

Volume 4, Number 6

May-June, 2009

PeaceOps.com

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Mexico Takes on
the Drug Cartels

Q&A With Craig Peterson

Lessons Learned from the
Mumbai Terrorist Attacks

Banning Fiji's Peacekeepers

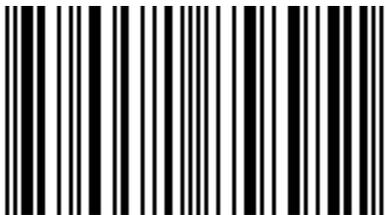


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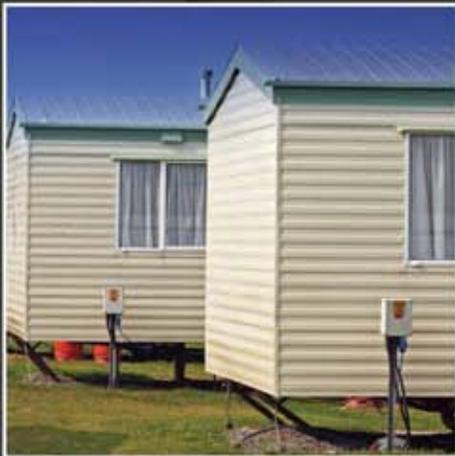
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THE PUBLICATION OF IPOA
Founded in 2004 as the IPOA Quarterly
ISSN 1933-8189 ISBN 978-0-9818589-5-1

Editor-in-Chief..... J. J. Messner Publisher..... Doug Brooks
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Vengeance Contract Management

Looking for Solutions Instead of Fall Guys

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Avoiding slash and burn tactics against contractors. Photo: SSgt. Megan Crusher/U.S.A.F.

THE contracting business in stability operations can be exciting and morally uplifting. However, working in the industry is certainly not for everyone. Contracting in unstable and dangerous parts of the world brings with it more than a few headaches and hassles even beyond the austere and highly risky work environments. These aggravations usually include multiple conflicting international legal systems, evolving contractual requirements and a quagmire of detailed regulations – many of which are designed for more benign forms of contracting in serene and lawful environments and not chaotic failed states. Though, perhaps many would say the most worrisome hassle *du jour* is what might be termed ‘vengeance contract management’: the practice of government clients lambasting contractors at the end of a venture, rather than ensuring policy success by engaging contractors as partners from the beginning.

Companies bend over backward to follow regulations and contractual stipulations to the letter, even at times

when such procedures appear to make little sense. Working for governments is inherently bureaucratic, and no matter how capable their field operations, companies unable to handle the mountains of paperwork and multiple audits will not last long in contingency contracting. The largest industry clients are governments, but unfortunately standard contracting procedures are completely different from government-to-government and (more often than not) even between government departments.

That said, constructive relationships with government contract managers can address some of the more incongruous issues but much more relies on the quality and quantity of the particular government’s whole oversight and management capabilities. In an operation as gargantuan as Iraq, it is clear that the size and number of contracts overwhelm even the best contract officers assigned to manage the operations, and combined with larger policy difficulties, mean that very few policies last the duration

of the contracts purchased to support them; few contracts are without complications; and very few of the critical contract officers managing the contracts are in place for the duration of the project. The result is disjointed direction, contradictory policies and contractors scrambling to meet their changing obligations in a dangerous and chaotic environment. Fraud and criminal acts deserve exposure, but the increasingly unpopular policies of the conflict ensure that contractor successes in the most difficult circumstances possible barely earn mention outside of governmental reports. This only helps to create the current frenzy of post-conflict contractor vengeance management.

Compounding the issue, contingency contractors must always be prepared to become the ‘fall guy’ for governmental client mistakes. Firms learn to take the blame, even for problems well beyond their control. Unfortunately, a quick way to ensure future contracts go to competitor companies is to highlight problems that are the result of client error, poorly ► **06**

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Vengeance Contracting

04 ◀ written task orders or inaccessible contract officers. There is nothing in the contracts requiring that a company be a scapegoat for governmental error, but most contractor companies are ready to 'take one for the team' to ensure they maintain a good relationship with the client.

No one in the industry disputes that the contracting community should be responsive, transparent and accountable. Good contract management and oversight ensures requisite flexibility in contracts and that the better companies are rewarded for their quality and responsiveness with client confidence and future business. Companies that genuinely commit

crimes absolutely should be held to account for those crimes. Indeed, firms in this industry are audited regularly – it is a normal part of business, especially when working for governments. Analysts looking at the industry may be shocked to find significantly fewer government employees managing contracts than auditors investigating those same contracts. More tax dollars are thus spent trying to find out if anything went wrong with a contract than are spent trying to ensure a contract, and a larger policy, are actually successful in the first place. This is hardly a wise use of taxpayer funds.

Governments hire contractors to

support their international policies and make those policies succeed. This concept makes good sense considering the vast skills, capabilities and capacities that the private sector is able to array for these endeavors. This is especially true of humanitarian policies where the role of the private sector is critical. Ending conflicts and rebuilding societies are what peace-keeping and stability operations are all about and the private sector has a central role. Good contract management leads to policy success. Ensuring critical policies succeed has more to do with partnerships and good contract management than it does with absent oversight and subsequent contractual vengeance. ■

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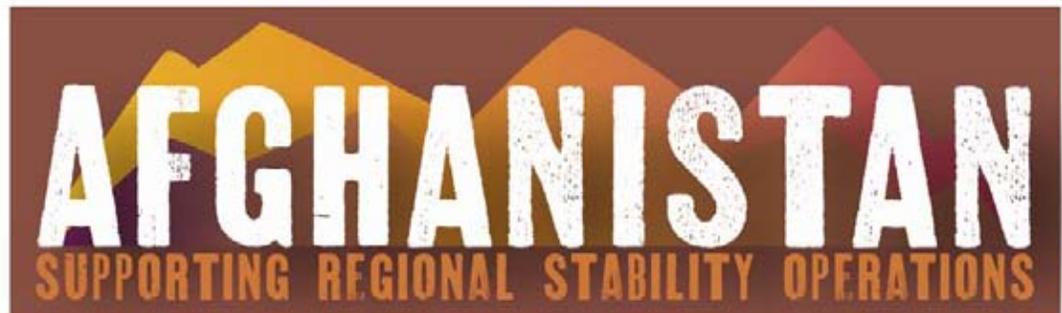
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W. Alejandro Sanchez

Not in My Backyard: Mexico's War

The Steady Decline from Bad to Worse for Mexico's War on Drugs



Photo: J. J. Messner

N EWS about the enduring drug cartel wars currently beleaguering Mexico is not a recent phenomenon. In fact, reports about beheadings and bodies put in vats of acid hardly make headlines anymore, mostly because such events have become commonplace. The question on everyone's mind, particularly among everyday Mexicans, seems to be: how bad can the situation get before it gets better? The answer, based on the pervasive nature of police corruption, drug-related violence and the entire criminal justice system, is that it will most likely get pretty bad.

Raising the Violence Bar

One of the most disturbing features of the Cartel wars is the targeting of Mexican government and security officials. For instance, Jose Reyes Ferriz, mayor of the Mexican city of Ciudad Juárez, now lives in El Paso, Texas, with his family, in order to shield fellow officers from persistent threats and avoid being personally targeted by Cartels.

In response to ongoing violence, President Felipe Calderon, in December 2006, ordered the deployment of the Mexican military in different hotspots across the nation, primarily border states including Sonora and Chihuahua, and began reorganizing the Mexican police force. Approximately 45,000 military personnel, mostly from the army, have been dispatched throughout the country as an internal police force.

Some startling successes have been achieved, as exemplified by a number of high-profile arrests. In March, the son of top drug trafficker Ismael Zambada was arrested in Mexico City. A couple of weeks later, in early April, Mexican authorities announced that they had detained Vicent Carrillo Leyva, a key member of the Juárez Cartel led by his uncle, Vicente Carrillo. Yet, it seems that the capture of high-profile drug traffickers and their cohorts are often followed by the discovery of a severed head or mutilated body which reminds everyone that "victory," in the

broadest sense of the term, remains distant.

Narco-fiefdoms

The establishment of narco-states within Mexico appears to be an assessment of a dramatic reality, not a mere exaggeration. The major cartels include the Sinaloa/Pacifico, the Gulf Cartel, Juárez, Arellano Felix and the Diaz Parada. Smaller cartels also have formed alliances, creating "federations" that jointly control specific territories.

The boldness with which these Cartels operate is reflected in their recruiting techniques. Newspaper and billboard advertisement job openings in Cartel organizations demonstrate the audacity with which these drug-funded gang syndicates operate.

An example of effective recruiting, and an occurrence which would take Mexico's narco-civil war to a new level occurred when the Gulf Cartel began recruiting Mexican soldiers from a paratrooper unit, the ► 10

09 ◀ *Grupo Aeromóvil de Fuerzas Especiales*, and converting them into hitmen for the organization. “The Zetas,” as these narco-soldiers were known within the Cartel, brought military training, tactics and weaponry to the Gulf Cartel in their fight against other Cartels and the government. Subsequently, the Zetas left the Gulf and created their own Cartel in Southern Mexico. While it is unclear how many former police, military troops and officers are under the active employment of the Cartels, it is apparent that the Mexican narco-war has evolved from neophyte criminals to well-trained narco-soldiers successfully thwarting Calderon’s security initiatives.

In March of this year, a U.S. Defense Department official asserted that the combined strength of the “foot soldiers” of the different cartels could probably match the strength of the 130,000 personnel in the Mexican army. While it is not feasible to ascertain the exact strength of each of the cartels, the continued cycle of violence indicates that they seem to have an unlimited supply of hitmen and enjoy refuge in many communities along the border region.

The ostentatious lifestyle of the cartel lords reflects the relative ineffectiveness, so far, of military efforts to establish control over the conflict and therefore represents a brazen challenge to government officials. For instance, the aforementioned Carrillo Leyva was captured when he was exercising in a posh, upscale Mexico City neighborhood. Apparently he did not feel compelled to live in secrecy or hide from the authorities.

A common argument used to convey the futility of armed force against the cartels is that for every drug lord killed or captured, there are three



The Mexican security forces are deploying more boots on the ground. Photo: J. J. Messner

others waiting to take his place. Thus far, apart from escalating military operations and occasionally purging corrupt officials, the Calderon presidency has not been able to enact concrete plans of what they must do to prevent individuals from joining the cartels in the first place. Therefore, recruitment efforts employed by the Zetas validate the substantial apprehension that former policemen and military officials often turn to working for cartels if they cannot find well-paid legal positions. Tougher jail sentences may be an issue, though what Cartel members really fear is not a Mexican prison, but rather extradition and detention in the U.S.

Additionally, cocaine production continues without abatement in Colombia, Bolivia and Peru. In the

latter country there have been reports over the past years that the remnants of the rebel movement *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path) have joined forces with drug traffickers and serve as blatant protectors for drug mules to send illicit substances, especially cocaine, out of the country. The demand from the American and European markets does not appear to be dissipating; hence the possibility for profit remains, and conditions will, therefore continue to be conducive for criminal organizations in Mexico and other areas of Central America to act as the middlemen in a profitable enterprise.

