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Searching for Stable Economic Models

A conversation with Minister Ali A. Jalali

From Diplomacy to Invasion

Trouble Ahead for Contractors in Iraq?



The Publication of the International Stability Operations Association

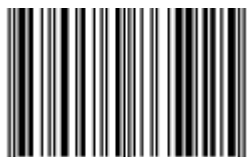


A NEW ERA IN STABILIZATION?

CHANGING DEMANDS, PLAYERS & REALITIES

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Jessica Vogel

From the Editor's Desk

A Bi-Monthly Review of ISOA's Activities: January-February 2012

A fresh start to a new year presents opportunities and challenges in every industry, organization and business. Despite all planning for 2012, new roadblocks and new windows will present themselves via tumultuous international interactions or government policy shifts or simply the movement of public opinion. Efforts in the United States to mitigate spending, shrink government and pivot defense priorities have already set a tone for the year's activities—while the presidential election heats up and promises to throw a wrench in the legislative process. In Afghanistan and Iraq, international forces are drawing down leaving the domestic governments with heightened responsibility for standard government activity. Hotspots in North Africa and the Middle East do not look to be cooling any time soon, and South Sudan is approaching a tenuous period as a fledgling autonomous state. New donors are knocking on doors across the world with aid and development funding that traditional donors have never seen before. We are only 2 months in to 2012, and the fun is just beginning.

SPOTLIGHT Diverse Opportunities for Growth

In a seemingly unpredictable budget and funding year worldwide, ISOA has taken major strides to make the most of membership for our members, while providing new product offerings across the board. Value is the word on everyone's mind this year, and ISOA has been working diligently to increase just that—not only for organizations, but also for individuals and the general public.

Information is the Key

As an international trade association, ISOA is uniquely positioned to gather information from our members, partners and stakeholders and share that information for mutual benefit across sectors. From trends in contracting with particular types of clients, to immediate issues with host governments, we have the capacity to be an organizational multiplier for our members.

Since 1 January, we have launched a new members-only e-publication series that has

revolutionized the way that we share information with our members. The era of the long digest e-mail, requiring significant scrolling effort, is over. Concise and purposeful e-pubs fill the information needs for our members, and keep them up to date with ISOA initiatives and information. Sent on a monthly or as-needed basis, Legislative Alerts, The Events Monthly, Potential Client Inquiries and The President's Monthly comprise a set of development tools for all of our members.

From Transparency to Recognition

As the U.S. government and other aid providing nations around the world reconsider giving priorities, contracting practices and award models, transparent communication about your organization's services and capabilities is key. Participation in public events and industry publications provides ample opportunity to show what your strengths are and how you can support national and international policies in a meaningful way. In a world where website privacy settings make front page news, transparency and openness help your organization not only succeed but also lay the foundation for continued success through industry shifts and evolutions. ISOA provides

opportunities for sharing your brand and message across several platforms to increase your recognition to partners, donors and clients. Contact us to learn about how your organization can use our platforms to increase your exposure.

The New Organizational Development

Exposure, we have found, is only a piece of the puzzle in the current global operating environment. Building relationships through dynamic communications and outreach activities actively secures organizations' vitality.

So what kinds of dynamic communications activities do we focus on? ISOA has found that multi-faceted approaches to memberships, sponsorships and advertising, when used in concert, are a springboard to building organizational successes. At the end of 2011, we started to introduce new models of sponsorship that provide immense returns for our members—organizational returns such as access, intel and opportunities. Organizations seeking to establish themselves as known contributors to this dynamic stabilization community have been able to build solid relationships and find capable partners to do the work that they are passionate about, and do it well for their clients all over the world.

In the coming months, ISOA will also introduce 2 new memberships to build our community and provide even more opportunities: Product Company Packages and Individual Membership. Unique in their offerings, these memberships grow our community for the benefit of the larger peace and stability operations community.

Learn more about ISOA sponsorship opportunities on page 16-17. ■



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Doug Brooks

(in)Stability Operations

Heavy burden falls on the Stability Operations Industry



IED explosion in Balkh Province, Afghanistan. Credit: ISAF Media, Flickr

PREDICTING the future is tricky, but the policy community has no shortage of those willing to share their dire perspectives on upcoming stability operations. It is always safer to warn of failure, collapse and disaster, and only a few brave souls predict a rosy future of honored peace agreements, declining violence, or a fall in the numbers of international missions. If the horrible events forecasted come to pass, the pundits look like geniuses; if they are wrong and things go well, no one calls them on their error.

Unfortunately, in the near future the predictors of doom may actually get more right than wrong. All too many volatile places – some more obvious than others – could deteriorate quickly over the next few months.

Afghanistan may be closer to the brink than previously assumed. Setting aside the occasional hyper-violent disturbance such as that after the Koran-burning incident, NATO members have been withdrawing or advancing their departures at an alarming rate, leaving an increasingly complex and difficult mission. The United States has

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

hinted at a more rapid pace of withdrawal as well after the death of Osama bin Laden which ended much of the support for Afghanistan operations in the U.S. Congress. While real, substantive successes in reconstruction and development have been achieved, an accelerated withdrawal could embolden the Taliban and create even more violence and humanitarian displacement.

Unfortunately, in the near future the predictors of doom may actually get more right than wrong. All too many volatile places – some more obvious than others – could deteriorate quickly over the next few months.

Although the international mission is all but over, Iraq remains in the news and too often for the wrong reasons. Every governmental step forward seems to be accompanied by two steps backward towards possible political and sectarian violence. The north appears to be stable, and foreigners are

apparently not targeted by the current violence, but reports indicate a very real potential for significant deterioration in the situation.

Sudan and South Sudan also continue to be worrisome with tensions ratcheted up by the dispute over oil. Interrupted oil production and greatly reduced governmental funding have placed both countries at high risk. At the 2011 ISOA Summit, former USAID head Andrew Natsios warned that while all attention has been focused on South Sudan, the Khartoum government is in far more dire straits than most observers imagined. The oil cut-off puts both countries and the entire region at high risk of collapse with all the humanitarian consequences that portends.

Other places in the world are also currently at unusual risk. In Libya, we see some armed rivalries emerging from the post-Khaddafi euphoria that could quickly degenerate further. In Senegal, historically one of the most stable countries in Africa, political disputes rose to unprecedented violent levels before recent elections.

When new crises arise, the international

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A New Era In Stabilization?

CHANGING DEMANDS, PLAYERS & REALITIES

NO one can argue that the past year has brought immense change in the international community. The world watched in real time as revolution, disaster and intervention set new precedents in an ever globalizing world. The term stability—and its counterpart, instability—became central to conversations in government chambers, crisis centers and classrooms. Over the past year, questions of who, what, when, where, why and how (and how much) have been hotly debated. Perspectives and personalities are meeting in a clash of worldviews and policies are shifting. Is military intervention viable? Are development projects sustainable? Does democratization work? How effective is rule of law training? Can long term security sector reform stick?

My question is: Does 2012 mark the beginning of a new era in stabilization?

This feature section explores some of the issues and trends in the ever evolving world of stability operations, from rapid reaction to long term stabilization. After all is said and done, we may not be any closer to an answer to my question—but we are prepared to have an even longer conversation about the future of stabilization.

Stefanie Nijssen begins the feature with an

exploration of what many consider the new model for stability—community-led projects with an international focus. The National Solidarity Program (NSP) in Afghanistan is full of potential, not just for peace, but also as a model for sustainable development in a reconstruction context. As a development model and a local governance capacity building project, it may be a case study in stabilization for years to come. The NSP has reported success on a manageable scale at considerable value and may be an important piece of Afghanistan’s future peace and economic stability.

Stabilization also encompasses disaster relief and reconstruction and no case study has been more talked about than Haiti. Maj. Gen. Arnold Fields (Ret.), Eric Walcott, and Sylvester Murray present findings of their team’s review of the Interim Haiti Recovery Commission (IHRC), a national body created to manage the recovery from the devastating 2010 earthquake. While intended to be a way for Haitians to lead the way to their own recovery, the IHRC has been rife with problems. Fields, Walcott and Murray argue that all is not lost for the IHRC and much can, and should, be done to strengthen the Commission and ensure that Haitian-led projects to build local capacity for sustainable reconstruction can take hold before it

is too late.

