

JIPO

JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE OPERATIONS

Women Fighting for
Peace in Iraq

A Conversation with the
Rt. Hon. Jack Straw

Elections in the DRC

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The Publication of the
International Stability
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From the Editor's Desk

A Bi-Monthly Review of ISOA's Activities: November-December 2011

LOOKING back on 2011, there was rarely a dull moment. Leaders around the world were either toppled or forced to face some of the most difficult challenges in modern history—rampant budgetary and financial issues, regional instability and revolution, political unrest and partisan stalemate and debilitating natural disaster. Among these significant challenges, however, there was positive news and reason for hope. The sparks of democracy ignited among the most deeply rooted of dictatorships, communities across the world banded together to rebuild and war came to an end. We may be entering a 2012 just as unpredictable as 2011, but we confront the uncertainty of tomorrow armed with the knowledge gained from yesterday.

an extensive background in potential client relations, outreach and development for The George Washington University's MBA Admissions. Doug and I are thrilled to have Jason on board and we wish outgoing staff member, Melissa Sabin, best wishes in her new position in Dubai, U.A.E.

Strategic Planning Kicks Off

November also marked the beginning of ISOA's first long-term strategic planning process. Phase 1 kicked off with a full day retreat of the ISOA Board of Directors, facilitated by myself and Jeff Grieco, ISOA Board Member and Chair of the ISOA Communications Committee. I have since led the Associate and full time staff through Phases 2 through 4 and am happy to report that we are right on schedule. Our conversations have been informative, innovative and frank as we have analyzed our programming and planned for the future. The ISOA Strategic Plan, 2012-2015 is set to go before the Board for final approval on 31 January 2012.

December Networking Event

We celebrated the end of 2011 with a member-only networking reception at Hotel George in Washington, D.C. Sponsored by ISOA member, OnSite OHS, the reception was a resounding success and a great place to catch up with one another and discuss opportunities for 2012.

New Publications & Events Planned for 2012

ISOA staff has also set in motion a series of new publications and events for 2012. We will be diversifying our publications, streamlining our communications and offering new and innovative events for our members and the general public. Look for incremental changes to the JIPO throughout 2012, in addition to the new ISOA Weekly e-newsletter and new member-only e-publications.

Interested in sponsoring a unique event, advertising in an ISOA publication or both? Contact Jason Kennedy at jkennedy@stability-operations.org for more information. ■

SPOTLIGHT Reflection & Planning

Every year, ISOA takes the time after our biggest event, the Annual Summit, to reflect on a year of programming and plan for the next. November and December of 2011 have been a whirlwind of reflection, analysis, discussion and brainstorming as ISOA plans for an even bigger and better year in 2012.

Summit Wrap-up

The 2011 ISOA Annual Summit wrapped up on 24 October, and the planning for the 2012 event began. ISOA released an attendee survey and received a significant number of positive and helpful responses. A review of the 2011 Summit can be found in this issue as the centerspread.

New Staff Member

In the second week of November, ISOA welcomed a new staff member to the leadership team. Jason Kennedy joined the Association's full time staff as the new Manager of Membership & Business Development. Jason came to ISOA with

Meet the 2012 Board

Just before the holiday break in November, ISOA also convened its first meeting of the 2012 Board of Directors, at the headquarters of PAE in Arlington, VA. Former Board Members sat alongside newly elected representatives for an extensive Board Orientation.

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Doug Brooks

The Reality of Withdrawal

The role of the private sector in the future of Iraq



One of the last convoys to leave Iraq. Credit: Minnesota National Guard, Flickr

MUCH media attention has accompanied the end of the U.S. military presence in Iraq, as well as the reality that thousands of contractors will remain behind. Not surprisingly, too many commentators are referring to an 'army' of contractors – terminology which may make their articles a more compelling read, but also provides an unfortunate mischaracterization of the civilian reality. Oddly, some almost appear to be arguing for a 'remilitarization' of the mission, something clearly rejected by the Iraqis themselves.

Although the scale is necessarily large, the private firms working in support of the diplomatic mission are undertaking tasks that are not so unusual for private firms in more benign environments. Contractors are conducting logistics, facilities management, medical evacuation and many different kinds of training. Yes, many are providing site security and body guard services as well, defensive, protective roles as is common domestically in the West. While this unique operation with international policy implications should indeed be covered by the media, the sensationalization is unhelpful to the

Doug Brooks is President of the International Stability Operations Association. Contact Doug at dbrooks@stability-operations.org.

public.

Most embassies around the world are protected primarily by private security. Security risks in Iraq do remain considerable, and while civilian security is significantly more lightly armed than military units, their role is consistent with the desires of the Iraqi government which is eager to foster normalcy and demilitarize the country. It would be highly complex and likely impossible for the United States to insist on maintaining or returning military units to provide security, not to mention all the ongoing development, training programs, infrastructure development and numerous other activities necessary to ensure Iraq the best opportunity for success. Private resources do make sense, both because they are less expensive, and the Department of State is able to ensure significant control over their personnel vetting and operations.

The international community has sacrificed lives and money to transform Iraq into a functioning and safe democratic state. Although success has been mixed thus far, the seeds of a prosperous future are present. Ongoing support is key to avoiding a grand catastrophe with staggering humanitarian consequences if the country were to slide back into civil war and or dictatorship. It

may be another decade before we can put the episode into a proper context, and no one expects perfection. But the price in humanitarian suffering and treasure can only be placed in proper perspective once a more stable society has evolved. Much remains to be finished and the guidance of Western experts is essential.

The Iraqi people's desires must be taken into account and sooner or later the Iraq mission had to be civilianized. Clearly, overhyped fears of a 'private army' are nonsense. But it is appropriate to demand proper oversight and standards for the firms supporting international goals in Iraq – we have often made the case that good rules and good oversight benefit the better companies. As the U.S. government has a great deal more experience managing these kinds of operations than just a few years ago, we should expect improvements in quality and effectiveness of oversight. We must also recognize that ongoing support is necessary for all the projects that the West has sacrificed so much to establish. The private sector is a sensible option, and while it is not an 'army' and cannot guarantee long-term mission success, it would be the height of folly to abandon all the projects and training that provide the Iraqis the best hope for long-term stability, development and security. ■

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Women & International Stability

the essential building blocks for stronger communities and a more peaceful world

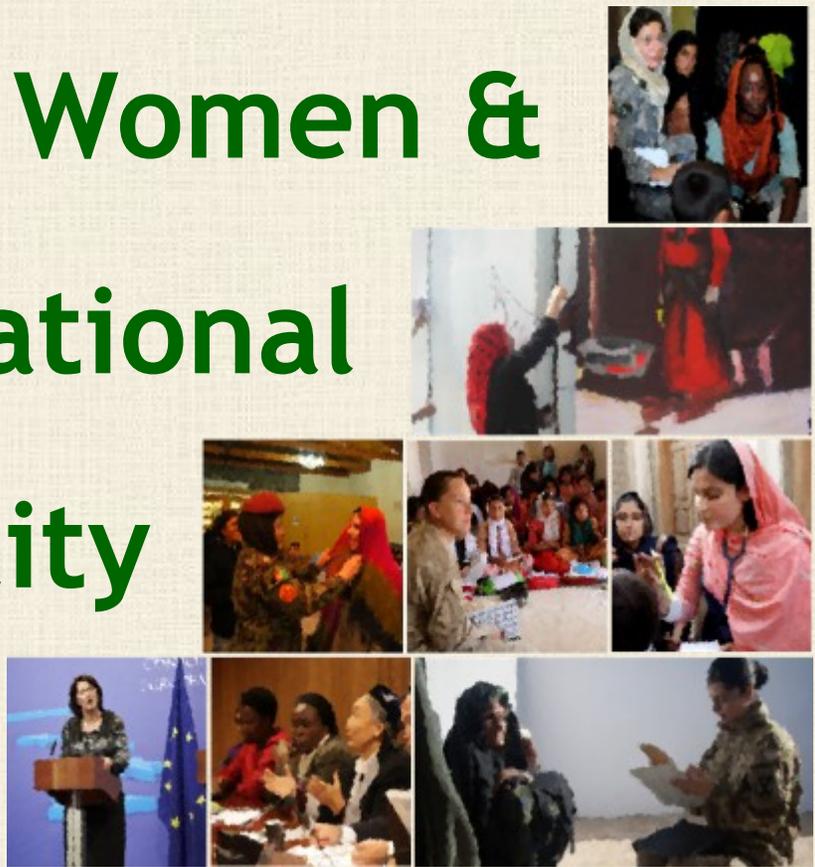


Image created by Jessica Vogel. Credits: USIP, DOD, ISAF, UN, EU

THE issue of gender in stability operations has received more international attention than ever before in recent years. Increasingly, women play a role in DDR and SSR efforts and training on gender issues has improved exponentially. Moreover, tackling gender issues has become a goal in several efforts, internationally among UN Agencies and the Montreux Document; nationally through the recent NAP in the U.S. However, multiple problems in both the developing world and the West remain.

For those women living in countries where women's rights are heavily curbed, it is a struggle to get their voices heard and they are victims of abuse without legal redress. But even those countries with developed rule of law must not be overlooked. In the U.S. the majority of the military and contractors are still men, and female representation on Capitol Hill is very low. In the international community, it is generally accepted that gender awareness and mainstreaming are important in improving stability operations. The following articles present an important contribution to the debate.

Kristen Cordell describes the importance of and challenges to gender mainstreaming in humanitari-

an and stability operations. The widespread use of private contractors solidifies the need for their inclusion in this process, together with government, civil society, and the academic community. The National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security is an excellent vehicle through which to promote gender mainstreaming in operations abroad, but the lack of information has thus far hampered the improvement of policy. Cordell proposes adopting a rights-based approach, wherein Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) recognize their responsibility as both contract holders and duty bearers of ensuring women's rights.

Audrey Reeves and **Anika Doherty** build on this in their article on gender and PSMCs. They offer a framework of solutions to the problems of overrepresentation of males in companies and in stability operations as a whole and they explore human rights abuses, like trafficking and sexual abuse. Both the operations and the companies' reputation will benefit from institutional measures to address misconduct.

Shifting to a national focus, **Raya Barazanji** and **Kathleen Kuehnast**, describe two successful projects implemented by women civil society

leaders in Iraq. Challenges do persist among activists, as there is a growing fear of insecurity as American troops withdraw, government regulations interfere with their work and an ambiguous legal framework governs the status of women. Also, losing political independence has caused apprehension among activists to seek public office. Fortunately, the successful cases described in this piece inspire hope.