Washington’s Role

The Bush administration created a Plan Colombia-style project ▶ **12**



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10 ◀ for Mexico, named the Merida Initiative in October 2007. Although it is unclear to what extent President Barack Obama will support the total funding of the program, which amounted to \$465 million in fiscal year 2008, the Merida Initiative enjoys broad support from both parties in the U.S. Congress. Obama has appeared as an advocate of the Initiative, but has also expressed reservations about certain provisions (amount of funding that should be allocated to Mexico due to the presence of corruption concerns in that country's police force.)

Nevertheless, as Plan Colombia demonstrates, the militarization of the Mexican conflict, following the Colombian model, is unlikely to accomplish its stated objective of ending the production and transportation of drugs through a disproportionate emphasis on military solutions. Given the sensitivities in U.S.-Mexican relations, it is doubtful that Calderon would accept American military "advisors" to operate in Mexico as they do in Colombia.

As the clashes escalated, the expansion of the cartels has become evident in major U.S. cities, including Atlanta and Boston. For quite some time, there have been discussions about whether the American military should be deployed to the border with Mexico in order to aid the border police and vigilante-type organizations like the Minute Men to prevent the violence spilling over into border states like New Mexico, Texas, Arizona and California. Calderon strongly opposes this proposal due to the legacy of American military intervention in Mexico.

Nevertheless, regional experts have expressed legitimate concerns that excessive hype and alarmist propa-



Confidence and hope flagging? Photo: J. J. Messner

ganda are being disseminated to the American public regarding the extent of drug violence in Mexico. "Like the model it mimics—the Bush war on terror—the drug war in Mexico is being mounted on the back of hype, half-truths, omissions and outright falsehood," said Laura Carlsen of the Americas program at the Center for International Policy.

Another Theater of Operations

In recent months, U.S. officials and regional experts close to U.S. officials, such as noted Mexican historian Enrique Krauze, have suggested that Mexico could become a "failed state," statements that were certainly not well received by the authorities in Mexico City or nationalist elements in the country. The country maintains a strong leadership and state organisms continue to function effectively; albeit problems characteristic of narco-states occur concurrently. Yet, it should be noted that none of the cartels appear interested in overthrowing President Calderon, as they are more interested in making money, maintaining control in their spheres of influence and, if possible, expanding their operations

into territories considered strategic for drug trafficking.

With limited success in curbing cocaine production in "narco-countries" like Colombia, Peru and Bolivia, coupled with the failure to sufficiently address the demand for illicit drugs at home, the United States has focused its efforts on trying to control Mexican cartels, essentially the "middleman" between cocaine producers and users. Though, it should be mentioned that Mexico is a major producer of marihuana. Thus far, a Washington-backed Mexican military offensive has yet to disband any of the major cartels, in spite of significant arrests.

Perhaps the term "failed state" cannot be applied to Mexico. Rather, a more accurate label for such a conflict is that of a "narco-civil war," due to the levels of decentralized violence, in which the Mexican government is fighting for an almost unachievable victory against numerous drug cartels which have managed to create feudal-style narco-kingdoms in large areas of the country. ■



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Ethical Recruitment Practices

The Importance of Operating Above-Board with TCNs



Former Gurkhas provide a very highly skilled talent pool. Photo: U.K. Ministry of Defence.

MEMBERSHIP of IPOA comes with both privileges and responsibilities. The privileges include the opportunity to build a network of contacts and to benefit from the influence and positive image of the Association. One of the responsibilities is to uphold the Association's ethical Code of Conduct.

The Code includes a commitment to treat the personnel we all employ with respect and dignity. In an industry such as ours, where great reliance is placed upon the recruitment and deployment of large numbers of third country national (TCN) personnel, the focus on such respect and dignity can get lost in the rush for ever greater commercial competitiveness. However, members should be aware of the risks that come with paying insufficient regard to the ethical treatment of their personnel.

The core business of FSI Worldwide is the ethical recruitment and management of Gurkha TCN manpower.

The senior management team of the company is largely made up of ex-British Army Gurkha officers. The company is fully aware of the commercial realities of contracting in the private security industry, but there remains a firm belief that the benefits of well-recruited-and well-managed personnel outweigh any apparent costs.

In order to ensure that your company is not the focus of unwelcome media or legal investigation, it is important that all companies are fully aware of where their personnel come from and the way in which they are recruited. That is not to say that there are any IPOA member companies who would knowingly put their reputations at risk by engaging with the shadowy networks of recruitment agents and fixers that plague the continents of Asia and Africa. Nevertheless, these are still important considerations to bear in mind.

There is no shortage of companies who are willing to provide a seemingly

limitless supply of TCNs. Such personnel are often paid as little as \$300 or \$400 per month. Many will claim to be former soldiers who are trained in the use of weapons and who will be resolute in the face of attacks. Sadly, these claims are often untrue and the results in terms of serious security breaches, examples of which we are all aware, can be disastrous.

Experience in working with Gurkhas has shown that there are large numbers of personnel working in Iraq and Afghanistan — some on very high profile contracts — who are not who they claim to be. The only people entitled to call themselves Gurkhas are those who have served with the Gurkha Regiments of the British or Indian Armies. As a result of this experience, it is possible to root out the many imposters who present themselves as Gurkhas but who are sometimes just civilians. Most recruitment agents neither know nor care about the recruit's level of training and will often ► 16

15 ◀ connive in forging documents to present to the client ‘proving’ the military service of the recruit. Placing such personnel in high threat environments is criminally negligent. They have neither the training nor the skills to cope with the situations they may face and they are far more likely to resign or be fired than genuine ex-service personnel, resulting in serious cost escalations for the client. By contrast, FSI’s ethical recruitment and management structures have led to average annual turnover of staff of just 3 percent.

The principal problem for companies employing TCNs is that it is very difficult for them to police the recruitment systems unless they personally own every aspect of that process. All agents will claim that they are ‘clean’ but the reality is that they will have extorted significant sums of money from the recruits (these sums tend to range from \$2,000 to \$4,000 per man, which if it cannot be paid in advance will be the subject of a loan upon which a very high rate of interest is charged). Moreover, the recruits are usually selected not on merit but on ability to pay. These factors guarantee that the recruit arrives in theatre demoralized by the debt they have had to incur in buying their job and more often than not, out of their depth in terms of ability.

In addition to the unethical extortion of recruits, which carries real reputational and possibly legal risks for employers, there is the problem of paying ever-lower salaries to TCNs. The simple truth is that with security staff, as with most things in life, you get what you pay for.

Currently, there is a lot of pressure on companies bidding for government contracts to come in with almost impossibly low prices. As staff salaries



Photo: U.K. Ministry of Defence.

represent a significant component of any project, these tend to be the first to be squeezed in an effort to come in with the cheapest bid. This practice is fundamentally wrong. Both the British and American governments are signatories to international conventions outlawing slavery and the trafficking of persons, yet by designing bid processes that actively encourage the payment of very low wages to already impoverished people, they are flying in the face of their international obligations.

Governments have a responsibility to fix internationally-recognized labor rates and let companies compete on their technical expertise in delivering the project. In that regard, if regulations such as the U.K. Transfer of Undertakings and Protection of Employment Regulations were to apply to government contracts being rebid then we would be one step closer to removing aggressive salary competition from bid processes and thus improving the lot of ex-service personnel working in the private security industry.

Having set out what is wrong with the system, let us turn briefly to the good news. If companies invest in quality recruitment processes, which eschew bribes and inducements and ensure selection on merit, this investment will pay dividends for years afterward. In this regard, IPOA and its member companies should consider devising a set of guidelines for the ethical recruitment and management of TCN personnel.

In practical terms, the first stage of ethical recruitment is to identify the best possible personnel. The model followed by FSI is to ‘own’ the process of recruitment and mobilization and by personally conducting a rigorous selection procedure, which includes interviews, medical and fitness tests and extensive background checks.

To recruit ethically and to select the best possible candidates it is essential to avoid working with local agents: doing so ensures an impartial and corruption-free process. Furthermore, by speaking the same language as the recruits, knowing their culture and having extensive contacts in all regiments, companies can identify the best people with genuine and unblemished service records. This then provides a complete operational solution to the ongoing management of the personnel. This also includes offering payroll, administrative and welfare support throughout the life of the contract and indeed the working life of the recruit, whom we will endeavor to redeploy at contract end.

By taking great care to select and look after the best personnel, we help companies retain their contracts and keep their costs down, whilst helping them to remain internationally respected. ■

It's Not Just About Prostitution

FAR Compliance and Human Trafficking



So long as they're not confiscated... Photo: Stock

THE U.S. government, NATO and the United Nations all have adopted “zero tolerance” policies on human trafficking. The full impact of the U.S. policy hit home in January, when the outgoing Bush Administration issued a final regulation on “combating trafficking in persons.” Many in the government contractor community reacted with dismay.

The objection? Federal Acquisition Regulation (FAR) Subpart 22.17 mandates that all government contractors police — or at least punish — their employees’ and subcontractors’ behavior outside of the workplace. The regulation requires contractors to discipline any employee found to have: 1.) engaged in a “severe form of trafficking”; 2.) procured a commercial sex act; or 3.) used forced labor in the performance of the contract.

Contractors learning of allegations — from any source — must report the violation to the contracting officer. Failure to comply can trigger a host of

consequences, including termination for default, suspension of contract payments, loss of award fee and debarment. The clause flows down to all subcontractors.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the contractor community’s attention has focused on the unprecedented implications of the commercial sex provision. But the fixation on sex trafficking masks the more salient risk: forced labor.

Trafficking for Forced Labor

The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 defines a “severe form of trafficking in persons” as:

1. *recruitment, harboring, transporting, provisioning, or obtaining a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act, where the act is: a) induced through force, fraud, or coercion; or b) where the person performing the act has not attained 18 years of age; or*
2. *recruitment, harboring, transporting, provision, or obtaining a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery.*

Liability for forced labor under the FAR rule is double-barreled: it covers an employee who enslaves a domestic worker in his or her home during the period of performance of the contract, as well as an employee who uses forced labor in the performance of the contract itself.

Sound like something that contractors need not worry about? Think again. Many of the civil trafficking cases brought in federal courts stem from forced labor allegations asserted by domestic workers. And the *only* federal human trafficking case relating to U.S. government contractors, filed in August 2008, demands civil damages for alleged forced labor on U.S. military bases in Iraq.

Indeed, while the contractor community and much of the legal press has fixated on the potential for employee weekend jaunts to Nevada’s legalized brothels, the U.S. military contracting command has focused almost exclusively on forced labor. So, too, have U.S. prosecutors, who, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, ► 18

17 ◀ exercised some of their vast extraterritorial jurisdiction in this area to investigate allegations of human trafficking lodged against a Kuwaiti company operating in Baghdad.

The incidence of trafficking in Iraq became widely known only after an investigative reporter, Cam Simpson, published a prize-winning series in *The Chicago Tribune* investigated in 2005 documenting the alleged trafficking of twelve Nepali men to Iraq for work on U.S. military bases. The men, who had paid exorbitant fees to labor brokers, apparently believed that they would be employed in Jordan in luxury hotels. Insurgents executed all

has reported almost exclusively on trafficking into the sex sector. And the U.S. government has long conflated trafficking in persons with prostitution. The regulations now applicable to all government contractors carry on this tradition.