What happens if there is no government capacity at all? Travelling back across the Atlantic to yet another continent, Lesley Anne Warner discusses the situation in Somalia, and the latest regional effort to stabilize a seemingly impossible epidemic of instability. While African Union, United Nations and Ethiopian forces are already in Somalia, neighbor Kenya has thrown in the diplomatic towel and added its own boots on the ground. But will yet another “invasion” in to Somalia be enough to stop the flow of refugees and set the stage for peace? While many argue that military intervention is no longer a stabilization tool, this regional model may prove them wrong—or confirm their suspicions.

Dr. Arthur Keys provides the final perspective, by identifying local, community-led solutions as the future of development in fragile environments. Looking back on Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and Haiti, it is now the era of the community-led effort that will bring stability to the chronically unstable. Communities know their needs and have the will to ensure success, but only if they are provided the tools, training and capacity necessary to see the fruits of their labor. Is that the model for a new era in stabilization? ■

Cover Photo: An Afghan National Police officer bonds with an Afghan child before a ground breaking ceremony for a future kindergarten building in Sub-district 1 of Kandahar City . Credit: U.S. Army photo by Sgt. Ruth Pagan, 2nd Brigade Combat Team, 4th Infantry Division, PAO

Stefanie Nijssen

Community-Driven Development and Afghanistan's Transition

Improving Government Legitimacy by Embracing Local Development Initiatives



Student reading during a lesson at Nad e Ali Central School in Helmand, Afghanistan. Credit: ISAF Media, Flickr

DESPITE billions of dollars spent over the past decade in Afghanistan, the capacity of the Afghan government to deliver basic services has remained limited, according to a November 2011 World Bank report. In more remote areas the government's presence is sporadic and levels of trust in the post-Taliban state remain mixed. In the first six months of 2010, insurgents had killed approximately 175 people with links to the government. As a result, government offices in places like Kandahar and Helmand are having a difficult time recruiting and retaining staff. For instance, in 2010, the local government in Kandahar registered 600 vacant positions.

Moreover, accountability concerns within the Afghan government have led many foreign donors to divert the vast majority of their funds outside of the state's coffers. However, in light of the ongoing transition process, the international community has pledged to channel at least half of its development assistance through the Afghan

government's budget. As a result, the Afghan government will be responsible for undertaking more development projects and spending more aid money despite its current limited capacity. Doing so may prove particularly difficult in those areas where insecurity is the greatest. The government will thus need to find a way to foster development within its current capabilities and without dramatically expanding its physical footprint. Experts have noted that the expansion of the National Solidarity Program (NSP) in Afghanistan could be one potential way of overcoming this complex challenge.

...the international community has pledged to channel at least half of its development assistance through the Afghan government's budget

Community Driven Development

The NSP is a prime example of community-driven development (CDD). According to the

World Bank, CDD is a development "approach that empowers local community groups, including local government, by giving direct control to the community over planning decisions and investment resources through a process that emphasizes participatory planning and accountability." CDD enables communities to select, design and implement projects with financial support from the government (or foreign donors) and with limited technical assistance from the municipal government. CDD fosters development by relying upon the ingenuity of the local population and in a way that reflects their own priorities rather than those of foreign donors or distant government officials in the capital. In addition, CDD is a way of overcoming state-citizen divides in a relatively unobtrusive way.

The CDD approach may be preferable to giving money to an NGO or other international actor given that, according to a pioneering 2008 study of aid effectiveness in Afghanistan, such organisations tend to spend up to 40% of money on overheads, headquarters costs and international staff salaries in Afghanistan. Some experts also believe that close project oversight by the community and fewer middlemen means fewer chances for corruption. Moreover, giving the

Stefanie Nijssen is the Governance & Rule of Law Knowledge Manager for Afghanistan at the Civil-Military Fusion Centre in Norfolk, VA. This article reflects the author's own opinions and not those of the Civil-Military Fusion Centre or NATO.

beneficiaries the power to manage project resources reportedly leads to more efficient and effective projects which local community members will be committed to maintaining for months and years to come. CDD makes the spectre of failed development projects – such as broken hand pumps or student-less schoolhouses – less likely. Finally, the state actually has the potential to burnish its reputation among the local population by reducing its physical footprint and demonstrating that the state seeks to facilitate rather than impose development.

Afghanistan’s National Solidarity Program (NSP)

In Afghanistan, the NSP mandates the creation of a Community Development Council (CDC) in nearly every village across the country. These representative bodies include an equal number of men and women and are chosen through fair and open elections. These elections are overseen by an NGO or, in some cases, a UN agency. These NGOs train CDC members in management skills and work with the CDC and local community on designing local “community development plans,” which includes a list of priority projects. This plan and its various sub-projects are then submitted to the NSP offices within the Afghan government’s Ministry for Rural Rehabilitation and Development (MRRD) for funding. Upon approval, the NSP awards a block grant, valued at \$200 per household (up to a maximum of \$60,000 per village) to support implementation of the chosen project or projects. The community provides at least 10 percent of the cost of the projects, whether through cash or via in-kind contributions of labor and materials.

So far, the NSP has built schools for thousands of children, constructed village water pumps that save many hours of labor, and strengthened irrigation networks that have brought far higher agricultural yields. By mid-2010 the NSP had already been implemented in over 29,000 villages across Afghanistan, covering nearly 70 percent of all rural communities at a cost of nearly \$1 billion.

An expansion of the NSP could provide added stability to areas with varied levels of violence, from the highly insecure to the highly peaceful. A preliminary impact evaluation of the NSP by a group of scholars points out that the program reduces the number of security incidents around villages in the long run in areas of moderate violence. Some reports even mention instances

where insurgents have been reluctant to target NSP project sites because locals hold the projects in such high regard and feel a sense of ownership over them.

...the NSP is one way in which the Afghan government has sought to operationalize its move to improve sub-national governance

The Center for a New American Security has said that the NSP has achieved concrete successes at a considerably lower price than large-scale initiatives. CDD programs can therefore also act as opportunities for harmonisation of donor funding. In Yemen, for instance, the Social Fund for Development (SFD), which has been in operation since 1997, helped in coordinating donors to use a single entry point for disbursing funds. The NSP could take on a similar role as the international community seeks a way to continue financing development in Afghanistan in a more coordinated manner. If more funding is allocated towards the NSP, gaps in operation costs can be covered and the program can be expanded to cover all villages in Afghanistan. Moreover, in areas where NSP initiatives have succeeded, donors should embrace the momentum and contribute to follow-on projects.

Although the NSP receives its funding from the World Bank and a consortium of bilateral donors, the Ministry of Rural Rehabilitation and Development executes the program. Some critics fear, however, that CDD initiatives may draw a wedge between local and national governance by creating a parallel structure of governance. In Afghanistan, however, CDCs are now recognized by law and are helping the government coordinate its programs in different sectors such as education, health, and agriculture. While the overall Afghan government’s budget execution – that is, its ability to spend money at its disposal – remains low, the NSP is one of the few initiatives from Kabul to have generated significant goodwill among rural communities and is the only government program functioning in all 34 provinces. The program can increase linkages between local and central government and even help propel another Afghan government and international community priority: administrative decentralization.

As many reports have indicated, the NSP is one way in which the Afghan government has sought to operationalize its move to improve subnational governance. By devolving decision-making to the grass-roots level, the government can promote more inclusive governance and foster goodwill for itself within assisted communities. Despite the inherent challenges of delivering assistance in Afghanistan and other conflict-affected contexts, including corruption, the NSP appears to be one of the most promising manners of promoting stability, governance and development within a location such as Afghanistan. ■



Community Development Council meeting in Kapisa province, Afghanistan. Credit: National Solidarity Program, Flickr

Maj. Gen. Arnold Fields (Ret.), Eric Walcott, & Sylvester Murray

Haiti Reconstruction

Unbalanced and Unrealized



Camp in Haiti housing 3,000 victims of the 2010 Earthquake. Credit: IFRC, Flickr

HAITI suffered an earthquake on 12 January 2010 that registered 7.3 on the ricketier scale. The earthquake’s epicenter was near Haiti’s largest city, Port-au-Prince, where over 3.5 million Haitians reside representing almost half of the overall Haiti population. The devastation resulted in an estimated 250,000 deaths, over 300,000 Haitians injured, over \$11 billion dollars in damage to Haiti’s infrastructure and a 5.1 percent shrinkage of the country’s GDP. The Government of Haiti (GoH) and the international community responded both collectively and unilaterally calling for an immediate assistance program to begin the monumental recovery effort and to help mitigate the potential for additional deaths, sickness, and disease.

