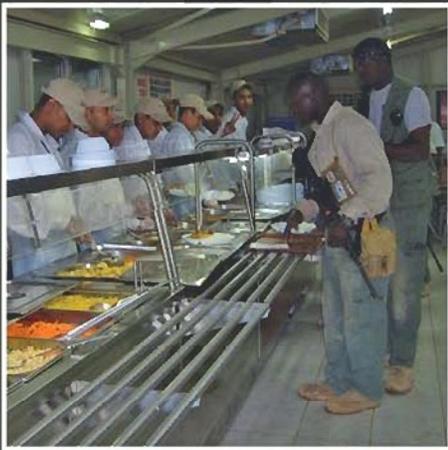
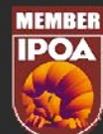




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Doug Brooks

Think Globally. Hire Locally.

The Benefits of Employing Local Nationals in Conflict And Post-Conflict Operations



The local touch. Photo: Ky Chung/U.N.

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LOCAL nationals make up the majority of the personnel on the ground in the stability operations industry, a fact too often overlooked by media and pundits. Not only do these locals offer enormous advantages to our industry in terms of costs, language capabilities, local knowledge and skills, but at the policy level they contribute to rebuilding the economy and vastly benefit larger stability policies. Nevertheless, some important concerns and caveats remain when hiring locals; and thus certain essential policies should be adopted by all companies setting up business in conflict and post-conflict operations.

Personnel working for the stability operations industry are generally divided into three categories:

- Local Nationals (LNs, also known as Host Country Nationals, or HCNs) who originate from the country of the operation.
- Third Country Nationals (TCNs) who come from a country not involved in the intervention or peace operation. Most TCNs are from developing countries, attracted by salaries far above what they could earn at home. Some, however, are drawn from developed countries as well.

- Finally, Western expatriates, who are usually hired for management, contractual compliance or oversight tasks; although for some contracts they may be engaged in work from security to truck driving.

LNs represent the bulk of this industry's personnel. For example, as of June 30, 2009, LNs made up 69 percent of U.S. Department of Defense contractor personnel operating in Afghanistan – and 95 percent of security contractors in the operation. TCNs account for most of the remainder, with citizens of Western nations making up a relatively small minority. The LN proportion can be even higher for contractors supporting UN operations, and that number only increases with the duration of the operation as local hires learn new skills, gain the trust of companies and clients and earn management positions.

The benefits of widespread utilization of LNs — the least expensive employees in stability operations — makes companies in our industry more competitive in winning contracts. Their salaries are good by local standards, where unemployment is usually high, and their benefits are generally far better than those available locally. However, it is important that LN

salaries not be set too high, as disproportionately elevated salaries can attract high-skilled personnel from other vocations. Local doctors and lawyers taking higher-paid jobs as cooks and gate guards are not advantageous to a stability operation. LNs usually live in their own homes with their families, use local transportation and cook their own meals, whereas imported labor requires expensive housing, transportation arrangements and catering facilities. All of which means that LNs are enormously cost effective for companies, clients and ultimately the larger stability mission, freeing resources to be allocated to other peace-building tasks.

LNs provide other advantages as well. They bring local knowledge of the operation's areas, local languages, customs and norms — wisdom that foreign nationals can only acquire with time, significant effort and often a fair amount of risk. Also, local guards are less likely to be targeted for their nationality. In conflicts such as Afghanistan and Iraq, putting a Western soldier out in front of a valuable facility is the equivalent of using a golden goose to guard a second, albeit larger, golden goose. LNs are lower profile, which minimizes risk, allowing them to complete routine tasks with light

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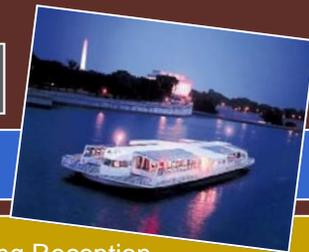
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18:00  River Cruise Networking Reception



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Monday, October 26

07:30		Breakfast	
08:45		SPEAKER Doug Brooks	
09:00		SPEAKER GEN Anthony Zinni	
09:50	1	SESSION 1 Succeeding in Afghanistan	
11:40	2A	SESSION 2A Regulation and Licensing	
11:40	2W	SESSION 2W Capacity Building and Development	
13:10		Lunch	
14:10	3A	SESSION 3A Counter-Narcotics	
14:10	3W	SESSION 3W U.S. Legislation and Policy Trends	
16:00	4A	SESSION 4A Logistics and Supply Routes	
16:00	4W	SESSION 4W International Legislation and Policy Trends	
18:00		Networking Reception	
19:00		Dinner	
20:00		SPEAKER AMB Zalmay Khalilzad	

Tuesday, October 27

08:00		Breakfast	
08:00		WORKSHOP 1 Afghanistan PSC Licensing	
08:00		WORKSHOP 2 Armored Vehicle Standards	
09:30		SPEAKER David Kilcullen	
10:40	5	SESSION 5 Security Sector Reform	
12:10		Lunch	
13:10	6	SESSION 6 Counter-Insurgency	
15:00	7	SESSION 7 U.S. Government Accountability and Oversight	
18:00		IPOA Members-Only Networking Reception	



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New IPOA Board Elected

THE IPOA Membership have elected a new Board of Directors to lead IPOA in 2010. Current Vice-Chair, Pieter de Weerd of Medical Support Solutions, takes over as Chairman of the Board beginning November 1. He will be joined by Mark DeWitt of Triple Canopy; Laura Engelbrecht of New Century; Richard Orth of AECOM; Thomas Shortley of Agility; John South of DynCorp International; and Chris Taylor of Mission Essential Personnel. Hank Allen of MPRI will step down as Chairman of the Board after a successful year that saw IPOA membership and Association activities grow significantly. ■

2010 IPOA Board of Directors

	Pieter de Weerd (Chair) <i>Medical Support Solutions</i>
	Mark DeWitt <i>Triple Canopy</i>
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	Richard Orth <i>AECOM</i>
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or nonexistent security arrangements. Similarly, they can also use their knowledge to source necessary equipment and bargain for competitive price. While these positives easily outweigh the negatives, some cautions remain when utilizing LNs as well.

Some clients, especially governments, may be concerned that certain LNs have connections to insurgent forces, creating intelligence leaks or even active threats. LN support for military operations is usually a sensible practice, but in Iraq we have seen some instances of LNs providing target and military information to insurgent forces attacks, or even being used by insurgents for suicide attacks themselves. Even loyal LNs can find themselves and their families manipulated by insurgents seeking vulnerable and defenseless prey with which they can undermine international stabilization efforts. For these reasons, clients may specifically state in contracts that LNs cannot be hired for certain jobs.

Other drawbacks exist as well. In some less developed or post-conflict countries, LNs may not possess useful skill sets, or even basic literacy. In those cases they must receive extensive — and expensive — training prior to useful employment. Medical requirements can also be costly;

in some societies it is possible that LNs have never been examined by a doctor in their lives. Business practices can be quite different and require specific instruction — everything from the use of receipts and record keeping, to laws, rules and regulations against bribery and sexual harassment. In the case of armed security, specific care must be taken to ensure that companies are not effectively rearming a demobilized militia force or gang, and that their LNs have proper discipline and thorough understanding of the strict requirements followed by international security companies for the use of force. Cultural clashes can be significant as well. The best companies ensure that their supervisors, trainers and staff are prepared to work with the LNs as colleagues who have their own unique cultural foibles, diverse ethnic and religious norms, and sometimes detrimental prejudices — just as we do ours.

Successful integration of LNs can have far reaching benefits beyond the original mission. Obviously, companies with existing ties to local contacts, diasporas and established procedures for preparing LNs for employment will naturally gain considerable advantages over their competitors. Furthermore, in a number of cases, relationships with LNs have been so successful that companies have subsequently used the same personnel as

TCNs in other operations. This has been the case with Sierra Leoneans brought to support the African Union mission in Darfur, and Bosnians that support the coalition effort in Iraq. These LNs often have far more experience and a better grasp of what it takes to operate in a conflict, post-conflict or disaster relief environment — a capability that can be transplanted to other international stability missions.

Developing these kinds of relationships requires a high-level of professionalism towards employees of all backgrounds. Our own IPOA Code of Conduct has a section on ‘Personnel,’ and while generally applied to industry personnel of all nationalities, it is important to emphasize the aspects that most relate to the employment of LNs. Among these are ensuring adequate training and preparation for their duties, conducting proper vetting and screening, and providing instruction on appropriate standards, humanitarian and human rights laws. The Code also highlights the importance of seeking personnel “broadly representative of the local population,” and the fact that personnel have a right to terminate their employment. Most importantly, “signatories shall act responsibly and ethically toward their personnel, including ensuring personnel are treated with respect and dignity, and responding appropriately if allegations of personnel misconduct arise.” In other words, companies need to be as professional towards their LNs as they are to their employees of other nationalities.

The benefits of employing locals far outweigh the risks, both to the industry and to the larger international stability operation. The industry should never forget that LNs are not just convenient bodies, but in a way ambassadors to the larger local population. The ultimate success of any stabilization policy relies on the favorable disposition of the LNs, their families and their fellow citizens. To maximize the value they offer to our industry and to the larger stability operation, it is imperative that we treat all LN personnel with the respect and dignity due any professional. ■

Watching Afghanistan Vote

A Report from an Official Election Observer



Lining up for a secret ballot. Photo: Eric Kanalstein/U.N.

AFGHANISTAN is currently the subject of substantial national and international debate. For many Americans, their nation's involvement has to date been at too high a price for so little achieved. 8 years of U.S. involvement have brought over 5,000 American casualties — a steep price for a small reduction in Taliban influence.

Now, there appear to be two major schools of thought on the next step: escalation, meaning more American troops and more casualties; or withdrawal. There are, of course, thousands of variations on these two basic themes; but all tend to revolve around two key questions: Can the United States succeed, and what does success mean?

What are the metrics of success? As a nation and as a people, Americans seem to believe democracy is a critical element. It may well be that to dry up the Taliban sea in which Al Qaeda swims, Afghanistan requires at least the appearance of a legitimate democratic government. Thus, elections appear imperative. Of course, one can have elections without democracy, as demonstrated by the Soviet Union and dozens of developing world nations. However, the converse is also true; among other things, to be a democracy,

one needs to have regular, fair and honest elections.

Elections are one of many possible measures of progress. They are a reasonable test of administrative capacity and of commitment to democratic processes. Some very poor and underdeveloped nations have managed to hold regular elections that meet international standards. Therefore, how is Afghanistan, with little experience in either elections or democracy, faring? Election observers can provide part of the answer.

In August, I was part of a 40-person team assembled by Democracy International (DI) to observe the recent Afghanistan presidential election. All team members were experts in one or more elements of democratic governance, organized into two person units. Other groups, such as the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the European Union (E.U.), also sent observers. There were enough observers to watch most secure areas of Afghanistan; however, insecure and rural areas were not covered.

Election observers are in a country only to observe and report, not to correct. As an observer, I personally hope for a

boring election — that is, a situation in which the appropriate authorities do everything on time and according to the well-established and legitimate electoral laws. Afghanistan, like Florida, was more exciting than one hoped.

