

# JIPO

JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE OPERATIONS

Annual Review of  
Peace Operations

An Interview with  
Maj. Gen. Arnold Fields (Ret.)

Social and Political  
Structures in Pakistan

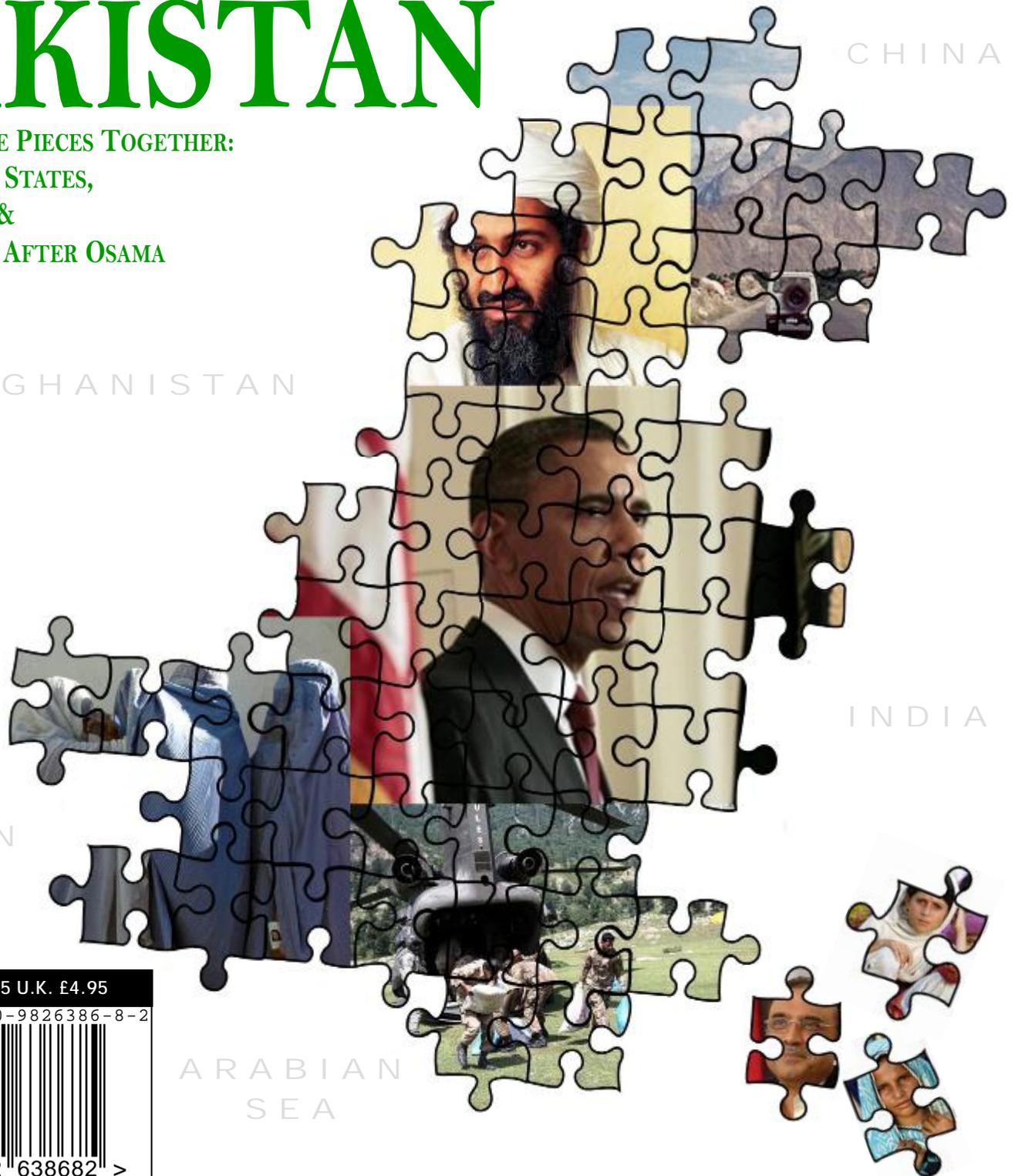
Tension and Unrest in  
Burkina Faso



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# PAKISTAN

PUTTING THE PIECES TOGETHER:  
THE UNITED STATES,  
SOUTH ASIA &  
THE WORLD AFTER OSAMA

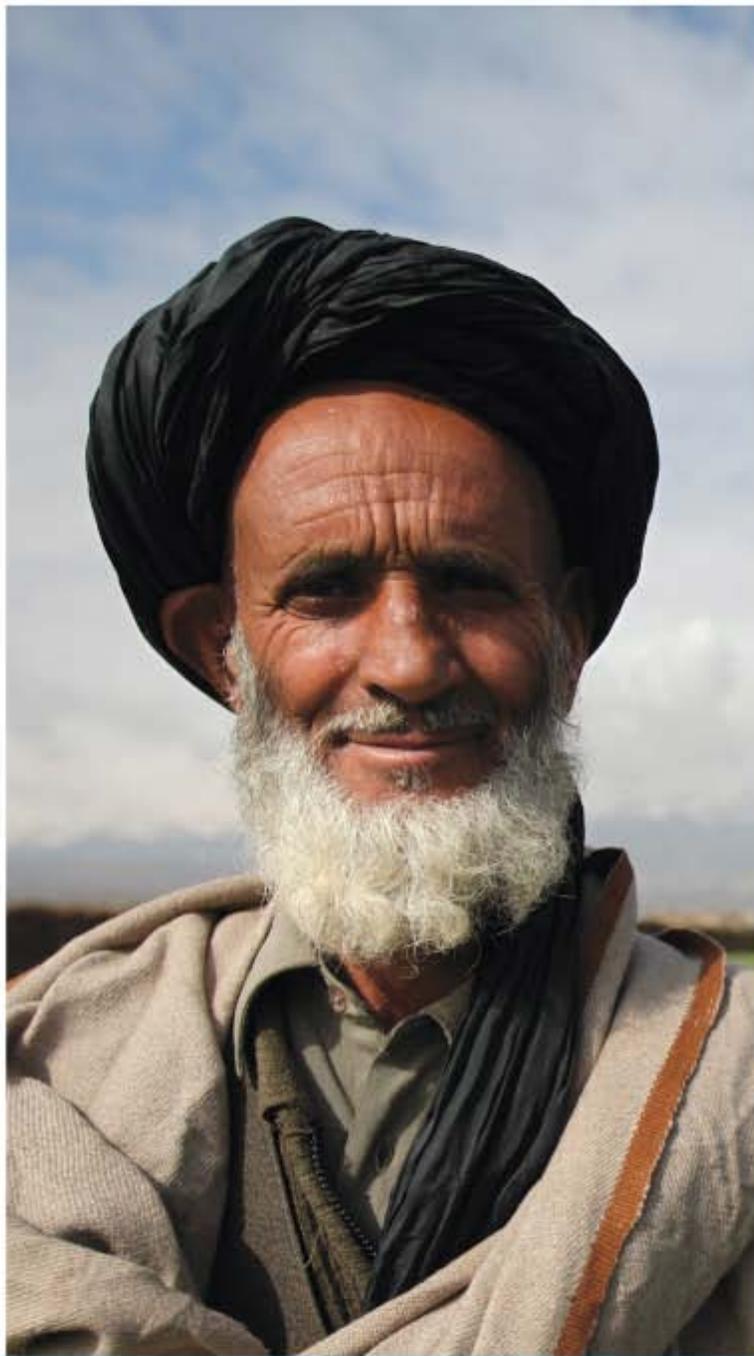


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# CALL FOR COMMENTS

## REVISION & UPDATE OF THE ISOA CODE OF CONDUCT

The International Stability Operations Association (ISOA) is the only standards-based association of the stability operations industry, with members operating world-wide in conflict, post-conflict, reconstruction and disaster relief environments.

All ISOA member companies subscribe to the ISOA Code of Conduct, which represents a constructive effort towards better regulating private sector operations in high-risk environments. It reflects our belief that high standards will both benefit the industry and serve the greater causes of peace, development, and human security.



It is our firm belief that the standards our members subscribe to must evolve alongside an ever-changing international environment. The ISOA Code of Conduct, currently in its 12th revision, will be updated again this year through a multi-stakeholder process. The ISOA Standards Committee invites interested parties and organizations working in human rights, international law, government and the private sector to submit comments for the 13th version of the ISOA Code of Conduct.

To view the Code of Conduct, visit  
[www.stability-operations.org/ISOA Code of Conduct](http://www.stability-operations.org/ISOA Code of Conduct)

Please submit comments to [jvogel@stability-operations.org](mailto:jvogel@stability-operations.org) by 29 July 2011



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Jessica Vogel

# A May To Remember, A June Of Events

## A Bi-Monthly Review of ISOA's Activities: May & June 2011

Welcome to *From the Editor's Desk*, a new section in the *Journal of International Peace Operations*. Our readers frequently request more information about ISOA and the association's activities, which started us thinking: Why not let them know? Each new issue of the JIPO will include a one-page review of what ISOA has been working on since the last issue of the Journal was printed. Find out more information about our past events, staff appearances and advocacy efforts—it's all here! And, as usual, we invite our reader's to find out more about the association on our brand new, updated website at [www.stability-operations.org](http://www.stability-operations.org), and on social media—just search “StabilityOps” on Facebook, Twitter and Flickr!

### SPOTLIGHT ISOA Events

#### May

##### May Networking Reception

The May Networking Reception brought the ISOA staff out to Rock Bottom Brewery in Arlington, VA. Attendees included current and potential members as well as representatives from the U.S. government and others from around the stability operations industry. ISOA looks forward to hosting another reception in Virginia in July!

##### ISOA Middle East Chapter Launch

In late May, ISOA launched its first international chapter in Dubai, U.A.E. The event featured remarks from ISOA President Doug Brooks as well as ISOA member organizations supporting the chapter, followed by a networking reception.



The goal of the chapter is to stimulate discussion of key issues unique to the region and provide a forum for industry-relevant expert speakers. Several ISOA member companies and organizations have a presence in the Middle East, where the new ISOA chapter can now facilitate positive interaction among members and between members and the Association.

#### June

##### Aid & International Development Forum

For the second year, ISOA exhibited at AIDF at the Washington Convention Center in Washington, D.C. Participation in AIDF was a 3-day affair for ISOA that kicked-off with a networking reception hosted by the association at the Laughing Man Tavern, with many NGO and aid relief agency representatives in attendance. I moderated a panel on day 1 of the Forum featuring authors from our last JIPO. On day 2, ISOA's Manager of Business Development, Melissa Sabin, stood in to moderate a great session on the Japan earthquake response.

##### June Networking Event featuring Charles Shotwell, DoS

The following week, ISOA hosted a special networking event at the offices of Miller & Chevalier in downtown Washington, D.C. Charles Shotwell, Director of the Defense Trade Controls Policy at the Department of State, opened the event with remarks



on the International Traffic in Arms Regulation (ITAR), then joined the attendees for a night of networking and drinks in the reception area and on Miller & Chevalier's expansive balcony overlooking the White House. Despite the scattered raindrops, the view was spectacular!

##### CCO-ISOA Seminar

##### *Private Sector Perspectives on Stability Operations: Examples and Innovations*

Teaming up with the Center for Complex Operations at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., ISOA co-hosted a diverse audience for an interactive seminar under Chatham House Rules. Throughout the afternoon of remarks shared by private sector and government panelists, attendees gained a wider understanding of the challenges faced by the private sector operating in places like Afghanistan and Iraq – and the many potential and implemented innovations to address them.

Attendees offered a myriad of questions during question and answer periods, indicative of the need for more dialogue on the issues and between the wide-ranging viewpoints across sectors. Conversations continued at a light reception, long after the formal event had adjourned. ■

#### Upcoming Staff Appearances

13-14 July

Doug Brooks speaks at Military Airlift Asia-Pacific Singapore

16-21 July

Doug Brooks visiting Kabul, Afghanistan

#### ISOA's Advocacy Initiatives

##### Current Issues:

- Afghan Taxation of U.S. Aid Dollars
- National Defense Authorization Act & Impact on the Private Sector
- Commission on Wartime Contracting Final Report
- International Code of Conduct for Private Security Providers

ISOA has been engaging with U.S. policy makers across agencies to find a solution to the taxation of U.S. aid money to Afghanistan. ISOA President Doug Brooks travels to Kabul in July to meet with U.S. and UK embassy officials, Afghan officials and ISOA members as we continue our efforts.

Read more on the *Advocacy Initiatives* page under *News & Resources* on [www.stability-operations.org](http://www.stability-operations.org).

Doug Brooks

# Stopping "Traffick"

## TCNs and the Challenges of Human Resources in Stability Operations



*Third Country Nationals provide important services to military operations around the world. Credit: IsafMedia, Flickr.*

A recent article in *The New Yorker* raised the ugly issue of labor trafficking in contingency operations. The article mentions food riots, illegal payments to recruiters of Third Country Nationals (TCNs), and deceptive practices used to trick employees into operating in war zones. Although this is far from a new problem, it has never been comprehensively addressed and violations undermine the legitimacy and accomplishments of the mission itself. Too often the issue is ignored by governments in the face of more pressing conflict-related problems, or simply due to the pressure to obtain the very lowest price from their contractors.

TCNs come from all over the world and they add enormous capability and value to contingency operations. No international stability policy could succeed without the cost-effective labor, expertise and off-the-shelf experience TCNs bring to the field. In fact, employing local hires is by far the best value and offers vast economic and capacity-building benefits. Sometimes, however, necessary skill sets are unavailable or vetting locals is an

issue, and the problem of insurgent infiltration means that clients prefer that employees hail from neutral places. i.e. third countries.

**“To successfully address the problem, however, it will take the larger clients, especially governments, paying attention and questioning their contractors”**

Problems arise when rules are ignored, or brokers seek money not only from the company looking for vetted employees, which is legal, but also demand money from the desperate TCNs willing to pay exorbitant amounts to get the relatively high-paying jobs, which is illegal. Other problems include misinforming potential employees about the risks, the potential salaries, or confiscating their passports so they cannot travel. Contingency contractors hiring TCNs or using subcontractors that hire TCNs need to be vigilant to ensure that their employees are not victimized. To successfully address the problem, however, it will take the larger clients, especially governments, paying attention and questioning their contractors.

In fact, ensuring that labor-trafficking laws and regulations are followed provides very real qualitative benefits. As one company executive put it, ‘do you want to hire the best truck driver in Pakistan, or the best truck driver who can pay the \$3,000 the broker demands of him?’ These kinds of kickbacks and unnecessary barriers to free labor artificially restrict the pool of potential labor, undermine the quality of personnel and hamper the ability of employees to focus on the duties they have been hired to undertake.

Finally, TCNs work in stability operations because they want to be there. The very fact that they have been willing to pay illegal bribes to shady brokers demonstrates how valuable the employment is to many in the world. Most TCNs earn several times the salary possible in their home countries, and often their quality of life is actually better, including food, housing and medical insurance, even in areas of conflict. For many, these jobs are a path out of abject poverty and misery. If they do not have to pay off the loan sharks and brokers who illegally act as gatekeepers to the jobs, the TCNs are able to contribute substantially more support to their families than had they stayed at home.. For

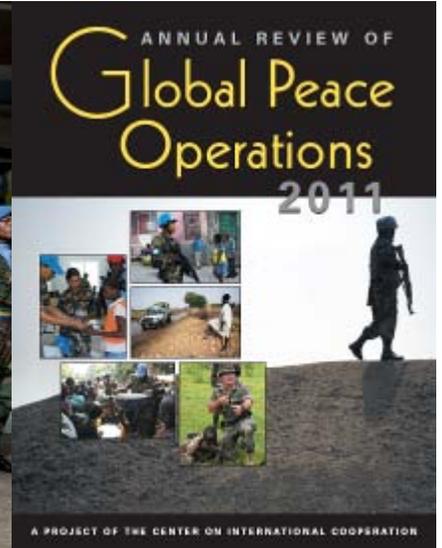
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*Doug Brooks is President of the International Stability Operations Association. Contact Doug at [dbrooks@stability-operations.org](mailto:dbrooks@stability-operations.org)*

Andrew Sinclair

# Strategic Trends, Dilemmas, and Developments in Global Peace Operations

An Annual Review by NYU's Center for International Cooperation



The past year has been an active one for peacekeeping, particularly in Africa. Photos: Andrew Sinclair.

**W**HILE the past year has been difficult for global peace operations, peacekeeping remains a sought after and integral part of the international community's response to conflict and fragile states. The *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2011*, written by New York University's Center on International Cooperation, concludes that while continued growth in overall levels of deployment in 2010 reaffirms peacekeeping's role in conflict management, the massive overstretch and cost of missions from the Horn and Central Africa to Afghanistan have led to increasing operational, political, and financial pressure to scale down the overall size of peacekeeping operations. With the increasing use by the UN of "political missions" – i.e., those focused on mediation and support to political processes – and questions about the relative merits of military-based peacekeeping versus lighter options, 2010 was characterized by paradoxical desires to, on the one hand, reduce the size of operations and transition from full-scale peacekeeping to national ownership of security and governance, and, on the other hand,

*Andrew Sinclair is the lead researcher and volume editor of the Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2011 and a program officer in the Global Peace Operations program at the Center on International Cooperation at NYU.*

react to changing conditions which necessitate continued action and sometimes additional troops for missions.

