## COURSE GUIDE

## POL782 HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

## **Course Team**

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#### POL 782

#### **INTRODUCTION**

**POL 782** is a 2 Unit course that has minimum duration of one semester. It is suitable for students of Political Science. This course consists of 16 Units. It introduces students to important concepts and practical issues on the subject of human security and counter-terrorism. This course will provide deeper understanding of the nexus between human security and counterterrorism. Human security is rarely utilized as an operationalizing concept in terrorism studies, yet its basic tenets on individual security is relevant in understanding terrorism and counterterrorism approaches. This course underscores the point that human security is useful in assessing responses to terrorism due to the fact that terrorist networks have exploited individuals' vulnerabilities to lure them to the network. The use of force alone is inadequate to neutralize the threats, human security will fill the missing pieces in counterterrorism to create a holistic approach.

There are compulsory prerequisites for this course. The course guide tells you briefly what the course is all about, what you are expected to know in each unit, what course materials you need to use and how you can work your way through these materials. It also emphasizes the necessity for tutor–marked assignments. There are also periodic tutorial classes that are linked to this course.

#### WHAT YOU WILL LEARN IN THIS COURSE

The overall objective of **POL782: Human Security and Counter-Terrorism** is to expose the students to the whole gamut of issues surrounding human security and counterterrorism. Human security remains a contested strategic concept, but there is a growing consensus by state and non-state actors that human security provides an opportunity for a more holistic approach to security that can accommodate the vulnerabilities of both the individual and the state It seeks to acquaint the student with the basic concepts of human security, counterterrorism, Differences Between Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency, The Nexus Between Human Security and Counter-Terrorism, Planning and Implementation of Counter Terrorism for Human Security, Responsibility to Protect (*R2P*) And Human Security, The Covid-19 Pandemic and Human Security Agenda, Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, The Russia-Ukraine War and Human Security

#### **COURSE AIMS**

The basic aim we intend to achieve in this course is to expose the student to the broad fields of human security and counterterrorism and to appreciate how counterterrorism operations can impact on human security. This is undertaken with the understanding that the major actors involved in counterterrorism at various levels, particular state actors and multilateral organisations are also the main actors responsible for promoting and upholding human security from national to international levels. At the end of this course, the students will have gained better understanding that the inclusion of human security in strategic guidance for national and global governance helps to better shape, not only counterterrorism, but also preventative diplomacy and disaster management, as well as in its response to complex emergencies and natural disasters.

## **COURSE OBJECTIVES**

Several objectives can be delineated from this course. In addition, each unit has specific objectives. The unit objectives can be found at the beginning of a unit. You may want to refer to them during your study of the particular unit to check on the progress you are making. You should always look at the unit objectives after completing a unit. In this way, you can be sure that you have covered what is required of you in that unit.

# ON SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF THE COURSE, YOU SHOULD BE ABLE TO:

- Define Human security and outline the main features and dimensions of human security
- Define and Identify Approaches to Counterterrorism
- Outline the main Difference between Counter -terrorism and Counter-Insurgency
- Identify the factors that account for the emergence terrorism from the prism of human security
- Explain the main nexus between human security and counterinsurgency
- Discuss the consequences of counterterrorism for human security
- Identify the theoretical models of terrorism
- State the role of diplomacy in combating terrorism
- Explain the significance of international diplomacy and role of the United Nations in the War on Terrorism
- Identify the major successes and criticisms of the war on terror
- Discuss the role of the UN in Inter-State Agency Coordination in Countering Terrorism
- Identify major intra-state agencies and their roles in counterterrorism in Nigeria
- Understand the challenges of inter-agency coordination in counterterrorism

#### POL 782 HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

- Discuss how counter terrorism is planned in different countries for human security.
- Analyze the success of counter terrorism strategies over the years.
- Demonstrate how terrorism has impacted on human right especially in Africa.
- Evaluate how counter terrorism has impacted Africa.
- Define and explain the different types and forms of covert action
- Understand and explain the nature of counterintelligence
- Understand the nexus between Responsibility to Protect and Human Security
- Examine the obligations of state actors towards upholding human rights in counterterrorism
- Identify and explain the impact of terrorism and counterterrorism on human rights and other rights
- Trace the background to the Russia-Ukraine war and explain the impact of the war on global human security

## WORKING THROUGH THIS COURSE

To complete this course, you are advised to read the study units, read recommended books and other materials provided by NOUN. Each unit contains self-assessment Exercises, and at points in the course you are required to submit assignments for assessment purposes. At the end of the course, there is a final examination. The course should take you about twenty weeks to complete. You need to allocate your time in order to complete the course successfully and on time.

#### **STUDY UNITS**

There are sixteen (16) study units in this course, as follows:

## MODULE 1: THE CONCEPTS AND DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER TERRORISM

- Unit 1: The Concepts and Dimensions of Human Security
- Unit 2: The Concept and Approaches to Counter-Terrorism
- Unit 3: Differences Between Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency
- Unit 4: The Nexus Between Human Security and Counter-Terrorism

#### MODULE 2: COUNTERTERRORISM THEORY, JOINT WAREFARE AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE

- Unit 1: Theoretical Models of Terrorism and Counterterrorism Actions
- Unit 2: The Development of Joint Warfare and Counterterrorism
- Unit 3: The Role of Diplomacy in the War on Terrorism
- Unit 4: The War on Terror and Human Security in the United States

## MODULE 3: MANAGING THE EMERGENCY CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS.

- Unit 1: Inter- State Agency Coordination in Counter Terrorism
- Unit 2: Planning and Implementation of Counter Terrorism for Human Security
- Unit 3: Covert Action and National Security Governance
- Unit 4: Counter-Intelligence Operations

## MODULE 4: CONTEXTUAL ISSUES IN HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

- Unit 1 Responsibility to Protect (R2P) And Human Security
- Unit 2 The Covid-19 Pandemic and Human Security Agenda
- Unit 3: Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights
- Unit 4: The Russia-Ukraine War and Human Security

Each unit contains a number of Self-Assessment Exercises In general, these Self-Assessment Exercises question you on the materials you have just covered or require you to apply it in some way and, thereby, assist you gauge your progress as well as reinforce your understanding of the material. Together with tutor-marked assignments, these exercises will assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units and of the Course.

### **TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES**

At the end of each unit, you will find a list of relevant reference materials which you may yourself wish to consult as the need arises, even though I have made efforts to provide you with the most important information you need to pass this course. However, I would encourage you, as a third year student to cultivate the habit of consulting as many relevant materials as you are able to within the time available to you. In particular, be sure to POL 782

consult whatever material you are advised to consult before attempting any exercise.

#### **ASSIGNMENT FILE**

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. In this file, you will find all the details of the work you must submit to your tutor for marking. The marks you obtain for these assignments will count towards the final mark you obtain for this course. Further information on assignment will be found in the Assignment File itself, and later in this Course Guide in the section on assessment. There are many assignments for this course, with each unit having at least one assignment. These assignments are basically meant to assist you to understand the course.

#### ASSESSMENT

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First, are the tutormarked assignments; second, is a written examination. In tackling these assignments, you are expected to apply the information, knowledge and experience acquired during the course. The assignments must be submitted to your tutor for formal assessment in accordance with the deadlines stated in the Assignment File. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment will account for 30 per cent of your total course mark. At the end of the course, you will need to sit for a final examination of three hours duration. This examination will account for the other 70 per cent of your total course mark.

#### **TUTOR-MARKED ASSIGNMENTS (TMAS)**

There are 25 tutor-marked assignments in this course. You only need to submit some of the assignments. The best four (i.e. the highest four of what you submit) will be counted. Each assignment counts for 20 marks but on the average when the five assignments are put together, the score will count 30percent towards your total course mark. The Assignments for the units in this course are contained in the Assignment File.

You will be able to complete your assignments from the information and materials contained in the reference books, reading and study units. However, it is always desirable at this level of your education to research more widely, and demonstrate that you have a very broad and in-depth knowledge of the subject matter. When each assignment is completed, send it together with a TMA (tutor-marked assignment) form to your tutor. Ensure that each assignment reaches your tutor on or before the deadline given in the Assignment File. If, for any reason you cannot complete your work on time, contact your tutor before the assignment is due to discuss the possibility of an extension. Extensions will not be granted after the due date unless there are exceptional circumstances warranting such.

## FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for **POL 782: Human Security and Counter-Terrorism** will be of three hours' duration and have a value of 70percent of the total course grade. The examination will consist of questions, which reflect the practice exercises and tutor-marked assignments you have previously encountered. All areas of the course will be assessed. Use the time between the completion of the last unit and sitting for the examination, to revise the entire course. You may find it useful to review your tutor-marked assignments and comment on them before the examination. The final examination covers information from all aspects of the course.

## **COURSE MARKING SCHEME**

#### Table 1: Course marking Scheme

| ASSESSMENT        | MARKS  |  |
|-------------------|--|--|
| Assignments       | Four submitted, best three accounts for 30percent of course marks. |  |
| Final examination | 70percent of overall course marks                                  |  |
| Total             | 100percent of course marks   |  |

#### **COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME**

| Units           | Title of Work  | Week<br>Activity | Assignment<br>(End-of- |
|-----------------|--|------------------|------------------------|
| Course<br>Guide | Unit)  |                  |                        |
| Module<br>1     | THE CONCEPTS AND DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN<br>SECURITY AND COUNTER TERRORISM |                  |                        |
| Unit 1          | The Concepts and Dimensions ofWeek 1AssignmentHuman Security1          |                  | Assignment 1           |
| Unit 2          | The Concept and Approaches toWeek 2AssignmentCounter-Terrorism1        |                  |                        |
| Unit 3          | Differences Between Counter-<br>Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency       | Week 3           | Assignment 1           |
| Unit 4          | The Nexus Between Human<br>Security and Counter-Terrorism              | Week 4           | Assignment<br>1        |

| Module | COUNTERTERRORISM T                                | HEORY,   | JOINT           |  |
|--------|---|--|-----------------|--|
| 2      | WAREFARE AND DIPLOMATIC                           | C PRACT  | ICE             |  |
| Unit 1 | Theoretical Models of Terrorism Week 5 Assignment |  |                 |  |
|        | and Counterterrorism Actions                      |  |                 |  |
| Unit 2 | The Development of Joint Warfare                  | Week 6   | Assignment      |  |
|        | and Counterterrorism                              |  | 1               |  |
| Unit 3 | The Role of Diplomacy in the War                  | Week 7   | Assignment      |  |
|        | on Terrorism                                      |  | 1               |  |
| Unit 4 | The War on Terror and Human                       | Week 8   | Assignment      |  |
|        | Security in the United States                     |  | 1               |  |
| Module | MODULE 3: MANAGING '                              | THE EN   | <b>IERGENCY</b> |  |
| 3      | CONSEQUENCES OF TERROR                            | IST INCI                                       | DENTS.          |  |
| Unit 1 | Inter-State Agency Coordination in                | Week 9   | Assignment      |  |
|        | Counter Terrorism                                 |  | 1               |  |
| Unit 2 |   | Planning and Implementation of Week Assignment |                 |  |
|        | Counter Terrorism for Human 10 1                  |  |                 |  |
|        | Security  |  |                 |  |
| Unit 3 | Covert Action and National Week Assignment        |  |                 |  |
|        | Security Governance 11 1                          |  |                 |  |
| Unit 4 | Counter-Intelligence Operations Week Assignment   |  |                 |  |
|        | 12 1  |  |                 |  |
| Module |   |  |                 |  |
| 4      | COUNTER-TERRORISM                                 |  |                 |  |
| Unit 1 | Responsibility to Protect (R2P) And               | Week   | Assignment      |  |
|        | Human Security                                    | 13   | 1               |  |
| Unit 2 | The Covid-19 Pandemic and                         | Week   | Assignment      |  |
|        | Human Security Agenda141                          |  |                 |  |
| Unit 3 | Counter-Terrorism and Human Week Assignment       |  | -               |  |
|        | Rights 15 1                                       |  |                 |  |
| Unit 4 | The Russia-Ukraine War and                        | Week   | Assignment      |  |
|        | Human Security                                    | 16   | 1               |  |

## HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM THIS COURSE

In distance learning, the study units replace the university lecture. This is one of the great advantages of distance learning; you can read and work through specially designed study materials at your own pace, and at a time and place that suits you best. Think of it as reading the lecture instead of listening to the lecturer. In the same way a lecturer might give you some reading to do, the study units tell you when to read, and which are your text materials or reference books. You are provided exercises to do at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise. Each of the study unit follows a common format. The first item is an introduction to the subject matter of the unit, and how a particular unit is integrated with the other units and the course as a whole. Next to this is a set of learning objectives. These objectives allow you to know what you should be able to do by the time you have completed the unit. These learning objectives are meant to guide your study. The moment a unit is finished, you must go back and check whether you have achieved the objectives. If this is made a habit, then you will significantly improve your chances of passing the course. The main body of the unit guides you through the required reading from other sources. This will usually be either from the reference books or from a reading section.

The following is a practical strategy for working through the course. If you run into any trouble, telephone your tutor. Remember that your tutor's job is to help you. When you need assistance, do not hesitate to call and ask your tutor to provide it.

- Read this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.
- Organize a Study Schedule. Design a 'Course Overview' to guide you through the Course. Note the time you are expected to spend on each unit and how the assignments relate to the units. Important information, e.g. details of your tutorials, and the date of the first day of the Semester is available from the NOUN Website. You need to gather all the information into one place, such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your own dates and schedule of work for each unit.
- Once you have created your own study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their course work. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late to get help.
- Turn to Unit 1, and read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.
- Assemble the study materials. You will need your set books and the unit you are studying at any point in time.
- Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
- Up-to-date course information will be continuously posted there.
- Well before the relevant due dates (about 4 weeks before due dates), access the Assignment File on the NOUN Website and download your next required assignment. Keep in mind that you will learn a lot by doing the assignment carefully. They have been designed to help you meet the objectives of the course and, therefore, will help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments not later than the due date.
- Review the objectives for each study unit to confirm that you have achieved them. If you feel unsure about any of the objectives, review the study materials or consult your tutor.

- When you are confident that you have achieved a unit's objectives, you can start on the next unit. Proceed unit by unit through the course and try to pace your study so that you keep yourself on schedule.
- When you have submitted an assignment to your tutor for marking, do not wait for its return before starting on the next unit. Keep to your schedule. When the Assignment is returned, pay particular attention to your tutor's comments, both on the tutor marked assignment form and also the written comments on the ordinary assignments.
- After completing the last unit, review the course and prepare yourself for the final examination. Check that you have achieved the unit objectives (listed at the beginning of each unit) and the course objectives (listed in the Course Guide).

## **TUTORS AND TUTORIALS**

There are 15 hours of tutorials provided in support of this course. You will be notified of the dates, times and location of these tutorials, together with the name and phone number of your tutor. Your tutor will mark and comment on your assignments, keep a close watch on your progress and on any difficulties you might encounter and provide assistance to you during the course. You must mail your tutor marked assignments to your tutor well before the due date (at least two working days are required). They will be marked by your tutor and returned to you as soon as possible. Do not hesitate to contact your tutor by telephone, e-mail, or discussion board. The following might be circumstances in which you will find help necessary. Contact your tutor if:

- You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings.
- You have difficulties within the exercises.
- You have a question or problem with an assignment, with your tutor's comments on an assignment or with the grading of an assignment.

### SUMMARY

You should try your best to attend the tutorials. This is the only chance to have face-to-face contact with your tutor and ask questions which are answered instantly. You can raise any problem encountered in the course of your study. To gain the maximum benefits from course tutorials, prepare a question list before attending them. You will learn quite a lot from participating in the discussions.

## LIST OF ACRONYMS

| CA          | _ | Covert action                                       |
|-------------|---|---|
| CHS         | _ | Commission on Human Security                        |
| CIA         | _ | Central Intelligence Agency                         |
| COIN        | _ | Counter-Insurgency                                  |
| CONTEST     | _ | United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering            |
| Terrorism   |   | Since Kingdom's Strategy for Countering             |
| CQB         | _ | Close-Quarters Battle                               |
| CQC         | _ | Close-Quarters Dattle                               |
| CTC         | - | Counter Terrorism Centre                            |
| CTU         | - | Counter Terrorism Units                             |
| EOD         | - | Explosive Ordnance Disposal                         |
| EOD         | - | Elite Tactical Units                                |
|             | - |   |
| EU<br>FBI   | - | European Union<br>Endered Bureau of Investigation   |
|             | - | Federal Bureau of Investigation                     |
| FNLA        | - | National Liberation Front of Angola                 |
| FTF         | - | Foreign <i>Terrorist</i> Fighters                   |
| ICISS       | - | International Commission on Intervention and State  |
| Sovereignty |   |   |
| LDC         | - | Least Developed Country                             |
| LIFDCs      | - | Low-Income Food-Deficit Countries                   |
| MDCI        | - | Multi-Discipline Counter Intelligence               |
| MENA        |   | - Middle East and North Africa                      |
| MOOTW       | - | Military Operations Other Than War                  |
| MPLA        |   | - People's Movement for the Liberation of           |
| Angola      |   |   |
| NATO        | - | North Atlantic Treaty Organisation                  |
| NDLEA       | - | National Drug Law Enforcement Agency                |
| NFCP        | - | National Foreign Counterintelligence Programme      |
| NIA         | - | National Intelligent Agency                         |
| NSA         | - | National Security Agency                            |
| NSCDS       | - | Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps           |
| ONSA        | - | Office of the National Security Adviser             |
| OSCE        | - | Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe |
| R2P         | - | Responsibility to Protect                           |
| SMU         | - | Special Mission Units                               |
| SSS         | - | Security Service                                    |
| TPB         | - | Terrorism Prevention Branch                         |
| UDHR        |   | - Universal Declaration of Human Rights             |
| UN          | - | United Nations                                      |
| UNITA       | - | Union for the Total Independence of Angola          |
| UNOCT       |   | - United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism        |
| UNODC       | - | United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime            |
| USA         | - | United States of America                            |
| WCO         | - | World Customs Organisation                          |
|             |   | -   |

| MAIN<br>COUR |   |    |
|--------------|---|----|
| MODULI       | OF HUMAN SECURITY AND                       |    |
|              | COUNTER TERRORISM                           | 1  |
| Unit 1:      | The Concepts and Dimensions of              |    |
|              | Human Security                              | 1  |
| Unit 2:      | The Concept and Approaches to               |    |
|              | Counter-Terrorism                           | 1  |
| Unit 3:      | Differences Between Counter-Terrorism       |    |
|              | and Counter-Insurgency                      | 2  |
| Unit 4:      | The Nexus Between Human Security            |    |
|              | and Counter-Terrorism                       | 2  |
| MODULI       | E 2: COUNTERTERRORISM THEORY,               |    |
|              | JOINT WAREFARE AND                          |    |
|              | DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE                         |    |
| Unit 1:      | Theoretical Models of Terrorism and         |    |
|              | Counterterrorism Actions                    |    |
| Unit 2:      | The Development of Joint Warfare            |    |
|              | and Counterterrorism                        | 2  |
| Unit 3:      | The Role of Diplomacy in the                |    |
|              | War on Terrorism                            | 4  |
| Unit 4:      | The War on Terror and Human Security        |    |
|              | in the United States                        | (  |
| MODULI       | E 3: MANAGING THE EMERGENCY                 |    |
|              | CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORIST                   |    |
|              | INCIDENTS                                   | ,  |
| Unit 1:      | Inter- State Agency Coordination in Counter |    |
|              | Terrorism                                   | ,  |
| Unit 2:      | Planning and Implementation of Counter      |    |
|              | Terrorism for Human Security                | 5  |
| Unit 3:      | Covert Action and National Security         |    |
|              | Governance                                  | (  |
|              | Counter-Intelligence Operations             | 10 |

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|          | Security Agenda  | 128      |
| Unit 3:  | Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights                                 | 139      |
| Unit 4:  | The Russia-Ukraine War and Human                                   |          |
|          | Security   | 150      |

## MODULE 1 THE CONCEPTS AND DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER TERRORISM

- Unit 1: The Concepts and Dimensions of Human Security
- Unit 2: The Concept and Approaches to Counter-Terrorism
- Unit 3: Differences Between Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency
- Unit 4: The Nexus Between Human Security and Counter-Terrorism

## Unit 1: THE CONCEPTS AND DIMENSIONS OF HUMAN SECURITY

## **Unit Structure**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 The concept of human security
  - 1.3.1 Definition of Human security
  - 1.3.2 Features of Human security
- 1.4 1994 Human development Report and subsequent United Nations Documents
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References /Web Resources/Further Readings
- 1.7.1 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

## 1.1 Introduction

This Unit is significant because it provides the definition and examines the types of human security. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms, freedom that is the essence of life. It is to be noted that human security is essential as it entails protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations. Human security integrates three freedoms; Freedom from fear, freedom from want and the freedom from indignity.

## **1.2 Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this Unit, you should be able to

• Define Human security

- Outline the main features and dimensions of human security
- Identity the 1994 Human development Report and Subsequent United Nations document.

#### **Main Section**

## **1.3** The Concept of Human Security

## **1.3.1** The Definition of Human security

The concept of human security involves a fundamental departure from the traditional conception of security which views the state as the exclusive primary object (Thomas, 2001). The notion of human security places primary on human beings over states. Thus, as noted by Heinbecker (1999, p.6) human security is primarily about "the ability to protect people as well as to safeguard states". As stated by the former Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy, human needs rather than state need are paramount in human security. For Axworthy, human security includes security against economic deprivation, an acceptable quality of life, and a guarantee of fundamental human rights (Axworthy, 2001).

In conceptualizing human security, we must differentiate it from "security of the individual", which is conceived from the liberal notions of individualism and competitiveness and often linked with private power, property rights and marketisation etc. On the other hand, human security encompasses meeting basic material needs, upholding human dignity, including meaningful participation in the life of the community. It cannot be pursued by one at the expense of another (Thomas, 2001). Human security is a shared value and indivisible. Human security incorporates three freedoms, namely, *freedom from fear, freedom from want and the freedom from indignity*.

The Commission on Human Security (CHS) in its final report on *Human Security Now*, defines Human security as: '...to protect the vital care of all human lives in ways that enhances human freedom and Human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms -Freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strength and aspirations, it means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity. (CHS, 2003, p.4)

Overall, the definition proposed by CHS reconceptualizes security in fundamental ways by:

- Moving away from traditional, state-centric conceptions of security the focused primarily on the safety of states from military aggression, to one that concentrates on the security of the individuals, their protection and empowerment;
- Drawing attention to a multitude of threats that cut across different aspects of human life and thus highlighting the interface between security, development and human rights; and
- Promoting a new integrated, coordinated and people-centered approach to advancing peace, security and development within and across nations.

## Self- Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 1

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

1. What is human security?

2. *Complete this sentence:* Human security incorporates three freedoms, namely, - \_\_\_\_\_?

3. The Commission on Human Security *CHS reconceptualizes* security in a fundamental way by \_\_\_\_\_?

## **1.3.2 Features and Types of Human Security**

Human security brings together the human elements of security, rights and development. As such, it is an inter-disciplinary concept that displays the following characteristics:

- People-centered
- Multi- sectoral
- Comprehensive
- Context-specific
- Prevention-oriented

As a people centered concept, human security places the individual at the 'centre of analyses. Consequently, it considers a broad range of conditions which threaten survival, livelihood and dignity and identifies the threshold below which human life is intolerably threatened. Human security is also based on small- sectoral understanding of insecurities.

## • Dimensions of Human Security and Possible Threats

The United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Human Development Report 1994 identified the new dimensions of human

security to include: Economic security, Food security, Health security, Environmental security, Personal security, Community security and Political security. The seven dimensions of human security and possible types of human security threats are summarized in the table below.

| Types of security      | Examples of Main Threats            |
|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Economic security      | Persistent poverty, unemployment    |
| Food security          | Hunger, famine                      |
| Health security        | Deadly infectious diseases, unsafe  |
|                        | food, malnutrition, lack of access  |
|                        | to basic health care                |
| Environmental Security | Environmental degradation,          |
|                        | resource depletion, natural         |
|                        | disasters, pollution                |
| Personal security      | Physical violence, crime,           |
|                        | terrorism, domestic violence, child |
|                        | labor                               |
| Community Security     | Inter-ethnic, religious and other   |
|                        | identity-based tensions             |
| Political security     | Political repression, human right   |
|                        | abuses.                             |

#### 1. Economic Security

Economic security is vital to human survival and national development.

Economic security entails the economic empowerment of individuals with assured basic income which is derived from productive and remunerative work or from a publicly financed safety net. In this sense, only about a quarter of the world's people are presently economically secure and the economic security problem may be more serious in third world countries. Examples of threats to economic security include: poverty, unemployment, indebtedness, and lack of income. These threats can crystalize into diverse forms of violence and become sources of political tensions, conflicts and wars in countries.

### 2. Food Security

People and nations require sufficient food to survive. Hence, food security posits that all people must not only be well fed, but also with the right nourishment. For food security to the attained, there must be physical and economic access to basic food at all times. Major threats to food security include: hunger, famines and the lack of physical and economic access to basic food. Though UN maintain that the overall availability of food is 4

not a problem; rather the problem often is the poor distribution of food and lack of money/purchasing power. In the past, food security is a major threat that cannot be limited to individual states alone. The problems have been dealt with at both national and global levels. Hence the need to address the problems of underdevelopment.

## 3. Health Security

The recent outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic has further broad to the fore the importance of health security. Health security seeks to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and ensure healthy lives. Third world countries have less developed health facilities, coupled with less health personnel to cover the huge population in these countries. Drugs are inaccessible due to cost and other factors related to global health governance. The major threats to health security in less developed countries are: infectious and diseases, Inadequate health care, new and recurrent diseases including epidemics and pandemics, poor nutrition and unsafe environment and unsafe lifestyles. The major threats to health security in develop countries are: diseases of the circulatory system. Health security can be achieved through concerted efforts, political will and commitment to health sector development at the global level as well as national level.

### 4. Environmental Security

The environment has become a major focus at the global level because of the attention given to human security. The debates on environment have centred on the notion of sustainable development, which posits that meeting the needs of today must not endanger that of generations tomorrow. Major threats to environmental security include: deforestation, bush burning, climate change, environmental degradation, pollution, etc. The primary goal of human security is to protect people from the short and long-term destruction of nature, man-made threats in nature, and deterioration of the natural environment. Developing countries lack of access to clean water resources is one of the greatest environmental threats while the major threats in industrial countries are air pollution and global warming which are caused by the emission of greenhouse gases. Again, environmental degradation, natural disasters and resource depletion are general all over the world.

### 5. **Personal Security**

Personal security focuses on the protection of individuals and people from physical violence either from the state or outside the state. It could be from violent individuals, sub-state actors and from domestic abuse. Hence, the greater and the common threat to personal security from the state (torture), other states (war), groups of people (ethnic tension), individuals or gangs (crime), industrial, workplace or traffic accidents. The security threats and risks on persons and often families are many and vary from place to place and also from time to time. These include: theft, armed robbery, burglary, food poisoning, electrocution, fire outbreak, home accident and host of others.

## 6. **Community Security**

Community security focuses on the protection people from the loss of traditional relationships, values and from sectarian and ethnic violence. Traditional communities, particularly minority ethnic groups are often threatened. About half of the world's states have experienced some interethnic rivalry. Threats to community security are usually from the group (oppressive practices), between groups (ethnic violence), from dominant groups (e.g., indigenous people's vulnerability). In 1993, the United Nations declared the Year of Indigenous People to highlight the continuing vulnerability of about 300 million aboriginal people in seventy countries as they face a widening spiral of violence. In Africa, many nation-states have witnessed ethnic clashes, land and boundary clashes, and intra - religious and inter – religious conflict all of which constitute threats.

## 7. **Political Security**

Political embraces guarantee and protection of fundamental human rights of citizenry. It is concerned with whether people live in a society that honours their basic freedoms. Some of threats attached to these are political or state repression, including torture, disappearance, human rights violations, detention and imprisonment. The assessment of the Amnesty International reveals that, political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment, hostage taken and kidnapping are still being practice in about One Hundred and ten (110) countries. Human rights violations are frequent during periods of political unrest and by security agencies in the third world countries (UNDP, 1994).

Moreover, human security emphasizes the interconnectedness of both threat and responses when addressing these insecurities. This is threat to human security and mutually reenforcing and interconnected in two ways. First, there are interlinked in a domino effect in the sense that each threat feeds on the other. For example, violent conflict can lead to deprivation and poverty, which in turn could to resource depletion, infectious disease, education deficits, etc. second, threat within a given country or area can spread into a wider region and have negative external effect for the region and international security. This interdependence has important implications for policy making as it implies that human insecurities cannot be tackled in insolation through fragmented stand-alone responses. Instead, human security involves comprehensive approaches that stress the need for cooperative and multi sectoral responses that bring together the agendas of those dealing with security, development and human right. With human security as objective, there must be a stronger and more integrated responses from communities and state around the globe. In addition, as a context specific concept, human security acknowledges that insecurities vary considerably across different setting and as such advances contextualizes solutions that are responsive to a particular situation there seek to address. Finally, in addressing risk and root causes of insecurities, human security is prevention oriented and introduces a dual focus on protection and empowerment.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs2)

## Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

- 1. **1.** What are some characteristics of Human Security?
- 2. 2. Human security places the individual at the \_\_\_\_\_?
- 3. 3. Human security emphasizes the interconnectedness of both \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_ when addressing these insecurities.

**4.** 4. Identify the different dimension of human security

## 1.4 1994 Human development Report and subsequent United Nations Documents

This particular phrase, "human security," is most often associated with the 1994 Human Development Report on Human Security. This report was drafted and championed by Mahbub ul Haq, even though the term itself was in circulation earlier. The intent of human security was to bridge the *freedom from want* and *freedom from fear*, freedoms that lay at the heart of the United Nations. As far back as June 1945, the U.S. Secretary of State reported this to his government on the results of the San Francisco Conference: The battle of peace has to be fought on two fronts. The first is the security front where victory spells freedom from fear. The second is the economic and social front where victory means freedom from want. Only victory on both fronts can assure the world of an enduring peace.... No Provisions that can be written into the Charter will enable the Security Council to make the world secure from war if men and women have no security in their homes and their jobs.

As this discussion suggests, the phrase 'freedom from fear' is intended to indicate freedom from violence, and the phrase 'freedom from want', freedom from poverty. It is important to bear this mental equation in mind, because of course people also fear poverty and destitution. They also want peace and police protection. But the 1994 Human Development Report was also explicitly crafted as an agenda for the Social Summit in Copenhagen, at which extensive discussion of the peace dividend was expected. The report cut to the heart of security concerns, and emphasized their central concern with human beings: "In the final analysis, human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced. Human security is not a concern with weapons – it is a concern with human life and dignity." In a slightly more systematic mode, the report identified the following four essential characteristics of human security:

- Human security is a universal concern. It is relevant to people everywhere, in rich nations and poor.
- The components of human security are interdependent.
- Human security is easier to ensure through early prevention than later intervention. It is less costly to meet these threats upstream than downstream.
- Human security is people-center. It is concerned with how people live and breathe in a society, how freely they exercise their many choices, how much access they have to market and social opportunities – and whether they live in conflict or in peace

Finally, the 1994 UNDP report defined human security as: 1) Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression. 2) Protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in jobs, in homes or in communities. The report developed this definition in relation to seven dimensions of human security: personal, environmental, economic, political, community, health, and food security. The 1999 UNDP Human Development Report on Globalization returned to the theme of human security, now in the aftermath of the 1998 Asian crisis. The report argued for deliberate actions to provide human security during economic crises, as well as to reduce other causes of human insecurity such as global crime, environmental degradation, and communication that threatens cultural diversity (because of the lack of diversity in films, languages, and norms on violence and pornography, that is prevalent in the media). It also called for a strengthening of the United Nations System, "giving it greater coherence to respond to broader needs of human security." The key premises of the 1994 UNDP report are:

(i) its joint focus on freedom from fear and freedom from want, and (ii) its four emphases on universality, interdependence, prevention, and people-centeredness. These formed, and continue to shape, human security discussions. For example, Kofi Annan, in his 2000 Report to the United Nations, We the People, gave the following broad description of human security: Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfil his or her own potential.

Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict. Freedom from want, freedom from fear and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment – these are the interrelated building blocks of human – and therefore national security. But the surrounding discussions of the 1994 report, and in particular the breadth and apparent arbitrariness of the original seven dimensions, have led others to judge the concept of human security to be too all-encompassing for practical purposes, the report idealistic, and its recommendations naïve. While some of the harsher criticisms bear further discussion, it is fair to argue that the conceptual distinction between human development and human security was not sufficiently clear, as the dimensions do seem to embrace the entirety of the human development agenda unnecessarily. If human security is to be a feasible agenda it must be narrower

#### Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs3)

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

1. What is the intent of Human Security?

2. 1994 Human Development Report was also explicitly crafted as an agenda for the Social Summit in \_\_\_\_\_?

3. How did Kofi Annan describe human security in his 2000 Report to the United Nations?

4. The 1994 UNDP report defined human security as?

#### 1.5 Summary

In this unit, we examined the concept and dimensions of human security. We argued that human security aims to protect the vital care of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedom and Human fulfillment, it is essential because it involves Human protection and preservation of life. It is people centered multi -personnel comprehensive. As Humans we are all vulnerable and exposed to threat in our daily activity, Hence the concept of Human security to inform and provide possible solutions to this threat. It is Human centered. Some have criticized the concept and argue of its vagueness undermines its effectiveness. There has been an increase in human insecurity due to the constant violence and insecurity around the globe, the need for permeant solution is required. The need to reduce poverty, increase economic growth and standard of living for individuals. Human development will certainly lead to an increase in Human security.

#### 1.6 References / Further Readings /Website

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#### **1.7** Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

#### Answers to SAEs1

1. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms - Freedoms that are the essence of life

2. Freedom from fear, freedom from want and the freedom from indignity.

3. Moving away from traditional, state-centric conceptions of security

the focused primarily on the safety of states from military aggression, to one that concentrates on the security of the individuals, their protection and empowerment;

#### Answers to SAEs2

1. People-centered, Multi-sectoral, Comprehensive, Context-specific. Prevention-oriented

- 2. Centre of Analyses
- 3. Threat and Responses

4. The seven dimensions of human security are: personal, environmental, economic, political, community, health, and food security

#### **Answers to SAEs3**

- 1. To bridge the Freedom from want and Freedom from Fear
- 2. Copenhagen

3. Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict

4. The UNDP report defined human security in relation to seven dimensions of human security: personal, environmental, economic, political, community, health, and food security.

## UNIT 2 THE CONCEPT AND APPROACHES TO COUNTER-TERRORISM

## **Unit Structure**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Definition of Counterterrorism
  - 2.3.1 Approaches to Counterterrorism
  - 2.3.2 Countering Terrorism Through Establishment of Tactical Units
- 2.4. Counter terrorism Agencies
  - 2.4.1 The Military as an Agent for counterterrorism
- 2.5 Summary
- 2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

## 2.1 Introduction

In the last unit, we examined the notion of human security and also identified and discussed the dimensions of human security. In this unit, we shall focus on the concept of counter-terrorism and tactics used in counterterrorism. Terrorism has remained an essentially contested concept. The concept of terrorism and counter-terrorism tends to be emotionally charged, yet terrorism has evolved through history and today affects various countries all around the world. This has necessitated different countries to adopt diverse approaches to counter terrorism.

### 2.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of this Unit, you should be able to

- Define Counterterrorism
- Identify Approaches to Counterterrorism
- Discuss Counterterrorism through Establishment of Tactical Units

### **Main Section**

## 2.3 Definition of Counterterrorism

Counterterrorism has also been referred to as anti-terrorism or prevention of terrorism. Even though the term counterterrorism and anti-terrorism are

sometimes used interchangeably, Stepanova (2003, p.8) argues that there is a conceptual difference between the two. According to this scholar, while counterterrorism stresses the security instruments used against terrorism, anti-terrorism includes the political, legal, economic, civil society, and other peace-building instruments broadly used to counter and prevent terrorism. Lum et al. (2006, p. 491) posited that "counterterrorism strategies may include prevention and alleviation of early risk factors, situational prevention of actual events, or post-event responses".

Counterterrorism combines the use of intelligence, counter-intelligence, as well as military and paramilitary forces to deal with all forms of terrorist threats. Even though the use of non-military approach to counter terror is increasingly being adopted by states, the use of military and violent approaches remains the primary instrument for counterterrorism. This involves the bombardment of terrorist's locations, whether ascertained or unascertained; the capture, torture and elimination of terrorists' elements and leaders; elimination of terrorist financing and disruption of networks and imposition of sanctions on states perceived to be sympathetic to terrorists or harbouring them (Keen & Attree, 2015). In essence, counterterrorism incorporates the kinetic approach, military that governments, military, law techniques, strategy tactics. and enforcement, business, agencies use and intelligence to combat or Counterterrorism strategy is eliminate terrorism. government's a motivation to use the instruments of national power to neutralize and conquer terrorists, these organizations they have, and these networks they contain in order to render them incapable of using evil to instill fear and to coerce the government or citizens to react in accordance with these terrorists' goals. A comprehensive policy in response to terrorism is an upshot of an understanding of its root causes (Kundnani, 2015). However, a response should entail police investigation, military actions and preventive measures (Kundnani, 2015).

The first counterterrorism body ever to be formed was the Special Irish Branch of the Metropolitan Police, later renamed the Special Branch after it expanded its scope beyond its original focus on Fenian terrorism. Law enforcement agencies established similar units in Britain and elsewhere. Counter-terrorism forces expanded with the perceived growing threat of terrorism in the late 20th century. Specifically, after the September 11 attacks, Western governments made counter-terrorism efforts a priority, including more foreign cooperation, shifting tactics involving red teams, and preventive measures. Although sensational attacks in the developed world receive a great deal of media attention, most terrorism occurs in less developed countries. Government responses to terrorism, in some cases, can lead to substantial unintended consequences.

## 2.3.1 Approaches to Counterterrorism

Approaches to counterterrorism include hard and soft approaches. The hard approach involves physical or military engagements which cripple destructive plans by terrorists, such as bombings. Through the legislative, judiciary and executive arms of the state, the modern state uses methods such as arrest, surveillance, intelligence and detention to cripple damaging initiatives by terrorists. The soft approach attempts to degrade terrorist ideology through a counter-ideology discourse against radical ideologies which encourage political violence. Through the soft approach, Muslim organizations and leaders debunk terrorist's ideology of hate and violence.

Counterterrorism also captures broad efforts at national, regional and global levels to combat or prevent terrorism. Counter-terrorism may also include efforts to apply law enforcement approaches to disrupt, prevent or punish terrorists. Counter-terrorism strategies include attempts to counter financing of terrorism. Traditional responses to, and policies on terrorism seek to neutralise terrorist groups through deterrence and dissuading attacks by threats of dire penalties. In such a scenario, the military, police and intelligence apparatus play an enhanced role, resulting in a militarised counter-terrorism policy.

Another aspect of counter-terrorism is the focus on eliminating the leadership of terrorist groups. The non-traditional approach focuses on eliminating the root of the problem. It can further involve efforts to stop people joining or identifying with terrorists. This can be done through promotion of human security and also tackling the root causes of terrorism. The idea is that without leadership these groups will be weakened. Counterterrorism strategy comprises of some key elements: legislation, intelligence, police special squads, military involvement in civil disturbances, and media management.

As noted by Imobighe (2006a, p.9) "the idea behind most counterterrorism measures is to put the weight of coercive apparatus of state power to bear on those who perpetrate what are regarded as acts of terrorism. He further argues that "the absence of what could be regarded as a functional approach that goes into the root cause of terrorism in favour of a purely militaristic approach is a basic weakness of the present global counter terrorism relying on state coercion or military approach alone has proved to be counterproductive, hence the need for an alternative approach.

An alternative approach to counterterrorism is to identify the root causes of terrorism. This approach draws largely from the 'hearts and minds approach' proposed by Field Marshal Gerald Templar, an officer who served as commander in the Malaya Emergency between 1952 and 1954 (Cloake, 1985). This approach is generating growing attention in policy communities and academic circles. It involves 'the task of reducing conditions that can be exploited by terrorists as a goal' (Dempsey, 2006, p. 19) and dealing with fundamental problems such as economic distress, ethnic and religious fissures, fragile governance, weak democracy, and rampant human rights abuses that create an environment in which terrorists thrive.

## 2.3.2 Countering Terrorism through Establishment of Tactical Units

Today, many countries have special units designated to handle terrorist threats. Besides various security agencies, there are Elite Tactical Units (ETU), also known as Special Mission Units (SMU) or Counter Terrorism Units (CTU), whose role is to directly engage terrorists and prevent terrorist attacks. Such units perform both in preventive actions, hostage rescue, and responding to ongoing attacks. Countries of all sizes can have highly trained counter-terrorist teams. Tactics, techniques, and procedures for manhunting are under constant development.

Most of these measures deal with terrorist attacks that affect an area or threaten to do so. It is far harder to deal with assassination, or even reprisals on individuals, due to the short warning time and the quick exfiltration of the assassins. These units are specially trained in tactics and are very well equipped for Close-quarters combat (CQC) or close-quarters battle (CQB) with emphasis on stealth and performing the mission with minimal casualties. Close-quarters combat (CQC) or closequarters battle (CQB) is a tactical situation that involves a physical fight with firearms involved between multiple combatants at quite short range. The units include take-over force (assault teams), snipers, Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD) experts, dog handlers, and intelligence officers. The majority of counter-terrorism operations at the tactical level are conducted by state, federal, and national law enforcement agencies or intelligence agencies. In some countries, the military may be called in as a last resort. Obviously, for countries whose military is legally permitted to conduct police operations, this is a non-issue, and such counter-terrorism operations are conducted by their military.

#### Self-Assessment Exercises 1

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

1. What do you understand by counter-terrorism

2. Identify the major approaches to counter- terrorism?

3. What specific event led to the intensification of global efforts to counter-terrorism

4. Majority of counter-terrorism operations at the tactical level are conducted by \_\_\_\_\_?

## 2.4 Counter Terrorism Agencies

There are various counter terrorism Agencies all round the world. These agencies are specially established or created to combat terrorism. For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is the domestic intelligence and security service of the United States of America (USA) and its principal federal law enforcement agency. The FBI is responsible for investigating and preventing acts of domestic and international terrorism. It is the lead federal agency for investigating attacks involving weapons of mass destruction including chemical, radiological, or biological agents or nuclear weapons. The FBI is also responsible for specific terrorism-related offenses, such as violence at airports, money laundering, attacks on U.S. officials, and others. In the USA, the FBI works closely with other U.S. intelligence agencies to gather and analyze intelligence on terrorism and other security threats. The table below captures some of the agencies in the USA and other countries.

| S/No | Country       | Counterterrorism Agencies                      |
|------|---------------|--|
| 1    | United States | FBI Counter-terrorism Special Agents, FBI      |
|      | of America    | Hostage Rescue Team, FBI Special Weapons       |
|      |               | and Tactics Teams, (FBI SWAT) Federal Air      |
|      |               | Marshal Service, Delta Force, (US              |
|      |               | Army), Naval Special Warfare Development       |
|      |               | Group, United States Marine Corps Fleet Anti-  |
|      |               | Terrorism Security Teams (FAST) CIA Special    |
|      |               | Activities Division, (SAD) Diplomatic Security |
|      |               | Service, Immigration and Customs               |
|      |               | Enforcement, BORTAC, state/local               |
|      |               | Police SWAT teams                              |
| 2    | United        | Counter Terrorism Command, Special Air         |
|      | Kingdom       | Service, Special Boat Service                  |
|      |               |  |

| 3 | Japan        | Special Assault Teams and Anti-firearms    |
|---|--------------|--|
|   | •            | squads (Prefectural police                 |
|   |              | departments), Special Security Team (Japan |
|   |              | Coast Guard), Special Forces Group (JGSDF) |
|   | Russia       | Alpha Group, Vympel, OMON, SSO, Spetsnaz   |
|   |              | GRU, Vityaz, Rus, SOBR                     |
| 4 | Iran         | NAJA (Iranian Police), NOPO (Counter-      |
|   | •            | terrorism Special Force), Police Amniat    |
|   |              | (Security Police)                          |
| 5 | Iraq         | Kurdistan Region Security Council, Iraqi   |
|   | and and      | Special Operations Forces                  |
| 6 | South Africa | Special Task Force (SAPS), South African   |
|   |              | Special Forces Brigade                     |
| 7 | Nigeria      | National Intelligence Agency MOPOL         |
|   |              |  |

## 2.4.1 The Military as an Agency for Counter-Terrorism

Within military operational approaches, counter-terrorism falls into the category of irregular warfare. Given the nature of operational counterterrorism tasks national military organizations do not generally have dedicated units whose sole responsibility is the prosecution of these tasks. Instead, the counter-terrorism function is an element of the role, allowing flexibility in their employment, with operations being undertaken in the domestic or international context. In some cases the legal framework within which they operate prohibits military units conducting operations in the domestic arena. For example, the United States Department of Defense policy, based on the Posse Comitatus Act, forbids domestic counter-terrorism operations by the U.S. military. Units allocated some operational counter-terrorism tasks are frequently Special Forces or similar assets. In cases where military organizations do operate in the domestic context some form of formal handover from the law enforcement community is regularly required, to ensure adherence to the legislative framework and limitations.

### 2.5 Summary

In this unit, we examined the concept of counterterrorism and discussed the various approaches to counterterrorism. It also noted that counterterrorism goes beyond hard and soft approaches. Some countries establish tactical units with a view to countering terrorism in the countries. The unit also provided examples of counter terrorism agencies in some countries such as the USA, UK, Russia, Japan, South Africa, Iran, Iraq and Nigeria. It also discussed the role of the military as an agency for counterterrorism.

#### Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

1. List some counter-terrorism agencies in countries of your choice

2. The military play a significant role in Combating terrorism (*True/False*)

#### 2.6 References /Further Readings/Web Resources

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## 2.7 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises

#### SAEs1

1. Counter-terrorism strategy is a government's motivation to use the instruments of national power to neutralize and conquer terrorists, these organizations they have, and these networks they contain in order to render them incapable of using evil to instill fear and to coerce the government or citizens to react in accordance with these terrorists' goals 2. The major approaches to counter-terrorism include hard and soft approaches. The hard approach involves physical or military engagements which cripple destructive plans by terrorists, such as bombings. The soft approach attempts to degrade terrorist ideology through a counter-ideology discourse against radical ideologies which encourage political violence.

3. September 11 attack

4. state, federal, and national law enforcement agencies or intelligence agencies.

### SAEs2

1. Nigeria: National Intelligence Agency MOPOL Japan: Special Assault Teams and Anti-firearms squads (Prefectural police departments), Special Security Team (Japan Coast Guard), Special Forces Group (JGSDF) Iran: NAJA (Iranian Police), NOPO (Counter-terrorism Special Force),

Police Amniat (Security Police)

2. True

## UNIT 3 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COUNTER-TERRORISM AND COUNTER-INSURGENCY

#### **Unit Structure**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcome
- 3.3 Terrorism and Counter Terrorism
   3.3.1 Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency
   3.4 Comparing Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency
- 3.4 Summary
- 3.5 Conclusion
- 3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 3.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

### 3.2 Introduction

'Counter-terrorism' and 'counter-insurgency' as they are popularly understood are rhetorically loaded concepts. Repression, military and paramilitary action, and systematic human rights abuses are often justified in their name. Yet they do hold more objective meaning as well, though the difference between the two can sometimes be confusing. Both counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency have often been used to describe similar state activities, but they are not interchangeable. A nuanced examination of what each term actually means shows that while closely related, they are nevertheless analytically discrete. The particular ways in which counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency are different, and also how they are related, become evident in a discussion of the phenomena of terrorism and insurgency themselves, and then what it means for a state to 'counter' them.

### **3.3** Learning Outcome

At the end of this Unit, you should be able to

- Describe Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency
- Outline the main Difference between Counter -terrorism and Counter-Insurgency

#### **Main Section**

## 3.3 Terrorism and Counter Terrorism

The discussion of the concepts of 'counter-terrorism' and 'counterinsurgency' would be meaningless without first understanding what terrorism and insurgency actually are. Yet this is easier said than done, especially with regard to the former. Academics have struggled to define terrorism for decades, without arriving at any significant consensus. Some academics have provided definitions that span dense paragraphs referencing over a dozen traits, while others offer a minimalist definition of only a few words. However, the majority view of most academics seems to be that terrorism is 'a politically motivated tactic involving the threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role.' For this short essay, I will use this definition. Furthermore, as the term 'counter-terrorism' implies actions taken by governments, focusing on non-state actors as the primary agents of terrorism, as they are the relevant terrorists in this discussion.

As a strategic choice, terrorism follows a three-stage method: *disorientation*, *target response*, and *gaining legitimacy*:

- **Disorientation**: seeks to sow within a population a general sense of insecurity and detract from the legitimacy of existing state structures, often through random acts of violence that prey upon the civilian population in general (Neumann & Smith, 2008).
- *Target response*: seeks to prompt a disproportionately harsh collective reprisal from a government, in order to radicalise the affected population and win international legitimacy, or to wrestle political concessions (Neumann & Smith, 2008).
- *Gaining legitimacy*: is where the terrorist group seeks to transfer legitimacy from the government to its own cause through skillful manipulation of the media, through grassroots social agitation, or through alternative media such as the internet. At this stage, ideology becomes crucial (Neumann & Smith, 2008).

Consequently, it can be deduced that counter-terrorism consists of actions or strategies aimed at preventing terrorism from escalating, controlling the damage from terrorist attacks that do occur, and ultimately seeking to eradicate terrorism in a given context.

#### Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 1

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

- 1. Describe Terrorism
- 2. Describe Counter-Terrorism

#### 3.3.1 Insurgency and Counter-Insurgency

Insurgency is another concept that is difficult to define. Fundamentally, an insurgency is a civil war characterized by a power asymmetry between belligerent groups. The weaker of these groups constitutes the 'insurgent' party, while the stronger is the government. Through ideological and social manipulation of the general population, the insurgent party ultimately seeks to transfer political power from the government to itself. Insurgent activities therefore may include violence, but are likely to involve a wider platform of ideological and social activism as well. A critical universal feature in any successful insurgency is the 'progressive attrition of the insurgent party's opponent's *political* capability to wage war.'

As far back as 1964, David Galula, a French officer and veteran of conflicts in China, Indochina, Algeria, and Greece, wrote what is perhaps the most comprehensive and seminal manual on counter-insurgency (COIN) titled *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*. He stated that before an insurgency becomes characterized by widespread violence and open warfare, it begins as a 'Cold Insurgency'. According to Galula (1964) there are four general courses of action to counter insurgency. These include:

- 1. Direct action against the insurgent leadership
- 2. Action against the conditions that precipitate insurgency
- 3. Infiltration of the insurgent movement with the intent to render it ineffectual
- 4. Reinforcement of the state political machine

When the insurgency becomes 'hot,' the population will consist of a favorable minority, a neutral majority, and a hostile minority. The goal of COIN should then be to use the favourable minority to co-opt the neutral majority and in the process neutralise the threat posed by the hostile minority.

## 3.4 Comparing Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency

There is a clear similarity between the goals of an insurgent and the goals of a terrorist. Both the insurgent and the terrorist employ violent action not as a direct means to compel but as a method of ideological communication. Both the insurgent and the terrorist struggle to gain legitimacy for their ideas in the minds of a target audience, and to detract from the legitimacy of a non-compliant government. Essentially, the difference between insurgency and terrorism is that the former is a situation of political grievance that escalates to violence while the latter is a violent strategy that those with political grievances may employ. Hence terrorism is one strategy available to those engaging in insurgency. Whether terrorism is possible outside a situation of insurgency depends on whether there is a threshold beyond which a minority group engaging in violent activism is sufficiently large to be called insurgent, and below which a group 'merely' comprises fringe radicals.

As terrorism is best understood as a strategy of insurgency, counterterrorism is thus best understood as a component of counter-insurgency. All four counterterrorism models fit into one or several of Galula's COIN strategies for a Cold Insurgency. Activities that fall within the Defensive and Criminal-Justice models can be considered 'reinforcement of the state political machine' as both bolster institutional legitimacy and security. The War model describes 'direct action against insurgent leadership,' as might the Criminal-Justice model, depending on the action. Intelligence operations against terrorists, under either the War or Criminal-Justice models, constitute 'infiltration.' Actions taken under the Reconciliatory model comprise 'actions to address the conditions that precipitate insurgency,' When an insurgency becomes 'hot' and the counterinsurgent's strategy narrows in scope, it nevertheless includes security actions and political actions which, were they to counter a campaign of terrorism, would fit under the War and Defensive models.

### Self -Assessment Exercise (SAEs)2

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

1. What are the similarities between Counterterrorism and counterinsurgency?

2. What are the differences between Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency?

#### 3.5 Summary

The question 'What is the difference between counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism' may be interpreted as suggesting that the two are dichotomous, but as a closer look demonstrates, they are in fact closely linked. Terrorism, as an ideological strategy of psychological warfare by political violence, falls under the aegis of insurgency, which is a situation of violent political activism directed against a government by a rebellious minority. Counter-terrorism falls within four models: defensive, reconciliatory, criminal-justice, and war. Those models in turn fit into the broader categories of COIN identified by David Galula in his seminal book on the subject. The difference between counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency is simple: counter-terrorism and those who employ it, while counter-insurgency is a broader category of responses to political violence carried out by minority groups, both terroristic and otherwise. The latter subsumes the former.

#### 3.6 References /Further Readings/Web Resources

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## 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)1

1. Counterterrorism, also known as anti-terrorism, incorporates the practice, military tactics, techniques, and strategy that governments, military, law enforcement, business, and intelligence agencies use to combat or eliminate terrorism

2. counterinsurgency as any "military or political action taken against the activities of guerrillas or revolutionaries" and can be considered war by a state against a non-state adversary.

### Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)2

1. the similarities between Counter-terrorism and Counter insurgency is that both call for emergency are provided solutions to pending issues of terrorism

2. The difference between counter-terrorism and counterinsurgency is simple: counter-terrorism focuses more narrowly on combating the tactics and strategy of terrorism and those who employ it, while counter-insurgency is a broader category of responses to political violence carried out by minority groups, both terroristic and otherwise

## UNIT 4 THE NEXUS BETWEEN HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

### **Unit Structure**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Explain the Factors that Account for the Emergence Terrorism from the Perspective of Human Security
  - 4.4 The Nexus between Human Security and Counter terrorism
  - 4.5 The Consequences of Counterterrorism for Human Security
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

### 4.1 Introduction

Human security addresses the individual in terms of economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political security. Currently, the world faces challenges such as intra-state conflicts arising from national identity crises, inter-state conflicts, financial instability, unemployment, and an absence of functional security and protection of lives and property. These challenges make societies a porous environment for terrorism at national and global levels, necessitating the formulation of a new template for the concept of security by accentuating the importance of individuals to confront such threats (Maxted & Zegeye, 2001, pp. 95-109). Consequently, human security represents an important challenge in the context of counterterrorism and is crucial to achieving various development indices such as human progression, the fulfillment of basic needs, and a tranquil existence without fear and risk for the future.

### 4.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of this Unit, you should be able to

- Identify the factors that account for the emergence terrorism from the prism of human security
- Explain the main nexus between human security and counterinsurgency
- Discuss the consequences of counterterrorism for human security

### Main Section

# 4.3. The Factors that Account for the Emergence Terrorism from the Prism of Human Security

Human security manifests in the search for the root causes of the emergence of perpetrators of terrorism, including individuals and/or groups. Viewed from the perspective of human security, these factors include: level of education, national welfare gap and economic development, individual's social and economic conditions, and political factors including political freedom, dictatorship/ democracy, the presence and degree of state repression and civil liberties.

That notwithstanding, human security does not intend to explain the entire gamut of factors that account for the whole phenomenon of radicalization. Rather, human security seeks to advocate the prioritization of the real people's suffering rather than the state. Terrorist groups have learned to utilize human insecurity as a part of their propaganda narratives to entice aspiring terrorists. They learned to exploit the people's weaknesses into something that benefits them. Inability of individuals to access proper education and economic opportunity, for example, the Boko Haram terrorist group in Nigeria takes advantage of the unemployment, low level of education among the youth in the North and lack of security presence in "ungoverned spaces" to recruit their supporters. Terrorists' groups attract individuals from diverse backgrounds, religions, nationalities, or ethnicities. While poverty may be a factor in explaining why some persons join terrorist groups, this alone cannot explain contemporary terrorist phenomenon. Issues such as ideology, greed and grievances, and radicalization and translation of teachings from extremist religious interpretation, are some of the explanations in this regard. Recruiters are more advanced in finding entry points to attract new sympathisers, usually by manipulating personal crisis as a drive for militancy.

# Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs1)

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

1. Identify the main factors that responsible for the emergence terrorism from the prism of human security

2. How do terrorists use human security as a tool for propaganda to win supporters?

#### 4.4 The Nexus between Human security and Counter-terrorism

This section of the course examines the controversial relationship between terrorism and human security from a sociological approach. Three main factors are concerned with terrorism: economic, social, and political. Counter-terrorism strategy focuses on addressing social risk factors that produce it, such as poverty and unemployment, and enhancing citizenship values and human rights. Scholars have come up with diverse opinions on the relationship between terrorism and human security. Some scholars argue that linking terrorism with poverty and illiteracy or education level is a common fallacy. For example, Krueger and Malečková (2003, pp. 119-144) argued that focusing on education as a means for counterterrorism is unsupported by field evidence. However, other studies indicated that education is a means of counterterrorism and educational curricula are important for social awareness against activities of terrorist groups, especially the recruitment of youths.

Studies have also shown that not all terrorists are from poor background. Some terrorists are from the middle class, while some of them are from the upper class. Sociologists have explained terrorism from various perspectives, such as globalization and modernity, theoretical functionalism, crime, and social pathology. While terrorism is considered a social phenomenon, it may only be explained through another phenomenon. Terrorism may not emerge as a definite result of one factor or reason, such as poverty or economic deprivation, although they have the highest impact on the spread of terrorism. In any social system, all people, including the poor, pay attention to social movements to improve their capabilities and ascend the social ladder. The middle class will aim for greater movements than the poor. This movement results in conflicts and social dissociation, which can result in violence and terrorism. Considering the socio-economic background of terrorists and terrorist organizations, the UN General Assembly Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy emphasized the need to eliminate poverty, deterioration, and disease while enhancing continuous economic growth and sustainable development to counter-terrorism.

Another area of focus on the relationship between counterterrorism and human security is the emphasized respect for human rights and the rule of law to counterterrorism. This area has commanded attention because the individual's right to life, freedom, and security is one of the principles of international human rights. For example, in China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), subscribes to the view that the key to eliminating extremism and terrorism is by eliminating poverty. The UN study (2017), confirmed that poverty is a source of extremism among African youths; specifically, deprivation, poverty, and vulnerability underpinned by weak governance are primary factors.

## Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 2

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

1. What are the main factors concerned with terrorism?

2. Studies have some that most terrorist are from the \_\_\_\_\_ and while some are from the \_\_\_\_\_?

## 4.5 The Consequences of Counterterrorism for Human Security

The activities of terrorists undermine the role of the state in the provision of human security. Before September 11 2001, terrorism was a traditional security issue dealt with mainly by member states. This fundamentally changed after September 11 2001, the 2004 Madrid bombings and 2005 London Bombings. Herein, "terrorism" was securitized by countries and international organization including the UN, EU, and AU, amongst others. Institutional changes have also been made within these international organizations to deal with the threats posed by global terrorism. This move requires international organizations to work together by pooling resources, adopting more active common foreign and security policy beyond the organisation. In March 2004 EU members agreed to a Declaration on Combating Terrorism, which included a solidarity clause stating that all member states will 'act jointly ... if one of them is the victim of a terrorist attack', but went on to assert that Member States should also 'mobilise all instruments at their disposal, including military resources'. The EU CT initiative rested on four key pillars namely: Prevent, Protect, Pursue and Respond'.

Thinking about security has evolved significantly since the end of the Cold War. There was a shift away from viewing state actors as the main threat to focus more on violent non state actors. In the 1990s and early 2000s there was an apparent shift in approaches to security that broadened the conception of security and added concepts such as the 'force for good' approach. For example, interventions such as that in Kosovo and Sierra Leone were based on the notions of 'force for good' approach and cited

as successful human security interventions. This trend was to change further following 9/11 as a result of shift towards emphasis of counterterrorism in security thinking and discourses. One of the first consequences of 9/11 was the invasion of Afghanistan. Unlike the interventions in the 1990s this was not framed in humanitarian terms but in a more traditional approach focused on the defeat of an enemy through military means. This was followed by the war in Iraq, which was a preemptive strike on global terrorism and again, was not framed in humanitarian terms. The more recent intervention in Libya in 2011 saw a return to a more humanitarian-based framing. The motivation was set out as protecting civilians from Colonel Gadhaffi. Yet the means employed, especially aerial bombing, were controversial in light of the aim to protect civilians and civilian infrastructure. According to a Human Rights Watch report, 72 civilians died as a result of NATO air strikes, including 24 children. The efforts to shift security thinking following 9/11 shows there was no emphasis on human rights and humanitarianism. However, the response to terrorism by USA and its allies was centrally to eliminate enemies rather responsibilities to protect civilians. The Challenges for Human security of interventions and security strategies to address terrorism have demonstrated that there is a concern to balance the use of force with the goal of being a force for good. The four strands of counterterrorism - Prepare, Protect, Pursue and Prevent – aims at a holistic counterterrorism approach. However, in practice there is still a tendency to focus more attention on state security over individual security. Consequently, as a result of the global war on terror, the practice of human security is undermined by states and even international organisations.

### Self -Assessment Exercise (SAEs)3

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far, this should not take you more than 5 minutes

1. Which major event account for the shift towards emphasis of counterterrorism in security thinking and discourses?

2. Identify the four pillars for the EU CT initiative

**3.** One of the major consequences of counterterrorism is that military interventions were not framed in \_\_\_\_\_\_terms

#### 4.7 Summary

In this unit, we examined the nexus between human security and counter terrorism. Other issues covered include the factors that account for the

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emergence terrorism from the perspective of human security and the consequences of counterterrorism for human security. Human security focuses on situations in which access to healthy food, proper health services and educational facilities are lacking may serve as underlying factors for the arrival of political violence entrepreneurs that generate acts of terrorism and armed aggressions between people to advance political agendas. On other words, these non-military factors can act as an amplifying factor for insecurity in individual levels. Human security became a catalyst in identifying prevention and response to terrorism; by considering the aspect of security, welfare, and dignity of the people. There is no doubt that the global anti-terrorism campaign has taken a heavy toll on human rights and has deformed constitutional safeguards around the world

### 4.8 References/Further Readings/Web Resources

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#### 4.9 Possible Answers to self -Assessment Exercises

#### SAES 1

1. political freedom, dictatorship/ democracy, the presence and degree of state repression and civil liberties

2. terrorists utilize human insecurity as a part of their propaganda narratives

# SAEs2

- 1. Social, Economic, Political factors
- **2.** Middle class and upper class

# SAEs3

- 1. 9/11
- 2. Prevent, Protect, Pursue and Respond'.
- **3.** Humanitarian

### MODULE 2 COUNTERTERRORISM THEORY, JOINT WAREFARE AND DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE

- Unit 1 Theoretical Models of Terrorism and Counterterrorism Actions
- Unit 2 The Development of Joint Warfare and Counterterrorism
- Unit 3 The Role of Diplomacy in the War on Terrorism
- Unit 4 The War on Terror and Human Security in the United States

### UNIT 1: THEORETICAL MODELS OF TERRORISM AND COUNTERTERRORISM ACTIONS

### **Unit Structure**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Theoretical Models of Terrorism and Counterterrorism actions
  - 1.3.1 Ideology (Jihadism)
  - 1.3.2 Root causes
  - 1.3.3 State sponsorship
  - 1.3.4 Rational choice
  - 1.3.5 Group dynamics
- 1.4 Summary
- 1.5 References /Further Readings/Web Resources
- 1.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

### 1.1 Introduction

In this unit, we will examine the theoretical models of counterterrorism. To assess the effectiveness of CT approaches towards achieving human security, we need to first identify and make explain prominent theories that have been advanced to explain the phenomenon of terrorism. This unit examines the relationship between terrorism and counterterrorism and how it operates within the broader context of communication, control, power, and democratic governance at the national, international, and transnational level.

# **1.2 Learning Outcome**

At the end of this unit you should be able to

- Identify the theoretical models of terrorism
- Discuss the tenets of each theory

• Explain the activities associated with counterterrorism in each theory

#### **Main Section**

# **1.3** Theoretical Models of Terrorism and Counterterrorism actions

We will focus on five theories of terrorism that are particularly predominant today: Ideology; Root causes; State sponsorship; Rational choice; and Group dynamics. In this unit, we will examine each of these theories, to include a discussion of key components, assumptions, illustrative examples, and activities that have been associated with each theory. Note that these theories group of theories are note exhaustive. As terrorism evolves, so also counter-terrorism theories continue to evolve within the broad field of "terrorism studies". Over time, new theories are likely to be developed.