The Interim Haiti Recovery Commission (IHRC) was established by the GoH to help facilitate the recovery effort. This piece focuses on the IHRC and the extent to which its mandate has been carried out. This review was commenced during early July 2011 and is the work of a small team supported by the National Organization for the

Advancement of Haitians (NOAH), together with contributions by members and associates of the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA).

Observations and Opinions

Our review of the IHRC and the recovery effort consisted of interviews conducted with senior GoH officials, visits to some of the affected areas and a review of published information regarding Haiti’s recovery. We conducted an on-site visit to Haiti during July 2011. Some evidence of a recovery effort was noted immediately upon our arrival. Specifically, there was freedom of movement on major roads in Port-au-Prince, suggesting that a successful effort had been made to clear the rubble from major streets and thoroughfares. We believe that this contribution to a significant phase of the recovery is owed to the GoH and to individual effort by local citizens, rather than to the direct intervention and facilitation by the IHRC. We observed a plethora of local vendors who lined the streets in traditional Haiti market fashion; a multitude of vehicles moved back and forth in and around Port-au-Prince; restaurants were open and frequented; and the people we observed appeared generally upbeat and progressive.

These observations combined to give the impression that Haiti was well on its way to recovery. But behind this veneer remained thousands of Haitians still living in tent cities, unemployed, and disgruntled by the apparent lack of progress almost 18 months since the earthquake. Some Haitians complained that the Commission was too politicized because it was put in place by the previous government. There were also claims that it suffered from lack of leadership because the Prime Minister, who co-chairs the IHRC, had tendered his resignation and his successor had not been identified. They further suggested that the IHRC’s structure and procedures all but abrogated Haiti’s role as the principal decision maker in the Country’s reconstruction because the international community was directing the recovery.

The IHRC rules require that its international membership be comprised of commissioners whose member states have pledged a minimum of \$100 million toward the recovery effort. While in principle such a provision helps to encourage international involvement and participation, it has become an issue perceived to have encumbered the recovery process. The Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti, hereafter referred to as the Action Plan, details the

Major-General Arnold Fields, U.S. Marine Corps (Ret.); Mr. Eric Walcott; and Mr. Sylvester Murray. Under the Guidance of Dr. Joseph Baptiste, Chairman of NOAH and president of The Haitian Diaspora Federation.

country's immediate and long-term needs in the quake's aftermath; based on this plan, the IHRC devised a reconstruction strategy with priorities and benchmarks. However, Haiti senior leaders argue that international donors bring many national caveats to the IHRC table that are not always consistent with the IHRC strategy and Haiti's priorities. There is an apparent desire by some donors to immediately fix government and infrastructure issues that are a result of the enduring problems by which Haiti has been challenged throughout its history. These matters should be addressed, but the tug and pull between the Commission and various international agendas has resulted in a fragmented earthquake recovery effort, lacking synergy and adherence to the Haiti recovery plan. The UN Human Settlements Program reported in January 2011 that though more than USD \$1 billion had been spent in Haiti since the quake, only about 1,000 permanent houses, to replace the ones that crumbled, had actually been built (none in Port-au-Prince). But rebuilding over 100,000 homes completely destroyed and housing the over 500,000 displaced Haitians are top priorities specified in the GoH's recovery plan and the IHRC strategy. In view of this lack of progress, there was the appearance that little to nothing had been done for which the IHRC could claim credit as a result of its direct leadership.

It is noteworthy that at the time we began our review, over 99 percent of relief funding had circumvented Haiti's public institutions, in the face of the widely accepted disaster response principle that moving from relief to recovery requires host government involvement and leadership. Additionally, despite the extreme earthquake emergency, which was followed by the Presidential Emergency Decree, there had been no change in who received donor funds and the manner in which such contributions were



Aid distribution in Haiti. Credit: DFID, Flickr

channeled to Haiti since the earthquake.

In responding to countries needing international assistance, donors have historically been inclined to deliver projects that are then handed over to the local government

Capacity, Sustainment and the Diaspora

In responding to countries needing international assistance, donors have historically been inclined to deliver projects that are then handed over to the local government. This paradigm has historically resulted in insufficient involvement by host nation institutions. As a result, capacity building and sustainment opportunities are missed, thereby setting the conditions for waste of donor investment. Moreover, it does little to build incentive in the government or elsewhere in the host country to provide the funding, training and management for future infrastructure requirements or maintenance of initiatives already in place. We believe this lack of government capacity discourages donors from channeling fiscal resources through government institutions for fear that their contributions will be misused or fall into the hands of corrupt individuals. Undoubtedly, this issue is no less a contributing factor to the June 2011 report by the UN Special Envoy to Haiti stating that almost all relief funding had circumvented Haiti's public institutions.

According to its current website, the IHRC has not been fully functional since 21 October 2011, when its original mandate expired. As the GoH reviews the IHRC and its impact on the recovery, it may be advantageous to consider mechanisms that have been successful in helping to rebuild Iraq and Afghanistan. Haiti and Afghanistan are similar in that each is considerably short on middle management, as both nations have suffered extreme governance and socio-economic challenges for many years. Although the international community has been generous in providing assistance to these troubled nations, there is evidence that a robust capacity-building dimension has not historically been a part of the reconstruction strategy. The U.S. recognized this

problem in Iraq and infused civilian experts and advisors inside government ministries and commissions to help craft policy and to provide development assistance in the field. A similar approach in Afghanistan has endeavored to increase the emphasis on capacity-building so that the over USD \$70 billion investment in Afghanistan reconstruction will not be wasted. The Afghan First policy is another dimension of the capacity-building and sustainment initiative, which encourages local procurement of Afghan products to help ensure that the Afghan people receive the benefit and that through Afghan business involvement, economic development is supported and contributes to the growth of a modern and competitive business sector. Programs like these provide capacity-building and improved financial management skills; they help to ensure transparency, to mitigate concerns about corruption and to direct resources toward national goals and objectives.

In order to cohesively address these capacity issues, the GoH, together with the international community, should first consider a well-organized and coordinated strategy focused on targeting the Haitian Diaspora in North America, which according to the UN is proportionately one of the largest in the world. This approach could potentially and substantially increase the already massive flow of money into Haiti and, together with the Diaspora's skills reservoir, help shore up the country's middle management shortfall.

Although complaints about the speed of funds disbursements continue, there has been progress in Haiti, according to the 2011 Report of the United Nations in Haiti. By November 2011, 88 percent of USD \$4.6 billion in aid to Haiti had been spent or committed to specific initiatives, including housing for displaced Haitians; the number of people living in camps had decreased by 65 percent, from 1.5 million to 520,000; and the number of camps had dropped from 1,555 to 758. The U.S. Department of State reported that the U.S. had committed investments in excess of \$400 million, which will address a wide recovery agenda, including building a productive base from which Haiti can grow and prosper.

Recommendations

Based on our observations and findings, we offer a set of recommendations intended to address current problems, prevent future waste, streamline

Lesley Anne Warner

From Diplomacy to Invasion

Will Kenya be the Next Country That Fails to Stabilize Somalia?



Kenyan Defense Force Sgt. Maj. Khalif Khanso (L) is introduced to Camp Lemonnier U.S. Navy Command Master Chief Rosa Wilson (R), in Djibouti. Credit: U.S. Army Africa, Flickr

SINCE the fall of the Siad Barre regime in 1991, Kenya has opted to pursue a multilateral and primarily diplomatic approach to addressing the many problems in Somalia. Yet by the fall of 2011, the persistent instability emanating from Somalia had crossed Kenya's threshold for large-scale military intervention. In October 2011, the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) commenced Operation Linda Nchi – a conventional invasion of southern Somalia. Kenya's objective, according to a government spokesman, was to dismantle the al-Qaeda-affiliated Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen without maintaining a prolonged presence in Somalia. There has since been speculation that Kenya also seeks to disrupt al-Shabaab's finances by expelling it from the port city of Kismayo, which is the group's greatest source of revenue. Although Kenya has one of the most professional militaries in Africa, prior to Operation Linda Nchi the KDF's only recent combat experience had been a byproduct of its involvement in African Union (AU) and United Nations (UN) peacekeeping operations. As a result, the KDF had limited experience conduct-

ing joint expeditionary operations and virtually no experience fighting an unconventional adversary like al-Shabaab. With approximately 2,000 troops involved in this operation, Kenya joined the ranks of the UN, AU, United States, and Ethiopia – all of which have tried (and largely failed) to stabilize

After two decades of warfare South and Central Somalia were particularly hard hit, with four million people in need of emergency assistance.