After a decade of continuous expansion, historic levels of demand and increasing operational complexity, peace operations, as they currently exist and at their current scale, are at risk. Setbacks in high-profile missions like Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have coincided with military overstretch and growing fiscal austerity, while missions that have achieved interim stability lack clear transition strategies. The evolving use of a range of alternative models of peace operations, including the expanded use of political missions, is both creating new options and adding complexity to policy debates. However, these debates frequently neglect the point that an adequate force with the right capacities is an indispensable tool for both safeguarding and, at times, encouraging political negotiations – a point reinforced during the past year by operations in Cote d'Ivoire. Civilian-based political missions are complements, not replacements, for military peace operations.

The *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2011*, the sixth in a series begun in 2006, focuses on

managing peacekeeping transitions: defined as the withdrawal of a peacekeeping operation and the handing over of responsibility to national authorities, another international presence, or other regional and local actors. Peacekeeping missions are transitioning amid drastically different operating environments: from – on the one hand – a phased withdrawal of the UN Mission in Liberia in a relatively stable, albeit tense, security environment (one that is still at risk from the conflict in neighboring Côte d'Ivoire); or the on-track handing over of national security functions in Timor-Leste from the UN Mission to the national police; to – on the other hand – the precipitous withdrawal of the UN Mission in Chad and the Central African Republic after the Government of Chad abruptly denied consent for the operation; or the difficulties encountered in Haiti following a devastating earthquake where a mission in transition lost 102 personnel – the highest number killed in a single event in the history of UN peacekeeping.

While all of these missions are different—with different force levels, mandates, concept of operations and aims—they all share a common thread: all of these missions have had to cope with

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how to transition from a peacekeeping presence to national ownership of security and governance, a task that is easier said than done.

### Dilemmas of long-term peacekeeping

Many of the largest, most high-profile UN missions are now entering over a decade in the field well beyond the time most immediate post-Cold War peacekeeping missions stayed deployed. As former head of UN Peacekeeping, Jean-Marie Guéhenno has noted, “In practical terms, the markers that will determine when a peace operation is no longer required – when a government has enough capacity to take full ownership – are shifting.”<sup>1</sup> The conventional thinking in the 1990s (e.g., for missions in Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique, and Namibia) was that holding national post-conflict elections in a country was the point at which a peace operation was no longer needed. Now, as is well known, these often deeply-flawed elections rarely result in a broad-based, representative and capable government. (One need not look farther than Cote d’Ivoire, Haiti, the DRC, and Afghanistan.)

So attention is now (and has been for quite some time) focused on extending governance, which necessitates that peacekeepers act as early peace-builders, state-builders, and engage in not just disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of former combatants, but also security sector reform (SSR), which includes judicial, police and corrections reform. Institution-building is a long-term and expensive undertaking. The increased material, human and financial costs of these longer, more multidimensional, operations have not been fully taken into account by the international community. So, at a time when many governments are making cutbacks and tightening their budgets, troop and financial contributing countries are exerting increased pressure to drawdown the size and scale of peacekeeping operations, and asking missions to do more with less. The scope and scale of what peacekeepers are asked to accomplish remains as high as ever, even as missions are given fewer and fewer resources. But beyond the resource and financial constraints, there are also political ramifications for accompanying post-conflict governments well beyond their first election, and actively supporting the extension of their authority. The technical questions are relatively easier to solve than the political ones. In Cote

d’Ivoire this dynamic was apparent. Holding the elections called for in the Ougadougou peace agreement was the easy part. The more vexing dilemma was how to uphold the results of that election when the Gbagbo government—the very government the UN mission there had been supporting for the past five years—refused to recognize the results and had to be removed by force. Indeed, one of the most difficult dilemmas of peacekeeping is how to support a government that does not yet represent the full breadth of their peoples, may be seen in their eyes as illegitimate, and may not yet have earned their trust.

In Afghanistan, this dilemma is manifest in a NATO operation, the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), but nonetheless creates a particular problem for the UN. Too close engagement on the side of a government risks the impartiality of the UN, or places the UN on the side of state-sponsored violence, (as problems with the Afghan electoral process and growing corruption within the national government demonstrate). Too distant of an engagement risks the appearance of condoning coercive – or even violent – governance and predatory security forces, and places the UN in a weak position to leverage gradual reforms. These dilemmas are not easily resolved or fixed; they require managing tensions inherent in long-term peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and statebuilding interventions, and more importantly for the UN, they require a consensus among Member States about what peacekeeping should achieve and what peacekeepers can reasonably be expected to accomplish before pulling out.

### 2010: the year of peacekeeping transitions

While talk of transitions, imminent contraction, and consolidation in peacekeeping dominated discussion about global peace operations in 2010, overall deployment levels continued to rise. Much of this growth is attributable to the United States’ reinforcement of NATO’s ISAF operation in Afghanistan. During the period under review, ISAF increased by almost 60,000 troops in 2010 to reach a total of some 130,000 troops.<sup>2</sup> This surge represented an 84% increase in deployments since 2009 (71,000). UN and African Union (AU) peacekeeping deployments also increased in overall size. The UN grew by 2.4% over the year, adding more than 2000 troops, and reaching

nearly 100,000 total military and police personal in the field. The AU also grew, primarily because of the boost to its Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) which increased by more than 2,000 troops to reach a fully authorized force of 8,000 troops. At year’s end, on December 21<sup>st</sup>, the UN Security Council voted to increase AMISOM’s authorized deployment by 50%, raising the force requirement to 12,000 troops.

Overall, global peacekeeping—in terms of total troops, military observers, and police—grew by 32% over the year to reach more than 256,000 peacekeepers in 2010 – compared with nearly 194,000 in 2009. However, despite continued growth, these numbers belie a considerable slowing in the rate of increase for UN peacekeeping operations – reflecting the operational, political and financial pressure to scale down in overall size. These pressures were manifest in withdrawn consent for an operation from a national government (as noted in Chad, and the DRC), and consolidated peace and stability in a mission’s area of operations (as in Timor-Leste, and Liberia). In fact, the international community’s appetite for the creation and deployment of new large-scale multidimensional peacekeeping operations is weakening. No new peacekeeping mission has been mandated since the joint AU-UN Hybrid Mission in Darfur which was created nearly four years ago. There is a very real international reluctance to continue large-scale multidimensional peacekeeping. However, there is a countervailing trend: conditions on the ground often necessitate an international response, as in Sudan, Cote d’Ivoire, Somalia, and Haiti. In all of these cases the UN Security Council sent additional troops to deal with changing conditions. This trend is likely to continue as a peace operations presence in Libya appears increasingly probable. So while on the one hand the international community is signaling a shift away from large-scale military peacekeeping, the Security Council continues to rely on peacekeeping as an instrument to bring stability to conflict-ridden states. ■

### Endnotes

1. Foreword p. viii, *Annual Review of Global Peace Operations 2011*, Center on International Cooperation, Lynne Rienner Publishers.
2. September 2009 until September 2010 for non-UN-commanded missions, and October 2009 until October 2010 for UN-commanded missions.



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From the Editor

# Feature | Pakistan

## Putting the Pieces Together: The United States, South Asia & The World After Osama



*Credit: Graphic constructed by Jessica Vogel*

ON 1 May 2011, United States President Barack Obama announced on live television from the White House, to his nation and the world, that a U.S. military operation successfully resulted in the death of Osama bin Laden. This operation was surprisingly not carried out in Afghanistan, but on neighboring Pakistan's soil. In that instant, the spotlight shifted eastward across the map from the longstanding engagements in Southwest Asia, to Pakistan's equally unstable and unpredictable land. While the tension along the Afghanistan-Pakistan border was old news to the international community, the revelation that U.S. public enemy #1 was residing deep in Pakistan, within a short drive of its capital, raised new questions about U.S. foreign policy in the region. Pakistan, an increasingly key player in the future stability of one of the most unstable regions in the world, was now under the microscope.

Just days before this issue went to print, the Fund for Peace released its annual Failed States Index\*, with Pakistan placing in the top 20 failed states. Ranking at number 12, Pakistan is categorized in the second most unstable category in the Index, with neighbor Afghanistan not far behind at

\*For more on the Failed States Index, visit [www.fundforpeace.org](http://www.fundforpeace.org).

number 7. The Index's eye-opening data alongside recent developments from the Abbottabad mission are telling. Pakistan's precarious position—especially its strategic supply lines to Afghanistan—has spurred contentious debate highlighting the exceedingly difficult challenges across the Middle East and South Asia—not only for the U.S. but for all stakeholders.

**Ian Livingston** opens our Pakistan feature section with a discussion of the social and political structures of Pakistan as contributing factors to its continuing instability. Chronic turmoil continues to plague its development. Pakistan's youth is facing a dim future and a backwards economy. Livingston argues, however, that Pakistan is not any worse off than it was before the financial crisis and its people are resilient. But, he is careful to point out that feelings toward the U.S. are overwhelmingly negative.

So where does the U.S. relationship with Pakistan stand? **Joseph and Andrew Melrose** explore the complex foreign policies between the two nations and the challenges that lie ahead. The longstanding friendship between the U.S. and Pakistan is based on mutual interest and has had its ups and downs before. They argue that this moment is critical, but not very different from other

controversial situations in the past. The U.S. and Pakistan relationship will weather the storm.

A major point of contention that must be resolved before the relationship can be wholly positive is Pakistan's effort, or lack thereof, to challenge Afghan militants within its borders. **Moed Yusuf** describes thriving militant sanctuaries in Pakistan and their negative impact on U.S. counter-insurgency efforts across the border. Despite Pakistan's many concerted efforts to help the U.S. with counterterrorism information, its forces continue to come up short in any attempt to disband the damaging insurgent communities within their jurisdiction.

The root problems inherent in the border region are contributing to the sanctuary problem, as outlined by **Shehryar Fazli**. The "Federally Administered Tribal Areas" are characterized by a separate culture and what many consider backwards political, legal and economic systems that contribute directly to lawlessness. Fazli points to comprehensive political reform, with local buy-in, as the path to reining in the crime and violence in these controversial regions.

Next issue, the feature will be **Aviation & Logistics**. ■

Ian Livingston

# Social and Political Structures in Pakistan

## Fighting for stability in a fragile state



*Pakistan's fortified Senate building in Islamabad. Credit: SaffyH, Flickr*

**I**N the aftermath of the U.S. raid that killed arch-terrorist Osama bin Laden on May 2nd, the United States' relationship with Pakistan, and what both sides hope to or can accomplish through it, has come under increased scrutiny.

On one hand, the often corrupt and largely ineffective central government has attempted slow reform with varied success. On the other, radical extremist groups flourish as an exploding youth population yearns for structure that a government in perpetual flux has not been able to offer.

According to a Gallup poll shortly after the raid, 31% of Pakistanis believed that their intelligence service knew of bin Laden's location and 65% said the United States could not have conducted the raid without Pakistani intelligence being aware. Another poll by YouGov found that roughly two-thirds of Pakistanis believed the United States did not kill bin Laden in Abbottabad.

Such data points to a sizeable distrust of government statements, even more disbelief in the

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Ian Livingston is a senior researcher at The Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., and co-author, with Michael O'Hanlon, of the Pakistan Index. <http://www.brookings.edu/pakistanindex>

United States, and a resilient faith in the power of the security apparatus. Under these circumstances, we must examine the social, political and economic well-being of the state. What constitutes its structures is up for considerable debate, making the path to solutions to generation-long problems all the more turbulent.

### Turmoil and Change Within the State

Since its founding, Pakistan has more often than not been embroiled in some level of political and social turmoil. Internal ethnic rivalries are strong. Portions of the country, like the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, are nearly ungoverned. Among its more than 180 million citizens, conflicting notions of what constitutes Pakistan's identity are widespread.

One common ground in Pakistan is Islam, which plays a significant role throughout the country. Most population segments, including a large majority of Pakistan's youth, define themselves as strictly or moderately observant. Like other typically common definitional standards, there is little agreement on what kind of Islam should dominate Pakistan. Here again, the lines are often drawn along ethnic boundaries.

Like other "youth bubble" developing nations, Pakistan has witnessed a rapid transition from a rural society to one with poverty stricken masses residing in megacities. The urban population has expanded from just over 20% in 1960 to around 40% today, a trend likely to continue. Movement to the cities has thrown previously disparate ethnic groups into each other's backyards. This change in how Pakistanis live has facilitated quicker access to information as well as mobilization opportunities, but it has also created tempestuous ideological mixes.

The youth of Pakistan are inheriting a state with a broken education system featuring indicators like literacy stalling or moving in the wrong direction. Prospects are bleak given the economic and demographic outlook combined with current infrastructure, while large portions of the population remain unengaged with the issues that affect them the most. Yet there is good news: opportunity has recently grown in segments like private (mainly non-religious) schooling, where raw building numbers are now on par with public places of learning.

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**A Government in Perpetual Flux**

Today, the Pakistan Peoples Party leads a coalition government in something resembling a struggling democracy, following transition from what many describe as a military – if also reform-minded – dictatorship under General Pervez Musharraf. Though governed by civilian leaders for the past several years, the Pakistani military establishment largely dictates security policy, and the populace looks to it as the arbiter of Pakistan's survival.

Pakistan has made measured progress in liberalizing. President Asif Ali Zardari, while widely viewed as corrupt, enacted significant changes to the Pakistani constitution after taking power, for instance relinquishing powers to his Prime Minister, Yousaf Raza Gilani, in a return to the ideals of the 1973 constitution, which featured the elected head as the actual civilian leader of the state.

A growing media – including over 80 TV stations, many in English, in addition to new media entrepreneurs – has been an emergent if debatable “bright” spot over the course of the last decade. But Pakistan has also ranked as one of the most dangerous places for media professionals in the world since 2005. While portions of the media have been accused of pandering to the government, or to the extremists, it remains a force in creating space for budding democratic norms.

Long-and-short term instability continue to wreak havoc on political institutions. Assassinations, including the murder of Salman Taseer, governor of Punjab Province and outspoken critic of archaic blasphemy laws, will undoubtedly dissuade similar reformers from taking a stand. Follow-on protests in support of the assassin are a concerning sign of the difficulties involved in changing a problematic system.

Reassuringly, however, today's civilian government has thus far been able to weather both natural (major flooding displacing more than 20 million Pakistanis in 2010) and manmade (continual terrorist attacks by extremists within) calamities with at least a hearty modicum of professionalism and without the military intervention that has been a constant undercurrent in Pakistani politics.

Finally, of importance for the future of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, despite the Pakistani public being deeply rooted in Islamic ideals and having perhaps some preference for an Islamic state, is a tendency for the masses to back secular leaders. The Pakistan Peoples Party and other top political outfits in the country often form around national, regional and ethnic issues rather than religious ones.

**The Economy Problem**

Bolstered by removal of U.S. sanctions, accompanied by private sector development and investment from abroad, much of the 2000s featured strong economic growth with GDP rising to a record level of more than 7 percent yearly in 2004 and 2005. Following the global recession, this measure tanked before flat-lining below a “safe” point to adequately address Pakistan's needs. Under the best circumstances, it is likely to be years before Pakistan can regain GDP growth that will allow it to fully sustain itself, let alone put it solidly on the path toward prosperity.

At the same time, both inflation (high even during periods of prosperity) and unemployment have soared, leaving many Pakistanis with less spending power and lower prospects of attaining greater spending power in the near future. Annual per capita GDP, also climbing prior to the recession, is now running below regional competitor states such as Bangladesh, with no major signs of moving upward without massive restructuring of the socio-economic sphere.

**“With a labor force near 60 million people—doubled since 1990—the current indicators combined with meager short-term prospects are troubling”**

With a labor force near 60 million people – doubled since 1990 – the current indicators combined with meager short-term prospects are troubling. While analysts have found the linkage between poverty and extremism to be weak, a growing number of citizens without jobs, or the prospect of jobs, may become further angered with the current trajectory of Pakistan.

Strongly positive signals in the immediate future

of Pakistan's economic health are not numerous, and a historical aversion to proportionally taxing its wealthiest citizens who have the most to give will undoubtedly make progress more difficult. Avenues for the United States to bolster the Pakistani economy include, but are not limited to: increasing trade in industries such as textiles, lowering or removing tariffs on said industries, and increasing focus on private sector development.

**Sunrise or Sunset?**

A recent Pew public opinion poll sampling Pakistani attitudes toward the United States showed an 11% favorability rating. This is a decline from a high of 27% in 2006 and about on par with the period immediately following September 11, when U.S. engagement with Pakistan became much more significant.

Despite U.S. aid contributions being greater than any other nation and the fact that aid has given boosts to over-stressed sectors like energy, Pakistanis are not happy with the relationship. Given the course of the war against al Qaeda and affiliated organizations, and that Pakistan comes up again and again, the same can likely be said about American views toward Pakistan.

Yet, it is in both the interests of the West and of Pakistan that a stable state continues to emerge in the coming years. How much the United States can do directly to impact Pakistan's future is unknowable. Aid, while having some meaningful impact, is not the ultimate answer. Pakistan must stand on its own feet.

The overall outlook is perhaps somewhat grim, but our Pakistani partners deserve credit as noted in just a handful of useful examples above. It is worth remembering that Pakistan is fighting the fight. Over 8,000 civilians have been killed by extremists since the beginning of 2009, with many more injured. The military is also losing hundreds of men per year combating terrorism in its own backyard. Though the security of the state is in peril, with Taliban and other extremist sanctuaries still solidly planted and Pakistani commitment to destroying the networks somewhat lacking, the state marches on. While maybe it should be, Pakistan is probably not any closer to collapse now than before economic and security outlooks turned bleaker in 2007 and 2008. ■

Joseph and Andrew Melrose

# Positioning Pakistan

## US Foreign Policy's Too Big to Fail Moment



*U.S. Ambassador Anne Patterson at the groundbreaking of a highway project in Peshawar. Photo: State Department*

IN recent years the phrase “too big to fail” has come into vogue among Pakistan watchers and the general American political commentariat. Pakistan is the 6th most populous country in the world and has the 27th largest economy. Karachi is one of the world’s megacities with a population of almost 17 million, while the country’s strategic importance is obvious with the briefest of looks at a map. Seizing on these demographic and geographic realities, analysts note that the potential impact of “failure” would be disastrous for the region and cause ripples of destabilization throughout the world. Implicit in this analysis is the assertion that the United States must do something to keep Pakistan from falling.