U.S. contractors, disturbed by the breadth of the draft regulation, fired off lengthy comments to the Civilian Agency Acquisition Council and the Defense Acquisition Regulations Council. The Councils answered the critics on August 17, 2007, and again on January 15, 2009:

- To those who suggested that the

behavior that carries penalties.” In short, “the government seeks to ensure that contractor employees who traffic in persons or procure commercial sex acts do not work on government contracts,” the councils declared.

The Rest of the Story

The FAR clause merely implements the requirements of the Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Acts of 2003 and 2005. These statutes dictate the FAR provision’s content.

Congress passed these sweeping laws in response to allegations of egregious

“ Failure to comply can trigger a host of consequences, including termination for default, suspension of contract payments, loss of award fee and debarment. ”

twelve on the road to Baghdad, prompting riots in Nepal and a Department of Defense investigation in Iraq.

Gen. Casey, then Commanding General of Multi-National Forces-Iraq, issued an anti-trafficking fragmentary order (FRAGO) in 2006. The order requires all contractors to return passports to employees and provide employees with signed employment contracts, forbids the use of unlicensed recruiting firms, sets minimum standards for living conditions, and institutes random checks to “aggressively address areas of non-compliance.” The FRAGO mentioned neither forced prostitution nor the sex industry.

Conflating Prostitution

Contractors can be forgiven for their myopic focus on prostitution. With a few notable exceptions, the U.S. press

regulation apply only to employee behavior at work, the Councils responded that such an approach “would inadequately implement the statute since employee violations are more likely to occur after working hours.”

- To critics who noted that the employee provisions raised collective bargaining issues, the Councils responded that contractors should update their employment contracts to reflect the anti-trafficking statutory and regulatory requirements.

- To those who sought to remind the government that prostitution is legal in some foreign countries and even in several U.S. jurisdictions, the councils replied that while they appreciated “the challenges contractors face in monitoring employee actions during non-work hours,” contractors and their employees had to realize “that procuring commercial sex acts is an unacceptable

behavior by some contractors’ employees. Since 2002, Congress has heard testimony from whistleblowers and human trafficking experts who made allegations of U.S. contractor complicity — if not direct engagement — in trafficking for forced prostitution. In April 2002, Ben Johnston, a former U.S. contractor employee for the Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina, testified before Congress that his colleagues had purchased women and girls as chattel from a local brothel owner near Tuzla. After lodging a complaint with the U.S. Army, Johnston was fired by his employer. U.S. Army investigators subsequently verified most of Johnston’s allegations and referred the case to local Bosnian prosecutors. The employees quickly left Bosnia and Herzegovina, precluding a local prosecution.

Sarah Mendelson, a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic and ► 20

Not Necessarily a Glamorous Existence

A Tough Choice Faces Many Third Country Nationals



Bangladeshi workers are nearly as numerous abroad as at home. Photo: Developing 8

THE Fahaheel Expressway shoots like an arrow from the heart of Kuwait City Southeast toward Saudi Arabia until it merges with King Faheed Bin Abdul Aziz road on the way to Camp Arifjan, the biggest U.S. military base in Kuwait. A few miles after it departs the country's somewhat old and decrepit capital, it passes the booming new suburban neighborhoods of Fintas, Mahboula, Mangaf and Fahaheel that together make up a spanking new city. If you wander through the unpaved dusty backstreets here, you will run into the thousands of workers from Bangladesh to Fiji flocking to live in the small apartments that make up the high-rise residential complexes that are growing like mushrooms around the area.

What draws these workers to Kuwait is quite simply money.

You will find them in Marina Mall in Kuwait city, which is like any mall in the United States but with a little Middle Eastern touch. A mix of

young Kuwaitis in modest but modern outfits mix easily with more conservative older men in dishdashas and women in veils who walk past Starbucks and Liz Claiborne stores. Go upstairs to the food court and you will notice that every outlet has Filipino counter sales people and South Asian cooks; all of them are migrant workers who live on salaries that start at about \$100 a month.

Travel North to Iraq to visit any major U.S. military base and you will find that the truck drivers, janitors and the cooks that do most of the dirty and dull jobs to support U.S. soldiers in Iraq are also from Bangladesh, Fiji, India, Pakistan, the Philippines and Sri Lanka. On the bases they are called Third Country Nationals or (TCNs for short) in military parlance.

None of these TCNs carry guns, much less fire on civilians. Often they do not even have flak jackets or helmets to protect themselves from the occasional mortar fire that hits the bases. They make up over 40,000 of

the contractors that work inside the heart of the U.S. military machine in Iraq.

As a South Asian with some knowledge of several languages from the subcontinent, I am often approached by workers in both Kuwait and Iraq who tell me their life stories. An informal (and unscientific) survey suggests that janitors in Kuwait make \$100 a month, although the same work can earn as much as \$300 on a military base in Iraq. A truck driver or check-out clerk at any of the many retail outlets on U.S. military bases will make as much as \$1,000 a month. These salaries are many times what they would earn back home, yet just a fraction of what a U.S. citizen will get for exactly the same job in Iraq such as truck driving, where take-home salaries begin at \$7,000 a month.

Why would workers take these jobs? Maita Santiago, secretary-general for Migrante International, an organization that defends the rights of more than 1 million overseas Filipino workers, says that many ► 20

19 ◀ workers “believe it is better to work in Iraq with their lives in danger rather than face the danger of not having breakfast, lunch or dinner in the Philippines.”

And why do Asian workers earn so much less than U.S. citizens for the very same jobs? A U.S. Army Corps spokesperson Richard Dowling, told me: “These workers consider themselves fortunate to have jobs, even if it means them traveling somewhere else. The [salary] decision is not based on the value of his life but on the cost of training and equipping the workforce. Nor would it be right for the U.S. Army to enforce U.S.-based salaries where no one else could match it. Life sometimes isn't fair.”

In April 2006, Gen. George Casey, the top U.S. commander in Iraq, issued an order titled “Prevention of Trafficking in Persons in MNF-I” (Multinational Forces-Iraq), which noted that the military confirmed a number of human rights abuses on U.S. military bases. They included deceptive hiring practices, excessive fees charged by overseas job brokers who lure workers into Iraq, substan-

dard living conditions once laborers arrive, violations of Iraqi immigration laws, and a lack of mandatory “awareness training” on U.S. bases concerning human trafficking, according to a copy of the memo summarized in *The Chicago Tribune*.

Casey ordered that contractors be required by May 1, 2006, to return passports confiscated from workers. Companies that failed to do this could be blacklisted from future work, and commanders could physically bar them from bases, according to his order. The contractors were also required to meet “measurable, enforceable standards for living conditions (e.g., sanitation, health, safety, etc.) and establish 50 square feet as the minimum acceptable square footage of personal living space per worker.”

Yet matters have only changed imperceptibly. In April 2008, every single worker that I met told me that they had paid an average of \$4,000 to a broker who arranged their jobs for them. Given that some made as little as \$100 and \$300 a month, the time taken for these workers to start setting

aside money for the future, could often be years.

In December 2008, 1,000 workers from five countries — Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Uganda — started a protest against their living conditions that caught the eye of a CNN reporter and was quickly flashed around the world. 600 of them had been confined in a single derelict warehouse, four to a bed, with no running water, in Baghdad airport. The angry mob was dispersed when the Iraqi police started firing into the air and seized several who were then handcuffed and beaten.

When will conditions for TCNs improve? The military says that the working conditions are the responsibility of the contractors, but in reality the Pentagon needs to share responsibility for turning a blind eye to abuses, whether in the recruitment process or on the bases. As ultimate paymaster, the Pentagon can choose to withhold payment from any contractor that does not treat its workers properly. It is high time that they exercise that responsibility. ■

FAR Compliance on Trafficking in Persons

18 ◀ International Studies who conducted research in Bosnia and Herzegovina, reported to Congress in 2005 that one U.S. government contractor had made special arrangements with local Bosnian police: when the contractor's employees were picked up during brothel raids, the police would call the country manager to pick up his men. After firing them, the manager would facilitate their rapid return to the United States to avoid local criminal charges.

In another case reported by Mendel-

son, a U.S. contractor employee in Bosnia arranged for his civilian contractor colleagues to have sex with trafficked women, hiring another company employee to serve as a bodyguard.

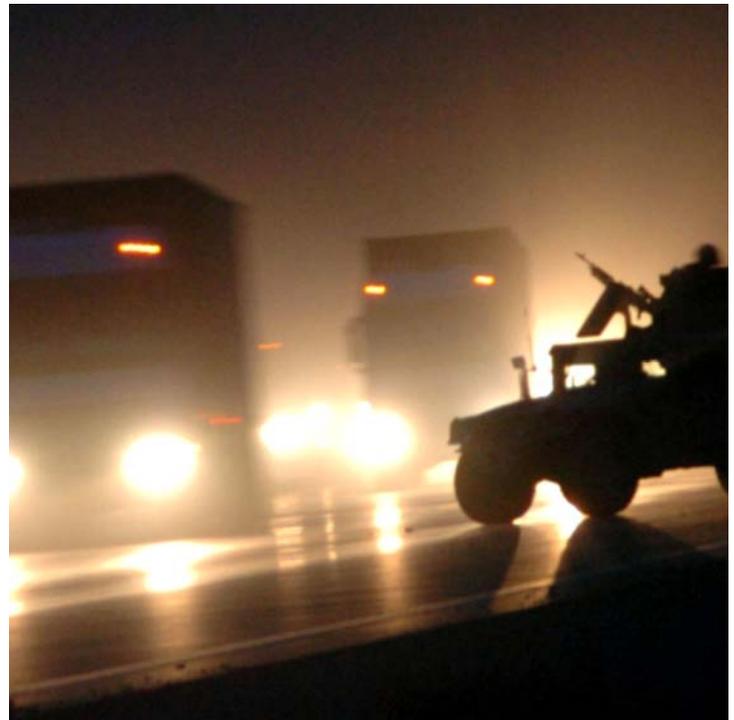
In testimony before a Senate committee in April 2008, Barry Halley, a U.S. contractor employee previously based in Iraq, alleged that a U.S. military contractor manager misappropriated an armored car to transport prostitutes from Kuwait to Iraq. Halley further alleged that the manager

delivered the women to hotels operated by the contractor.

These and other horror stories outraged members of Congress. But the enforcement of the “zero tolerance” anti-prostitution provisions to date has been just that — zero. Despite anecdotal accounts of trafficking for forced prostitution in Iraq and Afghanistan, U.S. enforcement muscle has focused not on sex trafficking, but on labor violations. Enforcement of both is likely to ramp up. ■

Transforming the Tooth-to-Tail Ratio

An Interview with Brigadier General Craig A. Peterson (Ret.)



Logistics are of critical importance to stability operations. Photo: Petty Officer 3rd Class John P. Curtis/U.S. Navy

Brigadier General Craig A. Peterson (Ret.) is CEO at Strategic Solutions Partners LLC. Brig. Gen. Peterson served as senior vice president for contingency operations at LAP Worldwide Services and vice president of contingency and homeland operations for Kellogg, Brown and Root (KBR). He was also deputy commanding general for homeland operations and director of integration for the Department of the Army. He retired from the U.S. Army in January 2004.

JIPO: What factors have contributed to the evolution of the stability operations industry?

