



COMMERCIALIZING COSMOPOLITAN SECURITY

Safeguarding the Responsibility to Protect

ANDREAS KRIEG



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To my lovely wife Zohal

PREFACE

I commenced the research for this book amid the Arab Spring, when states and societies just outside Europe were plunging into chaos and anarchy. The resulting humanitarian crises—most notably those in Libya and Syria—received different responses from the international community: while in Libya the international community was ready to protect civilians at the 1,000-mark, five years into the conflict in Syria little has been done to alleviate the human suffering with hundreds of thousands killed and millions displaced. In my previous research I addressed the question of what motivates states to conduct humanitarian interventions, suggesting that, albeit a mix of altruistic and self-interested considerations, ultimately the decision of intervening or abstaining is a sober cost-benefit analysis.¹ The resulting inconsistency with which the international community commits to the responsibility to protect (R2P) begs the question of how to increase the states' political will to provide for human security overseas effectively and ethically.

This is where this book begins—with the realization that although states widely acknowledge the norm of the R2P they often lack the political will to act to protect, as Wheeler once put it, strangers in need.² States either completely abstain from preventing, reacting and rebuilding or act half-heartedly, generating questionable outcomes. The main reason, particularly for the liberal state, relates to the social contractarian nature of civil-military relations: the liberal state is asked to potentially put its soldier into harm's way to provide security for individuals who are not part of the fiduciary association bringing the state into existence. Hence, the will of liberal states to act on their responsibility to protect is constrained

by the political costs of potentially having to expose the soldier to the operational risks of military intervention for the mere benefit of strangers overseas.

It was this realization that inspired the idea of finding an alternative cosmopolitan security provider to the soldier—an alternative with a similar skill set but without any social contractarian bond to any particular society and state. The private contractor as a commercial provider of security appeared to tick the boxes. As a volunteer employed by a private military company to provide security primarily in exchange for financial remuneration, the contractor might offer the liberal state a means to protect civilians in need overseas at relatively low political costs.

Combining two timely topics, namely the future of the responsibility to protect and the commercialization of security, I arrived at an interesting normative question, which was to lie at the heart of this research: should the contractor become the liberal state's cosmopolitan agent to provide human security as a global good to strangers in need?

Inherently then, the ambition of this book is theoretical and normative in nature. Nonetheless, the conceptual understanding of the contractor's potential role as a liberal state's force multiplier in humanitarian intervention, has been based on extensive novel empirical research aiming at understanding how private military companies and private security companies employ the contractor in various security functions.

NOTES

1. Krieg, A. (2012). *Motivations for Humanitarian Intervention-Theoretical and Empirical Considerations*. New York: Springer.
2. Wheeler, N. (2002). *Saving Strangers: Humanitarian Intervention in International Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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I thank the various industry, military and government representatives who have provided me with invaluable empirical data that was essential in the writing of this book. In particular, I am grateful to Jim Hooper, Pine Pinaar, Juba Joubart, Cobus Claassens and Michael Grunberg, who have taken time out of their busy schedules to sit down with me for extensive periods to discuss Executive Outcomes' operations in both Angola and Sierra Leone. In addition, I would like to thank all the representatives of the private military and security industry based in London who have been available for advice throughout my research. Despite their own commitments, they responded to enquires quickly and provided me and the entire Private Military and Security Research Group at King's with invaluable access to their companies' operations and employees. Chris Sanderson, who from early on in my research was eager to ensure that my work had the required empirical input, deserves special mention.

Further, it is important to highlight here the military and academic colleagues as well as students at the UK Defence Academy who, through their insights, have enriched my understanding of strategic and operational decision-making within conventional militaries. I also want to say thank you to my family and friends who helped to maintain my sanity throughout the sometimes tiring work of both writing a doctoral dissertation and later transforming this dissertation into a book manuscript. In particular I extend thanks to my colleague and friend Dr David Roberts, whose constructive inputs and comments have helped me through the process of restructuring and rewriting my original thesis. Last but not least, I thank my amazing wife Zohal for pushing me to get my dissertation published.