Somalia over the course of the past two decades. Together, Somalia's long-standing challenges and the KDF's limited combat experience prompt the question of whether Kenya might be the next country that fails to stabilize Somalia.

Crossing the Border

When the KDF crossed the Somali border, the situation in Somalia was in flux and it was unclear

what impact Kenya's incursion would have on the developments that had been unfolding in the months prior. As a result of the failed short rains (deyr) in the fall of 2010 and the erratic long rains (gu) in the spring of 2011, Somalia was experiencing a drought-induced famine. After two decades of warfare south and central Somalia were particularly hard hit, with four million people in need of emergency assistance. An average of 1,300 Somalis per day were crossing into Kenya at the height of the famine, joining the 500,000 Somalis that had sought refuge there over the past two decades. Concurrently, Somalia's Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was becoming increasingly unpopular, ineffective, and bureaucratically deadlocked. In order to alleviate political infighting, the President of Uganda and the UN Special Representative for Somalia brokered the Kampala Accord in June 2011, which among other things, deferred the elections for the President, Speaker of Parliament, and his deputies until August 2012. In early September, various stakeholders were brought together for the Consultative Meeting on Ending the Transition in Somalia, during which they articulated a detailed roadmap to end the transitional period. Nonetheless, there was little optimism that these initiatives would break through the political stalemate in

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Mogadishu. In spite of these challenges, there was reason to be hopeful, as it appeared that the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) and TFG forces were turning the corner in expanding the areas under government control. Al-Shabaab was in serious decline as a result of internal fissures regarding global versus local Islamist agendas, their high-casualty tactics and draconian methods employed to control the population, and their mismanagement of the response to the famine. Al-Shabaab had executed a “tactical retreat” from the capital in early August yet maintained control over most of south and central Somalia. In September and October, unidentified assailants entered Kenya via land and sea, kidnapping tourists from resorts near Lamu and aid workers from the Dadaab refugee complex. In the weeks that followed these attacks, Kenya launched military operations in the Gedo, Middle Juba, and Lower Juba regions of southern Somalia as part of Operation Linda Nchi.

KDF operations were fraught with operational and tactical challenges from the outset. To start, Kenya entered Somalia with insufficient force strength to clear the regions within its operating area of what was believed to be al-Shabaab’s core military strength of between 5,000 and 10,000 battle-hardened fighters. Rather than allowing the level of support for al-Shabaab to continue its downward trajectory, Kenya’s invasion risked recreating the dynamics that led to the group’s rise in 2006, where the presence of foreign troops, in this case the Ethiopian military, catalyzed resistance inspired by nationalism rather than ideology. In addition, within weeks of crossing into southern Somalia, the KDF was forced to contend with flooding and poor road conditions as a result of the deyr rains. Due to the challenges posed to the KDF’s mobility and sustainment two months passed before Kenyan forces were truly able to resume their advance. The KDF was consequently robbed of the opportunity to capitalize on al-Shabaab’s lack of preparation for such an invasion. This delay also potentially gave al-Shabaab, which had been reeling from a succession of blows, time to regroup.

Progress?

These challenges notwithstanding, the KDF has slowly been able to gain control of territory in southern Somalia and turn it over to Somali forces which are, for the moment, aligned with the TFG. Conversely, al-Shabaab has generally avoided major combat and has instead been drawing the

KDF further into Somalia, which has the potential advantage of spreading Kenya’s force strength, stretching KDF supply lines, and making it vulnerable to asymmetric tactics such as improvised explosive devices (IEDs), suicide bombs, ambushes, and snipers. Should the KDF reach Kismayo it may also find itself engaged in urban warfare, should al-Shabaab mount a fierce defense of this lucrative commercial asset. This would require a change in KDF tactics, which may include a shift away from reliance on airstrikes against al-Shabaab strongholds in favor of increased ground operations that could expose the KDF to greater combat casualties – especially if Kenyan forces attempt to minimize civilian casualties by avoiding indiscriminate fire and shelling of heavily populated areas. Regardless, even if Kismayo is conquered and turned over to TFG-aligned forces, there is no guarantee that the fight among said forces to control the city would cease there.

By late November, Kenya had entered discussions with the AU and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) regarding the integration of KDF troops into the next phase of

AMISOM’s troop deployment. While command relationships and respective operational priorities are yet to be determined, the AU and the UN are drafting a new concept of operations for AMISOM in which troop-contributing nations would have primary responsibility for discrete regions in south and central Somalia. The UN is also considering increasing AMISOM’s authorized force strength to 17,731 troops, although an AU-UN joint technical assessment mission has estimated that nearly twice as many troops might be required for AMISOM to conduct concurrent offensive operations throughout south and central Somalia. Kenya is anticipated to send 4,700 troops to fight in the Middle and Lower Juba regions of Somalia, should the UN authorize an augmentation of AMISOM to 17,731 troops. Still, AMISOM has routinely faced significant obstacles securing troop contributions from AU member states and acquiring the funding and logistic support that is essential for countries to deploy on schedule and with the appropriate force package. Therefore, the possibility exists that AMISOM may not be able to muster the forces and resources required in time to take advantage of al-



Burundi peacekeepers prepare for their next rotation to Somalia. Credit: U.S. Army Africa, Flickr

Dr. Arthur Keys

Searching for Stable Economic Models

Development Sector May Offer Answers



Community Midwifery Education Program in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. Credit: Canada in Afghanistan, Flickr

THE US government, from Congress to the Administration to the US military, has effectively ruled out large land wars for the foreseeable future, according to recent announcements. A new strategy that seeks to stabilize volatile countries or regions where the United States can maintain a minimal security therefore puts a premium on preventing or mitigating conflict. This means using the tools of “preventive diplomacy” and investments in economic, political and social development. In a world where more states are fragile or in transition, or where low-intensity conflict threatens vulnerable populations and core US interests, it is essential that democracies continue to promote investment, trade, and strong civil society and citizen engagement.

But doing so in the midst of historic global transitions – within and among nations – is easier said than done. We are in a period of global unease, with a sense that the future could be quite different than the past, with unpredictable effects on development. The reduction in the numbers of large-scale conflicts and in poverty over the past

60 years is no coincidence. This process must continue if stability and the promotion of universal values are to continue.

Discussion of these ideas among government, business, and civil society leaders is important to the international development community. My own belief is that even when we do not have the “answers,” we still have useful insights into how the beliefs and energies of communities can be focused to enable sustainable development and reduce poverty.

What is different about truly sustainable development projects is they are designed and implemented with and by communities

What is different about truly sustainable development projects is they are designed and implemented with and by communities. They are neither massive state-directed projects, nor purely

private investments geared toward exclusively “market” outcomes. Effective development projects incorporate economic advancement holistically and reflect ideas about governance, growth, aid effectiveness, equality, peace, and stability. In so doing, they borrow best practices from business, NGOs, and government and combine them in new ways.

In a peaceful environment, development is complex. But if there is an element of conflict, development becomes even more difficult. Few organizations have been able to successfully support development during conflict. Some development professionals believe that development cannot and should not be done in a conflict environment. They believe that the settlement of armed conflicts is a prerequisite. In between these positions, the traditional approach is to deal with conflict through a peace-building approach that emphasizes mediation and mitigation. The nexus between development and conflict is particularly strong when development assistance is applied as a tool of foreign policy. This use of development assistance raises many other issues for development professionals who may not agree with the overall goals that are being pursued.

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Development assistance in failed states or military conflict areas may attempt to incorporate conflict prevention, mitigation, stabilization, and reconciliation while simultaneously injecting development assistance, which must be constantly refined and sustained to be effective in fluid environments. In recent years, an increasing number of conflicts have destabilized significant populations around the globe, including in Yemen, Somalia, Colombia, and elsewhere. Like it or not, development and conflict are juxtaposed upon each other.

For development approaches to be effective in these environments they must be targeted and address specific sources of conflict – such as the inequitable access to resources and livelihoods, lack of government services, religious intolerance, or disrespect for cultural traditions. Often in conflict zones, large youth populations exacerbate these problems. Approaches in this environment must target at-risk and vulnerable sub-populations such as rural farmers, marginalized youth and social or religious groups, nomadic peoples whose livelihoods are threatened, and displaced urban migrants living in slums.