Peterson: Toward the latter part of the 1980s, the structure of the U.S. Army was significantly modified as a result of trying to gain resources from the peace dividend. Support forces and structure were cut or moved to the National Guard and Reserves to increase the ratio of fighters to supporters. There were many outcomes from these actions; a few were that the Army could no longer go to war without reserve component help and that the era of contracting for essential support services was entered. These actions created the current industry of service support contractors.

JIPO: Critics of the stability operations industry point to what they see as weak mechanisms of accountability. How can the industry work to strengthen these mechanisms?

Peterson: Part of the challenge is that it depends on the contract. The contract will outline the parameters within which the contractor will perform. It's got to be a coordinated partnership between the service component and the contractor to work these things out so that you don't have the misconceptions or worse yet, the expectation of some level of accomplishment versus the reality of what was written. So let it be written, so let it be done. It's that exchange of professionalism and ideas between the two that will solve the majority of all of these problems.

JIPO: How do you see the LOGCAP contract evolving in the future?

Peterson: The future of the LOGCAP (Logistics Civil Augmentation Program) contract lies in trusted, comfortable relationships. And you don't get that by throwing it open to everyone, you get that by long term

relationships, you get that by iterations of going through the process of working through the gaps of expectations and written directions or statements of work. Understanding and cooperation increase over time and multiple events, trust increases and the processes of oversight, accountability and mutual trust will be the outcomes. The resulting efficiencies and economies of scale will serve the services and the taxpayer well.

JIPO: In your experience, when does it make sense to use TCNs (third country nationals) versus HCNs (host country nationals) versus Americans?

Peterson: In most cases, with the LOGCAP contract, the companies who held the contract were the largest employers in the country. The goal always was to hire local nationals; however there are great challenges. In the beginning in Iraq, there were no skilled craftsmen. No ► 22

21 ◀ electricians, plumbers or carpenters — in a country at that stage of development, the contractor has to grow those capabilities. That means hiring from elsewhere and using mentors and classes to train the locals. In Kosovo, you could not mix Serb local hires with Albanian local hires — the antagonism was too deep and too raw. KBR was the number one employer in the country by using locals. Then you have to go to another alternative; it's either hire U.S. people or TCNs. U.S. people are very expensive and you have the transportation, so the closer you can get a labor pool, the better off you are. The end state is, and I'll show you from the Balkan experience, KBR used to have about 600 Bosniaks in Iraq, and they had been continually employed by KBR since the 1995 beginning of Bosnia, and were by far the best employees that I had around, superbly expert, extremely dedicated, and many would say, the reason I'm here is to pay back this company for giving us this opportunity.

JIPO: Could you speak to the key logistical issues involved in the drawdown in Iraq?

Peterson: The biggest challenge will be the redistribution and subsequent rebuild, refit, rearm and reset of the equipment of the force. You have equipment all over the place; in some cases you would probably do foreign military sales and leave it with members of the country. So, if it needs servicing or rebuild, it's financially smart to do it in country, or in an area in the Persian Gulf. If you have equipment that needs to be refurbished and then put back into a mates-site for the National Guard, then it would be smarter to do it here in the U.S., depending on where that unit is or if it's active component equipment that needs to be refurbished.



Brig. Gen. Craig Peterson. Photo: U.S. Army

The Army Force Generation Model (ARFORGEN) is the template used to regenerate units and their equipment thru the readiness cycles to be ready for redeployment back into a combat rotation. So, as you look at this multidimensional matrix, there are about seven different places a piece of equipment could go. Add personnel and training and families and you have a very complex challenge. Putting all that together, tracking it, managing it, buying parts for it, accounting for it, paying for it and having the ships to move it, the rail to move it from port to site X, the trucks to move it there, the land to do it on, and our national industry infrastructure is challenged. The Army's been working on this for a few years, the process is working and the leadership is focusing resources and priority on it daily.

JIPO: How does Afghanistan play into this whole process?

Peterson: The Army is capable of doing multiple things simultaneously very well. They've been fighting two wars, recruiting, training, moving, resupplying, contracting — all of this for a long, long time. Most all military equipment has been rode hard, put away wet. The previous training models in the U.S. went up to 800 miles operational tempo in a training year — you can put 800 miles on in a week in Iraq or Afghanistan. In

addition to ARFORGEN, you have other synchronous, nested models of logistics, LOGFORGEN (Logistics Force Generation), and personnel equipment training, etc., that mate and nest with ARFORGEN to ensure that when the group comes out of the cycle, it's trained and ready to deploy with the right equipment, the right training, the right personnel at the right time. The Army leadership is doing a super job handling all of these glass balls simultaneously.

JIPO: How much of the leg work of this process will be done by the private sector?

Peterson: Well, I think all the decision-leadership models are run by uniformed individuals. The physical work of putting wrench to tank tread is a civilian contracted employee either at an arsenal, or a camp, or someplace else. So that resident support structure is either a company or a contractor for the most part — managed, directed and funded by uniformed personnel.

JIPO: The new administration is talking about reforming the contracting process. Do you have any recommendations for President Obama?

Peterson: First off, it's got to be a trusted relationship between a number of players — the Army, the contractor, Defense Contract Management Agency and Defense Contract Audit Agency. The military needs the service, the contractor provides the service and the oversight agencies monitor the service. They've got to all be on the same sheet. The second thing would be to say what you mean and write what you want, but if you haven't written it down don't expect it to happen. And last, I think we need some overarching guidelines and rules equivalent to a contingency federal acquisition regulation for contingency operations. ■

Security from the Ground Up

Civil Society and the Security-Development Nexus



Are we all on the same page? Photo: Master Sgt. Jim Varhegyi/U.S.A.F.

ACROSS the security policy-making community, there is a growing awareness of the links between development and security. This meeting or ‘nexus’ of security and development is complex. Greater understanding of the ways that development contributes to security can lead to better on-the-ground support for peace operations. The peace operations community partnership with and support to local civil society organizations are key to growing security from the ground up.

There are a wide variety of theories and links between development and security. States without good governance and with great disparities of wealth are more likely to experience civil wars and provide havens for drug and weapons trafficking and terrorist recruitment. Poverty contributes to and magnifies underlying grievances, such as ethnic and religious differences. Some members of poor communities consider terrorism a justified response to perceived political, social and economic exclusion and humiliation.

Violent conflict is “development in reverse.” It weakens states further and creates more poverty. It channels a poor community’s few resources toward war rather than development, destroys development projects, creates refugees, fuels traffic in drugs and weapons, causes environmental damage, loss of life and livelihoods.

A Security-Development Spectrum

The security-development nexus presents two broad choices. On one end of the spectrum, the security sector traditionally dominated by military hard power can be softened with the soft power of development. This “developmentalization” or “humanization” of security offers the possibility of shifting security resources toward long-term human security goals that move beyond the protection of territory and business interests to the safety of individuals and communities. It can increase the policy prioritization and funding resources available for poverty alleviation, community empowerment and the development of an infrastruc-

ture for conflict prevention.

Development can contribute to security by addressing the root causes of conflict, often fueled by resource scarcity or abundance without good governance. It can discourage terrorist recruits by addressing their perceived economic grievances and can foster the growth of middle class and civil society actors that are invested in limiting political violence. Empowering local change agents fosters civil society’s ability to make demands on their government for transparency and accountability.

Sustainable development can prevent violence and build confidence among local stakeholders through combined peacebuilding programming such as building a well with members of opposing ethnic groups. If citizens perceive they are benefiting equally from the state’s provision of programs, development programs can offer legitimacy to the State and contribute to stability.

On the other end of the ► **26**



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A young child with dark skin is walking from left to right across a dusty, arid landscape. The child is wearing a white, patterned dress and a bright yellow headscarf with red floral designs. The child's expression is neutral. In the background, there are some white plastic bags on the ground.

EVERY

EVERYONE. EVERYWHERE. EVERY TIME.



MISSION ESSENTIAL
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23 ◀ spectrum, the security-development nexus can lead to the ‘securitization’ or ‘militarization’ of development. This choice can shift scarce development resources toward short-term security goals that distort sustainable development goals of poverty-reduction. It also increases the use of military personnel in “hearts & minds” campaigns, which can endanger local development workers, who are then by association considered to be collaborating with a foreign military.

The militarization of development can misunderstand the link between poverty and terrorism, leading to “criminalization” of poor people or political opponents to the elite governing the state. Countries around the world are currently justifying the use of force against poor communities as they try to “kill the alligators in the swamps” rather than “dry up the swamps,” by addressing poverty itself. These short-term security strategies undermine the democratic process and reforms. Increasing a state’s power to define groups of people as security threats can lead to unwarranted suspicion of local development partners’ possible involvement with terrorist organizations and listing procedures that place individuals and entities on terrorist ban lists without due process. The security-development link can make the inclusion of counter-terrorism compliance mandates conditional for development assistance. It can also shift development assistance resources toward countries important to the War on Terror that may have repressive police and security forces.

Inexperienced development efforts can inadvertently exacerbate levels of conflict. If local people perceive that development resources benefit some groups but not others, it can increase

tensions. Development programs not planned in consultation with community leaders may fail to address locally-identified needs and miss opportunities to focus on groups vulnerable to extremism. Moreover, if development assistance is quickly ended to punish support for political leaders, it can foster a backlash of support for local groups such as Hezbollah or Hamas which also provide humanitarian aid. Lastly, inexperienced development assistance can free up local resources for war or relieve local leaders of their responsibilities to provide basic services and aid to citizens, thereby undermining governance efforts.

Some warn that linking development and security can result in “pacifying” communities through development assistance that inhibits local empowerment and civil society’s ability to seek democratic reforms. Short term pacification can actually undermine long term security interests in building good governance, which requires the active democratic participation by civil society. While more research is needed, initial reports suggest that development efforts best support security goals when undertaken by civilian government agencies in partnership with local civil society.

The Role of Civil Society

Peace operations traditionally focus on government and military actors. In recent nation-building efforts combined with peace operations, there is a growing focus on the need for good governance. Achieving good governance and stability in places like Iraq, Afghanistan, D.R. Congo, Colombia and elsewhere requires equal attention to government and civil society, which tends to be a moderating force in history. Only a mix of a citizen-oriented state and civil society leaders who hold the government account-

able will churn out democracy and stability. Civil society works to ensure governments act on behalf of everyone’s best interests and not just the interests of a few.

Often, there is too great an emphasis on building an effective state and little or no effort to foster an active civil society. In Iraq and Afghanistan, local civil society leaders have complained that the international community’s efforts to support the new governments in these countries have inadvertently undermined local civil society in the process.

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) play essential roles in democracy and good governance by helping to transform non-democratic countries through informing public opinion, mobilizing constituencies for reform, and engaging government and political parties in policy debate. CSOs lay foundations for development, human rights, sustainable environments, and facilitate dialogue and promote tolerance between groups. CSO networks can provide extensive on-the-ground early warning for impending violence. In countries like Colombia, Sri Lanka and the Philippines, CSOs have created “peace zones” to protect civilians and humanitarian aid corridors, and delivery of humanitarian relief to war-affected communities. Across Africa and Asia, CSOs facilitate unofficial communication and dialogue between armed groups or opponents to help reach ceasefire agreements.