#### 1.3.1 Ideology (Jihadism)

#### • Key Elements and Assumptions

At the foundation of this theoretical approach is the notion that certain systems of belief drive individuals to engage in terrorist activities. Specific ideologies that have been the focus of attention in the past include Communism (in the decades of the Cold War) and "ethno-nationalism" (in the 1970s and 80s). Today, a militant, militarized, and politicized Islam-also known as "jihadism"-is the ideological engine most commonly cited for powering the most dangerous terrorist threats to the United States and the West more generally. The view of those espousing a "jihadist" theory of terrorism is that jihadists are deeply and indeed inevitably opposed to Western civilization, as evidenced by their quest for the reestablishment of the caliphate, the imposition of sharia law, and the spread of a reformed and purified Islamic faith. In the view of the writer Paul Berman, a leading proponent of the jihadist theory of terrorism, militant Islam is a form of totalitarianism that draws on an ideational wellspring shared by communism, fascism, and Nazism: People throw themselves into campaigns of murder and suicide because they have come under the influence of malign doctrinal systems, which appear to address the most profound and pressing of human problems-and do so by openly rebelling against the gravest of moral considerations. Jihadists are engaged in a total, protracted war against those they consider the enemies of Islam—a Manichean struggle that will end only end with the total Western withdrawal from "occupied" Muslim lands and the destruction of Israel. As such, jihadism represents an "ideology of conquest" and a

significant threat to America," according to Richard Perle and David Frum, two prominent early advocates for the post-9/11 "War on Terror." Like Britain confronting the "armed doctrine" of the French Revolution, this school of thought argues that the West faces a comparable ideological challenge today.

## • Counterterrorism actions

For many who subscribe to the jihadist theory of terrorism, the use of military force, while not the only counterterrorist instrument in their repertoire, is first among equals. Countering extremist ideology, promoting the spread of democracy and human rights, and maintaining a broad political coalition against jihadism all have their place, but these are secondary. Operation Iraqi Freedom, Operation Enduring Freedom, and other military campaigns, both named and unnamed, have had two objectives. The first is to degrade and destroy Islamist armed groups (and in the case of Iraq and Afghanistan, the regimes that supported them). The second aim is to produce a powerful demonstration effect designed to signal to potential aggressors, both state and non-state, that the United States will commit its overwhelming military might to eliminating anti-Western terrorism

## Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. Identify the major theoretical models of terrorism examine in this unit

2. What are the main tenets of the Ideology theory?

3. Explain the activities associated with counterterrorism in the Ideology theory

# 1.3.2 Root causes

# • Key elements and assumptions

Central to the "root causes" theory is the tenet that economic, social, political, and environmental conditions enable, contribute to, and perhaps have a causal relationship with, terrorism. At the very least, social-political conditions such as poverty, inequality (both relative and absolute), and the lack of political freedom create a climate amenable to exploitation by terrorists. President Barak Obama, in a February 2015 speech, highlighted links between terrorism and various social, political,

and economic ills: The link is undeniable. When people are oppressed and human rights are denied—particularly along sectarian lines or ethnic lines—when dissent is silenced, it feeds violent extremism. It creates an environment that is ripe for terrorists to exploit." For their part, terrorism theorists generally argue that such conditions are insufficient to lead to terrorism. Terrorism also requires grievances (political or otherwise) and what one specialist refers to as "precipitant factors—such as leadership, funding, state sponsorship, [and] political upheaval [that] form essential. Scholars also point to so-called trigger causes—that is, "those immediate circumstances and events that provoke people to have recourse to terrorist action." An example is Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon's visit in 2000 to the Temple Mount/al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, which helped ignite the Second Intifada.

#### • Counterterrorism actions

Adherents of the root causes theory argue that addressing the underlying causes of terrorism is essential for suppressing it on a long-term basis. Like adherents of other theories, they believe that the use of military force and other repressive instruments necessarily have a role in combating terrorism—but that, given the nature of the "engines" of terrorism (such as poverty, weak states, and demographic pressures), it is critical to rely on more than the short-term use of military power. In this school of thought, relevant counterterrorism approaches include the promotion of economic development, the rule of law, good governance, education, and social justice more generally. Without such systemic approaches, adherents argue, counterterrorism becomes an exercise in "mowing the grass" rather than performing the "weeding and landscaping" aimed at reducing if not eliminating the threat.

#### Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. What are the main tenets of the "root causes" theory?

2. Explain the activities associated with counterterrorism in the "root causes" theory

## 1.3.3 State sponsorship

#### • Key elements and assumptions

As noted above, the boundaries between the five theories discussed in this paper are blurry, and it is possible to subscribe to one or more of them simultaneously. Adherents of the "state sponsorship" framework do not necessarily rule out ideology, small-group dynamics, or rational choice as contributors to the phenomenon of terrorism. Rather, they are seeking to highlight the idea that terrorism is not always a non-state phenomenon, and that regimes (for various raisons d'états) support terrorist groups. That assistance can be relatively passive (e.g., allowing terrorists sanctuary or safe passage), or more active (e.g., giving direct financing, providing weapons and travel documents, and offering support through intelligence and propaganda). During the Cold War, U.S. presidents such as Ronald Reagan and his senior advisors advanced the notion that the Soviet Union was the wellspring of international terror in the Middle East, Africa, Central America, and the Caribbean. Since 1979, the U.S. Department of State has designated state sponsors of terrorism. That list once included Cuba, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Syria, and North Korea (though interestingly, never the Soviet Union), but has dwindled to three (Iran, Syria, and Sudan

#### • Counterterrorism actions

The United States and its international partners apply a full spectrum of instruments against countries they deem to be sponsors of terrorism. These include: unilateral and multilateral sanctions; capacity-building and foreign assistance programs; and intelligence and law enforcement cooperation. Since the 1980s, the United States has also used military force against a variety of state sponsors, including Libya, Iraq, Sudan, and Afghanistan, in order to compel them to abandon terrorism, turn over terrorist suspects, and (as in Iraq and Afghanistan) depose troublesome regimes

### Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. What are the main tenets of the State sponsorship theory?

2. Explain the activities associated with counterterrorism in the state sponsorship theory

# 1.3.4 Rational choice

## • Key elements and assumptions

Politicians and policymakers frequently use terms such as "senseless" and "mindless" to describe attacks by terrorists. The U.S. embassy in Kuwait decried the "senseless terrorist attack" on worshippers that took place on June 26, 2015, at the Al-Imam Mosque in Kuwait City. But within terrorism studies, there is near consensus that terrorism is not the work of madmen but rather is a rational (if deplorable) strategic choice. This theoretical stance is neatly summarized by the economists Tim Krieger and Daniel Meierrieks

The average terrorist behaves more or less as a homo economicus... As rational actors terrorists act violently to maximize their utility, given certain benefits, costs and constraints that are linked to these actions...The utility-maximizing level of terrorism is the level at which the marginal costs equal the marginal benefits of terrorism.

Although derived from microeconomics, this theory—at least in the way it is typically employed by terrorism specialists—offers explanations that are based on more than narrow considerations of monetary costs and benefits. In this paradigm, terrorism is instrumental and can be employed as a cost-effective strategy for broader political, religious, and social aims, as well as personal gain.

# • Counterterrorism actions

If terrorists are indeed rational actors, it follows that manipulating their cost-benefit calculations may be an effective tool for deterring terrorism. Toward that end, counterterrorism policies can be directed in two ways: raising the costs of terrorism or reducing the benefits, political or otherwise. Increasing the cost could include both defensive measures (such as hardening potential targets) and offensive steps (such as direct military action or a "no-concessions" policy with respect to negotiations). Reducing the benefits of terrorism could be achieved by granting concessions to aggrieved groups on whose behalf terrorists claim to be acting, or by promoting democracy as a nonviolent forum for redressing political problems.

#### Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 4

Attempt these exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. What are the main tenets of the Rational choice theory?

2. Explain the activities associated with counterterrorism in the Rational choice theory

## **1.3.5 Group dynamics**

#### • Key elements and assumptions

Although so-called lone wolves have been responsible for major acts of terrorism in North America, Western Europe, and even Africa, terrorism is fundamentally a group or social activity. Writing in 1968, one French right-wing extremist described the internal social demands of the terrorist underground in vivid terms Under the rigorous precautions of underground life, his only society is that of his brothers in arms. These ties are very strong, but they are limited to a handful of men who are bound together by danger and secrecy. Proponents of organizational or group dynamics approaches to terrorism point to considerable theoretical and empirical evidence to argue that individuals join and remain in violent underground groups in order to develop or maintain affective ties. Scholars such as Marc Sageman have advanced the "bunch of guys" approach to explain the entry of young Western men into jihadist groups.

In the view of these theorists, radicalization, recruitment, and mobilization are better understood as collective rather than as individual activities. Given the collective nature of terrorism, it follows that organizations—their structures, internal dynamics, and leadership—are of paramount importance. The sociologist Donatella della Porta, in her studies of the Red Brigades and other European terrorists, has highlighted the "totalitarian" nature of underground armed groups, where total commitment is required. According to della Porta, "The very fact of being in an underground group requires commitment to it to become the absolute priority with respect to the other roles an individual plays." The group itself shapes the "cognitive dynamics" and perceptions of the outside world among its members by functioning as a filter—all external information is sorted and processed by the group

## • Counterterrorism actions

Law enforcement and intelligence operations designed to erode group cohesion have a prominent place in campaigns designed to counter terrorism at the organizational level. Such measures could include: direct action and targeted killings; the widespread use of informants; and repentance laws intended to encourage members to renounce violence and provide information in exchange for shorter prison sentences. Programs to counter violent extremism would have an obvious role, as would information operations intended to highlight the grim, dangerous, and futile nature of life inside a terrorist group. Given the importance of leadership, such operations could also convey messages designed to undercut the authority and standing of senior figures—for example, criminal behavior for personal gain, sexual abuse of members, or deviation from the group's stated goals.

### Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 5

Attempt these exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

3. What are the main tenets of the Group dynamics theory?

4. Explain the activities associated with counterterrorism in the Group dynamics theory

# 1.4 Summary

In this unit, we examined the theoretical models of counterterrorism. We focus on five theories of terrorism that are particularly predominant today: Ideology; Root causes; State sponsorship; Rational choice; and Group dynamics. We examined each of these theories, in terms of major assumptions, provided relevant examples, and activities that have been associated with each theory. To deepen our understanding of counterterrorism, we undertook comprehensive mapping of the predominant theories of terrorism and their associated actions for CT.

# **1.5** References /Further Readings/Web Resources

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#### 1.6 Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise 1

Attempt this exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. Ideology; Root causes; State sponsorship; Rational choice; and Group dynamics.

#### 2. Key Elements and Assumptions of Ideology theory

The main assumption of this theoretical approach is that certain ideologies drive individuals to engage in terrorist activities. The view of those espousing a "jihadist" theory of terrorism is that jihadists are deeply and indeed inevitably opposed to Western civilization. This theory explains the post-9/11 "War on Terror."

#### **Counterterrorism actions**

Countering extremist ideology, promoting the spread of democracy and human rights, and maintaining a broad political coalition against jihadism all have their place, but these are secondary.

#### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 2

Attempt these exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

#### 1. Key Elements and Assumptions of Root causes theory

The main tenet of the root causes theory is that economic, social, political, and environmental conditions enable, contribute to, and perhaps have a causal relationship with terrorism. Social-political conditions such as poverty, inequality and the lack of political freedom create a climate amenable to exploitation by terrorists.

#### 2. Counterterrorism actions

According to this school of thought, relevant counterterrorism approaches include the promotion of economic development, the rule of law, good governance, education, and social justice.

# SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 3

Attempt these exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

#### 1. Key elements and assumptions State sponsor theory

State sponsorship" framework highlight the idea that terrorism is not always a non-state phenomenon, and that states support terrorist groups. The U.S. Department of State has designated state sponsors of terrorism to include Cuba, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Sudan, Syria, and North Korea

#### 2. **Counterterrorism actions**

Counterterrorism actions in this regard include: unilateral and multilateral sanctions; capacity-building and foreign assistance programs; and intelligence and law enforcement cooperation.

## **SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 4**

Attempt these exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. **Key elements and assumptions of Rational choice theory** The stance of this theory is that terrorists are not "senseless" and "mindless" as often described by politicians. Rather they are capable of rational strategic choice. They act based on considerations of monetary costs and benefits.

#### 2. **Counterterrorism actions**

Counterterrorism policies in this regard should be geared towards reducing the benefits of terrorism by granting concessions to aggrieved groups on whose behalf terrorists claim to be acting and also promoting democracy as a nonviolent forum for redressing political problems.

### SELF ASSESSMENT EXERCISE 5

Attempt these exercise to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

#### 1. Key elements and assumptions Group dynamics theory

Proponents of organizational or group dynamics approaches to terrorism point to considerable theoretical and empirical evidence to argue that individuals join and remain in violent underground groups in order to develop or maintain affective ties. The group itself shapes the "cognitive dynamics" and perceptions of the outside world among its members

#### 2. **Counterterrorism actions**

Law enforcement and intelligence operations designed to erode group cohesion have a prominent place in campaigns designed to counter terrorism at the organizational level.

## UNIT 2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF JOINT WARFARE AND COUNTERTERRORISM

### **Unit Structure**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Definition of Joint Warfare
  - 2.4 The Evolution of Joint Warfare
    - 2.5 Joint Warfare: From Creation of the New World to World War II
    - 2.6 Unconventional Warfare and Counterterrorism
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 References /Further Readings/Web Resources/Further Readings
- 2.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

## 2.1 Introduction

In this unit, we shall examine the development of joint warfare and counterterrorism. Joint Warfare is a military doctrine which places priority on the integration of the various military unit services. Joint warfare is largely a phenomenon of the last century. Yet ever since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as Western militaries developed into professional, disciplined institutions responsive to their rulers, many states have sought to project power abroad. Technology has increasingly shaped the conduct of war, forcing the use of military capabilities in concert. That is a complex process, not because of obstacles posed by individual service cultures alone, but because the evolution of joint warfare poses intractable problems. Moreover, such capabilities can require levels of spending that cannot be allocated to the military in peacetime.

# 2.2 Learning Outcome

At the end of this unit you should be able to

- Understand the nature and development of Joint Warfare
- Establish the connection between irregular warfare and counterterrorism.

### Main Section

# 2.3 Definition of Joint Warfare

Joint warfare is described as a military doctrine that places priority on the combination of the various service branches of a state's armed forces into one unified command. Joint warfare is also defined as a form of combined arms warfare on a larger, national scale, in which complementary forces from a state's army, navy, air, and special forces are meant to work together in joint operations, rather than planning and executing military operations separate from each other. The origin of Joint Warfare has traced to the establishment in 1938 of the Oberkommando der Wehrmacht, the world's first joint higher command structure, though it should not be seen as the same level of "jointness" as Joint Chiefs of Staff.

According to the United States Department of Defense, joint warfare or "*team warfare*", requires the integrated and synchronized application of all appropriate capabilities. The synergy that results enhance combat capability in unified action." This priority on the unity of effort at the national level means practitioners of joint warfare must acknowledge the importance of the inter-agency process, including the priorities, capabilities, and resources of other non-uniformed agencies such as intelligence services in military planning. Military operations conducted by armed forces from two or more allied countries are referred to by the United States Department of Defense as combined operations.

### 2.4 The Evolution of Joint Warfare

Joint warfare is largely a phenomenon of the last century, however, since the 17th century, as Western militaries developed into professional, disciplined institutions responsive to their rulers, many states have sought to project power abroad. Technology has increasingly shaped the conduct of war, forcing the use of military capabilities in concert. That is a complex process, not because of obstacles posed by individual service cultures alone, but because the evolution of joint warfare poses intractable problems. Moreover, such capabilities can require levels of spending that cannot be allocated to the military in peacetime.

Among the emerging states in the early 1700s, England had the greatest tradition of cooperation between land and sea forces. That nation originated with the invasion of William the Conqueror which brought the Normans to power. His descendants, particularly Edward III and Henry V, used domination of the English Channel and adjacent waters to invade the Continent, which came close to destroying France. The history of those campaigns is as best incomplete without mentioning joint

warfighting because military institutions of the day were not professional or permanent. Perhaps one exception was the Battle of Sluys in 1340, when Edward III launched a fleet with archers bearing longbows to slaughter the French, leading to an era in which "Edward was lord of the sea."

It was only with the end of the 16th century that Europeans began thinking in terms of joint cooperation. The destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1588 underlined the perils in coordinating forces on land and at sea. Planning an expedition in Madrid and moving a fleet in the Channel with armies in the Low Countries proved overwhelming. Such a combination had worked against tribal levies of American Indians, who had stone-age weapons and no knowledge of firearms, while diseases spread by the Spaniards killed those natives who survived combat. But Spain was unprepared for the complexity of land and sea warfare against a European power. Such difficulties were exacerbated by the skillful leadership of British maritime forces, and unfamiliarity with the Channel inevitably turned the great expedition launched by Philip II into a failure.

Century By the mid-17th century a number of European states, led by Holland and Sweden, created recognizable armies and navies that were responsive to war ministries and admiralties. The major ingredient in the rise of these institutions was intense competition for hegemony on the Continent, a struggle in which growing and disciplined armies grappled for domination. But as the century unfolded Europeans found themselves vying for empire. France and England emerged as great powers competing for empire by the dawn of 18th century. Britain waged war at sea for supremacy over the Atlantic and Mediterranean while contesting control over North America, the Caribbean, and India. The English colonists in North America called this conflict "Queen Anne's War" after the sovereign.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISE (SAES) 1**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes

- 1. Technology has increasingly shaped the conduct of war (True/ False)
- 2. The War of Spanish Succession broke out in what year?
- 3. France and England emerged as great powers competing for empire by the dawn in What Century \_\_\_\_\_?
- 4. Britain waged war at sea for supremacy over the \_\_\_\_\_ and

## 2.5 Joint Warfare: From Creation of the New World to World War II

The Seven Years War, also known as the French and Indian Wars in North

America, decided which nation was the dominant power outside Europe.

It also resolved that English would become the dominant world language.

Moreover, it was the first instance in which naval power projected land forces over great distances, supported them, and prevented an enemy from being reinforced. From an American point of view, the decisive campaign occurred in 1756 when the British under James Wolfe besieged Quebec.

The capacity to employ land and naval forces together over great distances allowed the British empire to survive the strategic and political clumsiness demonstrated in its war against the American colonists in the 1770s. Control of the sea and the ability to extend power almost at will could not overcome errors made by Lord Frederick North. Despite projecting great armies across the Atlantic, the British could not prevent the independence movement leading to the creation of the New World.

French revolutionaries in 1789 and Napoleon had clear goals, largely involving conquest on the Continent. British amphibious expeditions against French-controlled territory were dismal failures, at least until the war in Spain. Joint warfare only worked in distant places efforts to remove from French power. Joint warfare, in this context, meant landing troops at some distance from an enemy and then supplying them by sea. But when Britain committed forces, it had a major impact on the strategic position of France. While the Peninsula War against the French in Spain is often cited as one of the few instances of jointness in the Napoleonic era, the American Civil War is on record to be the first genuine joint operations.

Joint warfare is not a new phenomenon. It existed primitively and under specialized conditions before 1900. It became increasingly popular at the start of World War I. By 1918, both the Allies and Germany were using aircraft (air power) to support ground attacks (ground power) to support ground troops. The Germans actually designated close air support squadrons, specially equipped and trained for the Michael Offensive in March 1918. Similarly, the British supported tanks and infantry with air in the successful attack of August 1918. It was this situation that General Eric Ludendorff described as the blackest day in the war. As the world approached World War II, there was more movement toward creating joint capabilities in the interwar period. Leaders showed considerable interest in strategic bombing, while also supporting other missions on ground. This enabled the actors involved to devoted substantial resources to assist the army in combined-arms mechanized warfare.

The need for Joint warfare became evident in World War II. Initially, the navy and air force exhibited virtually no interest in working together, the results were evident. The British organized the only joint higher command during the interwar years known as the Chiefs of Staff Subcommittee. On the other hand, the military proved unwilling to develop joint doctrine and capabilities. The Royal Air Force, fearing that joint cooperation would end its independence as a separate service, wrote such exclusionary basic doctrine on strategic bombing that real teamwork among services hardly existed. When war came in 1939, the air force proved quickly that it could support neither land forces with interdiction attacks nor maritime forces in protecting sea lines of communication in the Atlantic. In addition, the air force provided the navy with carrier aircraft that were obsolete in comparison to American and Japanese planes.

The American record is much better in several respects. The nascent air service, which was a branch of the Army administratively, displayed much the same disregard for past experience as did the Royal Air Force in Britain; it was uninterested in cooperating with land or naval forces. In the sphere of joint amphibious doctrine, however, the United States was ahead of other nations, undoubtedly because of the peculiarities of its military organization. The Department of the Navy had its own land force, the Marine Corps, and because no unified air component had been created, both the Navy and Marines had air assets. Maritime strategists considered joint amphibious operations by the realities of distance in the Pacific. It was clear that amphibious capabilities would be needed to seize logistic bases in the region. The Marines led the effort on amphibious warfare throughout this period. By the outbreak of World War II, the Corps developed doctrine and procedures with considerable cooperation from the Navy and some help from the Army. Although the equipment required for such operations had not been fielded, the services had established a conceptual basis for joint amphibious operations.

The conduct of joint warfare by the Allies was on a different plane. On the strategic level, the organizational structure for analyzing strategic and military problems that the British had created before World War II played a major role. The system was not so impressive in the early years, but that was largely due to overwhelming Axis strength. But Britain was able to set the conditions for the recovery of Western fortunes once the United States entered the war. The analytic power of the system persuaded America to embark on major operations in the Mediterranean, a commitment that was fundamentally counter to Washington's view of the war. The success of this approach by London to a joint articulation of strategy, particularly at the Casablanca Conference, led to the establishment of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and an organizational approach that emphasized jointness on the operational level.

### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 2

| Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This     |
|--|
| should not take you more than 3 minutes.                                 |
| 1. The seven-years war was also known as?                                |
| 2. In which year did both the Allies and Germany use aircraft to support |
| ground attacks?  |
| 3. The need for Joint warfare became evident in?                         |
|  |

## 2.6 Unconventional Warfare and Counterterrorism

You will observe that the discussion on joint warfare above has largely focused on regular warfare. However, given the nature of terrorism, states have adopted the strategy of irregular warfare to counterterrorism. The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, marked the emergence of a very different form of warfare than has been the focus of strategic military planning after World War II, particularly during the Cold War.

Unconventional Warfare consists of activities conducted to enable a resistance movement or insurgency to coerce, disrupt or overthrow an occupying power or government by operating through or with an underground, auxiliary or guerrilla force in a denied area. Unconventional warfare is a broad spectrum of military and paramilitary operations conducted in an enemy-held, enemy-controlled, or politically sensitive territory. Unconventional warfare includes, but is not limited to the interrelated fields of guerrilla warfare, subversion, sabotage, and other operations of a low visibility, covert or clandestine nature. Historically referred to as "insurgency," "terrorism," and "counterterrorism," irregular warfare seeks asymmetrical combat approaches used in order to erode an adversary's power, influence, and will to fight. Both state and nonstate adversaries have used irregular warfare to advance their strategic goals.

From a strict doctrinal perspective, counterterrorism is a Special Operation Force mission, typically involving direct action by Special Operation Force. Nevertheless, operations against terrorist cells can take place in the context of conventional or Irregular War campaigns. Operations against terrorists conducted as part of larger, counterterrorism campaign can take the form cordon and search operations to flush out individual terrorists or small cells from their safe havens; conventional ground forces can conduct targeted raids against terrorist targets; or longer-range strike capabilities, such as aircraft, cruise missiles, and unmanned combat aerial vehicles, can be employed. In developing a counterterrorism force, it should be noted that there would be a separation of function between the clandestine collectors of the intelligence community and the military who would be involved in carrying out terrorism preemption operations, so that the former would not be compromised; however, there would be a close interrelationship between them.

Joint special operations now play significant role in the war on terrorism. Four types of operations fall under the special operations that are essential in counterterrorism. The first is Direct action missions, which involve unilateral action by special operations forces in a hostile environment. Second is Counterterrorism, which involves continuous activities dedicated to preempting and terminating a terrorist act. Third is Psychological operations, which are activities which enhance the successes of the other special operations subsets by contributing to political objectives and exploiting cultural susceptibilities. Fourth is Unconventional warfare, which involves assisting guerrilla forces engaged in a revolutionary war. Unconventional warfare, is particularly attuned to providing the basis to counter or preempt those who engage in nonterritorial terrorism.

The global war on terror is defined by its long-term and irregular nature, hence our focus in this section of the module. Unconventional warfare as the name implies requires an approach that does not solely focus on conventional capabilities or direct-action missions to kill or capture terrorists and their supporters. For example, in the United States, recognizing the irregular nature of the global war on terror, the Department of Defense came up with a National Military Strategic Plan for the War on terrorism. This plan established six military strategic objectives to achieve the goal of the global war on terror. The six objectives are: denying terrorists the resources they need to operate and survive; enabling partner nations to counter terrorist threats; denying weapons of mass destruction technology to our enemies and increasing capacity for consequence management; defeating our terrorist organizations and networks; countering state and non-state support for terrorism in coordination with other U.S. Government agencies and partner nations; and countering ideological support for terrorism.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes.

1. Briefly explain the relationship between irregular warfare and counterterrorism

2. Identify the four types of operations fall under the special operations that are essential in counterterrorism

3. List the main actors that have used irregular warfare to advance their strategic goals

# 2.7 Summary

In this unit, we examined the development of joint warfare and counterterrorism. We stated that joint Warfare is a military doctrine which places priority on the integration of the various military unit services. Our examination of the evolution of joint warfare reveals it has passed through different historical epochs, with each epoch revealing the imperativeness of joint warfare. Poses intractable problems. Moreover, such capabilities can require levels of spending that cannot be allocated to the military in peacetime. It was suggested by Howard R. Simpson, who wrote a "Organizing Counter-Terrorism" pioneering article, for that counterterrorism must not be wholly military affair but should have minimum representation from the civilian departments and agencies involved. Unconventional warfare can be highly effective at countering state sponsored terrorism. However, unconventional warfare can be a costly form of war with long-term implications for the spread of ungoverned space and state fragility.

# 2.8 References /Further Readings/Web Resources

- Stephen Sloan (1986). Beating International Terrorism: An Action Strategy for Preemption and Punishment. Air University Press
- Kilcullen, D. (2019). The Evolution of Unconventional Warfare. *Scandinavian Journal of Military Studies*, 2(1), 61–71.
- Clifford J. Rogers, War Cruel and Sharp, English Strategy under Edward III, 1327-1360 (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell Press, 2000), p. 198.

#### 2.9 Possible Answers to Self-assessment Exercise

#### SAE 1

| 1.      | True                    |
|---------|-------------------------|
| 2.      | 1714                    |
| 3.      | 18th century            |
| 4. Atla | intic and Mediterranean |

1. the French and Indian Wars in North America

2. 1918

3. World War II

#### SAE 3

1. Unconventional warfare is a broad spectrum of military and paramilitary operations conducted in an enemy-held, enemy-controlled, or politically sensitive territory. Counterterrorism operations against terrorist cells can take place in the context of conventional or Irregular War campaigns.

2. Direct action missions, Counterterrorism, Psychological operations, and Unconventional warfare.

3. state and nonstate actors

# UNIT 3: THE ROLE OF DIPLOMACY IN THE WAR ON TERRORISM

### **Unit Structure**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 The Resurgence of Diplomatic Theory
  - 3.4 Diplomacy and Dimensions of the US War on Terrorism
  - 3.5 The UN and International Cooperation in the War on Terrorism

3.5.1 International diplomacy in the United Nations and the War on Terrorism

- 3.6 Summary.
- 3.7 References /Further Readings/Web Resources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

# **3.1 Introduction**

This unit is vital to this course because it examines the role of diplomacy in the war on terror. The main sections of this unit will show how the war on terror has taken the centre stage in world politics since September 11, 2001, and how it has taken up the sphere of diplomacy, as an instrument to help America gather international support to enhance global awareness of counter terrorism. Indeed, much of the scholarship on CT focuses on the global war on terror that emerged in the early twenty-first century starting with 9/11. It is far less common for scholars of CT, and particularly of diplomacy, to examine how terrorism was countered by means of public diplomacy during different periods of the Cold War, even though many terrorist organizations emerged since the 1960s, all of which required various nations to address the problem and take counter action.

# **3.2 Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

- Understand and explain diplomacy and its resurgence in the War on Terror
- State the role of diplomacy in combating terrorism
- Identify and explain the different dimensions of the US War on terror
- Explain the significance of international diplomacy and role of the United Nations in the War on Terrorism

### **Main Section**

### 3.3 The Resurgence of Diplomatic Theory

Traditional diplomacy that originated alongside the diplomatic theory and was institutionalized in the seventeenth century. It was sufficient in explaining developments within the same period and even much later. However, the modern diplomatic environment has been characterized by a mixture of state, non-state and rogue diplomatic actors. This makes current diplomatic theory somewhat in adequate in terms of bridging the gap between the historical and modern, and between the diplomatic theory and diplomatic practice. Consequently, diplomatic studies need to move beyond its culture of theoretical resistance and embrace both the idea of grand and abstract theorizing and the many benefits that would follow. Diplomatic theory must recognize that modern diplomacy does not take place simply between states but wherever people live in different groups. According to Paul Sharp, the demands for diplomacy, and the need for the insights of diplomatic theory, are on the rise. In contrast to conventional texts which use international relations theories to make sense of what diplomacy and diplomats do. Sharp identifies a diplomatic tradition of international thought premised on the way people live in groups, the differences between intra-and inter-group relations, and the perspectives which those who handle inter-group relations develop about the sorts of international disputes which occur. He argues that the lessons of diplomacy are that we should be reluctant to judge, ready to appease, and alert to the partial grounds on which most universal claims about human beings are made.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 1**

|  |        | ( / |           |  |  |  |
|--|--------|-----|-----------|--|--|--|
| Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This |        |     |           |  |  |  |
| should not take you more than 5 minutes.                             |        |     |           |  |  |  |
| 1. What c  | entury | was | diplomacy |  |  |  |
| institutionalized  |        | ?   |           |  |  |  |
| 2. Diplomacy does not take place simply between                      |        |     |           |  |  |  |
| but wherever people live in different                                |        |     |           |  |  |  |
| 3. Who argues that the demand for diplomacy and the need for the     |        |     |           |  |  |  |
| insights of diplomatic theory are on the rise?                       |        |     |           |  |  |  |
|  |        |     |           |  |  |  |

#### 3.4 Diplomacy and Dimensions of the US War on Terrorism

Diplomacy has a significant and irreplaceable role in the fight against modern terrorism. What we think of as the core skills of diplomacy probably appeared at the very beginning of human civilization during the creation of first organized human communities. Although warfare and the use of weapons have been the most important means of foreign policy for thousands of years, the appearance of nation-states has necessarily led to diplomatic communication among them. As a result, it is possible to identify certain traditions of diplomatic practice in the ancient empires of China, India, Assyria, Egypt, Persia, etc. Since time immemorial, war and diplomacy have remained inseparable. While diplomatic efforts are often praised for shortening the timespan of some wars, they have been criticized for exacerbating others. The interaction of war and diplomacy is thus an interesting area, especially in the context of the current war on terrorism.

Diplomacy plays an important role in the strategic efforts to win the larger war on terrorism. Embassies and diplomatic personnel are on the front lines of the war on terrorism. On a daily basis, they are enlisting assistance in foreign countries from Presidents and Prime Ministers all the way down to the local police. Staff is mostly stationed in various U.S. missions abroad carry out the functions of public diplomacy. These functions include:

- A. Short-term functions: explaining the existing politics of the United States, forwarding of speeches of the U.S. President and Secretary of State and representatives of these officials during state visits
- **B.** Long-term functions: exchanges involving students, libraries, and American Studies programmes; building relationships with writers and editors who accept American values; publication of academic journals in local languages

Through diplomacy, the US was able to build a coalition against terrorism unlike any other. Since 9/11, more than 90 nations arrested or detained over 2,700 terrorists and their supporters. Not less than 17 nations contributed nearly 6,000 troops to Operation Enduring Freedom and to the International Security Assistance Force in Kabul. Th NATO members and partners have played an especially key role. 161 countries have blocked terrorist assets totaling US\$116 million-US\$34 million in the U.S. and US\$82 million abroad. The US war on terrorism was a multidimensional campaign of almost limitless scope. The diplomatic/international dimension is only one of the dimensions to the war on terror. The main dimensions include: diplomatic/international dimension; military dimension; intelligence dimension and domestic dimension.