The development assistance and stabilization approach in conflict zones is further complicated because variables are interconnected and cannot be addressed in isolation. Youth grievances stemming from a lack of education or employment opportunities may be rooted in structural problems, such as a lack of investment in teachers, vocational skills training, and information technology. Poor governance, corruption, and weak rule of law discourage investment for the startup or expansion of businesses that create jobs. Development assistance programs must implement holistic strategies that address both the structural conditions and local disparities that, together, are major drivers of instability.

Development groups that specialize in conflict mitigation and prevention apply approaches grounded in sound community development principles. These include:

- Assistance that is adapted to specific contexts and responds to evolving local, regional, and national dynamics.
- Locally targeted programs that are integrated with regional or national policies.
- Crosscutting interventions that address more than one development sector (for example, a maternal health component in an agricultural livelihoods program).

- Large-scale activities tailored to mitigate specific sources of conflict and address the major drivers of instability within that community.
- Interventions that serve as a strong platform for transition from short-term to longer term development. For example, orchard pruning and maintenance in a conflict zone can serve promote community market development strategies.
- Community participation and ownership, coupled with capacity building.
- Strategic communications programs that reinforce and complement the impact of community activities and demonstrate their ability to better their lives and create livelihoods.
- Coordination and cooperation with local and international donor programs.

When working in conflict or post-conflict environments, it is critical to apply development principles such as participatory planning and institution strengthening together with targeted and measurable interventions. These practices are often implemented through a stabilization lens that helps prioritize the improvement of local government. This kind of development emphasizes process as well as effective results, deepens relationships between key community stakeholders, and helps counter the drivers of instability.

The largest threats to vulnerable people and the peace and prosperity of the global community

remain conflict and instability. As we have seen in Afghanistan, those caught in conflict must be assisted with immediate relief as well as longer term political, social, and economic development. Through a holistic perspective that identifies unrealized community assets, partners communities with private sector expertise, and promotes respect for human rights and civilian-led governance, the development process quickly changes expectations and relationships and improves outcomes. And by “outcomes,” I mean something more than increased income, important as that is. Effective development strengthens community life and equips and opens all participants to information and experiences that tie communities to larger global trends.

There is a gathering consensus that market-oriented growth models offer a pathway to lifting people from poverty and promoting stability. This must continue if stability and peace are to be enjoyed more widely around the world. We must remember, however, that the process begins with communities, recognizes that development has multiple dimensions, and integrates best practices from the private sector, government, and civil society. The international development sector takes a unique approach to development and stabilization. Those of us who work in this sector owe it to policymakers, our colleagues, and above all, vulnerable communities around the world to share what we’ve learned. ■



The Community Development Council of Danishmand village, in northern Kabul province. Credit: DFID, Flickr

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Questions about how you can take advantage of ISOA's event opportunities?
Contact Jason Kennedy at jkennedy@stability-operations.org.

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reconstruction and development and increase transparency, both internally and externally.

1. That all donors and implementing agencies recognize, respect and ensure that the Action Plan for National Recovery and Development of Haiti is the principal guideline and roadmap for all recovery activities and that the eight priority outcomes, identified by the IHRC and intended to address the exigencies of Haitians most affected by the earthquake, be the initial focus of all contributors until sufficiently remedied.

2. That the GoH design a detailed statement of needs, which addresses specific near-term recovery objectives intended to have been addressed and completed during the initial 18 months emergency period, declared by the President of Haiti immediately following the earthquake; that Haitians displaced by the earthquake and still living in temporary shelters be the top priority and that an estimate of the number of required housing units needed to

replace such shelters be produced, relocation areas specified, funded strategies developed, and construction timelines firmly established

3. That the GoH empower a cadre of career project managers and licensing and permit officials with a mandate to fast-track project execution and that for a mandated period of two years all IHRC approved projects be waived from current procedures as they pertain to licensing and permits, especially where safety and environmental hazards are not at issue.

4. That a concerted effort be made to ensure the GoH is involved in the recovery at all levels including national, provincial and municipal government, which will encourage transparency, accountability and acceptance while ensuring local community goals, objectives and expectations are met.

5. That where donors have recognized a need to establish a discretionary Multi-Donor Trust Fund,

such as the Haiti Recovery Fund (HRF) or any similar funding mechanism they resist directing funds toward Haiti recovery initiatives that are not consistent with the priorities set forth in the Action Plan.

6. That a concerted effort be made to remove any bureaucracy that is unnecessarily impeding the release of Haiti recovery funds already pledged and provided by donors to the Haiti Recovery Fund and through various international funding systems for processing and access by recovery officials and implementers.

7. That local Haitians, properly skilled and vetted, be the principal source from which project managers are selected and that where required expertise is not available, consultants be hired to assist in project implementation and to help train and equip local Haitians in order to build their capacity and ensure projects are sustained commensurate with Haiti's needs and donor investment and expectations.

8. That in order to help build Haitian capacity, develop accountability, and encourage transparency, which some contributors in the international community have long considered lacking among Haitian officials, the IHRC establish and effect a policy that mandates a certain minimum percentage of all Multi-Donor Trust Fund revenue pass through the GoH and be managed by the Ministry of Finance or relevant ministry as appropriate.

9. That the GoH develop, train and sufficiently compensate a competent public administration corps and to that end, the international community assist Haiti in developing a full range of training modalities, including traditional classroom environments in Haiti and elsewhere, on-line programs, advisors, senior level mentors and coaching.

10. That the GoH and the IHRC establish a mechanism for integrating Diaspora knowledge and expertise in the recovery process and where possible, identify specific initiatives in which Diaspora assistance would best be applied and then commit to aggressively seek and employ Diaspora professionals available for short and long-term assignments in Haiti.

11. That a robust strategic communications plan be developed and implemented to bolster awareness among all involved in the recovery, especially the Haitians most affected by the earthquake disaster.

The International Haiti Reconstruction Commission has the potential to be a vastly successful means of coordinating Haiti's efforts toward a stable development path, in concert with better collaboration and synergies between national institutions and international donors. With necessary reforms, Haitians can confidently take the effective leadership role essential for their future. ■

Naveed Bandali

Afghanistan's Security Sector Transformation and Transition

A conversation with Minister Ali A. Jalali



Afghan National Security Forces train in Afghanistan. Credits: ISAF Media, Flickr

Ali A. Jalali is former Interior Minister of Afghanistan (January 2003-September 2005). He currently serves as both a Distinguished Professor at the Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESAS) and as a researcher at the Institute for National Strategic Studies (INSS), at the National Defense University in Washington, DC.

JIPO: You took office during a turbulent time for the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. What were your greatest accomplishments and challenges as Interior Minister?

Jalali: We started building the Afghan National Police (ANP) and also streamlined the local government, and we started almost from scratch. The police actually ceased to exist during the long civil war in Afghanistan, so it was a very difficult job because after the removal of the Taliban, those who filled the ranks of the police were former guerilla fighters and the only thing they knew was to fight. Therefore it was challenging to build this institution and train the new officers, and at the same time provide equipment. The

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most difficult challenge was to do all this in the context of state-building with other institutions, because no institution on its own can be developed unless it is part of the larger picture of building the security sector.

The security sector reform (SSR) process that was supported by the international community was fragmented and not guided by a unified strategy. Different countries came with different levels of commitment and procedures and visions to build the police, army, and judicial sector, and also to deal with counternarcotics and the disarmament and dismantling of former armed groups. There were three major hurdles that we faced. The first was the international community's under-resourced project in building up the police force and local governments. Secondly, the whole SSR process was not a unified, coordinated effort, so progress in various aspects was uneven. And the third problem we faced was the spoilers in the country — the former guerillas, militias, and local warlords who defied the development of central state institutions. These were the problems, but I still think we made some progress and laid the foundation for the new institutions in Afghanistan, and the international community's increased funding and attention actually helped to support

all these efforts.

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.” Has the failure been primarily neglect by the international community, or by the Afghan government? And can you speak to the ongoing issues with the SSR process in Afghanistan?

Jalali: Well you have to think in terms of both outside and inside approaches to stabilization in Afghanistan. There is no doubt that the legitimacy of any government is based on two major pillars. One is the provision of security to citizens and the other is justice, which comes from the rule of law. And in order for any government to provide security and justice, it needs to control its territory. The current situation in Afghanistan in fact came from a backdrop of many years of a poorly resourced and uncoordinated reconstruction effort leading to continued insecurity and violence, which gradually peaked to the highest level since the removal of the Taliban from power in 2001.