Whitney Grespin takes the discussion to Afghanistan, exploring the importance of including women in civil society efforts. She argues that the self-sufficiency of women and their inclusion in the provision of support mechanisms will mitigate the influence of the Taliban, criminal networks and warlords to act as a provider of benefits. This autonomy will decrease their dependence on patronage networks and increase stability. The lack of institutional social knowledge and a common Afghan identity are impediments to this process. However, Grespin offers solutions on how small groups of women can be driving factor in the improvement of stability.

Next issue, the feature will be **Alternative Actors in Stability** ■

Audrey Reeves and Anike Doherty

Gender and Private Military and Security Companies

The crucial role for women in conflict and post-conflict environments



A Female Engagement Team member meets with women to address their needs. Credit: USAF, Flickr

GENDER refers to the socially constructed roles and relationships between men and women. Men and women often have different perspectives, priorities, and concerns, including about their personal security and the security of their communities. These perspectives need to be considered in all areas of peace and stability operations. Acknowledging this reality, in October 2000 the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. Since then, it has become widely acknowledged that involving both men and women in peace-building efforts, including in security sector reform (SSR) processes, is essential. Still, women's views are often side-lined in security institutions and SSR processes. Although many clients of private military and security companies (PMSCs), such as the United Nations, NGOs and donors, have mainstreamed gender concerns into their peace support operations and post-conflict reconstruction projects, PMSCs are only beginning to do so. This article considers the importance of integrating gender perspectives into

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PMSCs and identifies practical ways to do so.

Improving operational effectiveness

In the context of stability and peace operations, PMSCs are called upon to operate in increasingly diverse contexts ranging from peacekeeping, to open conflict to humanitarian relief. Private security contractors regularly interact with and impact the lives of local communities. The diversity of the population in terms of ethnicity, religion, class and sex should be considered when assessing security needs and the impact of PMSC's activities on the population. The understanding of gender perspectives helps PMSCs and the host community to adjust to each other, enables PMSCs to better understand the local working environment and improves overall response to the host community's security needs.

Hiring both female and male personnel increases the flexibility and polyvalence of a unit. It can also decrease some risks associated with security operations. For instance, since women are often perceived as less threatening than men, their presence among PMSC operators can contribute to defuse tension and to strengthen the acceptance of the PMSC among host communities.

Second, an increased presence of female operators can facilitate the performance of security functions in a way that is both more effective and culturally appropriate. In some traditional societies, it will be easier for female operators to speak to women and gain their trust. This can facilitate information gathering and search operations. Finally, female operators may take a different and complementary approach in the identification of and response to security risks including cases of gender-based violence. Increasing the number of women does not necessarily increase gender awareness, however. Gender training and capacity-building for male and female personnel, the support of gender advisors and research on gender and PMSCs can increase awareness of culturally-specific gender needs and help to mainstream gender perspectives into operations.

Preventing misconduct and human rights violations

PMSC's activities in international operations have been tainted by cases of excessive use of force and human rights violations by male and female operators. Many cases of gender-based violence (GBV) still go unreported or are not prosecuted.

These human rights violations have extremely damaging and lasting effects on the reputation of PMSCs.

A company’s institutional culture may contribute to its personnel’s understanding of ‘their identity as men’ in ways that may condone or even promote aggressive behaviour, which has been linked to human rights abuses, notably rape and human trafficking. Research on security institutions such as the police has shown that women are less likely to use excessive force, which is costly in terms of liability as well as public image. However, any long-term solution to recurrent cases of misconduct and human rights violations needs to go beyond increasing the number of female personnel. Companies need to adopt institutional measures to prevent and address cases of misconduct. Appropriate gender training for PMSC personnel, alongside training in international humanitarian law and human rights law - as recommended by the Montreux Document on PMSCs -will help to create a more gender-aware institution, thus preventing human rights abuses and reputation loss. Having clear rules of behaviour and mechanisms to punish individuals responsible for human rights violations will benefit the host populations, individual companies and the industry as a whole.

Addressing the institutional culture and employment standards

While the proportion of women in PMSCs is on the rise, men remain highly over-represented not least because PMSCs mostly recruit among former and current military and police personnel, where men are also predominant. A gender-sensitive reform of recruitment approaches and human resources policies can contribute to creating an inclusive work environment, in particular by addressing issues such as recruitment, retention and promotion of women, as well as discriminatory behaviour. In particular, companies should make maximum efforts in tackling sexual harassment, which damages the institution through loss of productivity, lowered morale and readiness, absenteeism and high staff turnover. Moreover, studies have shown that male and

Some Practical Ways to Integrate Gender Issues into PMSCs	
Contractual obligations	Turn good practices into contractual obligations i.e. provisions on accountability; gender training for staff; vetting and training; audits and periodic reviews to maximise quality control.
Policies and codes of conduct	To improve the internal working environment and prevent human rights abuses, establish clear policies and codes of conduct addressing sexual harassment, violence, internal discrimination and other human rights violations.
Vetting	During recruitment, conduct background checks for prior criminal offences, human rights violations and GBV, including domestic violence.
Gender training	Integrate gender issues into all staff training and consider specific training on gender topics such as sexual harassment and response to cases of GBV including human trafficking and rape.
Recruitment, retention and advancement of female personnel	Conduct assessments and audits to provide entry points for increasing the recruitment, advancement and retention of women. Consider recruitment and retention targets; update recruitment policies and practices; revise human resources policies and allow equal opportunities for promotions.
Industry self-regulation and internal company codes of conduct	Integrate gender in processes to regulate the private security industry (i.e. codes of ethics and monitoring and reporting mechanisms)

female PMSC personnel can face post-deployment problems such as post-traumatic stress disorder, marital problems, alcohol abuse, domestic violence and other adjustment issues. As PMSCs prepare to provide pre-and post-deployment counselling and other relevant services, it will be useful to draw upon the experience of the police and the military in dealing with those issues among female personnel, as the psychological effects and their treatment often differ from those for men.

In order to improve standards of conduct for PMSCs, a combined approach of contractual obligations on the one hand and self-regulatory processes on the other is necessary. Gender issues must be further integrated into the emerging self-regulatory frameworks governing the industry. The International Code of Conduct for Private Security Service Providers, which 166 companies from 42 countries had signed as of 1 August 2011, unequivocally forbids signatory companies and their personnel to engage in or benefit from “sexual exploitation (including, for these purposes, prostitution) and abuse or gender-based violence or crimes, either within the Company or externally, including rape, sexual harassment, or any other form of sexual abuse or violence” and to “report such instances to competent authori-

ties”. Other PMSCs could become signatories. Standards in the area of gender could also be set and monitored through the inclusion of compliance mechanisms and internal reporting procedures on sexual harassment, discrimination and sexual violence into internal company codes of conduct. PMSCs could also conduct background checks on all potential personnel, in particular for issues such as criminal records, human rights abuses and GBV, including domestic violence. Another significant step would be the establishment of external reporting mechanisms and transparent investigation procedures.

UNSC Resolution 1325 and subsequent resolutions have spawned some rethinking of the ways in which states provide security; some national and international clients already demand gender-sensitive services from private security service providers. It is in the interest of the private security industry to take the initiative. ■

This article is based on a PMSCs and Gender Tool, which is part of the Gender and SSR Toolkit. Copies of the Tool or the complete Toolkit (in several languages) can be ordered by writing to gender@dcaf.ch, specifying name, mailing address and number of copies requested, or downloaded online at www.dcaf.ch/gsrtoolkit

“...involving women in operations is crucial if we want to establish relationships and trust with the civil society...in the theatres where we are involved, there are different traditions and cultures. But everywhere, our interactions - whether military-to-military, military-to-government or military-to-population, have largely been seen as ‘man-to-man.’ This is no longer true, this is changing, and therefore it is essential to go on injecting gender perspectives in all our actions.”

Admiral Giampaolo Di Paola, Chairman of the NATO Military Committee, at the 10th anniversary of UN Security Council Resolution 1325, 9 September 2010

Raya Barazanji and Kathleen Kuehnast

Women Fighting for Peace in Iraq

Filling a critical void for the future of Iraq



A USIP grantee organization launched a public education campaign to raise awareness of the issue of violence against women. 35 murals were painted on the concrete barriers surrounding the Provincial Council and Sheraton Hotel located in Basra City Center. Credit: Al-Mustaqbal Center for Women

AS U.S. troops withdraw from Iraq and the U.S. role transitions from military-led to civilian-led engagement, a number of questions linger about Iraq's governance, stability and security. But of critical importance is how the transition will affect the status of women and vulnerable groups, and how civil society will support the transition.

Over the last nine years, the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) has been one of the prime supporters of Iraqi civil society, especially in terms of capacity building and technical assistance provided to women leaders and organizations that work on gender-equity and peacebuilding in Iraq. The Institute's Iraq Priority Grant Program has worked since 2004 to create indigenous institutions that contribute to preventing conflict as well as other programs that offer training in problem-solving and conflict resolution.

In December 2011, USIP hosted a discussion featuring two women civil society leaders from Iraq. Suzan Aref and Zainab Sadik Jaafar's USIP-

supported projects enable them to promote positive roles for women as peacebuilders, and provide mechanisms and strategies to combat discrimination and violence against women in Iraq. The two women highlighted the critical roles that women play in contributing to peace and stability in post-conflict Iraq during the panel discussion on 6 December in Washington, D.C. They also foreshadowed the types of challenges women will face as American troops withdraw.

Aref and the Women Empowerment Organization

Aref leads the Women Empowerment Organization (WEO) in Erbil. The WEO works to enhance local capacity to increase rural and marginalized women's awareness of their rights and the laws protecting them. It helps to expose them to strategies and mechanisms (legal and otherwise) for securing these rights. Aref also developed an action plan on the basis of an analysis of court cases that identifies gaps in the legislative support for women.

In Aref's assessment, the success of the projects came from implementing culture-appropriate mechanisms to reach disadvantaged women. They

run the gamut, from a mobile legal aid clinic, a telephone hotline for women to report cases of abuse and to seek help, training sessions and a variety of publications on women's rights, as well as television and radio advocacy. There is also a website providing information about women's rights and needs.