Its diplomatic/international dimension included continuing efforts to construct and maintain a global coalition of partner states and organizations and an extensive public diplomacy campaign to counter anti-Americanism in the Middle East. Its military dimension involved major wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, covert operations in Yemen and elsewhere, large-scale military-assistance programs for cooperative regimes, and major increases in military spending. Its intelligence dimension comprised institutional reorganization and considerable increases in the funding of America's intelligence-gathering capabilities, a global program of capturing terrorist suspects and interning them at Guantánamo Bay, expanded cooperation with foreign intelligence agencies, and the tracking and interception of terrorist financing. The domestic dimension of the U.S. war on terrorism entailed new antiterrorism legislation, such as the USA PATRIOT Act; new security institutions, such as the Department of Homeland Security; the preventive detainment of thousands of suspects; surveillance and intelligencegathering programs by the National Security Agency (NSA), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and local authorities; the strengthening of emergency-response procedures; and increased security measures for airports, borders, and public events.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. Identify the different dimensions of the US War on terror.

2. Briefly explain the Diplomatic dimension of the US War on terrorism

*3.* State the significance of the military dimension of the US war on terror

# 3.5 The UN and International Cooperation in the War on Terrorism

The transnational nature of terrorism makes it necessary to ensure effective and efficient international and regional cooperation in criminal matters related to terrorism and the designation of relevant authorities to direct such cooperation. The Terrorism Prevention Branch (TPB) of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) helps establish strong cooperation agreements among Member States worldwide, with a view to facilitate requests for mutual legal assistance and extradition, which often play an essential part in the prosecution of terrorist cases transcending national borders. Since the Global Project on Strengthening the Legal Regime against Terrorism was launched in 2003, the Terrorism Prevention Branch has developed strong expertise in this area supported 58

by the publication of a large number of technical assistance tools in all United Nations official languages as well as in some local languages to enable the creation of necessary expertise among national criminal justice officials to effectively prosecute cross-border terrorist cases. In addition, the Branch has supported the creation of informal networks of national focal points (Regional Judicial Platforms for Sahel and the Indian Ocean Commission Countries) and on efforts to establish national central authorities to help facilitate international cooperation in criminal matters. More recently, UNODC/TPB has launched a new project under UNODC's Global Initiative on Strengthening the Legal Regime against FTFs in the Middle East, North Africa and South-East Europe, aimed at supporting the establishment of a Multi-Agency Task Force to strengthen international cooperation in Foreign *Terrorist* Fighters (FTF) related cases in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region.

# 3.5.1 International diplomacy in the United Nations and the War on Terrorism

There have been numerous attempts to engage the United Nations in a meaningful campaign against state-supported and other terrorist activities. But the inherently political nature of terrorism has made it exceedingly difficult to gain global consensus on who even qualifies as a terrorist, much less agreement on counterterrorism measures to pursue.

The rise of al Qaeda, the events of 9/11, the Madrid train bombing, and the London mass transit bombings provided the international community and United Nations with new impetus to respond to terrorism. Although a series of international conventions were adopted and a short-lived independent monitoring group was established, the strategy that UN secretary general Kofi Annan proposed to the General Assembly in May 2006 contains many proposed measures and objectives that remain unfulfilled, thus rendering the UN virtually impotent against terrorism. As one of five Security Council-appointed international monitors on the measures being taken against al Qaeda and the Taliban, Comras had the rare opportunity to observe the UN's counterterrorism activities. He delves into the UN's role in dealing with terrorism, explores the international political realities and institutional problems that make it difficult for the UN to successfully implement and monitor counterterrorism measures, and describes both the UN's successes and failures, ultimately laying out a case for creating a stronger, more effective UN response. Flawed Diplomacy is an invaluable resource for anyone interested in the war on terrorism and in gaining knowledge about the UN's inner workings.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes. What is the full meaning of FTF in the context of terrorism? 1. 2. Which of this best capture the full meaning of UNODC United Nations Office on Drugs and Control a. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime b.

- c. United Nations Office on Division and Control
- d. United Nations Office on Directorate and Crime

3. Complete this statement: The rise of al Qaeda, the events of 9/11, the Madrid train bombing, and the London mass transit bombings provided the international community and \_\_\_\_\_\_ with new impetus to respond to terrorism.

## 3.6 Summary.

Diplomacy plays an important role in the war on terrorism. Since the events of 9/11, the US has remained the major power in the global war on terror. The US war on terror can be examined from various dimensions diplomatic/international dimension; military namely: dimension: intelligence dimension and domestic dimension. Apart from the events of 9/11, other terrorist events that have necessitated increased involvement of the United Nations and the international community in the war against terror include: the Madrid train bombing, and the London mass transit bombings provided the international community and United Nations with new impetus to respond to terrorism. Since then, the UN has adopted several international conventions and proposed measures and objectives, however, many of these have remain unfulfilled, thus rendering the UN impotent against terrorism.

# **3.7** References /Further Readings/Web Resources

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- Pesto, H. (2010). The Role of Diplomacy in the Fight Against Terrorism. *Connections*, 10(1), 64–81. <u>http://www.jstor.org/stable/26326234</u>

Stuart, M. (2013), The Renaissance of diplomatic theory

Victor, D. Comras, (2010), Flawed Diplomacy: The United Nations & the War on Terrorism. Potomac Books, Inc.

# 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

# Answers to SAEs 1

- *1. Seventeenth century.*
- 2. States, Groups.
- 3. Paul Sharp.

# Answers to SAEs 2

*1.* The different dimensions include: diplomatic/international dimension; military dimension; intelligence dimension and domestic dimension 2008.

2. *The* diplomatic/international dimension entailed continuing diplomatic efforts to win partners in the war against global terror. It also entailed maintaining a global coalition of partner states and organizations and an extensive public diplomacy campaign to counter anti-Americanism in the Middle East

3. The military dimension of the US war on terror is significant because of the violent nature of terrorism. It involved major wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, covert operations in Yemen and elsewhere, large-scale military-assistance programs for cooperative regimes

# Answers to SAEs 3

- *1.* Foreign *Terrorist* Fighters
- 2. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
- *3.* United Nations

# UNIT 4: THE WAR ON TERROR AND HUMAN SECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES

## **Unit Structure**

- 4.1.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 The USA War on Terror: From Bush Administration to Barack Obama
  - 4.4 Human Security in the United States
  - 4.5 Evaluation of Security in the United States
  - 4.5.1 Health Security in the US
  - 4.5.2 Environmental Security in the US
  - 4.5.3 Economic Security in the US
  - 4.5.4 Political Security in the US
  - 4.5.5 Food Security in the US
  - 4.5.6 Community Security in the US
  - 4.5.7 Personal Security in the US
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References /Further Readings/Web Resources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

#### 4.1 Introduction

In this unit, we focus on the implications of the war on terror for human security specifically on the United States of America. The United States possesses enormous military power, and has the capability to overpower most of the opponents it might have a conflict with, even if they do not have an ally in that conflict. However, there is some concern in the U.S. regarding their military power. There are four main reasons for this concern: understanding the limitations of military power; the motivations of other states and non-state actors to challenge the United States; a misunderstanding of the nature of the challenge to be faced, and thus a misunderstanding of the nature of the appropriate responses to that challenge; and a tendency to overlook the values that are at stake, the values that the U.S. aspires to embody. After the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, the U.S. developed a new national security strategy in order to fight global terrorism. U.S. military power became the key weapon in this fight, and it was also used to prevent potential threats. In essence, it can be argued that no great power in world history comes close to enjoying the traditional state security that the United States does today. However, the US has committed significant resources in the war against terror, which has implications for human security at the domestic level.

# **4.2Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this unit you should be able to:

- Trace the roles of different administrations in the US in the War against Terror
- Identify the major successes and criticisms of the war on terror
- To evaluate human security performance of the USA

# **Main Section**

# 4.3 The USA War on Terror: From Bush Administration to Barack Obama

The successes of the first years of the war on terrorism included the arrest of hundreds of terrorist suspects around the world, the prevention of further large-scale terrorist attacks on the American mainland, the toppling of the Taliban regime and subsequent closure of terrorist-training camps in Afghanistan, the capture or elimination of many of al-Qaeda's senior members, and increased levels of international cooperation in global counterterrorism efforts. However, critics argued that the failures of America's counterterrorism campaign outweighed its successes. They contended that the war in Afghanistan had effectively scattered the al-Qaeda network, thereby making it even harder to counteract, and that the attacks in Afghanistan and Iraq had increased anti-Americanism among the world's Muslims, thereby amplifying the message of militant Islam and uniting disparate groups in a common cause. Some critics alleged that the war on terrorism was a manufactured smokescreen for the pursuit of a larger U.S. geopolitical agenda that included controlling global oil reserves, increasing defense spending, expanding the country's international military presence, and countering the strategic challenge posed by various regional powers. By the time of U.S. President George W. Bush's reelection in 2004, the drawbacks of the war on terrorism were becoming apparent. In Iraq, U.S. forces had overthrown the government of Saddam Hussein in 2003, and U.S. war planners had underestimated the difficulties of building a functioning government from scratch and neglected to consider how this effort could be complicated by Iraq's sectarian tensions, which had been held in check by Saddam's repressive regime but were unleashed by his removal.

By late 2004 it was clear that Iraq was sinking into chaos and civil war; estimates of the number of Iraqi civilians killed during the period of maximum violence roughly 2004 to 2007vary widely but generally exceed 200,000. U.S. casualties during this period far outnumbered those

suffered during the initial 2003 invasion. Afghanistan, which for several years had seemed to be under control, soon followed a similar trajectory, and by 2006 the U.S. was facing a full-blown insurgency there led by a reconstituted Taliban. The Bush administration faced domestic and international criticism for actions that it deemed necessary to fight terrorism but which critics considered to be immoral, illegal, or both. These included the detention of accused enemy combatants without trial at Guantánamo Bay and at several secret prisons outside the United States, the use of torture against these detainees in an effort to extract intelligence, and the use of unmanned combat drones to kill suspected enemies in countries far beyond the battlefields of Iraq and Afghanistan.

By the last years of Bush's presidency, public opinion had turned strongly negative concerning his handling of the Iraq War and other national security matters. This discontent helped Barack Obama, an outspoken critic of Bush's foreign policy, win the presidency in 2008. Under the new administration, the expression war on terrorism still closely associated with Bush policies quickly disappeared from official communications. Obama made the rejection explicit in a 2013 speech in which he stated that the United States would eschew a boundless, vaguely defined "global war on terrorism" in favor of more focused actions against specific hostile groups.

Under Obama, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan were gradually wound down, although at the end of Obama's presidency in 2016 there were still U.S. troops in both countries. It is worth noting that beneath Obama's rejection of the war on terrorism as a rhetorical device and as a conceptual framework for national security there were important continuities with the policies of his predecessor. The Obama administration's use of drones aligned with his ambition to keep up the war against al Qaeda while extricating the US military from intractable, costly ground wars in the Middle East and Asia. But the targeted killing programme has drawn much criticism. The Obama administration insisted that drone strikes are "exceptionally surgical and precise" that they pluck off terror suspects while not putting "innocent men, women and children in danger". The Obama administration carried out more drone strikes in his first year than Bush carried out during his entire presidency. A total of 563 strikes, largely by drones, targeted Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen during Obama's two terms, compared to 57 strikes under Bush. Special operations forces were greatly expanded and increasingly deployed to conduct low-profile military interventions in countries outside of acknowledged war zones and U.S. security agencies continued to exercise the wide-ranging surveillance powers that they had accumulated during the Bush administration despite protests from civil liberties groups.

# SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 1

# 4.4 Human Security in the United States

The U.S. Government does not have a definition of Human Security. However, the term is linked to a speech by former U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt. In his "Four Freedoms" speech to Congress in 1941, Roosevelt made the case for the U.S. intervention in World War II to stop the advancement of Hitler in Europe. The freedoms Roosevelt described include: Freedom from fear; Freedom from want; Freedom of speech and Freedom of religion. These freedoms are often described by the United Nations as forming the basis for Human Security, a term that recognizes human beings need a combination of physical security, human rights, and development to be safe from harm. Human and national security are mutually exclusive. The two are interdependent and national security cannot exist without human security. National security thinkers tend to focus on catastrophic nuclear attack as an existential threat, but they ignore how climate change, disease, and contestations over identity are also existential threats to society. The latter gets overlooked for cultural reasons in the U.S., but also the national security system fares poorly with slow-moving calamities like climate change. The US tends to pay attention and respond to a crisis like a country invading another or a major terrorist attack than on issues like climate change.

In the United States, human security is often treated as a foreign policy matter that is implemented by U.S. Agency for International Development through its programs that address food scarcity or U.S. Department of State through its programs that address public health. Within the U.S., human security issues such as poverty, literacy, and health are addressed by state governments, non-governmental organizations, and the private sector. Yet, the global pandemic of severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2 or COVID-19) illustrates there is an urgency

to improve public health inside the United States and consider how the pandemic undermines U.S. national security through loss of life, economic decline, and loss of credibility. The national government seems better at addressing a pandemic 8,000 miles away rather than within U.S. borders.

# 4.5 Evaluation of Human Security in the US

To evaluate whether the United States is "human secure," requires considering whether a majority of Americans have attained an ideal level of each indicator of human security namely:

- Health security: the threat of injury and disease
- Environmental security: the threat of pollution, environmental degradation, and resource depletion
- Economic security: the threat of poverty
- Political security: the threat of political repression
- Food security: the threat of hunger and famine
- Community security: the threat to the integrity of cultures
- Personal security: the threat of various forms of violence

# 4.5.1 Health Security in the US

Americans live long and healthy lives. Infant mortality is low and only a small percentage of children (between 1 and 4 percent) suffer malnourishment. In the 1960s, women lived to about age 73; now, the average life expectancy is about 81. Men's life expectancy during the same period has risen from age 66 to about 76. Moreover, a tiny fraction of Americans suffers premature death14 percent of men and 8 percent of women. There are a few negative trends. For instance, more women are dying in childbirth in the United States now than in the past. Suicide, is also becoming more common in the USA.

# 4.5.2 Environmental Security in the US

Americans enjoy a high and growing level of "environmental security. Population growth for example, has slowed. Since 1960, population growth has declined from 1.7 percent to 0.8 percent, and the number of births per woman has declined from 3.7 children to 2.1 children. Forest coverage, is increasing. That development is partly driven by increased productivity in farming, which also allows more Americans to be fed by less land under cultivation. However, carbon dioxide emissions have risen since the 1960s. Americans are vulnerability to extreme weather. Nearly 1,000 Americans died each year, on average, from hurricanes in the first decade of the 20th century

# **4.5.3 Economic Security in the US**

Poverty, one indication of a lack of economic security, is uncommon in the United States. When official data were first collected, the poverty rate was about 22 percent of the population. It soon dropped, and for about the past 50 years, the poverty rate has hovered between 12 and 15 percent. Therefore, a minority of Americans lack sufficient income with which to obtain basic necessities. Since the 1950s, inflation-adjusted GDP per person has risen from under \$15,000 to over \$48,000. As poverty persists in the United States for a minority, the vast majority grows more secure economically every year.

# 4.5.4 Political Security in the US

The repression of individuals and government control of information are primary indicators of political security. The rule of law has improved in the United States since 1996, from a score of 3.95 to 4.09 on a 5-point scale. And Americans have enjoyed essentially perfect civil liberties since the early 1970s. The same goes for political rights. It is legitimate to question whether those latter scores are deserved considering the previously mentioned abuses. However, freedom of speech and free press has declined since 2009. The storming of the United States Capitol on January 6. 2021. by a mob of supporters of Republican President Donald J. Trump reveals a decline in political security. The attack disrupted a joint session of Congress convened to certify the results of the presidential election of 2020 in which Joe Biden defeated Donald Trump.

# 4.5.5 Food Security in the US

Most Americans have reliable access to food. Americans spend less of their total household expenditure on food over time. Those great advances in food security are partly responsible for the fact that Americans' food consumption exceeds what is necessary for survival and has increased over time.

# 4.5.6 Community Security in the US

Community security includes discriminatory violence against any particular communities. Community tensions have declined in the USA judging from experiences of the 1940s. For example, 68 percent of whites supported school segregation in the 1940s, and now fewer than 5 percent do. Racial violence has changed dramatically.

### 4.5.7 Personal Security in the US

Personal security is also an indicator of human security. Violence has been in decline over long stretches of history. Spousal abuse in the United States is rare and dropping. In 1993, about 1,000 women per 100,000 were assaulted by their spouses. In 2005, about 350 women out of 100,000 were assaulted. although intentional homicide in the United States rose in the 2000s, the rate dropped to about 13,000 homicides per year. Openly violent acts of racism are less prevalent, but acts of police brutality and the mass incarceration of racial minorities are continuing to be major issues within the United States. The new wave of civil unrest in the United States was triggered by the murder of George Floyd during his arrest by Minneapolis police officers on May 25, 2020. This led to riots and protests against systemic racism towards African Americans in the United States, in the form of police violence.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 2**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes.

1. The USA links the term human security to the speech of President\_\_\_\_\_

2. In the United States, human security is often treated as a \_\_\_\_\_\_\_matter

3. Identify any major challenge to *p*ersonal security as an indicator of human security in the USA.

#### 4.6 Summary.

The war on terror has implications for human security for both the United States of America and countries that are worst hit by the war. Though the U.S. Government does not have a definition of Human Security, it has largely anchored its understanding of the term from the perspective of its former U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who make a strong case for "Four Freedoms" namely, Freedom from fear; Freedom from want; Freedom of speech and Freedom of religion. Despite the fact committing significant resources in the war against terror, an evaluation of the human security performance of the US reveals that its health, environmental, economic, political security, food security, community and personal securities have improved over the years. Even so, poverty, political, communal and personal insecurities threaten minority groups in the US. An example cited in this unit is the acts of police brutality and the mass incarceration of racial minorities.

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### 4.8 **Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)**

#### Answers to SAEs 1

1. The indicators of successes in the first years of the war on terrorism included the arrest of hundreds of terrorist suspects, the prevention of further large-scale terrorist attacks on the American mainland, the toppling of the Taliban regime and subsequent closure of terrorist-training camps in Afghanistan, etc.

#### 2. b. Obama Administration

3. The war on terrorism has been criticized as a manufactured smokescreen by the USA to pursue a larger geopolitical agenda that included controlling global oil reserves, increased defense spending, and expand the country's international military presence.

#### Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. Franklin D. Roosevelt
- 2. foreign policy
- 3. Police brutality and mass incarceration of racial minorities



# MODULE 3: MANAGING THE EMERGENCY CONSEQUENCES OF TERRORIST INCIDENTS.

- Unit 1: Inter- State Agency Coordination in Counter Terrorism
- Unit 2: Planning and Implementation of Counter Terrorism for Human Security
- Unit 3: Covert Action and National Security Governance
- Unit 4: Counter-Intelligence Operations

# UNIT 1: INTER- STATE AGENCY COORDINATION IN COUNTER TERRORISM

## **Unit Structure**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 The UN and Inter-State Agency Coordination in Countering Terrorism
  - 1.3.1 The INTERPOL and Inter-State Agency Coordination in Countering Terrorism
  - 1.4 Intra-State Agency Coordination in Countering Terrorism
  - 1.5 Challenges of Inter-Agency Coordination in Counter-Terrorism
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 Glossary
- 1.8 References /Further Readings/Web Resources/Further Readings
- 1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s) within the content

# **1.1 Introduction**

As transnational terrorism grew, states saw the need for greater cooperation in order to counter it. After 9/11 terrorist attacks, there was a duplication of efforts to cultivate a coordinated response at the global and regional levels. It became very crucial for countries around the world to come together to coordinate their counter terrorism efforts and this was achieved through the coordination of the various counterterrorism agencies within each country. It was against this backdrop that the United Nations instituted the United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT) to serve as lead and to coordinate all-of-UN approach to prevent and counter terrorism and violent extremism. As the COVID-19 pandemic swept the world, UNOCT scaled up its efforts to help Member States achieve a world free from terrorism by adapting and innovating to meet this challenging moment. At the national level, Nigeria, which has also been faced by threats of terrorism by the Boko Haram has put in place

mechanism for the coordination of counterterrorism efforts by the security agencies and other bodies in the country.

# **1.2 Learning Outcomes.**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss the role of the UN in Inter-State Agency Coordination in Countering Terrorism
- Explain how the INTERPOL supports the UN's effort in global countering terrorism
- Identify major intra-state agencies and their roles in counterterrorism in Nigeria
- Understand the challenges of inter-agency coordination in counterterrorism

# **Main Section**

# 1.3 The UN and Inter-State Agency Coordination in Countering Terrorism

This global efforts for a coordinated international response to terrorism started before the events of September 11, 2001. In 1994, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) issued the Declaration on actions to eradicate global terror threats. In this declaration, the UN asked its member States to take all suitable arrangements at both state and global levels to eradicate radicalism and further emphasized the need to further international cooperation between States. The UN Security Council (UNSC) also appealed its authority under Charter VII of the UN Charter, demanding that States root out terrorists within their territories. Similarly, Security Council Resolutions 1377 (2001), 1540 (2004), 1566 (2004), and 1624 (2006) describes intercontinental radicalism as the utmost stern threat to global peace and called on states to participate in a continued allinclusive tactic comprising the vigorous contribution and alliance of Member States of the UN to contest the menace of global terrorism. The UN has also instituted the United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT). This organization effort is supported and funded by UN members as through their individual membership of the Global Counter-Terrorism Coordination Compact. This contract involves the 36 UN entities and the Secretary General of UN as well as the international criminal organisation (INTERPOL) and the World Customs Organisation (WCO) that was formed to counter terrorism design. It is the biggest organization structure at the UN through the institution's three pillars of work: peace and security, sustainable growth, human rights and

humanitarian affairs. Housed by Global Counter-Terrorism Coordination Compact, inter-agency working groups were instituted to enhance all of the UN's CT strategies and efforts. These working groups have a mandate of ensuring timely sharing of the information, combined programming and resource utilization determinations, to evade excessive replication of efforts and enhance synergies.

The inter-agency working groups are divided according to the role they play in the coordination compact. The working groups are; evolving terror threats and structural safety, state and regional strategies to counter terror attacks, justice for crime, reaction from legal bodies and combating the funding of terror activities, protection of boundaries and implementation of law to counter terror activities, averting and combating radicalization and activities encouraging terrorism growth while providing an protection of human right and advocating for the rule of law, combating terrorism and giving the necessary support to the victims of terror activities. The groups also adopt an approach sensitive to gender to stop and averting terror related activities and rallying the resources for UN counter terrorism commitments and monitoring and evaluation.

# 1.3.1 The INTERPOL and Inter-State Agency Coordination in Countering Terrorism

The International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol) has also played a major role in inter-State coordination in CT efforts around the world. Interpol has created a platform where countries can share biometric data on foreign terrorist fighters. This biometric information has been successful in rutting out individuals using a false identity, thereby improving efforts to locate terrorists and carry out successful investigations and prosecutions. This platform operates on a principle of 'need to share' and 'need to know' basis, where the law enforcement agencies in all Interpol partner States are trained on how to record the biometric information of all individuals convicted of terrorism charges. This information is then stored in searchable Interpol databases where agencies from different member States canaccess it.

An important strategy the INTERPOL employs in intercepting terrorists in other states is through implementation of a military-to-police information exchange model (Mi-Lex) that puts information from conflict hotspots into the hands of respective local law enforcement to continue the process with police investigation and prosecution. With the Mi-Lex platform, military officers in the battlefield are able to share declassified information with relevant Interpol information bureaus, where authorized officialsfrom member countries can access the information for investigative purposes. Buoyed by the successes of these initiatives, Interpol has furthered the State-to-State coordination and cooperation, by connecting and coordinating intelligence between regions that have not beenin communication with each other. They have demarcated the globe into six regions; Amazon (North and South America), Baobab (Sub-Saharan Africa), Al-Qaeda (North Africa and Mediterranean), Nexus (Europe), Kalkan (Central Asia and Far East) and Pacific (South East Asia and Australia). These regions have not before this worked together, and under Interpol'sfocus on regional cooperation in sharing intelligence and time sensitive information that can boost counter-terrorism efforts in any of these six regions. The efforts are further vindicated by Sahar Aziz's argument that the rise in trans-national terrorism has made States' counterterrorism policies interdependent, and generated multiple international counter- terrorism instruments. In a post-9/11 world, police institutions across the world have freely established global framework and policies regardless of global accords.

INTERPOL's agreement with the United Nations' Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED) means the two bodies can work closely together to implement the UNSC resolutions. The INTERPOL-United Nations Security Council Special Notice is used to alert member countries to individuals and entities associated with Al-Qaida and the Taliban, as listed by the 1267 Committee of the UN Security Council. They have also signed an agreement with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) focusing on operations against organized crime and terrorism. Terrorism poses a direct threat to the security of the citizens of different countries in the world, and to international stability and prosperity. It is a persistent global threat that knows no border, nationality or religion, and is a challenge that the international community must tackle together. The world should continue to fight this threat with determination and in full solidarity. NATO's work on counter-terrorism focuses on improving awareness of the threat, developing capabilities to prepare and respond, and enhancing engagement with partner countries and other international actors.

#### **SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 1**

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

1. What is the major role of the UN in Inter-State Agency Coordination towards counterterrorism?

2. Briefly explain how the INTERPOL supports the efforts of the UN in global countering terrorism

3. Mention one strategy the INTERPOL employs in intercepting terrorists in other states.

# 1.4 Intra-State Agency Coordination in Countering Terrorism

Every nation institutes its own efforts in protecting their own national security, hence, for most of the counterterrorism work is done within a State. Intra-agency coordination within a State will involve coordination and cooperation between multiple State organs and agencies, each with a unique set of capabilities and roles allgeared towards CT efforts. One of the aftermath of 9/11 events is that itushered in a new dispensation of terrorism, nation and society based organisations have adopted several steps to increase the level of preparedness to combat the terror menace. These steps may include; informing common support contract for all eventualities, informing reaction approaches for terror challenges involving chemical, biological and radiological (CBR) and shepherding risk valuations.

Each State has its own security setup when it comes to CT. However, the patterns of operation fall into similar broad categories of CT work. Monitoring of potential terrorists is where all these efforts begin. This includes identification of identifying its citizens or people residing within its borders who are gradually becoming radicalized. This is done by analysingwho they are in contact with, for example a known radicalized individual. The monitoring is done through analyzing their digital footprints, open political statements made by such individuals and any threats they have issued towards the government. This effort is complemented by religious and social institutions, as they are often urged by governments to report any suspicions of radicalization to the police for further investigations. This is best doneearly in the radicalization process so that it's nipped in the bud.

In response to the challenges of Terrorism, Nigeria established the Terrorism Prevention Act 2011 which was later amended in 2013. The Act designates the Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) as the Coordinating Office for Nigeria's Counter terrorism efforts. Consequently, the ONSA coordinates the counterterrorism efforts of Security agencies such as the armed forces, para-military organisations, and private security organisations. Thus, agencies such as State armed forces, policy, Security Service (SSS), National Intelligent Agency (NIA), Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDS), and National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) work with the office of the ONSA. Nigeria also established the Counter Terrorism Centre (CTC) in 2012, and is located in the Office of the National Security Adviser.

## 1.4.1 Nigeria's Counter Terrorism Centre (CTC)

Nigeria's Counter Terrorism Centre (CTC) is headed by a Coordinator who provides leadership, coordination and strategic guidance to security, law enforcement and intelligence agencies. The Centre does not only relate with relevant partners within the Nigerian state. Rather it also partners with donor agencies, Counter Terrorism platforms like the Global Counter Terrorism Forum, Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund, Hedayah based in Abu Dhabi and the United Nations. The CTC has also played active roles in the implementation of National Counter Terrorism Strategy Document (NACTEST) and the National PCVE Program in the country. The CTC is made up of the Joint Terrorism Analysis Branch, National Counter Terrorism Strategy, Explosive Devices Analysis Office and the Preventing Countering Violent Extremism Unit which coordinates the implementation of Nigeria's Policy Framework and National Action Plan for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

*1.* Identify major intra-state agencies involved in counterterrorism in Nigeria

2. Which of these bodies coordinate counterterrorism efforts in Nigeria?

- a. Nigeria Armed Forces
- b. Security Service (SSS)
- c. Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDS)
- d. Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA)

3. What is the major role of the CTC in counterterrorism in Nigeria?

#### 1.5 Challenges of Inter-Agency Coordination in Counter-Terrorism

The foundation of inter-agency coordination should be the common goal of making sure that the process of coordination is successful in bringing together the interests of numerous agencies, and government agendas. administrations with individual However, interagency coordination is not without challenges. The reality is that since most of agencies tasked with counterterrorism are independent State agencies, they tend to assert their independence when working with others. Moreso, the agencies have varied mandates that they carry outwith their unique set of standard operating procedures. The predominant administrative culture of the Intelligence Community and the interior values of the institution limit their members from distribution intelligence, which is critical in counterterrorism.

Communication between different agencies remains a major challenge to interagency cooperation in counterterrorism. In the aftermath of 9/11 attacks in the US, it was later found out that the FBI had information about the number and nature of phone calls that the suspects were having. The CIA on the other hand had information about their movements overseas, showing the places that the suspects were frequenting. Unfortunately, failure to share these two pieces of information led to America's inability to prevent a major terrorist attack on the country. The organizational structure in a state's counter-terrorism agencies should be modified to allow for flawless knowledge sharing between its agencies.

Inter-agency coordination has also experienced the challenge of segregating counter-terrorism efforts either as purely a military matter or a law enforcement matter. Counter-terrorism should not be classified in such a binary form, but rather the entire effort should be a hybrid of all the capabilities of the agencies tasked with CT. Non- militaristic agencies operating in a State will normally have the constitutional mandate to investigate the terrorist acts, as they are usually the first ones on site after an attack. The military agencies on the other hand have the mandate to carry out surveillance and identify anyexternal threats or can follow up on intelligence trails that go beyond the borders of a State, where its local agencies do not have jurisdiction. This way, both the military and civilian agencies can exploit the individual strengths of their unique CT measures for the protection of the country.

In the Nigerian context, the major issue in coordination is the rivalry among the security agencies. For instance, there have been clashes between the Nigerian Police, the Military, and Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps. Several factors explain the inter-agency rivalry. These include: the feeling of superiority by one organization; Indiscipline, arising from a false sense of superiority and lack of *esprit de corps* among the security agencies; pecuniary interest arising from poor remuneration; unhealthy rank comparisons between or among agencies; lack of interservice communication; ineffective command and control; duplicating of functions without clear delimitation of constitutionally assigned operational areas of competency and undue interference in the statutory responsibilities of other agencies; resort to use of force by security personnel at the slightest provocation; and, lack of appropriate sanctions for erring personnel after the clashes.

# SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 3

cooperation in counterterrorism.

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.
1. Complete the following sentence, \_\_\_\_\_\_between different agencies remains a major challenge to interagency

2. What was the major explanation for America's inability to prevent the 9/11 attack on the country?

3. Identify the factors that causes rivalry among the security agencies in Nigeria?

## 1.6 Summary

The cooperation of inter-agencies to improve counter terrorism is very important because terrorism is a global phenomenon and different agencies coming together to eradicate it is vital for us to have a peaceful society because terrorism is a threat to international peace and security. The United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT) coordinates inter-state counterterrorism efforts. It is supported by states as well as international bodies such as the international criminal organisation (INTERPOL) and the World Customs Organisation (WCO). States also establish their coordinating bodies. In the Nigerian context, the Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) as the Coordinating Office for Nigeria's Counter terrorism efforts. Inter and intra-state coordination of counterterrorism is not without challenges. One of the most critical challenges of coordination identified in this unit is the lack of communication between different agencies. At the state level, interagency rivalry remains a major challenge to interagency cooperation in counterterrorism. If state and Non-state actors can work together in solving terrorism it will be great for terrorism transcends beyond boundaries.

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## **1.7** Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

### Answers to SAEs 1

1) The major role of the United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT) is to coordinate all-of-UN approach to prevent and counter terrorism and violent extremism.

2) The INTERPOL plays a major role in inter-State coordination in CT efforts around the world creating a platform where countries can share biometric data on foreign terrorist fighters.

3) An important strategy the INTERPOL employs in intercepting terrorists in other states is through implementation of a military-to-police information exchange model (Mi-Lex) that puts information from conflict hotspots into the hands of respective local law enforcement to continue the process with police investigation and prosecution.