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From the outset, the reconstruction goals were too ambitious and the resources dreadfully limited. An under-resourced and inconsistent state-building drive, amidst a rising insurgency, failed to match the real challenges and ground realities. On the other hand, Afghanistan's political leaders missed emerging opportunities and failed to rise above factional and ethnic rivalries in the interest of building national institutions — upholding the rule of law and stabilizing the country through democratic solutions. Of course despite significant progress in state-building and steady economic growth, the politicization of donor aid — and alliances with abusive powerbrokers and warlords — undermines the development of effective state institutions and the rule of law. Consequently, the government now lacks credible institutions and effective muscle to offset the influence of local powerbrokers. This situation of course precludes corruption, and affects not only governance but also the political and economic sectors, and becomes a major hurdle in the way of achieving security and development. So if you

look at Afghanistan, the main political actors include weak state institutions; strong insurgents; opportunistic non-state patronage networks; and corrupt government officials.

Over the next three years, Afghanistan will undergo a complex process of transition. In fact, there are four kinds of transition that are interlinked, and you cannot achieve security fully unless there is coordinated progress in all the following areas. One is security transition — the transfer of security responsibility from the international forces to the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF). Then a political transition — we have presidential elections in 2014 and how this election will be held is very important. And third is the economic transition as the international forces leave Afghanistan and it impacts the country's economic situation. Just last year, 50% of economic activity was based on a service economy, which has a lot to do with the business of the over 140,000 international troops. So it is going to affect the Afghan economy in the

short-term. And fourth is the reconciliation process — the talks with the opposition. What shape is it going to take? Is it going to lead to real progress in lowering the level of violence, or will be it an approach for the Taliban to gain tactical advantage?

2014. Of course establishing long-term security will require a professional, enduring, and self-sustaining Afghan security force. However, despite a major effort by the NATO training mission in Afghanistan in recent years, the development of the institutional capacity of the ANSF will take years. It has only been since 2008 that serious commitments have been made and adequate resources invested to create an effective Afghan National Army (ANA) and Police. The total strength of the ANSF within 2012 is expected to reach 352,000 personnel. It has a long way to go before it becomes fully capable of operating independently.

JIPO: Many in the Coalition have expressed significant security concerns about the incoming Afghan Public Protection Force (APPF) including that it is being rolled out prematurely and that it will undermine the confidence of the reconstruction and development communities. Will the APPF be capable enough from 20 March 2012 to fulfill all the security requirements and adhere to the Presidential Decree 62 deadline? Does the current Interior Ministry have the administrative capacity to manage the transition to the APPF as well as coordinate with risk management companies?

Jalali: I have many doubts about all this in terms of the idea of building that kind of security force while the country is unstable and in terms of the deadline. There is no doubt that in the past the Afghan government was helped by the communities in providing local security. However, that security was not the real instrument, but a supplemental effort for the Afghan government to enhance security. On the other hand, local communities and tribes cooperated with the government when they had trust in the government's viability and ability to protect them when needed. When the communities and tribes think that the government is not capable of delivering services to them or protecting them when they need — such as when faced with a growing insurgency — they actually hedge their bets and themselves provide the security or services as they see fit. Sometimes they have to cooperate with elements fighting the government. Therefore, you have to look at it on a case by case basis.

To put this in the political context of Afghanistan, in some areas where the government has influence, the people are happier when there is

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good governance, and local police can supplement the security capacity of the state. But in areas where the government does not have great influence or there is no effective government, then only the local elements cannot provide security — but they join the winning side. In 2006, there was also a project of building local police that failed. And because of the lack of security and influence of the government, many of these groups defected with their weapons. So we have to be very careful about this.

The best case scenario is one in which the government is in charge, there is trust in government, and local security forces can complement the government's capacities. In the worst case, local forces become illegal militias and they actually create more harm than they help development. The government's capacity is there in Kabul, but I do not think that it is sufficient. That is why in certain cases, the local police are influenced by local warlords and powerbrokers that bring their cronies onto the force, and you have many complaints from the population about their mistreatment.

JIPO: A recent report examining the relationship between aid and security in Afghanistan argues that aid projects may not necessarily lead to long-term, positive security gains. Endemic governance and political issues fuel insecurity, and economic aid may instead promote instability in certain areas. Do you agree with this analysis and do you believe that certain stabilization efforts may in fact be driving conflict?

Jalali: Well, yes. There is no doubt that Afghanistan has received enormous international aid and development funding. But the problems are with how this aid is delivered and who the agents of delivery actually are. First of all, aid was not delivered through the government; 70% bypassed

central institutions for United Nations agencies, NGOs, and contractors — and 40% of this aid never left donor countries. But a lot of the funding that actually made it to Afghanistan was absorbed by subcontractors, sub-subcontractors, and so on. Only a fraction of the money reached development projects. Secondly, the aid was politicized in Afghanistan. The people who were taking the money for aid implementation were warlords and local powerbrokers who have very poor human rights records. And on the other hand, the common people actually did not benefit a lot from the aid. So the money actually reinforced those who are interested in personal gain, not in the development of the country.

Today you see that the contracting issue has created a lot of problems inside Afghanistan, helped many corrupt people, and created mafia-type organizations. I am not saying that Afghanistan does not need aid money, but the main issues are how to deliver this aid, through which agencies, in what form, and to which people?

JIPO: There have been several high-profile attacks and incidents involving aid workers in Afghanistan. Is it fair to suggest that security for humanitarians is deteriorating, and that aid workers have become legitimate targets in the eyes of the Taliban? What can be done to address this situation?

Jalali: I think security is the most important issue for any development work. On the other hand, some NGOs complain that when the armed forces themselves are involved with development issues, this blurs the line between fighting and development. This actually creates a perception in the eyes of the Taliban that NGOs are part of the problem. But in a conflict situation like Afghanistan, the ANA, ANP, and international forces get involved with development work through

Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs). Sometimes the security forces are the only people who can access some areas to deliver services to the local population. There are very, very delicate situations in how to separate humanitarian and development work from a conflict, and how to provide security in a conflict situation for NGOs to continue their work.

JIPO: NATO is undergoing a “phased” withdrawal with the goal of transitioning security responsibility to Afghan forces by 2014. Will the ANSF be prepared to assume control by then, especially if certain European military forces plan to leave sooner?

Jalali: Well this is a major problem, and it not only creates a kind of a security vacuum but a gap between the level of threat and the capacity to respond. It also sends a signal or wrong message to the Taliban, insurgents, and their regional supporters that they can wait out the international forces. Of course there is also a thought that on the one hand the ANSF will become more capable of responding to challenges, and on the other hand the insurgents' momentum will be reversed and they will be drawn to the negotiating table. However, it is uncertain whether these conditions will be established or not.

By 2014, there is no doubt that there is going to be a gap between the level of threat and the capacity of the ANSF to respond. That gap is now filled by international forces. True there has been transfer of security responsibility to Afghan security forces in certain provinces, districts and cities in Afghanistan. Such transition seems to be trouble free since there is still a significant presence of international military forces in the country that can potentially back the Afghan forces when they face major threats. This

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Shabaab's weakened stature.

Will it work?

While Operation Linda Nchi has many inherent risks and challenges, Kenya's failure in Somalia is not necessarily preordained. With al-Shabaab on the run and Kenya's participation in AMISOM likely to be approved in the coming months, the KDF may well be an asset in the current offensive to consolidate areas under TFG control.

However, as al-Shabaab is but one symptom of Somalia's enduring security, political, and humanitarian challenges it is unlikely that the group's demise would usher in an era of stability in Somalia that would, in turn, make Kenya more secure. Of note, although the UN has declared an end to famine conditions in south and central Somalia, the demand signal for humanitarian assistance persists and the option for Somalis to seek refuge in Kenya remains an attractive one. Moreover, the TFG's political process remains

deadlocked, and is potentially the Achilles' heel of the entire effort to stabilize Somalia. Many Somalia analysts were not optimistic that the Kampala Accord and its consequent roadmap to end the transitional period would result in the establishment of an effective central government; their skepticism reflects the perception of the TFG as part of the problem, not part of the solution. Therefore, even if Operation Linda Nchi is effective at dismantling al-Shabaab, it may be unlikely to stabilize Somalia. ■

Herman J. Cohen

Troubling Signs in South Africa

Is there something rotten in the Republic of South Africa?



