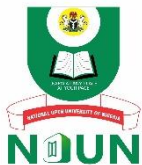


**COURSE
GUIDE**

**POL 881
THEORIES OF HUMAN SECURITY AND COUNTER-
TERRORISM DIPLOMACY**

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INTRODUCTION

This course is titled Theories of Human Security and Counter-Terrorism Diplomacy (POL 881). **POL 881** is a 3Unit course that has a minimum duration of one semester. It is suitable for students of Political Science. This course consists of five modules of four units each making a total of twenty (20) units. It introduces students to key concepts, theories and practical issues on the subject of human security and counter-terrorism diplomacy. This course provides a deeper understanding of the relationship between human security and counter-terrorism. Human security is a broad concept that includes issues such as terrorism and diplomatic efforts toward counter-terrorism. The human security concept focuses on issues of individuals themselves and the role of diplomacy in galvanizing global cooperation towards counter-terrorism. Human security is a concept which intends to bring about the realization of *freedom from fear*, freedom from want, and freedom from indignity.

The course guide discusses 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 decipher meaning as you go through this material. It also emphasizes the necessity for tutor–marked assignments.

WHAT YOU WILL LEARN IN THIS COURSE

The overall objective of **POL 881- Theories of Human Security and Counter-Terrorism Diplomacy** is to expose the student to the major theories of human security, counter-terrorism and diplomacy. These theories provide diverse perspectives on human security, counter-terrorism and diplomacy. Human security is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people's vital freedoms. It requires both protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and empowering people to take charge of their own lives. Apart from clarifying basic concepts that underpin the course, it explored theories such as liberalism, realism, critical theory, feminism and Marxist theory. It acquaints the student with the basic issues such as human security, terrorism and counter-terrorism, concept, type, and development of diplomacy, nexus between human security, counter-terrorism and diplomacy, theories of human security, theories of counter-terrorism, theories of diplomacy, the diplomacy of Canadian, Japan and Norway on human security, media and terrorism, terrorism and human rights, Responsibility to Protect (R2P), the nature of global governance and the human security challenges.

COURSE AIMS

The basic aim of this course is to expose the student to the major theories of human security, counter-terrorism and diplomacy. The course also aims at exposing students to practical issues in the areas of human

security, counter-terrorism and diplomacy. At the end of this course, the students will have gained a better understanding that as a people-centered concept, human security places the individual at the 'centre of analysis'. Consequently, it considers a broad range of conditions that threaten survival, livelihood and dignity, and identifies the threshold below which human life is intolerably threatened. Again, as terrorism continues to threaten human security, diplomacy plays a critical role in the fight against terrorism. As a global problem, terrorism has exposed the entire universe to the threats posed by operations carried out by terrorist groups and organizations.

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 each 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 before and 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
- Trace the history of human security
- Identify and explain the types of human security
- Define terrorism
- Define counter-terrorism
- List and explains the types of counter-terrorism
- Define the concept of diplomacy
- Trace the origin and development of diplomacy
- Identify and explain at least five types of diplomacy
- Explain the relationship between human security and counter-terrorism
- Explain the nexus between human security and diplomacy
- Explain the link between human security, counter-terrorism and diplomacy
- Identify and explain the theories of human security
- Identify and explain the theories of counter-terrorism
- Identify and explain the theories of diplomacy
- Adequately describe Canadian diplomacy on human security
- Describe the diplomacy of Japan on human security
- Explain Norwegian diplomacy on human security
- Highlight the correlation between the media and terrorism.
- Explain the relationship between terrorism and human rights.
- Explain the nexus between counter-terrorism and human rights.

- Explain the meaning of Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
- Explain the relationship between the Global War on Terror and R2P
- Understand the nature of global governance and the human security challenges
- Explain why human security is significant as part of the international security agenda.
- Identify the major actors involved in the institutionalization of the human security agenda
- Identify the major institutions of global governance
- Discuss the contributions of each institution of global governance in promoting 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 each point 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 cover a period of about twenty weeks to complete. You need to allocate your time to complete the course successfully and on time.

COURSE MATERIALS

The major components of the course are:

1. Course Guide
2. Study units
3. Textbooks and References
4. Assignment File
5. Presentation

STUDY UNITS

There are twenty study units in this course, as follows:

MODULE 1: THE CONCEPTS OF HUMAN SECURITY, COUNTER-TERRORISM AND DIPLOMACY

- Unit 1: The Concept and Types of Human Security
- Unit 2: The Concept and Types of Counter-Terrorism
- Unit 3: The Concept and Types of Diplomacy
- Unit 4: The Nexus between Human Security, Counter-Terrorism, and Diplomacy.

MODULE 2: THEORIES OF HUMAN SECURITY, COUNTER-TERRORISM AND DIPLOMACY

- Unit 1: Theories of Human Security
- Unit 2: Theories of Counter-Terrorism
- Unit 3: Theories of Diplomacy
- Unit 4: Types of Diplomacy

MODULE 3: HISTORY AND DIPLOMATIC STRATEGIES FOR PLACING HUMAN SECURITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA

- Unit 1: History and Evolution of Human Security
- Unit 2: Canadian Diplomacy and the Development of the Human Security Agenda
- Unit 3: Japanese Diplomacy and the Development of the Human Security Agenda
- Unit 4: Norwegian Diplomacy and the Development of the Human Security Agenda

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

- Unit 1: Media and Counter-Terrorism
- Unit 2: Diplomacy and Counter-Terrorism
- Unit 3: Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights
- Unit 4: The Global War on Terror and Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

MODULE 5: GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY

- Unit 1: Global Governance and Human Security Challenges
- Unit 2: Human Security as part of the International Security Agenda
- Unit 3: Global Initiatives for realising Human Security Agenda
- Unit 4: The Roles of Institutions of Global Governance in Promoting Human Security

Each unit contains several self-test exercises. In general, these self-tests question you on the materials you have just covered or require you to apply them in some way and, thereby, assist you to measure your progress as well as reinforcing your understanding of the material. Together with tutor-marked assignments, these exercises assist you in achieving the stated learning objectives of the individual units of the Course.

TEXTBOOKS AND REFERENCES

At the end of each unit, you will find a compendium of relevant reference materials which you may wish to consult as the need arises, even though

efforts are made to provide you with the most important information you need this course. However, as a third-year student, you need to cultivate the habit of consulting as many relevant materials as you can within the time available to you. In particular, be sure to 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 count towards the final mark you obtain for this course. Further information on the assignment is 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 meant to assist you to understand the course.

ASSESSMENT

There are two aspects to the assessment of this course. First is the tutor-marked assignment; 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 by the deadlines stated in the Assignment File. The work you submit to your tutor for assessment accounts for 30 percent of your total course mark.

At the end of the course, you need to sit for a final examination of three hours duration. This examination will account for the other 70 percent 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 average when the five assignments are put together, the score will count 30% 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 exceptional circumstances warrant such.

FINAL EXAMINATION AND GRADING

The final examination for **POL 881- Theories of Human Security and Counter-Terrorism Diplomacy** will be of three hours duration and have a value of 70% 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. Endeavour to use the remaining time after completing the last unit to revise the entire course before sitting for examination. 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 30% of course marks.
Final examination	70% of overall course marks
Total	100% of course marks

COURSE OVERVIEW PRESENTATION SCHEME

Units	Title of Work	Week Activity	Assignment (End-of-Unit)
Course Guide			
Module 1	THE CONCEPTS OF HUMAN SECURITY, COUNTER-TERRORISM AND DIPLOMACY		
Unit 1	The Concept and Types of Human Security	Week 1	Assignment 1
Unit 2	The Concept and Types of Counter-Terrorism	Week 2	Assignment 1
Unit 3	The Concept and Types of Diplomacy	Week 3	Assignment 1
Unit 4	The Nexus between Human Security, Counter-Terrorism and Diplomacy.	Week 4	Assignment 1

Module 2	THEORIES OF HUMAN SECURITY, COUNTER-TERRORISM AND DIPLOMACY		
Unit 1	Theories of Human Security	Week 5	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Theories of Counter-Terrorism	Week 6	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Theories of Diplomacy	Week 7	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Types of Diplomacy	Week 8	Assignment 1
Module 3	HISTORY AND DIPLOMATIC STRATEGIES FOR PLACING HUMAN SECURITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA		
Unit 1	History and Evolution of Human Security	Week 9	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Canadian Diplomacy and the Development of the Human Security Agenda	Week 10	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Japanese Diplomacy and the Development of the Human Security Agenda	Week 11	Assignment 1
Unit 4	Norwegian Diplomacy and the Development of the Human Security Agenda	Week 12	Assignment 1
Module 4	CONTEXTUAL ISSUES IN HUMAN SECURITY, COUNTER-TERRORISM AND DIPLOMACY		
Unit 1	Media and Counter-Terrorism	Week 13	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Diplomacy and Counter-Terrorism	Week 14	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism, and Human Rights	Week 15	Assignment 1
Unit 4	The Global War on Terror and Responsibility to Protect	Week 16	Assignment 1
Module 5	GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY		
Unit 1	Global Governance and Human Security Challenges	Week 17	Assignment 1
Unit 2	Human Security as part of the International Security Agenda	Week 18	Assignment 1
Unit 3	Global Initiatives for realising Human Security Agenda	Week 19	Assignment 1

Unit 4	The Roles of Institutions of Global Governance in promoting Human Security	Week 20	Assignment 1
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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, 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 with exercises to attend at appropriate points, just as a lecturer might give you an in-class exercise. Each of the study units 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 usually comes 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.

1. Read this Course Guide thoroughly, it is your first assignment.
2. 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 in one place such as your diary or a wall calendar. Whatever method you choose to use, you should decide on and write in your dates and schedule of work for each unit.
3. Once you have created your study schedule, do everything to stay faithful to it. The major reason that students fail is that they get behind with their coursework. If you get into difficulties with your schedule, please, let your tutor know before it is too late to get help.
4. Turn to Unit 1 read the introduction and the objectives for the unit.

5. Assemble the study materials. You will need your set books and the unit you are studying at any point in time.
6. Work through the unit. As you work through the unit, you will know what sources to consult for further information.
7. Up-to-date course information will be continuously posted there.
8. 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, help you pass the examination. Submit all assignments no later than the due date.
9. 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.
10. 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.
11. 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.
12. 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 locations 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 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 the help necessary. Contact your tutor if:

- i. You do not understand any part of the study units or the assigned readings.
- ii. You have difficulties with the exercises.

- iii. 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 that 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

AFAD	-	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
ASEAN	-	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	-	African Union
CT	-	Counter-Terrorism
CT	-	Critical Theory
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOWAS	-	Economic Community of West Africa States
EPI	-	Environmental Performance Index
EU	-	European Union
FAO	-	World Food Organization
FFP	-	Fund for Peace
FHS	-	Friends of Human Security
FSI	-	Fragile States Index
GG	-	Global Governance
GNI	-	Gross National Income
GPI	-	Global Peace Index
HDI	-	Human Development Index
HSN	-	Human Security Network
IAEA	-	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICISS	-	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICJ	-	International Criminal Court
ICRC	-	International Committee of the Red Cross
IGOs	-	International Governmental Organizations
ILO	-	International Labour Organization
MDGs	-	Millennium Development Goals
MINUSMA	-	Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MoFA	-	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organizations
ODA	-	Official Development Assistance

OSCE	-	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
R2P	-	Responsibility to Protect
SDGs	-	Sustainable Development Goals
TIKA	-	Turkish Coordination Cooperation Agency
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	-	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNODC	-	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNTFHS	-	UN Trust Fund for Human Security
UNTFHS)	-	United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security
WEF	-	World Economic Forum
WHO	-	World Health Organization

**MAIN
COURSE**

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**MODULE 1 THE CONCEPTS OF HUMAN SECURITY,
COUNTER-TERRORISM AND DIPLOMACY**

Unit 1	The Concept and Types of Human Security
Unit 2	The Concept and Types of Counter-Terrorism
Unit 3	The Concept and Types of Diplomacy
Unit 4	The Nexus between Human Security, Counter-Terrorism, and Diplomacy.