The organization trained its staff and a group of master trainers to deliver training to targeted groups of women on gender equality, family law and human rights in Erbil and Ninewa provinces. One of the outcomes of this project is the establishment of a network of service providers that bring together local and international NGOs and governmental institutions to provide social services to women in the northern area. Aref was recently awarded a certificate of appreciation from the Kurdish Regional Government in Iraq for her efforts in advancing women's rights and contributing to the peace and stability of the region.

Jaafar and the Al-Mustaqbal Center of Women

Five hundred miles away in the southern city of Basra in Iraq, Jaafar leads Al-Mustaqbal Center of

Raya Barazanji is a program officer at USIP who coordinates the Institute's grant work in Iraq. Kathleen Kuehnast is the director of USIP's Gender and Peacebuilding Center.

Women. With the support of USIP, the organization launched a public education campaign denouncing violence against women. The campaign broke fear barriers that militant Islamic militias, mainly the Mahdi Army, imposed on the community. In 2007, the Basra Police Directorate reported 133 cases of killings of women, most the result of accusations by extremists of violating Islamic teachings. In reality, a majority of these victims were women's rights activists, doctors and prominent professionals who were outspoken about the rising curb on women's rights and civil liberties by militant groups. Al-Mustaqbal Center conducted an integrated cluster of activities in the Basra province that included public education symposia to openly discuss the issues leading to violence, and to share strategies on ways to address them.

As part of their efforts to educate the community on the rights of women, the Al-Mustaqbal Center produced a short film titled "Be Tender with Flasks" documenting the efforts of the campaign that was aired on several local and regional satellite channels. The documentary is grounded in the teachings of Islam that not only promote peace but also the special status of women in society. The title, a reference to Islam, was purposefully selected as an open invitation for Muslim clerics and followers of Islam to take notice. Indeed, the documentary features a religious leader who speaks strongly against violence against women and practices known as "honor killings."

The Long Road Ahead

Both Aref and Jaafar recognize that the real work has yet to begin. In their discussions during their week-long visit to Washington, they raised issues and challenges facing Iraqi women and women NGO leaders today, and how they may intensify after the withdrawal of American troops. Many women-led civil society organizations have an intense "fear of abandonment" by the international community. They worry that the support they have enjoyed since 2003 will end and that international relations will be reduced to dealing with the government through official and diplomatic missions and exclude direct communication with the Iraqi people through civil society channels.

In that respect, they fear that without the physical presence of U.S. troops and international organizations that put pressure on the govern-



USIP event, *Women Fighting for Peace in Iraq*. Left: Zainab Sadik Jaafar. Right: Suzan Aref Maroof
Credit: William Fitz-Patrick, USIP

ment, women activists will be left alone to confront security challenges and deal with the militias. They also fear government regulations that may limit their work.

Much work still needs to be done in the judicial framework of laws governing the status of women, especially that of the Personal Status Law. While the law that passed in 1959 is considered to be the most progressive in the region, there remains room for revisions to make it more compliant with international laws and conventions.

Many women-led civil society organizations [in Iraq] have an intense "fear of abandonment" by the international community.

It also remains vulnerable to abuse and misinterpretation. For example, immediately after the fall of the regime, certain Islamic political parties tried to install laws that would change the Personal Status Law and give powers to the courts to adjudicate cases of marriage, divorce and inheritance along ethnic and sectarian lines. The Iraqi Interim Governing Council issued Resolution 137 in 2003 that would have given power to courts to rule in all disputes concerning marriage and divorce based solely on religious and sectarian beliefs and interpretations of Shari'a law. Domestic and international women and human rights organizations campaigned against this law, which led the then U.S. Civil Administrator Paul

L. Bremer to overrule it. Considered to be a huge achievement for women activists, just two years later the same exact provisions reappeared under the guise of Article 41 of the Iraqi permanent Constitution ratified by public referendum in 2005. Once again, Iraqi women, with the support of the international community, are carrying out an active campaign seeking amendment to this Article's provisions in which they see a tremendous threat to women's rights.

Furthermore, there is a strong trend by Islamic militant groups and political parties, especially in the southern region of Iraq, to impose strict dress codes and curb social and political interaction of women in the public realm. As Jaafar said: "I am working to gain back the rights that my mother enjoyed in her time before I can ask for more rights for me and my daughter!"

The history of women's status in Iraq is one of many contrasts. For example, it is notable that women made significant gains in securing rights and civil liberties in the 1960's through the 1990s, despite violent political changes and an eight-year war with neighboring Iran. In fact, during that era, women were in many leadership positions in public service, filling the vacancies left by their male counterparts who were recruited to fight the war. But it was short-lived. As soon as the conflict ended in 1988, the Iraq government issued decrees that forced women to relinquish those positions to give men returning from the battlefronts ample employment opportunities.

By 2003, the war against Iraq and the subsequent fall of the Saddam Hussein regime opened new avenues for Iraqi women. Instantaneously, independent women-led civil society organizations

Kristen Cordell

From Remedial Action to Women's Empowerment

Implications of the US National Action Plan for PMSCs



Will the NAP spur much needed change in the United States? Credit: White House

ON December 19th 2011 the National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security (NAP) was announced as the blueprint for integrating women across all post conflict nation building activities. In 32 other countries, the NAP has come to be the central vehicle for empowering women across the stability and defense communities. The United States Government's final product reflects a relatively forward leaning approach to contractors, including commitments to improving the collection of sex-disaggregated data, efforts to inform program design with context-relevant gender analysis, and ensuring women's equal participation in training, education and program activities.

Within the plan's development, one core challenge was outlining the role that Private Military and Security Companies (PMSCs) would play, and what mandates should govern their relationships with the USG when it comes to gender. The problematic aspect, for the civil society organizations informing the effort in particular, was a lack

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of good information. Discussions about gender equality within the realm of PMSCs has so far been tokenistic, anecdotal, and dominated by a handful of negative stereotypes. Whereas we have a range of new information and tools for gender mainstreaming United Nations Peacekeeping Forces or the US Military, we know very little

Discussions about gender equality within the realm of PMSCs has so far been tokenistic, anecdotal, and dominated by a handful of negative stereotypes.

about gender mainstreaming throughout PMSCs. This outlook has severely limited research and movement forward on policy options for improvement, and therefore demands change. Quality research and analysis, identification of gaps and best practices and practical policy options and novel partnerships for implementation are now necessary.

The premise for inclusion of PMSCs in the NAP

is their widespread and consistent use, solidifying that it is vital to ensure gender mainstreaming throughout overall stability operations [1]. This means adopting a rights based approach, wherein PMSCs recognize their responsibility as both contract holders and duty bearers. There are two benefits to this model. The first is that PMSCs will enhance their internal effectiveness by being more representative, open and inclusive from an institutional perspective. For example, both revenue and reputation can be enhanced by greater inclusion of women within staffing, through recruitment and retention policies that are fully gendered. The second benefit is improved operational effectiveness across the local environment, as the increased inclusion of women is proven to contribute to a safe and secure environment. For example, disarmament and demobilization projects - a core PMSC task - are more likely to succeed over time when they include women who were associated with fighting forces, or WAAF's. To achieve these dual benefits, PMSCs must work to build in both remedial and empowering action for women, including specifically reform systems and operations to empower women as actors, both within internal ranks and as beneficiaries of the project plans. And that's what we have seen in the NAP.

The NAP is extremely forward leaning on training, including contractors as potential trainees, on topics including: inclusive participation in conflict prevention, peace processes, and security initiatives; international human rights law and protection of civilians; prevention of sexual and gender based violence (SGBV); and prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) [2]. The fact that both empowering and remedial action are listed at length is significant and laudable. Moving forward, implementation plans must ensure training topics go beyond lip service and address these issues in the depth they deserve.

PMSCs should continue to be involved in the design and implementation of training for stability operations personnel, including specifically programs through the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI), U.S. Army War College's Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute and the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA). These can be excellent partners in the effort to ensure all parties understand the goals of gender mainstreaming within multidimensional operations.

The NAP also commits the USG to get more women involved with the United Nations, including UN Peacekeeping Operations. PMSCs can be involved through novel systems and thinking more creatively about job descriptions and outreach to potential staff. Rosters, such as those used by CANDEEM and the Norwegian Refugee Council's PROCap and GENCap rosters are great tools for engaging female talent. PMSCs should continue to diagnose and respond to the challenges that prompt women to opt out of stability careers. What we know about these challenges come largely from research done for other institutions, meaning that as of now, we are guessing for PMSCs. This is a huge opportunity and more research must be done on recruitment and retention if PMSCs want to increase their female staff.

Policy shifts at the company, industry and international level must reflect improved integration of gender and support the NAP's implementation [3]. The International Code of Conduct for Private Security Providers (ICoC), a tool developed to enhance accountability by those PMSCs who sign on to its terms, is now complete. While its language on gender is currently remedial - focused on avoiding trafficking and exploitation - its inclusion illustrates a step in the right direction [4]. As more companies sign on and

expand the scope and scale of the document, it will be important to include additional terms on protection and empowerment for women. Existing standards by the United Nations Human Rights bodies should serve as the backbone of forthcoming addendums.

To support these changes, some remedial action is needed at the company level, through safeguards (that is steps to address the risk of misconduct). The NAP includes a commitment to this for the US Agency for International Development (USAID), who maintains a contractor Code of Conduct. However this does not go far enough, in that it does not implicate the Department of Defense (DOD) [5]. Internal audits and mandates should be developed to reflect a commitment to improved dialogue and training that addresses the root causes and institutional culture of changing the gender norms. ISOA, especially with regards to its member supported Code of Conduct, is particularly poised to support this responsibility, through hosting dialogue and moving the conversation about the advancement of international standards forward in a productive manner.

Over the next 5 months, agencies across the USG will develop implementation plans on the terms of

the NAP. In this process, PMSCs must be recognized as one vital and permanent actor in the diverse multi-agency operational environment and integrated into all plans, with an emphasis on the Department of Defense. The humanitarian and stability community must continue to advocate and inform this process. Another crucial partner is civil society, which has traditionally stayed outside of the boundaries of this debate. They must become involved as both a watchdog and an empowering institution.