Just this spring there has been an attack on a naval base in Karachi, suicide bombings at a bakery and religious shrine, and now routine attacks on checkpoints along the Afghan border. The situation seems dire and, coupled with the partial breakdown in US-Pakistani relations due to the Abbottabad raid and Raymond Davis episode, it is

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only natural to wonder if events are spiraling out of control and things are falling apart. When it comes to Pakistan it often seems, to continue the Yeats reference, that the “best,” from our perspective, lack conviction and the “worst” are full of passionate intensity.

**“In the past three years, over 4,000 innocent civilians have been killed in suicide attacks carried out by militants from both inside and outside of Pakistan”**

In the past three years, over 4,000 innocent civilians have been killed in suicide attacks carried out by militants from both inside and outside of Pakistan. This wave of attacks has been directed at Pakistani national symbols and society and seem aimed at rupturing the bonds that have held together the disparate elements of the country since its inception a little over 60 years ago. Sufi shrines, Ahmadi mosques, Benazir Bhutto, bakeries, markets, cricket teams and volleyball matches have all been targeted with devastating effect. These attacks have hit the very elements

that form the foundation of national identity: cultural touchstones and minority traditions, secular leaders and political figures, community institutions and the necessities of life, sporting heroes and recreational activities. No segment of everyday society has been spared in this attempt to change the very fabric of the country.

Yet despite repeated evidence that these are attacks against Pakistan and what it means to be Pakistani, there are many elements within Pakistani society that feel they are merely the logical end result of the post 9/11 Pakistani-American alliance. At the same time there are many Americans who forget the real pain Pakistan has felt in this mutual struggle against extremist terrorists or how much the front line has been expanded from Afghanistan across the border into Pakistan.

The rhetoric following an historic joint session of the Pakistani Parliament which heard testimony from the head of the Directorate for Inter-Services Intelligence and the Deputy Chief of Air Staff to the Pakistani Parliament about the Osama bin Laden raid was shocking to American ears.

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Instead of wondering how bin Laden stayed hidden for so long in a part of the country not associated with unrest, or the ways in which militants are threatening the cultural foundations of the country, reactions focused on perceived failings by the Pakistani military to allow the US raid in the first place. In many ways it was standard short term political grandstanding and theater, something Americans are all too familiar with and something our own politicians did around the same incident. Craven and calculated it seemed to Western eyes, conveniently ignoring the fecklessness of American politicians. Unfortunately, the tensions these statements fan is all too real.

To many in the Pakistani political class it was a, perhaps belated and misdirected, reassertion of national identity and sovereignty no doubt influenced by remembrance of the rapid US departure following the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Many Americans see the death of bin Laden as the conclusion of the Afghanistan mission and support an immediate drawdown from the region. Pakistanis may justifiably wonder if this is the end, yet again, of American assistance leaving them with the fallout. Both sides need to seek a level relationship based on long-term cooperation as opposed to one that tends to have high peaks and deep valleys based on respective short-term needs.

Opinions on both Pakistani and American political websites since the raid have been visceral and over the top. Openly calling for retributive realignment towards China and India respectively, both of which have made indications that they do not want to be placed in the middle of this spat, they threaten to break apart an important long term mutual strategic alliance. But this incident provides one more opportunity for Pakistan (and the US) to overcome the complacency and reversion to the norm that has taken place since the assassination of Benazir Bhutto and the slow withering away of the Lawyer's Movement. This latest inevitable readjustment, revision and recommitment is vitally important to both the US and Pakistan and must be reached in as open a manner and on as equal a footing as possible.

A Pakistani friend once said that relations between the two countries would be so much better if they each just laid out explicitly what their interests were instead of hiding behind rhetoric.

While the sentiment might be a bit optimistic it is good to remind ourselves, both Pakistani and American, of the overarching interests involved. Over two thousand years ago Sun-Tzu in *The Art of War* said that if you know others and know yourself you will not lose a battle. This is especially true when it comes to managing an alliance. An explicit statement of expectations would be a beginning but understanding what those expectations really are and the extent to which they can be met is essential.

Pakistan and the United States have a long history of mutual friendship and support. The US was one of the first countries to recognize Pakistan, providing important economic and military aid to support the nascent nation. As founding members of CENTO and SEATO they were part

**“A Pakistani friend once said that relations between the two countries would be so much better if they each just laid out explicitly what their interests were instead of hiding behind rhetoric”**

of a shared defense alliance against the Soviet Union. In addition they shared a partially overlapping goal of limiting Indian influence as it flirted with the Soviet sphere and promoted the Non-Aligned Movement. For the US, Pakistan historically provided a bulwark against the Soviet Union, an important conduit to China, playing a vital and underreported role in facilitating Nixon's groundbreaking trip, a counter balance to Indian regional influence and, following the Iranian revolution, protection against revolutionary expansion. Currently it's important as a supply route and ally for the Afghanistan mission, a potential route for an energy pipeline from Central Asia that would avoid Iran and Russia, and as a source of moderate Islamic thought. Occupying an important position on the Gulf of Oman the US needs Pakistan for its strategic geographic position, its support in the Afghan conflict and its potential as a moderating political voice. For Pakistan, the US has historically been an important source of financial aid and economic assistance, helping develop an economy that has never really recovered from the after effects of

partition and equipping an army viewed as an institution of national pride. Much of the Pakistani military's equipment is American made, including tanks and fighters. Furthermore the relationship with the US is viewed as a strategic alignment to help limit Indian influence. The US provided important political, material, and intelligence support to Pakistan during the 1971 War, although it did not during the 1965 war.

Pakistan not only needs the US as a source of financial assistance for economic development, the hidden issue that most threatens Pakistan, but also as a supplier of military equipment for defence purposes vis a vis India, an ever present Baluchistan liberation movement and the Talibanized Waziristan areas. Additionally, American political and diplomatic support is vital in its ongoing rivalry with India. Pakistan's current flirtations with China are not something new. Pakistan has done this before but this time China seems unwilling to add another source of tension to its relationship with the US. Yet despite a longstanding friendship based on mutual interests there have been times when the US-Pakistani relationship has teetered. The first was in 1965 when Pakistan invaded India and erroneously hoped that the US, and other CENTO countries, would support it under the terms of the defense treaty. The second was in 1990 when due to Congressional legislation the US placed military sanctions, including an embargo on delivery of already purchased F-16s, on Pakistan over the continued development of its nuclear program. This incident in particular still looms large in Pakistani memory which views it as a betrayal, hypocrisy (in light of India and Israel) and an example of American willingness to abandon Pakistan as soon as its short term needs are met. We are now in the third moment of major strain and in many ways this is being haunted by past feelings of resentment and the fear that history will repeat itself.

It is a critical moment indeed, but one that has been weathered before. The strategic alliance between the United States and Pakistan is based on mutual needs and will by necessity be reaffirmed. Frankly, both Pakistan and the US need each other for their own separate interests but both countries need to do a better job managing expectations and understanding what each other's needs are. ■

Moeed Yusuf

# Getting Pakistan to Act against Militant Sanctuaries

## Helping Pakistan To Help Itself



*Pakistani troops patrolling the Khyber Pass area on the Afghanistan border. Credit: Seophoto240779, Flickr.*

**F**OR some time now, the U.S. military has contended that its efforts to defeat the Afghan insurgency are being hampered by the presence of militant sanctuaries inside neighboring Pakistan. U.S. officials maintain that without a concerted effort by the Pakistani state to root out the presence of the Haqqani Network and Mullah Omar’s “Quetta Shura” (together referred to as the Taliban), the U.S. mission will continue to be compromised.

The Pakistani military, while working closely with its U.S. counterpart over the past decade and rendering tremendous counterterrorism support, has constantly resisted pressure from Washington to operate against these sanctuaries. Pakistan’s reluctance to oblige the U.S. has led to the notion of a “double game” in Washington: Pakistan has not gone after America’s enemies wholeheartedly but has received billions of dollars in aid as a U.S. ally. Yet, such labels hardly solve the problem. The reality is that as the endgame in Afghanistan approaches, the U.S. will become even more desperate to see decisive action by Pakistan. But will Pakistan oblige?

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### Why is Pakistan holding out?

There are two principal reasons for Pakistan’s behavior: (i) a belief that targeting the sanctuaries may cause Pakistan to lose its leverage in the Afghan reconciliation process and in turn produce an endgame settlement detrimental to Pakistan’s interests; and (ii) a concern that attacking the sanctuaries would cause tremendous backlash within Pakistan which the state may be unable to manage. Pakistan’s current objective set in Afghanistan involves ensuring a modicum of stability in Afghanistan; allowing for an inclusive and representative – read Pushtun-heavy – government to take over Kabul post-transition; and preventing arch-rival India from using Afghan territory to undermine Pakistan’s stability and security. The Taliban, despite their increasingly troubled relationship with the Pakistani spy agency, the ISI, and misgivings towards the Pakistani state, remain Pakistan’s friendliest option. Even though they are no longer expected to do Pakistan’s bidding, their deep ethnic and cultural links with Pakistani Pushtuns militate against an overtly anti-Pakistan stance. At the same time, however, the Pakistani state realizes the unacceptability and impracticality of supporting a total Taliban takeover in Afghanistan

in the present circumstances. Islamabad is therefore desirous of a political reconciliation process that incorporates the Taliban in a power-sharing formula. Such an outcome will have the added advantage of prompting the Taliban to relocate to Afghanistan.

The Pakistani military also remains concerned about the law and order repercussions from a military adventure in North Waziristan. There is a strong sense that the military lacks capacity to open up new battlefronts. Indeed, the Army has committed nearly one-third of its force to the northwest of the country and yet, it is barely able to “build and hold” the areas it has cleared. An incomplete or ineffective military campaign in North Waziristan could lead Afghan insurgent groups to back anti-Pakistan groups like the Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) as they seek to raise the costs for the Pakistani state. A massive backlash in the already turbulent Pakistani heartland could ensue, causing public sentiment to pressure the military to abort the North Waziristan operation. Pakistan would then have antagonized the Taliban and forced closer operational links with anti-Pakistan groups while

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at the same time causing greater mayhem in its cities.

**What has the U.S. done to get Pakistan to act?**

U.S. policymakers have been woefully unimaginative in terms of what is required to convince Pakistan to act against the Taliban present on its soil. An analysis of the policy tools used essentially reveals a combination of three tools: coercion, “normative” pressure and monetary assistance. Coercion has entailed veiled U.S. threats that Washington would consider unilateral action or even reconsider its overall relationship with Pakistan should the latter continue to avoid the demand to act against sanctuaries. Normative pressure refers to the propensity of U.S. policymakers to continue impressing upon the Pakistani military that it was failing to pursue Pakistan’s real interest which lay in targeting all types of radical militant groups, the Taliban included. Finally, monetary assistance (more aptly termed a “buy out”), especially the part directed to the military, is delivered with the expectation that the Pakistani military will target anti-U.S. elements (apart from anti-Pakistan outfits).

None of these ever had a realistic chance of succeeding. Coercion never had the desired effect as Pakistanis calculated, correctly it turns out, that the U.S. was too dependent on cooperation with Islamabad it to pull away completely. After all, Pakistan provides the logistical lifeline to coalition troops in Afghanistan and it retains enormous “spoiling power” in Afghanistan which could be unleashed if Islamabad chooses to adopt an outright antagonistic stance, which of course would also come at a tremendous cost to Pakistan itself. The fallout from large-scale unilateral military operations inside Pakistan is also well understood by both sides. Normative pressure is a non-starter in statecraft unless combined with potent incentives to mould behavior. It is always a state’s self perceived interest, and not how others wish it to be, which determines actions. Pakistan’s Afghanistan policy is so fundamental to the country’s strategic outlook that no amount of mere “preaching” by the U.S. was ever likely to convince Pakistan that it was misreading its own interests irrespective of whether it actually was. As for the “buy out”, it reflected an exaggeration of just what U.S. monetary assistance could attain in terms of altering Pakistan’s strategic mindset. My conversations with Pakistani policymakers in

recent years suggest that at no point did Pakistan seriously consider aid to be a quid pro quo for a strategic shift which was seen as being counter-productive to its national security interests.

**What would it take?**

From a Pakistani vantage point, the concern about an antagonistic or unrepresentative government in Afghanistan is intrinsic to the country’s view of national security. This makes U.S. inducements such as monetary assistance or normative pleas largely irrelevant. What U.S. policy has lacked all along are measures, or willingness to undertake them, that would satisfy Pakistani interests despite a concerted effort to root out Taliban sanctuaries. A few steps that can begin to change the Pakistani mindset are highlighted below:

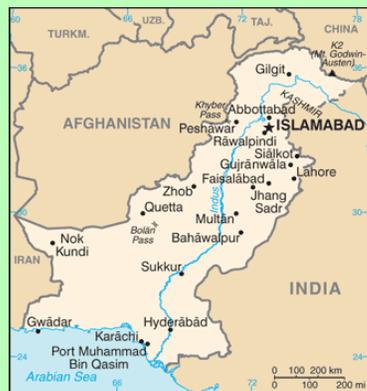
Foremost, the U.S. has to explain the link between the military and political aspects of its Afghanistan strategy with regard to the Taliban. Pakistanis frequently ask how targeting the Taliban’s leadership in Pakistan reconciles with the desire to negotiate with them in endgame discussions. Many among the Pakistani foreign policy elite see



**Pakistan’s Strategic Supply-Lines: A Challenge For Afghanistan Operations**

As a landlocked country with limited internal infrastructure, Afghanistan’s geography poses a number of logistical challenges regarding troop support for the NATO mission there. Pakistan, strategically located between these troops and the Arabian Sea, has provided the least expensive overland route into Afghanistan via ports at Karachi and the sometimes treacherous Khyber Pass toward Kabul. This supply route’s tactical importance is such that in the past as much as 80 percent of overland supplies have been transited through Pakistan.

Tense relationships between the government in Islamabad and its Western counterparts coupled with Taliban forces operating in the border region, however, have severely undermined the reliability of this passage. The Federally Administered Tribal Areas that border Afghanistan are notorious for insurgent activity, an ongoing source of tension between Islamabad and the United States, resulting in incidents like an American border strike in October 2010 that killed two Pakistani soldiers. That incident resulted in the Pakistani government closing the crossing at Torkham to NATO transit until an official U.S. government apology eleven days later, during which time 150 supply trucks were destroyed while waiting to cross.



NATO officials, aware of calls within the Pakistani government to close the border once more in the wake of the Osama bin Laden raid that put a further strain on relations, aim to cut the 40 percent of supplies moving through Pakistan now to 25, moving the other 75 percent through the Northern Distribution Network, which treks through Central Asia and the Balkan states. In the interim, sensitive or expensive equipment continues to be delivered by airdrop rather than risking the overland route, and additional supplies, such as 45 days worth of gasoline, are being kept on the ground as reserves in case supplies are delayed. So while United States military officials have stated that a closure of the Pakistan-Afghanistan border would not end the NATO mission there, it would pose challenges that they prefer to avoid by continuing to pursue closer relations with Islamabad.

*Research and Copy by Laura Reiter, ISOA Publications Associate | Graphic: CIA*

Shehryar Fazli

# The Menace of Strangeness

## Pakistan's Tribal Areas



*The mountain along Pakistan's border with Afghanistan. Credit: Farooq Hasnat, Flickr.*

**B**EFORE the term 'Federally Administered Tribal Areas', or its acronym 'FATA', became part of everyday discussion, Pakistanis commonly referred to the region as 'Ilaka Ghair', meaning 'Strange Land'. Since independence, it has provided sanctuary and a place of business for smugglers and criminals of every hue, who thereby evade the reach of the law. It is unsurprising, therefore, that a long roster of local, regional and international extremist outfits has made this place home.

The predominantly Pashtun tribal areas comprise seven administrative units known as tribal agencies, and six other regions known as Frontier Regions. The seven tribal agencies are South Waziristan, North Waziristan, Orakzai, Kurram, Khyber, Mohmand and Bajaur. The Durand Line of 1893, a 2,500-kilometer drawn by the British during the Raj, divides FATA and Afghanistan. Since the U.S.-led invasion of Afghanistan in late 2001, all seven tribal agencies have, at least in part, been paralyzed by militancy and heavy-handed Pakistani military operations. Sectarian terrorist

outfits from the Pakistani heartland, particularly Punjab, have also established major bases in the agencies. While some still argue that 'Talibanization' is a product of tribal Pashtun 'culture' and norms, more sober voices acknowledge that the area's political, legal and economic backwardness is the root of the crisis.

### FATA's Administration

What is so strange about these lands?

FATA is governed by a colonial-era legal and administrative framework codified in the British-devised Frontier Crimes Regulations (FCR) of 1901. During the Raj, this territory was to serve as a buffer against Russian southward expansion. Pakistan retained the system after independence in 1947, both as a buffer against an interventionist Afghanistan that made periodic irredentist claims on Pashtun lands across the Duran Line, and a staging ground to similarly interfere in Afghanistan through local and Afghan Islamist proxies. Under the FCR and Articles 246 and 247 of the constitution, Pakistani laws do not apply to FATA, nor do any other constitutional clauses, including those protecting freedom of speech, assembly, fair trial, dignity and other fundamental

rights. FATA does not have a regular police force or courts. An act of parliament does not apply to the tribal areas unless the president directs otherwise (except in one matter, to be discussed below). While the government extended adult franchise to FATA in 1997, elections take place on a non-party basis, and elected parliamentarians cannot effectively legislate for their constituents.