**UNIT 1 THE CONCEPT AND TYPES OF HUMAN
SECURITY**

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 The Concept of Human Security
 - 1.3.1. Historical Overview of Human Security
 - 1.3.2. The Conceptualization of Human Security
- 1.4 Types of Human Security
- 1.5 Human Security Actors
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

The major focus of this unit is to provide a contextual and working definition toward gaining a deeper understanding of the concept and types of human security. It is important to mention here that the concept of human security varies widely and several scholars and think-tanks have tried to conceptualize the term based on their orientations and historical exigencies. The main section of this unit focuses on the historical aspect of the concept of human security, the conceptualization of human security and the types of human security.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Define human security
- Trace the history of human security
- Identify and explain the types of human security

1.3 The Concept of Human Security

The term human security has achieved great prominence, preeminence and acceptance in national, regional and international cycles. It became even more popular since the end of the cold war in 1990. It has become widely referred to, as it is a universal concern both to the rich and poor alike and has been conceptualized in several ways by several scholars. However, human security has been variously conceptualized. Some of these conceptualizations include:

a. Human Development Report

This particular phrase, “human security” is most often associated with the 1994 Human Development Report on Human Security drafted and championed by MahbubulHaq, even though the term itself was in circulation earlier (Rothschild, 1995). Human security intended to bridge the freedom from want and freedom from fear, freedoms that lay at the heart of the United Nations. Hence the phrase ‘freedom from fear’ is intended to indicate freedom from violence and the phrase ‘freedom from want’, and freedom from poverty (Chen, 1995).

b. United Nations Reports.

The 1994 UNDP report defined human security as; i. Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression. ii. Protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in jobs, homes or communities (UNDP, 1994). This report developed this definition in relation to seven dimensions of human security such as personal, environmental, economic, political, community, health and food security. The 1999 UNDP Human Development Report on Globalization returned to the theme of human security 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) (UNDP, 1999).

Also, the adoption of General Assembly resolution 66/290 on 10 September 2012 was a significant milestone for the application of human security. In paragraph 3 of the resolution, the General Assembly agreed by consensus that 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. Based on this, the General Assembly endorsed the following common understanding to guide the application of the human security approach within the United Nations system: i. the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free

from poverty and despair. All individuals particularly vulnerable people are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential; ii. human security calls for people-centered, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people and all communities; iii. human security recognizes the inter-linkages between peace, development and human rights, and equally considers civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights (UNTFHS, 2016).

c. **Other Conceptions of Human Security**

Several scholars have attempted to define the term human security flowing from their own understanding of what the concept ought to be. Whilst it is impossible to mention all of these scholars, this module covers a few of the conceptualization of the term and these include;

- i. **Rotschild (1995)** roots the current accounts of ‘extended security’ (of which human security is one) in its conceptual antecedents in European political thought. In doing so, she notes that the newer approach to security has extended the national security concepts that immediately preceded (and coexist with) it in four directions:
 - from the security of nations to the security of groups and individuals: It is extended downwards from nations to individuals
 - from the security of nations to the security of the international system, or of a supranational physical environment: it is extended upwards, from the nation to the biosphere
 - extended horizontally or to the sorts of security that are in question. Different entities (such as individuals, nations and ‘systems’) cannot be expected to secure or insecure in the same way; the concept of security is extended, therefore, from military to political, economic, social, environmental or ‘human’ security.
 - political responsibility for ensuring security (or for invigilating all these ‘concepts of security’) is itself extended: It is diffused in all directions from nation states including upwards to international institutions, downwards to regional or local government, and sideways to nongovernmental organizations, to public opinion and the press and the abstract forces of nature or of the market.
- ii. **King and Murray (2000)** define human security as an individual’s “expectation of a life without experiencing the state of generalized poverty”. They proposed an index of human security that includes “only those domains of well-being that have been important enough for human beings to fight over or to put their lives or property at great risk. These domains are identified as health, education, income, political freedom and democracy.

- iii. **Thomas (2000)** argues that human security describes a condition of existence in which basic material needs are met and in which human dignity including meaningful participation in the life of the community, can be met.
- iv. **Hampson et al. (2001)** note that the concept of 'security' can be defined as the absence of threat to core human values including the most basic human value and the physical safety of the individual.

They identify other core human values as physical security, the protection of basic liberties, economic needs and interests

- v. **Leaning and Arie (2000)** describe human security as an underlying condition for sustainable human development. It results to the social, psychological, economic and political aspects of human life, which in times of acute crisis or chronic deprivation, protect the survival of individuals, support individual and group capacities to attain minimally adequate standards of living, and promote constructive group attachment and continuity through time.

Overall, human security is a combination of major innovations in the security field that culminate in the shift from understanding international relations and security from the state's standpoint to individual perception. It allows for a continuum from prevention to emergency through a practical merger and reconciliation of human rights, human development and security. It comes within the scope of Miller's (1999) insight that no people can be free unless they fight for this freedom. It is the means by which people shall be empowered and regain dignity, freedom from fear and from want that will leave them free to strive for democracy and rights. In sum, 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. Human security integrates three freedoms: freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom from indignity. The traditional security *protects a state's boundaries, people, institutions and values*, while human security is people-centered. Its focus shifts to protecting individuals. The important dimensions are to entail the well-being of individuals and respond to ordinary people's needs in dealing with sources of threats.

1.3.1. Historical Overview of Human Security

Human insecurity is an ancient phenomenon. Threats of famine, war, drought, flood, wild animals, plague and enslavement appear in ancient writings across the World, such as in the ancient tales of Gilgamesh, written about 2000 BC in what is now Iraq tell of floods and scorpions, a mythological bull whose breath kills hundreds and an ultimately unsuccessful quest for eternal youth (Narayan et al., 2000). For

descendants of Gilgamesh, the certainty of eventual death seems matched by the uncertainty of its time or manner. Hence Alkire (2003) retorts that human insecurity, however painful, is not an historic anomaly. As with every field and scholarship, debates and counter-debates surround almost every concept and topic without any exclusion with human security not being exempted.

The idea of extending the concept of security from state security to individual human beings was first articulated by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues in 1982. The Common Security report provided the first comprehensive criticism of the purely military approach to security while highlighting the need to devote due attention to the relationship between security and the well-being of individuals. After years of latency, a crucial point in history for the development of the concept came at the end of the Cold War and the revitalization of long-standing bottom-up arguments within progressive academic and policy circles. Once it was realized that the disappearance of the superpowers' military threats did not necessarily entail an enhanced level of security for citizens within states. The evolution of the security discourse was also molded by the need to address the global social problems arising within the context of a globalizing World. The potential threats to individuals' lives and well-being were therefore extended from being primarily military to broadly encompass economic, social, environmental, and health concerns.

In connection with the immediate post-Cold War period and the new development agenda, the first authoritative definition of human security was provided in 1994 when MahbubulHaq drew attention to the concept in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report. Beyond territorial and military concerns, the report argued that human security is fundamentally concerned with human life and dignity. For analytical purposes, UNDP disentangled its four main characteristics: it is universal, its components are interdependent, it is best ensured through prevention and it is people-centred. On the more substantive level, the definition of human security given in the report remained broad and all-encompassing. For UNDP, human security meant safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, repression and it meant protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life. Understood in these terms, human security has also been encapsulated in the "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" policy axiom. Although acknowledging the varying intensity of possible threats to human welfare, UNDP grouped these threats in seven non-exhaustive and nonexclusive security categories such as community, economic, environmental, food, health, personal and political. Despite the broadness and the apparent conceptual weaknesses of the definition

provided by the report, the general prescriptions outlined therein provided a useful springboard for academic inquiry and remained a useful organizing concept for the work of international organizations throughout the 1990s.

Human security has entered the policy discourse of several governments. Notable examples are Canada and Japan during the 1990s and early 2000s. Each provided a slightly different definition of the concept and customized its application to best suit its individual interests. The government of Japan provided a comprehensive understanding of human security which covers all the aspects that potentially endanger survival, daily life and human dignity. On the other hand, the Canadian government, led by former foreign minister Lloyd Axworthy, adhered to a narrower but still open-ended definition of human security that distinguishes “freedom from fear” from “freedom from want” while acknowledging their distinctiveness and mutual interdependence.

An attempt to institutionalize the human security agenda internationally created the Human Security Network, a result of a bilateral agreement between Canada and Norway in 1998; 13 other countries and one observer later joined the initiative. This intergovernmental forum was created to advance and embed further the human security agenda within global governance, with the end goal of creating a more humane World free from fear and want and where people can fully develop their human potential. The network was intended to serve as a forum for dialogue and research and, above all, as an avenue to share evolving understandings and practices to advance the development of the human security approach. Substantively, the policy proceedings resulting from yearly ministerial meetings provided general guidelines for states where the safety and well-being of citizens were endangered. They also helped legitimize the UN’s overarching framework for the human security approach. Beyond this, “coalition of the willing”, very few states embraced the approach and used it as reference for their domestic and foreign policies.

At the supranational level, the UN played a crucial role in defining, supporting and translating the new security paradigm from an idea into practice. Alongside the UN, other international organizations demonstrated interest in the agenda. Both James Wolfensohn, a former president of the World Bank and Michael Camdessus, a former Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund, expressed a commitment to policy and institutional reforms in line with the human security paradigm by means of expanding representation within the respective institutions and by extending ownership of developmental policies to individual communities. The extent to which these people-centred reforms have effect in eliminating want remains questionable; having reached a certain maturity, the reforms have not resolved the gross

distributional problems that lay at the heart of global inequality and individual security.

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. Human insecurity is an ancient phenomenon? (*True/False*).
2. Human insecurity, however painful, is not a historic anomaly. (*True/False*).
3. The immediate origins of _____ could be traced to the cooperation that developed between the Allied Powers during World War II (a) Human security (b) Depression.
4. Human security is most often associated with the 1994 Human Development Report on Human Security (*True/False*).
5. The 1994 UNDP report defined human security as; i. Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression (*True/False*).

1.4 Types of Human Security

Broadly speaking, human security has been categorized into seven main areas such as; economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security (UNDP, 1994). In the section below, these types of Human security will be fully explained.

- a. **Economic Security:** In a bid to understand what economic security is, we will start with what economic insecurity is. Economic insecurity encompasses persistent poverty, unemployment, lack of access to credit and other economic opportunities (UNTFHS, 2016). Economic security requires an assured basic income for individuals usually from productive and remunerative work or, as a last resort, from a publicly financed safety net. In this sense, only about a quarter of the World's people are presently economically secure. While the economic security problem may be more serious in developing countries, concern also arises in developed countries as well.
- b. **Food Security:** In a bid to understand what food security is, we will start with what food insecurity is? Food insecurity covers hunger, famine and sudden rise in food prices. Food security requires that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food (UNTFHS, 2016). According to the United Nations, the overall availability of food is not a problem, rather the problem often is the poor distribution of food and a lack of purchasing power. In the past, food security problems have been dealt with at both national and global levels. However, their

impacts are limited. According to the UN, the key is to tackle the problems relating to access to assets, work and assured income (related to economic security).

- c. **Health Security:** Health security encompasses epidemics, malnutrition, poor sanitation, lack of access to basic health care (UNTFHS, 2016). Health security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. In developing countries, the major causes of death traditionally were infectious and parasitic diseases, whereas in industrialized countries, the major killers were diseases of the circulatory system. Today, lifestyle-related chronic diseases are the leading killers worldwide, with 80 percent of deaths from chronic diseases occurring in low- and middle-income countries (WHO, n,d).
- d. **Environmental Security:** In a bid to understand what environmental security is, we will start with what environmental insecurity is. Environmental degradation, resource depletion, natural disasters (UNTFHS, 2016). Environmental security aims to protect people from the short- and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats in nature and deterioration of the natural environment. In developing countries, lack of access to clean water resources is one of the greatest environmental threats. In industrial countries, one of the major threats is air pollution. Global warming, caused by the emission of greenhouse gases, is another environmental security issue. These have an impact on life itself as if these environmental hazards aren't dealt with, there is a high chance of adverse effects on humanity leading to severe death at the extreme.
- e. **Personal Security:** In a bid to understand what personal security is, we will start with what personal insecurity is. Personal insecurity involves physical violence in all its forms, human trafficking and child labor (UNTFHS, 2016). Personal security aims to protect people from physical violence, whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from domestic abuse or from predatory adults. For many people, the greatest source of anxiety is crime particularly violent crimes.
- f. **Community Security:** In a bid to understand what community security is, we will start with what community insecurity is. Community insecurity encompasses inter-ethnic, religious and other identity-based tensions, crime and terrorism (UNTFHS, 2016). Community Security aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian to ethnic violence. Traditional communities particularly minority ethnic groups are often threatened. About half of the World's states have experienced some inter-ethnic strife. The United Nations declared

1993 the Year of Indigenous People to highlight the continuing vulnerability of the 300 million aboriginal people in 70 countries as they face a widening spiral of violence.