Finally, academic institutions should aid in this effort as well, overlooking stereotypical or anecdotal language, and looking for meaningful output from women inclusion across operations [6]. Work by groups such as Women in International Security Project at CSIS, the Nation Building Project at the RAND Corporation and the Gender and Peacebuilding Center at the United States Institute of Peace have shown themselves as leaders in this field and should continue to build on their records. Working together across tasks, institutions can create coherence and overall impact in the community - while minimizing risks and adverse impact of international action. ■

For footnotes ► 18



Hillary Clinton announces the NAP. Credit: U.S. Department of State

Whitney Grespin

Breaking the Cycle

The role of Afghan women supporting the build-up of civil society capacity



The critical stakeholder in building the foundations of civil society in Afghanistan. Credit: Duncan Penry

AS international security forces prepare to draw down and civilian contractors brace for reduced contract solicitations and option year renewals, the international community should seriously examine its support for the role that civil society is playing in the growth and long-term viability of the Afghan state. Specifically, the international community should reinforce positive investments into efforts that explicitly incorporate women's voices and participation across Afghanistan.

Despite hard-won combat successes by international troops, the future of the country will be won or lost by the Afghans. In a war where front lines go beyond geography and the battle for hearts and minds reaches past the male population who can walk down the street freely, it is Afghan women who must be included in building the community organizations and social infrastructure necessary to enable the country's future success. The opportunity to combat violence and extremism democratically already exists in Afghanistan through participation in civil society initiatives that empower all citizens to play a

greater role in building a common future for the Afghan state.

Structural Weaknesses in Civil Society

Although the definition of civil society varies depending upon whom (and where) you ask, it's widely agreed that the term 'civil society' refers to initiatives undertaken beyond the family, state, and/or market wherein people voluntarily associate in order to advance common interests. While civil societies are not always perfectly united or homogenous entities, consisting of their own unique internal politics and power struggles, for the purposes of this piece I refer to civil society as an auxiliary forum outside of traditional government and religious structures where the Afghan people can seek representation.

Those attempting to establish and maintain a strong civil society framework across Afghanistan have long faced many obstacles in addition to the Taliban. Socioeconomic conditions that allow for the emergence and perpetuation of groups like the Taliban are the real problem. Indeed, the most profound problems are deep rooted inequalities in the social constructs of the Afghan state, not a dwindling group of misled recruits who retreat

into caves when snow falls. These circumstances were born from decades of war and centuries of social tradition that are proving to be at odds with the style of modernization that international forces would like to see.

Challenges to establishing a strong civil society include pervasive issues such as the proliferation of criminal patronage networks, weakened representative structures, lack of educational opportunities, poor access to healthcare, and, perhaps most importantly, absence of strong common national goals and identity. Each of these challenges is augmented by systematic gender segregation and imbalanced levels of academic achievement spread across both geographic and socioeconomic divides.

Yet another destabilizing factor threatening Afghanistan is the lack of 'institutional' social knowledge of how to act in what the West wants to be a free society. The last two generations of Afghan mothers surviving childbirth has birthed, on average, a half dozen children. Most of these mothers do not have the requisite knowledge to teach their children basic skills such as literacy, numeracy, and socialization outside of family networks. It is likely that these mothers cannot

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teach their children about a common Afghan identity because they themselves do not understand such a thing. This is a missing link in the process of modernizing Afghanistan. The formation of a common Afghan identity in place of the current delineations of Shia/Sunni or Pashtun/Tajik/Hazara is still distant, but it is the civil society groups working to provide skills and education to the population, regardless of religion or ethnicity, that are likely to be the first environments in which these distinctions are bridged.

Back to Basics

What is absent in a society is sometimes more telling than what is present. Such was the case with respect to support systems for women outside of clandestine familial and neighborly networks that were fostered during the secluded years of Taliban rule. Beyond the material assistance and knowledge transfers women provided for each other through resourcefulness or help from rare sympathetic male counterparts, there was no government support system in place to address the needs of the female population. It was under these circumstances, in the shadow of the Taliban, that women took it upon themselves to acquire skills that would provide income to households where men were unavailable or unable to economically support their families.

One of the foremost challenges to civil society across Afghanistan is that when the Taliban left town, the unsavory non-government collaborators did not follow suit. They stayed, played their hand to their best advantage, and gained legitimacy. Although the government was de- and re-constructed, the makeup of voluntary social and civic relationships throughout Afghanistan were not. While the exclusion of women from participatory representative bodies may no longer be the official line, that does not mean that women have emerged from seclusion into a hospitable civil environment.

The women of Afghanistan have worked to build their own social and economic security by facilitating and participating in civil society projects that promote the peer-to-peer exchange of tradecraft skills, informal expansion of educational opportunities, improved literacy and numeracy, basic hygiene and healthcare instruction, and the development of social networks amongst women. These social networks both foster self-reliance and encourage community

participation. These activities demonstrate how resilient women, unused to government or civil society help, invariably became. Recent publications like *The Dressmaker of Khair Khana*, *The Sewing Circles of Herat*, and *The Beauty School of Kabul* chronicle the positive social and financial outcomes that women's programs had during and soon after the rule of the Taliban, and the ways in which those programs positioned their participants for success following the fall of the regime.

Beyond the systematic discrimination suffered by females across the country, Afghan women also suffer extremely high widow rates. The health consequences of violent conflict have affected healthcare access, sanitation, and basic hygiene education, and this has collectively claimed more lives than the conflict itself. Indeed, after three decades of war and a collapsed healthcare system, it is estimated that upwards of 2 million women out of a population of only 30 million bear the social exclusion of being widows. In a patriarchal society such as Afghanistan's, the death of a husband not only lessens a woman's financial security, but it also puts her at the lowest level of society, removing her social protections. In addition to coping with the death of a husband, women are then saddled with the immediate needs of securing household income and some measure of social support.

Looking Ahead

If nascent social and political infrastructures are allowed to collapse, then space is created for groups like the Taliban to reestablish a foothold. By encouraging women to participate in the provision and proliferation of support mechanisms amongst themselves, the ability of the Taliban, criminal networks, and exploitive individuals to act as providers or brokers of such benefits is eliminated. If communities and small groups of women are able to gain self-sufficiency



An Afghan woman teaches other women math.
Credit: ISAFmedia

then they can be resistant to outside pressures to fall under the control of patronage networks. This resistance to external influence will serve to insulate stability in Afghanistan by encouraging autonomy.

Much recent economic analysis has focused on the imminent danger of a 'drawdown recession.' This recession will be a direct result of the elimination of support sought for International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) and the eradication of demand for more advanced logistical, infrastructural, and technical skills. As economic growth derived from international force support slows in the coming years, there will likely be a return to markets based on more traditional skills and crafts, thereby shifting the sources of labor that generate typical household incomes.

A relatively depressed economy will result in increased financial hardship for the general population, and that hardship will highlight the need for a social safety net of civil society groups to step in where the state does not or cannot. This need will likely be particularly pronounced in female-headed households where women are largely unskilled, thus further necessitating the establishment of support networks maintained and implemented by women.

Whether one believes that a robust civil society comes from a stable government or vice versa, one cannot survive without the other. If you can bring stability you can bring development, and if you can bring development you have a better shot at building a strong government.

In the Long Run

In Afghanistan the international community has its eye on the clock and knows that it can no longer strive for perfection, but rather needs to aim for sustainability. The events of recent years have proven that we cannot, "kill the Taliban into wanting a political compromise," as some military leaders have opined. However, the past has also indicated that it may be possible to incentivize the general population into wanting a political compromise. And these incentives can be the outcomes of civil society initiatives that empower and educate the general population with no motive other than providing opportunity for advancement and encouraging voluntary relationships.

EVENT REVIEW

ISOA annual summit

24 - 26 October 2011

Ronald Reagan
International Trade Center

Washington, D.C.

In late October, hundreds of representatives from the stability operations community worldwide came together at the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center in Washington, D.C. to participate in the 2011 ISOA Annual Summit. Attendees hailed from various fields, all stakeholders in international operations in some of the most fragile environments across the globe, many performing vital services in conflict-zones, post conflict zones and disaster relief operations. Featuring 64 speakers over 2.5 days in more than 20 sessions, the Summit provided a unique opportunity for partners from the public, private, academic

and nongovernmental sectors to network, share best practices and discuss hot button issues. Notable speakers included former British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw, former Chair of the House Armed Services Committee Ike Skelton, and Admiral Eric T. Olson, U.S. Navy, among many other honored guests. Thanks to the support of ISOA member sponsors, member companies and industry leaders that attended, the 2011 ISOA Annual Summit was able to address the most prominent issues facing the stability operations industry with a united effort. In its 6th year, the 2011 Summit was the most productive yet and was indispensable for any organization working in the peace and stability field.

The morning session also included Ike Skelton who commended the industry for supporting the U.S. military and servicemen and women across the globe. He addressed the threats posed by defense spending cuts and the growing disconnect between American citizens and their armed forces. The afternoon wrapped up with an insightful panel reviewing stability operations over the previous year. Of note, both Andrew Natsios (Georgetown University) and Beth Cole (US Institute of Peace), pointed to the draw-down in Afghanistan and Iraq and the ongoing budget discussions on Capitol Hill as the defining conversations across the peace and stability space in 2011. The day came to an end with an evening networking reception that provided participants with an opportunity to reflect on the day's inside briefings.



SETTING THE STAGE

Day 1 kicked off with Chris Taylor, CEO of Mission Essential Personnel, the 2011 headline sponsor. "Every year we seem to get a little bit better, a little bit bigger and we seem to attract a very diverse crowd who have different interests, different goals and the conversations that are fostered continue to be interesting," remarked Taylor.

OPEN FORUM, INVALUABLE DISCUSSIONS

Day 2 opened early, with Breakfast Workshops examining Crisis Communication and Communications Opportunities and the International Code of Conduct for Private Security Providers. Morning sessions kicked off with Triple Canopy's Mark DeWitt, outgoing ISOA Board

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HEADLINE



GOLD





Chair, and Jessica Vogel, ISOA Manager of Operations, providing an ISOA Year in Review. ISOA President Doug Brooks welcomed Robert Dickson and Jim Durso to the stage for an insider briefing on how The Commission on Wartime Contracting's Final Report will affect the industry. Providing valuable insight into the effects of the current budget crisis on U.S. foreign assistance and how nongovernmental organizations can better adapt to the challenges presented by future stability operations, the panel set the tone for the day's discussions. Subsequent breakout session topics included policies in disaster relief, security sector reform, UN procurement, issues in Africa, legal developments and risk mitigation, and the most well attended of the day, political impacts of transitioning to State Department-led operations – a rare and invaluable off-the-record discussion with staffers from Capitol Hill.