Doha, Qatar, January 2016

GLOSSARY

ADS	AeroSpace, Defence and Security Group
AECA	Arms Export Controls Act
AEGIS	London-based Private Security Company
ALI	Air Land Integration
ANSF	Afghan National Security Forces
ANSI	American National Standards Institute
APC	Armoured Personnel Carrier
API	Additional Protocol I 1977 to the Geneva Conventions
ASIS	American Society for Industrial Security
ATAC	US Alien Tort Claims Act
BAPSC	British Association of Private Security Companies
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BMP	<i>Boevaya Mashina Pekhoty</i> (Russian-made APC)
CAS	Close Air Support
COIN	Counterinsurgency
CMO	Company Management Officer
DMPI	Designated Mean Point of Impact for projectiles
DoD	US Defence Department
EO	Executive Outcomes
FAA	<i>Forças Armadas Angolanas</i> (Angolan Armed Forces)
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
HLPR	UN High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change
HN	Host Nation
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICoC	International Code of Conduct for Private Security Providers
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross

IGO	International Governmental Organization
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IPA	Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force for Afghanistan
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant
ISOA	International Stability Operations Association
ISTAR	Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition and Reconnaissance
JDAM	Joint Direct Attack Munitions
JSCSC	UK Joint Services Command and Staff College
JTAC	Joint Terminal Attack Controller
LN	Local National
LOAC	Laws of Armed Conflict
MCO	Major Combat Operation
MiG	Russian Aircraft Manufacturer
MPRI	Military Professionals Inc. (PMC/PSC)
MoD	UK Ministry of Defence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEO	Non-Combatant Evacuation Operation
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PGM	Precision Guided Munitions
PMC	Private Military Company
PMSRG	King's College Private Military and Security Research Group
PSC	Private Security Company
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
RoE	Rules of Engagement
RUF	Revolutionary United Front (rebel movement in Sierra Leone)
SIGIR	US Special Inspector General for Iraqi Reconstruction
SF	Special Forces
SMOF	State Monopoly on Force
TCN	Third Country National
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UAV	Unmanned Air Vehicle
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission Sierra Leone
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
UNITA	<i>União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola</i>
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force in Bosnia and Croatia
USA	United States
USD	US Dollar

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	PMC typology	6
Fig. 2.1	Schema of civil-security provider relations	34

CONTENTS

1	Introduction	1
	<i>Private, Public, Global: The Concept of Security</i>	2
	<i>The Contractor as a Cosmopolitan Security Provider</i>	4
	<i>The Research Approach</i>	8
	<i>The Contractor as a Cosmopolitan Security Provider: Not a Novel Idea</i>	10
	<i>Outline</i>	12
 2	 The Nature of Civil–Military & Civil–Contractor Relations	 19
	<i>Introduction</i>	19
	<i>Understanding Civil–Military Relations Through Social Contract Theory</i>	19
	<i>The Social Contractarian Raison d'être of the State –</i>	21
	<i>The State–Soldier Contract and Social Contractarian Civil–Military Relations</i>	23
	<i>The Commercial Counterpart: Apathetic Civil–Contractor Relations</i>	28
	<i>Conceptualizing the Relationship Between the Client State and the PMC</i>	30
	<i>Replicating a Moral Principal–Agent Relationship Within a Corporate Environment: PMC–Contractor Relations</i>	31
	<i>Underline</i>	33
	<i>Conclusion</i>	35

3	Understanding the Changing Nature of Conflict Against the Backdrop of Globalization	43
	<i>Introduction</i>	43
	<i>How Globalization Redefines the Role of the State and the Nature of Conflict</i>	44
	<i>The Privatization of Force</i>	47
	<i>The Use of Unconventional Insurgency/Terrorist Strategies and Tactics</i>	50
	<i>Conclusion</i>	53
4	Considering the Argument for the Cosmopolitan Responsibility to Protect	59
	<i>Introduction</i>	59
	<i>The Normative Case for Humanitarian Intervention in Just War Theory</i>	61
	<i>Humanitarian Intervention in International Law</i>	66
	<i>The Road to the Responsibility to Protect in the Post-Cold War Era</i>	70
	<i>Conclusion</i>	75
5	Ethical Conduct in Humanitarian Intervention	83
	<i>Ethical Behaviour in War: Jus in Bello</i>	84
	<i>Jus in Bello in Post-Modern Conflict</i>	87
	<i>Operational Effectiveness in Post-Modern Warfare</i>	92
	<i>Examining the Probability of Success in Humanitarian Intervention</i>	93
	<i>Conclusion</i>	96
6	Civil-Military Constraints on Strategic and Operational Decision-Making in Humanitarian Intervention	103
	<i>Introduction</i>	103
	<i>Introducing the State's Delicate Dilemma in Humanitarian Intervention</i>	104
	<i>Civil-Military Relations and Strategic Decision-Making in Humanitarian Intervention</i>	108
	<i>Recapitulating Social Contractarian Civil-Military Relations</i>	108