Many critique civil society’s lack of capacity for engaging in peace operations. Yet the capacity for the ‘soft power’ of development and diplomacy in peace operations lays precisely with civil society, which is already training government and military leaders in principled ▶ **28**

Zachary Markovits

Overseas Voting for Military and Contractors

New Alliance Aims to Improve Overseas Voter Participation



Photo: Washington Secretary of State

BY almost every measure, military and overseas voter participation in the 2006 federal elections was substantially lower than that of the general population. The Pew Center on the States' Make Voting Work initiative estimates that voter turnout was only 20.4 percent for the military population, compared to the 39.8 percent of the general population which voted (measured as a percentage of the citizen voting age population, the usual measure of voter participation.) This is attributable to a fractured system of voting for our military and overseas citizens.

Our failure to serve these voters is not new. Leading political figures have documented and called for reform for decades, and a new alliance of military and civilian groups has been launched to improve the voting process for military and civilian voters. Service members and overseas citizens want to vote, but are forced to navigate a laborious, complex and failure-prone system in order to exercise that right. A patchwork of different state laws;

difficulty in receiving accurate information; confusing and overly complex restrictions; and the inherent problems in relying on military and overseas mail to send and receive ballots all act as barriers to those attempting to vote from abroad. Congress has recognized these challenges, and the importance of protecting and aiding these voters, when it passed the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act in 1986. And yet, 23 years later, many of the same barriers remain.

In 2006, out of the 1 million ballots mailed to these voters, only one-third were counted, according to a study by the Election Assistance Commission. Sadly, that doesn't begin to account for the vast number who intended to cast a vote but were unable to complete the process—or factor in the wasted time and public resources that went into sending uncounted ballots across the globe.

A diverse coalition of groups committed to ensuring that our nation's election system fully serves military

and overseas voters is launching the Alliance for Military and Overseas Voting Rights. Meeting in January, the Alliance began working to advance a set of principles and goals in 2009 on behalf of both military and civilian voters overseas.

“The time has come for effective nonpartisan policy solutions to this problem. By working together, we hope to create a constructive and open political environment to implement solutions to the challenges facing military and overseas voters,” said Rick Jones, Co-Chair of the Alliance and Legislative Director for the National Association for Uniformed Services.

The Alliance for Military and Overseas Voting Rights seeks to advance four principles:

1. Military and overseas voters must be provided adequate time to receive complete, and return their absentee ballots;
2. States should adopt standardized procedures for registering Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act ► 28

The author is Senior Associate, Make Voting Work, at the Pew Center on the States.

- 27 ◀ voters, delivering blank ballots to them and receiving the cast ballots from them;
3. Congress and the states should expand and accelerate research and pilot projects to find technological solutions that provide secure, efficient and convenient means for military and overseas voters to cast their ballots; and
 4. The election system should serve both military and overseas civilians.

“We look forward to partnering with policymakers, election officials and others committed to improving the absentee voting process and to ensuring that the votes of military and overseas voters count,” said Chip Levengood, co-chair of the alliance

and chairman of the Board of the Overseas Vote Foundation.

The key goals of the alliance for 2009 include:

- Support the work of the Uniform Law Commission to draft a model state law that will modernize the performance of state election systems and ensure that voters are no longer disadvantaged by outdated state laws and procedures;
- Advocate for Congressional hearings and oversight of enforcement of federal laws protecting military and overseas voters;
- Contribute to new and ongoing voter reform legislation;
- Support states to adopt laws which encourage online delivery of blank

ballots to overseas and military voters; and

- Provide actionable recommendations to the new Administration to ensure data is collected from the states that will allow oversight of the performance of state election systems and improving support for this population of voters.

This new Alliance — currently comprised of over 30 military, business, student and religious groups will utilize Pew Center on the States research on military absentee voting problems, including Pew’s recent “No Time to Vote” report, to inform their efforts to ensure the nation’s voting system adequately serves military and civilian voters overseas. ■

Security from the Ground Up

26 ◀ negotiation and problem-solving techniques, rule of law, and human rights in many countries. Civil society also works with groups in conflict to develop shared analysis, develop negotiation agendas, identify common ground, develop confidence building measures (CBMs), and build political agreements. In support of high-level or “Track 1” diplomacy, CSOs also raise public awareness and support for peace agreements and community security.

Civil Society Engagement

The peace operations community can best act on the security-development nexus by doing more to support civil society’s efforts. Civil society’s strengths lie in their long-term commitment to, cultural and linguistic knowledge of, and responsibility for the local context. CSOs often can make up for a lack of resources with their experience and involvement in local efforts to address conflicts. They have a strong ability to do conflict

analysis based on cultural intelligence of local contexts including knowledge of local cultural traditions that support peace and stability. Moreover, CSOs often have access to areas that government and military personnel find hard or impossible to reach. CSOs often have greater legitimacy and trust with local populations, and find ways to adapt to changes in local context.

Civil society’s challenges are also important to recognize. There is great diversity among CSO missions and capacities. The strength of their ties to local constituencies varies greatly. Often, CSOs lack essential staff, funding, and skills. Sometimes they are unable to work in times of great civil violence. Like many government programs, the effectiveness of CSO programming is sometimes difficult to measure.

There is a natural tension between governments and CSOs. CSOs hold government accountable to broader

standards of rule of law, democracy, and policies that reflect broad citizen interests. Governments and CSOs often mistrust each other. In addition, in places where the state is not providing for citizen needs, CSOs may inadvertently further weaken state structures by delivering public services.

Insider’s local knowledge and insight is essential to ensuring that development efforts truly contribute and do not inadvertently detract from security and stabilization efforts. The connection between security and development requires careful planning to ensure a bottom up approach that combats humiliation and despair, lessens feelings of discrimination, and empowers local people to take the lead. The international peace operations community should find more ways of communicating with and supporting civil society organizations as they play essential roles in fostering development and diplomacy from the ground up. ■

Blurring the Lines

The Importance of Civil-Military and Inter-Agency Cooperation



Perhaps a bit more of this. Photo: Staff Sgt. Jim Greenhill/U.S. Army

THE Department of Defense is a leader in the U.S. Government's efforts to increase interagency planning and cooperation. Military directives elevating the importance of stability operations on par with combat operations have been a paradigm shift for the military. New doctrine is emerging to support this shift in direction and the military is investing significant financial resources into training on stabilization tasks. While these are good steps, they aren't enough. Greater attention and resources must be targeted on better interagency and stability operations training for U.S. military officers and senior enlisted who are working in an increasingly civilian-military — and at times strictly civilian — environment to conduct operations.

When it comes to stability operations, providing and sustaining security is essential for strengthening governance and development. In fact, these types of activities need to go hand-in-hand and in some cases must happen simultaneously. Military operations may achieve short-term objectives like

“clearing” insurgents from the area or “disrupting” enemy operations, but if they are not followed by the establishment of the rule of law and a functional level of government administration, then there is little chance of achieving medium to long-term stability. This is where the line between development and stability operations blurs.

The military does not have the training and expertise to conduct development and governance work effectively. Frequently operating on a short time horizon, the military is necessarily focused on “outputs,” on accomplishing the mission. This focus requires an emphasis on task orientation, following orders, and achieving tangible results on the ground. Effective governance and community development work, however, take longer and focus on the “process” of engagement. Encouraging a participatory process, accountability, and community ownership are challenging to achieve, and they are not military end states. Rather, they are processes that take place with the ultimate goal

of empowering communities, local-level leaders, and sub-national government structures and giving them confidence and skills to help themselves. These are governance and development concepts that focus on activity impacts - not outputs - and are not skills in which the military is trained.

As the U.S. military expands its role and scope in the development area, it must not try to do too much. The focus of the military's efforts on stabilization operations should be on enabling a safe and secure environment, furthering security sector reform, and working in a supportive role for other agencies and organizations that specialize in democracy and governance, human rights, health, education, and economic livelihoods. When civilian expertise is unavailable to address these specialized areas, by necessity, the military often fills the gaps with staff that may lack the experience or skills to appropriately address the issues. This can lead to less than desirable results on the ground and even cause more ► **30**

29 ◀ harm than good. Compounding the situation is the reality that the military often has more resources than every other actor on the ground.

As the military continues to receive significant amounts of Commanders Emergency Response Funds (in Afghanistan alone, about \$250 million in 2008 and over \$400 million in 2009), tapping into and cooperating with civilian government practitioners is crucial. Recent planning and coordination efforts between DOD, the State Department's Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization (on issues relating to Gaza, Georgia and elsewhere), and the U.S. Agency of International Development (USAID) Office of Military Affairs are encouraging and should serve as a starting point for enhanced interagency planning and operations.

While civilian surge capacity expands – namely the State Department's Civilian Response Corps - the military should reach out to other government agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and local groups with appropriate expertise in the fields of development, governance and humanitarian assistance. Put simply, there is nobody better at analyzing, assessing, planning and conducting development programs than the civilian government agencies—particularly USAID and the U.S. and local NGOs it funds—and the numerous American and European humanitarian organizations that have decades of experience working in these fields.

Understandably, the situations in Afghanistan and Iraq have made it increasingly difficult (and in some places impossible) for contractors and experienced NGOs to work with local national partners to promote and



Multi-uniform engagement. Photo: Staff Sgt. Micky Bazaldua/JCCI

strengthen governance, civil society, rule of law, to offer humanitarian services and to otherwise build the capacity of host country partners. The realities on the ground often leave the U.S. military (and sometimes its coalition partners) as the only entity willing and able to travel to and work in insecure areas and the places that frequently need the most development assistance.

Increasing military units' exposure to the capabilities and programs of civilian agencies during pre-deployment training is one means of better preparing soldiers. While on the ground, coordinating with other U.S. Government agencies and international and local actors should be a priority. However, when civilian expertise in development, governance, and humanitarian work is not available, instead of trying to fill the gap with inexperienced but highly motivated staff, military commanders should make a concerted effort to connect with local groups, existing

programs, and capable professional national staff. It is not necessary to reinvent the wheel - erudite advice can often be found by reaching out to interpreters, NGO or U.N. staff, U.S. Government local national program specialists and even local leaders who are tired of violence and truly want peace.

Indeed, the stabilization and development challenges in Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere demand much from our military and civilian practitioners working on the ground. Some blurring of the lines is inevitable but the DOD must be realistic and understand the limits of its expertise and reach out to other agencies, programs and specialists where possible. The continuing trend toward increased interagency planning and operations will only serve the U.S. Government's interests in the long term by enhancing effectiveness on the ground and speeding the emergence of stability. ■

Plugging Gaps: Lessons from Mumbai

The Dire Need for Reform in India's Security Apparatus



A solemn duty. Photo: Tech. Sgt. Jerry Morrison/U.S. Army

ON November 26 last year, well-trained and heavily armed gunmen opened fire in ten locations in Mumbai, killing hundreds. The widespread carnage was achieved by less than a dozen individuals.

Questions regarding the calculated brutality, responsibility for the failure to prevent the aggression – including speculation about retaliatory responses by the Indian military – abounded in the following days and weeks. Notwithstanding the outpouring of emotion, the resignations of Indian top security officials and fingers of blame pointed at Pakistan, it was abundantly clear that a series of security and administrative lapses enabled this infiltration. In fact, it was a text book case of everything that had to go wrong from a defensive response perspective, did go wrong.