Our posting to Helmand province, on a British Provincial Reconstruction Team (PRT), was a fortuitous placement; even though in terms of violence Helmand is arguably the most difficult province in Afghanistan. The PRT was well led, highly motivated, and exceptionally cooperative — and even more importantly, very competent. Other colleagues, posted to other presumably easier locations, received far less cooperation and as a result had a much more difficult time completing their mission.

Prior to election day, we interviewed a range of provincial leaders. We met with the governor of Helmand, and the chiefs of the Independent Election Commission (IEC), and the Elections Complaints Commission. We also met with a broad swathe of organizations and stakeholders such as the Foundation for Free and Fair Elections in Afghanistan, the Afghan National Police, the Disbandment of Illegally Armed Groups, Provincial

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Council members, and the National Solidarity Program, a development agency. All seemed competent and committed to holding a free and fair election. All were concerned with the Taliban's violence, disenchantment from the voters (there seemed to be general agreement that the government had not produced the services the voters anticipated when voting in the elections of 2004 and 2005), and fraud in insecure and rural areas. Most believed voter turn-out would be significantly lower than the 2004 and 2005 elections.

On election day, we deployed at 7 a.m. in two convoys of three cars each, with three observers, one interpreter and two security personnel in each convoy. One convoy was hit by an IED within the first 20 minutes — fortunately, there were no injuries. Per the plan of the day, we regrouped in our vehicles, and after waiting 15 to 20 minutes, returned to the PRT base. The residents of Lashkar Gah, the capital of Helmand, took the IED and the sporadic falling of rockets that followed in stride. The voters kept coming; the election officials kept working.

Our group, along with the PRT personnel engaged in election observation, huddled up back at the PRT base. The E.U. observers retired for the day. The PRT security officer and political section was impressive. There was neither withdrawal, nor rhetorical exhortation to battle, but rather a reorientation of polling centers to be visited.

During the rest of the day, we visited four polling centers, each of which had four to six polling stations. Men and women had separate polling stations. Each of the centers had a number of visible but minor technical glitches, such as campaign posters being displayed improperly, campaign buttons being worn and polling workers not wearing identifying clothing.

In all of the polling centers we visited, basic guidelines were followed: voter cards checked, ballots boxes properly sealed and fingers inked. Although, in Helmand the Taliban threatened to cut off the finger of anyone who had voted, thus some polling places did not insist on inking if the voter requested. Most importantly, the voters seemed reasonably confident in the process. The women seemed particularly enthusiastic — partly

because they are beginning to have a political voice, and also because it was an opportunity to get out of the house and socialize. The younger women seemed to enjoy showing off their English language skills to the observers.

Regrettably, we had to leave the next day and did not see the ballot counting. In e-mails, our PRT colleagues reported that in secure areas, which had had observers, the election was technically flawed but credible. That is, no candidate was either advantaged or disadvantaged by the process. They also suspected the large rural vote reflected significant fraud.

The Helmand experience seems to parallel the experience in much of the rest of Afghanistan. Security is the critical element. Where there was security, and where observers were present, the election was credible. That is, the IEC and Elections Complaints Commission did their fundamental jobs. The basic system, in areas where it was free to operate, worked. The electoral authorities detected fraud and to a degree attempted to take corrective actions. In terms of the metrics of Afghan success, this election seems a small step forward. ■



Intelligence in the 21st Century

An Interview with General Michael V. Hayden (Ret.)



General Michael V. Hayden (Ret.). Photo: C.I.A.

GENERAL Michael V. Hayden (Ret.) served as director of the Central Intelligence Agency (2006–2009), Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence (2005–2006), and as director of the National Security Agency and Chief of the Central Security Service (1999–2005). He retired as a Four-Star General from the U.S. Air Force in July 2008.

JIPO: You have said before that the objective of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) is to protect the American people, yet due to public and oversight pressures CIA is increasingly challenged by limitations on its operational space. Can you elaborate on this and the major challenges the intelligence community faces?

General Hayden: CIA is an espionage service and we do secret things. Frankly, I think this is very compatible with democracies. Moreover, I personally think it is very necessary for democracies in order to protect themselves and to allow their citizens the greatest amount of personal freedom.

In the West, we now exist inside broader political cultures that demand greater transparency and accountability from all elements of society. However, we have not yet arrived at some sort of equilibrium as to how to meet this need for transparency and accountability while still maintaining the degree of secrecy needed for organizations like CIA to exist or to function at all. This is a new phenomenon for us and we have to come to what is, frankly, a new social contract.

One way to do this is through increased transparency to Congress and our oversight bodies. We have to deal with the question of legislative oversight as well as creating more transparency for the general public. Otherwise, we will be mistrusted. This is a work in progress. Putting aside their individual merits, some things that certain members of Congress have recently said are reflective of this more fundamental question of greater transparency inside our political culture – as well as the reactions of secret intelligence services.

JIPO: What are the advantages and disadvantages of private contractor support for CIA and the intelligence community?

General Hayden: In this current political culture it is very fashionable — unfortunately in a far too simplistic way — to say, “Government good, contractor bad.” All aspects of our society and all aspects of our government routinely go to the private sector for skills, services and products. It simply makes sense to go to the private sector. Why should we in the intelligence community deny ourselves the

richness of capabilities that exist inside the private sector?

Too often though, this is viewed by some as CIA or other intelligence agencies avoiding responsibility — creating a carveout. I have said publicly that if anyone is acting as an agent of CIA, whether it is a government employee, a contractor or a foreign agent, the director of CIA is equally responsible for what that individual does on behalf of CIA. So there is no carveout there.

However, if you are continually going to contractors for particular functions, a fair question is, “Why are you not building that capacity inside the agency?” But, as far as the general proposition of going to contractors for particular activities— I think that is as natural, as American, as modern and as efficient as I can imagine. There should not be any natural pushback against contractors. Instead you should consider building up capabilities in your own organic workforce.

Many times when testifying to Congress, I

would comment on or relate a particular narrative about something we were doing or about to do, and I would be asked if it was being carried out by contractors or by government employees. And very frequently I would have to say, “You know, I have no idea. I can tell you that we have the best human beings available doing that. But I never asked whether or not it was being done by a contractor.” I think this is a healthier attitude than the current, prejudiced attitude that if you use contractors, whatever you are doing must not be good or you are doing it with an ulterior motive.

JIPO: In-Q-Tel, a strategic investment firm established by CIA, promotes innovation to develop the capabilities of the broader intelligence community. What are the benefits and limitations of the services and tools provided by Silicon Valley, among others?

General Hayden: The long and short of it is that In-Q-Tel was designed to stimulate the American private sector to do work, to make investments and to create discovery in areas that are useful to the mission of the American intelligence community. It goes back to the idea of taking advantage of the capacities of the broader private sector. Silicon Valley is just one area in which the American private sector has created great capacity; we would be fools not to try to take advantage of that capacity.

JIPO: What is the role of intelligence in peace and stability operations and how can the private sector best provide support in this context?

General Hayden: Peace and stability operations probably require the most detailed — the most granular — knowledge of the local situation that one can imagine. For instance, when going up the Euphrates river valley in a major force-on-force operation in Operation Iraqi Freedom, the kind of information you need to know is pretty coarse. It may be of value to know that you are going through one Sunni tribal area or another, but fundamentally you just need to know where the Iraqi Army is. Those are pretty big facts.



General Hayden answering another session of Q&A. Photo: C.I.A.

When you get into peace and stability operations, you get into all the nuances of human behavior. Information has to be very detailed to make the kinds of decisions with which you are faced. Using Iraq again as an example: What tribe; what clan; what sub-group? Who is the real tribal leader in this area? Are the Sunnis, Shias and Kurds mixed in the area? To use an imperfect, but very revealing metaphor, it requires the kind of knowledge that a beat cop or beat police officer would have by walking through a neighborhood, rather than by observing it from 10 or 100 miles away. This is really demanding on the intelligence community and requires an awful lot of work.

With regard to the private sector, most peace and stability operations involve developing capacity in the local community. Intelligence organizations and military organizations can only go so far in developing the capacity people need for economic development and self-government. And there, the private sector, non-governmental organizations and institutions can offer a great deal.

JIPO: What are the major changes in the intelligence community since the Cold War and how is the intelligence community adapting to the 21st century?

General Hayden: During the Cold War,

almost everything was viewed through the lens of Soviet-American global competition. What was happening in Angola took meaning because of how it affected this broader competition. This was not a bad thing; it was reflective of the times. The world was a lot simpler to understand.

Nowadays, absent that global lens and competition, American policymakers need to know what is going on in different regions or countries in their own right. Moving from the Horn of Africa to Sub-Saharan Africa to Sahelian Africa to South-Asia, you need to be able to explain to the president and other policymakers what is happening in terms of its local context. This requires a degree of nuance, sophistication and insight that we may not have demanded of ourselves during the Cold War. This has made the job much more complicated.

Adapting to this is a work in progress. One of the metrics you can look at is the demand for linguistic capacity inside our intelligence community during the Cold War and now. Before, we paid hundreds of thousands of people to speak Russian. Now we need people who speak Arabic, Farsi, Urdu and Pashto because these are among the languages that matter when you look at events in terms of their local

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context, rather than in terms of global competition.

JIPO: What are the major challenges presented by the drawdown from Iraq and build-up in Afghanistan?

General Hayden: It is not quite mechanical, but it is clearly a shifting of the weight of American military power. Therefore, to be able to guide military decisions, American intelligence capacity must actually relieve this shift. It is very important to remember that as your military power draws down in Iraq, your intelligence responsibilities may not reduce. They may in fact increase because

you have less military power to draw upon, which means that your intelligence granularity may actually have to be greater. As an intelligence professional, I do not mean to complain, but the world has become more complicated.

JIPO: Do you have any advice for those carrying out and/or supporting overseas contingency operations?

General Hayden: You need to be very knowledgeable and respectful of local cultures. I developed this attitude when I was working with UNPROFOR — the United Nations Protection Force — in Bosnia in 1993, 1994 and 1995. You need an incredibly sensitive antenna to

understand events that are going on there. When working on these kinds of stability operations, what I call cultural intelligence begins with knowledge of the local language. You really need to know your way around. That becomes very important to success.

JIPO: What are some of the lessons you have learned in your career in intelligence?

General Hayden: The American intelligence community holds itself up for self-criticism quite often. We have to remember that although we need to be better in every aspect of our work, we are actually pretty good at what we do. This is a well-resourced and very professional intelligence community that lets the facts take them where they will. It is a national treasure.

As many mistakes as we have made or as much self-criticism as we impose on ourselves, no one has ever been able to seriously fill in the blank: “The American intelligence community is all screwed up. You guys need to be more like the...” If the American people ever mark on the curve of the American intelligence community, we will light up a victory cigar. Unfortunately they mark us on an objective standard, so we cannot afford to light up a victory cigar and relax. We need to recognize that what we do is very difficult and we do it as well or better than anyone else in the world. ■



Amb. John Negroponte and President George W. Bush with Gen. Hayden. Photo: Paul Morse/White House.

Intelligence 2.0

Framing New and Innovative Uses of Intelligence



Graphic: Stock

INTELLIGENCE is information advantage. While gaining this advantage cannot be done at any cost, the U.S. government is in the midst of determining what the cost ought to be. In a borderless and wireless world, the intelligence community must consider the potential threats posed by non-governmental security intelligence — as well as the opportunities it presents.