At lunch, Ambassador Eric Edelman (ret.) warned that even with the American withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan, the Department of

Defense, and every increasingly the Department of State, must continue to incorporate counter-insurgency doctrine into training and education. The day closed out with the Annual Summit dinner, with a moving and inspirational keynote address by the former UK Foreign Minister, the Right Honorable Jack Straw, MP.



The final day commenced with a private members-only breakfast with Jack Straw and a workshop on women in stability operations hosted by Kristen Cordell from Refugees International.

Colonel Dan Anninos, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, addressed all attendees in a short review of the USACE's reconstruction efforts in Iraq. Admiral Eric T. Olson, former Commander of U.S Operations Command, spoke off the record in his morning keynote and answered questions from all attendees. Day 3 breakout sessions featured topics including the rise of new global donors, trends in sub-contract management, Afghanistan and Pakistan, risk management, bid protests, and peacekeeping

operations.

Ambassador David T. Johnson (ret.) addressed attendees over lunch, covering challenges and opportunities for all participants in peace and stability operations over the coming year. The Summit concluded with a pragmatic assessment of the future of stability operations, moderated by Doug Brooks, featuring speakers from ISOA member companies, URS, PAE, G4S and Global Group.

LOOKING TO NEXT YEAR

Building on this year's spirit of collaboration, cooperation and partnership building, ISOA looks forward to an even more successful event next year. In 2011, all attendees — vendors and clients, companies and nongovernmental organizations, Ambassadors and Members of Parliament, CEOs and researchers, students and military professionals — shared ideas, best practices and innovations from the field and for the future. We at ISOA hope that you will join us in 2012, as we continue to build positive relationships for a better, more stable world.

SILVER



BRONZE



SUPPORTING



◀ 13 | NAP & PMSCs | Cordell

FOOTNOTES

[1] Integration of the Human Rights of Women and the Gender Perspective: Written Statement submitted by Human Rights Advocates, a special consultative status (E/CN.4/2006/NGO/85), UN Economic and Social Council: New York, 28 Feb.2006.

[2] The NAP states that DOS and DOD must “ensure all relevant U.S. personnel and contractors receive appropriate training on Women, Peace, and Security issues, including instruction on the value of inclusive participation in conflict prevention, peace processes, and security initiatives, international human rights law and international humanitarian law, protection of civilians, prevention of SGBV, prevention of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), and combating trafficking in persons (TIP).” *The United States National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security, The White House, December 2011.*

[3] For more on this topic see an excellent

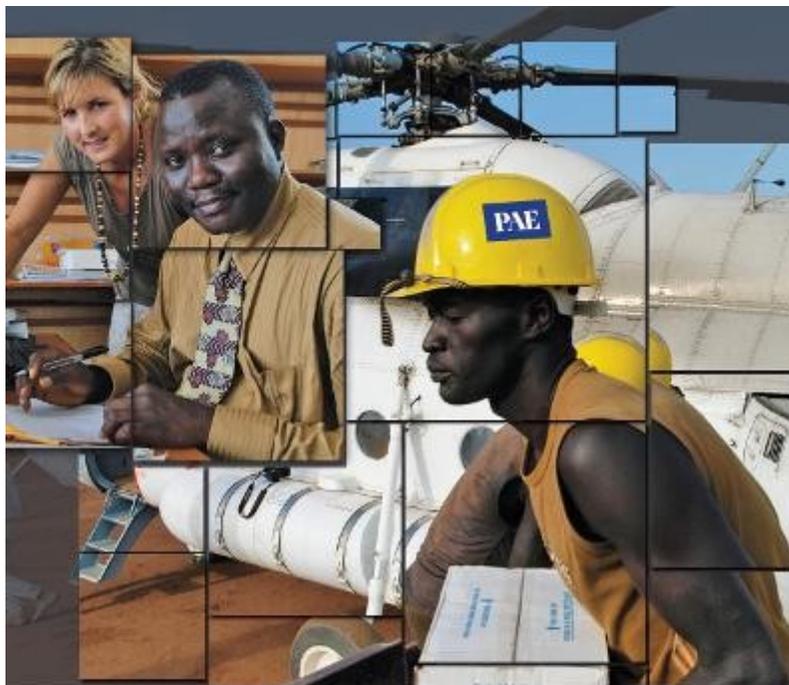
resource from DCAF: Sabrina Schulz and Christina Yeung. “Private Military and Security Companies and Gender.” *Gender and Security Sector Reform Toolkit*. Eds. Megan Bastick and Kristin Valasek. Geneva: DCAF, OSCE/ODIHR, UN-INSTRAW, 2008.

[4] Signatory Companies will not, and will require their Personnel not to, engage in trafficking in persons. Signatory Companies will, and will require their Personnel to, remain vigilant for all instances of trafficking in persons and, where discovered, report such instances to Competent Authorities. For the purposes of this Code, human trafficking is the recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for (1) a commercial sex act induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age; or (2) labour or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, debt bondage, or slavery.

[5] The NAP states “Implement the USAID Counter Trafficking Code of Conduct holding personnel, contractors, sub-contractors, and grantees to the highest ethical standards with regard to trafficking, and develop a new Trafficking in Persons Policy with a focus on increasing anti-trafficking initiatives in conflict-affected areas.” *The United States National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security, The White House, December 2011.*

[6] The Nap calls on increased analysis of gender, including posting staff that are training in such analysis to post conflict environments: “Introductory gender and C-TIP training for all USAID Foreign Service and Civil Service Officers, Personal Service Contractors, and Foreign Service Nationals and specialized training in gender analysis to personnel posting to conflict-affected countries or working on conflict issues.” *The United States National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security, The White House, December 2011.*

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Naveed Bandali

Insights on International Affairs

A conversation with the Right Honorable Jack Straw



Jack Straw joined ISOA to speak at the 2011 Annual Summit dinner, and a member-only breakfast with ISOA. Credits : ISOA, U.S. DoS, NATO

RT. Hon. Jack Straw is a British Labour Party politician and has been the Member of Parliament for Blackburn since 1979. He served as Home Secretary from 1997 to 2001, Secretary of State for Commonwealth and Foreign Affairs from 2001 to 2006, leader of the House of Commons from 2006 to 2007, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain in 2007, and Shadow Secretary of State for Justice in 2010. As of April 2011, Straw has worked with E. D. & F. Man Holdings Ltd.

JIPO: It is evident that 2011 saw a severe deterioration of relations between Pakistan and the United States, and to a lesser extent Pakistan's relations with the U.K. Do you have any suggestions for ameliorating this situation?

Straw: I wish I did. In my electoral district, about 15,000 people or 15% of the population are of Pakistani heritage, so I live with Pakistani politics. It is a tragedy what has happened to that country and it is not functioning properly. I really worry

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about Pakistan more than I worry about any other country in the world. It is a country with over 187 million people, so it is big in terms of population compared with Afghanistan or other countries in the Middle East. It could be as rich as India is becoming; they started at the same level 60 years ago. So, it requires, just bluntly, staying close to them, trying to spot the good guys, and building them up. But it is painstaking work I am afraid — three steps forward and two back, if you are lucky.

JIPO: Do you agree with those who argue that with forthcoming personnel cuts at the Ministry of Defence, the U.K. will increasingly have to rely on the private sector, including security contractors to support future expeditionary deployments?

Straw: Yes I do, with the caveat that there is the money provided to pay for these operations. But in a sense, private security contractors will be seen as an adjunct to official military reserves, as a flexible pool from which to call upon. So although the overall budget is declining by about 4% in real terms, that is a lot of money and it is having a big effect on equipment and procurement. I think that since we are a country with a global vision and global reach, and we think we should meet our responsibilities militarily, private security

companies and all the other stabilization operators will have an increasing role.

JIPO: Do you think the International Code of Conduct for Private Security Service Providers (ICoC) and other existing international regulation efforts are likely to have a noticeable effect on the operations of private security contractors (PSCs) so as to genuinely reduce the gaps in accountability?

Straw: I hope and believe so. I think that what the Swiss government and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) got going with the Montreux Document and then the ICoC are very significant developments. It is overtime and there was a need for it, not least because some of the problems that emerged in Iraq. Provided that contracting states insist on compliance with the ICoC, and they need to, there is an automatic enforcement mechanism and it should increase accountability. Of course, one of the things about it, as the members of ISOA recognize, it is actually in the interest of well-functioning private security contractors.

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JIPO: The British military presence in Iraq ended in July 2009, while nearly all U.S. troops are expected to withdraw by the end of 2011. Will the Iraqi government be ready to assume the security burden as state-building efforts continue?

Straw: How far the Iraqi government is able to meet that burden effectively remains to be seen. It is going to have to meet those security requirements, but the build-up of the Iraqi security apparatus from really a standing start following the 2003 invasion and collapse of the Iraqi army, has been impressive.

JIPO: What lessons can be learnt from the Coalition experience in Iraq and was the war in Iraq a fatal distraction for the mission in Afghanistan?

Straw: Well, just think of those two questions. The fundamental lesson that has to be learnt is the importance of planning for the aftermath of the high-intensity, kinetic campaign. And there was a lot of good planning by the U.S. and the U.K. before the invasion. Early on in 2003, I was reasonably confident that this would operate successfully, and there was interagency agreement within the U.S. about that. What then happened, which is well recorded, is that those interagency agreements were broken and the Department of Defense tried to go at it alone and exclude others in the U.S. system, including the Department of State. This had very adverse consequences. It led to the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance (ORHA) being a “mess,” as Tony Blair described it, and it was quite inadequate to the task. It then led to former U.S. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and L. Paul Bremer, former Administrator of the Coalition Provisional Authority of Iraq (CPA), making decisions about de-Ba'athification which were excessive and hollowed out what could have been a foundation for security forces and, indeed, for the civil side of the state.