The attacks highlight the ramification of bureaucratic slackness and inertia in counter terrorism efforts. The vulnerability of Mumbai and other Indian cities, to incursions of this type

were exposed. However, the incident was a stark warning of the possibility of similar events occurring in any major city around the globe. The incident had immediate reverberations in the city of Mumbai, in the Indian Defense security calculus, the Global War on Terror and India-Pakistan relations.

Reviewing the full extent of the impacts and the gaps in the Indian security architecture will take time. Already analysis and preventative measures are underway. However, a preliminary range of synchronized responses is recommended to counter these lapses. These include clear governance measures – to process and integrate diverse intelligence information, an up to date knowledge management system(s) – for informed decision making, stringent checks and intervention strategies at access and exit points for interception and identification, scenario-based and other training, with modern equipment for first responders and suitable incentives for officials to work together against clearly defined

objectives. A brief discussion of these steps in the context of the Mumbai attacks, are revealing of the efforts required to safeguard Mumbai or any other city.

The lessons derived from this incident demonstrate the importance of first-tier intervention mechanisms, such as port security, radars and tracking mechanisms, shore patrols along the coastlines, regular coast guard watches in and around metropolitan waterways; and cells of first line responders (modeled after provincial reconstruction teams) with expert military and security, medical and logistics personnel strategically located throughout the city.

On November 26th, basic measures such as search lights, coast guard patrols, or a robust port authority presence, were negligible at the port of Porbunder where the attackers were initially conveyed, landing in Mumbai virtually undetected. In the absence of coast guard vessels and other security structures, small fishing villages dotting the shoreline ► 32

31 ◀ became the first line of defense. Accounts by fishermen of spotting a vessel near the Mumbai coast, and others describing how they saw men disembark provided clues for intelligence officials to piece together how the attackers entered India. Similarly, the bustling Chhatrapati Shivaji Terminus lacked both security checkpoints and trained, anti-terrorism personnel, and was thus an easy target for the attackers. Exacerbating the situation was the absence of a commando team in situ, necessitating one being flown in from Delhi.

That the intelligence apparatus failed Mumbai was evident in the lack of preventative action at a granular local level. Despite warnings of imminent threat from multiple foreign intelligence sources, security precautions around the city were not heightened. Responding to cursory updates, a major hotel retained a “sniffer” dog (expeditiously dispatched by the terrorists). But, hotel guards did not substitute their dummy rifles with real ones. Given this litany of errors and shortfalls, it appeared a miracle that the siege only lasted sixty hours.

In the current decade, Mumbai has suffered from terrorist activity in about a dozen random and coordinated attacks, including the July 2006 blasts on the railway system in suburban Mumbai that killing over 200 people and injured over 600. The frequency, severity and randomness of these attacks have laid open the fragmentation of the urban and national security architecture of the Indian state. The lack of integration of intelligence, resulting from unsophisticated knowledge management systems, data analyses and rigid procedures for information dissemination has resulted in an incoherent intelligence framework. Poorly trained and equipped security personnel lack the basic apparatus, to push forward



Mumbai's Taj Hotel: Once famous, now infamous. Photo: Stock

effective investigative and preemptive responses.

India's security and first line responders are few in number and not well-versed in counter-insurgency measures. Further, their plastic batons, World War II-era self-loading rifles and ineffective body armor proved no match for the terrorists' grenades, AK47's and a seemingly endless supply of ammunition. Senior Indian security officials of the anti-terrorism squad – including Chief Hemant Karkare – and the eighteen or so policemen on duty, were fatally shot by bullets piercing their insubstantial body armor. Further compounding the lack of capacity is that security and defense allocations do not keep pace with the urgent demands for updated insurgency training, intelligence and equipment. The combined defense expenditure in 2007-08 was between the range of 2.5-2.8% of GDP and approximately 17% of the total budget.

Streamlined governance processes, coupled with effective response management training of bureaucrats is long overdue. Departments, steeped in red tape and alleged corruption, subvert accountability protocols and neglect the focus on quality equipment and support mechanisms needed by first-line responders. In the Mumbai attacks, a rigid adherence to a chain of command, (as in crucial hours wasted, awaiting authorization

to proceed, from absent senior officials) on one hand, and substandard equipment on the other, stymied responders.

Preliminary investigation in the aftermath of the crisis, reveals that local and foreign actors provided the attackers with financial and logistical support, including safe houses, identity documents, detailed maps of target sites, and directed operations via cell phones. The uncontested ease with which the attackers carried out their plan at all the target sites calls for a more vigilant stance to metropolitan security. Subsequent news reports show that the terrorists were carrying enough ammunition to kill thousands and had a wide network of contacts within and outside India.

One bright spot was the public outrage against the attacks. A mass of criticism against government corruption and ineptitude resulted in resignations at the top echelons of Government. Spurred on by an active media, which reported in graphic detail, the unfolding of the sixty plus hours of terror; citizens have kept up their demands for reform.

Capacity gaps in the civil, political and security structures made possible the execution of terrorist intent. Given the clear evidence of security loop holes, salient responses are desperately needed to counter them. ■

Ambassador Herman Cohen (Ret.)

Portugal's Colonial Legacy Continues

Misery in Guinea Bissau and West Africa's Arc of Instability



Joao Vieira in happier times ... before his assassination earlier this year. Photo: UNOGBIS

DECOLONIZATION in Africa was not a happy process for Portugal. This is not surprising because there was zero preparation for the independence of Portugal's five African colonies: Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and São Tome.

Until 1975, Portugal was ruled by a corporatist dictatorship that kept the country in a state of feudal poverty. The main role of the African colonies was to receive hundreds of thousands of Portuguese emigrants who could not find work at home. Because of this policy, the Portuguese government considered the African colonies to be an integral part of Portugal.

During the period of decolonization in Africa, from 1957 to 1965, the Portuguese government remained adamantly opposed to independence. Not surprisingly, the three mainland colonies erupted into guerrilla war in the early 1960s. Surrounded by independent African countries, freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau had access

to arms, money and safe havens across nearby borders.

The Portuguese army confronted the African guerrillas with thousands of conscripts over a 15-year period. As a result of this process, virtually every Portuguese family had someone who fought in the wars, or who lived in the colonies as permanent settlers, or both. Among the three colonial wars, the Portuguese military considered the one in Guinea Bissau to be the most difficult in terms of casualties and the control of territory. Guinea Bissau was the colony where the guerrilla was in control at night, while the Army was in control during the day.

Portuguese colonialism in Africa came crashing down in 1975. In the spring of that year, the dictatorship was overthrown by "young Turks" in the military in a "revolution of the flowers." One of the first acts of the interim military rulers was to give independence to the five African colonies, unfortunately without any preparation, and with only a minimal transition period.

In Mozambique and Angola, civil wars among competing guerrilla groups erupted after independence. Mozambique's civil war ended in 1992, while Angola's dragged on until 2002. In Guinea Bissau, on the other hand, there was only a single armed movement with its political arm that was able to take over from the Portuguese without further internal conflict. It is ironic, however, that while Mozambique and Angola were finally able to achieve stability after decades of post-independence civil war, Guinea Bissau remains a highly unstable country today, bordering on failed state status, without having suffered a period of civil war.

Guinea Bissau's problems stem from a number of causes. During the independence struggle, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde islands shared a single political movement, the Independence Movement of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. This movement was dominated by intellectuals from Cape Verde. The founding father was the independence hero, Amilcar Cabral who was ► **34**

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33 ◀ assassinated by Portuguese intelligence in Guinea Conakry in 1973. The first President of Guinea Bissau was the Cape Verdian Luis Cabral. Thus, Guinea Bissau started out with a deep political contradiction. Political power was in the hands of Cape Verdians, while most of the fighting was done by Africans from Bissau. This could not last, and Bissau broke its ties with Cape Verde in 1980 with the overthrow of the president.

As of 1980, Guinea Bissau had been liberated twice, first from the Portuguese, and secondly from Cape Verde. But left to themselves, the people of Bissau found themselves deeply divided ethnically and racially. This resulted in what has been described as “fratricidal war” within the ruling classes.

The army was particularly impacted by ethnic and racial animosities, with the officer corps dominated by people with Portuguese names, many of whom did not speak African languages. This resulted in a number of coups and shoot-outs since independ-

ence. The most recent was the assassination of the Army Chief of Staff Ansumana Marie na Wai last March, followed by the counter-killing of President João Bernardo Vieira a few days later.

This still unresolved competition for power in Bissau is being played out against three major factors. First, the country is desperately poor, with most people living on a subsistence level. The only exportable commodity is raw cashew nuts, which bring in about \$70 million per year. Bissau has rich fishing grounds, but these are exploited illegally, with hardly any revenue going to the country since the end of the U.S. Coast Guard coastal fisheries protection project in 1985.

Secondly, Bissau has been heavily involved in the long running insurgency in neighboring Senegal’s Southern province of Casamance. The concerned ethnic groups straddle the border and the cousins on the Bissau side have expended lots of blood and treasure in support of the Senegalese rebels. This has caused a lot of

political animosity within Bissau from ethnic groups who do not support their country’s involvement in Senegal’s civil war.

Thirdly, because of its vulnerability and instability, Bissau has become a major transit point for Colombian and Mexican drug traffickers headed toward Western Europe. In effect, the city of Bissau has become the main operations hub for the Latin American drug cartels in West Africa. The cartels’ money is irresistible. It is also evident that Senegal, Guinea Conakry and Sierra Leone are being dragged into the drug network.

Since the spate of assassinations in March, Bissau political groups are trying to implement constitutional processes toward the formation of a new regime through elections. Hopefully, this will mark the beginning of eventual political stabilization. As far as the drug transit trade is concerned, U.S. officials tell me that “it’s Europe’s problem.” ■



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Fiji's Blue Berets: Should They Stay or Should They Go?

The Ethics of Deploying Troops from a Bainimarama Republic



As upstanding as their government? Photo: Rick Bajornas/U.N.

In January 2007, I wrote in this column about a military coup that had taken place in Fiji the previous November. In that column, I pointed out that the Fiji coup was significant for the field of peace operations since the Fijians are such conscientious and prolific providers of personnel for U.N. peacekeeping operations, and that anything that destabilized or otherwise compromised the nation's military could have dire consequences for the U.N.'s already chronically understaffed peacekeeping missions.

Reading over that column again demonstrated how little times change. The coup leader, Commodore (and now Prime Minister) Josaia Voreqe "Frank" Bainimarama, is still in power. In case anyone was questioning the legality of his regime, Fiji's Court of Appeals answered that very question last month when they ruled that, indeed, the regime was not legal at all. In true dictatorial fashion, the Court of Appeals was rewarded for its decision by being dismissed (along with all judicial appointments); the

constitution was also ripped up. The president, Ratu Josefa Iloilo, also postponed elections for five years and the Fijian military occupied the nation's Reserve Bank (and personally relieved its governor). Needless to say, critical journalism has also been dealt with in a manner befitting a military dictatorship.