Non-state actors may be good guys or bad guys. Sub-national insurgents and international terrorist cells alike are actively conducting intelligence activities against state entities. Their use of the internet and other forms of telecommunications, as well as openly available sources of information, cannot go unnoticed or unaccounted for. At the other end of the spectrum is the international non-governmental organization (NGO) community. The NGO community's presence in conflict zones offers early-warnings expertise and access to people and places otherwise inaccessible to government. However, these organizations' high regard for their independence and impartiality creates a barrier to any form of government intelligence sharing activities. Private companies, on the other hand, have flooded the government contracts market, professing their

intelligence expertise and capabilities to national security agencies.

Intelligence outsourcing is not a new phenomenon, but the government-industry relationship certainly has evolved. Throughout the latter part of the twentieth century, technological advances from two world wars and the Cold War created and established the U.S. defense industrial base and a permanent role of private intelligence support.

Today's intelligence market is a result of government budget cutbacks after the Cold War and a surge of commercialized telecommunications technology, pushing the walls of national security intelligence well beyond government research and development shops. Where once the private sector only contributed to certain operational aspects like managing logistical tasks or physically building equipment for government use, private companies today offer broader intelligence functions like intelligence gathering, analysis and security assessments.

With these considerations in mind, four issues that continue to stimulate the intelligence outsourcing debate are: direct employer competition, intelligence politicization and conflicts of interest,

broad scope contracting and defining inherently governmental intelligence functions.

Intelligence Collection Capitalism

Intelligence contractors assist the intelligence community with managing the ever-growing number of intelligence sources, while also improving coordination among the community's agencies. By contracting out those tasks, intelligence officers are able to focus on core intelligence functions. Because contractors can be hired for a prescribed period of time and for specific tasks, they are a more flexible alternative to hiring permanent government employees. Furthermore, these contractors tend to be former government employees who already have security clearances. It is easy to see why intelligence community budget managers regard these specialists as an attractive hiring alternative.

A downside to this arrangement is a brain drain from government to the private sector. Understanding why employees are choosing the private sector is as important as asking why the government has become more reliant on intelligence contractors. Former intelligence commu-

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nity leaders – such as former Director of National Intelligence Michael McConnell and former CIA Director Michael Hayden – are finding second careers within the private sector. On the basis of their experience, these leaders' recommendations to private industry should be read as identifying gaps within the intelligence community.

Capitalism creates incentives for private companies to innovate, and private intelligence companies respond no differently. More recent innovations have advanced beyond building specific technologies and equipment and providing intelligence specialists; companies can now provide broader intelligence functions including intelligence collection and analysis.

The Analyst and the Contractor

Private intelligence companies can carry out security assessments, intelligence gathering and analysis, intelligence operations training and surveillance reconnaissance. The intelligence community's challenge is to harness the strengths of the private intelligence sector without exacerbating the problems of intelligence politicization and conflicts of interest.

When intelligence analysis is carried out for interests other than serving national security ends, decision-making is compromised. While the problem of intelligence politicization can occur solely among intelligence community employees, the introduction of a contractor-client relationship can lead to other challenges. At best, contractor intelligence analysis can lead to a subjective assessment from an outside source; at worst, it can create analysis that is tailored to what is best for the contractor and their company.

Intelligence outsourcing may also raise concerns regarding a company's divided loyalties. That is, speculation can arise over private company assessments or recommendations that favor the engagement of particular proprietary technologies or specialists that their own company



Photo: Cpl. Warren Peace/U.S. Army

is best able to provide. And with only a few private companies eligible for contracts to begin with, it is not difficult to see how actual or perceived conflicts of interest can happen.

Broad Scope Contracts

Contracts require monitoring. As private companies become engaged in broader intelligence functions the government remains responsible for ensuring that those functions are conducted within the parameters of intelligence performance standards.

However, intelligence oversight and accountability are, by nature, difficult to do even within the walls of government, for example in covert action operations. With the acceptance of broad scope contracting, the intelligence community has taken on the challenge of overseeing intelligence functions that their own overseers have a difficult time doing.

Further oversight and accountability challenges ensue when information is obtained through controversial means. A notable example is the use of controversial forms of intelligence like domestic

wiretapping or certain interrogation practices. Because lawmakers determine the cost of maintaining information advantage, when intelligence officers, government agents or contractors alike, choose to engage in controversial intelligence practices they are spending capital before a cost has been determined.

The manner of contractor behavior and private intelligence functions conducted within conflict zones remain unclear to many. The implications of limited legal guidelines should be a concern to all actors involved: the U.S. government, the intelligence community, and the private sector intelligence community.

Clearly, the question surrounding private companies is no longer what can they do, but what should they do. For national security intelligence in particular, this is the difference between inherently governmental intelligence functions and identifying the cost of information advantage and intelligence.

Inherently Governmental Functions

While the challenge of identifying inherently governmental functions spans all industries, defining intelligence functions may require even more adeptness. Government intelligence capabilities will almost always be enhanced by the private sector. Additionally, the capabilities and technological opportunities of the adversaries of the United States need to be combated by equal or better resources and abilities.

However, the costs (both monetary and moral) of maintaining an information advantage require a clearer understanding of how contractors ought to be used within both the intelligence battlefield and the physical battlefield worldwide.

Ultimately, maintaining information advantage will require the intelligence community to use the best technologies and specialists available — government or non-government alike. ■

Col. Christopher Holshek

Military Observers and Peacekeeping

Strategic Scouts and Enablers Providing Unique Capabilities



Photo: Martine Perret/U.N.

UNITED States policies now emphasize greater integrated power under the “3D” concept (defense, diplomacy, and development) in order to engage a full range of threats and opportunities surrounding civil society and the seams between nation-states. This is not only due to transforming strategic and operational environments, but also to increasing national and international resource constraints.

More and more, emerging engagements for the U.S. military will involve inter-service and interagency cooperation. The U.S. military will have to strike a greater balance between “soft” and “hard” power, engage in multinational collaboration and be preventive as much as responsive. It must also produce greater opportunities for the private sector. No better example can be found of the U.S. military succeeding in the quiet and low-cost role of strategic scout and enabler than that embodied by the more than 30 soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines who serve worldwide as U.S. military observers to United Nations missions.

These “blue-hatted” officers do much more than contribute to at least a half-dozen multinational peacekeeping missions in places ranging from Chad and

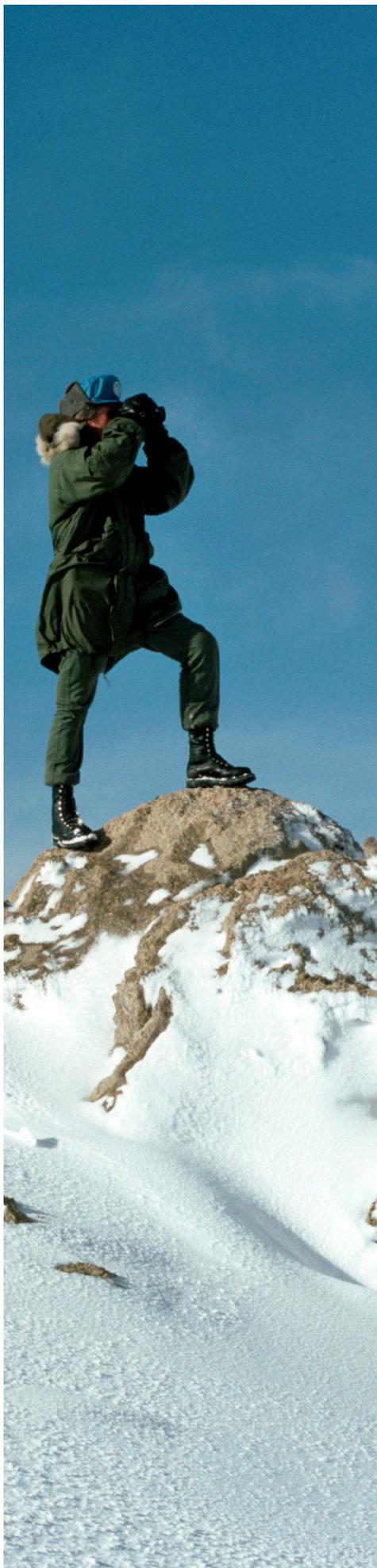
Darfur to Israel and Georgia. These officers represent the commitment of the United States to these missions, and through their presence affirm the mission’s legitimacy and encourage the participation of other nations. Whether with one or one thousand, the United States makes no more powerful a statement of its national interest than when it places its men and women in uniform in a troubled area.

As unofficial military ambassadors, the U.S. military observers’ presence and interactions enhance the United States’ international standing and image with utmost efficiency, not just in the country in question, but through contact with civilian and military personnel from scores of other nations in the United Nations and its agencies, NGOs and many other organizations. This can have a positive influence on political and economic representatives, and thus benefit American interests abroad.

They can also act informally as strategic and operational scouts for both the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) and the U.S. Country Team, providing “ground truth,” increased understanding of the situation in the target country, and an assessment of international intervention’s

effectiveness. Although not a part of their official mission, by taking advantage of their networks and relationships, U.S. military observers can informally and discreetly improve knowledge of the “human terrain” and open doors for other U.S. government or contracted representatives — especially in Africa, where U.S. forces are not normally found. An outstanding example is the U.S. military observer team’s assistance in the inaugural deployment of a Bailey bridge by Armed Forces of Liberia engineers along a strategic supply route in the southeast. This involved a number of players from the U.S. Country Team, engineering mentors from Pacific Architects and Engineers, DAI contract representatives for the U.S. Agency for International Development Liberia Community Infrastructure Program, the Ministry of Public Works and the United Nations. With respect to all-import security and security sector reform efforts, as well as governance capacity and confidence building, the team acted as key operational enablers with significant strategic implications.

U.S. military observers also act as strategic and operational enablers for the United Nations, helping to raise efficacy through



Keeping an eye on things. Photo: Yutaka Nagata/U.N.

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their presence, their professional example, and direct contributions to the peacekeeping mission. As part of the U.N. military staff, they apply their unique expertise in intelligence, operations and civil affairs to significantly enhance the quality of operations. The U.N. mission in Liberia, for example, has adopted a robust approach to civil-military coordination that is not only significantly augmenting performance in a critical functional area, but is also a model for doctrinal development by the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO). U.S. military observers are keenly aware that if they can help bring these operations to a successful conclusion, it may mitigate the future employment of U.S. hard power and treasure to restore or enforce peace and stability. It may also create development and commercial opportunities in more stable environments.

Last but not least, U.S. military observers obtain much-needed and rare first-hand knowledge on multinational operations for future U.S. operations and international security interactions. Furthermore, these largely junior and mid-grade officers learn much-needed strategic leadership skills normally acquired by a minority of more senior officers.

Even though about half of U.S. military observers perform important functions on the force staff, all U.S. military personnel deployed in support of the United Nations are considered military observers per a memorandum of understanding between the U.S. DoD and DPKO. The U.S. Military Observer Group-Washington (USMOG-W), a joint command, provides command authority and administrative support to U.S. military personnel participating in U.N. military observer missions for which the Secretary of the Army acts as DoD Executive Agent. As such, USMOG-W implements DoD policy regarding personnel, logistics, administration, force protection and operations in support of U.S. observer missions.

