm? No. Or take away the grief of a wound? No.”

At the same time, audiences laugh at his venality, and for two and a half centuries, Shakespeare’s audiences laughed at a familiar literary figure – the corrupt military contractor. Though, since the middle of the 19th century, when the state finally assumed responsibility for recruiting and equipping soldiers, some of the playwright’s humor has been lost.

There are two Falstaffs in Shakespeare’s work. The one who appears in *Henry VI, Part One* is a professional soldier rather than a rotund fool. He is based on historical figure John Falstof, Knight of the Garter, who spent much of his life fighting for the English crown in France during the Hundred Years War. The other Falstaff is the one we all know from *Henry IV*, *Henry V* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. He was originally to be known as Sir John Oldcastle (a caricature of another historical figure), but at the last minute Shakespeare changed his name.

What these two Falstaffs have in common is that they are both military enterprisers – men who made their money by recruiting, equipping and leading soldiers into battle.

Under the proprietary system that prevailed in England and the rest of Europe until the 18th century, regiments were owned by the colonels and the captains who recruited them. Their proprietors usually supplied arms, food and clothing, and their bright livery was a means of distinguishing them from other corps.

Until the middle of the 19th century, the British military also relied on “touts” or “crimps,” men who recruited soldiers for

a commission. Without close regulation, such a system was open to abuse. Both crimps and recruiting sergeants were widely accused of signing men up under the influence of liquor and holding them against their will.

At the very least, Falstaff is a crimp who fills up his muster book with “shadows” – men recruited, but never actually supplied – and allows draftees to purchase their release. Until the late 18th century, his admissions about abusing the recruiting system drew bursts of laughter from audiences who were personally aware of the practices he described.

But he is more than that. Shakespeare probably intended audiences to understand Falstaff as a captain – certainly the playwright’s historical sources portrayed him that way. And from the late 14th century when the story is set through the early 17th century when the play was written, captains functioned as semi-independent contractors, who brought together companies of men under a colonel, who in turn contracted with a supreme commander.

In Shakespeare’s dramas, Falstaff pays for his company’s initial costs out of his own

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pocket and then tries to raise a loan to finance his venture on the eve of battle. Not only does he lead his men to the place of muster, but he leads them to the place of battle (doing what he can to avoid placing himself in harm's way).

He seeks to enrich himself by allowing some of his draftees to buy their way out of military service, and by collecting payment for shadows. It is for this reason that in *Henry IV, Part One*, after the battle of Shrewsbury, he claims that there are not three of his hundred and fifty men left alive. It is not that he has bravely led them into battle, but that he can use their claimed mortality as cover for his own venality.

What is unclear is whether private military enterprisers such as Falstaff would have had access to men who were conscripted by county officials. It is possible that this was merely a convenient literary device for the playwright.

The historical John Falstof was undoubtedly a military enterpriser, who returned home a very wealthy man after spending decades fighting in France. We first encounter him in 1415, when he contracted to provide thirty archers and ten "horses" for the Duke of Clarence. It is to be noted that one "horse" consisted of one man-at-arms, each with four horses and at least one groom. Under this agreement, he was allowed to keep the ransom of any important captives and one-third of that from lesser men. He fought alongside his employer's brother, Henry V, at Agincourt and by 1417, had been knighted for his services.

Following the death of Clarence, Falstof contracted with his brother, the Duke of Bedford, to bring 80 "horses" and 240 crossbowmen, suggesting that he was now trusted by his employer and by prospective employees as an outstanding commander of men.

He was subsequently made a Knight of the Garter and rewarded captured territory in France, where much of his fortune would have been made. In 1429,



Can I speak to your contract officer? Picture: Sir John Gilbert

he was strongly criticized for abandoning the much-regarded Sir John Talbot in the heat of battle. His Garter was temporarily withdrawn, but following an investigation, restored. It is this event that Shakespeare focuses on in *Henry VI, Part One*, accusing Falstof of cowardice.