As an already democracy-deficient regime, there were questions two years ago about whether Fiji, as a nation, was "fit" to send peacekeepers to U.N. missions. The United Nations at the time had threatened to remove Fijian troops from its peacekeeping missions, but later relented (perhaps realizing the vacuum that would be left behind.) When the coup took place, Fiji had 269 troops wearing blue helmets. Now, that number has actually risen to 282, many of whom are serving in Iraq. Indeed, the Fijian troops are executing some of the highest-profile missions for the U.N., providing indispensable (and effective) security in Iraq, missions that very few other nations are willing to accept. Now, particularly after the already

democracy-deficient regime has decided to jettison some more pesky bits of democracy, the call for Fijian troops to be sidelined from U.N. peacekeeping missions has become louder from organizations such as the Australian Bar Association and the Green Party of New Zealand. The latter, for example, has called upon the United Nations to stop using Fijian peacekeepers. Their reasoning is two-fold: first, they argue that the per diem that the U.N. pays Fiji for the benefit of using its soldiers is going to fund an undemocratic regime; second, they argue that it is cruelly ironic that on one side of the globe, Fiji is involved in building a democracy when on its own soil it is more about destroying democracy.

This issue again throws up an interesting philosophical question for the United Nations. Is it right to hire troops to keep order and promote democracy when in the troops' own country there is neither? And worse, can we, as an international community, pay troops to keep this order when doing so funds that very

35 ◀ disorder in their home country? There is some validity in these questions. Nevertheless, considering them is somewhat of a philosophical luxury. It would be all very well to be concerned about such issues if the U.N. was not scrounging for troops. As it continues to be desperate for high quality personnel to staff its peacekeeping missions, the U.N. faces a stark “beggars cannot be choosers” reality. It is rather ironic that the calls for Fiji to be *patria non grata* are coming from Western nations who are collectively *in absentia* from U.N. peacekeeping.

In Fiji’s case, such a questions probably should remain just a



Giving a Frank assessment to the U.N. Photo: Marco Castro/UN

“ As an already democracy-deficient regime, there were questions about whether Fiji, as a nation, was “fit” to send peacekeepers to U.N. missions ”

philosophical ones. After all, Fijian troops are generally highly professional, well-trained and well-respected. Indeed, a high number of Fijians are working in private security in Iraq, finding themselves in high demand similar to Nepalese Gurkhas (and for many of the same reasons.) Further, the Fijian troops may be representative of a dictatorship, but there is (thankfully) no blood in the streets of Suva and the Fijian military has generally received little criticism from local human rights groups. So, although the U.N. may be hiring troops from an undemocratic regime, it cannot at this stage be said that this regime is a brutal one.

It is further worth noting that the U.N. has never hired peacekeepers from exclusively democratic nations. Any concern about hiring peacekeepers exclusively from countries with solid democratic credentials did not stop the U.N. from being a greedy

consumer of personnel from Pervez Musharraf’s Pakistan or from Bangladesh during that nation’s recent vacation from democracy, for example. But that is not to say that the U.N. should make a habit of it – indeed, the argument might be a bit harder to sustain if it were the Zimbabwean police or the Burmese or North Korean militaries being deployed en masse as U.N. peacekeepers.

Of course, the ultimate solution to this crisis of conscience is for the Western democracies to send more of their own troops on peacekeeping missions. But, as we have seen, it is hard enough for the U.S. to find support from its European NATO partners to bolster the mission in Afghanistan, a conflict that is not only a particularly serious one, but of all current missions is probably one of the most directly linked to the collective security of Western nations.

Where there is less of a compelling national security threat (and therefore, incentive) in places like Chad or D.R. Congo, this task becomes even harder and more unlikely. Thus, the U.N. is left holding the bag, essentially having to take whatever it can get.

This argument is not meant to be an apologist’s defense of a military coup or the undemocratic regime it spawned. The concern about deploying soldiers from an undemocratic and unstable nation to help build a democratic and stable one on the other side of the globe is justified – in the abstract. But unfortunately, with the continued phenomenon of under-resourced and generally Western-less U.N. peacekeeping, the international community cannot afford itself the luxury of denying the U.N. otherwise highly skilled and highly professional Fijian peacekeepers just because it might let us sleep a little bit better at night. ■

The Pioneering Pinkertons

The Story of the World's Most Famous Private Detectives



We Never Sleep... Photo: Stock

ALLAN Pinkerton was not the world's first private detective. He was not even the first in America. He is, however, the most famous.

The Pinkertons are best known to modern audiences through the film *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*, however, until well into the 20th century, the name had generic usage – the word 'pinkerton' was a synonym for 'private detective.' Moreover, the term 'private eye' was taken from one of the firm's early trademarks, which read 'We never sleep,' Allan Pinkerton and later his son William were known to the criminal fraternity as 'The Eye.' And the world's most famous fictional consulting detective, Sherlock Holmes, was based in large part on the Pinkertons, father and son.

The commercial success of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency lay in its ability to cross jurisdictional boundaries at a time when policing in North America was highly fragmented, largely undertaken by elected officials at town and county

level. Pinkerton's prospered with the rise of the first national business enterprises, the railways and the express companies.

The firm's operatives would follow suspected train robbers hundreds of miles across state boundaries; Charlie Siringo, author of the first authentic cowboy autobiography, spent three or four years working undercover at the outer edges of the notorious 'Wild Bunch,' which moved freely across a number of Western states.

It was the Pinkertons, and not any agency of government, that tracked Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid to South America. They won national acclaim in pursuing America's first train robbers, the Reno Gang, into Canada and bringing them home (with Allan Pinkerton serving jointly as chief detective to the Adams Express Company and as the official representative of the U.S. government).

Governments were quick to take advantage of these boundary-crossing

capabilities. During the Civil War, the Pinkertons operated a military intelligence service for Gen. George B. McClellan, sending spies deep inside enemy lines.

They were brought into Canada in 1866 to advise on the protection of the British royal family during the Fenian scare and almost half a century later, one of Allan Pinkerton's sons was invited to London to consult with Scotland Yard about possible terrorist attacks during the coronation of George V. Throughout the first World War, they undertook counter-espionage work in the United States (against German saboteurs and spies) on behalf of the British and French governments.

They were retained by the US Postal Service and the Secret Service, by city, state and county governments, and until the establishment of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1908, they were the closest that America came to a national detective agency. They corresponded regularly with the Dominion Police in Canada, ► 38

37 ◀ Scotland Yard in London and the Sûreté in Paris.

Of course, they also grappled with corrupt employees and they sometimes made mistakes, such as a botched raid on the family home of Frank and Jesse James. And they were deeply unpopular with the labor movement for their role in penetrating union organisations, in several well-known cases providing evidence for the successful prosecution of violent extremists.

Most famously, they were employed by Andrew Carnegie to protect his steelworks at Homestead, Pennsyl-

officers in North America were not recruited until forty years after the Pinkertons, and in most jurisdictions, it would be several decades later again. William Pinkerton broke new ground in employing young men of Sicilian descent to penetrate mafia gangs when they surfaced in the late 19th century.

They drew on the latest technological developments to assist them in their investigations, progressing from daguerreotypes to tintypes to wet-plate photography as the technology advanced. In the 1870s, they were already using experts to compare handwriting samples and physicians to

professional security advice, an intelligence unit and a criminal investigation bureau that were national in their reach. Overarching everything else, they offered the members of the association a reputation for thorough investigation and dogged persistence that helped to discourage crime. Between 1883 and 1890, only two members of the Alliance were robbed and when five jewellers were hit the following year, the officers were quickly identified and apprehended.

The success of this service led to contracts with two more national trade associations, the Jewelers'

“ It was the Pinkertons, and not any agency of government, that tracked Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid to South America. ”

vania, during a protracted industrial dispute in 1892. The ensuing conflict resulted in the deaths of a number of men on both sides, and yet in reading the detailed transcripts of the subsequent inquiries, it is difficult to fault the Pinkertons. The problem lay in the attempt to use them for the maintenance of civil order, a function that should have remained the exclusive province of the state.

There can be no disagreement about their contribution to policing functions that are capable of being delegated to the private sector – the protection of private property and the investigation of crime. At a time when the undercover detective was an unfamiliar creature and regarded by the public at large with deep suspicion, Allan Pinkerton and his sons played an important part in giving respectability to this new profession.

They were well ahead of other policing agencies in using female operatives – the first female police

identify strands of hair left on a robber's mask. William Pinkerton was one of the leading advocates of fingerprinting when it arrived in the United States in the late 19th century.

However, the great advantage that Allan Pinkerton had over his contemporaries in the field of law enforcement was a reputation that was capable of being commercialized. Of course, there were individual lawmen with formidable reputations – the ‘Three Guardsmen’ of Oklahoma, Heck Thomas, Chris Madsen and Bill Tilghman immediately come to mind – but none of them created a brand name that was capable of being scaled up to a national and international scale.

There is no better illustration of this than the way in which the Pinkertons lent their name to various trade associations. In 1883, the Agency was retained by the Jewelers' Security Alliance, an association of small retailers. They offered a total service –

Protective Union (representing manufacturing jewellers) and the American Bankers Association. The bankers arranged for small metal signs to be distributed to members, warning that the premises were protected by the Pinkertons.

Once again, it proved to be an outstanding success and over the 15 years that the Pinkertons held the file, the membership of the Bankers Association increased five-fold. Burglaries and attempted burglaries among ABA members were one-fifth the rate of non-member banks, and one professional burglar told a crime writer around the turn of the century that, if they had a choice, criminals left the Pinkerton banks alone.

One does find examples of this in the not-for-profit sector (such as the Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance), but with rare exceptions, governments find it difficult to scale up innovative public services and franchise reputations in this way. ■

Rules for the Use of Force

IPOA Strives to Create an Industry-Standard Template



Ensuring plenty of steps before this happens. Photo: 724th Transportation Company/U.S. DoD

THE IPOA-recommended Rules on the Use of Force (RUF) for Private Security Companies is a framework being drawn up by IPOA's Private Security Companies (PSC) Working Group, a group of IPOA members associated with the provision of armed and unarmed security in conflict and post-conflict countries.

Traditionally, individual companies draw-up their own RUFs, based on governmental requirements, the company's own internal policies and the particular context that the company will be working in. The IPOA RUF therefore should be viewed as a subject-specific supplement to the IPOA Code of Conduct. The goal of the IPOA RUF is to produce a standardized model or "boilerplate" document to reflect a company's internal rules and to also meet the requirements of the customer, the service provider and the law. Although both the customer and service provider will still have to tailor the documents to fit the specific situation (i.e. geographical location,

cultural norms, etc.) at hand, the IPOA RUF is a practical document that can be used as a template.

Companies must allocate the responsibilities of employees to the policies and procedures of the RUF. For example, any employee who may be issued any type of weapon or may reasonably be foreseen to be required to use force in their duties must receive appropriate training and be certified, no less than once a year, before deployed to their duties.