U.S. military observer teams, ranging

from two in Georgia to nine in Liberia, are led by Senior U.S. Military Observers (SUSMOs), who exercise team command and leadership responsibilities. They assess and report on U.N. operations along U.S. and U.N. lines in order to enhance U.N. effectiveness, and further U.S. and international political-military interests. SUSMOs often serve as primary staff in the multinational force headquarters. Approximately one-third of U.S. military observers are from the reserve component.

Although U.S. military observers are not under the command and control of the embassy, they receive support under the International Cooperative Administrative Support Services system. This includes access to postal, consular, medical and administrative services. The observer team and the SUSMOs, in turn, liaise with and provide assistance to embassies, assigned or associated offices and personnel in the conduct of their mission.

U.S. military observers undergo a rigorous three week pre-deployment training course at the U.S. Marine base at Quantico, VA. In addition to mission orientations, they receive training in weapons, tactical survival and other force protection techniques, tactical lifesaving and first aid, and off-road and vehicle emergency procedures.

With access to little to no U.S. military infrastructure, U.S. military observer teams operate much like a combination of special operations, civil affairs and military attaches. The knowledge and skills they gain in their deployments are precious resources to emerging theater engagement strategies across the full range of operations.

Considering their demonstrated value and payoff potential, greater U.S. commitment to this multinational opportunity would go far in helping U.S. foreign and security policy in a very challenging era. U.S. military observers deserve far more attention from those within and tangential to the U.S. government, who could benefit enormously from their work. ■

Identifying Precursors of Conflict

Using Open-Source Intelligence to Determine Who's Hot and Who's Not



Top scorers: Somalia. Photo: Milton Grant/U.N.

FOR the last decade, the social science community has moved ever closer to applying scientific models to the world's at-risk nations. The Fund for Peace (FfP)'s Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST) approach is one such attempt.

CAST is a computerized content analysis tool that uses Boolean logic to identify and quantify open-source digital data covering a variety of issues relevant to early warning and assessment of internal conflicts. Starting with a conceptual framework of internal conflict risk that includes twelve social, economic and political indicators (each of which is made up of several sub-indicators) CAST is able to categorize vast amounts of information, then quantify and track changes in each variable over time. The technology can be adapted to track virtually any issue that is reported in the media or other electronically available content.

The process begins with downloading articles on a particular country or other geographic area of interest. This group of articles is refined using filter words and phrases to eliminate articles that may not relate to the internal dynamics of the country. For example, there is a good chance that articles referencing more than

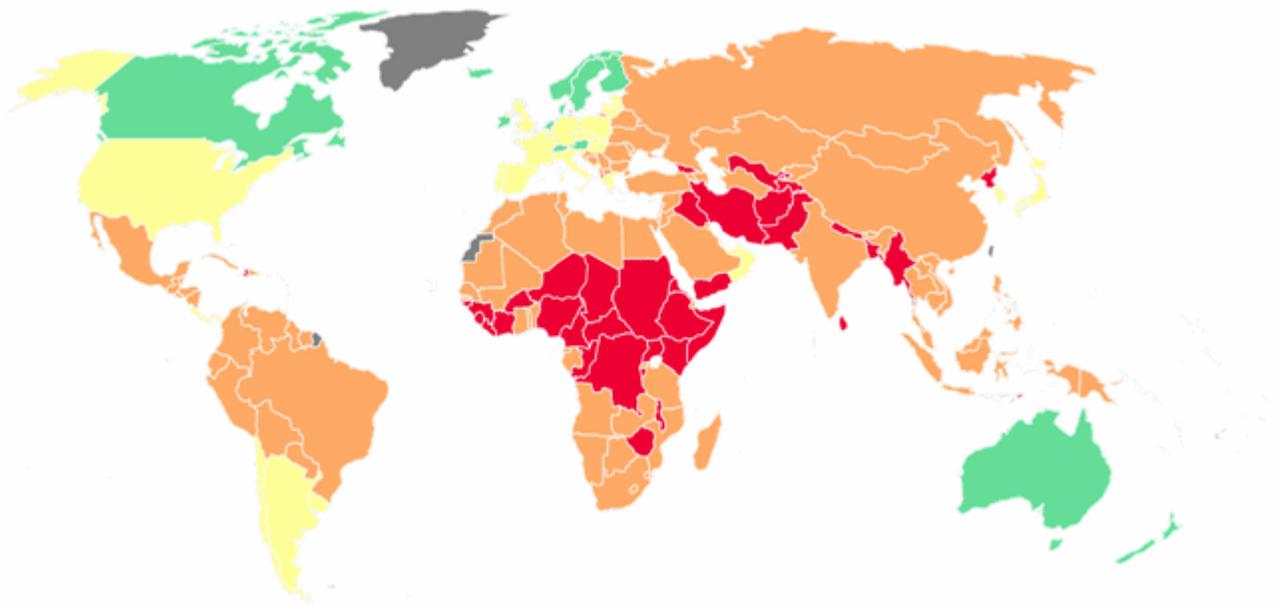
three countries do not relate to the internal dynamics of any single country. Similarly, articles that mention "weapons of mass destruction" are generally about relations between countries rather than within one. Filter words and phrases can then be customized to fit the goals of each research project.

After the selected collection of articles has been filtered, it is scanned using search-phrases. Rather than attempting to count events, CAST quantifies information using the "saliency", or prominence, of certain issues in the information landscape. The saliency is calculated by taking the number of "hits" for a particular measure as a percentage of the total number of articles in the sample for the pertinent time period. This is more accurate than simply counting the number of hits because it allows one to control for fluctuations in total media coverage between countries or time periods. For example, if 2 percent of the articles about Nigeria talk about corruption, and 0.2 percent of Sweden-related articles talk about corruption in the same time period, Nigeria's score will be worse even if the overall absolute number of hits for corruption in Sweden is higher.

There are some important qualifications

and limitations to consider when using content analysis. First, content analysis does not measure "ground truth" directly. Instead, it measures how ground truth is reflected in the reports coming from a variety of sources, including news media, government reports, think-tanks, international bodies, activist materials, interviews, essays, etc. Second, despite the accuracy that can be achieved by fine-tuning phrases and adding filter words, a computer does not read the same way as a human does. It lacks the ability to identify nuances and context that we take for granted. However, all methods of data collection are subject to limitations, and when these are recognized and controlled as much as possible, content analysis is a powerful research tool. For instance, when a large sample of articles is used, it helps to balance out the effects of a few articles that are read incorrectly by the software. It also can reduce human bias, fill gaps not accounted for by other data collection methods and be very timely in following trends.

CAST is central in much of the work done at the FfP. Many of our core educational and analytical projects rely on this methodology and related technology we use for analysis of community



FAILED STATES INDEX 2009

Alert

Warning

Moderate

Sustainable

Who passed and who failed last year. Graphic: J. J. Messner/FfP

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development programs, counter-insurgency strategies and early warning systems. Most well-known among the CAST applications is the annual “Failed States Index” (FSI) that the FfP publishes in conjunction with *Foreign Policy* magazine. It ranks 177 countries according to the intensity of pressures that contribute to the risk of state failure or violent conflict identified.

The FSI relies on the CAST software to scan hundreds of thousands of articles from 90,000 open sources. It scans for phrases related to twelve indicators, and then filters for distortions and false positives. Raw scores are scaled from 1 to 10, with 1 being the best and 10 the worst. Scores are then cross-checked against existing quantitative data from leading world institutions and reviewed by experts, indicator by indicator and country by country, to ensure consistency and accuracy.

The FSI has been featured in *Foreign Policy* for five years and has become not only a popular magazine feature, but also a valuable policy tool and a means of raising understanding of the drivers behind state weakness. Each year, the FSI is cited by hundreds of international news outlets and read by millions of people. Representatives of the U.S. government, as well as

numerous foreign officials have consulted with the FfP to learn more about our assessments and how they might be able to address key areas of concern. This past year, the FSI was featured as a key reference point in internal and external security reports from the U.S. and U.K. governments. Governments also consult the FSI to learn how their scores can improve.

CAST has been incorporated into the development of training curriculums for U.S. service branches. Its value as a conflict assessment tool has been recognized by the Marine Corps Staff and Command College in Quantico, Va., as well as the U.S. Military Academy at West Point and other government and non-governmental organizations, from USAID to humanitarian organizations interested in improving their ability to assess conflict risk.

By identifying the precursors and trends associated with state failure, CAST helps policymakers anticipate the likelihood of an outbreak of conflict. For this purpose, content analysis has several unique advantages over other research techniques. For example, one of the major challenges for traditional research is the need for up-to-date information. Information on events around the world

in real time, combined with computerized content analysis, can allow patterns to be tracked and evaluated almost instantaneously, overcoming the lag time typical of conventional methods.

Another major advantage of content analysis is that it can be used to measure a wide range of variables, including those for which pre-existing data sets are hard to locate. For instance, finding quantitative data on qualitative issues, such as group grievance, is difficult. Content analysis can capture that kind of data.

The use of content analysis to study and learn about conflict is growing in the public and private sectors. It has the flexibility to address a wide range of research goals, from quantifying qualitative data to making sense of vast amounts of information. The FfP system—and content analysis more generally—are able to harness huge amounts of digital open source data to create detailed, up-to-date analysis on nearly an unlimited range of issues, filling gaps left that other methods of data collection may not be timely enough or precise enough to capture. These new techniques can be used not only to better execute security operations, but to prevent the conflicts that necessitate them. ■

Outsourcing Intelligence

Involvement of Private Actors in Intelligence is both Effective and Necessary



Surging ahead. Photo: U.S. Army

It has been the accepted practice since the combat phase of the liberation of Iraq ended to devolve many aspects of military functions to the private sector. The obvious and sensible areas for outsourcing include administration, catering and billeting; equally sensible is the contracting out of functions such as personnel security and much low-level local national training.

Increasingly, higher level training and even the delicate matter of intelligence is outsourced to exploit the years of experience held by now retired professionals and to transfer hard won know-how both to the serving military and to emerging nations. In current operations, especially in niche of intelligence collection, Western nations face a lack of capacity to provide long term training and monitoring. The U.S. armed forces have led the way, despite the criticism in the liberal media, and have made enormous strides in host nation capability building.

The harsh reality, which often takes time to root in liberal democracies, is that getting others to help themselves just makes good sense. And using retired professionals, bringing with them their years of experience, knowledge and guile, makes even more sense.

However, the trainers must be hand-picked; this is no market for the 'good enough.' The need for quality has been reflected on the training front. The story has been a mixed bag of quality and effectiveness of training delivery and knowledge transfer: some good, some awful -- but it is improving. The era where less scrupulous companies have won lucrative training contracts and then filled the billets with mall guards and 'Walter Mitty' characters is ending. More crucially, the U.S. military has insisted on structured and planned progressive training with goals and written outputs. Where the U.S. military goes, everyone else follows.

The effect has been notable. For too long, eager, skilled and able trainers would deploy on year-long stints to give their heart and soul to inspire the locals and impart knowledge. At the end of their time they would leave, spent, but having passed their gift widely. They would be replaced by another dedicated set of individuals who, without a script or goals or guidance other than 'get out and make a difference,' would give deeply of themselves. What was being achieved, however, was limited to the inspiration and knowledge in any individual's heart. There was no progression. The locals had

by year five learned essentially the same thing five years in a row.