Instead, governance in each agency is overseen by a centrally appointed bureaucrat, the political agent (PA), who enjoys extensive executive, judicial and financial authority without credible checks. His powers include: imprisoning for three years a person who has not committed a crime but ostensibly poses a threat of "culpable homicide or the dissemination of sedition"; and punishing an entire tribe for crimes committed on its territory through fines, asset seizures, economic blockades and detention of any of the tribe's members. Such actions cannot be appealed in a regular court. The collective punishment clause is frequently used to settle scores and make examples of tribal members who impede the political agent's work. These officials, moreover, levy a range of taxes for which the revenue is

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never accounted for, including taxes on movement and economic activity..

The political agent also conducts day-to-day business through a tribal elite composed of maliks, or tribal elders, a male hereditary status that the political agent can nevertheless arbitrarily withdraw or suspend if he deems a malik is working against the interests of the state. The maliks form a network of paid intermediaries and collaborators, established under the British colonials, to suppress crime, maintain social peace and ensure loyalty to the state. In return, these tribal elite receive stipends, special status and other privileges. They also preside over and appoint members to jirgas, or councils of elders, which decide both civil and criminal cases based on customary law, which is selective and generally discriminatory towards women. A jirga's decision can be appealed to the political agent, but not to any court of law.

### The Collapse of the System

These norms, regulations and institutions ensure that the tribal areas are not just a playground for crooks, but a virtual prison for anyone who is socially, politically and economically active. Yet, until FATA became a base for a medley of extremist groups, nobody in Pakistan seriously questioned its system of governance. The political agents and the maliks were doing their jobs, and the Strange Land seemed to be at peace. Then, as militancy spread, the extremists killed hundreds of maliks, attacked and took over jirgas, and intimidated or co-opted the political agents. The fragile peace was gone. The ease with which insurgents and tribal gangsters, including Afghan Taliban, entrenched themselves in the agencies is directly attributable to FATA's tenuous governance: essentially, unlike other parts of Pakistan where extremists operate but less conspicuously, here there was no state to resist.

Since 2004, the Pakistani military has been entering into various short-sighted peace deals with insurgents that, far from restoring stability, have merely given extremists more room to operate and more communities to terrorize. Almost simultaneously, the military has conducted operations against insurgents in every tribal agency, except North Waziristan where it maintains an accord with Afghan-oriented militant groups such as the Haqqani network. These heavy

-handed strikes have displaced at least 1.4 million people.

The military's counterinsurgency efforts also frequently involve using the collective punishment clause to force tribes to do the state's job of fighting the Taliban. In 2004, for example, South Waziristan's administration shut down, and later threatened to demolish, the agency's central marketplace when members of a major tribe failed to capture foreign militants there. In 2010, South Waziristan residents who were displaced were forced to return to their agency and form militias to counter the extremists. Rather than win any hearts and minds, such tactics only aggravate public resentments against the state and make peace more elusive.

### Changing Course

The only way to win back the region is through comprehensive political reforms that extend the state's writ to the region. Article 247 of the constitution empowers parliament to extend the high judiciary's jurisdiction to FATA. Such legislation would be a small but positive step towards ending a virtual apartheid, allowing the Supreme Court to protect basic rights through case law. In a 1993 decision, the Supreme Court rejected the FCR's enforcement in parts of Balochistan, the other province bordering Afghanistan, concluding that the "mere existence of a tribal society or a tribal culture does not by itself create a stumbling block in the way of enforcing ordinary procedures of criminal law,

**“The only way to win back  
the region is through  
comprehensive political  
reforms”**

trial and detention which is enforceable in the entire country.” The same reasoning would then be applicable to FATA. The argument that this might severely disrupt tribal norms and produce even greater chaos is simply untenable. If it didn't do so in Balochistan, it's unlikely to do so in FATA. Indeed, as multiple tribal forums have expressed, there is widespread appetite within the region for abolishing or dramatically amending the FCR and overhauling the administrative system run by political agents and maliks. In August 2009, President Asif Zardari announced a package of

FATA reforms that, while limited, nevertheless included some vital measures, including among others lifting the ban on political party activity; curtailing the bureaucracy's arbitrary powers of arrest and detention; and auditing the political agent's revenue and spending. The package was welcomed across the agencies. Yet, almost two years later, none of the reforms have been implemented, due primarily to resistance from the military and civil bureaucracy who argue that, for the time being, they require 'iron hand' powers of the FCR to fight the insurgency, such as collective punishment and economic blockades. The utility of this approach has already been addressed above.

Until Pakistan repeals or overhauls the FCR, the international community should be extremely cautious about pouring money into FATA's unaccountable institutions. In January 2010, for instance, the then-U.S. ambassador announced a \$55 million USAID grant for reconstruction in South Waziristan, channeled through the FATA Secretariat, which was established in 2006 by then-President Pervez Musharraf and, not answerable to any elected body, is as dysfunctional as it is unaccountable. This secretariat awarded all \$55 million to the Frontier Works Organization (FWO), the military's construction arm, through a dubious bidding process where other competitors like the National Highway Authority had lower bids. The FWO has used the money to build two roads. So long as they are attracting such funds, the military and FATA's civil bureaucracy will be even less inclined to allow the needed reforms, taxpayers' money will enhance corruption and the U.S. and other Western allies will be seen at best as insincere, and at worst colluders in FATA's suppression. More importantly, without reforms that extend the law of the land to the tribal belt, this region will remain a sanctuary for militant groups that attack within Pakistan and across the Durand Line. Donors should balance any international assistance to FATA with robust dialogue on the need for those reforms, and be prepared to withhold the funds if Pakistan fails to act.

The strangeness of this Strange Land is not due Pashtun custom and norms; it's a strangeness designed by outsiders and written into law, and as long it is there, this strategically-located territory will remain a threat both to domestic and regional stability. ■

Sandra Sieber

# Improving Federal Contracting

## Is the “Contracting Process” Really the Issue?



The U.S. Army Contracting Command . Photos: U.S. Army Contracting Command, Flickr

**H**AVING viewed various aspects of contracting and acquisition from the vantage point of a retired federal government senior executive, as well as from the client perspective as a consultant, I have gained a wide understanding of the persistent challenges in the process. At a very base level, contracting simply takes too long; although, at the end of the fiscal year, procurements are rushed to meet expiring funds deadlines. Secondly, it is overcomplicated and difficult to understand; thirdly, contract prices always seem high or result in overruns; and fourthly, there is constant debate over what should be “contracted out” versus performed “in-house.” Finally, there is frequent confusion concerning the appropriate role for contractors on the battlefield.

In my opinion, the most significant factors contributing to these problems often originate not from the contracting process itself, but from the nature of contracts as a reflection of the totality of inputs by other parts of the system. I will illustrate this point for each of the concerns outlined above in the following paragraphs.

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### The Process Takes Too Long

First, why does the contracting process take so long? There are many reasons, including:

- funding is not appropriated in a timely manner;
- offices requiring goods or services do not know how to define their requirements and/or their internal process for submitting procurement requests;
- requirements are subject to political influences;
- contracting offices may not be adequately staffed or trained; and
- many parts of the process, mandated by law or regulation, are designed to allow the maximum number of companies to compete, creating an environment conducive to complaints in the form of protests and appeals.

With regard to training, this often impacts contingency contracting offices because they may be staffed with junior personnel or personnel with little training or experience in contracting procedures on the macro-level, or contingency contracting procedures on the micro-level. Senior leaders responsible for approving budgets have significant control over the size of the contracting staff, and over the types of military personnel

assigned to overseas contingency operations. When hiring, the focus is usually on the skills and level of experience soldiers require to operate in theater, and for many years, the contracting contingent was neglected. However, the amount of services and goods placed under contract, and thus the contracting workload expanded exponentially, while the procurement workforce shrank. Subsequent to the 2007 Gansler Commission report, the tide is turning and staff sizes are increasing, but the ratio of junior personnel to senior is still not favorable.

Things take longer when new staffers are in training, which brings us directly to addressing the first challenge: the process simply takes too long. As a result, the appropriation of funds is delayed each fiscal year (appropriations bills are passed later and later each year and some departments will have none this year), which causes a “hurry up and wait” situation or a minute rush at the end of the fiscal year to avoid funds expiration. Since all those in the acquisition process have problems planning for and executing annual fund appropriations in the prescribed timeframe, perhaps the time has come to eliminate funds that require an annual appropriation. Congress has been exhorted

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in many acquisition reform reviews, from the Packard Commission through current review groups, to eliminate the annual funds appropriation deadlines. Some types of funds have a longer life, but many large-services contracts are funded with appropriations that expire in one year and to date Congress has not accepted these recommendations.

### The Process Is Overcomplicated

Next, why is the federal contracting process come with so many qualifiers? While many ask why the government cannot do business like contractors, the reality is that our form of government wants to provide the maximum number of opportunity for all companies in all states to successfully compete for contracts. It also wishes to use contracts as a tool to address socioeconomic concerns. Through previous reforms, the government has attempted to award longer contracts for a grouping of goods and services to reduce administrative costs and take advantage of economies of scale. However, a five-year contract cuts out the losing companies for a much longer period, in which case one sometimes sees an increase in protests, Congressional involvement and, in some cases, forced re-competition before the end of the long-term contract. In private industry, on the other hand, contractual relationships are often long-term and continue as long as each party is performing well. For the government, the socioeconomic provisions favoring various categories of small business and veteran owned businesses are complex and often lead to “gaming the system” or partnerships that may or may not be the most beneficial contractual relationships; not to mention saddling the contractors with the complicated “Buy American” provisions in a global marketplace.

### The Process Results In High Prices

Sometimes major system programs are budgeted in advance with inadequate knowledge of related impacting factors, or the program does not have configuration control discipline as it matures. Either of these situations can result in “cost overruns.” In the former case, program managers and contractors know the program, as defined, is going to cost more than the funds budgeted – an unrealistically low price may be agreed to, but they will ultimately overrun. Another problem is that perhaps, as originally defined, the estimate was adequate for the program, but continual changes

(hanging “bells and whistles” on the item) resulted in overruns. Often contractors or contracting offices are blamed when the program and budgeting process are the real culprits. The acquisition personnel are good at doing trade-off analyses in evaluating competing contractors, but do not often use that technique to evaluate programmatic options along with the probable business impacts of those decisions.

### The Process Is Conflicted

Finally, the constant debate over insourcing versus outsourcing, and the role of contractors in military operations are related as privatization decisions impact the current military forces in the field. For many years, and even today, funding and the ability to request contractual support for the mission has been decentralized to very low levels in the organization. Recent acquisition reforms have attempted to implement strategic sourcing for various categories of goods and services. However, there has never been one office in any executive agency responsible for defining their organization’s “inherently governmental” functions or for making strategic decisions about what services to obtain by contract versus from government personnel. For many years, Congress pushed the use of the OMB Circular A-76 process of competing, commercial-like activities between the government and private industry. There are many problems with the process, not the least of which being that it makes systemic, organization-wide approaches to those services almost impossible to impose upon a myriad of contractors and government organizations. Also, privatizing functions formerly performed by soldiers has resulted in an increased numbers of contractor personnel on the battlefield.

### The Process Seeks Solutions

Many senior level panels and groups have made various recommendations to address some of these issues. Because of the significant role major-mission service contracting plays in the federal government’s operation, particularly in the Department of Defense, I believe it is time for the contracting/business process (procurement, in particular, as a focused subset of the acquisition process) to have a representative at the most senior level of government.

For example, since I am most familiar with army structure, I believe the army could function more

strategically if one of the 4-star equivalent assistant secretaries stepped into a newly created position, the assistant secretary for business (procurement) operations. The current assistant secretary for acquisition logistics and technology is responsible for major weapon system program managers and program executive offices, research and development programs, logistics and policy and oversight of the contracting process. This is a wide area of responsibility and the major program issues demand the most attention.

A separate business advisor could provide advice to the most senior levels of the army regarding contracts and/or the contracting process. That person could also help lead a team to examine and advise on which categories of work across the service should remain in-house, which should be performed by contract and which could be shared. They could also provide advice and feedback to Congress about “what if” drills on potential

## **“The creation of the Army Contracting Agency (now Command) was a step in the right direction”**

cancellations of programs under contract or reduction of quantities, especially since reducing quantities often increases unit prices and does not save many dollars – cancelling a program with a multi-year contract can incur significant cancellation charges. The advisor’s most important function, however, would be to provide information to senior leaders to make informed decisions, taking into account the business and contractual impacts of shifts in direction on programs and service support.

The creation of the Army Contracting Agency (now Command) was a step in the right direction and one of the most significant changes in army contracting in recent times. It is now part of the Army Material Command, which lends senior military support to the contingency contracting function. However, it is still not equal to an assistant secretary, in terms of providing more strategic advice and business guidance. Perhaps it is time for the secretary of defense and the services to re-evaluate how it organizes business/contracting functions at the most senior levels. This would elevate responsibility to a level commensurate with significance. ■

Scott Firsing

# America and UN Peacekeeping

A New Perspective



Photos: Stock

**W**HEN the words “United States” and “United Nations” are used in the same sentence, it is highly likely that the author is talking about some sort of controversy. This is certainly the case when it comes to America and U.N. peacekeeping operations. Frequently this question is raised: “Is the United States wasting its money?” The goal of this article is not to argue one side or the other, but rather offer a fresh perspective.

First and foremost, the latest survey or “perspective” of the average American should be taken into consideration, since it is their tax money that pays for all U.S. government programs. What are Americans saying about the U.S. military and U.N. peacekeeping? Past surveys have shown a greater willingness to act in certain circumstances if the action is multilateral rather than unilateral. This fact has not changed. The most recent study released in late 2010 by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, entitled “Global Views 2010,” shows that 64 percent of Americans favor having a standing U.N.

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peacekeeping force selected, trained and commanded by the United Nations. Fifty-four percent also think that the United Nations needs to be strengthened. One can respond to this by saying that the average American has almost no say when it comes to U.S. foreign policy, so it is

**“The U.S. State Department maintains that increasing the effectiveness of U.N. peacekeeping is one of the highest priorities for the United States at the United Nations”**

worthwhile to also consider the Obama administration’s official position on U.N. peacekeeping.

The U.S. State Department maintains that increasing the effectiveness of U.N. peacekeeping is one of the highest priorities for the United States at the United Nations. A State Department fact sheet dated September 24, 2010 states, “Multilateral peacekeeping shares the risks and responsibilities of maintaining international peace and security,” and most importantly “is a cost-

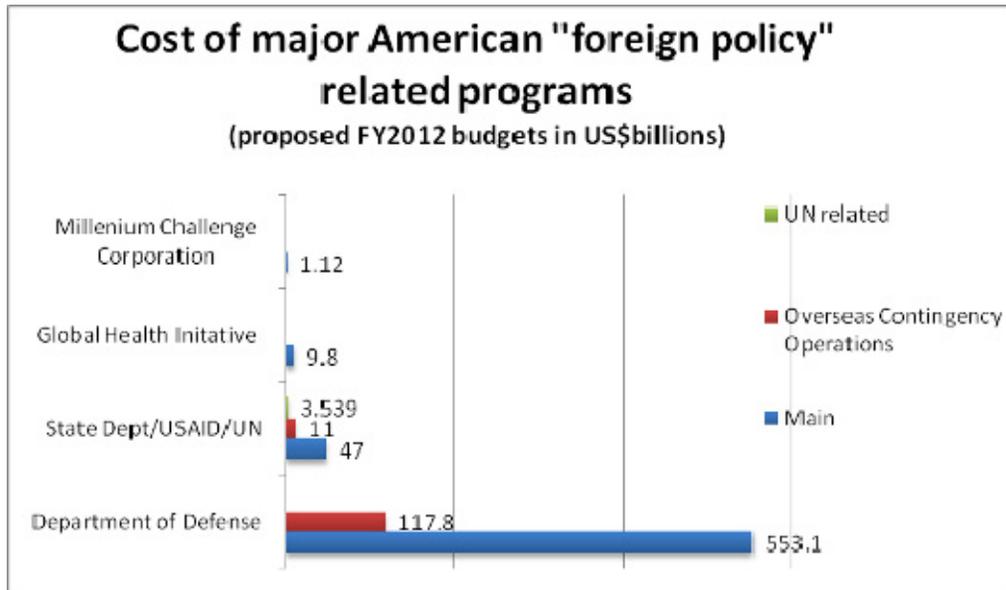
effective way to help achieve U.S. strategic and humanitarian interests.”

The keyword there is definitely “cost-effective.” The Government Accountability Office’s (GAO) testimony to the House of Representatives from June 2007 addresses how cost effective U.N. peacekeeping can be:

We estimate that it would cost the United States about twice as much as it would the [United Nations] to conduct a peacekeeping operation similar to the U.N. mission in Haiti. The [United Nations] budgeted \$428 million for the first 14 months of the mission. A similar U.S. operation would have cost an estimated \$876 million. Virtually the entire cost difference can be attributed to cost of civilian police, military pay and support, and facilities.

On the surface it looks like putting more money into U.N. peacekeeping makes sense. To put this in context, however, let’s consider how much money America is currently spending on peacekeeping and how this compares to other foreign programs it funds.

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Credit: Constructed by Scott Firsing with data from the White House, Office of Management and Budget.