## Answers to SAEs 2

1) State armed forces, policy, Security Service (SSS), National Intelligent Agency (NIA), Nigerian Security and Civil Defence Corps (NSCDS), and National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) etc

2) Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA)

3) The Counter-Terrorism Centre established in Nigeria's Office of the National Security Adviser (ONSA) leads implementation of the Policy Framework and National Action Plan for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism

# Answers to SAEs 3

#### 1) Communication

2) Failure of the FBI and CIA to share information with each other and other security agencies on terrorists groups and their locations.

3) The factors that account for interagency rivalry in Nigeria include, amongst others: the feeling of superiority by one organization; indiscipline, arising from a false sense of superiority and lack of *esprit de corps* among the security agencies; pecuniary interest arising from poor remuneration; unhealthy rank comparisons between or among agencies; lack of inter-service communication

# UNIT 2: PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION OF COUNTER TERRORISM FOR HUMAN SECURITY

## **Unit Structure**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Planning of counterterrorism
  - 2.3.1 Counter terrorism in Africa and the impact of terrorism on human rights
  - 2.3.2 Counter terrorism design principles
  - 2.4 Implementation of counterterrorism
  - 2.5 Success of counter terrorism strategies
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References /Further Readings/Web Resources
- 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

# **2.1 Introduction**.

The human cost of terrorism has been felt in virtually every part of the world. Member states of the United Nations have suffered tragic human losses as a result of violent terrorist acts. Terrorism clearly has a very real and direct impact on human rights, with devastating consequences for the enjoyment of the right to life, liberty and physical integrity of victims. In addition to these individual costs, terrorism can destabilize Governments, undermine civil society, jeopardize peace and security, and threaten social and economic development.

States therefore have an obligation to ensure the human rights of their nationals and others by taking positive measures to protect them against the threat of terrorist acts and bringing the perpetrators of such acts to justice. In recent years, however, the measures adopted by States to counter terrorism have themselves often posed serious challenges to human rights and the rule of law. Resources normally allocated to social programmes and development assistance have been diverted to the security sector, affecting the economic, social and cultural rights of many. These practices, particularly when taken together, have a corrosive effect on the rule of law, good governance and human rights. They are also counterproductive to national and international efforts to combat terrorism. Therefore, this unit seeks to explain the planning and implementation of counter terrorism.

# 2.2 Learning outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss how counter terrorism is planned in different countries for human security.
- Analyze the success of counter terrorism strategies over the years.
- Demonstrate how terrorism has impacted on human right especially in Africa.
- Evaluate how counter terrorism has impacted Africa.

# **Main Section**

# 2.3 Planning of Counterterrorism for Human Security

Planning is the process of thinking regarding the activities required to achieve a desired goal. As terrorism evolves, countries initiate diverse plans to counterterrorism. Basically, the counterterrorism plans are processes of thinking regarding the activities required to prevent and respond to terrorism in countries. Generally, counterterrorism planning and implementation serves to identify the nature of the security threat, the role of security and non-security agencies and emergencies that are dealt with by first responders, including law enforcement. Through counterterrorism planning and implementation, the government maps out strategies for management of terrorist incidents, and the responsibilities of governments at the federal, state and local levels. We shall examine three countries, apart from the United States, that have developed robust and comprehensive counterterrorism planning and implementation with the aim of achieving human security. These countries are: Netherlands, UK and Canada

# 2.3.1 Planning and Implementation of Counterterrorism in the Netherlands for Human Security

The Netherlands plans counterterrorism in a variety of ways. For example, it monitors potential terrorists, promptly identifies individuals who may be becoming radicalized and provides at-risk people and buildings with additional security. The Dutch government takes security measures to protect people and organizations that could become the target of attacks, this reduces the chances of a terrorist attack and if an attack does happen, the Netherlands is prepared to minimize the impact. Examples of measures taken include: Websites that use hate speech or call for violence or discrimination are taken down; The Counterterrorism Alert System warns the government and key sectors about terrorist threats; The Royal Netherlands Air Force monitors Dutch airspace around the clock; Special units from the armed forces and the police collaborate in the Special Intervention Service (DSI) - This service arrests and detains those suspected of terrorist offences. In the most extreme cases it eliminates them; The police monitor people who may pose a terrorist threat: The government has taken measures to combat terrorist financing: intelligence and security services have The increased their capabilities; The new Intelligence and Security Services Act (WIV) helps keep the Netherlands and Dutch military personnel abroad safe; The national terrorism list is used to keep a record of individuals and organisations involved in terrorist activities; The assets of these individuals and organisations are frozen.

Netherlands also works with international partners to share information on terrorism. This is done through international cooperation and information sharing in order to combat terrorism. The Netherlands plans to establish a Passenger Information Unit for the Netherlands (Pi-NL) The unit will analyze information provided by airlines, such as reservation data, and work together with similar units in other countries. The information can be used to combat serious crime and terrorism.

Netherlands identified strategic principles to guide the government's counterterrorism efforts. The principles include:

- Continuity and flexibility: maintaining a set level of policy, operational and administrative measures (fixed measures) that is complimented by specific measures (flexible measures) in response to current threats.
- A threat-based approach: priorities are set based on current threat assessments, focusing on the jihadist threat, with due regard for other forms of extremism.
- A comprehensive approach: taking preventive, repressive and curative measures working together with relevant organisations and agencies.
- A local approach: applying comprehensive approach also at local level, in particular through multidisciplinary case management, active community engagement and efforts to keep vulnerable groups and individuals 'on the right path'.
- Recognising that international and national security are intertwined: we effectively work together at international, national and local level to combat extremist and terrorist threats.
- Respond to the use of digital means: it responds adequately to extremists' and terrorists' use of digital means such as social media, the Dark Web and encryption.
- Practising effective public communication, both explicit and implicit: we communicate in deliberate, nuanced and objective

way. It aims to increase societal resilience and to promote social inclusion.

- Taking both a network- and individual oriented approach: we map networks and aim to disrupt them. At the same time, it adopts a case-by-case approach to countering radicalisation because interventions work best if tailored to the individual person.
- Respect the rule of law: measures have a legal basis, are proportional and respect fundamental rights.
- Aligning with social strategies: we ensure coherence between our strategies to combat polarisation and promote social cohesion and our policy measures to fight extremism and terrorism.

Netherlands also identified five areas of intervention allow for a dynamic response to an ever-evolving threat, whereby a strategic, policy-based approach must be hammered out through multidisciplinary cooperation. The five areas of intervention are complementary and also overlap to some degree. The five areas of intervention are:

- Procure: timely gather and assess intelligence about (potential) threats to our national security and our interests abroad.
- Prevent: to prevent and disrupt extremism and to foil terrorist attacks.
- Protect: protecting people, property and vital processes from extremist and terrorist threats (both physical and virtual).
- Prepare: to prepare optimally for extremist and terrorist violence and its consequences.
- Prosecute: to enforce the law in the face of extremism and terrorism.

In terms of organization and implementation, Netherlands recognizes that a targeted, legitimate and robust approach to extremism and terrorism is best served through centralised coordination on the part of the national government. This coordination focuses on forging effective partnerships and optimising information-sharing practices.

# SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

1) Describe one of the ways in which Netherlands plans counterterrorism.

- 2) State the full meaning of Pi-NL\_
- *3)* Identify the five areas of intervention in the Netherland counterterrorism planning

# 2.4. Planning and Implementation of Counterterrorism in the UK for Human Security

The UK faces a significant threat from international terrorism. Experience shows that crowded places are and will remain an attractive target for international terrorists. The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism (CONTEST) sets out the UK Government's strategy for countering terrorism. The aim of CONTEST is to reduce the risk to the UK and its citizens and interests overseas from terrorism. It was first developed by Sir David Omand and the Home Office in early 2003 as the immediate response to 9/11. It was revised in 2006, 2009, 2011 and 2018. CONTEST is composed of four (4) strands of 'Ps':

- Prevent: to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism.
- Pursue: to stop terrorist attacks.
- Protect: to strengthen our protection against a terrorist attack.
- Prepare: to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack.

The purpose of Prevent is to stop people from becoming terrorists or terrorist sympathisers. Prevent includes countering terrorist ideology and challenging those who promote it, supporting individuals who are especially vulnerable to becoming radicalized, and working with sectors and institutions where the risk of radicalisation is assessed to be high. The deradicalization programme is known as Channel. It is led by the police and liberal Muslim mentors. The UK Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015 created a positive duty for those working in education or health to report those who they deem at risk of radicalization The purpose of Pursue is to stop terrorist attacks by detecting, prosecuting, and disrupting those who plot to carry out attacks against the UK or its interests overseas. The purpose of Protect is to strengthen protection against terrorist attacks in the UK or its interests overseas and thus reduce vulnerability. The work focuses on border security, the transport system, national infrastructure, and public places. The process works by first recognising the threats and then identifying the measures to reduce risks.

An example of 'Protect' are the large bollards placed strategically around busy city centres, and especially on bridges, to prevent the rise of vehiclebased attacks such as the 2017 London Bridge attack. The purpose of *Prepare* is to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack in an event whereby that attack cannot be stopped. "Prepare" includes bringing a terrorist attack to an end quickly, preventing its spread, and increasing the UK's resilience to enable rapid recovery in its aftermath. An important element of the strategy is to create safer places and buildings that are less vulnerable to terrorist attack and, should an attack take place, where people are better protected from its impact.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes
1) The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism is also known as \_\_\_\_\_\_
2) Since its first development in early 2003, COTEST was revised in all these years except

a. 2001
b. 2009
c. 2011
d. 2018.

3) Identify the four strands of United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism:

# 2.5 Planning and Implementation of Counterterrorism in Canada for Human Security

The core principle of Canada's counterterrorism strategy is building resilience. While the ultimate goal is a Canada where individuals and communities are able to withstand violent extremist ideologies, and where society is resilient to a terrorist attack, the aim of Canada's counterterrorism Strategy is to counter domestic and international terrorism in order to protect Canada, Canadians and Canadian interests. Counter-terrorism activities in Canada are also guided by the principles of respect for human rights and the rule of law, the treatment of terrorism as a crime, proportionality and adaptability. Working through partnerships is central to the success of the Strategy. It would include collaboration with Canada's international partners, security intelligence and federal, provincial and municipal law enforcement agencies, all levels of government and civil society. In particular, the relationship between security intelligence and law enforcement communities has strengthened over time. This seamless cooperation continues to be critical to addressing the terrorist threat.

The Canadian Counterterrorism Strategy operates through four mutually reinforcing elements: *Prevent, Detect, Deny* and *Respond.* All Government activity is directed towards one or more of these elements.

Prevent

Activities in this area focus on the motivations of individuals who engage in, or have the potential to engage in, terrorist activity at home and abroad. The emphasis will be on addressing the factors that may motivate individuals to engage in terrorist activities.

#### • Detect

This element focuses on identifying terrorists, terrorist organizations and their supporters, their capabilities and the nature of their plans. This is done through investigation, intelligence operations and analysis, which can also lead to criminal prosecutions. Strong intelligence capabilities and a solid understanding of the changing threat environment is key. This involves extensive collaboration and information sharing with domestic and international partners.

#### • Deny

Intelligence and law enforcement actions can deny terrorists the means and opportunities to pursue terrorist activities. This involves mitigating vulnerabilities and aggressively intervening in terrorist planning, including prosecuting individuals involved in terrorist related criminal activities, and making Canada and Canadian interests a more difficult target for would-be terrorists.

#### • Respond

Terrorist attacks can and do occur. Developing Canada's capacities to respond proportionately, rapidly and in an organized manner to terrorist activities and to mitigate their effects is another aspect of the Strategy. This element also speaks to the importance of ensuring a rapid return to ordinary life and reducing the impact and severity of terrorist activity.

As the threat from terrorism continues to evolve, Canada's response must continually adapt and change to keep Canadians safe. The Federal Terrorism Response Plan (FTRP) sets out an operational model to guide an integrated and effective response to a terrorist incident or threat. The Plan strengthens domestic coordination among security and intelligence agencies and all levels of government, centered on a modernized operational model, which affirms that:

- Responding To A Terrorist Threat Or Incident Requires A Coordinated Effort By Multiple Levels And Jurisdictions Of Government;
- The Minister Of Public Safety Is Responsible For Exercising Leadership At The National Level Relating To Public Safety And Emergency Preparedness, Including Terrorism; And
- The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (Rcmp) Leads The Criminal Investigation Into A Domestic Terrorist Attack, As Part Of Its

Mandate Of Primary Responsibility for national security law enforcement in Canada.

Consistent with the Emergency Management Act, the Plan's operational model recognizes that the majority of emergencies are dealt with at the local level by local governments and first responders, including law enforcement. As the severity of the incident increases, the required level of response is escalated. The federal government has lead jurisdiction for the management of terrorist incidents, and provincial/territorial, local governments and local law enforcement have essential responsibilities that require concurrent and complementary action (such as emergency and security response, support for victims or consequence management). Purpose The purpose of the FTRP is to strengthen coordination among security and intelligence departments and agencies and facilitate a collective response to a terrorist incident occurring in Canada.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

1) The core principle of Canada's counterterrorism strategy is\_\_\_\_\_.

2) Mention the four mutually reinforcing elements of Canada's counterterrorism strategy operate:

3) \_\_\_\_\_ is the aim of Canada's counterterrorism Strategy.

#### 2.6 Summary

While the planning and implementation of Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy is important, individual countries also plan and implement diverse counterterrorism with a view to protecting their national interests. In this unit, we examined three countries that have developed robust and comprehensive counterterrorism planning namely: Netherlands, UK and Canada. Our examination reveals that these counties seek to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, prevent and combat terrorism and strengthen their individual and collective Capacity to do so, and protect human rights and uphold the rule of Law while countering terrorism. On a whole, planning and making counter terrorism strategies is very important before implementation.

# 1.7 References /Further Readings/Web Resources

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## 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

#### Answers to SAEs 1

*1)* The Netherlands plans counterterrorism by monitoring potential terrorists, promptly identifies individuals who may be becoming radicalized and provides at-risk people and buildings with additional security.

2) Passenger Information Unit for the Netherlands

3) The five areas of intervention include

a. Procure: timely gather and assess intelligence about (potential) threats to our national security and our interests abroad.

b. Prevent: to prevent and disrupt extremism and to foil terrorist attacks.

c. Protect: protecting people, property and vital processes from extremist and terrorist threats (both physical and virtual).

d. Prepare: to prepare optimally for extremist and terrorist violence and its consequences.

e. Prosecute: to enforce the law in the face of extremism and terrorism

## **Answers to SAEs 2**

- 1) CONTEST
- 2) a. 2001

*3)* The four strands of United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism are:

- Prevent: to stop people becoming terrorists or supporting terrorism.
- Pursue: to stop terrorist attacks.
- Protect: to strengthen our protection against a terrorist attack.
- Prepare: to mitigate the impact of a terrorist attack

#### Answers to SAEs 3

- *1)* building resilience
- 2) Prevent, Detect, Deny and Respond.

3) countering domestic and international terrorism in order to protect Canada, Canadians and Canadian interests

# UNIT 3: COVERT ACTION AND NATIONAL SECURITY GOVERNANCE

# **Unit Structure**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning outcomes.
- 3.3. Forms and Types of Covert Actions
  - 3.3.1 Propaganda
  - 3.3.2 Political/Economic Action
  - 3.3.3 Covert support of friendly governments
- 3.3.4 Covertly influencing the perceptions of a foreign government

or population regarding US policy goals

- 3.3.5 Covert support of non-governmental forces or organizations
- 3.3.6 Support for coups
- 3.3.7 Paramilitary Operations
- 3.3.8 Lethal Action
- 3.4 Planning and Conduct of Overt operations
- 3.4.1 Agencies Involved in Covert Action by the USA
- 3.4.2 The Use of Covert Action by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
- 3.5 Covert Action as an Instrument of U. S. Foreign Policy
- 3.5.1 Operation Ajax
- 3.5.2 CIA in Afghanistan 1979-89
- 3.5.3 CIA Activities in Angola
- 3.5.4 Covert Action and US Counterterrorism after 9/11
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References /Further Readings/Web Resources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

# **3.1 Introduction**

Covert action (CA) remains a highly controversial and generally misunderstood element within the Intelligence Community. Title 50 of the United States Code defines Covert Action as: "...an activity or activities of the United States Government to influence political, economic, or military conditions abroad, where it is intended that the role of the United States Government will not be apparent or acknowledged publicly..." Lying somewhere between overt diplomatic initiatives and direct military intervention, CA is often referred to as the "third option" when addressing foreign policy issues that impact on U.S. national security interests. As this broad definition indicates the nature of covert operations can vary greatly as can their size and scale. This unit will address the many facets of CA, both through selected case studies as well as the parameters that have evolved over the years to manage its myriad aspects – determining what CA can, and equally important, cannot accomplish. We will also see how CA, as conducted by the CIA, is often used in a dual track program alongside State Department initiatives in an effort to resolve particularly difficult foreign policy dilemmas. Covert action is a unique mission assigned by executive order to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

## **3.2** Learning outcomes.

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- 1 Define covert action
- 2 Identify and explain the different types and forms of covert action

3 Discuss the use of covert action by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

- 4 Analyze the planning and conduct of covert operations.
- 5 Demonstrate how different agencies conduct covert action.

## **Main Section**

## **3.3.** Forms and Types of Covert Actions

Covert action usually involves much more as a policy tool used to pursue a geopolitical and national security goal or as "an activity...to influence political, economic, or military conditions abroad, where it is intended that the role of the [sponsoring government] will not be apparent or acknowledged publicly." Covert operations cover a wide range of secret activities NSC 10/2 published in June 1948 defined covert operations as comprising of propaganda, economic warfare, preventative direct action, including sabotage, demolition and evacuation measures, subversion against hostile states, including assistance to underground movements, and guerrillas. In this unite, we examined the following forms and types of covert action:

**3.3.1 Propaganda:** Intelligence agencies covertly disseminate specific information to advance foreign policy goals. United States law prohibits, however, the use of intelligence agencies to influence domestic media and opinion.

**3.3.2 Political/Economic Action**: Intelligence agencies covertly influence the political or economic workings of a foreign nation.

**3.3.3 Covert support of friendly governments.** In the wake of open or secret alliances with foreign governments that share common policy objectives, covert action can be limited to such measures as sharing intelligence with the government's own security service on groups in the government's country who would foment political unrest.

**3.3.4 Covertly influencing the perceptions of a foreign government or population regarding US policy goals.** The "simplest and most direct method" of affecting a foreign government's actions is to use agents of influence – well-placed individuals who persuade colleagues to adopt policies "congenial to another government's interests." Moreover, intelligence agencies can disseminate information (or disinformation) to enhance a foreign population's backing for a policy objective.

**3.3.5 Covert support of non-governmental forces or organizations**. If a government wishes to weaken one of its hostile counterparts, material support can be provided to opposing political parties, civic groups, labor unions, media, and even armed insurgent groups.

**3.3.6 Support for coups.** Support can also be extended to groups seeking to outright overthrow a hostile government. For example, in 1953, the US, in partnership with the UK and the shah of Iran, orchestrated a coup to overthrow Mohammed Mossadegh, Iran's democratically-elected prime minister, who had nationalized his country's oil industry, doing great harm to British economic interests. And, in 1954, the US orchestrated the military overthrow of the Guatemalan government to prevent the establishment of a perceived "Soviet beachhead" in Central America and to protect US economic interests in the country.

**3.3.7 Paramilitary Operations**: Intelligence agencies covertly train and equip personnel to attack an adversary or to conduct intelligence operations. These operations normally do not involve the use of uniformed military personnel as combatants. Governments can also train irregular forces to launch insurgencies against hostile governments, though, in practice, these types of operations are unlikely to remain secret. US support in the 1980s for the mujahedeen struggle against Afghanistan's Soviet-backed government and the contra rebels' efforts against Nicaragua's Soviet-backed government best exemplify this type of covert action.

**3.3.8 Lethal Action**: During times of war or armed conflict, the U.S. may need to use covert lethal force against enemies who pose a threat. Covert action can also take the form of acts of violence directed against specific individuals, such as the assassination of key foreign political figures or property. Sustained lethal action operations in armed conflicts, such as the US unmanned aerial vehicle ("drone") strikes against terrorism suspects in Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia, can also be carried out in partnership with special forces personnel.

Traditional covert actions fall into three major categories: imagery intelligence, which includes aerial and space reconnaissance; signals intelligence, which includes electronic eavesdropping and code breaking; and human intelligence, which involves the secret agent working at the classic spy trade. It dependent largely on the human factor. Modern and contemporary covert actions depend more on modern technology including the use of drones cover intelligence gathering and elimination of enemy elements and targets. According to Barack Obama, Drones have also undercut terrorists' ability to communicate and to train new recruits. According to the Obama administration, signature strikes have eliminated not only low-level al Qaeda and Taliban figures but also a surprising number of higher-level officials whose presence at the scenes of the strikes was unexpected.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

*1.* Define covert operation

- 2. Identify and explain at least two types/forms of covert action of your choice
- 3. What is the difference between modern and traditional form of covert action?

#### 3.4 Planning and Conduct of Overt operations

One of the most the most controversial functions of the U.S. Intelligence Community is the planning and conduct of covert actions. This ranges from supplying financial subsidies to a foreign journal to extensive paramilitary operations. Covert actions typify intelligence activities to many in the public who know little of the information gathering, analysis, and dissemination efforts that actually constitute the core functions of intelligence agencies. Many ill-informed members of the public believe that the bulk of the multi-billion-dollar intelligence budget goes to covert actions when in fact they absorb only a small percentage of the total.

The history of Covert Operations goes back far beyond the Cold War. Despite this long history, covert operations reach their peak during the Cold War where two opposing power blocks -USA and USSR, faced each other but were unwilling to risk an actual war. Early US operations were successful, such as the CIA's help to the Italian Christian Democrats, and the help to the Iranian Shah in 1953 code name TPAJAX. In 1954 an operation code named PBSUCCESS involved a Guatemalan Colonel Carlos C. Armas entering his home country with a small force, which had a CIA backing and was backed up by CIA pilots after some confusion Armas became President. These early successes helped increase the CIA's reputation and this encouraged Washington to think other covert actions could continue to record similar successes. Some covert actions proved to be bad adventures for the USA and its allies. An example is the covert operations in Albania between 1949 and 1954, product of a joint Anglo-US operation. The operation to subvert the Albanian regime was undertaken by the British SIS, which had greater prestige and the young CIA which had greater resources. The idea of targeting Albania was a British one and although at the higher levels co-operation worked smoothly, in the field different operating techniques soon caused tensions. For example, the British preferred small amphibious landings to the American method of dangerous low-level parachute drops. The west had greatly overestimated the strength of resistance to the communists and the requirement for plausible deniability backfired. Since the British and Americans stressed deniability, exiles sent back had great difficulty proving they had western support. The two countries had fundamentally

different views on the collection of intelligence and covert operations. Bitter disputes severely damaged the operations effectiveness. Part of the lessons from this led the U.S. to formally banned the use of political assassinations in 1976.

The end of the Cold War raises new questions about U.S. covert action capabilities. Most covert actions in the past were aimed at resisting Soviet and communist gains throughout the world. The controversies surrounding them were often a reflection of disputes over larger policies aimed at impeding communist advances. Without the need to counter a communist threat based on an expansive great power with nuclear capabilities, observers ask, does the United States need a covert action capability?

The roles and missions of the post-Cold War Intelligence Community, including covert actions, are currently undergoing review by the Clinton Administration and by the two congressional intelligence committees. The independent Commission on the Roles and Capabilities of the U.S. Intelligence Community in its March 1996 report addressed covert action, although the emphasis of its recommendations lay in this article discusses the strengths and weaknesses of covert action as a tool for American foreign policy. It examines the strengths and weaknesses of covert action against the yardstick of success and against the yardstick of policy coherence. The succeeding section discusses other strengths and weakness of covert action programs. While the covert action program is marked by strengths and weaknesses, it will always remain as a tool for foreign policy.

## 3.4.1 Agencies Involved in Covert Action by the USA

Intelligence Community and agencies within the Intelligence Community refer to the following agencies or organizations:

(1) The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA);

(2) The National Security Agency (NSA);

(3) The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA);

(4) The offices within the Department of Defense for the collection of specialized national foreign intelligence through reconnaissance programs;

(5) The Bureau of Intelligence and Research of the Department of State;

(6) The intelligence elements of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), the Department of the Treasury, and the Department of Energy; and

(7) The staff elements of the Director of Central Intelligence.

The National Foreign Intelligence Program includes the programs listed below, but its composition shall be subject to review by the National Security Council and modification by the President: (1) The programs of the CIA;

(2) The Consolidated Cryptologic Program, the General Defense Intelligence Program, and the programs of the offices within the Department of Defense for the collection of specialized national foreign intelligence through reconnaissance, except such elements as the Director of Central Intelligence and the Secretary of Defense agree should be excluded;

(3) Other programs of agencies within the Intelligence Community designated jointly by the Director of Central Intelligence and the head of the department or by the President as national foreign intelligence or counterintelligence activities;

(4) Activities of the staff elements of the Director of Central Intelligence;(5) Activities to acquire the intelligence required for the planning and conduct of tactical operations by the United States military forces are not included in the National Foreign Intelligence Program.

# **3.4.2** The Use of Covert Action by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

According to National Security Act Sec. 503 (e), covert action is, "An activity or activities of the United States Government to influence political, economic, or military conditions abroad, where it is intended that the role of the United States Government will not be apparent or acknowledged publicly." Proper covert actions are undertaken because policymakers—not the intelligence agencies—believe that secret means are the best way to achieve a desired end or a specific policy goal. Covert action encompasses a broad spectrum of activities.

One distinction between covert action and other overt activities, such as traditional diplomatic or military operations, is that U.S. officials could plausibly deny involvement in the activity. This "plausible deniability," however, is predicated upon the covert action remaining secret. An example in this regard is the American involvement in the 1961 Bay of Pigs operation. This could not be kept secret once the results became public, so President Kennedy publicly admitted responsibility afterwards at a White House press conference. Covert action is a unique mission assigned by executive order to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Covert action is often referred to as the "Third Option" between diplomacy and military action. Through declassification of official records as well as unauthorized disclosures in books, newspapers, and electronic media, the details of many covert programs, principally, but not exclusively, from the Cold War period are now accessible. Indeed, many of the most consequential and controversial - actions of the CIA and the presidents the CIA has served in its 70-year existence involved covert actions.

#### Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

4.

1. The U.S. formally banned the use of political assassinations in

5. 2. *Mention at least four* agencies in the USA that involved in covert action by the government

6. 3. Complete this sentence, the distinction between covert action and other overt activities, such as traditional diplomatic or military operations, is that U.S. officials could plausibly in the activity

# 3.5 Covert Action as an Instrument of U.S. Foreign Policy

Covert action is one of many foreign policy tools that are available to the decision-making elites of the U.S. When the U.S. has conflicts with other states, American decision makers most often use diplomatic means to resolve such conflicts. If diplomacy does not appear to be a viable option to resolve such conflict, elites may use more violent means such as war or the threat of war. Still another option available to the U.S. is the use of covert action to resolve conflicts. An external constraint 'explanation of U.S. covert action asserts that the objects of secrecy lie outside the territorial boundary of the U.S. Within this explanation, U.S. decision makers need the secrecy of covert action to deceive people or countries outside the U.S. First and foremost, the secrecy of covert action is intended to deceive the targets of activities. For instance, if the U.S. were to launch a covert action to promote a coup in a foreign country, concealment of that action would be instrumental to its successful implementation. In the subsequent sections of this unit, we shall examine some examples of covert actions carried out by the USA.

## 3.5.1 Operation Ajax

In 1951, Iran elected Mohammed Mossadeq Prime Minister, who ran under a platform calling for nationalizing the domestic oil industry. At the time, the United Kingdom had considerable oil interests in the country through the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. After the election, Mossadeq nationalized the oil industry, deeply upsetting the British. The U.K., under Prime Minister Winston Churchill then turned to the U.S. to help remove Mossadeq from power. Through a series of covert actions, the CIA worked with the British Secret Intelligence Service to orchestrate the fall of the Mossadeq government and to install the Shah in power in Iran. For many years, Operation Ajax was viewed as tactically successful, as it achieved the U.S. policymakers' stated goal at the time. However, some suggest the operation was counterproductive and had long-term negative repercussions for the U.S., as the Iranian monarchy fell a generation later to the anti-U.S. clerical regime now ruling Iran.

#### 3.5.2 CIA in Afghanistan 1979-89

Following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979, the CIA launched its largest-ever covert action program to arm the Afghan resistance. During the next ten years, the U.S., Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan provided the Afghans with billions of dollars of weapons and supplies, including advanced anti-aircraft missiles. The armaments and aid proved decisive, neutralizing Soviet air-support in the latter stages of the conflict and eventually causing the Soviets to withdraw from Afghanistan. In another example of far-reaching consequences, however, a number of the fighters that the U.S. trained and equipped during the 1980s may be fighting American and NATO troops in Afghanistan today.

#### 3.5.3 CIA Activities in Angola

The US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has a long history of involvement in African affairs. The case of Angola is discussed here to serve as an example. In Angola three competing groups fought for control after independence from Portugal in 1975, with the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, for some years called the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) under Agostinho Neto taking over the capital Luanda. Mr. Stockwell, chief of CIA's covert operations in Angola in 1975, wrote that Washington decided to oppose the MPLA, simply because it was seen as closer to the Soviet Union, and support the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) and The Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) instead, even though all three had help from communist countries. The CIA then helped secretly import weapons, including 30,000 rifles, through Kinshasa in neighbouring Zaire, now known as the Democratic Republic of Congo. The CIA trained fighters for armed combat. The US continued to support UNITA through much of the civil war as Cuba was backing the MPLA. The killing of Savimbi in February 2002 by the Angolan military led to the decline of UNITA's influence. Savimbi was succeeded by Paulo Lukamba. Six weeks after Savimbi's death, UNITA agreed to a ceasefire with the MPLA, but even today Angola remains deeply divided politically between MPLA and UNITA supporters. Parliamentary elections in September 2008 resulted in an overwhelming majority for the MPLA, but their legitimacy was questioned by international observers.

#### 3.5.4 Covert Action and US Counterterrorism after 9/11

In response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks, President Bush established the National Counterterrorism Center (NCTC) in August 2004. The NCTC was created to serve as the primary organization in the U.S. government responsible for integrating and analyzing all intelligence pertaining to terrorism and counterterrorism (CT) and for conducting strategic operational planning through the integration of all instruments of national power.4 The U.S. Congress later passed the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (IRTPA) in order to reform the intelligence community and intelligence-related activities undertaken by the U.S. government.5 The most remarkable change that was made in

U.S. intelligence after IRTPA was the creation of the office of the Director of National Intelligence (DNI). The DNI replaced the Director of Central Intelligence (DCI) as the leader of the U.S. IC.6 DNI is the principal advisor to the President (particularly through a daily brief to the President), the National Security Council, and the Homeland Security Council for matters related to intelligence.

Since September 11, America's agenda for taking the offensive to the United States' enemies has rekindled interest in covert actions. It was believed that the terrorists that carried out the 9/11 atrocities belonged to a new generation of terrorism, far more insidious, owing mainly to technological empowerment. Traditional approach to covert action, though effectively, were no long sufficient. Covert action has assumed an active approach relying on new thinking and modern technology. Whilst clandestine officers not only went on diplomatic missions, in itself not a new phenomenon, but took a leading role in counterterrorism efforts through covert action, the role of diplomats in the field evolved in line with a more counterterrorism-driven foreign policy. American ambassadors that were specifically position in embassies in active combat zones including Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Syrian and Libyan placed more importance to counterterrorism efforts. Most recently, the US's Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has been actively utilising unmanned airborne systems (UAS) for the assassination of Islamist terrorists. In 2002 six suspected members of the al-Qaeda network were killed by a Hellfire missile fired from an RQ-1 Predator drone in Yemen.

#### Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.
1) The CIA covert action in Angola was through the support of \_\_\_\_\_\_.
2) Mention some of the covert actions carried out by the USA
3) Covert action is one of many \_\_\_\_\_\_tools in the USA

## 3.6 Summary

Covert actions tend to receive the greatest attention by governments of nations. They are often controversial and have on several occasions figured prominently in major political scandals. Almost inevitably, they intrude upon another country's internal affairs and can result in the loss of human life. Most covert actions undertaken in the four decades after World War II were part of larger policies designed to contain the Soviet Union and other communist countries. With the end of the Cold War, the role of covert actions is being reassessed. For many years covert actions were often undertaken by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Since 9/11, covert action by the US have focused more attention on

counterterrorism. Consequently, the line between special operations conducted by military personnel and covert actions has become even less clear than ever before.