But change is evident now. Whilst there is still much mediocrity, at the top end of the market are specialist companies who work to refine doctrine. These companies are likely independently monitored, studied and often emulated. It is the norm that they should self regulate through compliance officers and reviews. Not surprisingly, this leading-edge of the private sector intelligence sector delivers training, mentoring and guidance to the cream of the host nation's nascent intelligence capabilities.

The U.S. military was not solely inspired by outsourcing for its own sake however. Far-sighted leaders including General David Petraeus, his deputy, General John Allen and General Stanley McChrystal with his hand-picked team, have recognized that to solve a local problem you need local knowledge. To defeat an enemy you must understand him. That is primarily why there has been such investment in local intelligence. Not surprisingly, such complex capabilities take time to develop, but there is real hope that the intelligence services of Iraq are becoming more sophisticated and self-



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Katrina Mason

Delaying Peacekeeping: AFRICAP

AFRICAP is Awarded by the
Department of State. Finally.



Some eventual beneficiaries of AFRICAP. Photo: Eric Kanalstein/U.N.

ON September 11, 2009, the long awaited U.S. Department of State African Peacekeeping contract (AFRICAP) was finally awarded. AFRICAP is a 5-year Indefinite Delivery/Indefinite Quantity (IDIQ) contract totaling \$1.5 billion, with a ceiling of \$375 million for each awardee. It aims to facilitate regional peace and stability in Africa through services geared toward basic nation-building. The performance period starts at a base year and continues to four 1-year options, beginning on the awarded date.

Four awardees won the contracted spots: PAE Government Services, AECOM, DynCorp International and Protection Strategies Incorporated. The objective of AFRICAP is to obtain regional peace and stability in Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the African Union in general. Specifically, it will be advanced by training armed forces, enhancing the respective militaries' abilities to deploy by land, air, and sea; allow contractors to work with regional organizations to prevent, manage, and resolve conflict and; support peacekeeping operations. The four awardees will provide the services of logistic support,

construction, military training and advising, maritime security capacity building, equipment procurement, operational deployment for peacekeeping troops, aerial surveillance and conference facilitation. It is considered to be a revolutionary step in United States and international peacekeeping; and if programs are preformed properly, will greatly enhance peacekeeping, crisis management and nation-building throughout the African region.

Despite the AFRICAP's potential, the U.S. Department of State delayed awarding the contract for almost a year. The original solicitation for AFRICAP, in which the Department of State presented hypothetical challenges for contractors to answer, was issued on June 27, 2008; and gave contractors a mere 30 days to formulate and submit their contract proposal. Competition for the AFRICAP was extremely steep and companies had to compete against 50 of their peers for the Department of State's attention. Just to contend, contractors had to conduct intensive research, hire on the ground consultants in the location of the challenge to make correct assessments and put forth an incredible amount of man-hours. One would infer that the short period of time the Department of

State required of companies to formulate such detailed and time-consuming proposals meant that the Department of State was expediting the contract in order to actuate the program. Unfortunately, it seems unlikely that State was hastening the process for this vital contract since the award announcement came over a year after the solicitation.

Some view the recently awarded AFRICAP contract and role of the U.S. government in the African region as a new and innovative initiative. However, industry experts, the history of the contract and that of the region in general actually show the contract to have been long awaited. AFRICAP is actually a follow-up Department of State contract with DynCorp International's Africa Peacekeeping contract, under which the contractor, along with PAE Group, supported similar contingency and security sector reform programs in Africa. The contract allowed DynCorp and PAE Group to work in Liberia for the Security Sector Reform (SSR) program funded by State. This program was based off of an agreement in the SSR program between the United Nations and United States, which was all a part of the larger UN Security Council Resolution 1509 and the

Roadblocks to Healthcare

What Contractors Need to Know About Medical Services in Conflict and Post-Conflict Environments



Not your average ambulance. Photo: Maj. David Hernandez/U.S. Army

FOR businesses in the United States, the task of providing health benefits to employees has become an ever evolving, expensive and complex challenge. The rising cost of group health insurance, promulgated by government regulations, restrictions and taxes have forced many companies to either limit benefits, or move to increased part time staffing.

For private contractors operating overseas however, there is an entirely different set of obstacles and hurdles to negotiate. Beyond health insurance and the Defense Base Act, lie all the problems inherent to a combat environment. The nearest Level 2 Clinic with a doctor or Physician's Assistant may be hours or even days away from some sites by non-emergent transport. With the military now refusing to treat civilian contractors for routine problems, access to care may be very limited as many companies continue to mitigate the expenses of medical services. In an effort to support the contractors under their care, Emergency Medical Technicians (EMTs) and paramedics filling the role of "the doc" may be forced to operate far beyond the legal scope of their training and certification, putting both the patient and the company at risk. Third Country Nationals (TCNs) with

early serious illnesses may be casually brushed off by the Army during consultation, causing long delays in diagnosis and treatment. Given these problems, security companies operating in Iraq, Afghanistan or like environments will need to provide more thorough medical care as a service to their employees.

Although the education, expertise and legal scope of practice are quite different between the medical professions involved, for the purpose of simplicity we will refer to Physician's Assistants, Special Forces Medics, paramedics and EMTs as Remote Medical Officers (RMOs). Primary Care is defined as that which addresses the first point of care delivered by a provider, or the origin of consultations for a patient. While each subject will be addressed separately, the following list summarizes most of the major roadblocks to primary care that exist for contractors today:

- Lack of proper support from the parent security company, which includes lack of medical supply, and the unethical behavior in the deliberate avoidance of this responsibility.
- Location, lack of networking and lack of particular assets available that effect physician support and referrals – often very different from one site to another, and in many cases still fully reliant upon

a political relationship between the RMO and the military.

- Lack of support from the military when a more serious underlying illness is suspected, but not yet considered "life threatening."
- Lack of any provision for dental care written into the contract; minimal dental support from the military – any of which is again based solely on the relationship forged between the RMO and the Army dentist; lack of a solid pre-screening dental exam for TCNs with appropriate disqualifiers enforced prior to employment.
- Additional tasking of the RMO that is in conflict with their role as health care providers – such as the RMO being used inappropriately as a security shift leader, conveniently (and perhaps fraudulently) filling another slot on paper for the contracting company.
- Patient communication and cultural barriers inherent in treating TCNs, exacerbated by the company's lack of enforcement of a minimal English speaking standard for employment.
- TCNs with pre-existing, chronic conditions that are difficult to manage in theater, not appropriately screened out prior to hiring.

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- Poor facilities, to include lack of proper lighting, plumbing and equipment necessary to maintain current professional standards of practice.
- Transportation difficulties — fully dependent on the military and limited by mission status, weather and other factors.

Unfortunately, medical issues are an unavoidable fact of life. Even for healthy young men, a war-zone is a high-risk environment for both illness and injuries. Living in confined spaces carries with it increased risk of spreading certain communicable diseases, some of which can cause significant morbidity or death. Many infectious diseases and other conditions may begin with subtle, non-threatening symptoms, only to become debilitating if not diagnosed and treated appropriately. This is even more of a concern with TCNs who have limited command of English and are unable to articulate their complaint fully. Moreover, many of these men and women have unrealistic or outdated concepts of health issues and will either minimize or ignore important symptoms, or maximize and exaggerate minor ones. In either instance, significant man hours will be lost if they do not have easy access to a health care system already in place and prepared to support these unique challenges.

Care Providers

Other than a trauma surgeon, there is probably no one better trained to manage battlefield injuries than a Special Forces Medic. However, this healthcare provider is not recognized nor certified in a civilian context. Use of these individuals might create legal issues if a case was ever brought before a court of law.

Remote Medical Practitioners are trained in general medicine far beyond that of a paramedic, and can dispense medications and the like. They are able to function as health care providers in austere environments, although must work under the license of a physician. This certification is based on the skills and knowledge of a

Special Forces Medic. The tradition of self-reliance of the Special Forces soldier carries with it the highest standard of initiative; therefore the Remote Medical Professional will often push his medical knowledge to the next level, or obtain other certifications and degrees. With these added responsibilities however, they must have appropriate access to the consultation and supervision mandated by law. This certification was designed to serve a populace working in remote and hazardous locations.

EMTs are certified to perform pre-hospital care and advanced first aid only. A paramedic has training far beyond an EMT and is authorized to administer some life-saving medications, perform advanced airway management, Advanced Cardiac Life Support and a few invasive procedures that allow a patient to be stabilized prior to intervention in an Emergency Department. EMTs are not authorized to prescribe medications, diagnose illness or practice medicine on a provider level. If a company is utilizing EMTs or paramedics, they must work under the license of a physician with strict compliance to the established guidelines of care.

Private contractors who employ these professionals directly must understand the complex boundaries in which each can safely and legally operate. A company will be in violation of the law by failing to comply with the U.S. standards.

The Role of the Military

Expatriates and TCNs operating in Iraq or Afghanistan can no longer rely on the military to provide them routine care, refill prescription medications or other non-emergent services. While the Army will always assist with trauma related to combat injuries, the current policy of only treating problems that threaten life, limb or eyesight now places the responsibility of primary care solely in the hands of the contracting companies. While some military physicians and PAs may choose to ignore this policy for a time, the contracting company can not gamble the

health of its employees on this possibility. In most cases the Army will either refuse routine medical care to contractors, or limit such to very brief exams and treatment — often times much less than what is required. Any care provided at this point will be done so entirely at the mercy of the military providers on hand, cultivated by the relationship with the RMO.

The Army has been in the past (and still today despite policy) the main source of supplies and medicines for some contractors. These companies continue to rely on the RMO on site to obtain supplies and medications from the Army through “scrounging,” freeing up the cost of providing these necessary items themselves. This unethical and dangerous policy has forced many RMOs to go more than a year with supply requests being unfilled or ignored by the parent company. This in turn leads to the use of outdated medications, or care being curbed by the need to maintain the critical supply on hand.

Third Country Nationals

With many companies employing TCNs, companies must understand the specific challenges that pertain to medical care with this population. The initial pre-screening process is a vital step, as certain diseases are endemic and common to that part of the world. These screening exams should be conducted by skilled providers committed to enforcing the same standard of health and fitness that is mandated in the contract. In situations where a physical is done sloppily, with the boxes checked unscrupulously, that individual will ultimately become a liability to the site manager and the company as a whole.

Cultural and language barriers can have a significant impact on the delivery of medical care, and can often times lead to errors, delay in treatment and poor compliance. Many TCNs may have limited understanding of the treatment necessary for their particular complaint,

Robert S. Wells

Ensuring Ethical Conduct on the World Stage

Remembering the IPOA Code of Conduct



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The IPOA Standards Committee acts as the guardian of the Code of Conduct Photo: Melinda Baker/IPOA

IPOA exists in large part to raise the standards of the peace and stability operations industry, to ensure sound and ethical professionalism, and maintain transparency in the conduct of peacekeeping and post-conflict reconstruction activities. All member companies subscribe to the IPOA Code of Conduct, which represents a constructive effort toward better regulating private sector operations in conflict and post-conflict environments. The Code reflects IPOA's belief that high standards will both benefit the industry and serve the greater causes of peace, development and human security.