On February 14, 2011, President Obama presented his proposed budget for the fiscal year 2012. The Department of Defense was allocated \$553.1 billion, in addition to \$117.8 billion for Overseas Contingency Operations, such as Afghanistan. The State Department will most likely receive \$47 billion, as part of their own separate budget. The State Department’s budget includes the Contributions to International Organizations (CIO) account, which pays America’s dues to the United Nations and other multilateral organizations, as well as the Contributions to International Peacekeeping Activities (CIPA) account, which funds U.N. peacekeeping missions. President Obama’s 2012 funding request for both the CIO and the CIPA is \$3.539 billion. Let us compare that to the budgets for other U.S. foreign policy programs.

Contrary to what one might initially think, other smaller programs like Obama’s Global Health Initiative are actually far better funded than U.S. obligations to the United Nations. The president’s Global Health Initiative, which is aimed at combating HIV/AIDS and other diseases in developing countries, is budgeted at \$9.8 billion – or rather, more than double and close to triple the amount of money given to multilateral organizations and peacekeeping. To use South Africa as an example, their country’s total domestic and international expenditure on HIV/AIDS in 2009, which included \$536 million from the US President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief

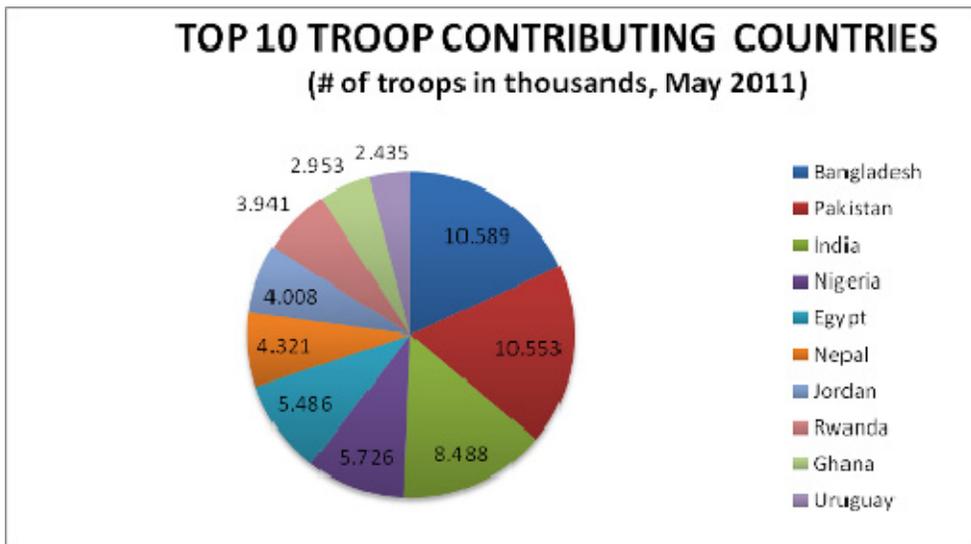
(PEPFAR), was just over \$2 billion. And according to the 2010 South African government “Country Progress Report on the Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS,” HIV prevalence over the last three surveys 2007-09 has stabilized around 29 percent. While one cannot deny that good work is being done, as it is likely that the prevalence rate would have risen if it were not for the great effort put forth, are these outcomes worth \$2 billion dollars, of which more than \$500 million came straight from America?

It may be unfair to compare peacekeeping money with HIV/AIDS money, especially since Americans get a somewhat more tangible return

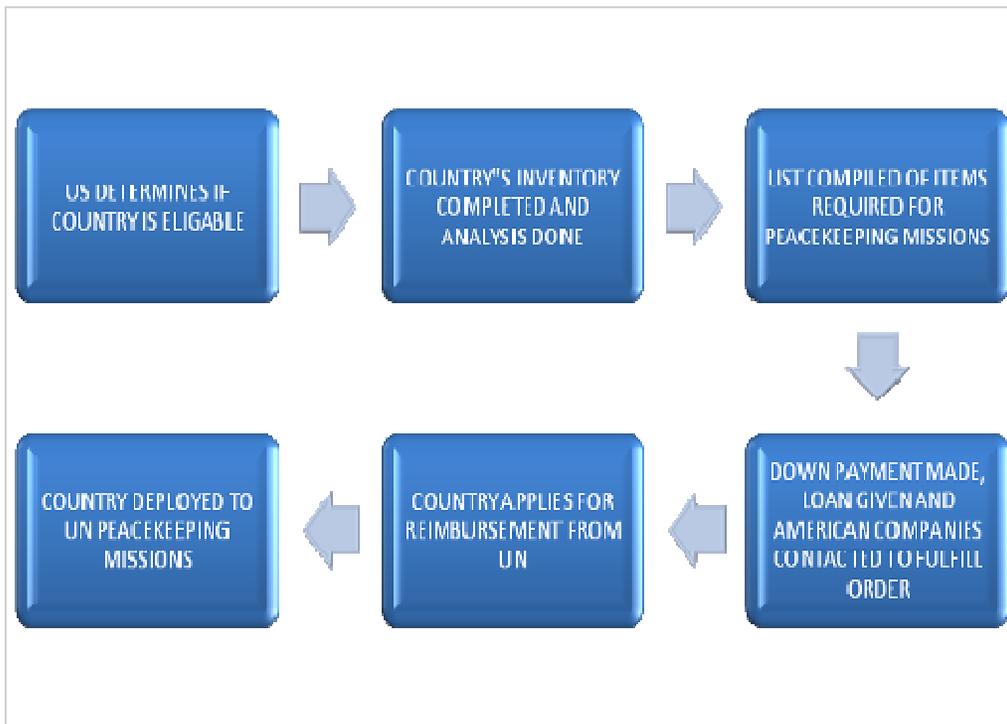
for their country’s money in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Success is not that easy to measure when it comes to peacekeeping. It does seem clear, however, that money spent on U.N. peacekeeping missions is lighter on American wallets than similar missions operated by the U.S. military. So while from a statistical standpoint things may be unclear, there is certainly the need for the United Nations and its Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) to be both more effective and efficient.

The best way to achieve this, as stipulated in the 2010 State Department document quoted earlier, is “by seeking to expand the number, capacity, and effectiveness of troop and police contributors, helping secure General Assembly approval for vital peacekeeping reforms, and working with fellow Security Council members to craft more credible and achievable mandates for operations in such countries as Haiti, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia and Somalia.” All these suggestions seem both beneficial and viable. Moreover, in March 2011, Micah Zenko, Fellow for Conflict Prevention in the Center for Preventive Action, and Rebecca R. Friedman, Research Associate at the Council on Foreign Relations, offered further recommendations that include:

- re-launching the peacekeeping policy review;
- initiating a consultative review of the DPKO capability gaps;
- strongly advocating for realistic and clear mandates by the U.N. Security Council; and increasing the number of U.S. military



Credit: Constructed by Scott Firsing based on figures provided by the UN DPKO.



*Credit: Constructed by Scott Firsing.*

officers in the United Nations by developing a simplified, accelerated interagency process for secondment (which is a British term for the temporary transfer to another job/post within the same organization).

#### A Suggestion

A few years ago, I had the privilege of working for the South African defense contractor Paramount Group (an IPOA member), which is now mass producing their very own line of armored vehicles.

Consider a hypothetical example. Country A is interested in participating in multilateral peacekeeping operations, while at the same time strengthening their own military capabilities. Country A's government has a very small budget and one that has been further downsized by the economic recession.

Country A knows, however, that the United Nations will pay for its participation in missions. It also knows that the United Nations now prefers countries to contribute under self-sustainment, and usually in a full battalion comprising between 500 and 1500 personnel. Country A needs money for equipment, not just for bigger items such as armored vehicles and weapons, but also for smaller items including tents, water purifiers, and even forks and knives. The 233-page U.N. Contingent Owned Equipment Manual shows the

reimbursements Country A could receive, if they could only afford to put a battalion together.

This is where a company like Paramount Group comes in. They provide the following:

- All the equipment required to meet UN peacekeeping mission requirements;
- assistance in determining the best equipment for the contributing nation, as well as the area to which the equipment will be deployed;
- in-mission support and assistance on an ongoing basis;
- in-mission training;
- handling of all logistics in terms of moving of equipment, regular supply of spare parts and redeployment when necessary;
- financing for the acquisition of the equipment over several budget period; and
- financing in-line with the regulations defined by the IMF and World Bank.

It is also important to note that Paramount has found a niche in the market by targeting countries that larger U.S. defense contractors sometimes overlook, but nonetheless provide the most troops for U.N. peacekeeping missions, such as Nigeria, Rwanda and Ghana.

I would suggest American companies follow a similar plan or even work with other countries' defense contractors to help equip countries and their citizens who are looking to take on a larger role in U.N. peacekeeping. In addition to that obvious advantage, the United States will reap the following benefits:

The creation of more American jobs and/or sustained employment at U.S. defense companies due to an

- increase in new orders;
- earned interest on granted loans;
- an increase in bilateral political and military relations with recipient countries; and
- improvement of U.S. government's image as a result of American companies having a greater role in the multilateral arena.

It is possible that the following course of events would follow the implementation of this model :

#### Summary

America's proposed spending on U.N. peacekeeping for 2012 is minimal compared to other foreign policy programs. This is unfortunate because U.N. peacekeeping appears to be a very cost-effective solution to a number of issues surrounding America's interests. Regardless, backed by more than 50 percent approval by the average American, much work has to be done by the United States to help improve not only the

### **“UN peacekeeping appears to be a very cost-effective solution to a number of issues surrounding America's interests”**

efficiency and functionality of U.N. peacekeeping, but also the United Nations as a whole.

Furthermore, while many of the larger defense contractors may be reluctant to enter the business of lending money to developing countries, it seems that the 100 million dollar contracts for state-of-the-art equipment of yesteryear are becoming less common. This will only increase the attractiveness of aiming for a few smaller contracts, perhaps even using refurbished, but still very much operational equipment from the late 20th century, to help countries get involved in multilateral missions and strengthen U.N. peacekeeping overall. ■

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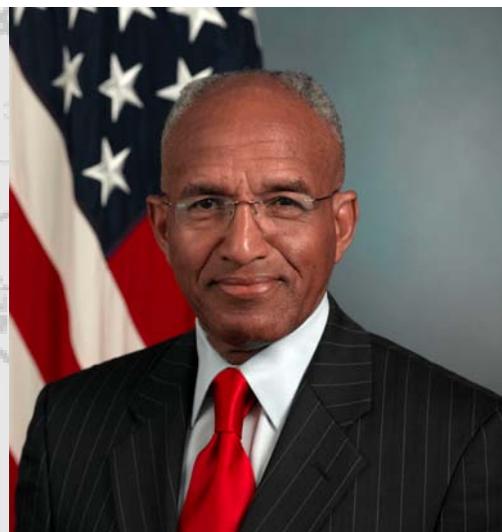
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Naveed Bandali

# Moving Afghanistan Reconstruction Forward

An conversation with the former SIGAR, Maj. Gen. Arnold Fields (Ret.)



Arnold Fields (right) Photos: CIA, SIGAR.

**M**AJOR GENERAL Arnold Fields, USMC (ret.) served as Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR) from July 2008 to February 2011. He previously served as Deputy Director of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, Department of Defense, and as Chief of Staff of the Iraq Reconstruction and Management Office (IRMO) while assigned to the Embassy in Iraq as a member of the U.S. Department of State. Major General Fields retired from the United States Marine Corps in January 2004 after over 34 years of active military service, which included various assignments such as Deputy Commander of Marine Corps Forces in Europe; Director of the Marine Corps Staff; Commanding General of Marine Corps Base Hawaii; Commander of U.S. Central Command's Forward Headquarters Element; and Inspector General of U.S. Central Command.

**JIPO:** What worries you the most about the way in which stabilization and reconstruction operations are currently understood and executed?

**Fields:** There are multiple issues about which I worry, but the one that I think is foremost in my mind is that when the international community sets out to assist other nations in reconstruction, be it the result of natural disaster or political unrest in a country, I worry most about the extent to which the international community includes the host nation in the planning for such an intervention. I say this because of my personal experience in Iraq with the Iraq Reconstruction and Management Office (IRMO) as well as in Afghanistan as the Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction (SIGAR). One of the most significant and commonplace complaints that was brought to my attention was that the international community had failed to include the host nation personnel at all levels — governmental, civil, contractor, and so forth — in the reconstruction of their country.

**JIPO:** While it is easy to be critical, what in your view are the necessary factors for successful and sustainable reconstruction in Afghanistan?

**Fields:** The first, of course, is a solid plan. And this plan has to include anticipated issues at the three dimensions of national security — strategic, operational, and tactical. The strategic level, the

highest, includes the host nation government as well as the governments of the nations intending to participate in the activity. The operational level, a sub-level to the strategic, involves the actual execution of the initiatives being put forth. And the tactical level is where the rubber really meets the road. This is where the international community interfaces with the majority of the host country's people and where development contributions will likely have their most direct and significant impact. So there must be a plan that actually addresses the intent of the various contributions at each level.

Secondly, there needs to be the involvement, once again, of the host nation government — or host nations if we are talking about a region — when the international community is preparing to intervene. And the third is funding, without which, of course, very little can be done. Without funding, it is all hope; but funding underpins hope. And the international community needs to be prepared to fund, commensurate with its ability to contribute.

**JIPO:** Despite its many public flaws, is the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GoIRA) a capable and competent

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enough partner to ensure mission success?

**Fields:** First, I would say that Afghanistan does not stand alone in terms of flaws. I believe that all nations have flaws. It is the extent to which nations are willing to address their respective flaws that represents the true strength of each nation. So, yes, Afghanistan has quite a few flaws; corruption is one that is perceived within their own boundaries as well as by the international community. But also I feel that Afghanistan has strengths.

In my work as the SIGAR, I was privileged to visit with government leaders from President Hamid Karzai down to the provincial governors and community representatives. Visiting about 17 of the provinces and the governor or deputy governor of each, I found considerable competence. I have not encountered one weak senior leader in my dialogue and interactions within Afghanistan. They are well educated; many internationally and at the PhD level. But most importantly, I feel that their hearts are in the right place; they really have an interest in reconstructing Afghanistan and setting the conditions for success.

I acknowledge that the international community and Afghanistan senior leadership have weaknesses when it comes to the ability to address the very complicated and asymmetrical issues of the twenty-first century. But I am also saying that there is a willingness and competence within the framework of Afghanistan that give me confidence that they can move Afghanistan forward in spite of the many issues with which they must contend.

**JIPO:** President Barack Obama plans to begin a conditions-based U.S. troop reduction in July 2011 to meet President Karzai's goal of transitioning responsibility for security to the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) by 2014. Yet the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) predicts that only half of Afghanistan's enlisted soldiers and police will be able to read and write by 2012, and there does not seem to be any governmental capacity to sustain salaries and security sector infrastructure. Do you believe it is realistic to believe the ANSF will be ready by then?

**Fields:** Very good question and thank you for asking it. Just to preface my answer, at the time I left SIGAR, the U.S. alone had appropriated or

spent \$29 billion building the Afghan security forces. That is over half of the \$56 billion that the U.S. has invested overall in Afghanistan reconstruction — not including the billions of dollars spent in support of U.S. armed forces and the military activity fighting the Taliban.

In as much as we have spent \$29 billion shoring up the Afghan army and police since 2002, one would think that by now they would be ready to make the transition. I am skeptical about the transition between 2011 and 2014 with the caveat that we first need to understand or define what we mean by “ready?” I am skeptical that the Afghan security forces will be ready to accept the responsibility commensurate with the Western definition of “ready.” And the issues of the ability to read and write are part of this. Maybe we have set the standard too high, meaning that we have over the past ten years tried to develop a security force that is commensurate with the Western definition of what “ready” really is. The questions is, and I do not have the answer, have we defined “ready” from the vantage point of the Afghans or of the international community? But they may be ready if “ready” is defined as an Afghan standard which takes into consideration the geopolitical and socio-economic nature of Afghanistan in the twenty-first century. In other words, is this massive reconstruction effort intended to principally satisfy Afghanistan's needs or those of the participating nations.

**JIPO:** If the U.S. military footprint in Afghanistan begins decreasing in July 2011, do you expect that the contractor footprint will likely have to increase to fill the vacuum, notably in the security sector, and what then are the implications of this shift?

**Fields:** The first issue that comes to mind regarding the transition is to what extent have we built Afghan capacity in order for them to be able to assume the responsibility that is now being provided by the international community? Over the past couple of years, and certainly through President Obama's strategy, we have focused more on building Afghan capacity. But this has really been over the past two years at most, prior to which very little attention was given to developing Afghan capacity.

I think that there is a good chance that the contractor level will have to go up if we continue on the current glide path to commence withdrawal. That is not all bad. I feel that one of the problems that we have had during the reconstruc-

tion effort in Afghanistan is that we have not been inclined to include the Afghans more fully in the reconstruction of their country. And this happens at all levels — planning and implementation. So, by the vast resources and good intentions of the international community, we have in fact supplanted what would have been an opportunity to build Afghan capacity ahead of this transition. Contractor levels will probably have to go up because we are going to leave a void of some kind, especially by military elements that now perform functions considered non-traditional for a military force; reconstruction is one such non-traditional role. This does not mean that there will need to be more contract mechanisms, there may need to be an expansion of the ones that are already in place.

**JIPO:** Can you speak to the future of private security contractors (PSCs) in Afghanistan, notably in light of the Bridging Strategy and implementation of Presidential Decree 62, which was issued in August 2010?

**Fields:** I am of the opinion that one of the central issues involving security — and the international community bringing its wherewithal in this regard — is the sovereignty of Afghanistan, which needs to be respected. Add to this the perception that the international community is imposing its will to include its security on Afghanistan with disregard for the sovereignty of the nation and the very ability of the GoIRA to provide security, for which the U.S. has already spent \$29 billion. I think that the international community needs to work much more closely with the GoIRA in providing security. The security piece of reconstruction is an extremely important one. And the idea of a collective relationship between the GoIRA and the international community is paramount to the future of the security mechanisms being able to provide resources to ensure that we continue to move Afghanistan along the reconstruction continuum.