<i>Casualty Sensitivity and the Intimate Civil–Military Bond</i>	109
<i>Casualty Sensitivity and the State</i>	110
<i>The Impact of Casualty Sensitivity on the Political Leadership’s Strategic Decision-Making in Humanitarian Intervention</i>	112
<i>Military Operational Planning for Humanitarian Intervention Within a Constrained Strategic Environment</i>	116
<i>Why the Military Leadership Replaces the Soldier with Technology</i>	117
<i>How the Military Leadership Limits the Soldier’s Operational Risk Exposure: The Example of Somalia and Bosnia</i>	119
<i>Conclusion</i>	122
7 The Soldier as a Cosmopolitan Security Provider	129
<i>Introduction</i>	129
<i>Why Replacing the Soldier with Air Power Generates Indiscriminate and Disproportionate Effects</i>	130
<i>Standalone Air Power in Complex Environments</i>	132
<i>Eliminating Targets Proportionately in Complex Environments Using Area-Effect Weapons</i>	134
<i>Indiscriminate and Disproportionate Effects of Close Air Support (CAS)</i>	135
<i>Why Too Broadly Defined RoE Transfer Risks from the Soldier to the Civilian Population</i>	136
<i>Why the Resort to Surrogate Warfare Fails to Generate a Military Effect in Accordance with the LOAC</i>	138
<i>Why Standalone Air Power Is Unable to Effectively Deter the Adversary</i>	140
<i>The Inability of Air Power in Bosnia and Libya to Deter the Adversary</i>	143
<i>How Decreasing the Human Input in Humanitarian Intervention Undermines the COIN Effort</i>	145
<i>Verifying the Social Contractarian Argument: Considering Humanitarian Crises Affecting Citizens Overseas</i>	149
<i>Conclusion</i>	151

8	The Strategic Decision of Employing the Contractor in Humanitarian Intervention	159
	<i>Introduction</i>	159
	<i>Considering the Contractor as a Professional Military Service Provider</i>	160
	<i>The Abstract Nature of Civil-Contractor Relations</i>	162
	<i>The Strategic-Operational Interplay Between State and PMC</i>	167
	<i>Civil-Contractor Relations and the Political Leadership's Authorization of Private Force</i>	167
	<i>Strategic Guidance for the PMC's Operational Planning</i>	169
	<i>Conclusion</i>	171
9	The PMC's Corporate Decision-Making in Humanitarian Intervention	177
	<i>Introduction</i>	177
	<i>The PMC's Responsibility Towards the Client State</i>	178
	<i>The PMC's Commercial Accountability Towards Stakeholders</i>	180
	<i>The PMC's Relationship to the Contractor: Risk Awareness over Risk Aversion</i>	184
	<i>The Impact of the PMC's Responsibilities on Operational Planning</i>	186
	<i>Conclusion</i>	188
10	The Moral Worth of the Contractor as a Cosmopolitan Agent	193
	<i>Introduction</i>	193
	<i>Why the Contractor Is a Loyal and Committed Service Provider</i>	194
	<i>How PMCs Enhance Operational Effectiveness Through Ground Force Deployments</i>	199
	<i>How PMCs Enhance Operational Effectiveness Through Effective Air Land Integration (ALI)</i>	204
	<i>Why the Contractor's Particular Role in Humanitarian Intervention Promotes Ethical Conduct</i>	207
	<i>The Contractor as an Autonomous Decision-Maker</i>	208
	<i>The Contractor as a Cosmopolitan Volunteer</i>	210
	<i>EO in Angola and Sierra Leone: An Example for Ethical Behaviour</i>	212

<i>How the Choice of Effective Weapons Platform Can Generate Ethical Effects in Complex Environments</i>	213
<i>Conclusion</i>	216
11 Conclusion	225
<i>The Conceptual ‘So What’</i>	230
<i>The Empirical ‘So What’</i>	231
List of Interview Partners	235
Bibliography	239
Index	265