## 3.7 References /Further Readings/Web Resources

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Michael Poznansky, Feigning Compliance: Covert Action and International Law, *International Studies Quarterly*, Volume 63, Issue 1, March 2019, Pages 72–84, <u>https://doi.org/10.1093/isq/sqy054</u>

#### 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) Answers to SAEs 1

1. A covert operation is a military operation intended to conceal the identity the party that instigated the operation. Covert operations should not be confu with clandestine operations, which are performed in secret and meant to stay sec 2. **Propaganda:** Intelligence agencies covertly disseminate spec information to advance foreign policy goals. United States law prohibits, however

the use of intelligence agencies to influence domestic media and opinion.

**Political/Economic Action**: Intelligence agencies covertly influence the polition or economic workings of a foreign nation.

3. While traditional covert actions dependent largely on the human factor covert operations, modern or contemporary covert actions depend more on mod technology including the use of drones cover intelligence gathering and eliminat of enemy elements and targets.

#### Answers to SAEs 2

- 1. 1976
- 2. (a) The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA);
  - (b) The National Security Agency (NSA);
    - (c) The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA);
  - (d) The Federal Bureau of Intelligence (FBI)

3. deny involvement

#### Answers to SAEs 3

*1.* USA supported the National Liberation Front of Angola (*FNLA*) and T Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in Angola

| 2. | (a) Operation Ajax in 1951 in Iran              |  |  |  |  |
|----|---|--|--|--|--|
|    | (b) CIA involvement in Afghanistan from 1979-89 |  |  |  |  |
|    | (c) CIA Activities in Angola                    |  |  |  |  |
| 3. | foreign policy                                  |  |  |  |  |

#### UNIT 4: COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction.
- 4.2 Learning outcomes
- 4.3 Understanding Counter Intelligence
- 4.3.1 Counterintelligence Missions
- 4.3.2 History of Counter-Intelligence.
- 4.3.3 Categories of Counter Intelligence
- 4.4 Operations of Counter-Intelligence
- 4.4.1 Special Operations
- 4.4.2 General Operations
- 4.5 Counterintelligence Techniques
- 4.5.1 Vulnerability assessments
- 4.5.2 Hostile Intelligence Simulation (Red Team)
- 4.5.3 Covering Agent Support
- 5.0 Summary
- 6.0 References /Further Readings/Web Resources
- 7.0 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

#### 4.1 Introduction.

In this unit, we shall discuss counter intelligence operations. Counter intelligence is defined as an activity aimed at protecting an agency's intelligence program from an opposition's intelligence service Security services are necessary to monitor known or suspected terrorists and provide the controls to restrict their activities. It is also defined as the activity or activities collectively organized by an intelligence service dedicated to obstruct the enemy's source of information by means of concealment, codes, crypto, censorship and other measures to deceive the enemy by using disinformation, trickery, etc. Counter-intelligence agencies can infiltrate terrorist groups to destabilize and subvert them. Both are complementary forces but perform different operations. The objectives of counter-intelligence are to assess the country's vulnerability to foreign espionage, to watch for sabotage, and to identify those actors that are determined to undermine the state security. Intelligence plays a

vital role in preventing terrorist attacks from occurring and in assisting law enforcement officers in apprehending persons suspected of committing terrorist acts whether before or after an actual attack has occurred. Intelligence has long played a central role in counter terrorism efforts, including in identifying, locating and 'neutralising' terrorist non-State actors.

#### 4.2 Learning outcomes

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand and explain the nature of counterintelligence
- Discuss the challenges to counter intelligence operations
- Analyze the different categories of counter intelligence.
- Demonstrate how counter intelligence operations are carried out.
- Evaluate the techniques of counter operations.

## Main Section

## 4.3 Understanding Counter Intelligence

Counter intelligence are activities related to protecting a nation's own information and the secrecy of its intelligence operations. It is a police and security function that is concerned primarily with defensive, protective activities. Counterintelligence is an activity aimed at protecting an agency's intelligence program from an opposition's intelligence service (Prunckun, 2019). It includes gathering information and conducting activities to prevent espionage, sabotage, assassinations or other intelligence activities conducted by, for, or on behalf of foreign powers, organizations or persons. Many governments organize counterintelligence agencies separately and distinct from their intelligence collection services. In most countries the counterintelligence mission is spread over multiple organizations, though one usually predominates. There is usually a domestic counterintelligence service, usually part of a larger law enforcement organization such as:

**USA:** The Federal Bureau of Investigation in the United States. All US departments and agencies with intelligence functions are responsible for their own security abroad, except those that fall under Chief of Mission authority. Governments try to protect three things: Their personnel, their installations, their operations. In many governments, the responsibility for protecting these things is split. Historically, CIA assigned responsibility for protecting its personnel and operations to its Office of Security, while it assigned the security of operations to multiple groups within the Directorate of Operations: the counterintelligence staff and the area (or functional) unit, such as Soviet Russia Division.

**United Kingdom**: has the separate Security Service, also known as MI5, which does not have direct police powers but works closely with law

enforcement especially Special Branch that can carry out arrests, do searches with a warrant, etc.

**Russian Federation**: major domestic security organization is the FSB, which principally came from the Second Chief Directorate and Third Chief Directorate of the USSR's KGB. The emphasis which the KGB places on penetration is evident in the cases already discussed from the defensive or security viewpoint. The best security system in the world cannot provide an adequate defense against it because the technique involves people. The only way to be sure that an enemy has been contained is to know his plans in advance and in detail.

**Canada**: separates the functions of general defensive counterintelligence (contre-ingérence), security intelligence (the intelligence preparation necessary to conduct offensive counterintelligence), law enforcement intelligence, and offensive counter intelligence.

Military organizations have their own counterintelligence forces, capable of conducting protective operations both at home and when deployed abroad. Depending on the country, there can be various mixtures of civilian and military in foreign operations. For example, while offensive counterintelligence is a mission of the US CIA's National Clandestine Service, defensive counterintelligence is a mission of the U.S. Diplomatic Security Service (DSS), Department of State, who work on protective security for personnel and information processed abroad at US Embassies and Consulates. The term counter-espionage is really specific to virtually countering HUMINT. but. since all offensive counterintelligence involves exploiting human sources, the term "offensive counterintelligence" is used here to avoid some ambiguous phrasing. Other countries also deal with the proper organization of defenses against Foreign Intelligence Services (FIS), often with separate services with no common authority below the head of government. France, for example, builds its domestic counter-terrorism in a law enforcement framework. In France, a senior anti-terror magistrate is in charge of defense against terrorism. French magistrates have multiple functions that overlap US and UK functions of investigators, prosecutors, and judges. An anti-terror magistrate may call upon France's domestic intelligence service Direction générale de la sécuritéintérieure (DGSI), which may work with the Direction générale de la sécuritéextérieure (DGSE), foreign intelligence service. Spain gives its Interior Ministry, with military support, the leadership in domestic counterterrorism. For international threats, the National Intelligence Center (CNI) has responsibility. CNI, which reports directly to the Prime Minister, is staffed principally by which is subordinated directly to the Prime Minister's office.

#### **4.3.1** Counterintelligence Missions

Frank Wisner, a well-known CIA operation executive stated in the autobiography of Director of Central Intelligence Allen W. Dulles, that Dulles "disposes of the popular misconception that counterintelligence is essentially a negative and responsive activity, that it moves only or chiefly in reaction to situations thrust upon it and in counter to initiatives mounted by the opposition." He further argues that counterintelligence can be most effective, both in information gathering and protecting friendly intelligence services, when it creatively but vigorously attacks the structure and personnel of hostile intelligence services. counterintelligence missions have broadened from the time when the threat was restricted to the Foreign Intelligence Services (FIS) under the control of nation-states. Threats have broadened to include threats from non-national or trans-national groups, including internal insurgents, organized crime, and transnational based groups. Still, the FIS term remains the usual way of referring to the threat against which counterintelligence protects. In modern practice, several missions are associated with counterintelligence from the national to the field level. Defensive analysis is the practice of looking for vulnerabilities in one's own organization, and, with due regard for risk versus benefit, closing the discovered holes. Offensive counterespionage is the set of techniques that at least neutralizes discovered FIS personnel and arrests them or, in the case of diplomats, expels them by declaring them persona non grata. Counterintelligence force protection source operations (CFSO) are human source operations, conducted abroad that are intended to fill the existing gap in national-level coverage in protecting a field station or force from terrorism and espionage. Counterintelligence can both produce information and protect it. Counterintelligence is part of intelligence cycle security, which, in turn, is part of intelligence cycle management.

It is common for countries to claim that their intelligence architecture is secured and impenetrable. However, only a high-level penetration of the opposition can tell whether a country's secret service can be, or already penetrated. A high-level defector can also do this, but the adversary knows that he defected and within limits can take remedial action. Conducting counterintelligence without the aid of penetrations is like fighting in the dark. Conducting counterintelligence with penetrations can be like shooting fish in a barrel. In the British service, the cases of the Cambridge Five, and the later suspicions about MI5 chief Sir Roger Hollis caused great internal dissension. Clearly, the British were penetrated by Philby, but it has never been determined, in any public forum, if there were other serious penetrations. In the US service, there was also significant disruption over the contradictory accusations about moles from defectors Anatoliy Golitsyn and Yuri Nosenko, and their respective supporters in CIA and the British Security Service (MI5). Golitsyn was generally believed by Angleton. George Kisevalter, the CIA operations officer that was the CIA side of the joint US-UK handling of Oleg Penkovsky, did not believe Angleton's theory that Nosenko was a KGB plant. Nosenko had exposed John Vassall, a KGB asset principally in the British Admiralty, but there were arguments Vassall was a KGB sacrifice to protect other operations, including Nosenko and a possibly more valuable source on the Royal Navy.

#### Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

|  |                       | ~/ _      |             |                |            |
|--|-----------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|------------|
| Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This |                       |           |             |                |            |
| should n   | ot take you more than | ı 8 minu  | tes.        |                |            |
| 1) C   | Counterintelligence   | is        | an          | activity       | aimed      |
| at   |                       |           |             |                |            |
| ·  |                       |           |             |                |            |
| $\overline{2}$ T   | he United Kingdom h   | as a sep  | arate Sec   | curity Service | known as   |
| •  |                       |           |             |                |            |
| 3) T   | he things governmen   | at try to | protect     | include        | ,          |
|  | and                   | ,,,,,,    |             |                |            |
| 4) _   | said                  | that D    | ulles "di   | sposes of the  | e popular  |
| misconception that Counterintelligence is essentially a negative and |                       |           |             |                |            |
| responsive activity, that it moves only or chiefly in reaction to    |                       |           |             |                |            |
| situation  | is thrust upon it and | in count  | ter to init | iatives Mount  | ted by the |
| oppositi   | on. "                 |           |             |                |            |
|  |                       |           |             |                |            |

# 4.3.2 History of Counter-Intelligence.

Modern tactics of espionage and dedicated government intelligence agencies developed over the course of the late-19th century. A key background to this development was The Great Game - the strategic rivalry and conflict between the British Empire and the Russian Empire throughout Central Asia between 1830 and 1895 (Prunckun, 2019). To counter Russian ambitions in the region and the potential threat it posed to the British position in India, the Indian Civil Service built up a system of surveillance, intelligence and counterintelligence. The existence of this shadowy conflict was popularized in Rudyard Kipling's famous spy book, Kim (1901), where he portraved the Great Game (a phrase Kipling popularized) as an espionage and intelligence conflict that "never ceases, day or night". The establishment of dedicated intelligence and counterintelligence organizations had much to do with the colonial rivalries between the major European powers and to the accelerating development of military technology. As espionage became more widely used, it became imperative to expand the role of existing police and internal security forces into a role of detecting and countering foreign spies.

The Evidenzbureau founded in the Austrian Empire in 1850 had the role from the late-19th century of countering the actions of the Pan-Slavist movement operating out of Serbia. After the fallout from the Dreyfus affair of 1894–1906 in France, responsibility for French military counterespionage passed in 1899 to the Sûretégénérale—an agency originally responsible for order enforcement and public safety-and overseen by the Ministry of the Interior. The Okhrana initially formed in 1880 to combat political terrorism and left-wing revolutionary activity throughout the Russian Empire, was also tasked with countering enemy espionage. Its main concern was the activities of revolutionaries, who often worked and plotted subversive actions from abroad. It set up a branch in Paris, run by PyotrRachkovsky, to monitor their activities. The agency used many methods to achieve its goals, including covert operations, undercover agents, and "perlustration"-the interception and reading of private correspondence. The Okhrana became notorious for its use of agents provocateurs, who often succeeded in penetrating the activities of including Bolsheviks. revolutionary groups the Integrated counterintelligence agencies run directly by governments were also established.

The British government founded the Secret Service Bureau in 1909 as the first independent and interdepartmental agency fully in control over all government counterintelligence activities. Due to intense lobbying from William Melville and after he obtained German mobilization plans and proof of their financial support to the Boers, the British government authorized the formation of a new intelligence section in the War Office, MO3 subsequently predesignated MO5 headed by Melville, in 1903. Working under-cover from a flat in London, Melville ran both counterintelligence and foreign intelligence operations, capitalizing on the knowledge and foreign contacts he had accumulated during his years running Special Branch. Due to its success, the Government Committee on Intelligence, with support from Richard Haldane and Winston Churchill, established the Secret Service Bureau in 1909 as a joint initiative of the Admiralty, the War Office and the Foreign Office to control secret intelligence operations in the UK and overseas, particularly concentrating on the activities of the Imperial German government. Its first director was Captain Sir George Mansfield Smith-Cumming alias "C". The Secret Service Bureau was split into a foreign and counterintelligence domestic service in 1910. The latter, headed by Sir Vernon Kell, originally aimed at calming public fears of large-scale German espionage.

As the Service was not authorized with police powers, Kell liaised extensively with the Special Branch of Scotland Yard (headed by Basil Thomson), and succeeded in disrupting the work of Indian revolutionaries collaborating with the Germans during the war. Instead of a system whereby rival departments and military services would work on their own priorities with little to no consultation or cooperation with each other, the newly established Secret Intelligence Service was interdepartmental, and submitted its intelligence reports to all relevant government departments. For the first time, governments had access to peacetime, centralized independent intelligence and counterintelligence bureaucracy with indexed registries and defined procedures, as opposed to the more ad hoc methods used previously.

## Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 5 minutes 1) Modern tactics of espionage and dedicated government intelligence Agencies developed over the course of the 2) The great game was a strategic rivalry and conflict between \_\_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_\_. The great game took place in the year \_\_\_\_\_ 3) and 4) The Okhrana was initially formed in \_\_\_\_\_ to combat political Terrorism and left-wing revolutionary activity throughout the Russian Empire, was also tasked with countering enemy espionage. 5) The British government founded the Secret Service Bureau in as the first independent and interdepartmental agency fully in

## **4.3.3 Categories of Counter Intelligence**

Collective counterintelligence is gaining information about an opponent's intelligence collection capabilities whose aim is at an entity. There are different categories of counterintelligence. These are further examined below:

control over All government counterintelligence activities.

**a. Defensive Counterintelligence:** This refers to thwarting efforts by hostile intelligence services to penetrate the service. Defensive measures vary normally with the mission of the unit. An example of these measures are: Counter-espionage, Counter-sabotage, Counter-subversion, Antiterrorism, and Counter-terrorism. Defensive counterintelligence starts by looking for places in one's own organization that could easily be exploited by foreign intelligence services (FIS) (Prunckun, 2019). FIS is an established term of art in the counterintelligence community, and, in

today's world, "foreign" is shorthand for "opposing." Opposition might indeed be a country, but it could be a transnational group or an internal insurgent group. Operations against a FIS might be against one's own nation, or another friendly nation. The range of actions that might be done to support a friendly government can include a wide range of functions, certainly including military or counterintelligence activities, but also humanitarian aid and aid to development.

Offensive counterintelligence: is having identified an opponent's b. efforts against the system, trying to manipulate these attacks by either "turning" the opponent's agents into double agents or feeding them false information to report. This is often called counterespionage, which are measures taken to detect enemy espionage or physical attacks against friendly intelligence services, prevent damage and information loss, and, where possible, to turn the attempt back against its originator (Prunckun, 2019). Counterespionage goes beyond being reactive and actively tries to subvert hostile intelligence service, by recruiting agents in the Foreign Service, by discrediting personnel actually loyal to their own service, and taking away resources that would be useful to the hostile service. All of these actions apply to non-national threats as well as to national organizations. If the hostile action is in one's own country or in a friendly one with co-operating police, the hostile agents may be arrested, or, if diplomats, declared persona non grata. From the perspective of one's own intelligence service, exploiting the situation to the advantage of one's side is usually preferable to arrest or actions that might result in the death of the threat. The intelligence priority sometimes comes into conflict with the instincts of one's own law enforcement organizations, especially when the foreign threat combines foreign personnel with citizens of one's country.

#### **4.4 Operations of Counter-Intelligence**

There are two types of counterintelligence operations namely: special operations and general operations. Special operations involve direct or indirect engagement with Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS) through human source or technical efforts. General operations are usually defensive in nature and are aimed at supporting force protection programs and formal security programs of Army commanders at all levels. Essentially, all counterintelligence operations and activities support force protection. Counterintelligence operations are not operations in the conventional combat arms sense. Counterintelligence operations activities that do not fall under the other functional areas of investigations, collection, or analysis and production are characterized as operations. Counterintelligence personnel are soldiers first. They are not equipped or trained to conduct standard military operations as a unit nor replace combat arms units, other combat support, or combat service support personnel. Counterintelligence personnel support operations in peace, war, and Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW). It is the

commander's responsibility to direct execution. The cycle consists of five phases: planning and directing, collecting, processing, producing, and disseminating. It is a continuous process and, even though each phase is conducted in sequence, all phases are conducted concurrently.CI information without proper dissemination and action is useless. It is the role of the Multi-Discipline Counter Intelligence (MDCI) analyst working with other Counterintelligence and intelligence specialists in the analysis and control element (ACE) to analyze threat data and determine countermeasures to deny the enemy collection capabilities or other threats.

## **4.4.1 Special Operations**

Counterintelligence special operations are generally carried out under the auspices of the National Foreign Counterintelligence Programme (NFCP). Special operations involve direct or indirect engagement of Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS) through human source or technical means. Counterintelligence special operations are governed by armed forces regulations and consist of offensive counterintelligence operations and defensive source programs. Normally, these operations involve engagement of a Foreign Intelligence Service. Only those agencies approved by Headquarters, Department of the Army (HQDA), in implementing classified memorandums conduct defensive source programs.

#### **4.4.2 General Operations**

Counterintelligence general operations are essentially defensive in nature and are aimed at supporting the force protection programs and formal programmes commanders security of Army at all levels. Counterintelligence general operations also include: Advice and assistance programmes, Technical support activities, Support to acquisition and Special Access Programme (SAP), Support to intelligence disciplines, Support to treaty verification, Support to domestic civil disturbances, Support to natural disaster operations and Support to Human Intelligence (HUMINT). Advice and assistance programs are conducted by Counterintelligence teams at all levels to improve the security posture of supported organizations. These programmes aid security managers in developing or improving security plans and Standing Operating Procedure (SOPs). This support can be programmed or unprogrammed. Advice and assistance can help identify and neutralize threats to security from Foreign Intelligence Service (FIS) or others who attempt to obtain information about US Army forces, programs, and operations. They provide threat information and identify specific vulnerabilities to security beyond the capability of a security manager.

#### 4.5 Counterintelligence Techniques

Counterintelligence techniques are means used to accomplish the mission efficiently and effectively. Selection of techniques occurs at the lowest

level possible by the on-scene counterintelligence element to meet the needs of the supported military commander within the constraints of the operation and applicable regulations. Techniques include vulnerability assessments, hostile intelligence simulation (Red Team), and covering agent support.

**4.5.1 Vulnerability assessments**: These are studies conducted by counterintelligence personnel to provide a supported command or agency a picture of its susceptibility to foreign intelligence collection. These assessments may be conducted on a command, agency, installation, subordinate element, Head Quarters, operation, or program and are tailored to the needs of each requestor. The objective is to provide a supported command or agency a realistic tool with which to evaluate internal force protection or security programs, and to provide a decision-making aid for the enhancement of these programs. Vulnerability assessments include: Evaluating FIS multidiscipline intelligence collection capabilities, collection and other activities, and PIR. Identifying friendly activity patterns (physical and electronic), friendly physical and electronic signatures, and resulting profiles.

4.5.2 Hostile Intelligence Simulation (Red Team): Counterintelligence personnel may plan and execute a simulation of a foreign intelligence penetration of a specified target, such as an installation, operation, or program. Such simulations are informally known as Red Team operations. There is no single structure or composition for a Red Team. It is an array of MDCI resources which are selectively employed during the operation. Red Team operations include the full range of MDCI activities to include those activities formerly performed as vulnerability assessments that may be applied to replicate the FIS threat. Red Team operations provide a supported command or agency a tool to evaluate internal force protection or security programs, and a decision-making aid for the enhancement of these programs. Red Team operations assist the commander or program manager and his security staff by identifying vulnerabilities based upon analysis of the collected information and recommending countermeasures to reduce or negate those vulnerabilities. 4.5.3 Covering Agent Support: CI covering agent support is the technique of assigning a primary supporting special agent to a command or agency. This agent will conduct all routine liaison and advice and assistance with the supported element. It ensures detailed familiarity with the supported element's operations, personnel, security, and vulnerabilities, and in turn provides the element with a point of contact for reporting matters of actual or potential CI interest.

#### Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

1.

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 8 minutes.

Identify the types of counterintelligence operations

| 2.  | The | two | types     | of     | counterintelligence | operations |
|---|-----|-----|-----------|--------|---------------------|------------|
| incluc  | 1e  | 0   | perations | s and_ | operations          |            |
| 3. List the techniques of counterintelligence |     |     |           |        |                     |            |

## 6.0 Summary

In this unit, we examined counter intelligence operations. Generally, counterintelligence are series of activities organized by an intelligence service directed towards subverting the enemy, including terrorist groups. In essence, while intelligence is the center or foundation in the development of suggested courses of action through gathering all relevant information, counterintelligence is the exerted efforts made by the intelligence organizations to keep their enemy organizations from gathering information against them. The unit covered a number of topics including counterintelligence missions, history of counterintelligence, categories of counterintelligence.

## 7.0 References /Further Readings/Web Resources

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Prunckun, H. (2019). Counterintelligence Theory and Practice. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers

#### 7.0 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) Answers to SAEs 1

1) Protecting an agency's intelligence program from an opposition's intelligence service.

- 2) M15.
- 3) 2004.
- 4) Their personnel, their installations, their operations.
- 5) Frank Wisner.

#### Answers to SAEs 2

- 1) Late 19<sup>th</sup>century.
- 2) The British empire and Russian empire.
- 3) 1830 and 1895.
- 4) 1880.
- 5) 1909.

#### Answers to SAEs 3

1) special operations and general operations.

2) special and general3). The techniques include vulnerability assessments, hostile intellige simulation (Red Team), and covering agent support

## MODULE 4: CONTEXTUAL ISSUES IN HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

- Unit 1 Responsibility to Protect (R2P) And Human Security
- Unit 2 The Covid-19 Pandemic and Human Security Agenda
- Unit 3: Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights
- Unit 4: The Russia-Ukraine War and Human Security

# UNIT 1 RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT (R2P) AND HUMAN SECURITY

## **Unit Structure**

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Understanding the Nexus between the Responsibility to Protect and Human Security
  - 1.3.1 Pillars of R2P
  - 1.4 Humanitarian Intervention
  - 1.5 Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention
  - 1.6 Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
  - 1.6.1 R2P Obligations
  - 1.6.2 R2P Application and Success
  - 1.6.3 The Failure of R2P
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

## **1.1 Introduction**

The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a global political commitment which was endorsed by all member states of the United Nations at the 2005 World Summit in order to address its four key concerns to prevent genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) was created in the hope of overcoming the barrier that state sovereignty, as a principle, had become to actions of humanitarian intervention. It was imagined that as mass atrocity crimes were coming to the attention of the international community, that, on the whole, they were willing, able and eager to intervene in order to stop the violence in question. Holding them back was sovereignty as both a legal and normative barrier. This was always a bad explanation for the pervasive lack of humanitarian intervention. Accordingly, R2P, as a bad solution, has failed almost entirely. The problem is, and always has been, that when faced with mass atrocity crimes, the international community is plagued by a near-permanent lack of political will to action.

## **1.2 Learning Outcomes**

At the end of this unit you should be able to

- Understand the nexus between Responsibility to Protect and Human Security
- Define humanitarian Intervention
- Identify the three pillars of R2P
- Explain the Failure of R2P

## **Main Section**

# **1.3 Understanding the Nexus between the Responsibility to Protect and Human Security**

The Responsibility to Protect is also known as R2P. It is an international norm that seeks to ensure that the international community never again fails to halt the mass atrocity crimes of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. The concept emerged in response to the failure of the international community to adequately respond to mass atrocities committed in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. The International Committee on Intervention and State Sovereignty developed the concept of R2P during 2001. The Responsibility to Protect was unanimously adopted in 2005 at the UN World Summit, the largest gathering of Heads of State and Government in history. It is articulated in paragraphs 138 and 139 of the World Summit Outcome Document.

Human security as a concept began to gain recognition when it was publicized as the topic of the UN's Human Development Report in 1994. Since then, it has attracted increasing attention among theorists, policymakers, and, to a limited extent (as in Canada during the 1990s), voters. The UNDP's Human Security Framework and a report for the UN Centre for Regional Development summaries the influence of human security on UN policy. This influence took three forms: the idea that the primacy of citizens' *human rights* not only obliges the state to protect them but that sometimes they be protected from state authority; the notion that the destitute situation of many people around the world necessitates decisive *development* efforts on the part of states; and the realization that human security is too important and too complex an obligation to be left to national governments in isolation without the support of civil society.

In 2003 the UN Commission on Human Security, chaired by Sadako Ogata and Amartya Sen, reported that the world needed "a new security framework that centers directly on people" and that focuses on "shielding people from acute threats and empowering people to take charge of their own lives". This goal of individual empowerment seems rather a long way removed from the traditional priorities of state security. The Human Security Network, founded in 1998, at the time of writing includes twelve developed and developing countries worldwide, who contributed to the UNDP's human security framework. Their relative emphases vary between the human rights focus (e.g. Norway, and the establishment of the International Criminal Court In The Hague) and the development focus (e.g. Switzerland, and formerly Japan). In recent years the Network has somewhat receded out of the public spotlight but its member countries continue to emphasis human security priorities on the international stage.

# 1.3.1 Pillars of R2P

Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability. The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. R2P stipulates three pillars of responsibility:

- **PILLAR ONE:** Every state has the Responsibility to Protect its populations from four mass atrocity crimes: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing.
- **PILLAR TWO:** The wider international community has the responsibility to encourage and assist individual states in meeting that responsibility.
- **PILLAR THREE:** If a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the international community must be prepared to take appropriate collective action, in a timely and decisive manner and in accordance with the UN Charter.

While there is agreement among states about the R2P, there is no global consensus on the applicability of the third pillar in practice. The R2P provides a framework for employing measures that already exist to prevent atrocity crimes and to protect civilians from their occurrence. Examples such measures include: mediation. early warning mechanisms, economic sanctions, and chapter VII powers. The authority to employ the use of force under the framework of the R2P rests solely with UNSC and only as a measure of last resort. Since 2009, the Secretary-General of the UN has published annual reports on the R2P. The reports seek to support the works of governments, intergovernmental organizations, and civil society, as well as the private sector, in preventing atrocity crime.

R2P has been invoked in more than 80 UN Security Council resolutions concerning crises in Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia, Libya, Mali, Somalia, South Sudan, Syria, and Yemen, as well as thematic resolutions concerning the prevention of genocide, prevention of armed conflict and restricting the trade of small arms and light weapons. The R2P has also been invoked in more than 50 Human Rights Council resolutions and 13 General Assembly resolutions. These resolutions and their related preventive and – as a last resort – coercive measures, have demonstrated that collective action to protect populations at risk is possible. Individual states and global networks, such as the Global Network of R2P Focal Points, have undertaken various national initiatives to ensure they are preventing mass atrocity crimes through upholding their pillar I and pillar II commitments.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

1. *In* accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the \_\_\_\_ Charter, to help to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.

2. Which of the R2P pillars stipulate that If a state is manifestly failing to protect its populations, the International community must be prepared to take appropriate collective actions, in a timely and decisive manner and in accordance with the UN Charter.

3. The first pillar consists of the traditional area of military/strategic security of the state and its rule of law. (True/False)

## **1.4 Humanitarian Intervention**

Humanitarian intervention, as a principle means of alleviating human suffering resulting from mass atrocity crimes, carries significant moral and legal force; an important tool for the protection of human rights. Four types of humanitarian military intervention are offered: providing logistical assistance, protecting aid operations, protecting the population and defeating the perpetrators of violence. Conversely, the principle of non-intervention, under the larger banner of state sovereignty, exists as a guarantee of international equality, peace and security, and is supported by a significant moral and legal structure. The perception has been that this dilemma has produced indeterminacy in the practical application of humanitarian intervention; a phenomenon that became defined by the controversy and failure surrounding the erratic application of humanitarian intervention in the 1990's and early 2000's.

Confronted with countless examples during this period, and with the theoretical contradiction of 'humanitarianism vs. sovereignty' seeming to cause most of the problems, Secretary General of the United Nations (UN) Kofi Annan, pressed for urgent reform at the supranational level; the need to "forge unity" when confronted by the next inevitable humanitarian crisis. The solution was the Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P); a new legal, moral and normative standard for the international community to live by in response to mass atrocity crimes. However, despite some early-stage successes, both in institutional and practical terms, R2P never really got going. As a doctrine it died an embryonic death, and remains today largely unimplemented as a policy indeterminacy that plagued humanitarian directive. The same intervention, has continued to plague R2P. The original explanatory theory behind the indeterminacy (humanitarianism vs. sovereignty) was wrong, and in some ways R2P helped to clarify the real problem. By imposing a new clarification over the competing international values of state sovereignty and humanitarian intervention, R2P shed extra light on what had been the barrier to intervention all along: 'compliance pull'. The old paradox was dead, and the 'ethics verses politics' problem was brought to the fore. The failure of R2P, just as with the sustained failure of humanitarian intervention before it, was reducible to a single issue: an underlying absence of political will.

#### Answers to SAEs 2

| 1.   | Define the concept of humanitarian Intervention                 |  |
|--|---|--|
| 2.   | Failure surrounded the application of humanitarian intervention |  |
| in the   | and early   |  |
| 3.   | Which of the UN Secretary General pressed for urgent            |  |
| reform   | at the supranational level; the need to "forge unity" when      |  |
| confronted by the next inevitable humanitarian crisis. |   |  |
| 4.   | The failure of R2P was attributed to an underlying absence      |  |
| of   |   |  |
|  |   |  |

#### **1.5** Sovereignty and Humanitarian Intervention

The debate about the legitimacy of humanitarian intervention hinges on the relative value afforded to sovereignty. Widely regarded as the most important and identifying event in the history of international relations, the Treaty (or Peace) of Westphalia (1648) that ended the Thirty Years War, is enduringly significant for its guarantee's equality within the international order. That is, power, place and importance are removed as points of moral differentiation between states. Westphalian sovereignty has an equivalent in the norm of non-intervention. This normative claim was formed with the explicit raison d'etre of securing international peace and the lives of all global citizens, empowering nation-states at the prejudice of international conflict and empire. Especially prescient in the era of 120rganization120n, and reinvigorated by the collapse of the world's last empire in the Soviet Union, the claim to sovereignty and nonintervention in the affairs of other nations was held onto with a religious vigour. A long history of 120rganization and imperialist pursuits in international relations has made the promise of self-determination and a future free from outside interference, a deeply emotional attachment. Sovereignty thus hard won, not easily relinquished or compromised. Sovereignty is the key founding tenet of international peace and cooperation. The United Nations, formed in the aftermath of World War II to promote peace and stability, recognizes the importance of sovereignty, especially for newly independent nations or those seeking independence from colonizers. The UN Charter states that: Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. African states also jealously guard their sovereignty. Then Algerian President and President of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Abdelaziz Bouteflika, in addressing the UN General Assembly in 1999, advocated the value of sovereignty as "our final defence against the rules of an unjust world". As such, humanitarian interventions, such as that in Kosovo, brought vehement criticism from prominent international figures. Former Secretary of State and realist scholar, Henry Kissinger lambasted British Prime Minister Tony Blair after the intervention in Kosovo for the "abrupt abandonment of the concept of national sovereignty". Nelsen Mandela in 2000, saw military action in Kosovo as: "such disregard for international conventions was more dangerous to world peace than anything that was currently happening in Africa".