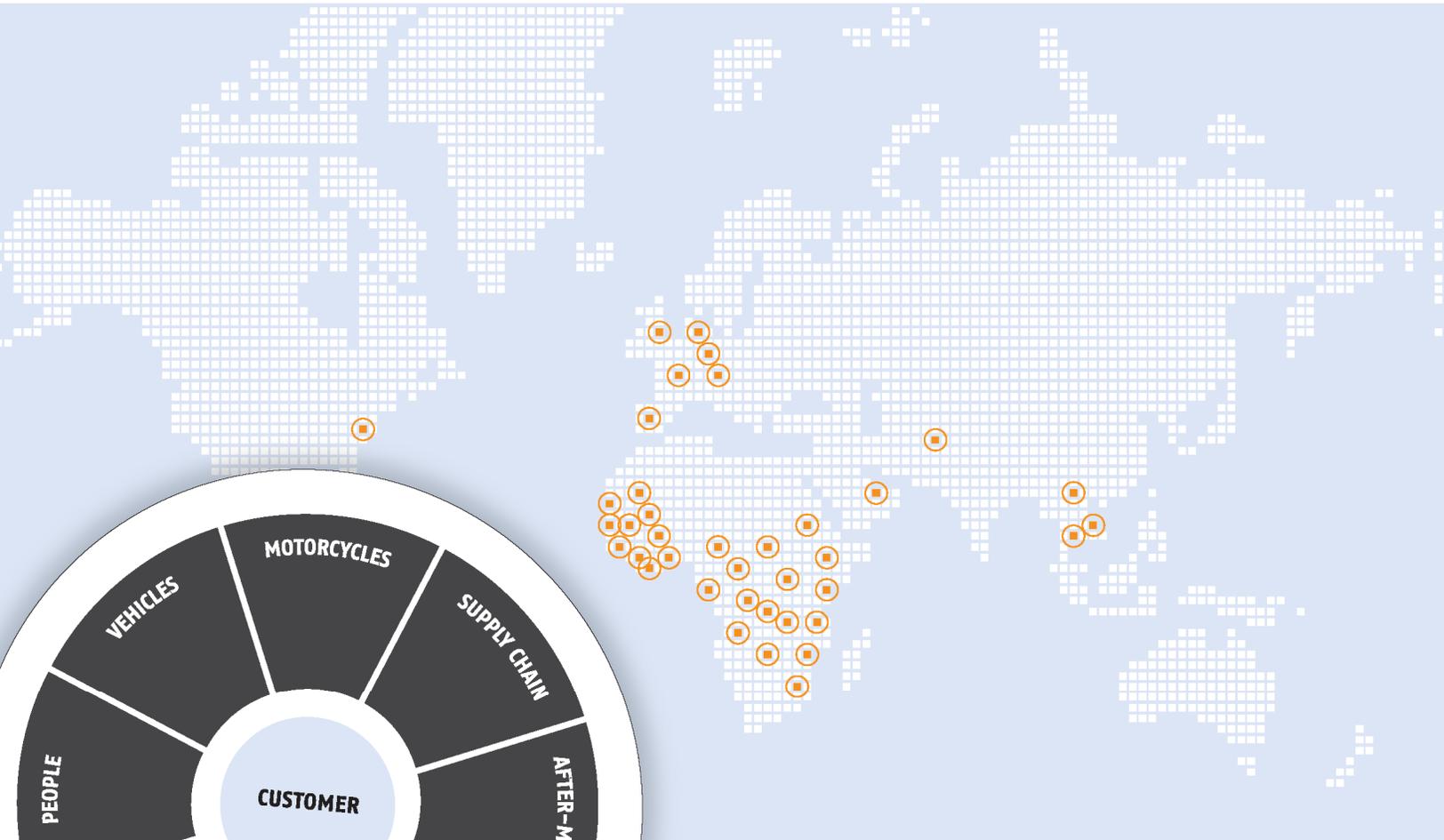
The document also outlines a "graduated scale in the use of force continuum" which encompasses: 1.) Shout: verbal warning to halt, if available visual warnings may also be used; 2.) Shove: physical restraint, block access, or detain; 3.) Show: your weapon and demonstrate intent to use it; and 4.) Shoot: to remove the threat only when necessary and reasonable, as outlined below for the use of deadly force.

The definition of and principles on the "use of deadly force" is also very specifically outlined and the

"necessity" factor is highly stressed. The authorization for the use of force is only available in self defense, defense of another person, and inherently dangerous property.

In order to uphold the accountability, transparency and integrity of the company and its personnel, the IPOA RUF also lays out strict reporting requirements via a Serious Incident Report and companies must comply with all customer reporting requirements regarding the use of force. Even the use of non-lethal force must be reported immediately to management. Any use of deadly force requires a thorough investigation by the company even if the customer decides that it will conduct its own investigation.

The IPOA RUF is currently being reviewed by several international NGOs and academics. IPOA encourages civil society feedback on the document. The PSC Working Group envisions that the IPOA RUF can be first used as a sample internal company policy and in the future, be used as a sample by a government. ■



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SEPTEMBER 29-OCTOBER 1, 2009
WASHINGTON, DC

What an important time for your business to explore investments in some of the world's key emerging markets. Partnerships between U.S. and African businesses will be formed during The Corporate Council on Africa's (CCA) 7th Biennial U.S. - Africa Business Summit. Join CCA and more than 1,500 of the private and public sector's top leaders to find out about business and investment opportunities in Africa, the very place where some of today's major business deals are taking place.

REGISTER TODAY AT WWW.AFRICACNCL.ORG

Peacekeeping

Africa 2009

24-25 June 2009
Gallagher Estate,
Gauteng, Midrand,
South Africa

Successfully planning and implementing
peacekeeping operations in Africa

defenceWeb is proud to launch its Peacekeeping Africa 2009 event.

PEACEKEEPING AFRICA 2009 is the ideal platform to bring all parties (defence/peacekeeping forces, police, gendarmerie, international relations experts, foreign service officials, diplomats, other government bodies, international organisations, vendors and academics) involved in peace support missions together, to share knowledge and to discuss the latest developments.

Doug Brooks (President, International Peace Operations Association (IPOA)) will be delivering the keynote address and discussing Peacekeeping and the role of the private sector: innovations and lessons learned. For a detailed outline of the event programme and confirmed speakers please visit our events section at www.defenceweb.co.za

Join us and learn from individuals who are experts in their respective fields from organisations who are taking the lead in bringing solutions to Africa. Take advantage of our early bird rates and book your place today.

To register contact Maggie on maggie@itweb.co.za
For key sponsorship opportunities please contact Graham Emeric
on graham.e@defenceweb.co.za
or alternatively call +27 (0) 11 807 3294



2009 INTERNATIONAL AID & TRADE

9-10 July 2009
Washington D.C., USA

Building Partnerships for Relief & Development

2009 International Aid & Trade Event

Procurement & Logistics
Getting the right equipment to the right place at the right time

The Ronald Reagan Building & International Trade Center,
Washington D.C., USA

In partnership with:



6-9 July 2009

INTERNATIONAL AID & TRADE IS THE FORUM FOR HUMANITARIAN RELIEF PROFESSIONALS

Take part in one of the biggest trade fairs for humanitarian relief professionals in the world. This is the opportunity to raise awareness of your organization and network with key international aid, humanitarian relief and development stakeholders.

WHY PARTICIPATE IN INTERNATIONAL AID & TRADE 2009

- ▶ Now in partnership with InterAction, the largest alliance of US based international development and humanitarian organizations;
- ▶ Procurement and logistics professionals meet providers of goods and services, over 1500 attendees;
- ▶ Interactive round-table discussions engaging high calibre stakeholders from NGO, UN, government and commercial sectors;
- ▶ Cement relationships and build new partnerships;
- ▶ Discuss your solutions and opinions to shape the provision of humanitarian relief;
- ▶ Interact informally at the networking reception and VIP dinner (by invite only).



WHO WILL ATTEND?

Attendees span government departments, NGOs and aid agencies, UN organisations and businesses, small, medium and large...

- **Procurement Managers, Coordinators and Logisticians:** building relationships face-to-face. Whether talking to existing suppliers, or meeting and greeting new potential partners, the event offers an invaluable audience that will contribute to effective procurement practice.
- **Project Managers:** will benefit from gaining direct contact with providers of goods and services being used on a day-to-day basis.
- **Policy Makers:** global decision makers play a critical role in directing multilateral humanitarian efforts. International Aid & Trade enables policy makers to increase their understanding of the practical implications of the decisions they take.
- **Suppliers of Products and Services:** showcasing products and services to attendees and fellow exhibitors to network, build partnerships and create effective supply chains for improved humanitarian relief, international aid and long term development.

WORKSHOPS

Workshop sessions consist of interactive roundtable discussions between stakeholders from NGO, government and UN organizations, as well as two or three representatives from the corporate sector. Each roundtable discussion will be hosted by an organization taking the opportunity to help shape the agenda of that session. The workshops are specifically designed to improve coordination and understanding between business, the UN, aid agencies and NGOs, resulting in increased efficiency in the way problems are addressed, solutions are designed and distributed and contracts are agreed.

Sessions will focus on the procurement and logistics elements and are likely to include:

- Effective transport systems (especially in light of increasing fuel costs);
- Security of aid workers;
- Disaster communications - advance warning and emergency alert systems;
- Changes under the Obama Administration;
- Cohesive working and the role of the military in humanitarian assistance;
- Development from disaster relief;
- Sphere standards;
- Stockpiling, pre-positioning and local purchasing;
- Aid provision in hostile environments;
- Legal barriers to aid provision including customs, visa and immigration laws;
- Effective raising and use of funds;
- The food crisis and aid issues.

**REGISTER
FREE**

www.aidandtrade.org

For more information contact:

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www.aidandtrade.org

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Email: talexander@interaction.org
www.interaction.org



MILSEC SOUTH 2009

AUGUST 11 - 13, 2009
TAMPA CONVENTION CENTER, TAMPA FL

International Peace and Stability Operations Symposium

will be conducted concurrently with two other conferences addressing areas of critical importance:



Improvised Explosive Devices and Urban Operations.

All three events will share networking opportunities as well as an exhibition and sponsors with products and services crucial to these challenges.

Topics will include

Stability Policing Initiatives-Necessity of qualified and rapidly deployable police, including stability units for international peacekeeping, peace enforcement, and peace building missions.

Security Sector Reform in Conflict Countries-Essential in the transition from war to peace in conflict zones.

The Complex Humanitarian Crisis-Policies, Tools and Plans to offer help through Civil Affairs and Humanitarian Aid which will lead to greater stability.

Discussing the challenges IED's pose to Peace Stability Operations and personnel.

Be part of these timely conferences-development, health, education and economic growth are contingent on security and stability operations and their ability to succeed.

**Register by June 30 and receive a subscription to
The Journal of International Peace Operations.
IPOA member companies receive exhibit and sponsorship discounts.**

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*Journal of International Peace Operations*Published six times a year, the *Journal* is the world's leading publication for the stability operations industry, and has been rated one of the top U.S. policy magazines by *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. The *Journal* is far more than just an electronic publication, and is available in glossy print every two months.

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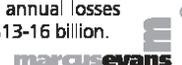
Maritime Security

**Creating Global Partnerships to Deny Adversaries
Control of the Maritime Domain**

June 23-24, 2009 | Washington, DC

DEFEAT Coastal and Shipping Lane
THREATS with Comprehensive Security Collaboration.

Seaborne piracy against transport vessels results in annual losses of an estimated \$13-16 billion.

**Key Speakers:****Stephen Caldwell**
Director Maritime Security Issues
Homeland Security Justice Team
**Government
Accountability Office****Gordon Evans Ven Hook Capt USN (RET)**
Senior Director, Innovation
and Concept Development
MAERSK Line Limited**Captain Curtis Dubay**
Director for MDAPI Office
of Port and Facility Activities
US Coast Guard**George Cummings**
Director Homeland Security
Port of Los Angeles**Register by March 27, 2009 with Promo Code IPOA to Receive a 10% Discount on Full Price Attendance!****marcusevans** defenseFor Further Information, Please Contact:
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