- g. **Political Security:** In a bid to understand what political security is, we will start with what political insecurity is. Political insecurity encompasses political repression, human rights violations, and lack of rule of law and justice (UNTFHS, 2016). While political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honors their basic human rights. According to a survey conducted by Amnesty International, political repression, systematic torture, ill-treatment or disappearance was still practiced in 110 countries. Human rights violations are most frequent during periods of political unrest. Along with repressing individuals and groups, governments may try to exercise control over ideas and information.

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. Economic security requires an assured basic income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work or as a last resort from _____?
2. According to the United Nations, the overall availability of food is not a problem rather the problem is often _____ and _____?
3. Health security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and _____?
4. Environmental Security aims to protect people from the _____, _____ and _____?
5. Personal insecurity involves physical violence in all its forms, human trafficking, and _____?
6. Community Security aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from _____?
7. Political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honors their _____?

1.5 Human Security Actors

Human security draws together the expertise and resources of a wide range of actors from the United Nations system, Governments, the private sector, civil society and local communities. This allows for seizing synergies that capitalize on the comparative advantages of various stakeholders. Human security appears to be at the heart of much of the UN's work. The organization's Charter, its humanitarian programmes/agencies and the normative ideas it promotes all appear to

point towards a people-centered worldview. The modern human security movement owes much to a UN report which popularized the concept in 1994. However, there is a paradox in the UN's association with human security and this has implications for the operationalization of human security more broadly.

Human security, taken to its logical conclusion, holds 'critical' implications for the way politics and economics are organized. It challenges the values and institutions which currently exist as they relate to human welfare and it questions the interests that are served by these values and institutions. Above all, human security is solidarity in a cosmopolitan sense. It implies moral obligations towards humans across borders, and that free and secure individuals are the foundation of peace and security between and within States (Buzan, 2004).

There are certainly interesting developments in the twenty-first century that suggest that the UN, as a collectivity and as an actor, is moving closer to a meaningful role as a promoter and agent of human security such as the human protection agenda, and the broadening definition of security that is being embraced throughout the organization, even though, this is not necessarily expressed in the language of 'human security'. However, the commitment of the UN to human security seems to be limited in fundamental ways as a result of its nature and structure. Can these tensions be reconciled? Are policy-oriented human security initiatives inevitably undermined by their co-option into statist agendas? Is the radical, emancipatory promise of the concept of human security blunted when it is exposed to policy or can policy-oriented human security initiatives have a positive impact from within (Newman, 2014).

Asides from the UN, individual states, think tanks, specialized agencies have all taken it upon their shoulders to advocate for and protect human security, thereby making them human security actors. In addition, Non-state actors play a major role in human security at various levels. They lobby in domestic as well as international settings and mobilize their home or host states and national and global public opinion on human security agenda.

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. Human security appears to be at the heart of much of the UN's work (*True/False*).
2. Human security, taken to its logical conclusion, holds 'critical' implications for the way politics and economics are organized (*True/False*).
3. Human Security does not fall within the purview of each Nation-state (*True/False*).

1.6. Summary

Human security has transcended the bounds of personal security and has become a global concern. More so, the United Nations has undertaken the task and burden of ensuring human security amongst its member states. In a nutshell, Human security is the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. Human security has been categorized into seven broad categories/ types and these include; economic security, food security, health security environmental security, personal security, community security and political security.

It is pertinent to note that the various types of human securities are intertwined, as the absence of one of these types of human securities would automatically affect the others. Hence, care and attention must be given to all the various types of Human security to affirm that there is human security.

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1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

1. *True*
2. *True*
3. *True*
4. *True*
5. *True*

Answers to SAEs 2

1. *A publicly financed safety net.*
2. *The poor distribution of food and a lack of purchasing power.*
3. *Unhealthy lifestyles*
4. *Short- and long-term ravages of nature, man-made threats in nature, and deterioration of the natural environment.*
5. *Child labor*
6. *Sectarian and Ethnic violence*
7. *Basic Human Rights*

Answers to SAEs 3

1. *True*
2. *True*
3. *False*

**UNIT 2 THE CONCEPT AND TYPES OF COUNTER-
TERRORISM**

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 The Concept of Terrorism
- 1.4 The Concept of Counter-Terrorism
- 1.5 The Types of Counter-Terrorism
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

This unit focuses on Counter-Terrorism. In this unit, you will learn about the concept of terrorism, counter-terrorism, how various scholars have conceptualized it and lastly, the types of counter-terrorism. Counterterrorism also known as anti-terrorism, incorporates the practices, military tactics, techniques and strategies that governments, law enforcement, business and intelligence agencies use to combat or eliminate terrorism. It also refers to measures designed to combat or prevent terrorism.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Define what terrorism means
- Define what Counter-Terrorism is
- List and explains the types of Counter-Terrorism

1.3 The Concept of Terrorism

Terrorism like everything else comes in waves (Rapoport, 2001), in cycles (Bergesen & Lizardo, 2004), a Greek mind might speculate. While each era is no doubt characterized by its own type of terrorism, there seems to be a tendency to regard the present as wholly unique and as a 'new' era, even as one in which terrorism 'for the first time' becomes a really pertinent political reality (Rapoport, 1984). Many conceptualizations of terrorism hold that it involves extreme violence, (terrorism, WS) which lies beyond the norms of violent political agitation that are accepted by a given society (Thornton, 1964:76).

Hardman (1948, p. 575) depicted terrorism in 1948 as a term used to describe the method or the theory behind the method whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence. A UN panel, on March 17, 2005, described terrorism as any act “intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act”. The European Union defines terrorism for legal/official purposes in Art.1 of the Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism (2002).

According to the US Federal Law, the term ‘terrorism’ means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience (y). The term ‘international terrorism’ means terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country (y). The term ‘terrorist group’ means any group practicing or that has significant subgroups that practice international terrorism (US Code, Title 22, & 2656f (d)).

Many conceptualizations of terrorism therefore converge on the idea that it involves premeditated, politically or ideologically motivated (Hutchinson, 1972; Laqueur, 1987; Drake, 1998; Hoffman, 1998) extreme violence (Thornton, 1964; Crenshaw, 2001; Tilly, 2004) against civilians (Stern, 2003; Black, 2004; Rodin, 2004) or symbolic targets (Crenshaw, 2001) by some organizations that seek to influence some states by means of intimidation of an audience (Gibbs, 1989; Crenshaw, 2001; Stern, 2003; Primoratz, 2004). These characteristics are well summarized in Enders and Sandler (2002, pp. 145–146).

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. According to US Federal Law, terrorism is any act “intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act (True/False)
2. According to the US Federal Law; the term ‘terrorism’ means premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience. (True/False)
3. Hardman described terrorism in 1948 as ‘a terms used to describe the method or the theory behind the method whereby an organized group or party seeks to achieve its avowed aims chiefly through the systematic use of violence (True/False)

1.4 The Concept of Counter-Terrorism

On 10 January 2000 at the United Nations Headquarters in New York the International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism was opened for signature (ILM, 2000). The General Assembly has adopted a series of resolutions concerning terrorism since December 1972, addressing measures to eliminate international terrorism as well as the relationship between terrorism and human rights. It has emphasized that States must ensure that any measures taken to combat terrorism comply with their obligations under international law, in particular international human rights, refugee and humanitarian law (UNGA, 1972). Under the Charter of the United Nations, the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, including measures to address terrorism as a threat to international peace and security. The Security Council has undertaken several counter-terrorism actions, notably in the form of sanctions against States considered to have links to certain acts of terrorism (primarily in the 1990s) and later against the Taliban and Al-Qaeda, as well as the establishment of committees to monitor the implementation of these sanctions. In 2001, it adopted resolution 1373 (2001), which obliges Member States to take several measures to prevent terrorist activities and to criminalize various forms of terrorist actions, and calls on them to take measures that assist and promote cooperation among countries including signing up to international counter-terrorism instruments. Member States are required to report regularly to the Counter-Terrorism Committee (see annex) on their progress (UNSC, 2003).

The UN General Assembly Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (Rosand et al., 2008) emphasized the need to eliminate poverty, deterioration and disease while enhancing continuous economic growth and sustainable development to counter-terrorism. The third pillar of strategy emphasized respect for human rights and the rule of law to counterterrorism because the individual's right to life, freedom and security is one of the principles of international human rights. The People's Daily Newspaper (Chinese), which represents the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, indicated that China is resisting extremism and terrorism by eliminating poverty. Several unions for Mediterranean members agreed on April 29, 2018, that "the spread of poverty and ignorance with the absence of democracy in Middle Eastern societies is the factor behind the escalation of the severity of terrorism," accentuating the importance of Arab countries not undermining rights and freedoms along with democratic concepts when confronting extremist groups. The UN study dated October 23, 2017, confirmed that poverty is a source of extremism among African youths, specifically deprivation, poverty and vulnerability underpinned by weak governance are primary factors.

Hence, Counterterrorism (also spelled counter-terrorism), 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. Counter-terrorism strategy is a government's motivation to use the instruments of national power to neutralize and conquer terrorists, the organizations they have and the networks they contain 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 (Stigall et al, 2019).

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. Which organ of the UN has the sole responsibility of maintaining international peace and security, including measures to address terrorism as a threat to international peace and security?
2. 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 _____?
3. The UN study dated October 23, 2017, confirmed that _____ is a source of extremism among African youths?

1.5. The Types of Counter-Terrorism

Counter-Terrorism (CT) measures are taken at national, international or EU levels aimed at preventing and tackling the terrorist threat. The EU implements CT measures adopted at the UN level, and have adopted CT measures of its own to support the fight against terrorism. The concept of counter-terrorism is aimed at combating terrorism and restricting its perpetual destruction of lives and properties. Various measures and approaches have been employed in the limitation and combating of terrorism by different countries and organizations such as:

- Promoting the implementation of the international legal framework against terrorism and enhancing international legal cooperation in criminal matters related to terrorism;
- Countering violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism following a multidimensional approach;
- Preventing and suppressing the financing of terrorism;
- Countering the use of the Internet for terrorist purposes;
- Promoting dialogue and cooperation on counter-terrorism issues, in particular, through public-private partnerships between State authorities and the private sector (business community, industry) as well as civil society and the media;

- Strengthening national efforts to implement United Nations Security Council resolution 1540 (2004) on non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- Strengthening travel document security; and
- Promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms in the context of counter-terrorism measures (OSCE, 2022).

Also, The Netherlands is working to combat terrorism 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 (Government of the Netherlands, 2022)

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 3

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

1. Counter-Terrorism is aimed at promoting terrorism? (True/False)
2. Preventing and suppressing the financing of terrorism promote terrorism? (True/False)
3. Strengthening travel document security is a counter-terrorism type? (True/False)
4. Promoting dialogue and cooperation on counter-terrorism strengthens the fight against terrorism? (True/False)
5. Countering the use of the Internet for terrorist purposes is a type of Counter-Terrorism approach?

1.6 Summary

This unit examined the concepts of Terrorism, Counter-terrorism and the types of Counter-Terrorism. It is expected of you to be able to clearly differentiate between the two concepts and demonstrate a clear understanding of the types of counter-terrorism that are used in combating terrorism in recent times, while paying particular attention to the variation in the terrain per nation and how it is important to tailor suit these types to the context of their application.