Article 15, of the Charter of the Organisation of American States (1948), declares "no state or group of states has the right to intervene directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state". An unequivocal statement of the right to non-

intervention, for which similar sentiments are found in the Charter for the Organisation of African Unity (later the African Union), and the constitutional arrangements of regional organisations in the Middle East and Asia. The International Court of Justice (ICJ) (1949) officially 121rganizati that "between independent states, respect for territorial sovereignty is an essential foundation of international relations", then reaffirmed as such in 1986 when observing "the fundamental principle of state sovereignty on which the whole of international law rests". The Declaration on World Peace and Cooperation, from the Bandung Conference (1955), Highlighted the importance of sovereignty, particularly for weaker nations or those with a history of colonial occupation. The Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States (1970) 121rganizati that the UN was "convinced that the strict observance by states of the obligation not to intervene in the affairs of any other is an essential condition to ensure that nations live together in peace". The ICJ in the case of Nicaragua v the United States (1986), adamantly asserted that self-defense, as understood in the UN Charter, must be applied "restrictively". The Restatement of Foreign Relations Law (US) (1987) "Whether a state may intervene with military force in the territory of another state without its consent... to prevent or terminate human rights violations, is not agreed or authoritatively determined". And at the 2000 South Summit of the G77 (now expanded to 133 countries) - an 121rganization comprising 80 per cent of the global population – the official declaration read: "we reject the so-called 'right' of humanitarian intervention". Beyond legal structures and an institutional importance, "Sovereignty incarnates a moral value – which is extremely precious to us – which is the sovereign equality of peoples, the sovereign equality of states, and the protection that the sovereign system provides weak states against the might of the strong"

# **1.6** The Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

The Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is an expression of international "dismay" at the human atrocities of the 1990's, and "the ineffective international responses to halting them". R2P was created with the purpose of being a mechanism to "bridge the sovereignty versus intervention divide", a way of "reconciling the principle of shared responsibility with that of non-intervention". By signing the United Nations Charter and other international obligations, the majority of states had previously accepted limits on their sovereignty, however R2P stepped beyond this to outline a further obligation upon the international community as a whole, in relation to third party occurrences of mass atrocities. This obligation had legal precedent in the ICJ report concerning Bosnia vs. Serbia, Common Article 1 of the Geneva Conventions (1949),

the Draft Articles on the Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts, by the International Law Commission and the UN's independent inquiry following the genocide in Rwanda.

The Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect was originally proposed by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) report (2001), whereby state sovereignty, as a principle, became refined, and narrowed into 'functional sovereignty', thereby moving beyond previous normative sovereign limitations. This re-imagining was based upon the three pillars of: (1) Sovereignty being conditional upon the protection of civilian populations, (2) By requiring the international community to assist in this regard, and (3) By 'obligating' international humanitarian intervention whenever this standard cannot be met in regard to the manifestation of ethnic cleansing, genocide, crimes against humanity, and grave or systemic war crimes, (the Four Crimes) (Bellamy, 2010, p. 143).

# 1.6.1 R2P Obligations

R2P obligations were 122econceptua into the Responsibility to Prevent (R2Prevent), the Responsibility to React (R2React) and the Responsibility to Rebuild (R2Rebuild), and were limited to the 'Just War Theory' conditions of 'right intention', 'last resort', 'proportional means', 'reasonable prospects' 'right authority' and 'just cause' (ICISS, 2001). To 122econceptualize sovereignty as such is practically significant in three distinct ways, firstly it outlines the responsibility of states for the protection and promotion of its citizens lives. Secondly, it means states have a dual responsibility to their citizens and also to the international community; internal and external responsibilities. And lastly, it entails that actions of a state and those undertaken by agents on behalf of the state, will be held to account for their actions. R2P moved from concept, to legal principle and normative consensus when it was adopted at the UN World Summit in 2005.

Six months later it was reaffirmed; again in 2009 at the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) debate on "implementing the Responsibility to Protect" (2009), and again in 2011. R2P rapidly became an "obligatory reference point in academic discourse on the issue of humanitarian intervention". R2P has been referenced in United Nations Security Council (UNSC) Presidential statements concerning the protection of civilians in armed conflict, international peace and security, children in armed conflict and the Middle-East, peace and security in Africa, and Central Africa, whilst also playing a significant role in various aspects of institutional architecture, including the Peacebuilding Commission.

# 1.6.2 R2P Application and Success

R2P was explicitly cited in declarations concerning the protection of civilians in armed conflict, children in armed conflict, and the control of small and light weapons, as well as UNSC resolutions relating to Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Yemen, Central African Republic, Burundi and Libya. Kenya was largely seen as a successful example of R2P in practice. The R2P is widely credited with having helped stave off the escalation of violence in Kenya. Following the Presidential election in Kenya in 2007, and the outbreak of violence resulting in 1000 deaths and 250,000 displaced people, Francis Deng, through the authority of the Special Advisor on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG), employed the rhetoric of R2P as directly relating to the charge of the incitement of violence by political leaders. As a result, the live broadcasting of inflammatory speeches and comment was banned, undoubtedly saving significant amounts of human suffering.

Libya stands as the keystone of R2P. Originally, following Muammar Gaddafi's initial crackdown, then also on February 26 in relation to arms embargoes, travel restrictions, asset freezes, and an ICC referral, and finally on March 17 with resolution 1973 authorising military intervention to protect Libyan rebels and citizens from being targeted by Gaddafi and his regime, R2P was the driving force behind international condemnation and intervention in Libya in 2011 (Garwood-Gowers, 2013, p. 87-88). Faced with rebels, primarily focused on democratic reform, Colonel Gaddafi made his intentions explicit, "We are coming tonight... we will find you in your closets... we will show no mercy" (Hehir, 2012, p. 13). Resolution 1973 was seen as the embodiment of humanitarian principles, and with a successful international mobilisation and successful application, with Gaddafi dead and the regime removed from power by October that year (Hehir, 2012, p. 12), Libya was seen as a watermark for R2P, as a position from which "we can say no more Holocausts, Cambodias, and Rwandas".

# 1.6.3 The Failure of R2P

R2P produced a broad international consensus, at least in principle, and certainly altered some of the justifying language that surrounded any potential, or actual, humanitarian intervention, but in practice R2P always existed as an unspecified principle. R2P suffers from the same reluctance and haphazard application that humanitarian intervention is confronted with. The R2P faces three identifiable challenges. The first challenge is essentially conceptual, to ensure that the scope and limits of the responsibility to protect are fully and completely understood in a way that is clearly not the case now. The second challenge is institutional

preparedness, to build the kind of capacity within international institutions, governments, and regional organization that will ensure that, assuming that there is an understanding of the need to act. The third challenge, as always, is political preparedness, how to generate that indispensable ingredient of will: how to have in place the mechanisms and strategies necessary to generate an effective political response as new R2P situations arise.

The international intervention in Libya was held up as a keystone moment for R2P, however it was authorised in the same manner that it would have been pre-R2P, that is, under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. Beyond this, Resolution 1973 was seen to be deliberately avoiding making explicit reference to R2P through the ambiguous wording of, "reiterating the responsibility of the Libyan authorities to protect the Libyan population", and avoided any mention of the international community's responsibility to protect the Libyan population. In the UNSC, the important international actors of Russia, China, India and Brazil chose to abstain rather than endorse Resolution 1973, while the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) nations expressed strong misgivings regarding the invocation and application of R2P. Beyond this, neither in the co-authored justification by Nicolas Sarkozy, David Cameron and Barak Obama, nor in Obama's own keynote speech supporting and explaining the Libyan intervention, nor within Resolution 1973 itself, was a reference to R2P explicitly made. Mandate abuse that occurred by NATO forces has seemingly damaged R2P and humanitarian intervention into the future.

The UNSC constantly found deadlocked on resolutions concerning intervention in Syria beyond observer missions and resolution 2188 pertaining to the destruction of chemical weapons under the 'Chemical Weapons Convention', not the protection of civilians under R2P. Five years after the onset of the violence in Darfur, 290,000 people had been displaced in the first 10 months of 2008 alone, and four million were in need of urgent humanitarian assistance, motivating the British Parliament to issue the statement "if the responsibility to protect means anything, it ought to mean something in Darfur".

Moreover, whereas R2P explicitly does not require consent from targeted states, UNSC resolution 1706 invited "the consent of the Government of National Unity", with the subsequent lack of permission from the Sudanese government forming an unmanageable hurdle for the international community. As such, R2P, contrary to its framed intentions, actually helped to facilitate international obfuscation, by affording member states the ability to claim that "in the spirit of 'the responsibility to protect', host states have the primary responsibility to deal with intrastate crises and should be left alone to do so". Kenya was held up as

"a successful example of R2P at work" by Kofi Annan, yet it is doubtful as to what impact R2P actually had. R2P was loosely employed during the crisis, and used more as a "diplomatic tool than catalyst for action" (Bellamy, 2011, p. 89). Moreover, the use of the doctrine at all, draws serious questions about its content and the threshold for its use. With zero evidence of ethnic cleansing, and only 700–800 confirmed deaths, Kenya ought never to have drawn the attention of R2P, by its own stated directives. In Mali, despite three separate UN resolutions 125uthorizing action, and the expressed support of ECOWAS to assist the government in combating Islamic militants, it required unilateral intervention by France (Operation Serval) to precipitate broader international assistance.

#### Answers to SAEs

1. Briefly explain the Failure of R2P

2. Complete this sentence: The United Nations, formed in the aftermath of World War II to promote peace and stability, recognizes the importance of \_\_\_\_\_

3. The Doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect was originally proposed by the \_\_\_\_\_\_report (2001)

4. Identify the categories of the R2P obligations

5. Mention any African country where the R2P is said to have succeeded

6. Highlight the difference between humanitarian intervention and R2P

## 1.7 Summary

The Responsibility to Protect was conceived in order to be a bridge over the barrier that many people had assumed state sovereignty placed to humanitarianism. Yet this was a misconception over what sovereignty was prior to R2P, and a misunderstanding over why states were only undertaking humanitarian interventions in an indeterminate, largely unsupportive manner. States once willing and capable of undertaking significant imperial and colonial excursions, are simply avoiding similar burdens for a different principle – humanitarianism. The failures of humanitarian intervention, just as with R2P afterwards, can be understood via the simple statement that: "states choose not to undertake them". So, in the words of Mohammed Sahnoun and Gareth Evans, as Co-chairs of the ICISS Report: "It is only a matter of time before reports emerge again from somewhere of massacres, mass starvation, rape, and ethnic cleansing".

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# **1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)**

## Answers to SAEs 1

- 1. UN Charter,
- 2. Pillar 3
- 3. True
- Answers to SAEs 2

1. Humanitarian intervention is a means of alleviating human suffering resulting from mass atrocity crimes, carries significant moral and legal force; an important tool for the protection of human rights. Four types of humanitarian military intervention are offered: providing logistical assistance, protecting aid operations, protecting the population and defeating the perpetrators of violence.

2. 1990's and early 2000's

3. Kofi Annan

4. political will

## Answers to SAEs 3

1. The failure of R2P has been attributed to the unwillingness of states to act or the absence of political will. An example is the case of Darfur, the international community has blinked in the face of mass atrocities and conflict that claimed so many lives.

2. Sovereignty

*3.* International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS)

4. R2P obligations were categorized into the Responsibility to Prevent (R2Prevent), the Responsibility to React (R2React) and the Responsibility to Rebuild (R2Rebuild)

5. Kenya

6. While humanitarian intervention only refers to the use of military force, R2P is first and foremost a preventive principle that emphasizes a range of measures to stem the risk of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing or crimes against humanity before the crimes are threatened or occur

## UNIT 2 THE COVID 19 PANDEMIC AND HUMAN SECURITY AGENDA

## **Unit Structure**

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Historical Background of the COVID 19 Pandemic
  - **2.3.1** Human Security
  - 2.3.2 The Nexus between COVID 19 and Human Security
  - 2.4 The Impact of COVID 19 on Human Security
  - 2.4.1 Health Security
  - 2.4.2 Economic Security
  - 2.4.3 Food Security
  - 2.4.4 Environmental Security
  - 2.4.5 Community Security
  - 2.4.6 Political Security
- 2.7 Summary
- 2.8 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

## 2.1 Introduction

This unit examines the impact of COVID-19 pandemic on human security. The emergence of COVID-19 in Wuhan China and its spread across 213 countries and territories around world is unprecedented in modern history. It was officially declared a pandemic on 11 March 2020. The COVID-19 has profoundly impacted humanity security, public health, global economy, political governance and the global economy without clear pathways of eventual recovery. In this context, the concept of 'human security' is one of the most helpful frameworks for attempting to understand the complex and inter-related challenges the pandemic has generated across multiple dimensions. Human security is a people-centred concept that seeks to address the root causes of insecurity. While not replacing the traditional notion of State security, the idea of human security provides a counterweight to it, offering a more comprehensive understanding of the multidimensional challenges to human survival and well-being by focusing on people's needs. It is most pithily summed up as the 3 freedoms: "freedom from want"; "freedom from fear"; and "freedom to live in dignity". This Unit explored the impact of COVID 19 on human security in order to provide deeper understanding of the different dimensions.

## 2.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit you should be able to

- Understand the historical background of the Covid 19 pandemic
- Appreciate the nexus between Human Security and Covid-19 pandemic
- Discuss the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on human security

# 2.3 Historical Background of the COVID 19 Pandemic

Pandemics and plagues have always ravaged humanity and changed the course of history from prehistoric period till date. They have equally reversed the gains of globalisation through backlashes on its existing formal and informal institutional mechanisms. Some of these major diseases witnessed in human history include Circa (3000 B.C.), Plague of Athens (430 B.C.), Antonine Plague (A.D. 165-180), Plague of Cyprian (A.D. 250-271), Plague of Justinian (A.D. 541-542), The Black Death (1346-1353) and Cocoliztli epidemic (1545-1548). Other epidemics and pandemics also include American Plagues (16th century), Great Plague of London (1665-1666), Great Plague of Marseille (1720-1723), Russian plague (1770-1772), Philadelphia yellow fever epidemic (1793), Flu pandemic (1889-1890), Cholera (1852-1860; 1910-1911), and American polio epidemic (1916). More recent ones include the global resurgence of Dengue Fever, West Nile Virus in New York, Swine Flu Pandemic (2009 -2010), West African Ebola Epidemic (2014 -2016), the rapid spread of Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) Infection (Since 1981), multidrug-resistant Tuberculosis (TB) and the global spread of the novel Coronavirus 19 are but all examples of the deepening consequences of forces of globalisation on the emergence, transmission and spread of pathogenic diseases.

The last time the World was hit by a pandemic was between 1918 and 1920. In that case, it was the so-called "Spanish flu" that killed over 50 million people and infected 500 million people out of a global population of about 2 billion individuals. The death rate of the Spanish flu was even worse than that of the "Black Plague" of the fourteenth century. Among the most illustrious victims of the disease were also the French poet Guillaume Apollinaire and the German sociologist Max Weber. At that moment, the First World War was ending and with it the era of imperialism. The world was not globalized and Western societies did not benefit from today's public services and levels of well-being and wealth. The global population communicated mainly with letters and by the postal service. There was no mass media, but newspapers and magazines were the main sources of information.

The first index case of Covid19 was believed to have been identified in December, 2019 in the city of Wuhan, Hubei Province, China. The first report about the emergence of the virus was reported to the World Health Organization, country office in China on 31<sup>st</sup> December, 2019. According to the World Health Organization, WHO, Covid-19 is a zoonotic virus and its main reservoir was identified to be bats, although the intermediate host for its outbreak has not been definitively ascertained. It main mode of human to human transmission was identified to be through droplets and fomites during close unprotected contact between an infected person and individual not infected. Families and other forms of social gathering has been identified as the main mode of community transmission of Covid19. Given the ease of human-to-human infection, community transmission and mobility across national borders, WHO declared Covid-19 a public health emergency of international concern on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2020. By March 2020, WHO declared the virus a pandemic, having spread to countries across all continents, overwhelmed the best public health care system, forced the closure of businesses and national economies and resulted in hundreds of thousands of deaths across the world.

While there are slight variations in statistics, however, accounts shown that infections continued to be recorded in thousands across countries. By February 2020, confirmed cases of infection from Covid-19 in 188 countries is more than 10 million, cases categorized as active stands at more than 4 million, those infected but had recovered are more than 5.5 million and the numbers of deaths attributed to the virus is more than 500,000. In view of statistical fluidity as it relates to the virus, mortality epi-center or what can be referred to as the Covid-19 'ground zero' continued to shift from one country to another. In December 2019 through to January 2020, China, in particular the city of Wuhan was the epi-center. By early March 2020, the virus epi-center shifted to Europe with particular reference to Italy. By late March 2020, United States of America and in particular, the state of New York became the new battle ground. While cases continued to surge in the United States, Latin America and Brazil in particular seems to be have emerged the new ground zero. Although, available data shows that Africa is less impacted unlike other continents, however, statistics of infection and mortality on the continent continued to rise. As at the end of June 2020, the number of total reported cases in Africa stand at 382,190, recoveries stand at 182,553 active cases stand at 189,973 and deaths stand at 9,664.

## 2.3.1 Human Security

The definition of human security is subject to policy and academic debate in literature. Its first, most-commonly cited usage came in the United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) 1994 Human Development Report. The report devoted a chapter the 'New Dimensions of Human Security', characterising the term as "a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not cut, an ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced," as well as stating that human security was *universal*; its components *interdependent*; based upon *preventative*. rather reactionary than measures: and intrinsically *people-centred*. Defining human security as "safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression" and "protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life," the UNDP broadened the conceptualisation of security. This moved it away from state-centric approach that had prevailed to encompass seven key individual centric components: economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security. As underlined in General Assembly resolution 66/290, "human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people." It calls for "peoplecomprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented centred. responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people."

## 2.3.2 The Nexus between COVID 19 and Human Security

Since the first identified index of the Covid-19 pandemic in China in December 2019, the virus soon spread around the world. In total, as at April 28, 2020 Africa alone had a cumulative total of 22, 376 confirmed Covid-19 cases with 899 deaths, and 8,292 recoveries across the 45 affected countries in the region according to various governments and WHO data releases. The global resilience capacity has been entrusted, unlike the beginning of the last century, to the formidable global industrial, scientific and pharmacological machine, capable of producing personal protective equipment and vaccines in record time. The outbreak of the pandemic represented a diversified emergency by sectors and by human units. It has had first and foremost medical and health impacts and, secondly, economic, security, social and psychological impacts. The measures adopted by individual governments to stem the contagion (lockdown, travel limitation, etc.) have had direct consequences on the world job market, on global economic productivity, on the growth and education of the younger generations and finally on the mental health of individuals.

The economic, political, social and psychological impacts of the pandemic risk translating into security criticalities capable of producing instability. Security problems that go beyond the sphere of "military" threats but no less dangerous for this. In this regard, just remember how POL 782

the pandemic has been politicized both internationally and nationally. During the first wave (2020), the US administration of President Trump accused China of having contributed to the spread of the virus to destabilize the West. Similarly, Eurosceptic movements and parties have used the social tensions within individual European countries to point the finger at the alleged mismanagement of the health emergency by Brussels. In other countries, protests against contagion mitigation measures have created political fractures within the government majorities and have resulted in violent street demonstrations.

For all these reasons, understanding the impact of the pandemic on human security is imperative. The concept of human security represents a departure from orthodox security studies, which focus on the security of the state. The subjects of the human security approach are individuals, and its end goal is the protection of people from traditional (i.e., military) and non-traditional threats such as poverty and disease. Moving the security agenda beyond state security does not mean replacing it but rather involves complementing and building on it. Central to this approach is the understanding that human security deprivations can undermine peace and stability within and between states, whereas an overemphasis on state security can be detrimental to human welfare. The state remains a central provider of security, but state security is not a sufficient condition for human welfare.

#### Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes.

1. What year did the world experience the outbreak of Corona Virus

(a) 2017 (b) 2019 (c) 2020 (d)2021

2. Corona Virus was originally called \_\_\_\_\_?

3. Briefly state the nexus between Human Security and Covid-19 pandemic

4. In which Country was the virus first identified (a) China (b) Korea (c) Dubai

5. Discuss the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on human security

# 2.4 The Impact of COVID 19 on Human Security

The United Nations (UN) considers human security as 'an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and crosscutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people', and calls for a human security approach that stresses "people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities". Human security has been mainstreamed across all UN activities in humanitarian assistance, building and sustaining peace, and advancing sustainable development. The 2030 Agenda or Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also reflects the fundamental principles of human security. Before the outbreak of the pandemic, the world had witnessed uneven developments towards human security. For example, global rates of extreme poverty had declined significantly, from 28percent in 2000 to 8.6percent by 2018, though these gains were concentrated in East Asia and South Asia and the rate of reduction had slowed. Those gains in poverty eradications also helped drive progress in other areas. For example, deaths of children under 5 years of age globally dropped from 9.8 million in 2000 to 5.4 million in 2017. Just prior to the pandemic, the Secretary-General António Guterres warned that despite progress in certain areas, many areas required urgent collective attention if the SDGs were to be achieved by 2030, not least the environment, violent conflicts, global hunger, education of children, and structural discrimination facing women.

COVID-19 has reversed a number of development and progress that was being witnessed prior to the pandemic. To illustrate this point, we shall examine the impact of the COVID-19 on the 7 components or types of needs or issues associated with human security, namely: health security, economic security, food security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

# 2.4. 1 COVID 19 and Health Security

Health security encompasses access to health services and living in a safe environment. The emergence of the novel corona virus has created a severe global public health emergency. At the time of writing in March 2021, COVID-19 has killed over 2.6 million people around the world. In addition to direct deaths caused by the coronavirus, there are likely to be many indirect deaths resulting from delays in seeking healthcare for other disorders or from overwhelmed health systems, or the diversion of resources to deal with the coronavirus. Unexpectedly, the US and the UK, which had earlier been identified as the two countries best prepared for a pandemic in 2019, ended up as among the worst affected due to flawed and delayed government responses in combination with deepening social and health inequalities that have had disproportionate impact on racial and ethnic minority groups. By 10 March 2021, over 528,000 Americans and over 125,000 British have died from the coronavirus. The pandemic experience in many countries has revealed and amplified structural inequalities in affected societies. The pandemic has driven home the point that health has social determinants that include discrimination and racism, access to adequate healthcare, education and housing, and occupations

that put some categories of 'essential' but low paid workers at high risk on the front line.

# 2.4.2 COVID 19 and Economic Security

As a result of the pandemic, poverty has grown and economic disruption has affected people in many countries. The World Bank estimates that in 2020, as a result of COVID-19 and its economic effects compounded by the effects of armed conflict and climate change, between 119 and 124 million people were pushed into extreme poverty (those living on under \$1.90 per day). In 2021 the crisis will continue and is projected to intensify, and those figures will further rise to between 143 and 163 million. Measures to contain the spread of the virus such as repeated lockdowns brought economic disruption which threatened nearly half the world's workforce with loss of their livelihoods.

# 2.4.3 COVID 19 and Food Security

Food security, access to basic nutrition and food supply, is closely related to economic security. Many people who lost jobs or experienced reduced work hours lost income and became food insecure. Lack of social protection further affected people in both rich and poor countries. In the US, the pandemic led to higher levels of food insecurity than seen during the Great Recession of 2008-9, reaching 38percent in March-April 2020. Again, effects were disproportionate for ethnic minorities, with 48percent of Black households and 52percent of Hispanic households experiencing food insecurity. In developing and fragile countries, the pandemic has eroded incomes, disrupted markets and supply chains, resulting in shortages of food and price increases.

# 2.4.4 COVID 19 and Environmental Security

There is concern that as governments in some states focus their efforts on containing COVID-19, they are less able or willing to enforce regulations that govern environmentally sensitive activities such as mining and logging, resulting in greater environmental harm. During the first five months of the pandemic, deforestation appeared to have increased by more than 50percent in Africa, Asia and South America. Illegal logging, mining and land grabbing has rapidly increased in Brazil during the pandemic, and the soaring number of environmental crimes appear to be further driven by minimal risk of punishment by authorities. In Cambodia, travel restrictions prevented international conservation NGOs from maintaining a presence in sanctuaries to help monitor and deter deforestation. In Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Indonesia and the Democratic

Republic of Congo governments have deliberately rolled back regulations and environmental protections in order to boost economic growth.

# 2.4.5 COVID 19 and Community Security

In the context of human security, community security refers to 'protection against the breakdown of communities through loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence. Analysts warn of further instability in the world's poorest countries that are already suffering from hunger, disease, lack of opportunity, climate change and conflict. Personal security This issue concerns freedom from the threat of physical violence. An increase in intimate partner violence has been seen as a consequence of COVID-19. Gender-based violence is known to be exacerbated in times of crisis, such as conflict, humanitarian crisis, or economic stress. As a result of movement restrictions and stay-at-home orders aimed at containing the virus, victims have faced increased exposure to abusers and, simultaneously, restricted opportunities to seek assistance from formal and informal networks and reduced support services.

# 2.4.6 COVID 19 and Political Security

Political security for people means that they live in a society that respects basic human rights. The COVID-19 pandemic is not only a health and economic crisis but has also emerged as a political crisis in which authoritarian leaders have used the pandemic to suppress dissent and strengthen their control over the levers of power. As articulated in an open letter signed by over 500 political and civil leaders, authoritarian governments have used emergency powers to restrict human rights and enhance state surveillance, without adequate safeguards and provisions for the restoration of constitutional order. This overview has sought to illustrate how a human security lens can help to understand the complex, multi-layered reality created by the COVID-19 pandemic, with its interconnected and mutually reinforcing threats to human security. A domino-like succession of effects is apparent: health crisis and containment measures produce economic insecurity, poverty and unemployment, further triggering food insecurity and hunger. Lockdowns have resulted in skyrocketing rates of domestic abuse. Pandemic response draws resources away from normal regulatory enforcement, as in the environment, and in worse contexts is being utilized for repression. Environmental degradation has exacerbated inter-communal and intergroup conflict and made targets of environmental activists and indigenous leaders in many parts of the world, including for predatory political elites and governments. At the heart of the human security framework is the lived experience of people in their daily lives. This reminder of the responsibility of governments for the lives and well-being of individuals and communities must inform recovery and efforts to "build back better".

#### Self-Assessment Exercise 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 6 minutes

1. Human Security entails 3 freedom which include Freedom of \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_& \_\_\_\_?

2. The United Nations considers human security as 'an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people' (True/ false)

3. The 2030 Agenda or Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also reflects the \_\_\_\_\_?

4. Covid 19 had an impact on the Economic situation of Nations ( True/ False)

#### 2.7 Summary

The Coronavirus disease has become a severe pandemic and poses many serious challenges at national, regional and global levels. They have been enormous rapid spread of the Covid-19 and the drastic measures taken by countries whatever their size worldwide. The socio-economic impact of the Covid-19 crisis is real. It is therefore essential to inform the populations on the impact and advice policy-makers in order to better prepare and lessen the adverse impact of the pandemic. The protection of Human life and the need to ensure Human security has been essential. The need to protect all human life and ensure that the virus has minimal effect in the economy and other part of the society is highly important. Not just life, but the economy, community and daily activity of people are affected by the virus.

#### 2.8 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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- The World Bank's original estimate expected 100 million to be pushed into poverty in 2020. See full analysis in World Bank, Poverty and Shared Prosperity 2020: Reversals of Fortune (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2020), doi: 10.1596/978-1-4648-1602-4

#### 2.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Questions

#### SAE1

1. 2019

2. Novel Coronavirus

3. Human security perspective states that the concept and practices of security should be oriented around the everyday needs of individuals and communities. The Covid-19 pandemic exposed the limitations of the traditional security paradigm and it demonstrated that traditional measures of national security are no assurance of societal resilience or individual protection.

4. (a) China

#### SAE2

1. freedom from Fear, freedom from want and Freedom to live in dignity

2. True

- 3. fundamental principles of human security
- 4. True

# UNIT 3: COUNTER-TERRORISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

#### **Unit Structure**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 The concept of Human right and Terrorism
  - 3.3.1 The concept of human right
  - 3.3.2 The concept of Terrorism
  - 3.4 Human right and Counter-terrorism
  - 3.5 Terrorism and other rights
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References /Further Readings/Web Resources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)

## **3.1. Introduction**

In this unit, we examine the connection between human rights and counterterrorism. We also discussed the implications of counterterrorism for human rights. The human cost of terrorism has been felt in virtually every corner of the Globe. The United Nations family has itself suffered tragic human loss as A result of violent terrorist acts. The attack on its offices in Baghdad on 19 August 2003 claimed the lives of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Sergio Vieira de Mello, and 21 other men and women, and injured over 150 others, some very seriously. Terrorism clearly has a very real and direct impact on human rights, with Devastating consequences for the enjoyment of the right to life, liberty and Physical integrity of victims. In addition to these individual costs, terrorism can destabilize Governments, undermine civil society, jeopardize peace and security, and threaten social and economic development. All of these also have a real impact on the enjoyment of human rights. Security of the individual is a basic human right and the protection of Individuals is, accordingly, a fundamental obligation of Government. States therefore have an obligation to ensure the human rights of their nationals and others by taking positive measures to protect them against the threat of terrorist acts and bringing the perpetrators of such acts to justice.

#### **3.2 Learning Outcomes**

By the end of this unit, you will be able to:

• Discuss the concept of human right

- Examine the obligations of state actors towards upholding human rights in counterterrorism
- Identify and explain the impact of terrorism and counterterrorism on human rights and other rights

# **Main Section**

# 3.3 Defining Human Right

Human rights are the basic rights and freedoms that belong to every person in the world, from birth until death. They apply regardless of where you are from, what you believe or how you choose to live your life. Human rights are needed to protect and preserve every individual's humanity, to ensure that every individual can live a life of dignity and a life that is worthy of a human being. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948, was the first legal document to set out the fundamental human rights to be universally protected. The UDHR, which turned 70 in 2018, continues to be the foundation of all international human rights law. The UDHR and other documents lay out five kinds of human rights: economic, social, cultural, civil, and political. Economic, social, and cultural rights include the right to work, the right to food and water, the right to housing, and the right to education.

Human rights are universal values and legal guarantees that protect Individuals and groups against actions and omissions primarily by State Agents that interfere with fundamental freedoms, entitlements and Human dignity. The full spectrum of human rights involves respect for, And protection and fulfilment of, civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights, as well as the right to development. Human rights are universal, meaning that they belong inherently to all human beings and indivisible.

## 3.3.1 International Human Rights Law

International human rights law is reflected in a number of core international Human rights treaties and in customary international law. These treaties include in particular the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and its two Optional Protocols. Other core Universal human rights treaties are the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and its Optional Protocol; the Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and its Optional 140 Protocol; the Convention on the Rights of the Child and its two Optional Protocols; And the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families. The most recent are the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance, and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and its Optional Protocol, which were all adopted in December 2006.

There is a growing body of subject-specific treaties and protocols as well as various regional treaties on the protection of human rights and Fundamental freedoms. International human rights law is not limited to the enumeration of rights Within treaties, but also includes rights and freedoms that have become Part of customary international law, which means that they bind all States Even if they are not party to a particular treaty. Many of the rights set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are widely regarded to Hold this character. The Human Rights Committee has similarly observed, in its general comments N° 24 (1994) and N° 29 (2001), that some Rights in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights reflect Norms of customary international law.

Furthermore, some rights are Recognized as having a special status as norms of jus cogens (peremptory Norms of customary international law), which means that there are no Circumstances whatsoever in which derogation from them is permissible. The prohibitions of torture, slavery, genocide, racial discrimination and Crimes against humanity, and the right to self-determination are widely Recognized as peremptory norms, as reflected in the International Law Commission's articles on state responsibility. The International Law Commission also lists the basic rules of international humanitarian law Applicable in armed conflict as examples of peremptory norms. Similarly, The Human Rights Committee has referred to arbitrary deprivation of life, Torture and inhuman and degrading treatment, hostage-taking, collective. Punishment, arbitrary deprivation of liberty, and violations of certain due Process rights as nonderogable, while the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in its Statement on racial discrimination and Measures to combat terrorism, has confirmed the principle of non-Discrimination as a norm of jus cogens.