Was it a distraction? I do not think so, myself. The arguments for and against the Iraq War have been well rehearsed. I judged at the time that there was a threat to international peace and security by reason of Saddam Hussein's holdings of weapons of mass destruction (WMD). I was not alone in that; it was the view of the United Nations Security Council. And yes, people can be wise after the event, but you have to be wise

before an event. Though we made that judgment even though no stocks of WMD were found, the Iraq Survey Group under David Kay did point out that Saddam had maintained the intellectual capacity to rebuild those programs. And in my view, what was happening before 9/11 was that Saddam was working very assiduously with some nations internationally to degrade the sanctions. If we had allowed that to continue, the sanctions

The fundamental lesson [from Iraq] that has to be learnt is the importance of planning for the aftermath of the high-intensity, kinetic campaign.

would have collapsed. He would have been emboldened and then start rebuilding these programs. I think although some major mistakes were made in the aftermath, and a lot of lives have been lost unnecessarily, Iraq is a better place and the world is safer.

JIPO: Do you agree with Retired Army General Stanley McChrystal, the former top commander in

Afghanistan, that a decade into the war, NATO allies are only halfway to reaching their war goals?

Straw: I think that is true. Afghanistan was a war of necessity. I am afraid it had to happen once the Taliban refused to cooperate over dealing with al-Qaeda post-9/11. But it is hard going and as Retired Army General David Petraeus has subsequently said, you have to measure success in Afghanistan in decades, not in individual years.

JIPO: Afghan President Hamid Karzai has admitted that “the greatest shortcoming” of his government and its international partners is doing “terribly badly in providing security to the Afghan people.” Do you agree?

Straw: Yes and look, if people have not got security, they cannot get anything else. Security is a precondition for everything else. It was President Karzai's phrase about it being terribly bad, not mine, but obviously it has been inadequate and it remains very difficult in many parts. On the other hand, I think that thanks to the work of David Petraeus and Stan McChrystal, it has gotten a lot better.

JIPO: And what are the prospects for peace and reconciliation in Afghanistan in light of the recent high-level political assassinations and futile talks



Jack Straw speaks with ISOA members at the Annual Summit. Credit : ISOA

with the Taliban?

Straw: I am not expert enough to give betting odds there. I think there is a general recognition that there is going to have to be some negotiation with the Taliban, or some elements of the Taliban, because they are literally a force to be reckoned with. How that happens is difficult and complicated, but very few wars have ever concluded without there being some political settlement.

JIPO: Is it fair to suggest that aside from perhaps Tunisia, the Arab Spring has so far failed to truly bring about freedom and democratic change in Middle Eastern countries still experiencing unrest such as Bahrain, Egypt, Jordan, and Syria?

Straw: The Arab Spring is quite astonishing, and has already led to a sense of liberation in many countries and an exercise of freedoms by people in many countries. This was unheard of before. Yes it is still a work in progress; it is less than a year old and that is a short timescale given the historic forces that are being overturned. So I am reasonably optimistic about it.

In Libya, it is only a week since Muammar Gaddafi's met his end [at the time of this interview]. It is going to take time to build up a

functioning nation. There is a well-educated population and they potentially have a lot of money. Egypt is a much larger and complex country, but they are making progress. Bahrain is difficult but I think they are going to make some changes. Syria remains the real hard nut, and my own view is that the regime of Bashar al-Assad will

I am very comfortable with NATO's role because Libya would not have been liberated without NATO involvement. And it was right too that it did not involve a foreign occupation force, which would not have worked.

go and it has got to go. That will have very significant benefits not only for the people of Syria who have been brutally treated, but also in the medium-term in securing change in Iran as well because Syria is so much a client state of the Iranian regime.

JIPO: With the violent capture and killing of Muammar Gaddafi on 20 October 2011, can you speak to what must come next for the Libyan revolution, and what roles countries like the United States, Britain, and France should play? Are you comfortable with the role that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) played in the liberation process?

Straw: Yes I am very comfortable with NATO's role because Libya would not have been liberated without NATO involvement. And it was right too that it did not involve a foreign occupation force, which would not have worked. So that was a successful operation and all credit to the British, French, and American governments particularly for the lead they took. The next stage is building this nation up and getting a functioning constitution in a country that is Libyan but also inevitably has tribal tensions, which Gaddafi famously exploited. It is going to take time. I mean it took the U.S. a long time to become a functioning democracy which gave civil rights to all of its people, and not just those who happened to be white. It took a century for the U.K. to become a properly functioning democracy. And yes we live in a faster world today, but these things do take time and there will be bumps along the way. ■

◀ 11 | Feature | Women Fighting for Peace in Iraq | Barazanji and Kuehnast

formed, and those that previously operated clandestinely rose to the public view. Women's voices were heard loud and clear as they actively advocated for rights and gender equality and denounced violence and discriminatory practices against them. This brought many of these cases of violations to public debate. Women leaders took important roles in the country's parliamentary elections and constitutional referendum. The new Iraqi permanent constitution stipulates a 25 percent quota of women in the public sector, but

it has also created new obstacles. Iraqi political parties staffed their blocs in the parliament with women in order to meet the quota. But the quality of those women's contributions to the debate remains limited, a reflection only of their political bloc's agenda. It is striking that the strong capacities among women leaders remain within the civil society sector. There are plenty of qualified women activists who see themselves as major contributors to nation-building and the strengthening of democracy in Iraq, but are

reluctant to seek public office positions for fear of losing their independence and freedom to take proactive action without political influence.

It will take much hard work and a long time to achieve the behavioral change women in Iraq hope to see in their home country. But they remain hopeful that such achievement is not far-fetched. ■

◀ 15 | Feature | Women and Afghan Civil Society | Grespin

Beyond the outcomes provided by civil society programs, the recognition of civil society itself is vital to an enduring peace in Afghanistan. Without the incorporation of civil society into long term planning and lacking laws to protect initiatives undertaken by this unique private sector, Afghanistan will continue to be dominated by powerbrokers that do not always represent the greater interest of the Afghan people.

Poverty, illiteracy, insecurity, poor healthcare, and violent conflict systematically reinforce each other. When women gain the ability to break one link in that circle of circumstances, they have the opportunity to take one step away from that grip. Explicitly including, enabling, and empowering women across the spectrum of development and reconstruction activities will help to create conditions for a more politically and economically sound Afghan society.

The Economist recently gave voice to the sentiment that, "When the Taliban first took power, people didn't really know what they were like. They do now and the women of Afghanistan will never forgive them." Although many would take issue with Afghans who stick to the mantra that their country has never truly been conquered, it is indisputable that the hearts and hopes of its women have never been defeated. ■

N.R. Jenzen-Jones

Confronting Piracy's New Frontier

An industry-based approach to maritime security in West Africa



A pirate attack drill, in preparation for the worst. Credit: U.S. Navy

THE sharp rise in piracy in West Africa, particularly in the Gulf of Guinea, has featured prominently in recent news. Piracy as a whole is costing global trade an estimated \$12 billion a year, with the primary target being the oil industry, a key sector of the West African economy, which threatens the strategic interests of the United States, European Union and China.

There are other issues, along with piracy, that are prevalent in the Gulf of Guinea. Illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing in the waters of West Africa has been referred to as the “worst in the world,” with London-based MRAG Limited estimating illegal catches to be 40 percent higher than reported legal catches. The smuggling of people, arms and narcotics is also a significant issue in the West African maritime domain. On top of these issues, a plethora of local and transnational criminal and terrorist organisations are connected either directly or tangentially to piracy in West Africa. Chief amongst them are Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM),

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Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), Hamas, Hezbollah, Boko Haram and the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND).

The convergence of so many security threats within West Africa, and particularly in the maritime realm, requires a multi-faceted, long-term approach.

The Atlantic Council's November 2010 report, Security and Stability in the West African Maritime Domain, highlights the role that maritime security issues play in determining the region's overall stability. The report states, “Central to West Africa's high levels of insecurity and instability is the criminal exploitation of its expansive, largely ungoverned maritime domain.” In particular, the security of the West African maritime domain is key to ensuring:

- The unimpeded flow of oil from the Gulf of Guinea and the security of energy related

infrastructure and assets;

- The safe and efficient flow of vessels, cargo and people bound to or from foreign ports;
- The absence of a safe haven for transnational terrorist and criminal organisations;
- And political development, sustainable economic growth and enduring stability in the region as a deterrent to state failure, humanitarian crisis, human rights abuses and violent extremism.

The convergence of so many security threats within West Africa, and particularly in the maritime realm, requires a multi-faceted, long-term approach. To counter these threats, capacity-building operations conducted by private security companies could provide a robust, enduring solution. Such operations would complement, rather than compete with existing strategies implemented by local governments, foreign governments and private industry.

Piracy in West Africa has been on the rise since mid-2009, and has spiked sharply over the course of this year. The U.N. Security Council has recently voiced its concern over the increase, noting an intention to deploy a U.N. assessment

team to the region to “examine the situation and explore possible options for United Nations support.” Some analysts have pointed to the widely-publicized success of Somali pirates and suggested that this has directly influenced pirates in the Gulf of Guinea. However, reports have indicated that attacks in West African waters have also tended to be more violent than those off of the Horn of Africa, and that many robberies likely go unreported due to the high frequency of illegal oil bunkering in the Niger Delta. The recent increase in frequency and severity of attacks has prompted the Lloyd’s Market Association Joint War Committee to raise the threat level of Nigeria, Benin and neighbouring waters to the same category as the waters off of the Horn of Africa.

On the other side of the continent, naval forces from around the globe have been deployed to the Gulf of Aden/Horn of Africa region to deter pirates and protect international shipping from attacks. Whilst there have been admirable results from these programs, there are also some notable shortcomings. With the number of merchant ships requiring protection vastly outstripping the assets deployed in the theatre, there exists a familiar problem: these warships cannot be

everywhere they are required at once. Against an asymmetric threat such as piracy, deploying warships in large enough numbers is simply not cost effective. For example, the cost of the U.S. counter-piracy operation, represented predominantly by the presence of U.S. Navy assets in Combined Task Force 151 and in NATO’s Operation Ocean Shield, is approximately USD \$64 million per year. Then there are the expenses of other NATO countries, the European Union, China, India and other nations involved to consider. Such expenditure seems excessive for the results achieved.

Against an asymmetric threat such as piracy, deploying warships in large enough numbers is simply not cost effective.

The role that private security companies can play in protecting ships at sea has been well-documented and the very high success rate of such is widely known. The value of well-trained, appropriately employed armed contractors cannot

be understated; such guard forces are now provided by a number of companies, and can provide a significant deterrent and defence capability to ships’ masters. Moreover, such a guard force can provide a high level of protection, available at all times, for a reasonable economic outlay. Armed guards do occasionally run into trouble, however. More importantly, as has been widely noted, piracy is a problem that starts ashore.