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1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

1. *False*
2. *True*
3. *True*

Answers to SAEs 2

1. *The United Nations Security Council*
2. *Counter-Terrorism*
3. *Poverty*

Answers to SAEs 3

1. *False*
2. *False*
3. *True*
4. *True*
5. *True*

UNIT 3 THE CONCEPT AND TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 The Concept of Diplomacy
- 1.4 Development of Diplomacy
- 1.5 Preventive Diplomacy
- 1.6 Types of Diplomacy
- 1.7 Summary
- 1.8 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

This unit examines the concept of diplomacy, its origin and development and its types. There are several types of diplomacy based on the application of the term and its functions, but this unit streamlines its scope to five broad and widely used types of diplomacy such as: i. civil diplomacy ii. nuclear diplomacy iii. soft-power diplomacy iv. social diplomacy v. toothless diplomacy.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Define the concept of diplomacy
- Trace the origin and development of diplomacy
- Identify and explain at least five types of diplomacy

1.3 The Concept of Diplomacy

The word diplomacy became the ancient Greek word and comes from the word "diplo" or "dipoun" which means "to fold". Diploun evolved into a diploma during the Roman empire when all passports, passes along imperial roads, and waybills were stamped on double metal plates, folded and sewn together in a particular manner. The folded document conferred a privilege or permits to travel to the bearer. It came to denote documents through which princes granted favours. Many researchers in international relations have mentioned the concept of diploma in their works. Ernest Mason Satow, a German diplomat born in England expresses his theory of diplomacy as follows: the peaceful conduct of relations between states is called diplomacy. In this, diplomatic functions must be complete (Barratt 1985).

Headley Bull originally from Australia, a Professor of International Relations, explains diplomacy as follows: "the conduct of relations between states and other entities involved in world politics through official policies and peaceful means" (Bull 1932). Another important view on diplomacy theory was expressed by the US diplomat and politician Henry Kissinger. Henry Kissinger described diplomacy as a new World order and modern diplomacy is the balance of power between the forces of war and peace.

We can divide diplomacy into two the old diplomacy period and the new diplomacy period. Ancient diplomacy was in the form of diplomacy between Ancient Greece, Rome, Ancient Egypt and the Hittites, and diplomacy was managed through ad-hoc approach. The new period of diplomacy is 17-18 centuries. We can say that it emerged in the twentieth century. An example of the new period diplomacy is seen as the diplomacy that emerged after the French Revolution of 1789 and was made during the Congress of Vienna and the Hague Peace Conferences (Abdurahmanli, 2021)

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 1

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

1. The peaceful conduct of relations between states is called?
2. The definition of diplomacy "*as a new world order and modern diplomacy as the balance of power between the forces of war and peace*" was propounded by which US diplomat
3. Diplomacy is divided into how many periods?
4. New diplomacy emerged in which century?

1.4 Development of Diplomacy

1.4.1 Ancient Greek Diplomacy. Diplomacy in ancient Greece was through ambassadors, who seemed to be a consular (proxenos) institution. The information obtained as a result of the diplomacy made here determined the fate of the states. In general, diplomats were known as messengers in Ancient Greece.

1.4.2 Diplomacy in Ancient Rome. When we look at the field of diplomacy in Rome, it applied bilateral diplomacy. It was in the form of diplomacy against its people and foreign people who came to their country. Diplomacy applied to foreigners was in the form of "iusgentium" law and belonged to traders, travelers and tourists. The diplomatic law that he applied to her citizens was in the form of "civitasgentium".

1.4.3 Diplomacy in Hittites and Ancient Egypt. It is in the form of diplomacy, which is one of the examples of old diplomacy, and is the result of the "Kadesh" agreement made between the Egyptians and the Ancient Hittites in 1278 BC. As a result of this agreement, peace was achieved between the two sides.

1.4.4 Ad Hoc Diplomacy. This type of diplomacy was made in Italy in the 15th century. This type of diplomacy was carried out by the ambassadors of the state. This diplomacy was described by the public as lying, cheating and cunning.

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. Diplomacy in ancient Greece was through _____?
2. Diplomacy in Ancient Rome was conducted in a form _____?
3. Ad Hoc Diplomacy was described by the public as _____, _____, _____?

1.5. Preventive Diplomacy

Beginning effectively from the early 1990s, pronounced transformations in the global system of states offered normative institutions of international governance sublime opportunities to redefine global security, re-tool diplomatic machinery for effective management of violent conflict and work collaboratively with national governments toward constructing fresh norms of conflict resolution for a new World order (Akiba, 2020).

Preventive Diplomacy emerged after the French Revolution of 1789 and within the Congress of Vienna and the Hague Peace Conferences. We can say that the new era of diplomacy was generally implemented in the 17th and 18th centuries. The French Revolution was the first to stand out in these periods. Until 1789, the French spread over a large area by applying diplomacy in Europe. We know that as a result of the Vienna Congress held in 1818, the borders of Europe were determined and the foundations of international organizations were laid as a result of this congress. We can say that the Hague Peace Conferences agreement, which was prepared in 1899 and accepted in 1907 is another diplomatic method that brought a new order to Europe. As a result of the diplomatic negotiations, these conventions and conferences shed light on the establishment of international organizations such as the Universal Postal Union, the UPU, the UN and the League of Nations. Another important method of diplomacy is preventive diplomacy (Abdurahmanli, 2021).

Preventive diplomacy is anchored principally in fresh thinking about the causes of domestic conflict and interstate war (Braithwaite, 2019). It provides for mechanisms considered to be appropriate and sufficient for stopping conflicts before they deepen and assume intractable, bloody dimensions. It is an approach to peacebuilding that aims to prevent violence from starting by addressing key long-term factors driving tensions toward the explosion. Prevention consists of two main strands of activities: Operational prevention focuses on short-term responses that are embodied in principles and practice of traditional preventive diplomacy as defined in the UN Charter (Huan & Emmers, 2017).

Preventive diplomacy has been established with the UN organization to keep the peace. This type of diplomacy carried out by the general secretary of the organization aimed to reveal some solutions to various security problems. An example of preventive diplomacy is the Iranian revolutionary students who raided the US Embassy in Tehran on November 4, 1979, as a result of this raid, a total of 90 embassy employees and 66 of who were American were taken hostage by putting a sack over their heads. This crisis that started between the USA and Iran was the first page of future crises. Although, 38 of these embassy employees held as hostages were released within the first week and the remaining 52 hostages were not delivered. As a result of the reconciliation of Iran and the USA on January 20, 1981, the hostages were delivered in Germany after 444 days (ÖzgeÖzdemir, 2019). The hostage crisis was resolved in a short time by using Mediation and Preventive diplomacy with the help of the UN.

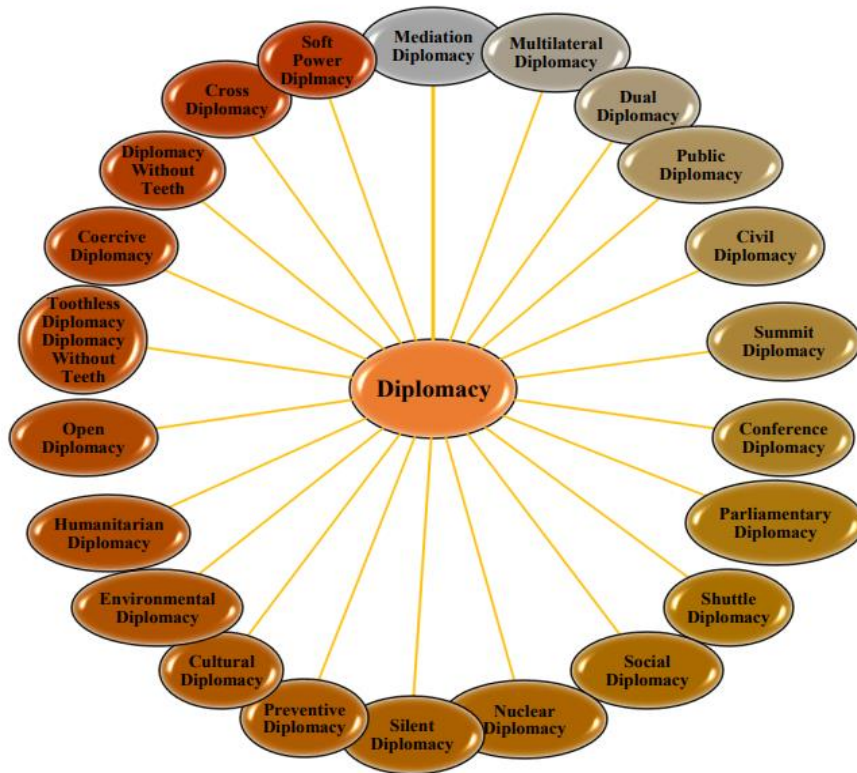
Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 3

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

1. Preventive Diplomacy emerged after the _____?
2. Preventive diplomacy has been established with the UN organization for _____?
3. Preventive Diplomacy is a type of diplomacy carried out by the _____ of the organization aimed to reveal some solutions to various security problems?
4. Braithwaite (2019) argued that Preventive diplomacy is anchored principally in fresh thinking about the _____?

1.6 Types of Diplomacy

There are several types of diplomacy and figure 1 typifies the various types of diplomacy. Within the confines of this study, five types will be covered which include; i. civil diplomacy ii. nuclear diplomacy iii. soft power diplomacy iv. social diplomacy v. toothless diplomacy.



Source: Dergisi, 2021.

1.6.1. Civil diplomacy

Civil diplomacy is the type of diplomacy we call the diplomatic activities carried out individually between the non-official representatives of the countries. For example, at an international academic conference, we can show that writers and academics representing different countries share their views on a common topic. Today, we can say that civil diplomacy is more effective in diplomatic relations. In the axis of globalization, which we call the new World order, civil diplomacy is carried out through 'civil organizations'. Organizations such as IHH, the Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief Foundation or UNICEF and the United Nations Children's Aid Fund carry out a kind of civil diplomacy during the war (İslam, 2012).

1.6.2. Nuclear diplomacy

This type of diplomacy has emerged as nuclear weapons affect the balance of power in the international system. Nuclear diplomacy has been used by the United States and Russia. The parties have negotiated nuclear weapons or defense systems. Another example handy is the P5+1 Nuclear Agreement between the years 2006-2015 between the UNSC-Iran, the USA and Western states. It was concluded positively on 14 July 2015 (Çam, 2018).

1.6.3. Soft Power Diplomacy

The term "Soft Power", which was used for the first time in the late 1980s by Joseph Nye, one of the theorists of International Relations means "the ability of any State to impose its own policy and political will on another state without using force on another state". Soft power diplomacy described as "proficiency". The concept of soft power for countries remains a superpower and prestigious state in the international arena, they must have the ability to have a cultural and ideological influence on the people residing in the lands they take with their democratic methods, once they win the war. They must also conquer the minds and hearts of these people. Today, the concept of soft power is very important for the Russian Federation. Russia is trying to use soft power in order not to lose its power in the Caucasus and the Black Sea region. When we look at the last years, it is seen that Russia has always applied hard power diplomacy. The most obvious example is the situation in Crimea in Ukraine. But the Russian Federation saw that it could use "hard power" diplomacy in Crimea in the short term. As it can be seen, for a state to achieve stable domestic economic development, there is always a need for mechanisms of "soft power" diplomacy for a long-term mutually beneficial and international partnership. In this context, the "soft power" policy in diplomacy is seen as important in terms of creating an attractive image of the state (Aganin, 2018)

1.6.4. Open Diplomacy

Open diplomacy is a type of diplomacy that emerges as a kind of opposition to covert diplomacy. In open diplomacy, the aim is a form of diplomacy in which the two sides are open to the scrutiny of the local or international public to fulfill the obligations they have accepted in the conferences or opinions (YILDIZ, 2013). An example of Open Diplomacy was made by former US President Barack Obama at the P5+1 Nuclear Agreement in 2015. As a matter of fact, in the process of this agreement, Barack Obama added an additional clause to the agreement and gave the International Atomic Energy Agency the right to inspect the IAEA to investigate any unlawfulness by Iran. The main reason for adding this article here was the strategy of humiliating Iran in the eyes of the international public, by presenting the rights and provisions to be assumed by the parties involved in the diplomatic negotiations, to the public's information and control, by accusing Iran of not undertaking any conviction. The articles of the P5+1 agreement have been made available to the public internationally, and this is an obvious example of open diplomacy

1.6.5. Toothless Diplomacy

The concept of toothless diplomacy is a concept generally used by the British. This concept is a type of diplomacy that gives politically threatening statements on certain issues, only verbally warns, but remains dysfunctional in the field by remaining only in words. The best example of this type of diplomacy is when the Western states were ineffective in solving this problem with only warnings during the Syrian negotiations, and then Russia's military presence was effective as an example. Another important factor here is the Islamic Republic of Iran. Iran's establishment of relations with the terrorist organization Hezbollah and Shiite sects here is another indicator of the toothless diplomacy of Western states. Another example of toothless diplomacy: The threat of nuclear attack every time North Korean leader Kim Jong-un speaks to the United States or other states, in English, "diplomacy without teeth" is an example of toothless diplomacy. In this diplomacy, the goal is to reject any step that the other party may take to him through threats and verbal explanations (Abdurahmanli & Bağış, 2021).