## **3.3.2 Human Rights and the Obligations of State Actors**

Human rights law also places a responsibility on States to effective remedies in the event of violations. Those human rights that are part of customary international law are Applicable to all States. In the case of human rights treaties, those States that are party to a particular treaty have obligations under that treaty. There are various mechanisms for enforcing these obligations, including the evaluation by treaty-monitoring bodies of a state's compliance with certain treaties and the ability of individuals to complain about the violation of their rights to international bodies. Moreover, and particularly relevant to a number of human rights challenges in countering terrorism, all members of the United Nations are obliged to take joint and separate Action in cooperation with the United Nations for the achievement of the purposes set out in Article 55 of its Charter, including universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. A key question is the territorial reach of a State's international human rights Obligations. The nature of the general legal obligation of States parties in this respect is addressed in article 2 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

As confirmed by the Human Rights Committee in its general comment  $N^{\circ}$  31 (2004), this obligation on States to ensure Covenant rights to all persons within their territory and subject to their Jurisdiction means that a state party must ensure such rights to anyone Within its power or effective control, even if not situated within its territory. Furthermore, the enjoyment of international human rights is not limited to the citizens of States parties but must be available to all individuals, regardless of nationality or statelessness, such as asylum-seekers and Refugees. In an advisory opinion, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights is applicable in respect of acts done by a State in the exercise of its Jurisdiction outside its own territory." It reached the same conclusion with Regard to the applicability of the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

#### Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 1

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes

1. What do you understand by the notion of Human rights\_\_\_\_\_?

2. The enjoyment of International human rights is not limited to the citizens of States parties but must be available to all\_\_\_\_\_

3. Identify the five kinds of human rights underscored by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

## 3.4 Human Rights and Counter-terrorism

The promotion and protection of human rights while countering terrorism is a subject of interest and a very complex issue. Just as terrorism impacts on human rights and the functioning of society, so too can measures adopted by states to counter terrorism. As mentioned above, because terrorism has a serious impact on a range of fundamental Human rights, States have not only a right but a duty to take effective counter-terrorism measures. Effective counter-terrorism measures and the Protection of human rights are complementary and mutually reinforcing objectives which must be pursued together as part of States' duty to protect individuals within their jurisdiction. As referred to in chapter I, section E, the Security Council acted swiftly, following the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, to strengthen the legal framework for international cooperation and common Approaches to the threat of terrorism in such areas as preventing its financing, reducing the risk that terrorists might acquire weapons of mass destruction and improving cross-border information-sharing by law enforcement authorities, as well as establishing a monitoring body, the Counter-Terrorism Committee, to supervise the implementation of these Measures.

Regional approaches have also been developed in the context of the African Union, the Council of Europe, the European Union, the League of Arab States, the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Organization of American States, the Organization of the Islamic Conference, the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation and other organizations. There has been a proliferation of security and counter-terrorism legislation and policy throughout the world since the adoption of Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001), much of which has an impact on the enjoyment of Human rights. Most countries, when meeting their obligations to counter Terrorism by rushing through legislative and practical measures, have Created negative consequences for civil liberties and fundamental human Rights.

## 3.4.1 The Central Role of Human Rights and State Obligations When Countering Terrorism

The international community has committed to adopting measures that ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism, through the adoption Of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy by the General Assembly in its resolution 60/288. Member States have resolved to take Measures aimed at addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of Terrorism, including lack of rule of law and violations of human rights, and ensure that any measures taken to counter terrorism comply with Their obligations under international law, in particular human rights law, Refugee law and international humanitarian law. In 2004, the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change reported that recruitment by international terrorist groups was aided by grievances Nurtured by poverty, foreign occupation, and the absence of human rights and democracy. The World Summit Outcome, adopted by the General Assembly in 2005, also considered the question of respect for human rights while countering terrorism and concluded that international cooperation to fight terrorism must be conducted in conformity with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations and relevant international conventions and Protocols.

The General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights Have emphasized that States must ensure that any measures taken to combat terrorism comply with their obligations under international human Rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law. The Security Council has done the same, starting with the declaration set out in its Resolution 1456 (2003), in which the Security Council, meeting at the Level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs, stated that "States must ensure that any measure taken to combat terrorism comply with all their obligations any measure taken to combat terrorism comply with all their obligations under international law, and should adopt such measures in accordance with international law, in particular international human rights, refugee, and humanitarian law." This position was reaffirmed in Security Council resolution 1624 (2005). In his 2006 report "Uniting against terrorism: recommendations for a global counter-terrorism strategy" (A/60/825), the United Nations Secretary-General described human rights as essential to the fulfilment of all aspects of a counter-terrorism strategy and emphasized that effective counter-terrorism measures and the protection of human rights were not conflicting goals, but complementary and mutually reinforcing ones. Universal and regional treaty-based bodies have likewise frequently observed that the lawfulness of counterterrorism measures depends on their conformity with international human rights law.

The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy reaffirms the inextricable links between human rights and security, and places respect for the rule of law and human rights at the core of national and international counter-terrorism efforts. Through the Strategy, Member States have committed to ensuring respect for human rights and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism. To be effective, this should include the development of national counterterrorism strategies that seek to prevent acts of terrorism and address the conditions conducive to their spread; to prosecute or lawfully extradite those responsible for such criminal acts; to foster the active participation and leadership of civil society; and to give due attention to the rights of all victims of human rights violations. Not only is the promotion and protection of human rights essential to the countering of terrorism, but States have to ensure that any counter-terrorism measures they adopt also comply with their international human rights obligations.

## **3.5 Terrorism and Other Rights**

#### 3.5.1 Terrorism, Counterterrorism and Economic Rights

It is important to note that while socio-economic concerns may be a driver of Radicalization, they should not be seen as the root cause of terrorism. Even if the human cost of terrorism is devastating, the economic impact is likely to be more important than one would imagine. Terrorism not only undermines the smooth Functioning of the rule of law and jeopardizes government's territorial integrity and Safety; it also threatens the economic and social fabric of countries. Hence, terrorism Imposes significant economic and social costs on societies and leads not only to direct Material damages, but also to long-term negative effects that hinder countries' Economy and their capability to growth. Over the past two decades, terrorism has negatively affected the economic strength of many countries. This can be seen in part by the Nigeria's difficulties in enacting the progressive Realization principle of economic and social rights and to cope with the adverse effects of terrorism. Periods of increased terror activity have had a measurable effect on Nigeria's economy. Indeed, Nigeria has faced domestic terror threats since the early 2000s, following the rise of Boko Haram. After a period of relative stability, the 2011 Outbreak of the Syrian Civil War and the subsequent emergence of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) have renewed the Nigerian government's concern in combating Terrorism. Since 2009, Nigeria continued to face attacks from insurgent groups. Terrorism produces significant impact (direct and indirect) which results in an Interconnected and interdependent regional economic environment.

In addition, terror activity has an adverse impact on investment. Indeed, the destructive Effect of terrorist acts on financial markets is one of the clearest aspects of terrorism. In fact, it has been observed in the economic literature that countries suffering from Terrorist activities loose investors' confidence and it take significant time and efforts to rebound. In the case of Jordan, its stock Market, the Amman Stock Exchange General (ASE General) is a major stock Market index which tracks the performance of large Companies based in Jordan. The stocks included in the index Represent 90percent of their aggregated market capitalization. According to trading economics, the index fell drastically from 4800 points in the end of the 2000s to 1957 points in 2018. This fall is correlated to the

regional instability Caused by terrorist groups. Terrorism has increased the sense of insecurity and Uncertainty for foreign investors and traders which results in a redirection of the Investment to safer countries. Because share prices reflect expected future gains of a company, terrorist acts will negatively influence the share prices, leading to a decline in expected profits as Security measures increase which pushes up the costs of production and trade which Yields a decreased consumption rate. Therefore, negative effects of terrorism begin to affect the financial markets before any attacks occur due to the expectation of terrorist Attacks. Economic rights fall within the larger group of economic, social, and cultural rights, guaranteed primarily under two documents: The International Covenant of Economic and Social Rights (ICESR) and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR). Articles 23 and 25 of the UDHR guarantee the right to work and the right to an adequate standard of living, respectively. Military expenditure tends to increase at the detriment of economic and social programs. To conclude, the impact of terrorism is always negative on a country's economy.

Combating terrorism often leads to an increase of military spending in detriment of economic and social programs. This reallocation of Resources, in favor of counterterrorism programs, seriously challenges states already lacking resources to address economic and social rights issues within their own Country. In such case, counterterrorism measures can fuel the resentment and Discontent among the general public, exacerbate the existing critical situation, and negatively impact on the enjoyment of economic and social rights. While it is not a catch-all solution, economic development can help curb terrorism by lowering general sentiments of marginalization, especially among the youth population. Nothing can justify violent extremism, but one must also acknowledge that it does not arise in a vacuum. The nexus between economic and social rights violations and Terrorism are complex, multifaceted, and require an attentive analysis. However, one can claim that promoting economic and social development can play a decisive role in Reducing support for terrorism. Therefore, it is urgent that the Nigerian government enact substantive economic and social reforms to re-assert and re-promote the rights of their citizens.

#### 3.5.2 Terrorism, Counterterrorism and Civil and Political rights

The impact of terrorism on human rights has always been a concern for the international community. In time of emergency, states are accountable for protecting those living within their own jurisdiction and taking effective counter-terrorism Measures to tackle the spread of terrorism while ensuring that human rights standards are rigorously respected. According to Kofi Annan, former UN Secretary-General, the Response to terroristic threats should uphold the human rights that terrorists aim to Destroy. Respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law are Essential tools in the fight against terrorism and must not be sacrificed at any cost. Civil and political rights are the core principles of international human rights law. These Rights are safeguarded in one vital treaty, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which compels signatory states to take all necessary Measures to protect and promote the right enshrined in this treaty. Jordan is a state Member of the ICCPR and Article 24 of the Jordanian Civil Code provides that in a Situation where national and international law are incompatible, international laws or Treaties take precedence over national legislation. A 2003 ruling (No.818/2003) by the Jordanian highest court, the Court of Cassation, holds that national legislation may not Be passed if incompatible with international law. Moreover, by one of its landmark judgments, the Court of Cassation, has re-asserted that the right to life, right to liberty and security, human dignity and freedom of opinion Enshrined in the Constitution and several international documents cannot be restricted, except on the basis of law and its procedures. However, in Jordan, the fight against terrorism is systematically invoked by national Authorities as a justification for human rights limitations.

## Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 3 minutes

1. Regional approaches have been developed by the following regional bodies except \_\_\_\_\_

(a) African Union

(b)the Council of Europe

(c) the European Union

(d) the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria

2. Briefly describe the obligations of state actors towards upholding human rights in counterterrorism

3. Briefly highlight how terrorism and counterterrorism effect economic rights

## 3.6 Summary

In this unit, we examined the connection between human rights and counterterrorism. We also discussed the implications of counterterrorism for human rights. We argued that that both terrorism and counterterrorism measures implemented by governments have a destructive impact on the enjoyment of all human rights. A human-rights-compliant state does not pick and choose the rights that apply to it but must promote and assert all human rights, especially in time of emergencies. The OHCHR has stressed the importance of achieving global security objectives in line with concerted efforts towards the realization of international human rights standards. Hence, in the fight against terrorism, states must reaffirm their commitment to human rights as core values and should integrate this component in every counter-terrorism strategy and not set aside in favor of illegal practices which clearly undermine the effectiveness of their action. Counter-terrorism and the assertion of human Rights are complementary and mutually reinforcing goals; therefore, in time of crisis, upholding all human rights is crucial and must not be sacrificed at any cost.

#### 3.7 References /Further Readings/Web Resources

- Gearty, C. (2007). Terrorism and human rights. Government and Opposition, 42(3), 340-362.
- Boehmite, A. (2009). Terrorism and anti-terror legislation-the terrorized legislator? A comparison of counter-terrorism legislation and its implications on human rights in the legal systems of the United States, Spain, Germany, and France (Doctoral dissertation, Leiden University).

# **3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise(s)**

#### SAE1

1) Human Rights are universal values and legal guarantees that protect Individuals and groups against actions and omissions primarily by state Agents that interfere with fundamental freedoms, entitlements and human dignity.

2) Individuals.

3) economic, social, cultural, civil, and political. Economic, social, and cultural rights include the right to work, the right to food and water, the right to housing, and the right to education.

#### SAE2

1) (d) the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria

2) The General Assembly and the Commission on Human Rights Have emphasized that States must ensure that any measures taken to combat terrorism comply with their obligations under international human Rights law, refugee law and international humanitarian law.

3) The impact of terrorism is always negative on a country's economy. Terrorism undermines the smooth functioning of the government's territorial integrity and threatens the economic and social fabric of countries. In addition, terror activity has an adverse impact on investment, financial and stock market performances. Terrorism has increased the uncertainty for foreign investors and traders which results in a redirection of the Investment to safer countries. Military expenditure tends to increase at the detriment of economic and social programs.

# UNIT 4: THE RUSSIA-UKRAINE WAR AND HUMAN SECURITY

# **Unit Structure**

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Brief History of the Russia -Ukraine war
  - 4.4 Global Reactions to the Russia Ukraine War
  - 4.5 Impact of the War on Global Human Security
  - 4.5.1 Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on Global Agricultural Market and Global Food Security
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

# 4.1 Introduction

This last unit of the course exposes you to one of the contemporary issues in the global arena, which is the Russia-Ukraine war. It provides you with background knowledge of the Russia- Ukraine war and its implications for human security. The war in Ukraine has caused extensive damage and loss of life in key population centres, spread across rural areas, and sparked massive displacement. It is clear that the war has resulted in a massive, and deteriorating in human security. In particular, this unit examines the implications of the war for food security. The war has disrupted livelihoods during the agricultural growing season, creating constraints for physical access to inputs, and damage to homes, productive assets, agricultural and forest land, roads and other civilian infrastructure, as well as to the environment. The war has led to port closures, the suspension of oilseed crushing operations and the introduction of export licensing restrictions and bans for some crops and food products. Important cities are being encircled and continue to experience heavy bombardment, leaving people isolated and facing severe shortages of food, water and energy supplies. Both the Russian Federation and Ukraine are key suppliers to many countries that are highly dependent on imported foodstuffs and fertilizers. Numerous of these countries fall into the Least Developed Country (LDC) group, while many others belong to the group of Low-Income Food-Deficit Countries (LIFDCs).

## 4.2 Learning Outcomes

• At the end of this unit you should be able to:

- Understand the background to the Russia-Ukraine war
- To compare the global reactions to the Russia Ukraine war
- Identify and explain the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on global human security generally and food security in particular

## **Main Section**

#### 4.3 Brief History of the Russia -Ukraine war

In the decades following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine moved toward closer integration with Europe. The war settled into a static conflict, with repeated failed attempts at a ceasefire. In 2015, the Minsk II agreements were signed by Russia and Ukraine. The Minsk agreements were a series of international agreements which sought to end the Donbas war fought between armed Russian-backed separatist groups and Armed Forces of Ukraine, with Russian regular forces playing a central part. Under Minsk I, signed in September 2014, Ukraine and the Russia-backed separatists agreed on a 12-point ceasefire deal in September 2014. Its provisions included prisoner exchanges, deliveries of humanitarian aid and the withdrawal of heavy weapons. However, the agreement quickly broke down, with violations by both sides. Under

**Minsk II, signed in February 2015,** Representatives of Russia, Ukraine, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the leaders of separatist-held regions Donetsk and Luhansk signed a 13-point agreement in February 2015. The leaders of France, Germany, Russia and Ukraine gathered in Minsk to mark the occasion and issued a declaration of support.

The Minsk II peace agreements between Russia and Ukraine were intended to stop the fighting in the Donbas region of Ukraine. However, a number of disputes prevented them being fully implemented. The 2015 agreement failed to end fighting in eastern Ukraine because, the Minsk II deal set out military and political steps that remain unimplemented. A major blockage has been Russia's insistence that it is not a party to the conflict and therefore is not bound by its terms. In general, Moscow and Kyiv interpret the pact very differently, leading to what has been dubbed by some observers as the "Minsk conundrum". Ukraine on the other hand, sees the 2015 agreement as an instrument to re-establish control over the rebel territories. By 2019, 7 percent of Ukraine was classified by the Ukrainian government as its territories. In 2021 and early 2022, there was

a major Russian military build-up around Ukraine's borders. NATO accused Russia of planning an invasion, which it denied. Russian President Vladimir Putin criticized the enlargement of NATO as

a threat to his country and demanded Ukraine be barred from ever joining the military alliance. When pro-Russian Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovych tried to reverse that trend in 2014, protests swept him from power. Having lost an ally, Vladimir Putin invaded and annexed the Ukrainian autonomous republic of Crimea. He also provoked separatist uprisings in Donetsk and Luhansk, two regions in eastern Ukraine; fighting between pro-Russian militias and the Ukrainian government continued there for years. Running on a populist reform platform, Volodymyr Zelensky was elected president of Ukraine in 2019 with more than 70 percent of the vote. In 2021 Putin ordered a buildup of troops along Russia's border with Ukraine. On 21 February 2022, Russia officially recognized the two self-proclaimed separatist states in the Donbas, and openly sent troops into the territories. Following that decision, on 22 February 2022, Russian president Vladimir Putin declared that the Minsk agreements "no longer existed", and that Ukraine, not Russia, was to blame for their collapse. Russia then invaded Ukraine on 24 February 2022. Three days later, on 24 February 2022, Russia invaded Much of the international community has Ukraine. heavily condemned Russia for its actions in Ukraine, accusing it of breaking international law and grossly violating Ukrainian sovereignty.

Many European countries implemented economic sanctions against Russia, Russian individuals, or companies, especially after the 2022 invasion. After Putin announced the beginning of a "special military operation and Russian forces invaded Ukraine, they began to attack, causing civilian deaths and injuries, and damage to civilian buildings, including hospitals, schools, and homes. The indiscriminate attacks are in violation of the laws of war, some of which may amount to war. By the end of the first week of hostilities, over a million people in Ukraine had fled their homes, many seeking refuge outside Ukraine. In Russia, censorship reached new heights as authorities blocked access to multiple independent media sites on the basis of their publications about the war, and major independent outlets closed. Thousands of anti-war protesters across Russia were arbitrarily detained during the first week of the war. The European Union and its member states should do everything they can to ensure safe passage and fair treatment for all civilians fleeing Ukraine. The war shattered the peace in Europe. The Russian leader argued that his main objective is to defend the Russian speakers in Ukraine, especially those in the two self-declared republics of Donetsk and Luhansk, which broke away from Ukrainian control in 2014. He called it "denazification", claiming that Kyiv is controlled by American-sponsored neo-Nazis. While many lives have been lost already in this military war, it also has a strong feature of a media war as reports from the side of Russia tend to differ significantly as opposed to what is on the ground reported by other countries or the international development community.

The global community has become more and more fragile and widening the rifts in the global peace and security and worsening relations between Russia and the West. While these grievances included the long-simmering dispute over the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the shape of the post-Cold War security architecture in Europe, Russia's justification for the war centered on a much more fundamental issue: the legitimacy of Ukrainian identity and statehood themselves. It reflected a worldview Putin had long expressed, emphasizing the deep-seated unity among the Eastern Slavs, Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians, who all trace their origins to the medieval KvivanRus commonwealth, and suggesting that the modern states of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus should share a political destiny both today and in the future. The corollary to that view is the claim that distinct Ukrainian and Belarusian identities are the product of foreign manipulation and that, today, the West is following in the footsteps of Russia's imperial rivals in using Ukraine (and Belarus) as part of an "anti-Russia project.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 1

# Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 7 minutes.

1. Which of these statements best provides insight into the background of the Russia-Ukraine war?

- a. Ukraine's move towards closer integration with Europe.
- b. Ukraine's change of leadership
- c. Ukraine's resource endowment
- d. Ukraine's military power
- 2. The Ukraine-Russia war began \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. What prevented the Minsk agreements of 2014 and 2015 signed by Russia and Ukraine from being implemented?

## 4.4 Global Reactions to the Russia - Ukraine War

The escalation in the crisis between Russia and Ukraine has prompted reactions and diplomatic efforts towards deescalating the crisis. French President Emmanuel Macron flew to Moscow to talk to President Putin to reduce tensions. The French leader opined that sanctions would be "proportionate" to Russia's military operations, targeting its economy and its energy sector. The G7 leaders strongly condemned Russia's invasion of Ukraine stating that it was "a serious threat to the rules-based international order, with ramifications well beyond Europe." India called for a diplomatic way out of the crisis between Russia and Ukraine. The USA vowed to turn Russia into a "pariah," and announced tough

sanctions aimed at cutting off Russia's largest banks and some oligarchs, from much of the global financial system and preventing the country from importing American technology critical to its defense, aerospace and maritime industries. United Nations Secretary-General, Antonio Guterres said that," I have only one thing to say, from the bottom of my heart: President Putin, stop your troops from attacking the Ukraine. Give peace a chance. Too many people have already died." British Prime Minister Boris Johnson announced the "largest-ever" set of economic sanctions against Russia in the wake of the invasion of Ukraine. Speaking to parliament, Johnson said the UK was sanctioning more than 100 individuals and entities and freezing assets of all major Russian banks, including VTB Bank. For the most part, talks have focused less on Ukraine itself and more on European security more broadly. Both Russia's demands and the NATO and U.S. responses deal with overall deployments and activities throughout Europe, not just in and around Ukraine.

The Western offer to negotiate with Moscow on European security, rather than Ukraine in particular and the Kremlin's counter-offer in the same vein reflect an underlying reality about Russia's motivations in this crisis. To a great extent, the unresolved nearly eight-year war in Ukraine has been driven by Moscow's frustration with the European security architecture that has evolved since the Soviet Union fell and the Cold War ended three decades ago. The war in Ukraine was spurred in large part by Russia's fears of perceived U.S.-led Western encroachment into what it regards as its rightful sphere of influence, including Ukraine. The war began in 2014, when Russia, angry at what it saw as the Western-backed overthrow of a leader in Kyiv friendly to Moscow, annexed Crimea and helped the separatists seize and hold territory in Donestk and Luhansk, in Ukraine's Donbas region. Although the worst of the fighting ended in 2015, low-intensity clashes have continued in Donbas ever since. Russia supports the separatists with forces, equipment and funds, but denies that it is party to the war, describing it as an internal Ukrainian conflict. Meanwhile, Ukraine has turned ever more to Western states for help and support.

Russia had hoped to prevent Ukraine's greater Western alignment through the Minsk agreements, signed in 2014 and 2015 as part of ceasefire deals in Donbas. Those accords' terms, according to Russia's understanding, would grant separatist-held areas "special status", giving them and therefore Moscow a de facto veto over aspects of Ukrainian security and foreign policy. Moscow thus aimed to curtail and reverse Ukraine's growing closeness to Western states and aspirations for NATO and EU membership. But implementation of the Minsk agreements quickly froze, and the end result has been the reverse of what Moscow sought. Although Kyiv's official line is that Ukraine will implement the Minsk agreements when and if Moscow holds up its side of the deal (which is to say, the withdrawal of forces and support from the separatists), many officials view those accords as setting the terms for an unjust victor's peace. Russia's policies since 2014, particularly its support for the breakaway regions, have only deepened hostility to Moscow among Ukrainians. Meanwhile, Western states' assistance to Kyiv has grown, heightening Moscow's perception that it is under siege.

#### SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 7 minutes.

1. Compare the reactions of France and India in Russia-Ukraine war which began on 24 February 2022

2. Complete this statement- The United States and its Allies and partners responded in a united and decisive way through \_\_\_\_\_\_and to Ukraine

3. The war in Ukraine was spurred in large part by Russia's fears of perceived \_\_\_\_\_-led Western encroachment into what it regards as its rightful sphere of influence, including Ukraine.

# 4.5 Impact of the War on Global Human Security

The war in Ukraine is having a considerable impact on food, energy and economic security across the world. The impact being felt most among poorer communities and especially across the Global South. To make matters worse this comes in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic that has killed 15-20 million globally and weakened already struggling communities. The war has led to the decline of several facets of human security including economic, political, physical, health, communal, food and environmental security. As at June 20, 2022, the United Nations had confirmed 4569 deaths and 5691 nonfatal injuries among Ukrainian civilians, most caused by indiscriminate use of explosive weapons with a wide impact area, including shells from heavy artillery, missiles, and bombs. But the actual numbers of deaths and injuries are probably much higher. For example, according to CNN, municipal officials in Mariupol believed that by May 25, at least 22,000 city residents had been killed.

Health care facilities and health workers have been attacked resulting in both immediate deaths and injuries and adverse consequences of reduced availability of health care. Between February 24 and June 24, 2022, the World Health Organization reported 323 attacks on health care facilities in Ukraine, leaving 76 people dead and 59 injured. A substantial proportion of civilian morbidity and mortality in Ukraine is undoubtedly attributable to diseases resulting from forced displacement and damage to food and water supply systems, health care and public health facilities, and other civilian infrastructure. Communicable diseases are more easily transmitted because of crowded living conditions, decreased access to safe water and food, compromised sanitation and hygiene, inadequate medical care, and lapses in immunization campaigns. During war, civilians are at especially increased risk for diarrheal diseases, such as cholera, and respiratory disorders, such as measles, Covid-19, and tuberculosis. In addition, antimicrobial resistance often increases during war. Another risk is malnutrition particularly in infants and young children, which could lead to detrimental effects on physical and cognitive development as well as increased morbidity later in life.

Rates of pregnancy complications, maternal deaths, premature and lowbirth-weight infants, and neonatal deaths will increase because of reduced access to maternal and infant care. The incidence of some noncommunicable diseases will increase, and pre-existing cases will be exacerbated, because of limited access to medical care and essential medicines. Rates of depression, post-traumatic stress disorder, and other mental and behavioural disorders — with both short- and long-term consequences — will increase because of trauma, family separation, deaths of loved ones, loss of employment and education, forced displacement, and witnessing of atrocities. Furthermore, the great loss of men, the mass displacement of women, and their shift in status to single heads of household may substantially affect the age and sex distribution of Ukraine's population for decades.

Russian forces are also causing extensive environmental devastation. Explosions and fires are contaminating ambient air with toxic gases and particulate matter and threatening the integrity of nuclear reactors. Destruction of industrial facilities is contaminating water and soil with hazardous chemicals. Russian military activities in the Black Sea are reportedly causing extensive pollution and disruption of sea life. Deployment of antipersonnel land mines and cluster bombs and the presence of unexploded ordnance are presenting short- and long-term health and safety threats.

The war has led to many documented violations of human rights and international humanitarian law that should be of grave concern to us all. Russian forces have targeted health care facilities, schools, and civilian neighbourhoods. They have executed unarmed civilians. They have raped women. The Russian military has claimed to have deported to Russia 1.9 million Ukrainian civilians, including 307,000 children. Russia has wreaked widespread damage on cities, towns, farmland, forests, and water sources, which will plague Ukraine long after the war ends

# 4.5.1 Impact of the Russia-Ukraine War on Global Agricultural Market and Global Food Security

The critical role that the Russian Federation and Ukraine play in global agriculture is all the more evident from an international trade perspective. Both countries are net exporters of agricultural products, and they both play leading roles in supplying global markets in foodstuffs, for which exportable supplies are often concentrated in a handful of countries, exposing these markets to increased vulnerability to shocks and volatility. The Russian Federation stands out as the top global wheat exporter, shipping in 2021 a total of 32.9 million tonnes of wheat and meslin (in product weight), or the equivalent of 18 percent of global shipments. Ukraine stood as the sixth largest wheat exporter in 2021, exporting 20 million tonnes of wheat and meslin, representing a 10 percent global market share. The prominence of the two countries in the world trade arena is similarly noteworthy in global markets of maize, barley and rapeseed, and even more so in the sunflower oil sector, where their substantial production bases endowed them with a combined world export market share of close to 80 percent over the past three marketing years. The high export concentration that characterizes food commodity markets is also mirrored by the fertilizer sector, where the Russian Federation plays a leading supplier role. In 2021, the Russian Federation ranked as the top exporter of nitrogen (N) fertilizers, the second leading supplier of potassium (K) fertilizers and the third largest exporter of phosphorous (P) fertilizers.

The food security issue is particularly worrying as Ukraine is the world's fourth or fifth largest wheat and maize exporter and the leading global producer of sunflower oil. Its granaries were already mostly full, awaiting export, when the war and blockade began. Most of this year's crops can therefore be neither stored nor exported, even assuming they can be harvested. In 2022, the impact was further exacerbated by climate factors, especially the extreme heat wave affecting much of South Asia, with India banning all wheat exports from 13 May 2022. Other major producers of grains and cooking oils, including Argentina, Indonesia and Kazakhstan, have also contributed to price rises by imposing export restrictions. Russia has meanwhile restricted its own exports of chemical fertilisers (about 15-20 percent of world supplies), which has sent prices soaring and is likely to reduce crop yields in the poorest countries. The World Food Programme (WFP) has reported that the number of people experiencing "acute food insecurity" has increased from 108 million to 193 million in 53 countries in the past five years, largely due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The WFP forecasts a further 47 million increase, partly

through the effects of the war on harvesting and distribution of grain and vegetable oils from Ukraine. This is bad news for the Ukrainian economy, for consumers anywhere in the world impacted by higher prices, and potentially devastating for the poorest in countries most dependent on wheat and Ukrainian imports. This includes such potentially volatile countries as Egypt, Lebanon and Pakistan. While the price impact may already be manifest, the actual shortage of supply will become steadily more biting over time. The other big impact economically has been the shock to global energy prices, given Russia's status as the world's largest gas exporter and second largest oil exporter.

The European Union is making efforts to end its dependence on Russian gas (over 40percent of its pre-war supplies) and oil (some 30 percent of its pre-war supplies) before demand for heating energy surges again in the autumn. Progress has been patchy and depends in large part in the short term in finding alternative sources of oil and gas from other authoritarian states. The UK – which already had very low dependency on Russian energy imports – has also used it as an opportunity to bypass prior commitments not to develop its own new oil and gas fields. Meanwhile, thanks to the surge in energy prices, European states have been paying Russia some US\$23 billion per month for their energy supplies, double what they were paying before the war. Still, if they can find alternative energy supplies or efficiencies as currently planned, Russia stands to lose over half of its global energy export revenues by this time next year.

## SELF-ASSESSMENT EXERCISES (SAES) 3

# Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 4 minutes.

1. Identify and explain the impact of the Russia-Ukraine war on global human security generally and food security

- 2. The full meaning of WFP
- **3.** Ukraine is a major exporter of

#### 4.6 Summary

In this unit, we examined Russia-Ukraine war and the implications for global human security in general and food security in particular. the unit covered important areas such as history of the Russia -Ukraine war; global reactions to the Russia -Ukraine war; impact of the war on global human security; and impact of the Russia -Ukraine war on global agricultural market and global food security. The war has brought back a period of 158

global instability reminiscent of the Cold War era. Since the launch of Russia's full-scale invasion on February 24, 2022, the largest mobilization of forces Europe began. Russia with superior military might seeks to capture Kyiv and topple Ukraine's democratically elected government, and subsume the country into Russia's orbit. The war has adversely affected human security. In particular, the war has resulted in a massive, and deteriorating food security situation, not only in Ukraine, but also in many developing countries that depend on Russia and Ukraine for food exports.

#### 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

#### Answers To The Self-Assessment Exercises (Saes) 1

- 1. (a) Ukraine's move towards closer integration with Europe.
- **2.** 24 February 2022

3. The two Minsk agreements of September 2014 and February 2015 have failed *because of their design and a lack of political will to implement them.* First, while *Ukraine sabotages the Minsk implementation*, Russia continued to pretend that it was a mediator (like France and Germany) rather than a party to the fighting. Second, the parties disagreed on the meaning of a number of ambiguous points in the agreements; as a result, they failed to implement parts of the accords. Third, the Minsk agreement effectively left it to Russia to decide whether Ukraine had changed its constitution to Russia's satisfaction, and then hand back control of Ukraine's eastern border.

#### Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

1. While the France called for sanctions proportionate to Russia's military operations, targeting its economy and its energy sector, India called for a diplomatic way out of the crisis between Russia and Ukraine.

- 2. sanctions and military
- 3. USA

#### Answers to the Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

1. The war in Ukraine is having a considerable impact on food, energy and economic security across the world. The impact being felt most among poorer communities and especially across the Global South. The war also has impact on Health security. Health care facilities and health workers have been attacked resulting in both immediate deaths. It also has implication on environmental security. Russian forces are also causing extensive environmental devastation. The war impacted on food security. Both Russia and Ukraine play in global agriculture as net exporters of agricultural products. The war has led to blockade of food exports leading worsening of food security issue globally. The World Food Programme (WFP) has reported that the number of people experiencing "acute food insecurity"

- 2. World Food Production
- 3. Wheat

#### 4.8 References /Further Readings/Web Resources

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