In 2008, the U.S. government enacted new regulations that sought to, through the establishment of formal contract language, achieve the same effects sought by IPOA. New modifications to both the Federal Acquisition Regulations and the Defense Federal Acquisition Regulations System (DFARS) require that contractors ensure that employees in designated areas are familiar with and comply with:

- United States, host country and third country national laws;
- Treaties and international agreements;
- United States regulations, directives, instructions, policies and procedures; and,

- Orders, directives and instructions issued by the Chief of Mission or the Regional Combatant Commander relating to mission accomplishments, force protection, security, health, safety, or relations and interaction with local nationals.

These requirements apply to contractors in support of the U.S. Armed Forces deployed outside the United States in contingency operations; humanitarian or peacekeeping operations; other military operations; or military exercises, when designated by the Combatant Commander.

The rule further applies if the contractor is providing support at a diplomatic or consular mission outside the United States in which a contractor performs a contract administered by a federal agency with personnel subject to the direction of a Chief of Mission. The federal government is slowly acting to implement the guidance necessary to ensure compliance with these rules. New requests for proposals seek to execute the new rules via contract language.

While IPOA strongly supports the new rules that mandate the training of employees, we are disappointed in the lack of clear guidance from the U.S.

government to ensure complete, well informed compliance. This paper provides the IPOA view of how best to comply with these rules.

The government posting in the Federal Register (Vol 71, No 137 July 18, 2006) stated, "The purpose and effect of the rule was to relieve the current perceived burden on contractors operating in a contingency environment without consistent guidance or a standardized clause. By establishing a standardized clause spelling out the standardized rules, this rule effectively reduces the burden on small business. It establishes a framework within which it will be easier for contractors to operate overseas."

While the goal for the rules to was to provide clarity, the actual language falls quite short. Member questions to the agencies overseeing these rules have determined:

- While the government had initially advertised the potential development of government-provided course material to satisfy this rule, the only government-provided training will be at the Consolidated Training Centers. Contractors not deploying through those centers have to receive the

training through other means. There is no government course available, nor is there one under development for presentation in other forums.

- The government has not provided guidance on the minimum duration of time in theater to trigger the requirement. The language, by not describing

ment for our industry. The industry must raise the bar of excellence through training. We have had a major player in our industry decertified by the U.S. government due to incidents in Iraq. We have new rules, however imperfect, and new legislation with which the U.S. government can hold accountable contractors working in its support.

IPOA is working to ensure that the existing rules are clarified. The organization is working to have standards developed that better define the adequacy and sufficiency of training conducted by our members. Furthermore, IPOA has a member company providing training through web-based courses; and is



Multi-stakeholder engagement: the IPOA Code of Conduct under review. Photo: Julien Marneffe/IPOA

a minimum time, implies that the rule is triggered for any deployment of any duration.

- The government considers this training to be a cost of doing business and does not consider it to be a reimbursable expense.

The IPOA view of this rule is that despite the shortfalls described, this is a require-

IPOA believes this is a necessary action for two primary reasons. It supports our employees by educating the individual support or security contractor with the information necessary to empower him or her so that he may make better decisions in a contingency — potentially avoiding the type of incidents that would expose the contractor to legal jeopardy. And second, for IPOA's member companies, proactive, visible compliance with this rule is a powerful risk mitigation strategy for the corporation. It is essential that IPOA member corporations not only do the right thing, but be seen doing the right thing. A well thought out, integrated training and education program for employees may prove to be a significant risk mitigation strategy — insulating the corporation from the bad actions of an individual by ensuring that good training is conducted and documented.

favorably impressed and endorses it as one potential solution. As member companies seek to comply with the new rules, IPOA looks forward to sharing “best practices” amongst the members to accomplish this training.

IPOA member companies subscribe to the IPOA Code of Conduct, which represents a constructive effort toward better regulating private sector operations in conflict and post-conflict environments. Furthermore, IPOA strongly encourages its member companies to take strong, proactive efforts to ensure full compliance with the government rules in order to improve performance and conduct during peace and stability operations, while also acting to minimize the risk to our members from the consequences of a poor decision by an employee. ■

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Cyril Magnon-Pujo

A Shadowy Business

A Review of David Isenberg's *Shadow Force: Private Security Contractors in Iraq*



The sun is setting on military operations Iraq, but there is still much to be written about it. Photo: Sgt. 1st Class Michael J. Carden, A.F.P.S.

David Isenberg, *“Shadow Force. Private Security Contractors in Iraq”* Praeger Security International, Westport, 2009.

SHADOW Force - Private Security Contractors in Iraq (2009), the first book published by David Isenberg, certainly does not represent his first research on the topic. A tireless analyst of the stability operations industry since the 1990s, in this book Isenberg offers the results of years of research. The extensive references and documentation on which the book is built confirm the credibility and expert reputation he has gained over the years. In *Shadow Force*, Isenberg analyzes the security element of contractor business in the Iraq intervention. He focuses on the players involved and the accountability issues for which the industry is often criticized. With the aspiration of furthering the private security contractor debate, described as a “tale told by idiots, full of sound and fury,” the author tries to distance himself from fashionable positions frequently taken on the subject.

Centered on the Iraqi experience, this book reinforces the impression that private security issues are largely attached to this specific intervention— at least in the United States. One acknowledges that

this operation placed the stability operations industry in the spotlight due to the U.S. government’s unexpectedly high reliance on private support, which was due mainly to poor initial planning and a strong reluctance to send sufficient regular ground troops.

Starting from this point, Isenberg provides a detailed overview of the local situation with striking precision and figures. First, he outlines the origin and path of what he calls the “re-emergence of an old phenomenon,” explaining the long-term U.S. policy of military outsourcing and its often controversial nature. The author then examines the consequences of such a strategy during Operation Iraqi Freedom. If the reader can forgive a lack of global perspective, Isenberg does cover a number of key aspects of military outsourcing, starting with the traditional issue of contract value and then extending his analysis to the salary question, in which the pay gap between military and private contractors is described as a myth, a conclusion backed by convincing figures.

By examining PSC employees, Isenberg presents both the advantages and disadvantages of the industry’s utilization of highly skilled former Special Forces in

contrast to Third Country Nationals, about which he expresses concern because of problems with the recruitment and vetting process that may occur. Interestingly, the emphasis then turns to the critical and indeed “unglamorous” aspect of contractors’ insurance. The insurance issue is considered a “hidden cost” of the Iraq war, partly due to the functioning of the Defense Base Act system, which apparently allows for frequent overcharging practices. This critical view on contingency contractors’ employment, however, neglects the critical issue related to the local national employees that make up the bulk of the contracting force.

Isenberg’s description of the Iraqi contractors’ situation continues with a detailed overview of the “kings of the private security landscape,” highlighting the most significant contractors involved in Iraq. Overall, this section is fairly informative on the diversity of employers, structures and activities, the complexity of which often prevent analysts from developing a one-size-fits-all study. This also gives the reader an idea of the achievements and problems encountered by contractors and employers during their missions.



SHADOW FORCE

PRIVATE SECURITY CONTRACTORS IN IRAQ

DAVID ISENBERG



Image: Praeger Security International

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The author then draws a bigger picture and addresses the major question surrounding PSCs in contingency operations: accountability. The passionate debate around private security support has led to significant misconceptions. Isenberg indirectly encapsulates the confusion by recalling all the laws potentially constraining contractor behavior. Yet for Isenberg, the problem seems to lie beyond the written procedures, in implementation and the actors' intentions. A long discussion of the Abu Ghraib scandal, involving two private companies (CACI and Titan) providing

unarmed translators and interrogators to the Iraqi prison, illustrates this tension between theory and practice, eventually questioning the efficiency of oversight and accountability. By placing the issue in context, Isenberg emphasizes that such incidents remain rare — especially when compared to similar issues involving the military — and offers several ways to strengthen the current control over security contractors, such as legal procedures and economic levers.

Isenberg's attempts to offer a fair view of the security contractors in Iraq by avoiding judgments and conclusions

should be emphasized. His arguments appear to be balanced and he does not hesitate to take views opposing the common conventional wisdom. Yet, one has to wonder why there is so much of a focus on the accountability issue — a frequent concern expressed to the industry — but no sections looking at the successes or advantages contingency contractors continue to bring to Operation Iraqi Freedom. Moreover, the book suffers from weak structure and analysis, despite the volume of valid questions it raises and accurate facts included. Too often the arguments from different sides are presented with few conclusions drawn. This is surprising considering the valuable amount of information brought by Isenberg to the study of security contractors over the years.

Isenberg's proclaimed ambition of fairness is also damaged by a terminology issue. Indeed, amidst sensible debate in the industry, it would be a mistake to underestimate the value of semantics. Knowing that, Isenberg still utilizes the label 'PMC' (Private Military Contractor) while admitting he only speaks about 'PSCs' (Private Security Contractor). Although this may be a matter of convenience, it nevertheless highlights the larger problem of industry categorization. That Isenberg continues to stick to the eye-catching, but misleading terminology of PMC undermines his attempt at a balanced analysis.

Shadow Force also implicitly introduces the question of the media in the industry. Indeed, as Isenberg initiates the accountability issue with the symbolic Abu Ghraib scandal and the Blackwater Nissour Square shootings in September 2007, the issue of the media's role in the emergence and progression of the security contractor debate becomes visible. It is a worthwhile topic and the author takes note of the role and power of controversy and public opinion in those affairs. Focused on the Iraqi security contracting situation according to a U.S. point of view, one cannot ignore the role of public opinion in a debate which has taken on a new dimension under the new administration. ■

Jerry Kerr

A New Set of Wheels

A Charity Brings Mobility Back to Disabled Veterans



Disabled veterans get some mobility back. Photo: D.R.A.F.T.

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THE Segs4Vets program is an unprecedented, sustained grass roots effort administered by volunteers who passionately believe that when those serving our nation are sent into harm's way and suffer serious injury they deserve to have every resource and tool made available to them so that they may fulfill their dreams and live the highest quality of life possible.

Conceived by and implemented with the assistance of General Ralph "Ed" Eberhart, USAF (Ret), President of the Armed Forces Benefit Association, Segs4Vets awards segways, a universally designed mobility solution, to members of the United States military who have sustained severe injuries while serving our nation in Operation Iraqi Freedom and Operation Enduring Freedom, and whose injuries have resulted in permanent disability and difficulty walking.

In August 2006, because of its Segs4Vets program, Disability Rights Advocates for Technology (DRAFT) became the only organization in the United States to receive a blanket waiver from the United States Marine Corps, Army, Navy, Air Force and Department of Defense to allow the presentation of segways — a donation in excess of \$,1000 — to active

duty military personnel who incurred illness or injury resulting in permanent disability while on active duty on or after September 11, 2001.

Candidates for the Segs4Vets program have sustained injuries that have resulted in the amputation of one or both legs, extensive soft tissue and muscle injuries, traumatic burn injuries, spinal cord injuries, traumatic brain injury and other neurological injuries and disorders. For many who have difficulty walking but can stand, the availability of a device that offers an alternative to a wheelchair or scooter grants them not only mobility while standing, but greater independence and freedom. This independence is not only the preferred alternative, but a tool that allows them to compete on a more equal level in a classroom or workplace and participate more fully in their family activities.