**JIPO:** Poor record-keeping, the unsustainable maintenance of projects, and cost overruns are recurring problems in the Afghanistan reconstruction mission. On the other hand, are you optimistic about anything that may have changed since oversight began in 2008?

**Fields:** I had the privilege of standing up SIGAR. I concur that many problems existed in Afghanistan reconstruction at the time SIGAR was

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established. Poor record-keeping, the unsustainable maintenance of projects, and certainly cost overruns. We highlighted all of these issues in our audit reports. I would say that there has been some progress when it comes to the record-keeping, and more comprehensively, accountability. The U.S. implementers are a long way from where we need to be in this regard; but we have certainly improved. The stand up of SIGAR in 2008, albeit six to eight years later than it should have happened, was a very good idea, and we did help to make a difference. Not so much by what we specifically did, but what we encouraged and generated among the oversight entities who should be providing the oversight that was eventually complemented by the work that SIGAR did and is doing.

I am optimistic; I have reviewed the most recent report of the Commission on Wartime Contracting in Iraq and Afghanistan (CWC) and I am encouraged by its findings and recommendations. I feel that if the Congress sees fit to impose those recommendations upon implementers, it would give me even more optimism about the future of reconstruction in Afghanistan.

**JIPO:** Speaking of the CWC, its second interim report (“At what risk? Correcting over-reliance on contractors in contingency operations”) puts forward recommendations for reducing waste, fraud, and abuse, including that the United States Government (USG) reduce its reliance on armed PSCs. Is this realistic?

**Fields:** During my tenure with SIGAR I had a very good relationship with the CWC, and think that in principle, the CWC has basically the right idea. The report references our increasing dependence on contracting and comments that at one point, and maybe even now, there were more contractors in Afghanistan than military personnel.

First, the work needs to be done, and it is a question of who is going to do it. I mentioned earlier about including the host nation, and I figure that we should. I believe the CWC is looking more at the extent to which the international community and the U.S. in particular are providing contracting resources to Afghanistan. But to what extent are we encouraging the Afghans to participate in this contracting arrangement? We tend to want to do it all. I know

it is U.S. funding and we need to satisfy the interests and skepticism of the American taxpayer; so by controlling the effort, we maintain the taxpayer’s confidence. But this does little to encourage the sustainment and participation of the Afghans in the reconstruction. I think we need to wean ourselves off of the extent to which we are providing U.S.-sourced contracting in Afghanistan by building Afghan capacity so that they can take on more.

The other element is that over the past 25 years, we have intentionally reduced the number of military personnel in our services. Moreover, we have been reluctant to allow our service members to actually do the work that is not traditionally military. It is not traditionally an expected military mission to reconstruct a country. The military considers reconstruction more in the context of a civil engagement, whereas the U.S. military is expected to provide a measure of security to civilians under emergency conditions, such as those imposed by terrorists in Afghanistan. We have to make a strategic decision whether or not we are going to increase the size of the military so that it can take on more of the responsibilities that we have now allowed contractors to take on.

### “It is not traditionally an expected military mission to reconstruct a country”

**JIPO:** Do you agree with Stuart Bowen, who argues in the previous issue of the JIPO that the perception of SIGAR’s poor performance has to do with “a very late entry into the oversight arena,” a lack of oversight prior to 2008, and the unique challenges of the Afghanistan theatre?

**Fields:** I would agree with my former counterpart’s assessment. SIGAR performed well as a newly established agency operating under extremely adverse conditions. The USG was slow in providing oversight of the money being contributed for Afghanistan’s reconstruction. A contributing factor to this was the ongoing engagement in Iraq. And the other piece was a considerable spike in the spending in Afghanistan which commenced in 2005. So for the first four or five years of the U.S. serious involvement in Afghanistan, there was not a level of funding that compared with that of Iraq; there was no Special

Inspector General. All oversight was handled by the Inspectors General of the implementing agencies. I believe that Congress became very interested in Afghanistan oversight when funding for reconstruction began to approximate funding which had been appropriated for Iraq. If you review the debate that went on, it took quite some time for Congress to agree on standing up another Special Inspector General office.

I think the challenges of any environment are a factor in the performance of anyone or organization which has responsibility for oversight. However, while Afghanistan certainly posed challenges from the ongoing war and other issues, I do not think that this was the most significant aspect for the performance of SIGAR. I have confidence in those I sent out to Afghanistan. We stood up our offices in Washington and in Afghanistan there as rapidly as we could, within three months of receiving funding from Congress in October 2008. It was not nearly as much funding as we needed, but it was enough to establish a footprint by January 2009. Then we had to build an agency from scratch, with the right mixture of talent from audits to investigations. And we had to find people willing to live in the country, or no less visit all of its arenas, in order to find the information that we were mandated to find. All of these matters took time.

The Congress probably expected a more timely response. All I had was the legislation—the mandate—when I was appointed by the President to stand up and run a brand new office. I had to recruit all of my people myself. I did not receive the expected support from the USG agencies that should have supported me, given the language in the legislation itself. While the departments of State and Defense certainly supported my efforts in Afghanistan once we got things going, I did not get that support when it came to providing personnel, even temporarily. Every person that we brought aboard we had to hunt down ourselves and hire. Given the Congress’ interest in the waste, fraud, and abuse of our reconstruction dollars in Afghanistan, I expected more departmental support in hiring personnel and was subsequently disappointed in the delays, inconsistent attitudes, and lack of funding.

**JIPO:** Drawing on your past experiences in Afghanistan and Iraq, and looking ahead, are

Volker Franke

# Service Versus Profit

## The Motivation of Contractors



Photo: DoD

**M**ENTIONING private security contractors to anyone not affiliated with the industry almost immediately generates images of machine guns, armored vehicles, bullet-proof vests and macho behavior reminiscent of stereotypical mercenaries. Following the Abu-Ghraib prison scandal in 2004 and the Nisour Square shootings in 2007, when 17 Iraqi civilians were killed by Blackwater security guards in a firefight in the heart of Baghdad City, the media and a number of sensationalistic best-sellers have portrayed the industry and those working for it as thrill-seekers, primarily interested in making a quick buck and generally indifferent to human needs.

However, much of the “evidence” presented in these stories is purely anecdotal and lacks any kind of systematic or scientific empirical analysis. What, apart from these subjective accounts, do we really know about the motives of the men and women working in the peace and stability industry? Are the incidents that grab media attention indicative of the shortfalls of a rapidly growing industry? Are

they, in fact, evidence confirming the picture portrayed in the media of security contractors as ‘gun-slinging cowboys’? Or are they unavoidable side-effects of working in a combat zone? Who are these individuals, volunteering to risk their lives, so the common assumption goes, for a pay check? What really drives them? What are their ideals and motivations?

### Participant Demographics

To answer these questions more systematically, I surveyed the members of the CivPol Alumni Association, a non-profit organization founded in 2007 “dedicated to providing the international law enforcement officer a forum to exchange information and maintain relationships fostered in difficult and challenging environments.” At the time of survey administration, the Association sponsored some 1,400 members who had completed at least one tour of duty on contract in a conflict region. The members, who were all American police officers, had received a leave of absence from their regular jobs and were recruited to participate in international civilian police activities and local police development programs in countries around the world.<sup>1</sup> In March 2009, all members received an e-mail from the Association

President with a link to the *Security Contractor Survey* and a request to complete the survey online. This approach made any identification of respondents impossible, thus ensuring the anonymity of all information provided on the survey. All of the 223 respondents who completed the survey were U.S. citizens with a law enforcement background and the vast majority were male (96.9%), white (77.5%), and married (77.1%). All had completed high school (those with only high school degree numbered 34.5%) and almost half (49.8%) held undergraduate degrees with 15.7% having earned graduate degrees. Almost two-thirds (61.5%) had served in the military and 4-in-5 out of those had been directly involved in combat. Of the respondents with a military background, almost all had served as enlisted personnel (95%) and nearly three-fourths (71%) were honorably discharged as corporals or sergeants (E4-E6). At the time of survey administration, respondents had an average of 4.7 years of experience working for the private security industry, with a median of three years. About one-quarter of respondents (23.7%) had less than two years of private security work experience, 44.9% had worked 2-5 years, 23.7% 5-10 years, and 16 respondents (7.7%) had worked for more than ten years in the private security

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**Table 1: Motivation for Seeking Employment in the Private Security Sector (in percent)**

Motivators	Very important	Important	Less/not important
To face and meet new challenges	74.9	20.8	4.3
To help others	64.6	24.1	11.3
To feel like my work makes a difference	38.0	37.1	24.9
To serve my country	31.3	34.1	34.6
To make more money than in my previous job	25.2	44.1	30.6
For personal growth	22.0	33.9	44.0
To seek adventure and excitement	19.1	35.4	45.5
To improve my chances of finding a better job	13.1	36.7	50.2
To travel and visit new places	11.3	32.1	56.6

sector. Almost one-third of respondents (69 or 30.9%) reported that their job required them to “engage in actual fighting/security detail or security protection” and more than three-quarters (171 or 76.7%) reported providing advisory and training services (multiple responses were possible to this question).

### Results

The survey asked respondents to rank-order their motivations for working as a private security contractor, indicate their level of commitment to and investment in their job, and respond to a series of statements about ethical conduct in the field which were derived directly from the *Code of Conduct* promoted by the International Stability Operations Association.<sup>2</sup>

The results of the survey show a picture very different from that portrayed by the media (see Table 1). Contrary to media-generated expectations of profit motivation, only one-quarter (25.2%) of respondents indicated that they were highly motivated by the prospect of making “more money than in their previous job” and fewer than one-in-five (19.1%) listed “adventure and excitement” as among the most important reasons for signing on with the private security industry. Instead, by far the most often cited reasons for working in the stability operations sector were to “face and meet new challenges” (74.9%) and to “help others” (64.6%). About one-third of respondents also hoped that their work would make a difference (38.0%) and saw their contractor service as a way to serve their country (31.3%).

In terms of job engagement, virtually all respondents were highly committed to performing

well, cared about the outcomes resulting from their job performance, and invested a large part of themselves into their job performance. Respondents also overwhelmingly supported the ethical standards stipulated in the ISOA Code of Conduct. Everyone in the sample agreed that it was important to “respect the dignity of all human beings and adhere to relevant international law,” to “minimize loss of life and destruction of property,” to investigate violations of human rights and humanitarian law, and to take action against unlawful activities. Every respondent also agreed that “integrity, honesty and fairness are key guiding principles for anyone deployed in a contingency operation.”

### Conclusions

Although it is impossible to draw conclusions about the industry as a whole from this small sample, the data at hand allows for some interesting preliminary conclusions. Contrary to media generated expectations, only one-quarter of respondents were highly motivated to seek employment in the private security field by prospects of monetary gain. Indeed, many respondents were “proud” of what they did, wanted to do “something worthwhile,” and help others. Moreover, a majority of respondents also identified with the constabulary roles inherent in peace and stability operations, reflecting a professional commitment to police-like responsibilities, but much less so to warrior-like combat or peace enforcement roles. Specifically, respondents did not view themselves as, nor did they want to be compared to, classical mercenaries.

Generally, their law enforcement backgrounds seemed to prepare them well for constabulary roles and their strong adherence to ethical

standards and their high levels of job engagement indicate a strong correlation between specialized skills and motivation for their operational responsibilities. This, in turn, may suggest a desire for the development of a corporate identity reflecting specialized skills in the provision of tactical security services in peace and stability operations, supplementing but not replacing services provided by the armed forces.

At present, however, when enforcement of industry regulations is still sporadic and inconsistent, the lack of regulatory enforcement mechanisms combined with the highly fragmented nature of the industry, its multitude of firms, heterogeneous labor pool, and short-cycle deployment rotations have made it difficult to forge such a common corporate identity, indicating the need for coherent and consistent professional socialization, training, and educational experiences.

**“By far the most often cited reasons for working in the stability operations sector were to “face and meet new challenges” (74.9%) and to “help others” (64.6%)”**

Recognizing the private security industry as a quasi-profession for the provision of tactical security services in post-conflict stabilization contexts may boost the development of a corporate identity along with occupational controls that, in the long run, may also strengthen formal regulation. The private security industry is here to stay; recognizing it as a quasi-profession will likely enhance democratic control and accountability of a sector still in need of more effective regulation. The results of this first survey of private security professionals indicate that the men and women who serve the industry are ready to take on this kind of professional responsibility and scrutiny. ■

### Endnotes

1. For further information on the CivPol Alumni Organization see <http://www.civpol-alumni.org/>, accessed 8 January, 2011.

2. The Code of Conduct can be found at <http://stability-operations.org/ISOA%20Code%20of%20Conduct>.

Steve Sternlieb and Glenn Furbish

# Improving Humanitarian Response to Major Natural Disasters

Debrief on a decade of disasters



*Disaster relief efforts in Haiti. Credit: US Southern Command, Flickr.*

**O**VER the past decade there have been a number of natural disasters of catastrophic proportions, including Hurricane Katrina, the Indian Ocean tsunami, last year's earthquake in Haiti, and this year's earthquake and tsunami in Japan. The Disasters Emergency Committee, a United Kingdom-based consortium of international NGOs, has warned that the world should expect three to five big urban disasters in the next ten years.

First responders to these disasters have been local and national governments. These responders are on site and in a position to move quickly to save lives. Military forces indigenous to the affected area or from other nations providing assistance often play a key role as well. Following the immediate life-saving response, contractors can also play an important role. As an operation transitions from life saving to recovery and then to rebuilding, contractors can provide tools and abilities that host governments in both developed

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and less developed countries, as well as NGOs, are not likely to have, such as site clearance, utilities restoration, the repair of existing facilities and new construction.

While in developed countries host governments generally fund the humanitarian response, supplemented by private charitable giving, less developed countries largely depend on the international donor community, characterized by multiple funding streams for multiple purposes. There was an outpouring of charitable donations following the Indian Ocean tsunami and the Haiti earthquake, funneled through a multitude of organizations. While some NGOs backed by this type of funding have at least a limited capability to perform, they must also hire others, whether local day laborers or companies, to provide the needed response.

Years of experience in earlier humanitarian disasters and war-torn nations such as Iraq and Afghanistan provide a cautionary tale of past pitfalls that can and should be avoided as the international and contractor communities work to respond to major disasters. One may look at the response to natural disasters, like the one in Haiti, from these two perspectives – the donor

community and the contractor community – in an effort to provide some insights useful for both.

## A Donor Community Perspective

We have identified three key factors that the donor community needs to reflect upon when undertaking humanitarian responses.

### Task 1: Planning for and executing long-term reconstruction efforts.

While Iraq and Afghanistan are very different from Haiti in many ways, there are a number of lessons that can be learned from the reconstruction efforts there. The Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction (SIGIR) has reported that one of the hard lessons learned in Iraq is the need to gear the reconstruction effort toward indigenous priorities. Insulated planning led to projects unwanted by the Iraqi government and unsuitable for the country in general, such as power plants designed to run on liquid propane gas that is not readily available and sophisticated projects beyond the current technical abilities of most Iraqi workers to maintain. This, in turn, has led to the rapid degradation of infrastructure built

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with U.S. reconstruction dollars. Many of the pitfalls encountered in Iraq are now being encountered in Afghanistan.

With regards to Haiti, this does not mean we should not rebuild with more stringent standards in mind to mitigate future devastation, but it does call for project selection that involves the Haitian government and other Haitian stakeholders and is consistent with the state of development and skills of the Haitian people. It also calls for experienced coordination in project selection among various stakeholders. As in Iraq and Afghanistan, with a mix of individual governments, multilateral organizations and private donor groups, there is a great risk of duplication of effort. For example, the SIGIR identified at least 62 offices and agencies that became involved in managing Iraq reconstruction projects. Unless the Haitian government can establish itself as the lead for the reconstruction effort, the donor community will need to unify its efforts, possibly through the establishment of a donor council drawn from participating governments, multilateral organizations and a cross section of aid groups.

### Task 2: Maximizing purchasing power.

No matter how much money is ultimately donated toward Haitian reconstruction, its purchasing power will be diluted if there is a lack of strong program management. In 1994 the private aid

donor community discussed “aid fratricide,” the phenomena of multiple aid groups responding to a natural disaster and bidding up the price of basic goods and labor by a factor of five or more as they competed for limited supplies, such as building material, logistical support such as rental cars and local workers. Individual governments and multinational organizations further compound this fratricide, often acting through contractors hired to facilitate the humanitarian response, competing for resources.

Separate from aid fratricide, purchasing power can also be diluted by inefficiencies in carrying out projects. There are scores of audit reports from multiple organizations documenting billions of dollars of waste in humanitarian and reconstruction efforts due to a failure to provide services and perform construction with an eye toward doing it at the lowest possible cost while maintaining quality, and a failure of those doing the hiring to assure that the people they hired were operating efficiently. Funding reconstruction projects should not be a fire and forget process. Finally, purchasing power can also be diluted by corruption, which siphons off funds that should go to relief and reconstruction into the pockets of corrupt individuals through bribery, graft and bid rigging. To avoid the dilution of purchasing power there must be uninterrupted oversight to assure donor value.

### Task 3: Accountability and transparency.

Donors rightfully expect that their donations will be spent for the purposes for which they made the donation. Unfortunately, public watchdogs such as the American Institute of Philanthropy and investigative journalists have documented far too many instances where a large portion of donated funds, sometimes more than 90 percent, go either to overhead or to support efforts unrelated to the purpose of the donation. There are press reports suggesting that some donor groups are actually engaging in self-dealing — giving donations to friends and associates for no-bid work.