One model that has shown a promising cost-benefit ratio is capacity building operations. An example of such is Triton International Ltd’s training of the Somaliland Coastguard. Since 2009, Triton has been involved in developing and implementing both training and operation plans for the Coastguard, providing the region of 3.5 million people with a broad spectrum maritime capability unique to Somalia. To this end, Triton developed a 12-week basic training course for the Coastguard, as well as specialized modules on tactical maritime operations, maritime law and vessel maintenance. Based out of the International Ship and Port Facility Security Code-compliant port of Berbera, the Somaliland Coastguard has

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Pirate Attacks Down At Year’s End, 2011

The latest figures provided by the European Naval Force showed just 12 attempted pirate attacks in November 2011, compared to 35 last year. However, the problem is still far from being contained - currently 12 vessels and over 240 hostages are controlled by pirates off of the Somali coast. Razor wires, water cannons, and “best management practices,” which have been used as deterrent, are becoming less effective at sea.

The statistics from November follow a trend throughout 2011 to allow armed guards on ships, and most recently, Britain’s decision to authorize UK-flagged merchant ships to use armed guards in a structured and legal framework, in “exceptional circumstances.” Furthermore, there has also been a change in US policy with Hillary Clinton issuing a “demarche” request to “encourage the responsible use of Privately Contracted Armed Security Personnel (PCASP) on merchant vessels transiting high-risk waters off the Horn of Africa.” The policy change is in line with evidence that has shown that vessels armed with security guards are less likely to be successfully attacked, and no vessel with armed guards has successfully been hijacked yet.

Piracy has primarily hampered the tourism industry in East Africa but in West Africa it bears even stronger repercussions where the presence of oil, metals, and agricultural industries threatens the energy supply in addition to damaging local economies. Piracy costs the global economy between USD \$7 billion and USD \$12 billion annually through higher shipping costs and ransom payments.

As of yet, defensive tactics have been primarily defined by reliance on naval support and securing national coastlines. This strategy has proven ineffective in many cases, as attacks are occurring farther out at sea, some as far as 1,500 miles off of the Somali coast. At the same time, piracy is turning more into an “organized crime,” rather than random attacks. Private security companies such as G4S, Sécurité, and Typhon are currently helping fill the security vacuum that exists in combating piracy.

By Sugam Singh, Research Associate, ISOA



A helicopter provides cover for a Boarding operations. Credit: Defense Images

◀ 23 | Piracy's New Frontier | Jenzen-Jones

delivered significant security progress with limited funding and material. The Coastguard operates small, fast patrol boats equipped with deck-mounted 14.5mm Vladimirov KPV heavy machine guns.

There have been several measures of success. First, in 2010 alone, the Triton-trained Somaliland Coastguard captured, prosecuted, and jailed more than 120 pirates. Officials in Somaliland have said that pirates rarely cross into their waters from renowned pirate havens in the region due to the Coastguard's reputation for intercepting them. Second, as a result of these measures, the World Food Program considers Berbera a safe port for the delivery and distribution of food aid destined for the region. Finally, the Coastguard has also intercepted vessels intending to conduct IUU fishing.

The Triton model is cost-effective and efficient, serving as a good example of an “expandable platform.” That is, the Somaliland Coastguard model, if extrapolated to assist some of the

smaller under-patrolled nations in the Gulf of Guinea, could provide these states with the capability to begin countering maritime threats in the region. Many of these smaller nations in need of maritime security assistance have short coastlines and would require only minimal investment to establish a relatively effective patrol force. For example, Togo's coastline is a mere 56km long, Benin's 121km, and Liberia's 579km – Somaliland has a 740km coastline. Capacity building programs can also gain access to areas – namely the littoral and coastal zones – where foreign defence assets may not otherwise be welcome. By partnering with the host nations or communities in areas of concern, the international community is able to increase its awareness of the threats at hand, and to determine how best to respond to these. Funding sources for such a program could be diverse, ranging from local governments or foreign governments, to shipping companies, international bodies, NGOs, or cultural diasporas.

Private industry is in a unique position to be able to deliver such programs at a reasonable cost, and without placing further demand on the already-strained naval assets of many nations with strategic interests in West Africa, particularly the United States. Such capacity building models have distinct national security benefits for foreign powers; the deployment of naval assets required to keep vessels and key infrastructure secure is expensive and inefficient in many scenarios. Capacity building models allow for the development of increased maritime security capabilities that are essential to protecting not only local, but also foreign interests. This is especially true when you look at the energy security threats presented by pirates as well as local and transnational criminal and terrorist groups in the Gulf of Guinea.

Capacity building programs represent a very real, scalable approach to countering the numerous maritime threats present in the Gulf of Guinea. Challenges certainly exist, but similar challenges in other regions have been mitigated cost-effectively through an industry-based approach. Such programs are eminently compatible with existing strategies of foreign government-led capacity building, such as the United States' Africa Partnership Station program, with local initiatives to bolster maritime security forces, and with the existing private sector practice of deploying armed guards on merchant vessels. With a broad-spectrum approach to the problem, such complementary strategies provide the region with interconnected layers of security in order to deal with maritime threats as effectively as possible, and in a cost-effective way. ■

Further Reading

Advancing U.S., African, and Global Interests: Security and Stability in the West African Maritime Domain – Atlantic Council (John Raidt & Kristen E. Smith)

Africa Command: U.S. Strategic Interests and the Role of the U.S. Military in Africa – Congressional Research Service (Lauren Ploch)

A Mature Maritime Strategy For Africa to Meet National Security Goals – Joint Advanced Warfighting School, Joint Forces Staff College, National Defense University (CAPT Ray A. Stapf)



Pirates escape after an attack. Credit: EUNAVFOR

Ambassador Herman J. Cohen (Ret)

Elections in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Politics as usual in Africa



Ballot counting. Credit: MONUSCO, Flickr

THE Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) held presidential, legislative, and provincial elections on November 28, 2011. Five years had elapsed since elections in 2006 made Joseph Kabila President of the Congo in the country's first exercise in democracy since its independence in 1960.

A lot of people, both inside and outside the Congo, had invested significant hope in these elections. Kabila's administration has been mostly disappointing, to say the least. The eastern part of the Congo, especially North and South Kivu provinces, remained in a state of anarchy, with independent militias and the official army engaging in plundering of minerals and harassment of the population. There was very little economic development despite high world prices for the Congo's mineral commodities and high levels of royalties for the government. Governance lacked transparency, accountability and honesty. Human rights violations were flagrant and relatively frequent.

Against this disappointing background, there was

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

hope that the good elections of 2006 would be repeated, and that these elections would result in a new and positive beginning for the nation. Unfortunately, the conduct of the elections did not augur well for the future of governance.

Because of the Congo's vast size and absence of infrastructure, preparing for the election was a logistical nightmare. There were approximately 60,000 polling stations that had to be supplied with ballot boxes and ballot papers. Thanks to the United Nations mission, aircraft were available to deliver supplies.

The elections themselves took place as scheduled, but both international and national observers were shocked and appalled by what they saw. Thousands of polling stations, especially those in locations known to be anti-Kabila, never even opened. In locations known to be pro-Kabila, he received as much as 100 percent of the votes. In some locations, police forced people to fill out ballots in favor of Kabila. There was apparently considerable ballot stuffing. Above all, the electoral commission refused to release the disaggregated results, polling station by polling station. These could have been compared with the individual results witnessed by the different

political parties at each station.

Observers used a variety of negative terms to describe the elections such as "deplorable" (European Union), "not-credible" (Carter Center), and "seriously flawed" (United States Ambassador). About a week after the elections, the so-called independent electoral commission declared Kabila to be the winner with 49% of the vote. The most popular opposition candidate, Etienne Tschisekedi, was awarded 33% of the vote. The latter refused to accept these results, and declared himself the real winner. He called upon his supporters to go into the streets and demonstrate, while the government arranged for heavy police and military presence in neighborhoods known to be favorable to the opposition. There was significant tension and growing violence. It was clear, however, that the Kabila regime would be able to overcome any violent opposition and remain firmly in power. Indeed, the international community has stopped clamoring about the rigged election and, instead, has been calling for calm and non-violence.

What does this mean for the future of the Congo? In my view, the people who had been hoping that a free and fair election would result in Kabila's

defeat, and the dawn of a new era for the Congo, were somewhat naïve. They failed to remember Ambassador Cohen's third law of African democracy: An incumbent head of state, or an incumbent political party in the case of a two-term limit, will not accept the risk of losing as an option.

Where in Africa over the past ten years has an incumbent accepted the risk of losing an election? In Ghana, incumbent heads of state have lost elections twice. Benin continues to have free and fair elections with a real risk of incumbents losing. The current president of Senegal defeated an incumbent. It remains to be seen if he, in turn, will accept a risk of losing in 2012. The President of Zambia was defeated in 2011.

Apart from the handful of exceptions mentioned above, African incumbents do not accept the risk of losing elections. So, it was not anticipated by me that the Kabila regime would be any different, especially in view of the strong possibility that Kabila and his cronies could be subject to criminal prosecution if they leave power. The Congolese election of 2011 was essentially as deplorable as the Nigerian election of 2004, but the internation-

al community decided to accept it and move on.

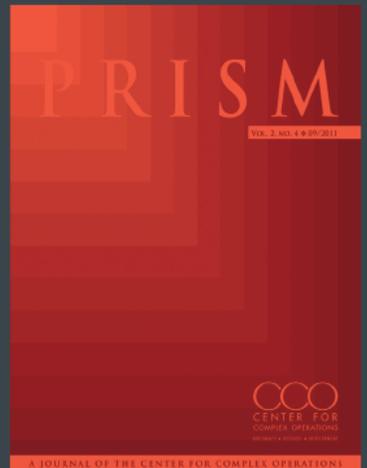
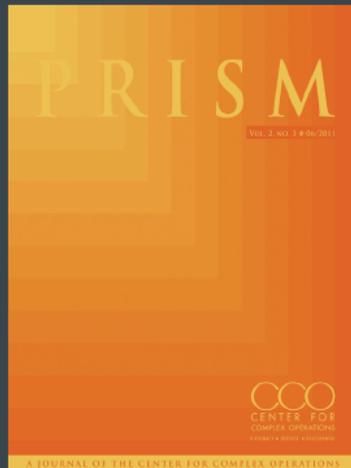
What are the international community's options with respect to the Congo at this point? I doubt that the donors will want to stop giving aid to the Congo the way they did in the case of Togo's election in 1998. Because of the flagrant election

Observers used a variety of negative terms to describe the elections such as “deplorable” (European Union), “not-credible” (Carter Center), and “seriously flawed” (United States Ambassador).

fraud in Togo, the donors unanimously stopped providing aid. It was a total boycott that was not lifted until the successful election of 2004.