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 4

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

1. _____ is the type of diplomacy where diplomatic activities carried are out individually between the non-official representatives of the countries?
2. _____ type of diplomacy is referred to as the ability of any state to impose its policy and political will on another state, without using force or force on another state?
3. The aim _____ diplomacy, is a form of diplomacy in which the two sides are open to the scrutiny of the local or international public in order to fulfill the obligations they have accepted in the conferences or opinions
4. _____ diplomacy is a type of diplomacy that gives politically threatening statements on certain issues, only verbally warns, but remains dysfunctional in the field by remaining only in words?

1.7 Summary

This unit covered the concept of Diplomacy, whilst attempting to trace the origin of the concept. To further bring understanding about the concept, preventive diplomacy was dealt with. The unit further looked at the types of diplomacy, of which there exist several of them based on the application of the term. This unit focused on explaining five out of the

numerous types of diplomacy in order to help the students understand the concept and its application in modern times.

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1.9. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

1. *Diplomacy*
2. *Henry Kissinger*
3. *Two (Old & New)*
4. *Twentieth Century*

Answers to SAEs 2

1. *Ambassadors*
2. *Diplomacy against its people and foreign people who came to their country*
3. *Lying, Cheating, and Cunning.*

Answers to SAEs 3

1. *French Revolution*
2. *Keeping Peace*
3. *General Secretary*
4. *Causes of domestic conflict and interstate war*

Answers to SAEs 4

1. *Civil Diplomacy*
2. *Soft Power Diplomacy*
3. *Open Diplomacy*
4. *Toothless Diplomacy*

**UNIT 4 THE NEXUS BETWEEN HUMAN SECURITY,
COUNTER-TERRORISM, AND DIPLOMACY**

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 The Relationship Between Human Security and Counter-Terrorism
- 1.4 The Relationship Between Human Security and Diplomacy
- 1.5 The Relationship Between Human Security, Counter-Terrorism and Diplomacy
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 Glossary
- 1.8 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

The previous units in this module dealt with the definition of the key concepts of human security, counter-terrorism, and diplomacy. In this unit, the nexus between human security, counter-terrorism and diplomacy will be focused on to highlight and shed light on the importance of understanding the aforementioned concepts.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Explain the nexus between Human Security and Counter-Terrorism
- Explain the nexus between Human Security and Diplomacy
- Explain the nexus between Human Security, Counter-Terrorism and Diplomacy

1.3 The Relationship Between Human Security and Counter-Terrorism

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 counter-

terrorism 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 (Alsawalqa, 2021). The primary motives for terrorist acts, conducted individually, collectively, or state-wise, include the following (Krieger & Meierrieks: 2011, pp. 3-27):

1. **Economic Deprivation:** Some scientists have suggested that terrorism is deeply rooted in economic deprivation in conditions of poverty and inequality in the state. The idea of relative poverty (an imbalance between what individuals think they do not have and what they actually receive through the economic distribution process) becomes an incentive for violence.
2. **Economic and Social Factors:** Economic and social factors determine social status among people, and those deprived of these factors may develop grievances that could result in their involvement in terrorism. These economic and social factors may include unemployment, poor healthcare services, lack of education, absence of social justice, poverty, and any other factor that may increase the gap between the lower, middle, and upper classes.
3. **Civilizational** progress weakened the collective conscience that was stressed as a cementing factoring in early society. Law and rational interest became the two standards organizing society and interaction between individuals. Thus, civil individuals, from Émile Durkheim's perspective, who live in the middle of crowds, go unnoticed. Collective attention is weaker, social discipline is less effective, personal connections are weak and scarce, and moral rules are no longer respected. Therefore, the social field becomes a rich environment for acts of sabotage. The individual is affected by the anomaly resulting from unclear, contradictory, or even nonexistent social standards and rules; thus, individuals may respond by adopting a new culture of misconduct or rebellious tendencies (Wallace & Wolf: 2005).
4. **Political Reasons/Political and Institutional Systems:** Deprivation of political voice, political violence, reduced participation, and political openness, lack of political freedom, especially in semi-open societies (partial democracy), the recurrence of regime changes and return of former régimes with suppressive tactics and vindictive desires, make environments ripe for terrorist acts. Political changes must not threaten ideologies or objectives adversely such that they orientate toward terrorism.

Some individuals neglect external political causes behind terrorism because states have become increasingly politically integrated; furthermore, states are members of international conventions and

organizations that unify counterterrorism efforts. However, international political integration hurts internal politics and national sovereignty. International political integration leads to reduced margins of internal policy and difficulty in controlling violent terrorist organizations within states. External policies, with regard to political proximity with the West and coalition structures, may be important for combating terrorism, and traditional or deprived classes may, in turn, resort to violence to resist foreign predominance and Western superiority (Ahmad and Majeed: 2016, pp. 409-423).

Human security provides a simple yet strong formula that policy makers in counterterrorism should consider: when the state is absent from preventing harm and alleviating the suffering of their own citizens, existing terrorist networks would replace their role. Human security does not pretend to have all the solutions for counterterrorism or replace coercive measures in responding to terrorism; deterrence, pursuit, and disruption of the terrorist suspects are still paramount when active terrorist cells are present. Rather, human security advocates for framing the entire effort to respond to terrorism as an effort to provide physical security, welfare, and dignity for ordinary people. This means counterterrorism should not stop at 'score-settling' between the state and terrorists and clearly should be more than eliminating the threat. Too much emphasis on the latter will result in inter-agency competition to be the first in neutralizing the enemy, and in turn lead to a fatal absence of inter-agency coordination where every agency holds different pieces of the puzzle needed to prevent the next catastrophe (Wibisono et al., 2020). Poverty and non-development are the two main factors that cause extremist violence and terrorism. Sustainable and comprehensive development that aims to realize human security in all aspects can contribute to preventing the emergence of disputes and terrorism. Achieving human security must be the main objective and priority in national and international development plans. This not only includes protecting from threats but also empowering individuals and societies with humanitarian potential to fulfill their objectives. This can increase individuals' awareness; furthermore, strengthened social control and collective consciousness can reduce or even prevent opportunities to join terrorist groups or extremist groups and increase individuals' social responsibility toward their nations (Alsawalqa, 2021).

By promoting and developing the notion of human security it is possible to do more, namely shift the understanding of security by humanizing the counter-terrorism discourse. The 2006 UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy should be read as being based on a human rights approach. This is reflected in its four-pillar structure where paradigmatic counter-terrorism measures by law enforcement, intelligence and military

authorities are only one of the four pillars (Pillar II) while the three others are about addressing conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism (Pillar I), internationally coordinated capacity-building (Pillar III) and human rights and rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism (Pillar IV).

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 1

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

1. _____ provides a simple yet strong formula that policymakers in counterterrorism should consider?
2. _____ & _____ are the two main factors that cause extremist violence and terrorism
3. _____ & _____ factors determine social status among people, and those deprived of these factors may develop grievances that could result in their involvement in terrorism?
4. Deprivation of political voice, political violence, reduced participation, and political openness, lack of political freedom, especially in semi-open societies are ripe environments for _____?

1.4 The Relationship Between Human Security and Diplomacy

Diplomacy and its functions as traditionally understood have evolved from focusing on dialogue and negotiation to advance the foreign policy goals of a state, secrecy, diplomatic protocol, ceremonial, and gradual professionalization to-towards a variety of new diplomatic activities, one of being of key interest – public diplomacy. Public diplomacy, the concept that gained popularity in the US a few decades ago, has been more popular in other states, including Western and non-Western countries. For instance, in Poland, the term “public diplomacy” came into use only when Radosław Sikorski became the minister of foreign affairs serving from 2007 to 2014. For the first time, Sikorski mentioned the term in his exposé on Polish foreign policy in 2009, in which he stated that the “[...] task [of public diplomacy] is not only to promote Poland as broadly understood, but also to convince public opinion abroad of our assessment and our understanding of international problems (Exposé, 2009).

Public diplomacy, as Sevin et al. (2019) notices, is a combination of two terms which, on the one hand, demonstrate their strong links with international relations (“diplomacy”). On the other hand, the “public” component is about broadening the scope and the recipients of traditional diplomacy from states to nationals. Therefore, public diplomacy remains a tool of foreign policy, while human security is a concept that is applied

to and furthered by foreign policy. This is the place where they both intersect and this process is discernible when one looks at the approach to the human security of the key states that support it, that is, Japan and Canada.

To begin with Japan, this country's government perceives human security as of the key pillars of its diplomacy, the other pillar being, *inter alia*, economic diplomacy, science and technology diplomacy, or public diplomacy. Human security is understood as a concept aimed at creating a community in which people can fully develop their potential through protecting all individuals, and at the same time empowering them to solve their own problems (MFAJ, 2019). As such, human security is the leading rule of the overall Japanese development cooperation. Therefore, one can conclude that Japan has adopted a wide approach to human security, which brings us back to the already mentioned Japanese school of human security.

Also, although public diplomacy has not been defined explicitly in the latest government Diplomatic Bluebook 2019, it is safe to say that public diplomacy is not only an essential tool of Japan's foreign policy, but also the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) of Japan strongly emphasizes its digital dimension (digital diplomacy). In particular, it is about active dissemination of information through the Ministry's website – available both in Japanese and English – and social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube (MFAJ, 2019). The key objective is to stay in touch with the public (for instance, the third section of the Diplomatic Bluebook 2019 is entitled “Diplomacy with the Support of the Public”), that is both Japanese nationals (so-called domestic public diplomacy) and the recipients abroad. This is the way the government promotes and informs on the vision of its Japanese foreign policy, as well as any advancements of human security issues. The authors of the Diplomatic Bluebook 2019 have stressed the fact that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan considers its English website an important tool of public diplomacy, and has been enhancing the distribution of information in English on Japan's foreign policy (including maintaining territorial integrity, historical issues and security), Japan's position on international affairs, and Japan's rich and varied attractiveness

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 2

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

1. Public Diplomacy is a combination of two terms which are _____ & _____?
2. _____ is one of the key pillars of its diplomacy?
3. Public diplomacy is a means of distributing the needed information to _____ enhance _____?

1.5 The Relationship Between Human Security, Counter-Terrorism and Diplomacy

As was earlier stated in units 1 -3, the concepts of Human Security, Counter-Terrorism and Diplomacy were defined extensively. The terms have a central point which is ensuring of attar and safe life for all. Whilst human security focuses on the various aspects and well-being of man, without the combating of terrorism, Human security will be eroded. For terrorism to be sufficiently battled, diplomacy comes in handy as an effective tool to settle disputes and tactically provide avenues for the resolution of conflicts and the achievement of individual states' interests. OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) participating States agree that terrorism is one of the most significant threats to peace, security, and stability, as well as to the enjoyment of human rights and social and economic development, in the OSCE area and beyond (OSCE, 2022).

In its broadest sense, human security seeks to place the individual as the referent object of security, rather than – although not necessarily in opposition to – constructions such as state sovereignty and 'national security' (MacFarlane & Foong-Khong, 2006).

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAEs) 3

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

1. Human Security, Counter-Terrorism and Diplomacy have no relationship? (True/False)
2. Terrorism is a threat to Human Security and Diplomacy? (True/False)
3. Human security does not seek to place the individual as the referent object of security, rather than – although not necessarily in opposition to – constructions such as state sovereignty and 'national security'? (True/False)

1.6 Summary

This unit focused on the relationship and intersection of the three concepts. This unit also shed light on the inseparability of the three concepts as the presence or absence of one of the concepts in society affected the presence of the other and vice versa.