The donor community has an obligation to assure that overhead is kept to a minimum and that the use of donations is made transparent through independent reviews. Organizations such as the Special Inspectors General for Iraq and Afghanistan have the authority to oversee U.S. government activities, but establishing oversight mechanisms for NGOs may be a challenge.

### A Contractor Perspective

Despite donor support, the NGO community and host governments simply cannot afford to retain a permanent staff for humanitarian response planning and may be limited in their capability to directly hire the local population to perform basic tasks. In using contractor support, however, the prime contractors can be directed to use local labor and suppliers, which can help achieve NGO goals and support the local economy. Good contract oversight can also help hold costs down, thus maximizing purchasing power.

As contractors participate in natural disaster response, there are some important steps they can take to protect themselves as they go about their daily activities and possibly come under scrutiny from a variety of organizations, including government auditors, the NGOs funding them and other groups undertaking retrospective examinations of the relief effort.

### Step 1: Stay within the terms of your contract.

While this may seem a statement of the obvious, if you perform work not covered by the contract



Children are often among those most affected by disaster. Photo: UN/Evan Schneider.

Bernhard Charlemagne

# Tools of the Trade: Air Transport

## Helicopter Versus Airplane Use in Stability Operations



Photos: Bernhard Charlemagne; UN Photo/Logan Abassi.

It was a wonderful day and the view from my “office” at 1,200 feet during a fish survey over Bristol Bay in Alaska was fantastic. Suddenly a voice over the company radio interfered with my peaceful flight. A fishing boat had broken down with a hydraulic system failure and they needed a mechanic and parts immediately. The mechanic and parts had to be picked up in King Salmon, the tools were at a cannery workshop and the final destination was a beach near Egigik, AK. In the days before Technical Advanced Aircrafts (TAA) this scenario required plotting new courses, calculating times and fuel and checking the tide tables to ensure an arrival during low tide and a safe length of runway for landing. This may have been a fairly straightforward mission in a stable, non-conflict area, but a similar project with different requests and destinations could be encountered during stability operations.

In stability operations, logistics and the transport of people and materials are essential functions. On top of the calculations required in this Alaska

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example, there are different ways to transport these items to the area where they are needed. As stability operations missions often come with a variety of options for air transport, it is necessary to consider how those options, namely different varieties of airplanes and helicopters, suit the requirements of the mission. There are also some general cost and security issues that apply across a variety of missions. The use of aircraft as a means of transport in stability operations is complex and there are particular strengths and weaknesses associated with the use of helicopters versus airplanes in planning and executing safe and effective air operations.

### Costs

When it comes to costs, one important fact to consider is that helicopters are more complicated and have more moving parts than airplanes and therefore the maintenance and operating costs for helicopters are higher than for airplanes. This additional maintenance is also an important factor in the planning of an operation because it requires that teams include skilled mechanics and spare parts to assure the ability to dispatch quickly. These limitations may also restrict the types and number of helicopters available for use due to the

availability of parts and maintenance. Also, some new western helicopters with increasingly complex electronic systems can experience problems while operated in harsh environments. Therefore, older helicopter models, like UH1 or MI 8, with less electronics would be better suited to operate in challenging environments like a dusty desert.

### Availability

In addition to a helicopter’s additional requirements for parts and maintenance, airplanes can be available on shorter notice because higher airspeeds mean they can be ferried quickly where they are needed. Due to their shorter range and lower cruise speed, helicopters may need to be disassembled and shipped to the conflict area, then take as much as several weeks for them arrive on the scene. When a situation requires immediate action, this availability is an important consideration. For instance, while helicopters are still in their boxes, food and equipment drops from C-130 or CASA 212 aircrafts can supply a desperate population.

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**Safety and Risk Management**

When it comes to safety, on the other hand, helicopters and airplanes are equally safe to travel in if they are operated and maintained according to manufacturers' specifications. The key to safety in air operations is risk management, maintenance and adequate pilot training. With an established safety program and operational risk management forms, risk can be minimized. In terms of risk management, a very important factor for determining the use of helicopters versus airplanes is the environment. Is there a suitable landing site? Density Altitude? Are there hazards for landing and take off? Is it a hot and humid location, which impacts aircraft performance? Operational Risk management forms can be used to limit the risk involved in an air operation. These factors must be considered before deciding which equipment would be the most suitable.

**An Aircraft Operations Scenario**

To illustrate these points, let's analyze a scenario and compare and contrast the use of helicopters versus airplanes under those circumstances. Suppose a medical team consisting of a doctor and three nurses plus one hundred pounds of equipment must be rotated every two days from a capital city to a remote conflict area two-hundred and thirty nautical miles away. Road transport is difficult because roads and bridges were damaged during the preceding war and IED's (improvised explosive devices) have been planted by spoilers.

The most suitable equipment for this mission would be a Cessna C-206 fixed wing airplane and a Bell 206 Jet Ranger Helicopter, with the following operational costs listed in the following table:1.

One round-trip flight for the airplane costs \$802.7, whereas the helicopter costs \$2,527.7 per round trip. With 15 round trips monthly, the cost for transporting the medical team by helicopter is \$37,915.5, compared to \$12,040.5 by airplane. From a cost standpoint, transporting the team by airplane would save \$25,875. This example shows clearly the cost advantage of airplanes versus helicopters. Even if environment is taken in to account and there is no suitable landing area near the target hospital for the plane, it would be economical to improve a road or build a landing site suitable for aircraft to take advantage of the lower airplane operating cost.

Airplanes may also have the operational advantage over helicopters. The range of helicopters is often lower than for airplanes, which can carry more fuel. A helicopter such as a Bell Jet Ranger can fly around 374 miles (693km), where a Cessna C-206 can fly 840 miles/(1353 km). As noted, airplanes also have, in general, a higher cruise speed than helicopters because they do not have the speed restrictions that a phenomenon called retreating blade stall causes in helicopters. The service ceiling of an aircraft is also an important limitation, particularly when operating in

mountainous regions and must be considered when planning air ops regardless of helicopter or airplane use as the performance of both is affected by altitude.

**I'll Take the Combo, Please**

Depending on the situation, however, a combination of helicopters and airplanes can be the best option. In the beginning of an operation, before a runway can be built, a helicopter can fly in the medical team and after the runway/landing site is constructed the more economical airplanes continue the operation. However, if there is no suitable landing area available for an airplane due to rain season or floods, a helicopter can do the job because it needs only a small area, or even just a helipad to land, which can be built easily in a short time. Helicopters have unique operating characteristics which make them suitable for emergency responses or search and rescue, but even then there are operational limitations and sometimes, airplanes can fly missions only though to be suitable for helicopters. In my career I did some mountain flying and landed with airplanes on the sides of mountains. In one case, the mountain was too steep for a helicopter to make a slope or toe-in landing and a landing on the slope would have exceeded the helicopter's rotor system capacities. However, a fixed wing airplane could land uphill and take off downhill without problems. In this case, airplanes like a Cessna 185 or Pilatus Porter can be successfully used.

**A Case for Airplanes**

While not true one-hundred percent of the time, often airplanes are better suited for transporting people and material over long distances and are often more cost effective than helicopters. Helicopters have the advantage of operating where there are no runways available like in an evacuation after a flood, and are often the best and fastest solution at the start of an operational response in dangerous areas. ■

*The aircraft data above are for academic discussion only. Please refer to your specific POH (Pilot Operating Handbook) since the data may vary depending on your make and model and mission equipment installed. Economic data provided by Conkin & de Decker.*

Table 1	Cessna 206G airplane	Bell 206B3 helicopter
<b>Variable cost -per hour</b> Fuel, Lubricants, Maintenance, Engine Restoration	\$197.34	\$517.37
<b>Annual fixed costs</b> Pilot, Insurance, Training, other	\$ 77,702	\$209,761
<b>Annual Utilization</b> Nautical Miles Hours	45,000 321	45,000 321
<b>Total Cost (inc. Market Dep.)</b> Per hour Per nautical mile Per seat nautical mile	470.00 3.49 0.67	1,164.00 10.99 2.75
<b>Service ceiling</b>	14,800	13,500
<b>Performance:</b> Cruise speed Range	163 MPH, (263 km/h) 840 miles/ (1353 km)	139 MPH, (224 km/h) 374 miles (693km)

Tobias Beutgen

# A Struggle for Stability

## Syria's role in a changing region—and world



*The Arab Spring arrived in Syria as thousands took to the streets in protest against longtime President Al-Assad. Credit: Majd Al-Bahou, Flickr.*

A Tsunami of political renewal and reform has struck the “Arab World” over the past several months. And so far, the end is far from sight. An increasing division between rich and poor, privileged and underprivileged, as well as efforts by a new younger generation to shape their own destiny defines the epicenter of this shift. Corruption, massive unemployment rates and outdated political structures only contribute to these tensions, whilst television, information technology and the might of the social networking community have provided the platform to channel the pent up anger.

Although these causes may overlap across revolutions, the reality shows a high degree of complexity in what has been dubbed the “Arab Spring”. The Western media as well as political decision makers appear to be paralyzed in the face of such fast developments.

Syria is only one part of the “New Arab World”, but is also perhaps its most complex member. A

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highly diversified structure of ethnic and religious identities has shaped this “Cradle of Civilization” for centuries.

Like other states of the Fertile Crescent, many different people coexist in Syria: Kurds, Druze, Alavis, Shi'a Muslims and more than ten different Christian denominations, as well as the majority group of Sunni Muslims who are themselves divided between the more devout conservatives and secular modernists. Along with tradition come modern ideologies which only add further complications to the stability of the political landscape.

Over the past decade, political development has been more static than dynamic. Only in recent weeks has the UK-educated President Dr. Bashar Al-Asad finally announced long awaited reforms in both the legal and economic sectors of society.

Emergency law, which justified imprisoning Syrians without benefit of legal warrants from the courts, has been rescinded. Approvals can be obtained for demonstrations, which would have previously been crushed. Opposition movements are tolerated if they are peaceful and the minimum wage for workers has been increased. These

commitments were met with open arms by large sectors of the Syrian population while others continue demonstrating with the hope of triggering a coup d'état.

The Western media, European Union and U.S. government have made a quick decision to support regime change, but have they really bet on the right horse?

**“In spite of the harsh response to uprisings in the country, Al-Assad's popularity remains strong and many Syrians still place trust in his ability to achieve both security and reform”**

In spite of the harsh response to uprisings in the country, Al-Assad's popularity remains strong and many Syrians still place trust in his ability to achieve both security and reform. They know and understand the government that they have now, but cannot predict what they might get should the president be removed.

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Furthermore, the motivations of many of the demonstrators are not always clear. On the street one can hear Islamic slogans such as “Death to the Alavis and Christians to Beirut” and calls for Jihad alongside demands for a more democratic civil society. Every street is flooded with the sound of these contradicting messages, and the clear majority is far from recognizable.

“This uprising is leaderless. No one can speak on behalf of the revolution,” stated Radwan Ziadeh, one of the organizers of the last months opposition’s conference in Antalya Turkey, and therein lies the problem.

These varying ethnical, religious and political groups are not able to find any common ground. One of the strongest opposition groups in the country is without doubt the Muslim Brotherhood, whose slogan is: “Islam is the solution”. Their goal is to install the Quran and the Sunnah

**“Those opposition leaders and main figures of the Syrian Spring in 2001 have been imprisoned and perhaps suffered the most under the current regime. They have a program, but compared to the Islamist movements are not able to rally the masses”**

as the sole reference point of ordering society, family and the country.

The Syrian Christian, Shia-Muslim, Druse, Alwavis, Ismaili minorities as well as the more secular Sunni Muslims fear oppression and persecution should the “Brotherhood” become the leading force in the country.

Besides the religious influence in Syrian politics, ethnic identification plays a major role. Abdul Baqi Yousuf, a leading member of the Kurdish Yekiti Party in Syria told the media that his party do not support the opposition meetings held in Antalya, because they were not involved from the beginning, neither do they recognise the real goals or intentions of the summit. Besides the Kurds also the Assyrian National Party and the different Bedu tribes of the North have got their own interests and intentions, which are contradictory

to the Islamist organizations and movements.

In several cases opposition groups have more common interest with the regime than with fellow oppositions movements. A case in point is the Syrian Social Nationalist Party, which is in opposition to the ruling Baath Party, is represented in the government by Joseph Sweid, who currently holds the position of Minister of State. The party founded by the charismatic leader Anton Saadeh (1932-1949) stands for a radical secular state and a complete separation of religion and politics: “Religion for God and the Nation for all” was the credo of Anton Saadeh and remains the main principle of the Party.

Other secular political parties are the Syrian Communist Party, which is represented by Riad Al-Turk or the individual members of the civil society like the journalist Michel Kilo and the economist and reform advocate Aref Dalila. Those opposition leaders and main figures of the Syrian Spring in 2001 have been imprisoned and perhaps suffered the most under the current regime. They have a program, but compared to the Islamist movements are not able to rally the masses.

Within the storm of reform, many heartfelt voices for democratic change can be heard, but the ugly



*President Al-Assad has become an unpopular figure among many protesters. Credit: Zoonabar, Flickr.*

face of sectarian division is ever-present. The risk of civil war and a clash between the conservative Sunni majority, Islamist Groups and the highly armed Shia/Alavi/Druse/Christian minority is imminent. For this reason several moderate forces in the country, including traditional, secular opposition movements, support the struggling president and a strong regime, which currently may be the only guarantee of stability. Their goal is to reform the regime and arrange a smooth transformation of the system.

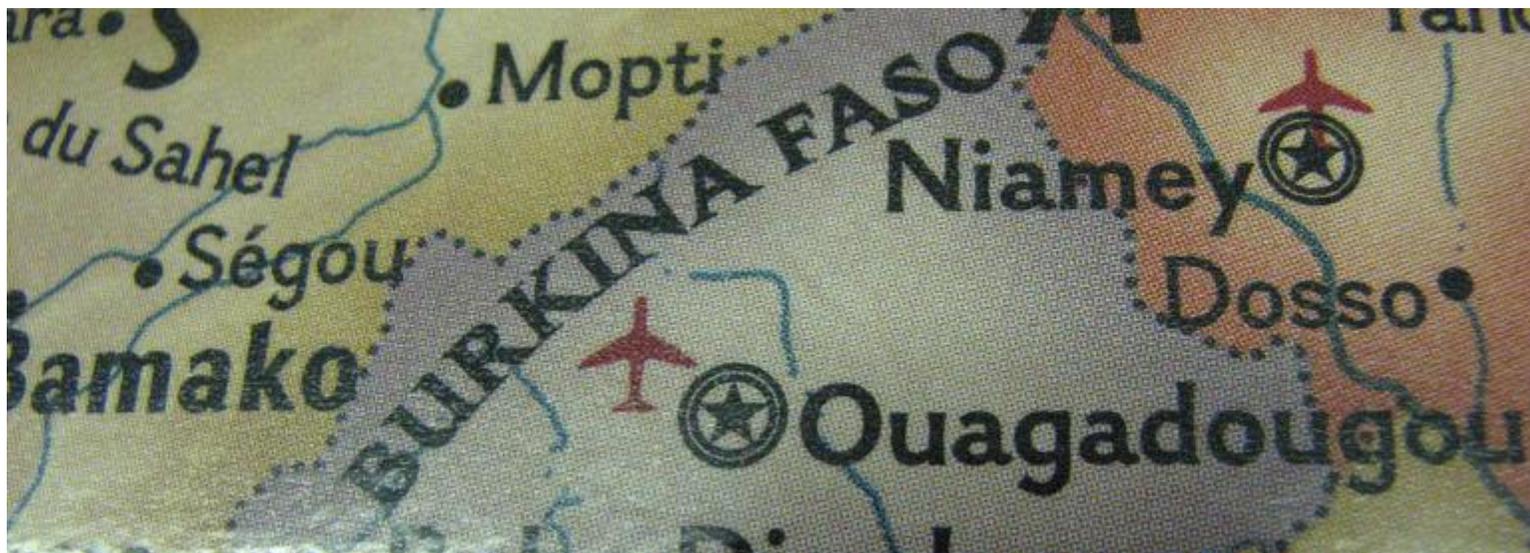
This struggle for stability will likely grant President Dr. Bashar Al-Assad a second chance to implement the meaningful and long term reforms that are required for Syria to flourish. Unlike his father and brother, Dr. Bashar does not come from a military background. Within the country as well as in the Arab World he is a well respected as a highly educated intellectual. After finishing his studies of Ophthalmology at Damascus University he received subspecialty training at the Western Eye Hospital in London. In parallel he founded the Syrian Computer Society with the goal to promote IT technologies in the country. In December 2000, Dr. Bashar married the financial analyst Asma Assad, nee Akhras, a Syrian from Acton (west London), where she was born and raised. Even long before the “Arab Spring” he tried to step away from the stereotypical Arab Leader image. Instead of craving adoration and separating himself from his people he applied new regulations that Presidential pictures were only allowed to be shown in ministries and embassies or public places, and on a daily basis he was seen in public visiting coffee shops with his family, exploring historical sites of Syria and supporting the charity work of his wife. Even in the current situation many Syrians, even from opposition groups, do not blame Dr. Bashar, but the people around him for the problems in the country. Due to the use of excessive force the popularity of the president is waning, but has not yet completely diminished.

Meanwhile, the West must take the time to consider how it can promote cooperation among the many religious groups in Syria and therefore support true democratic reforms rather than push its own short-sighted regional interests and the rapid removal of what could be a stabilizing and reform-minded regime. ■

Ambassador Herman J. Cohen (Ret)

# Tension and Unrest in Burkina Faso

Looking north of Côte d'Ivoire



*Burkina Faso's neighborhood in West Africa has long been an area of instability. Credit: JColman, Flickr.*

**W**ITHIN days of the end of Côte d'Ivoire's decade-long internal power struggle last April, northern neighbor Burkina Faso erupted in mutinies among the various security forces, accompanied by public displays of anti-government sentiment among opposition factions. One of the Sahel region's most durable and stable regimes suddenly appears to be shaky. What is going on?