Jacob Zuma, President of South Africa, speaking at the World Economic Forum. Credit: World Economic Forum, Flickr

SOUTH Africa continues to be the most interesting destination for investors looking to make money from Africa’s growing middle class, now estimated to number around 300 million people who have incomes of \$20 per day or higher. With the arrival of Walmart, the world’s largest supermarket chain, two years ago, it is clear that South Africa merits inclusion in the category of “leading emerging markets” including Brazil, Russia, India and China.

Like the majority of countries in sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa is benefiting from high world commodity prices. As a major producer of gold, platinum, chromium, and other high priced ores, South African royalty revenues are at high levels. This flow of revenue is providing money for infrastructure, especially a crash effort to catch up with electric power requirements that have been exploding over the past ten years.

South Africa is also the biggest beneficiary of the United States “Africa Growth and Opportunities Act” (AGOA) that was signed into law by President Bill Clinton in his last year in office.

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This provides unilateral duty-free entry to the US of products made in Africa without a requirement for reciprocity in favor of US products going to Africa. A look at the statistics of trade generated

Unfortunately, only a small percentage of the black majority population is experiencing growing economic prosperity, and resentment is growing

by AGOA indicates that basic commodities, especially crude oil, make up the bulk of African exports to the US by value. But, to the extent that manufactures are included in the mix, it is South Africa and other countries in southern Africa that are reaping the benefits of this one-way free trade.

Against this background, one would think that South Africa is a booming, happy place, eighteen years after the end of white minority rule. Unfortunately, only a small percentage of the

black majority population is experiencing growing economic prosperity, and resentment is growing.

There are a number of serious problems. When they took over power in 1994, the African National Congress under President Nelson Mandela inherited an abysmal educational system. Black students were segregated in sub-standard schools. Since majority rule students of all races can go to any school, but state schools have remained low quality. Students are not being prepared with the necessary skills to find employment in a modern economy. Any black South African who can afford it is sending his or her children to private schools. As a result, youth unemployment remains high, and the overall unemployment rate is over 25%. The government is clearly not dealing with the skills deficit with any sense of priority.

The South African government has enacted legislation in the category of “black empowerment” that requires the private sector to have a minimum percentage of black South Africans in managerial positions. This has resulted in the growth of a privileged class of highly paid black executives with good political connections, who are making black poverty stand out even more by

contrast.

While trying to protect the private sector from left-wing demands for nationalization, the South African government has nevertheless enacted legislation that makes for a very rigid labor market. Enterprises are reluctant to hire because it is so difficult to lay workers off under the law. The environment for private sector investment, outside of the mining industry, is not brilliant. Hence, economic growth in South Africa continues to hover around a mediocre 3.5%, while other African countries are growing at rates of five to seven percent. At that rate, unemployment will continue to hover at unacceptably high levels.

Politically, black majority rule emerged in 1994 in the form of a one-party state. The constitution allows for a multiparty democracy and each election has several parties contending for power. However, in reality the African National Congress (ANC), the party that led the struggle against white minority rule, has a virtual monopoly of power. History dictates that the vast majority of South African blacks will have voted overwhelmingly for ANC candidates. In addition, the ANC made sure that other organizations that contrib-

uted to the liberation struggle, such as the United Democratic Front, the Pan African Congress, and the Black Power Movement, were quickly absorbed into the ANC so as to nip any political diversity in the bud.

...economic growth in South Africa continues to hover around a mediocre 3.5%...At that rate, unemployment will continue to hover at unacceptably high levels

At the present time, other political parties exist, notably the Democratic Alliance, which represents mainly mixed race South African minorities living in the Western Cape Province. Nevertheless, in terms of control over resources and patronage, the African National Congress is essentially a monopoly party with virtual absolute power.

We are increasingly seeing the corruption associated with absolute power creeping into the South African political economy. We are not seeing outright theft from the public treasury, but we are seeing phony contracts, overpriced invoices, nepotism, and other fraud being perpetrated at different levels. The people paying the price are the majority at the bottom rung of the economic ladder who are not being reached with the electricity grid, the clean water network, or the improved schools needed at the village level—all because the allocated funds are ending up somewhere else outside of South Africa.

The African National Congress started out as a party of liberation that morphed into an idealistic party of democracy and economic development after the end of white minority rule. Now, it appears to be evolving into a party focused on maintaining its monopoly of power and the wealth that goes with it, at the expense of the people. The ZANU-PF party of President Mugabe in Zimbabwe started out exactly the same way and went downhill fast as soon as the voters showed signs of changing loyalties. Let us pray that South Africa does not end up like Zimbabwe. ■



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Ryan Caldwell

Trouble Ahead for Contractors in Iraq?

As the mission transitions from one agency to another, some lessons may be lost



Iraqi contractors conducting a site survey of the landscape at a build site in Baghdad. Credit: Herald Post, Flickr

LITTLE more than two months ago, with the end of Operation New Dawn, the Department of Defense (DoD) presence that had dominated Iraqi reconstruction efforts for years withdrew, leaving roughly 16,000 State Department personnel in more or less full control of the U.S. mission in Iraq. This mission, the largest in State Department history, has already come into controversy, with early reports indicating that up to half of the contractors and staff employed by the U.S. embassy in Baghdad would be withdrawn. Though spokesmen have denied these rumors, the incident reinforces the widely-held belief that the State Department does not have a well-defined plan to accomplish the remaining reconstruction missions in Iraq. Furthermore, statements from the Department indicate that many of the lessons about contractors learned by DoD did not make the transition to State control along with the Iraqi mission.

DoD was also lacking in an overall plan for Iraqi reconstruction in the early years of the occupation. It was also unprepared for the opportunities and challenges presented by the large number of

contractors it employed. DoD did not have enough contracting officers, and few of the contracting officers that did deploy had any experience in complex contingency operations. Military officers were unfamiliar with contractors and how to integrate them into operations. DoD did not even have a system to determine whether it was receiving good value on its contracts. As a result, contractors with useful and dedicated skills and staff were misused or underutilized in some cases; in others, the government hired contractors who proved woefully inadequate in performing their hired tasks. The situation also exposed a legal framework that had not coped with changes in the military justice system since the end of the Second World War, leading to a perception, widespread in the Iraqi population, that contractors were operating outside the law.

DoD, following the advice given by several commissions, experts, and inspectors general, learned from these experiences and made some adaptations to its contracting practice. Senior leaders now speak of the “total force” as including contractors. Exercises explore the challenges and opportunities of integrating contractors into military operations. And changes to incentives have made the job of contracting officers much

more appealing to talented personnel. Though no one would argue that DoD has completely solved its contractor integration problem, it is clear that the situation has markedly improved since 2003.

Unfortunately, it is unclear to what extent the State Department has integrated similar lessons. The Senate Armed Services Committee, especially, has shown considerable concern about the handover of missions and the capability of the State Department to manage its contractor force. Members of the Commission on Wartime Contracting have also expressed irritation with the State Department, which Commission members have claimed was dismissive of the Commission’s work and reluctant when asked to provide information.

However, the State Department has no choice but to utilize contractors to fulfill its mission in Iraq. The Bureau of Diplomatic Security, normally charged with the security of State Department personnel, is nowhere near large enough to handle security concerns in what remains a largely non-permissive environment. The State Department lacks adequate numbers of personnel with specialized skills in reconstruction, such as training in the rule of law, security sector reform,

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and explosive ordnance disposal. Even mundane tasks such as transportation and food preparation must be accomplished almost entirely by contracted personnel. Though DoD has offered to help with the transition by continuing to manage some of the larger contracts that the State Department depends upon, notably including LOGCAP, this is unlikely to markedly improve contracting practice. Notably also, DoD is not overseeing any of the major security contracts used by the State Department. As security contractors have the greatest potential for controversy, a lack of proper integration and management in this sector should cause unease for anyone concerned with the success of the U.S. mission in Iraq.

The disputed New York Times article about a supposed plan to halve the size of the Baghdad embassy unfortunately showcases a State Department that has not adequately planned for the difficulties of operating in a non-permissive environment without DoD support. Many personnel, be they federal employees or contractors, never leave the embassy due to security concerns. Contractor personnel often find their arrival in-country delayed by border crossings. Most embarrassingly, food shipments to the embassy encountered unexpected difficulties clearing customs, leading to rationing of some meals at the embassy. In facing these

challenges, the State Department does not appear to be receiving much support from an Iraqi government that does not appreciate the large U.S. presence.