Segs4Vets has awarded more than 355 segways as of August 1, 2009. It was presented with the Secretary of the Army's Public Service Award for distinguished public service; and has also been certified as one of the best charities in America by the Independent Charities of America — an honor accorded fewer than 2,000 of the more than one million

public charities in the United States.

Advancements in rehabilitation engineering have created prosthetic devices allowing those with amputations to not only take part in every conceivable activity available to them prior to their injury but in some instances, accomplish things beyond their ability prior to the amputation. However, issues such as shrapnel infections in the remainder limb, the blistering of the remainder limbs and soreness of remainder limbs in the socket often times create difficulties with mobility for them. For example, many of the Segs4Vets candidates are returning to college to complete their degrees. Navigating large campuses result in arriving to class exhausted and thus at a competitive disadvantage with their fellow students. Segways allows candidates to arrive at class on time and ready to concentrate on their education.

The Segs4Vets program provides successful candidates with universally designed mobility devices not yet available through their present benefit package, which provide a more healthful psychological and physiological quality of life without drawing attention to their disability. ■

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reliant. That provides grounds for optimism that such a capability can be achieved elsewhere and particularly in Afghanistan.

Intelligence is of course crucial to helping win wars, secure peace and promote and support stabilization operations. As most members of the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations would admit, in the few instances where the United Nations has been successful (such as Bosnia) it was because the leadership has undertaken its own intelligence operations, often having to protect the information gleaned from others within the mission who harbor differing motivations for involvement. If understanding the motivations, aims and aspirations of the enemy is important, knowing their fears, vulnerabilities and breaking point is crucial.

The effectiveness of the intelligence training delivered in Iraq, in my own experience, has been dramatic. The need for a clear handle on the enemy has been recognized by the coalition forces as well

as the Iraqis themselves. A senior U.S. Special Forces officer in Iraq recognized the lack of focused targeting by observing that there are “too many hammers and not enough torches.” It is for good reason many nations use a torch as the symbol for their educational services. It is the light of knowledge that is making the difference. It is the light shining into dark holes that allows the hammers to strike accurately, effectively and only against the foe. The original concept to make the Iraqis at least as good as the enemy has long been surpassed. That must be the aim of any effort in Afghanistan.

The other aspect of private sector involvement in the intelligence game has been to provide analysis and interpretation of events. One civilian analyst related a tale to me where the G2 of the U.S. formation he worked for in Iraq had quipped, “if your reports were not out eight hours ahead of ours we would arrest you for leaking intelligence.” Skilled civilians, combing the internet and open source reporting, were able to produce analysis outputs which were frighteningly close to secret source reporting. But it is

no leak, it is simply diligent journalism. When one can rely on local analysts, victory is close at hand. Seeing events through the eyes of the locals is crucial. Winston Churchill, in the darkest days of World War II, said, “In wartime, truth is so precious that she should always be attended by a bodyguard of lies.” We need to see the truth, understand it and act on it. Moreover, this needs to be their truth, not just ours. It is crucial to, as John Allen would say, “win the narrative.”

Understanding events through the viewpoint of the enemy is vital. That is why legendary counterinsurgency organizations like the Royal Ulster Constabulary sought to fight insurgents measuring success through the subversives’ own metrics, by understanding what success and failure looked like to the other side. The Iraqis are now learning from private sector trainers who won their war that way. That is the strength of the private sector trainers – they have seen it all before, made mistakes and learned lessons. Now, they are guiding those who need to fight their own fights for themselves. ■

AFRICAP is Awarded

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Comprehensive Peace Agreement for Liberia. The United States pledged over \$210 million to create an effective 2,000 Liberian army in order to assist the United Nation Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), which lacked funding at the time. The program also stipulated that DynCorp provide basic facilities and basic training for the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). PAE Group was to build bases, form and structure the AFL and its units and provide specialized and advanced training, including mentoring AFL's officer and non-commissioned officer corps. Things went smoothly throughout the SSR program and it is generally agreed that both firms performed successfully in Liberia. Though DynCorp did encounter some difficulties in fulfilling the contract as its expatriates had numerous visa issues after rotating in and out of the country.

Luckily, PAE Group was able to continue its contracts because its expatriates remained within the country throughout the contract. In fact, over 12 dozen PAE Group personnel still remain in the area.

The SSR program's larger issues lay in delays in the Department of State provided funding. Weak and erratic funding ultimately slowed and possibly decreased the effectiveness of the program. For example, the delays required DynCorp to increase the cost of the contract because it had not factored irregular funding into its original contract proposal. State funding became such an issue that the Department of State contacted the U.N. for assistance. Thus, the U.N. took over the contract and awarded a new \$250 million sole-source contract to PAE Group to continue its services in Liberia.

The AFRICAP contract today represents an extension of this skittish mission. With inconsistent State funding in the past and delays in awarding the follow-up AFRICAP contract now, it is questionable whether or not the Department of State has the capacities and funding to handle such an important peacekeeping and stability mission. Whether it requires the Department of State to set aside funds specifically for AFRICAP, lobbying Congress for a greater spending limit to ensure the funds will be available to distribute, or even replicating the Department of Defense's payment allocation procedures (which has not skipped a beat in funding their contractors), it is necessary that the Department of State handle this contract with the utmost care and diligence. ■

Amb. Hank J. Cohen (Ret.)

Democracy in Africa Has a Long Way to Go

In the Short Term, The Goal is Good Governance



Not quite a symbol of democracy: the late President of Gabon, Omar Bongo. Photo: Eskinder Debebe

OMAR Bongo of Gabon, one of the longest serving heads of state in Africa, died on June 9, 2009 of natural causes. He had been president for 41 years. Bongo's legacy as a political leader and the way his succession was handled illustrates some of the fundamental problems of democratization in Africa.

When most African countries were governed as one-party democracies, replete with press censorship, repression of opposition, secret police and political prisoners, President Bongo's Gabon fell in the majority. However, toward the end of the 1980s, the African one-party system came under heavy pressure from educated Africans on the inside, as well as donor governments on the outside. They argued that the corrupt and repressive one-party state was holding up progress toward economic development and giving Africa a bad image.

As more and more African governments abandoned the one-party state to adopt multi-party democracies, President Bongo jumped on the bandwagon and moved toward pluralism. However, it became clear after a short while — around 1995 — that most of the new democracies in Africa were only poor imitations. Apart from a few success stories in Ghana, Mali

and Benin, where genuine elections resulted in incumbents being turned out to make way for the opposition, most African “democracies” turned out to be shams. With their vast financial resources and intimidation tactics, President Bongo and many other incumbents made sure that, election after election, they could not be defeated. Even after Bongo passed away, his political machine ensured the election of his oldest son. Needless to say, there have never been checks and balances to prevent the corruption and misuse of resources by rulers who know that they cannot be voted out of office.

After 1990 and with every passing year, the U.S. government's obsession with democracy grew stronger. We craved reports from African countries that elections were “flawed,” but reasonably “free and fair.” With reports from international NGOs, such as the National Democratic Institute and the International Foundation for Election Systems, we could sit back and say more and more African countries were moving down the road toward consolidated democracy.

But this was also just an illusion. True democracy takes a long time to develop in any country. Democracy is a process, not an event like an election. The democracy

of the United States in the early 19th century is a far cry from the democracy we enjoy today. A cultural process must accompany the political process for democracy to grow, flourish and become irreversible.

So, if instant democracy is not the answer to the economic and social development problems in Africa, what *should* the U.S. government look to promote as the political additive that will stimulate economic growth and prosperity? My answer to that question is “good governance.”

The term “good governance,” in connection with economic development, has been around since the early 1990s. The primary proponent has been the World Bank, which strives to make governments effective in the fight for economic growth. Early in the current decade, Africans picked up on the importance of good governance through the New Economic Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). The newest African organizational mechanism designed to establish the underpinnings of sustainable economic growth, NEPAD promotes “peer review for good governance”; and includes programs, such as one

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in which African governments volunteer to have their peers review, analyze and grade the state of their governance.

Shortly after President Obama came into office, there was a spate of articles hinting that the new administration would be less obsessed than its predecessor with promoting democracy, and more interested in promoting good governance. In a discussion of these reports, I wrote, “I much prefer an authoritarian government that practices good governance than a democratic government that practices

bad governance.” I gave Burkina Faso as an example of the former and Senegal as an example of the latter. Needless to say, the democracy crowd disagreed.

What is the essence of “good governance”? I define it as government’s management and distribution of national resources for the benefit of the nation and its people. Can an authoritarian government practice good governance? Why not? The Southeast Asian “tigers” contain many authoritarian governments that promote good governance and strong economic growth. In my view, Africa

needs more of these.

Does all of the above mean that the United States should not support democracy in Africa? Not at all. But, instead of fixating on successful installments, let us look for those green shoots of organic democracy that are beginning to pop up and nurture those young political entities—such as in Ghana, Mali, and Benin. Let us stop obsessing and wasting money in countries where democracy is still just a gleam in some intellectual’s eye. ■

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and will require far more “patient-provider contact time” for a given illness than an American with the same condition. Sometimes seemingly minor symptoms can indicate significant disease processes. Likewise, things that may seem serious to the patient at that time will often turn out to be minor and self-resolving. The time and effort required to tease out the facts will often be neglected by military providers who are unaccustomed to this patient group, illustrating the additional problems inherent to reliance upon the Army for medical supervision.

The RMO must possess the interpersonal skills, patience and understanding required to close the gap in communication, and approach the medical needs of this population. Without proper medical pre-screening, preventive care, education, and access to competent primary health care, the TCN work force will be unduly limited in its productivity.

The Risk of Liability

While there are financial risks associated with the operation of any business, the practice of medicine carries with it a much more expensive and complex set of legal hazards. The climate of health care has never been more litigious in nature than it is today. Without proper physician supervision and medical liability insurance in place, EMTs, paramedics and PAs will eventually

be put in a position to compromise patient safety and attract a law suit.

In medicine, a poor outcome can occur even under the very best circumstances, when all the proper steps were taken and the standard of care was delivered. However, without proper documentation, quality assurance and oversight in place, the company providing the service will be in a very vulnerable position. If there is any doubt of the standard of care delivered, and without proper documentation to prove otherwise, a company will eventually find itself looking at a very expensive and indefensible law suit. Moreover, these cases can now be brought upon a company years after care was delivered and the actual event occurred. This places an even greater importance upon good record-keeping, as the RMO may have no recollection of the patient, or worse, may not even be employed or available at the time the suit is filed. Even more insidious are the new expanded theories of liability, which enable employers to be sued for events that were not directly within their control.

Responsibility

While the military has chosen to separate itself from the responsibility of providing health care to contractors, others are yet to understand the full impact of this policy. This has created a large area of ambiguity regarding the definition and standards of primary health services,

allowing companies to cut corners and ultimately put their work force at risk. The contracting office must understand the problems — and establish the oversight necessary for companies to correct them. Primarily, contracts should mandate the quality assurance and clinical governance requirements for the contractor. This should include, but not be limited to remote physician supervision, occupational health standards, provider certification and licensing, a reasonable ratio of provider to patient population, supply and pharmaceutical policies, charting of audits and compliance requirements, access to higher levels of care and inpatient treatment and access to laboratory and radiology services.