There are a number of factors in play.

Burkina's President Blaise Compaore has been deeply involved in Côte d'Ivoire's internal power struggles since a military coup removed elected President Henri Bédié in December 1999. With Libyan funding and equipment, Compaore supported insurgent forces based in northern Côte d'Ivoire seeking to undermine President Laurent Gbagbo, who was elected under dubious circumstances in 2002. At the same time, Compaore was designated African Union mediator between the insurgents and the Gbagbo regime. His mediation led to an internationally supervised election in Côte d'Ivoire in December

2010, won by Alassane Ouattara, the former Prime Minister, and champion of the northern insurgents.

Incumbent President Gbagbo refused to accept the election results, and chose instead to hunker down in his palace. This triggered a military offensive by Ouattara's northern insurgents who managed to defeat Gbagbo's troops and capture Gbagbo himself during April 2010, thereby installing Ouattara in power. During this offensive, Libyan support disappeared because of the internal struggle in that country. Compaore was therefore stuck with the bill, which drained funds from his own security forces.

When the Burkina military and police mutinied, firing their guns in the air and looting shops in various cities, they demanded pay that was seriously in arrears. Compaore had to scramble to find the necessary cash.

A second factor beneath the tension might be identified as "Compaore fatigue." He has been in power since 1987, during which time Burkina's population has not seen much by way of economic improvement. A new generation of educated Burkinabe is coming on the scene, and

they want Compaore to leave at the end of his current term in 2015. Part of the reason for the tension and demonstrations is the determination on the part of the politically active youth to prevent Compaore from changing the constitution to allow himself to run for a third term.

Finally, the security forces are closely tied to Compaore's power structure. Anticipating his departure from the presidency, the security forces are nervous about what the future holds for them. The shooting of guns in the streets and looting of shops constitute a shot across Compaore's bow. The security forces want some financial security before Compaore leaves the scene.

How is Compaore facing this challenge? He has found the money to pay the troops, at least for now, so that danger has been pre-empted. Without Libya's cash cow, however, Compaore will need to find other sources of funding. Will the French help? That could be possible because Compaore played a major role in the ejection of Laurent Gbagbo in Côte d'Ivoire, much to the delight of Paris.

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

▶ 38

## ◀ 37 | Tension and Unrest in Burkina Faso | Ambassador Herman J. Cohen (Ret.)

The United States has designated Burkina Faso as being eligible for a “Millennium Challenge Corporation” compact. If the temporary instability can be overcome, the MCC project could inject a significant amount of cash into the economy. That might lead to increased employment and economic activity.

Of special interest will be Côte d’Ivoire’s new relationship with Burkina. How will President Ouattara pay back Compaore for ten years of support during his long journey to power in Abidjan? Increasing the number of Burkinabe workers allowed to settle and work in Côte d’Ivoire would result in a major increase in remittances back to families in Burkina. Such a decision would also give the Burkinabe population inside Côte d’Ivoire greater political weight, and would thereby increase Burkina’s influence on its southern neighbor. Ouattara will also be encouraged to change the citizenship eligibility laws to state that all persons born in Côte d’Ivoire are entitled to citizenship. That would almost certainly tip the politico-demographic balance in favor of the Burkinabe population.

President Blaise Compaore is a military leader of accomplished strategic vision. In 1989 he began the process of ousting Liberian President Samuel Doe whom he rightly considered to be a disaster

for his country and a disgrace to the West African community. Compaore’s selection of Liberian rebel Charles Taylor as his instrument to get rid of Doe was a disastrous mistake, as he readily acknowledges.

In Côte d’Ivoire, Compaore saw vast discrimination against the millions of Burkinabe immigrants who have enriched that country over the past half-century through their back-breaking work in the cocoa, coffee and pineapple plantations. Their labor made Côte d’Ivoire one of the wealthiest countries in Africa per capita, but they were treated as second-class citizens. Compaore was determined to correct that injustice.

**“All insurgencies have an outside partner, but should ‘outside partners’ such as Compaore be condemned for sponsoring internal conflicts that may lead to the eviction of unsavory heads of state, or should they be praised for doing just that?”**

In the case of Côte d’Ivoire, Compaore’s decision to back Alassane Ouattara, after the death in office of founding President Felix Houphouët-Boigny in 1993, constituted a stroke of wisdom. Ouattara had been Houphouët’s Prime Minister for three years, during which time he pulled the country out of a deep macro-economic slump. He certainly deserved to become President, but was edged out by the old guard reactionaries who wanted no change in the status quo.

So, against the background of unrest in the security forces, what is the prognosis for Burkina’s political future? To avoid further unrest, mainly from the unemployed youth inspired by what happened in Tunisia, President Compaore would be wise to open up the political system. He should let it be known that he will not seek to amend the constitution to allow him to run for a third term. He should make sure that the competition for his successor will be truly free, fair and transparent. He should concentrate on breathing life into moribund institutions, especially the legislature and judiciary. He should work with the US regional military command, AFRICOM, to find a way to assign an economic development mission to his armed forces. If he accomplishes all of this, he would be eligible for the Mo Ibrahim prize for good governance, and could retire with a hefty pension.

President Compaore’s two experiences of effecting regime change in the west African sub-region, in Liberia and Côte d’Ivoire, deserves to be analyzed in terms of African and international attitudes toward surrogate insurgencies. All insurgencies have an outside partner, but should “outside partners” such as Compaore be condemned for sponsoring internal conflicts that may lead to the eviction of unsavory heads of state, or should they be praised for doing just that? After all, how else can the bad guys be removed if they rig all the elections and rob their countries blind?

President Compaore has acted alone in his support for surrogate insurgencies, with the financial assistance of Qaddafi’s Libya. Now that the Libyan spigot has been shut, it may be appropriate to encourage the African Union to become the driving force for political reform, hopefully through nonviolent methods. Surrogate wars and surrogate insurgencies should be condemned regardless of the merits of the objective. ■



United Nations peacekeeping troops from Togo working in Côte d’Ivoire. Credit: RepublicofTogo.com, Flickr.

## ◀ 16 | Getting Pakistan to Act against Militant Sanctuaries | Moeed Yusuf

the recent U.S. admission that talks with the Taliban have been taking place on the one hand and a persistent push to get Pakistan to “do more” on the other as contradictory. Pakistani strategists also question why the U.S. would want to negotiate with the Taliban once their sanctuaries have been hit and leadership neutralized. The overall lack of clarity of U.S. policy, as perceived

**“The overall lack of clarity of U.S. policy, as perceived in Pakistan, leads many to conclude that the U.S. military is still eyeing total victory”**

in Pakistan, leads many to conclude that the U.S. military is still eyeing total victory followed by token talks with fringe groups among the Taliban. If so, Pakistan fears unrest among its Pushtun population and continued calls for ‘jihad’ against American presence and their so-called surrogates, as they are portrayed by the militants, the Pakistani military. It also implies that anti-U.S. insurgents will continue seeking sanctuary in Pakistan, thus keeping Islamabad under pressure from the international community.

**Addressing the India question**

The question of Indian presence in Afghanistan looms large for the Pakistani security establishment. While Islamabad is likely to reconcile with Indian development activities, there is a strong perception that New Delhi has been using Afghan territory to fuel unrest in Pakistan. Addressing this requires Washington to nudge India to be more transparent in its operations. Moreover, Washington should consider facilitating a dialogue between Pakistani and Indian intelligence agencies to address mutual concerns and ensure that specific Pakistani concerns can be discussed and addressed to the extent possible.

**Bolstering counterinsurgency capacity**

The Pakistan military’s capacity constraint is real. While there have been tremendous security assistance and capacity building efforts by the U.S. over the past decade, the Pakistani military still remains woefully short on hardware required to conduct counterinsurgency operations. Moreover, the use of some American equipment is tightly monitored and reduces operational flexibility. To be sure, the actions of the Pakistani military are hardly reassuring when it comes to its own sincerity towards the capacity rhetoric. For

instance, it has preferred to expel a number of American and British military trainers for nationalistic reasons in the past few weeks even though the trainers were directly working to enhance capacity of the security forces. Nonetheless, Pakistan needs to be more forthcoming on this and the hardware requirements of the military need to be addressed more seriously.

**A Final Word**

The fact that Pakistani policy in Afghanistan has worked at cross purposes with U.S. interests at times is obvious. Washington has often reacted by highlighting this as a “double game” and criticizing Pakistan for being an insincere partner. While politically expedient, such an approach only antagonizes Pakistanis further and brings up that argument that America’s Afghanistan policy has also caused a backlash in Pakistan. A better option would be to acknowledge that self-perceived interests of the two sides diverge on issues such as the sanctuaries and that Pakistan’s incentive structures can only be altered by assuaging its concerns vis-à-vis Afghanistan. ■

## ◀ 28 | Interview | Bandali

lessons being learned such that the U.S. may improve future contingency operations?

**Fields:** I think that we are learning some lessons, but very slowly. One of the key lessons that we should have learned from our experiences in Iraq is the fact that we need to build capacity and acknowledge the sustainment of investment. From the standpoint of Afghanistan prior to the Obama Administration, we did not have a strategy in place that emphasized including the Afghans in their Country’s reconstruction, despite having infused massive U.S. resources. Including the Afghans is now written into policy and is known as Afghan First. It has only been in place for at most two years, but is a lesson that we should have learned from Iraq. We are now slowly learning it in Afghanistan, but it needs to be a principle of our philosophy of engaging in foreign nations and providing American taxpayer dollars to fund reconstruction. Sustainment and building capacity should be absolute and unequivocal matters when it comes to the American taxpayer’s investment. ■

some countries, such as Fiji, receipts from their citizens working in stability operations rivalled fishing as their largest GNP earner. The money sent home is used to improve lives, start businesses, educate family members – any number of worthwhile uses.

TCN employees must be able to choose this kind of work freely and without deception or coercion. Companies need to be vigilant to ensure that the TCNs hired are not trafficked, and govern-

**“Humanitarian organizations need to pressure governments to follow their own rules. High quality companies will benefit when low-priced ethically-challenged companies are weeded out by effective oversight.”**

## ◀ 05 | President’s Message | Brooks

ments need to address the issue and end the practice of ignoring quality in the single-minded quest for cheaper contractors. Humanitarian organizations need to pressure governments to follow their own rules. High quality companies will benefit when low-priced ethically-challenged companies are weeded out by effective oversight.

Solutions are not complex, but they do require that the larger clients respect labor standards. Although determining which brokers are on the take is not always easy, stronger enforcement of anti-trafficking regulations will create necessary incentives. Many non- U.S. companies are either unclear on such regulations or assume that they will not be policed; this must change. As an industry we need to play a role as well, and the ISOA Code of Conduct includes a clear clause against any kind of trafficking in persons. TCNs are too valuable and cost effective for international stability operations to allow repressive forms of labor trafficking to continue. ■

## ◀ 32 | Improving Humanitarian Response to Major Natural Disasters | Steve Sternlieb

you risk not getting paid or, at a minimum, having to exert effort explaining why you should be paid.

### Step 2: Know who can provide contractual direction.

In a complex operation with many players, your employees may be asked to do things by many different people. For example, in Iraq a large contractor undertook \$4 million in construction work that was directed by someone who did not have contracting authority. The State Department is seeking to recoup that money. It is important to train your staff to know what work is directed under your contract, who can give them contractual direction and how to diplomatically respond to non-contractual direction. Such non-contractual direction can be turned into a business development opportunity if done properly. Have key staff who can explain what is within the terms of your contract and who can add items outside those terms to your contract if appropriate. Similarly, if you see needs going unmet, know who to inform and offer an explanation of how your company can help.

### Step 3: Keep good records.

Incurred cost audits may identify unsupported costs, meaning that while you may have legitimately incurred them you cannot prove it. This has caused companies to undertake many hours of work to document past actions. In an overseas operation it is even more difficult, with less than ideal information processing technology to keep records on top of the difficulties of keeping up with records on top of the day to day aid work. It becomes even more difficult if costs are not reviewed until sometimes years later; due to staff turnover the people who were present when costs were incurred may no longer be with the company. This makes it important to stress the need to document the costs incurred, as well as the reasons you incurred them as they happen.

### Step 4: Watch the personal behavior of your staff.

Unprofessional behavior and criminal acts committed by your employees or subcontractors can at a minimum hurt your company's image, and at worst cost you your contract or future business. In September 2009 the Commission on Wartime Contracting held a hearing in response to widely



*Victims of a flood in Afghanistan wait for UN World Food Program Rations. Photo: UN/WFP/Amjad Jamal*

reported allegations and photographs of misconduct among members of the private security contractor guard force that was protecting the U.S. Embassy in Kabul, Afghanistan. The Commission stated that its primary interest was not in the sordid details of the parties held, but the disturbing questions these incidents raise about how this happened and why it went unreported for so long. The company in question was not awarded the follow-on contract. There have also been sexual assaults, which were highlighted in congressional hearings and produced new legislation for dealing with such incidents. It is not enough to have everyone take sexual harassment training; you must constantly be on your guard for even a hint of inappropriate conduct and move aggressively to stop it.

### Step 5: Have a family notification plan.

Unfortunately, you may have a worker who is seriously injured or even killed on the job. It is important to understand what legal obligations you have and, going beyond that, to think through what you will do as a company if such an incident occurs. You should have a family notification plan in place that designates who is in charge of making the call, what kinds of costs you will pay (such as transporting family members to the hospital where your employee is receiving care) and what you will do to help family members navigate the administrative paperwork that accompanies making claims.

### Step 6: Watch your costs.

Your operating costs, including the cost of administering your contract, hiring security, other direct costs, general and administrative expenses and your profit, can exceed 50 percent of a mission's budget. While these expenses may be the legitimate cost of doing business, they do reduce the amount of funds going towards direct assistance. It goes without saying that your company will not fare well if a watchdog or the funding donor group finds out that less than fifty cents on the dollar is going to direct assistance.

While the donor and contractor perspectives outlined above are drawn from the Haiti response, they are applicable in many ways to all disaster response and traditional reconstruction efforts. Both NGOs and the private sector often overlook the lessons learned across different types of operations, proving over and over that drafting best practices and conducting frequent internal assessments are surefire ways to avoid redundant pitfalls. Committing to a set of principles and best practices that work for your individual organization is always a good idea, but so is frequent communication with other stakeholders in the relief and reconstruction sector, either through an association or on an individual basis. This can help any company or organization to better understand challenges and their solutions. ■



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*Abbreviations* HQ Location of company headquarters W Website PC ISOA Point-of-Contact/Designated Delegate M Membership approved

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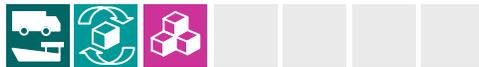
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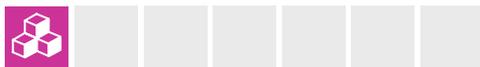
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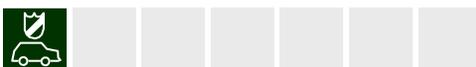
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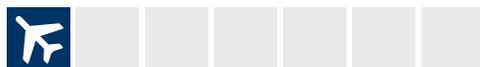
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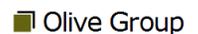
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## Safenet Group

HQ Dubai, U.A.E.  
 W [www.safenet.net](http://www.safenet.net)  
 PC Laurence Marce  
 M January 2011



## Unity Resources Group

HQ Dubai, U.A.E.  
 W [www.unityresourcesgroup.com](http://www.unityresourcesgroup.com)  
 PC Jim LeBlanc  
 M December 2006



## PAE, Inc.

HQ Arlington, Virginia  
 W [www.paegroup.com](http://www.paegroup.com)  
 PC Thomas Callahan  
 M October 2010



## Shield International Security

HQ Seoul, South Korea  
 W [www.shieldconsulting.co.kr](http://www.shieldconsulting.co.kr)  
 PC Lucy Park  
 M April 2010



## URS

HQ Germantown, Maryland  
 W [www.urs.com](http://www.urs.com)  
 PC Robie Robinson  
 M April 2009



## Paramount Logistics

HQ Johannesburg, South Africa  
 W [www.paramountgroup.biz](http://www.paramountgroup.biz)  
 PC Richard Merrison  
 M September 2009



## Shook, Hardy & Bacon LLP

HQ Washington, D.C.  
 W [www.shb.com](http://www.shb.com)  
 PC David Douglass  
 M April 2009



## Whitney, Bradley & Brown Inc.

HQ Reston, Virginia  
 W [www.wbbinc.com](http://www.wbbinc.com)  
 PC Robert Wells  
 M September 2008



## Pax Mondial

HQ Arlington, Virginia  
 W [www.paxmondial.com](http://www.paxmondial.com)  
 PC Paul Wood  
 M January 2009



## SOC, LLC

HQ Chantilly, Virginia  
 W [www.soc-usa.com](http://www.soc-usa.com)  
 PC Shawn James  
 M September 2009



## WSI

HQ Arlington, Virginia  
 W [www.armorgroup.com](http://www.armorgroup.com)  
 PC Mike O'Connell  
 M August 2003



## Reed Inc.

HQ Leesburg, Virginia  
 W [www.reedinc.com](http://www.reedinc.com)  
 PC Marius van der Riet  
 M April 2006



## SOS International Ltd.

HQ Reston, Virginia  
 W [www.sosilt.com](http://www.sosilt.com)  
 PC Michael K. Seidl  
 M November 2007



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