1.7 Summary

This module dealt extensively with human security, counter-terrorism and diplomacy. Human security is defined as; i. Safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression. ii. Protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in jobs, in homes or communities. Counterterrorism (also spelled counter-terrorism), 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. Diplomacy is defined as the conduct of relations between states and other entities involved in world politics through official policies and peaceful means.

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1.9 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

1. *Human Security*
2. *Poverty and non-development*
3. *Economic and Social*
4. *Terrorist Acts*

Answers to SAEs 2

1. *International Relations & the Public*
2. *Human Security*
3. *Human Security*

Answers to SAEs 3

1. *False*
2. *True*
3. *False*

**MODULE 2 THEORIES OF HUMAN SECURITY,
COUNTER-TERRORISM AND DIPLOMACY**

Unit 1	Theories of Human Security
Unit 2	Theories of Counter-Terrorism
Unit 3	Theories of Diplomacy
Unit 4	Types of Diplomacy

UNIT 1 THEORIES OF HUMAN SECURITY

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Concept of Human Security
- 1.4 Why Human Security?
- 1.5 Theories of Human Security
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.7 Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

In this unit, we shall focus on theories of human security. The dramatic change in the international system, largely due to the end of the Cold War in 1990, and the increasing globalization of the world has significantly changed the nature of threats to peace and therefore, the perspective of security – from a state-centric to a human-centric perspective. During the Cold War, between the late 1940s to the late 1980s, security was conceived mainly of the state/government and its paraphernalia. This is regarded as “traditional security doctrine”. However, after the Cold War, from 1990 on, the changes occasioned by the end of the Cold War and the ensuing globalization of the international system led to a re-conceptualization of security in terms of Human Security. This is known as the “alternative security doctrine”. Since then, Human Security has taken a centre-stage in policies and programmes of the UN and other international governmental and non-organizations, including state and non-state actors alike.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Understand the concept of Human Security
- Know why the shift from state-centered security to a human-centered security
- Identify and explain the theories of Human Security

1.3 **Concept of Human Security**

The Commission on Human Security (CHS) of the United Nations, in its final report *Human Security Now*, defines human security as:

“...to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms 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 strengths 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)

Sabina Alkire argues that “the objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way consistent with long-term human fulfillment.” This working definition includes: i) maintains the joint focus on both poverty and violence, ii) maintains its ‘people-centered’ nature, iii) maintains multi-dimensionality iv) focuses on ‘cultural and pervasive threats to the vital core of peoples’ lives’ and, v) proposes that the objective of human security be specified and translated into operational policies and projects by principled procedures. To explain this further:

1. Human security aims at safeguarding human lives from the threat of violent conflicts, diseases etc., through appropriate institutions. It attempts to offer institutionalised protection. It also seeks to introduce an element of ‘respect’ by which institutions do not act in a way that threatens human security. However, it must be borne in mind that the focus is more on human beings than on threat.
2. Human security does not seek to cover all aspects of human life but only some vital core activities like building capabilities among people to satisfy their basic needs, and enabling people to enjoy fundamental human rights.
3. Human security is ‘people-centered’. It means it is not obsessed with the traditional territorial concept, but its focus is on people. Again it is concerned with people as people irrespective of age, sex, race, religion, nationality etc.
4. Human security focuses on human lives and their protection from critical threats that affect basic functions of human life and pervasive threats that are of large scale and threats that can repeat like diseases, epidemics etc. Further such threats may be direct like

rioting or pollution or indirect like distorted investment or defence rather than development. Human security identifies such costly threats and seeks to deal with them for peoples' welfare.

5. Human security aims at human fulfillment, though it focuses only on selected human aspects of human development and human rights. Here too it seeks to ensure that activities that promote human security consistent with people's long-term good. Processes of governance, or participation, of capacity building etc., are important but must not undermine long-term public good. "In the final analysis, human security is a child who did not die, a disease that did not spread, a job that was not lost, or ethnic tension that did not explode in violence, a dissident who was not silenced". Human security must lead to optimum human fulfillment, both in short term and long term. In addition to what is explained by Sabina Alkire, we may add two more points for enriching the coverage of human security.
6. Human security is a global concept. By ensuring human security in individual societies and countries, cumulatively at global level, human security is effectively achieved. It is thus a positive sum game, compared to national sovereignty that is obsessed with a particular country often presuming a hostile environment.
7. Human security is of special significance for a country like India. Such a country faces chronic problems of poverty, unemployment, inequality, malnutrition and underdevelopment. For such countries human development ensures not only economic development but also human development which, in long term, can achieve human capital formation making it easier to go in for a sustained human development.

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 the objective of human security?*
2. *What is the aim of human security?*
3. *Mention one significance of human security*

1.4 Why Human Security?

As argued by the CHS, the need for a new paradigm of security is associated with two sets of dynamics:

First, human security is needed in response to the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats – from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns. Such threats tend to acquire transnational dimensions and move beyond traditional notions of security that focus on external military aggressions alone.

Second, human security is required as a comprehensive approach that utilizes the wide range of new opportunities to tackle such threats in an integrated manner. Human security threats cannot be tackled through conventional mechanisms alone. Instead, they require a new consensus that acknowledges the linkages and the interdependencies between development, human rights and national security.

1.5 Theories of Human Security

1.5.1 Liberalism and Human Security

Liberalism is a tradition in political theory that takes individual persons as its units of analysis. Liberalism has always been concerned with security, albeit the security of the individual; institutions, including the state, are all established and sustained by individuals and instrumental to their desire. Human security recognises that people face threats that are beyond their control (e.g., natural disasters, financial crises and conflicts). Human security therefore requires protecting people in a systematic, comprehensive and preventative way. States have the primary responsibility to implement such a protective structure.

Classical liberal ideas were built on the concepts of equality, rationality, freedom and property. In the 18th century, Locke from England, David Hume and Adam Smith in Scotland, Montesque and Voltaire from France and Kant from Germany were the leading liberal thinkers. As an international theory that explained international politics and foreign policy, Liberalism emerged after the First World War. Names like Woodrow Wilson, Hobson, David Mitrany, Karl W. Deutsch, Michael Doyle, Francis Fukuyama, Stanley Hoffmann, and Robert O. Keohane are among the most important representatives of liberal thought in international relations. According to Liberalism, world peace might occur with the residence of political and economic liberal norms at both national and international levels; the increase of interdependence and interaction; the international cooperation that carried out under the leadership of intergovernmental organizations; and the protection of human rights and governance. In security studies, the concept of human security is one of the most important concepts of the post-Cold War era that has been

scholarly disputed. Indeed, the ethnic and religious-based conflicts after the Cold War led to evolution of the concept “national security” and the increase of concerns about individual security in international relations. Since then, there have been attempts to “deepen and widen” the concept of security from the level of states to individuals. In that sense, the concept of “human security” considers human beings as the reference object of security as well as it places the threats against human beings on the agenda. On the other hand, the mentioned concept objects the monopoly of the state in ensuring security through featuring the actors like international organizations and civil society.

Represented by global legalism and developmentalism, liberalism shares the optimism that human security can be ensured and enhanced through strengthening global governance. According to Liberalism, world peace and security can be achieved with the residence of political and economic liberal norms at both national and international levels; the increase of interdependence and interaction; the international cooperation that carried out under the leadership of intergovernmental organizations; and the protection of human rights and governance.

1.5.2 Realism and Human Security

This approach remains skeptical about the liberal vision of human security. In general, realist theories define “security” as the security of the state and place particular emphasis on the preservation of the state's territorial integrity and the physical safety of its inhabitants (Walt 1991). First, the realist school looks at the state as the referent object of security. It supposes that once the state is secure, security will trickle down to the people. Realists are concerned about security from existential threats, and seek hard power as a remedy.

Second, the realist assumes the state's monopoly is anchored on the loyalty of its residents, and even citizens, based on a homogeneous nationalism is usually falsified by competing local, tribal, ethno-nationalist, multicultural, religious, cultural and transnational identities. Moreover, these alternative identities are facilitated by porous borders through which various cultural influences flow, aided by television, radio, the internet and YouTube.

Third, the realist approach overestimates the ability of states to solve national, let alone global, problems. Finally, the realist approach neglects how states work with and have their sovereignty constrained (and sometimes enhanced) by various non-state agents such as International Governmental Organizations (IGOs), NGOs, International Non-

governmental Organizations (INGOs), social movements and other individuals and collectivities.

In relation to two of the preoccupations of realism, military defence and warfare, it is clear that the security of human beings and states can be threatened by a state's preparation for war. A state's efforts to enhance its national security by preparing for war can undermine human security due to the distortion of the economy: what might be called a war deficit (spending on military hardware, for example) takes resources away from satisfying vital human needs like food, housing and health.

The preparation for war often involves coercion, restriction of civil liberties, and economic adversity. Also, the security of states and human beings can be undermined as much by internal threats (for example, civil wars, ethnic cleansing, secessionist conflicts, riots, coups d'état, revolutions, and sectarian battles) as by external ones. These threats also demonstrate that there is no necessary correlation between a state's clear and well-defended external borders and societal security

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. What is the main position of idealists on human security?
2. Realist theories define “security” as the security of the _____?
3. The two of the preoccupations of realism are _____ and _____

1.5.3 Critical Theory on Human Security

The Critical Theory (CT), also known as the Frankfurt School, is a philosophical and sociological movement that focuses on the critique of modernity and capitalist society, the definition of social emancipation, as well as the detection of the pathologies of society. Critical Theory provides a specific interpretation of Marxist philosophy with regard to some of its central economic and political notions like commodification, reification, fetishization and critique of mass culture. Critical Theory (CT) was also developed as an unconventional approach to mainstream theories and paradigms. With the help of CT, it may be possible to see to what extent HS is unaffected by power relations and interests.

CT argues that value-free analysis in social sciences is impossible. One of the pioneers of critical theorists, Robert W. Cox (1981) asserts that 'theory is always for somebody and some purpose'. In this sense, CT asks the fundamental question of what is the ontology (and also epistemology) of international relations (Cox, 2001). CT focuses on the physical, institutional and ideological roots of the power and control.

The basic issues of CT are hegemony, power, the relationship between the mode of production and power relations, power structures and emancipation. This becomes particularly critical within the context of contemporary globalization. CT gives special importance to the 'who gets what, when and how' questions rather than state behaviours and interstate relations. One important dimension which CT underlines is that it is not necessary to have a state for the existence of the interest and power struggles. States are not the sole actors and not the projection of existing power relations. In the contemporary globalising era, the reconstruction or the 'reorientation of civil society' in the needs of dominant powers' interests gains special importance.

1.5.4 Feminism and Human Security

A feminist perspective can make security discourse more reflective of its normative assumptions. In respect of an expanded human security concept, a feminist perspective highlights the dangers of masking differences under the rubric of the term 'human'. Two key dimensions of women's security that, more often than not, are omitted from discussions of human security are (1) feminist critiques of the concept of human security and (2) the ways girls and women experience insecurity and the conditions that must be met for them to be secure.

Gender analyses of human security take into account perspectives and behaviors of women and men, boys and girls, and are a corrective to gender-bias in either direction. These may or may not draw upon feminist analyses. In relation to human security, Simone Wisotzki stressed that "underlying gender hierarchies and their relevance for shaping societal practice must be made visible, and alternatives to overcoming insecurities have to be developed." For example, in developing programs and policies, analyzing potential effects upon both genders is crucial because men and women experience the destruction of security differently

Girls and women experience human insecurity differently from men and are subject to gender hierarchies and power inequities that exacerbate their insecurity. Because of their lower status, girls and women are less able to articulate and act upon their security needs, as compared with boys and men. A 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report

noted: “In no society are women secure or treated equally to men. Personal insecurity shadows them from cradle to grave...And from childhood through adulthood they are abused because of their gender.” Holzner and Truong argued that “all forms of human (in)security are gendered, even though their manifestations, patterns and degree of intensity may be specific and context dependent,” because social structures, practices and symbols in societies are gendered. As noted by Ulf Kristofferson, Humanitarian Coordinator of the Joint United Nations (UN) Program on HIV/AIDS, “Whether it is economic security, food security, health security, personal or political security, women and young girls are affected in a very specific way due to their physical, emotional and material differences and due to - the important social, economic, and political inequalities existing between women and men.” For example, in many parts of the world, women and girls are fed less than men and boys, have fewer opportunities to secure an economic livelihood, and receive less education than boys. Inequalities also threaten girls’ and women’s health, an essential component of their security, and increase their vulnerability to HIV/AIDS.