Sir John Falstof continued to serve his country with distinction and retired to England to die peacefully at home at the age of 77. He was said to have left a fortune worth \$18 billion in today's values, and has been described as the 51st wealthiest individual in British history.

It is unclear how much of this wealth was passed on to his children, since he spent the final years of his life trying to recover some \$7 billion in outstanding wages, loans and ransoms, much of it owed to him by the Crown.

Sir John Falstof made a great fortune whilst serving his country, with great honor, as a military enterpriser. He is a reminder that for hundreds of years,

governments did find a way of contracting with private individuals for the delivery of military services, services that would today be regarded as "inherently governmental."

Sir John Falstaff is a fictional character that for hundreds of years served as the unacceptable face of military contracting – a corrupt individual who abused his authority and lined his pockets at the public's expense. He is a caricature, but it is entirely fitting that such figures should be ridiculed in popular literature.

Falstof had a powerful incentive to recruit the best men available – it maximized his prospects of survival and financial success. Falstaff was motivated to cheat his client and deliver as little as possible, since under the contractual arrangements envisaged by Shakespeare, there were few, if any consequences.

He may be a figure of fun, but Falstaff reminds us that incentives matter. ■

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THE SUMMIT

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THE OBJECTIVES

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Afghan-Iraq Investment Summit

Istanbul, Turkey 2-3 June 2010



THE SUMMIT

The geographical locations of Afghanistan and Iraq provide ideal platforms on which to build, with the wealth of natural resources such as energy supplies, mining and agriculture. Further combined with an urgent need for security, education and construction, a picture emerges of two economies with vast growth potential given the right amount of support.

The Afghanistan-Iraq Investment Summit will enable companies to play a leading role in the development of two countries rich in potential.

THE OBJECTIVES

On-going reconstruction and development efforts are vital to the stabilisation of the region. This summit aims to bring together key players involved in securing the future of Afghanistan and Iraq to form and discuss ideas and put in to action a plan for the development of both countries.

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 Afghan-Iraq Investment Summit will serve the needs of businesses looking to get involved in the reconstruction and development process of the two countries.

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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Essay Competition 2010

The *Journal of International Peace Operations* is pleased to announce its first Essay Competition, kindly supported by Mission Essential Personnel and IPOA. The Essay Competition is open to students, faculty, policy writers and industry professionals.

Topics

We are calling for essays on any of the three competition topics listed below. Each topic is phrased as a contention, and authors are expected to agree, disagree or provide a balanced analysis of the contention itself:

- The UN should have a permanent, private ready-reaction peacekeeping force;
- LOGCAP has been a positive development in the evolution of U.S. contingency operations;
- Accountability and oversight is the most significant challenge to private sector support for international stability operations.

Prizes

The top three essays will be published in the *Journal of International Peace Operations*. Furthermore, the following prizes will be awarded:

- The overall winner of the Essay Contest will receive a cash prize of \$500
- The runner-up will receive a cash prize of \$250
- The third-placed author will receive a cash prize of \$100

Deadline

The deadline for submissions has been extended to **May 1, 2010**.

Rules

Submissions should be sent electronically to publications@ipoaonline.org in either Microsoft Word or Adobe PDF format. Essays must be written in English. Essays must have a cover page with the Essay's title and the name of the author, however the pages of the Essay itself must not display the name of the author. Essays must be at least 1,500 words, but no more than 2,000 words. Essay must be an original work written by the submitter and must not have been previously published elsewhere. We prefer a writing style that is accessible to the educated laymen, but rigorous enough as to be used in college and university courses. Papers should be well-researched — with references and footnotes that back up assertions or directly quote other sources. However, Essays should be written in the general *Journal of International Peace Operations* style with minimal references — the judges are not looking for the paper with the most footnotes. Winning Essays will become the property of IPOA and may be published in print or electronically. Authors do not have to agree with the mission of IPOA, but the judges are looking for thoughtful Essays that reveal that the writer has considered the issues at hand and has provided balanced, well-supported arguments. Please note that the decision of the judging panel is final and that feedback will not be available.

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