In facing these challenges, the State Department does not appear to be receiving much support from an Iraqi government that does not appreciate the large U.S. presence

If these stories are true, the State Department should be conducting a full reassessment of the mission and realistically determining which tasks it can accomplish without DoD assistance. Unfortunately, the first statements issued by State Department focused largely on the size of the staff, which led to Deputy Secretary of State Tom Nides insisting that no federal employees would be leaving the embassy, only contractors. Nides also claimed that many of the problems would be avoided through increased local sourcing of food and labor. Though this integration with the local

culture is important and will likely provide long-term benefits, it also raises a host of issues, ranging from possible insurgent infiltration to political entanglements to human trafficking. It also reveals a potential misunderstanding of the contractor workforce, which tends to utilize local personnel whenever practicable.

The insistence that all cuts at the embassy will be made in contractor personnel, and not in federal employees, is also disturbing in its indication that the Department may not count contractors as part of its “total force” and that the primary concern when making personnel decisions is not based on picking the best person for the job, but a concern for the color of that person’s badge. Obviously, this is not a strategy that provides the best chance of mission success.

Contractors must be fully integrated into a plan in order to achieve mission success. This means that government leaders must be aware of the limitations and capabilities of their contractor force as well as the limitations and capabilities of federal employees. DoD took years to integrate both its contractor and federal workforces in a well-defined plan in Iraq. Though it is too early to determine whether the State Department has a well-developed plan, its early comments indicate that we may have to go through this time-consuming process once more. ■



Iraqi Police recruits being trained at the al Furat Iraqi Police training Center. Credit: Herald Post, Flickr

◀ 21 | A Conversation with Minister Ali A. Jalali | Bandali

situation can change if the pace of foreign troop withdrawal become calendar-driven rather than conditions based. This transition thus is very symbolic now because there is always the possibility that security could deteriorate in a transitioned area, but then be dealt with by international forces as a back-up. But if international forces totally withdraw from Afghanistan, then the transition takes on different physical and psychological meanings.

There are still many challenges. First of all, the ANSF will take years to be qualitatively capable. Secondly, there needs to a kind of cohesiveness between the security forces and other institutions of the government, and that comes when the government becomes more capable and wins the trust of the people. Thirdly, the government will not be able to pay for the cost of the ANSF until 2024. And finally, public allegiance to the government and its institutions is key to controlling violence, crime, terrorism, and insurgency. Security will not be achieved through merely creating police and army units. Corruption is fueled by the accommodating style of government officials, which actually erodes public trust in government. In Afghanistan, the people do not actually want the Taliban to come back; only a fraction of them may want that, but the people are reluctant to stand up against the Taliban on behalf of a government they cannot trust. These are all the problems with the ANSF, and therefore there is a need for a residual international security force presence on the basis of strategic partnership between Afghanistan and NATO members.

JIPO: What lessons can be drawn from the past decade of stabilization and reconstruction efforts

in Afghanistan?

Jalali: I would say that the transition we see in Afghanistan today comes against the backdrop of many years of poorly resourced and ill coordinated reconstruction efforts leading to continuous insecurity and violence. From the outset, the reconstruction goals were too ambitious and resources were awfully limited. This project was followed by a troop intensive counterinsurgency strategy supported by a military surge over 2009-2010. This move made security gains in key areas, but such a strategy requires time and patience to succeed. Political pressure and certain donors' constraints have eroded support for an extended counterinsurgency effort, leading to a calendar-driven drawdown of military support. Putting a timeline on military operations in a counterinsurgency environment leads to pushing the insurgents and regional actors to a hedging behavior, which could actually prolong the violence.

Now a new strategy of advise and assist to achieve a certain degree of stability in Afghanistan, allowing for the withdrawal of international forces, is winning support in NATO circles and may influence policy at the next NATO Summit in Chicago in May 2012. However, the real challenge in Afghanistan cannot be wished away; you have to deal with the driving factors of the situation.

So I think that the lessons that we have learned is that the government is the key to stability in Afghanistan. No amount of foreign troops or money can create stability unless the government reforms itself and wins the trust of the people. Today ordinary Afghans are faced with a choice between two sides competing to win the trust of

the people and be the best government, with one side a government influenced by criminal or mafia-type actors and the other the Taliban who have a poor human rights record and lack of capacity to respond to challenges of modern life. I think that the insurgents are unable to defeat a government that can win the trust of the people. Many governments actually defeat themselves, and not the insurgents, because they cannot deliver services to people. Therefore, the government is the key in providing security and stability in Afghanistan, and making the insurgency irrelevant.

At the same time, since the insurgents have bases in Pakistan, cooperation from Pakistan is important for removing insurgents from or reducing their presence in that country. But I think there will be some degree of insurgency in Afghanistan beyond 2014. In fact, the final situation facing Afghanistan will be shaped by the interplay between the government, the armed opposition forces, the U.S.-led international security forces, and other domestic and foreign actors linked directly or indirectly with the three major players that will shape Afghanistan as a state and as a geographic area with the potential to prevent or facilitate transnational terrorist attacks.

So a security transition in 2014 is not a guarantee for peace and stability in Afghanistan without meaningful reform of the Afghan government, nor does a deal with the Taliban by itself promise sustainable peace in the region. We have to look for peace through the establishment of an end-state that is acceptable to the Afghan people and does not undermine the legitimate security interests of other actors in the region and beyond. ■

◀ 05 | President's Message | (in)Stability Operations | Brooks

community has very limited options, especially in tight financial periods. These situations often create a kind of optimism born of desperation: given that the international community can only address so many man-made humanitarian crises simultaneously in any comprehensive manner, the less egregious problems are ignored to focus on the more critical. We tend to assume success in some places that are in reality anything but successful.

These observations do not come from a

doomsayer; more often than not I am optimistic about the future of peace and stability operations. Nevertheless, at this moment the potential for multiple, simultaneous, humanitarian crises is alarming.

What does this mean for the Stability Operations Industry? International governmental resources could very well be stretched beyond the limit in the coming months, especially if more than one of the larger humanitarian risks comes to a head. Limited international resources are available for

humanitarian response, compounded by deployment fatigue and limited political will in the West to address what many believe are avoidable, man-made humanitarian crises. The private sector does have a remarkable ability to gear up and deploy faster than most governmental assets to begin to address such humanitarian catastrophes, once the policy-makers formulate decisions. As always, the real and unfortunate bottle necks will not be private sector willingness and capabilities, but the political timidity and financial constraints of the international community. ■

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Global Fleet Sales

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International Relief & Development VP

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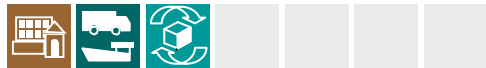
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Abbreviations **HQ** Location of company headquarters **W** Website **PC** ISOA Point-of-Contact/Designated Delegate **M** Membership approved

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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
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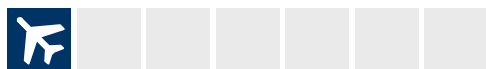
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W www.chapman-freeborn.com
PC Christopher Fisher
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Air Charter Service PLC

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W www.aircharter.co.uk
PC Tony Bauckham
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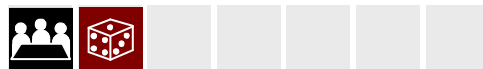
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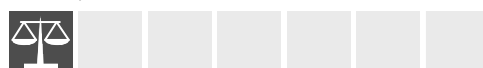
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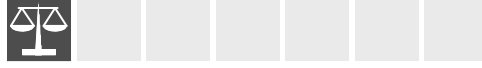
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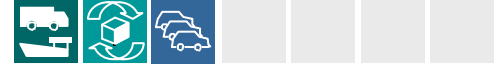
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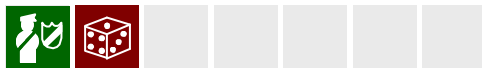
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 PC Howie Lind
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Global Integrated Security—USA

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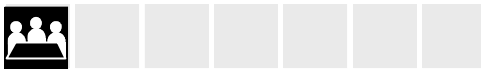
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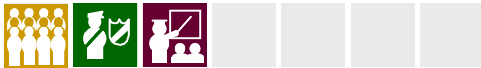
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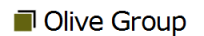
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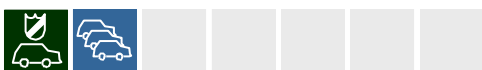
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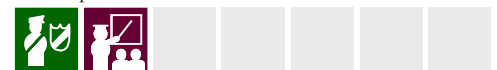
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 PC Paul Wood
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 PC Lucy Park
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