In the case of the Congo, isolation is not really an option because of the country's tremendous economic potential and its abundant mineral wealth. Information that I have from reliable donor sources is that the Congolese government is financing governmental operations mainly from foreign aid. Revenue coming in from mineral royalties and company taxes is going mainly to “nongovernmental” uses.

My recommendation is that the donor community, led by the World Bank and IMF, should use its considerable leverage to push the Kabila regime toward good governance. That means transparency in the awarding of oil and mineral concessions, reform of the military in order to eliminate rogue operations and make it truly professional with regular pay, budgetary transparency, and utilization of government revenue for public services. If the Kabila regime cannot move in the right direction on these issues, then foreign aid should be limited to direct aid to Congolese NGOs, and humanitarian assistance. I doubt that the Chinese would be willing to replace the regular foreign aid donors in order to keep the Kabila regime functioning. ■



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BAE SYSTEMS

BAE Systems

- * received a \$132 million U.S. Navy task order to provide C4ISR technical services for military operations worldwide.
- * delivered a zero-emissions bus for SunLine Transit as part of a project to demonstrate the commercial feasibility of fuel cell technology.
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EOD Technology, Inc.

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G4S won the first place award at the 2011 Homeland Security Awards Gala for its homeland security training and higher education programs.



Global Integrated Security was awarded a Reconstruction Security Support

Services contract, valued at up to \$480 million, to support the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers in Afghanistan.



International Relief & Development

- * awarded a \$64 million cooperative agreement by USAID to assist Afghan civilians harmed through conflict.
- * awarded the Kosovo Cultural Heritage Project.
- * joined with Latter-day Saints Charities and United Methodist Committee on Relief to help enhance water security in Ethiopia and Somalia.
- * awarded a \$65 million contract by USAID to accelerate agricultural development in Afghanistan’s Kandahar and Helmand provinces under the Southern Regional Agricultural Development program.



MPRI

L-3 MPRI

- * awarded a \$485 million contract to support the U.S. Army Training and Doctrine Command’s Maneuver Center of Excellence.
- * received a single-award

contract to deliver support services for the U.S. Army Survival, Evasion, Resistance and Escape program for a total value of \$41.97 million.



Mission Essential Personnel

announced a strategic partnership with Health-Spot. MEP will be the exclusive provider of the Care4 Station to the US government, the military, and select global partners.



PAE Inc.

completed the purchase of Defense Support Services, LLC, a leading provider of military aircraft and vehicle maintenance, logistics and base support services for the U.S. government.

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Armored Vehicles	Construction	Ground Transportation Logistics	Legal, Accounting and Compliance Services	Risk Management
Aviation Logistics and Maintenance	Consulting Services	Human Development and Capacity Building	Logistics, Freight and Supply	Security
Aviation: Rotary	Demining and UXO Removal	Information Technology	Medical Support Services	Security Sector Reform
Base Support and Logistics	Equipment	Intelligence Services and Analysis	Product Suppliers and Manufacturers	Shelter
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Abbreviations HQ Location of company headquarters W Website PC ISOA Point-of-Contact/Designated Delegate M Membership approved

Agility

HQ Safat, Kuwait
 W www.agilitylogistics.com
 PC Richard Brooks
 M January 2006



BAE Systems

HQ Rockville, Maryland
 W www.baesystems.com
 PC Mary Robinson
 M October 2010



Chapman Freeborn

HQ Fort Lauderdale, FL
 W www.chapman-freeborn.com
 PC Christopher Fisher
 M December 2011



Air Charter Service PLC

HQ Surrey, United Kingdom
 W www.aircharter.co.uk
 PC Tony Bauckham
 M March 2010



BMMI

HQ Sitra, Bahrain
 W www.bmmigroup.com
 PC Carla Geday
 M January 2011



Clements Worldwide

HQ Washington, D.C.
 W www.clements.com
 PC Smita Malik
 M November 2011



AMECO

HQ Greenville, South Carolina
 W www.ameco.com
 PC Paul Camp
 M July 2005



Burton Rands Associates

HQ Washington, D.C.
 W www.burtonrands.com
 PC Nicola Lowther
 M December 2008



Crowell & Moring LLP

HQ Washington, D.C.
 W www.crowell.com
 PC David Hammond
 M May 2008



American Glass Products

HQ Ras Al Khaimah, U.A.E.
 W www.agpglass.com
 PC Tobias Beutgen
 M April 2008



CH2M Hill Inc.

HQ Englewood, CO.
 W www.ch2m.com
 PC Tia L. Hutton
 M April 2011



CSS International

HQ Grand Rapids, Michigan
 W www.cssih.com
 PC Timothy Doyle
 M February 2011



DLA Piper LLP

HQ London, United Kingdom
 W www.dlapiper.com
 PC Tara Lee
 M January 2009



Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP

HQ Washington, D.C.
 W www.gibsondunn.com
 PC Joseph D. West
 M May 2010



KGL Holding

HQ Safat, Kuwait
 W www.kgl.com
 PC Scott Beverly
 M July 2011



DynCorp International

HQ Falls Church, Virginia
 W www.dyn-intl.com
 PC William Imbrie
 M April 2007



Global Fleet Sales

HQ Bangkok, Thailand
 W www.globalfleetsales.net
 PC Nicholas Ling
 M June 2009



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HQ Alexandria, Virginia
 W www.mpri.com
 PC Michael Hess
 M January 2003



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EOD Technology, Inc.

HQ Lenoir City, Tennessee
 W www.eodt.com
 PC Erik Quist
 M January 2006



Global Integrated Security—USA

HQ Reston, VA
 W www.globalgroup-gis.com
 PC Tom Marchegiano
 M April 2011



Mission Essential Personnel

HQ Columbus, Ohio
 W www.missionep.com
 PC Idin Pirasteh
 M July 2008



Frank Crystal & Company

HQ Washington, D.C.
 W www.fcystal.com
 PC Jeffrey Wingate
 M July 2010



HART

HQ Limassol, Cyprus
 W www.hartsecurity.com
 PC Graham Kerr
 M December 2004



New Century U.S.

HQ Arlington, Virginia
 W www.newcentcorp.com
 PC Scott Jacobs
 M July 2008



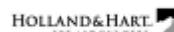
FSI Worldwide

HQ Dubai, U.A.E.
 W www.fsi-worldwide.com
 PC Nicholas Forster
 M May 2008



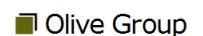
Holland & Hart LLP

HQ Denver, Colorado
 W www.hollandhart.com
 PC Trip Mackintosh
 M May 2009



Olive Group

HQ Dubai, U.A.E.
 W www.olivegroup.com
 PC Christopher Beese
 M December 2005



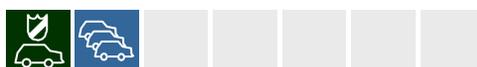
G4S

HQ Arlington, Virginia
 W www.armorgroup.com
 PC Phil Rudder
 M August 2003



International Armored Group

HQ Ras Al Khaimah, U.A.E.
 W www.interarmored.com
 PC Sally Stefova
 M June 2007



OnSite OHS, Inc.

HQ Princeton, Indiana
 W www.onsiteohs.com
 PC Michelle Prinzing
 M October 2011



GardaWorld

HQ Dubai, UAE
 W www.garda-world.com
 PC Peter Dordal
 M September 2008



International Relief & Development

HQ Arlington, Virginia
 W www.ird.org
 PC Jeffrey Grieco
 M October 2010



OSPREA Logistics

HQ Cape Town, South Africa
 W www.osprea.com
 PC Salih Brandt
 M August 2010



OSSI, Inc.

HQ Miami, Florida
 W www.ossiinc.com
 PC John Walbridge
 M October 2005



Safenet Group

HQ Dubai, U.A.E.
 W www.safenet.net
 PC Laurence Marea
 M January 2011



SOS International Ltd.

HQ Reston, Virginia
 W www.sosilt.com
 PC Michael K. Seidl
 M November 2007



Overseas Lease Group

HQ Fort Lauderdale, Florida
 W www.overseasleasegroup.com
 PC Tracy Badcock
 M February 2008



Sallyport

HQ Bridgeville, Pennsylvania
 W www.sallyportglobal.com
 PC Doug Magee
 M August 2011



Steptoe & Johnson LLP

HQ Washington, DC
 W www.steptoelaw.com
 PC Stephen Heifetz
 M September 2011



PAE, Inc.

HQ Arlington, Virginia
 W www.pae.com
 PC Thomas Callahan
 M October 2010



SCN Resources Group, Inc.

HQ Alexandria, Virginia
 W www.securitycontracting.net
 PC Jake Allen
 M July 2011



Telum Protection Corp

HQ Southern Pines, N. Carolina
 W www.telumcorp.com
 PC Alfredo Quiros
 M September 2010



Pax Mondial

HQ Arlington, Virginia
 W www.paxmondial.com
 PC Paul Wood
 M January 2009



Shield International Security

HQ Seoul, South Korea
 W www.shieldconsulting.co.kr
 PC Lucy Park
 M April 2010



Triple Canopy

HQ Reston, Virginia
 W www.triplecanopy.com
 PC Mark DeWitt
 M July 2008



Reed Inc.

HQ Leesburg, Virginia
 W www.reedinc.com
 PC Marius van der Riet
 M April 2006



Shook, Hardy & Bacon LLP

HQ Washington, D.C.
 W www.shb.com
 PC David Douglass
 M April 2009



URS

HQ Germantown, Maryland
 W www.urs.com
 PC Robie Robinson
 M April 2009



Relyant

HQ Maryville, Tennessee
 W www.gorelyant.com
 PC Susan Lynch
 M April 2009



SOC, LLC

HQ Chantilly, Virginia
 W www.soc-usa.com
 PC Shawn James
 M September 2009



Unity Resources Group

HQ Dubai, U.A.E.
 W www.unityresourcesgroup.com
 PC Jim LeBlanc
 M December 2006



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