Companies who currently employ medics and mid-level providers must develop a corporate compliance plan that will appropriately address these issues, and discontinue reliance upon the military for medical supplies and prescription medications. As operational situations evolve, there may eventually be one or more clinics in place to handle the needs of contractors exclusively. Until that time however, the private sector will be best served by tasking out medical services to companies that are dedicated specifically to providing primary and emergency care. Companies that do not understand the importance of proper medical support will undoubtedly fall short in their obligations to their employees and the military as a whole. ■

Medical Care for Private Contractors

J. J. Messner

Unreasonable Expectations

As Timor Turns 10, Are We Expecting Too Much From It?



Photo Caption: Martine Perrett/U.N.

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ON August 30, Timor-Leste celebrated ten years of independence since they voted overwhelmingly to split from Indonesia. Despite high-profile peacekeeping missions and significant amounts of international development assistance adding up to \$8.8 billion (or about \$8,000 per capita in this nation of roughly 1.1 million), Timor-Leste and the international community have precious little to show for it all. Needless to say, there has been much criticism of the billions seemingly wasted on Timor-Leste.

The key question is: why are we surprised? However, this question tends to inspire cynical commentary on the ineptitude of international organizations. Rather, it should have a different focus: why do we, as an international community, have such high expectations on the quick and easy turnaround of countries after conflict; to the point that we are surprised when it does not happen in a short, neat, set timeframe — as if it were like organizing the Olympics (and on a budget where the description of “shoestring” is something to which we aspire).

In fairness, a major criticism of the effort in Timor-Leste is that it is plagued by

“waste” on a grand scale. Of course waste should be minimized wherever it occurs, and this should definitely not be construed in any way as defending waste and ineptitude. But what defines waste?

The waste in Timor-Leste is seen as going towards an inflated bureaucracy. While it is claimed that only 10 percent has ‘trickled into the economy’ a whopping 90 percent of that nearly \$9 billion bill has gone towards “international salaries, overseas procurement, imported supplies, foreign consultants and overseas administration.” This raises a couple of interesting questions. Firstly, complaining that development funds are being spent on the people who implement the programs and the materials needed to make them work is akin to whining about the cost of building a house because 90 percent of the money is going to the architects, engineers, builders, the bricks and mortar. Secondly, if the money is not to be spent on experts, administration and procurement, then what precisely should it be spent on? International development funds cannot simply be doled out like a U.S.-style economic stimulus package. It is not as if the world could give an \$8,000 check to every citizen and expect the economy to boom just because everyone boosts their personal consumption.

At the risk of having provided a potentially Pollyanna-ish defense of international development, the reality is that some of the money in Timor-Leste probably has been wasted. But, that is an issue separate from what our expectations for international development should be. When it comes to international reconstruction and development, policymakers, the public and international institutions need to decide just what their priorities are and then strike a balance. And how much money do we want to waste tracking down the waste?

The first expectation is speed. It seems as though we expect instant gratification. Let’s not forget that a tad over 10 years ago, Timor-Leste was not even a country; and when it did start out life as a fledgling nation, it did so with very little to show for itself. It is not a particularly blessed country in terms of resources, for example, which could, in an ideal situation, have helped fuel economic emergence. At independence — and a few times since — the capital, Dili, has been subject to intense conflict and has burned down with almost disturbing regularity. Furthermore, as Indonesia withdrew from the east Timor, it took with it nearly all the institutional capacity of its former

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territory. The country then suffered through the ineptitude and nastiness of former Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri's administration, violent rifts within its security forces, and very nearly the assassination of its current President Jose Ramos Horta and previous President Xanana Gusmao. Therefore, in their defense, the Timorese and the international community started with pretty much nothing and have been trying to pursue reconstruction and development in a tragically poor and unstable country.

Let's also not forget that the campaign in Afghanistan — consuming massive resources from NATO and the United States in particular — started not long after the mission in Timor-Leste; yet that nation is also still providing much work to be done. Furthermore, let's recall that Europe, despite being well-developed and possessing plenty of institutional capacity prior to World War II, and then receiving massive resources under the Marshall Plan, took decades to properly recover. Indeed, some may argue that real

reconstruction in Eastern Europe was not complete until after the Cold War. It is remarkable that even given experience, there seems to be an expectation that post-conflict societies can be fixed overnight.

The second expectation is cost. Surprisingly, nation-building, as has been demonstrated in instances like Iraq, is not cheap. Observers balk at the cost of reconstruction with little regard for why it has such a big price tag. A good example is security: reconstruction is not possible in many environments without adequate security, and security itself in conflict zones is expensive in terms of necessary salaries, training and equipment. Even more frustratingly, where missions have been hampered or failed because of a severe lack of resources — in other words, reconstruction and development on the cheap — international organizations and development agencies are then criticized for not contributing enough. Yet, we must also avoid a USAID-style situation where vast amounts of money are spent to track the money being spent on reconstruction and development —

almost a complete reversal of the premise of “you have to spend money to make money.”

There are sadly too many unreasonable expectations about international reconstruction and development. It is not fast and it is not cheap. By the same token, the realization of its glacial timeframe and grand cost should not excuse institutional lethargy or largesse. Where there is waste, we owe it to the tax payers of contributing nations and the recipients of development efforts in post-conflict countries to ensure that it is eliminated — and we as an international community are doing the best we can possibly do. Nevertheless, there still needs to be a serious appraisal of how realistic our expectations for reconstruction and development are. Timor-Leste may still be a desperately poor nation and may wait quite some time to be any kind of economic success. But the fact that it is no longer oppressed and is no longer at war should be seen as a fantastic beginning. ■



How much have you all achieved in 10 years? Photo: Evan Schneider/U.N.

Gary Sturgess

A Privatization Success Story From Denmark

A Private Company So Institutionalized that it is Barely Even Regarded as Private



Photo: Falck

AT the original Legoland in Denmark, the miniature fire brigade carries the logo of the private company Falck. In Danish telephone directories, Falck is listed immediately after the emergency services number and ahead of the police. This is all because in Denmark, 60 percent of fire fighting services and 85 percent of ambulance services are provided by a private, for-profit company Falck, as they have been for many decades.

Speaking on Falck, English academic Norman Flynn stated:

Falck is an anomaly in Europe. It's a complete aberration. Everybody trusts Falck like they trust the state. It's a quasi-state thing, it just happens to be privately owned. But it is a national monopoly for these emergency services. But it's interesting, because the Danes trust Falck as they trust the state.

It is not a "quasi-state thing." Falck is privately-owned and it seeks to make a profit. However, for more than a century, it has won the respect of the Danish people for its dedication to public service.

Sophus Falck, the founder of this private rescue service, grew up in Copenhagen where, like many children, he was caught up in the romance of the fire brigade. His

greatest pleasure, he later wrote, was playing near the old fire station at Nikolaj Taarn. "There sat the firemen...at their posts, until the fire alarm went. Then they would suddenly come alive, abandon their boots and aprons, and get the hand pump going as best they could and as much as their training allowed." No speed records were broken, but the excitement in the street, with much hurrah-ing and lads racing alongside the tender, made a deep impression on young Falck.

Over the next two or three decades, Falck visited European cities and studied firefighting and salvage methods. Falck imagined a new kind of public service – an integrated rescue corps that brought together fire, flood and marine salvage, emergency and subscription ambulance care and the rescue of humans and animals wherever they might be in danger.

And while he expected to make money, Falck envisioned a truly public service, one that undertook rescues "irrespective of whether payment for such service might be expected." It was not an idea that immediately appealed to hard-headed businessmen. A later president of the company recalled that the leading insurance companies and the Danish press doubted whether it could be

developed into a money-making proposition. It was a noble ideal, but, as someone commented at the time, "Even gold may be bought too dearly."

Over the next two decades, until his death in 1926, Falck gradually won the confidence of local government and private industry. Denmark did not seriously undertake the process of urbanization and industrialization until the late 19th century, so there existed significant scope for improving emergency services in small towns and rural communities. Industry was also suffering from a rapid increase in workplace accidents.

From 1908 on, the company provided emergency medical services for county governments and private industries, even breaking new ground in the early 1920s by introducing the country's first motorized ambulance. As a private provider, Falck was able to offer county councils the benefits of scale without the loss of control that would have followed a takeover by central government. When Denmark's first social democratic government introduced mandatory national fire standards in 1926, it allowed municipal governments to contract with private companies. This seemed an

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unlikely concession from a social democratic party, but like many left-leaning governments, it was motivated by a concern that core public services be provided equitably across the country. And since fire protection was the domain of municipal government, allowing these services to be delivered by a large-scale private provider such as Falck meant that the central government could achieve its objectives more quickly and with less fuss.

This compromise was made easier by the way in which Falck branded his rescue

and the company began offering roadside assistance to stranded motorists on a subscription basis. In many communities, the company was able to deliver all three services from the same building, turning Sophus Falck's dream of an integrated rescue service into a reality.

The company's slogan – 'Vi er der Altid' (Always There) – neatly captures this vision of an integrated rescue corps. In addition to the traditional emergency services that are provided free of charge, Falck offers a wide range of subscription services: patient transportation; a salvage

to call, but if you needed help, you only needed to call Falck. If a horse fell in a ditch, it was always Falck. If a storm removed the roof of your house or you needed to pump water from your basement, you phoned Falck.

On the evening of Friday, December 3, 1999, when Denmark was hit by a fierce storm, Falck was heavily engaged in fighting fires, rescuing people and animals, transporting the injured to the hospital, attending to stranded motorists and salvaging property. Indeed, for much of the weekend, Falck was the only rescue



Would you be concerned with whose logo is on the side? Photo: Falck

corps. The company had a strong interest in accident prevention and it had made a significant contribution in the teaching of first aid. Together with the role that it had played in supporting small communities, Falck was not looked upon as an ordinary business venture. Moreover, these new services were not paid for by the state. Until the reform of local government in the 1970s, Falck was largely funded by the insurance industry. In rural areas, the insurance companies paid two-thirds of the expenses associated with turning out for a fire.

Falck's firefighting business expanded rapidly, and within a few years it had contracts with almost half of the 1,300 or so rural municipalities across Denmark. The ambulance service was also growing,

including ocean salvage; auto assistance at home and abroad; animal rescue; trauma counseling; chiropractic treatment and more recently; managed care of chronic disease through telemedicine. The company also has agreements with the police to tow illegally parked cars, provide divers for searches and remove bodies from crime scenes. The Animal Protection Foundation has contracted with Falck to transport sick and injured animals. As Ole Qvist, Falck's senior vice president for emergency services, explained:

We have acquired this role: If you need help, call Falck, irrespective of what problem you might have. No one else provides such a broad service. If you were to contact your local municipality, you wouldn't know which department

organization engaged in the emergency response. The Danish Civil Defense Corps was not called out until Sunday and the armed forces not until later still. And in those first few days, the company dealt with some 22,000 emergency calls.

During this emergency, the same organization was performing several different tasks. Obviously, this kind of integration is more convenient to the public, but it is also more efficient, enabling the company to benefit from economies of scope and scale. Thus, in Denmark, private provision has successfully delivered the benefits of nationalization, and Sophus Falck's vision of a single rescue service has resulted in a level of integration that exists nowhere else in the world. ■

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