Beth Woroniuk drew attention to key gendered dimensions that have been missing within human security discussions, notably (1) violence against women, (2) gender inequality in control over resources, (3) gender inequality in power and decision making, (4) women’s human rights, and (5) women (and men) as actors, not victims. Erin Baines questioned how central an agenda gender-related violence should be within human security discourses and pointed to the potential danger of privileging women over men, given the persistent lack of masculinist analyses. Baines’ point that masculinist analyses of human security deserve far greater attention is an important one. However, given women’s low status worldwide, the inequality of and the profound influences of patriarchy on women’s ability to attain equality, the risk of privileging girls’ and women’s human security over boys’ and men’s seems remote and, even, implausible. Further, scant evidence exists that feminist analyses have been mainstreamed into international debates about human security. Instead, sophisticated and insightful feminist analyses are localised within feminist international studies and the academic literature of related disciplines.

Self-Assessment Exercise (SAE) 3

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

1. *According to the Commission on Human Security (CHS) of the United Nations, Human Security is _____*
2. *The “traditional security doctrine” focuses more on the security of the state and its paraphernalia. _____ (True/False)*
3. *Human Security largely centers on national security. _____ (True/False)*
4. *Outline five (5) major threats to human security in our contemporary world.*
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
e. _____
5. *Identify and explain any four (4) theories of Human Security.*
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
6. *Gendered dimensions that have been missing within human security discussions do not include one of the following:*
(a) violence against women,
(b) gender inequality in control over resources,
(c) gender inequality in power and decision making,
(d) women’s leadership in the national parliament

1.6 Summary

In this unit, we examined the theories of human security. Specifically, the unit discussed perspectives such as liberalism and human security, realism and human security, critical theory and human security, and feminism and human security. These theories, no doubt, provide diverse perspectives on human security, which is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people's vital freedoms. It requires both protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and empowering people to take charge of their own lives.

1.7 **References/Further Readings/Web Sources**

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1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs1

1. The objective of human security is to safeguard the vital core of all human lives from critical pervasive threats, in a way consistent with long-term human fulfillment
2. Human security aims at safeguarding human lives from the threat of violent conflicts, diseases etc., through appropriate institutions.
3. Human security is of special significance for developing countries because it focuses on individual wellbeing and sustainable development.

Answers to SAEs2

1. Liberalism is optimistic that human security can be ensured and enhanced through strengthening global governance
2. State
3. military defence and warfare

Answers to SAEs3

1. “...to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms 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 strengths 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.”
2. True
3. False
4. Outline five (5) major threats to human security in our contemporary world.
 - a. Armed Conflicts
 - b. Natural Disasters
 - c. Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) proliferation
 - d. Bad governance
 - e. Poverty
 - f. Diseases
 - g. Climate Change
 - h. Drug trafficking

- | | |
|----|---|
| i. | Human trafficking |
| 5. | Identify and explain any four (4) theories of Human Security. |
| a. | Liberalism |
| b. | Realism |
| c. | Critical Theory |
| d. | Feminism |
| 6. | (d) women's leadership in national parliament |

UNIT 2 THEORIES OF COUNTER-TERRORISM

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Understanding Terrorism
- 2.4 Difference between Terrorism and Insurgency
- 2.5 Understanding Counter-Terrorism
- 2.6 Theories of Counter-Terrorism
- 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.8 Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 Introduction

In this unit, we focus on theories of counter-terrorism. International terrorist attacks have reached an alarming scale in levels of violence, and the consequent societal impact and threats to international peace and security have encompassed all regions. The complex combination of shifts in travel patterns, fraudulent travel documents, far-reaching and devastating attacks, and communication and social media manipulation has led to a ‘decisive stage’ in the fight against terrorism, which demands a comprehensive, coordinated and appropriate response. INTERPOL is increasingly perceived as a key international partner in the fight against terrorism by national law enforcement authorities and regional and global partners around the world.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Know the meaning of terrorism
- Know the difference between terrorism and insurgency
- Know the meaning of counter-terrorism
- Identify and explain the theories of counter-terrorism

2.3 Understanding Terrorism

“Terrorism” is commonly understood to refer to acts of violence that target civilians in the pursuit of political or ideological aims. In legal terms, although the international community has yet to adopt a comprehensive definition of terrorism, existing declarations, resolutions and universal “sectoral” treaties relating to specific aspects of it define certain acts and core elements. In 1994, the General Assembly’s

Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, set out in its resolution 49/60, stated that terrorism includes “criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the general public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes” and that such acts “are in any circumstances unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other nature that may be invoked to justify them.”

Ten years later, the Security Council, in its resolution 1566 (2004), referred to “criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act”. Later that year, the Secretary-General’s High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change described terrorism as any action that is “intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants, when the purpose of such an act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act” and identified a number of key elements, with further reference to the definitions contained in the 1999 International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism and Security Council resolution 1566 (2004).

2.4 Difference between Terrorism and Insurgency

Insurgency is another difficult-to-define concept. Fundamentally, an insurgency is a civil war characterised by a power asymmetry between belligerent groups. The weaker of these groups constitute 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* [emphasis mine] capability to wage war.’

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 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.

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. Explain the meaning of terrorism_____
2. Differentiate between terrorism and insurgency_____
3. Both terrorism and insurgency have no universally accepted definitions. True or false?

2.5 Understanding Counter-Terrorism

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. Counter-terrorism can be classified according to four theoretical models: *Defensive*, *Reconciliatory*, *Criminal-Justice*, and *War*. Generally speaking, each model contains differences in threat perception, how to guard against that threat, how to frame terrorism in the law and constitution and which agents’ effect counter-terrorism.

Counterterrorism Models				
Model	Defensive	Reconciliatory	Criminal-Justice	War
General Features	Terrorism is a physical and psychological threat	Terrorism is a political problem	Terrorism is a crime	Terrorism is an act of war
Goals and Methods of the State	Protecting potential targets and victims	Addressing the root causes of terrorism	Arrest and punish terrorists according to the rule of law	Eliminate terrorism through military force
Legal Aspects	Corresponds in most cases to the elements of liberal democracy, with exceptions when practices undermine civil liberties	Corresponds with the law	Corresponds with the law and is subject to constant judicial oversight	Corresponds to laws of war, or may ignore law entirely
Agents	Police, private security companies, firefighters and paramedics, other state and municipal agencies	Politicians, policymakers, brokers, diplomats	Police and the criminal justice system	Intelligence and military units

Source: Ami Pedahzur, *The Israeli Secret Services and the Struggle against Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), Table 1.1.

2.5.1 The UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy: is a unique global instrument to enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. Through its adoption by consensus in 2006, all UN Member States agreed for the first time to a common strategic and operational approach to fighting terrorism. The Strategy does not only send a clear message that terrorism is unacceptable in all its forms and manifestations but it also resolves to take practical steps, individually and collectively, to prevent and combat terrorism. Those practical steps include a wide array of measures ranging from strengthening state capacity to counter terrorist threats to better coordinating UN System's counter-terrorism activities. The UN General Assembly reviews the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy every two years, making it a living document attuned to Member States' counter-terrorism priorities. Following the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the General Assembly decided in May 2020 to postpone the seventh biennial review of the Strategy to its seventy-fifth session. The review will thus coincide with the landmark UN75 anniversary of the Organization but also the fifteenth anniversary of the Strategy, and the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the Security Council resolution which established the Counter-Terrorism Committee in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. All Member States take part in the review of the Strategy as part of the work of the General Assembly. To assist him in steering this intergovernmental process, the President of the General Assembly has appointed the Permanent Representatives of Oman and Spain to act as co-facilitators. UNOCT will support the co-facilitators as substantive secretariat. The pillars of the UN

Global Counter Terrorism Strategy include: Addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism; Measures to prevent and combat terrorism; Measures to build states' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism, and, to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in that regard.

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. Explain the meaning of Counter-Terrorism
2. Identify the four theoretical models for classifying counter-terrorism.
3. Mention one of the pillars of the UN Counterterrorism strategy.

2.6 Theories of Counter-Terrorism

2.6.1 Ideology (jihadism)

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 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

2.6.2 Root causes

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.

2.6.3 State sponsorship

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’Etat*) 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 programmes; 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

2.6.4 Rational choice

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 a 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.

2.6.4 Group dynamics

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 approach 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 dellaPorta, 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 dellaPorta, “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.

2.6.5 Public Policy Theory

Basically, public policy theory of counter-terrorism focuses on policies formulated to deal with the problem of terrorism in the society. Essentially, it centers mainly on the decision-making processes that led to the formulation of such policies. It is therefore largely concerned with the policy environment and the actors within it.

The literature on public policy is extensively theorized, as opposed to the literature on counter-terrorism, thereby offering an interesting vantage point to analyze counter-terrorism policymaking. While there is no single consensus definition of “public policy”, it is generally understood to include the actions and measures adopted by a government, and often also the processes or intentions that led to adopting these. Public policy theory helps us understand why policies change (or not), and how.

To explain change, it is first important to understand some of the most fundamental concepts of public policy theory. To begin with, it is widely accepted that policymakers do not operate in a context of “comprehensive rationality”, which would assume that they have full knowledge of all problems and potential solutions, and are therefore in a position to decide rationally between all possible policy options. In fact, they are constrained by “bounded rationality”, which limits their ability to gather and process policy-relevant information. In other words, policymakers “are faced with incomplete knowledge of the policy environment and the likely consequences of their solutions.” In this sense, most policies are designed on a “good enough” knowledge basis, rather than being based on the most efficient response, as recommended notably by the advocates of “evidence-based policymaking”. This is an important point, since much research on counter-terrorism wrongly assumes strategic rationality of governments and CT policymakers. Rather, counter-terrorism policy should instead be recognized for being the result of “political negotiation and organizational practice,” and “a reflection of the domestic political process.”

2.6.6 De-Radicalization Theory

De-radicalization theory draws from the background terrorists are first radicalized, before engaging in terrorist activities. Therefore, to successfully deal with terrorism, terrorists should be subjected to a de-radicalization process.

Before consideration is given to term "deradicalization" and the difficulties of applying it under certain circumstances, it is necessary to examine in more detail what the words "radicalization", "violent extremism" and "terrorism" are understood to mean. During the aftermath of 9/11, radicalization was portrayed as a constantly moving escalator of attitudes and behaviors that transported disaffected individuals (predominantly Muslims) from a condition of societal normality into the realm of actions and behaviours designated by the term "terrorism".

Time has demonstrated that the reality is significantly more complex than a single definition can convey and that there are still many areas that need

to be explored. For this discussion, radicalization is understood to be a complex, dynamic, and non-linear process of change in the mindset of an individual that leads over time to a significant alteration in world-view, perception of external events, and his/her internal understanding of them. As these changes occur, they can be reflected in the individual's behavior, which can ultimately – in certain individuals, escalate to the point of engaging in violence, violent extremism, or terrorism.

The Table 1 shows how three main types of deradicalization program can be derived according to the type of behavior they target, the wider societal conditions under which the behavior takes place, and the desired end state the behavior is used to achieve (or to try to achieve).

Table 1– The derivation of the required program type (based on targeted behavior, social conditions, and desired end state)

Type of behavior targeted	Dominant societal conditions under which behavior is exhibited	Desired end state	Type of program required
Insurgency Terrorism	High intensity conflict Low intensity conflict	Cessation of violence	Deradicalization
Transition to terrorism Violent extremism	Non-violent 'normality' predominates	Prevention of violence or further violence	Counter-radicalization

2.6.7 Preventive Theory (Against Violent Extremism)

Preventive theory of deradicalization presupposes that You can't prevent violent extremism, unless you commit to building peace and security. We know that violent extremism rarely happens in a vacuum. It is one possible outcome of conflict, inequality and injustice. What drives someone to join an extremist group differs from place to place and from person to person.

Strengthening the rule of law, repealing discriminatory legislation, implementing policies and laws that combat discrimination, marginalization and exclusion in law and in practice must be an essential component of any response to the threat posed by violent extremism.

2.7 Pedahzur's Four theoretical models of Counterterrorism

Another perspective is provided by Pedahzur (2009) who provided us with four theoretical models of counterterrorism, which are: *defensive, reconciliatory, criminal justice and war processes*.

The defensive model: of CT views terrorism as physical and psychological threat. The goal of CT is the protection of potential targets and victims by the state security bodies such as the police and intelligence units.

The reconciliatory model: views CT as a political problem, which should be addressed by the state actors, policy makers and dialogue by political agents including politicians, the military, religious actors and diplomatic representatives and employment of domestic and international law.

The criminal-justice model: posits that terrorism is a crime and should be treated as such. This model posits that a perpetrator should be arrested by the police and punished through the criminal justice system.

The War model: does not regard terrorism as a criminal issue, but as a national security issue. This model relies primarily on the use of military power, coercion and retaliation as a counterterrorism strategy.

A comprehensive CT strategy should combine the use of these models for effective outcomes.

2.8 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 will examine 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 a comprehensive mapping of the predominant theories of terrorism and their associated actions for CT.

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. Identify Pedahzur's Four theoretical models of Counterterrorism
2. What is the major tenet of the "root causes theory" of counterterrorism?
3. What is the major counterterrorism action proposed by the rational choice theory?

2.9 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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2.10. Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs1

1. Terrorism is commonly understood to refer to acts of violence that target civilians in the pursuit of political or ideological aims.
2. 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.
3. True

Answers to SAEs2

1. 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.
2. (A) *Defensive*, (b) *Reconciliatory*, (c) *Criminal-Justice*, (d) *War*.
3. Addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism

Answers to SAEs3

1. (A) *Defensive*, (b) *Reconciliatory*, (c) *Criminal-Justice*, (d) *War*.
2. 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.
3. According to the rational choice terrorists are indeed rational actors, it follows that manipulating their cost-benefit calculations may be an effective tool for deterring terrorism. Counterterrorism policies should target raising the costs of terrorism or reducing the benefits, political or otherwise

UNIT 3 THEORIES OF DIPLOMACY

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Understanding Diplomacy
- 3.4 Theories of Diplomacy
- 3.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.6 Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

International relations has always been largely driven by diplomacy, be it traditional or modern. It is within the context of diplomacy that actors within the international system – state and non-state, articulate their interests and communicate the same to other actors, with the view to securing or achieving them. Diplomacy defines the complex relationships that take place among international actors within the international system. Whereas international relations centers on the entire relationships or interactions among international actors in the international system, diplomacy particularly focuses on amicable or otherwise processes of negotiating contending interests of the actors. Towards a proper and balanced understanding of diplomacy, it is important to have a good grasp of the theories of diplomacy. This is the objective of this unit.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Know the meaning of diplomacy
- Identify and explain the theories of diplomacy

3.3 Understanding Diplomacy

Diplomacy, broadly defined as the peaceful dialogue and interaction between political units, is as old as civilization itself. The first known peace treaty was signed about 2300 BC between a king of Ebla, in what is today Syria, and the king of Assyria. The Amarna tablets record the diplomatic correspondence between Egypt and Syrian rulers more than 1400 years ago, while Genesis 14 talks of Abram's "treaty of alliance" with Amorite kings. From the eighth to the third century BC, China was divided among several "warring states" that conducted diplomacy as well as made war on each other in order to survive and succeed, as Sun Tzu's

writings indicate. Other early civilizations offer similar examples of diplomatic activity.

Modern diplomacy has roots in the modern state of Renaissance Italy, which evolved a new type of political organization and developed a new kind of diplomacy that met its needs. Here, the role of Florentine political thinker Niccolò Machiavelli in providing a theoretical basis for the new state and for the new diplomacy used to accomplish its goals is quite instructive. Machiavelli gave directions to rulers of the new states – whether monarchies, principalities, or republics on how to be successful in an international system characterized by constant interaction among geographically sovereign units for power, influence, and security. Also, the parallel development of the modern sovereign or Westphalian state and the modern diplomacy that serves it is important in the understanding of diplomacy. Again, contemporary understanding of diplomacy looks at the application of modern diplomacy to the classic European age of grand strategy and the balance of power from 1648 to the First World War. Finally, focus is given to characteristics of the state, the nature of the international system, and the role of diplomacy as an element of national power in the contemporary world.

In the diplomacy literature, both practitioners of and theorists regarding diplomacy provide several definitions of diplomacy that are state-centric, omitting non-state actors. However, any definition of diplomacy has to be inclusive because non-state actors also participate in diplomacy. There are also misconceptions about the differences between diplomacy, foreign policy, and international relations (IR).

Diplomacy is a subset of international relations that is typically focused more narrowly around the process of conducting negotiations between representatives of different nations or, in some cases, corporations from different countries.

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. Modern diplomacy has roots in the modern state in Renaissance _____?
2. _____ is the Florentine political thinker that provided the theoretical basis for the new state and for the new diplomacy
3. Theorists regard diplomacy as major a _____ centric activity

3.4 Theories of Diplomacy

3.4.1 Realism

According to realism, states exist within an anarchic international system in which they are ultimately dependent on their own capabilities, or power, to further their national interests. Accordingly, the foreign policies of states are formulated toward achieving their national interests. It does not matter the morality or otherwise of the procedure such national interests are achieved. The most important thing is that a state's interest is achieved and secured. Here, emphasis is largely laid on the capabilities of a state/actor, hence the quest for greater military and economic capabilities, among several others. A country's huge military and economic capability places it in a better position to impose its will on other states. So, when states engage in any form of diplomacy – bilateral or multilateral, it is doing so basically to secure its interest.

3.4.2 Liberalism

Liberals also argue that international diplomacy can be a very effective way to get states to interact with each other honestly and support nonviolent solutions to problems. With the proper institutions and diplomacy, Liberals believe that states can work together to maximize prosperity and minimize conflict.

3.4.3 Constructivism

In international relations, constructivism is a social theory that asserts that significant aspects of international relations are shaped by ideational factors (which are historically and socially constructed), not simply material 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 is the major tenet of the realist theory on diplomacy?
2. State the position of liberalism on the role of diplomacy in international relations
3. Outline the assumption of constructivism on diplomacy

3.5.4 Marxism

Marxism as a theory of international relations rejects the realist and liberal views and focuses only on the economic and material aspects (relationships and conflicts) thus; it is materialistic in its orientation and tends to overlook other forms of non-economic aspects of world politics.

3.4.5 Feminism

Feminist theory explores both inequality in gender relations and the constitution of gender. It is best understood as both an intellectual and a normative project. The feminist agenda in International Relations has recently drawn attention to gender issues in diplomacy, focusing mainly, though not exclusively, on analysing the trajectories of female diplomats in the institution. Though scarce, these studies approach the topic primarily via national case studies, resorting to the concept of gender to examine the power structures based on ideals of masculinity and femininity, which establish patterns of inequality and discrimination within the institution.

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. What is the major tenet of the Marxist theory with respect to diplomacy?
2. State the position of feminism on the role of diplomacy in global relations
3. Which of these theories seeks to establish the patterns of inequality and discrimination within international institutions?

3.5 Summary

In this unit, we sought to deepen your understanding of diplomacy. We noted that diplomacy defines the complex relationships that take place among international actors within the international system. Theoretical perspectives help us to have a proper and balanced understanding of diplomacy. Major theories of diplomacy examined include realism, liberalism, constructivism, marxism and feminism.

3.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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3.7 Possible Answers to Self- Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs1

1. Italy
2. Niccolò Machiavelli
3. State

Answers to SAEs2

1. According to realism, states exist within an anarchic international system in which they are ultimately dependent on their own capabilities, or power, to further their national interests.
2. Liberals argue that international diplomacy can be a very effective way to get states to interact with each other honestly and support nonviolent solutions to problems.
3. Constructivism is a social theory that asserts that significant aspects of international relations are shaped by ideational factors, which are historically and socially constructed, not simply material factors.

Answers to SAEs3

1. Marxism as a theory of international relations rejects the realist and liberal views and focuses only upon the economic and material aspects (relationships and conflicts) thus; it is materialistic in its orientation and tends to overlook other forms of non-economic aspects of the world politics.
2. Feminist theory explores both inequality in gender relations and the constitution of gender. The feminist agenda in International Relations has recently drawn attention to gender issues in diplomacy, focusing mainly, though not exclusively, on analysing the trajectories of female diplomats in the institution.
3. Feminist theory

UNIT 4 TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Types of Diplomacy
- 4.4 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.5 Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

Having gained a fair understanding of the concept of diplomacy from Unit 3 of this module, this Unit focuses on the types of diplomacy, which states and or actors employ at any point to pursue their goals/objectives.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- Identify the types of diplomacy
- Explain the different types of diplomacy
- Differentiate one form of diplomacy from another.

4.3 Types of Diplomacy

We can broadly divide diplomacy into two as the old diplomacy period and the new diplomacy period.

OLD DIPLOMACY PERIOD

This is also known as “Ancient diplomacy”, and it was in the form of diplomacy between Ancient Greece, Rome, Ancient Egypt and the Hittites, and diplomacy managed in Ad-hoc.

ANCIENT GREEK DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy in ancient Greece was through ambassadors, who seemed to be a consular (proxenos) institution. The information obtained as a result of the diplomacy made here determined the fate of the states. In general, diplomats were known as messengers in Ancient Greece.

DIPLOMACY IN ANCIENT ROME

When we look at the field of diplomacy in Rome, he applied bilateral diplomacy. It was in the form of diplomacy against its own people and foreign people who came to their country. Diplomacy applied to foreigners was in the form of "ius gentium" law and belonged to traders,

travelers and tourists. The diplomatic law that he applied to his own citizens was in the form of "civitas gentium".

DIPLOMACY IN HITTITES AND ANCIENT EGYPT

It is in the form of diplomacy, which is one of the examples of old diplomacy and is the result of the "Kadesh" agreement made between the Egyptians and the Ancient Hittites in 1278 BC. As a result of this agreement, peace was achieved between the two sides.

AD HOC DIPLOMACY

This type of diplomacy was made in Italy in the 15th century. This type of diplomacy was carried out by the ambassadors of the state. This diplomacy was described by the public as lying, cheating, and cunning.

PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY has emerged after the French Revolution and within the Congress of Vienna, The Hague Peace Conferences. We can say that the new era of diplomacy was generally implemented in the 17th and 18th centuries. The French Revolution was the first to stand out in these periods. Until 1789, the French spread over a large area by applying diplomacy in Europe. We know that as a result of the Vienna Congress held in 1818, the borders of Europe were determined and the foundations of international organizations were laid as a result of this congress. We can say that the Hague Peace Conferences agreement, which was prepared in 1899 and accepted in 1907, is another diplomacy method that brought order in Europe. As a result of the diplomatic negotiations, these conventions and conferences shed light on the establishment of international organizations such as the Universal Postal Union, the UPU, the UN, and the League of Nations. Another important method of diplomacy is preventive diplomacy.

In this report, preventive diplomacy is stated as ensuring international peace and security of countries. The UN secretary of preventive diplomacy here included the issue of reducing nuclear weapons and increasing economic relations between countries (AVAR, 2016).

Former UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in his 'An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping', report presented to the UN Security Council extensively advocated the employment of preventive diplomacy as a means of conflict prevention within and among states.

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. Mention two types of the old diplomacy
2. Describe Adhoc diplomacy
3. Preventive Diplomacy is said to emerge after the _____ Revolution

NEW DIPLOMACY PERIOD

The new period diplomacy started in the period between 17-18 Centuries. An example of the new period diplomacy is seen as the diplomacy that emerged after the French Revolution and made during the Congress of Vienna and the Hague Peace Conferences. Types of diplomacy within the scope of new diplomacy resulting from globalization are outlined and explained below.

MEDIATION DIPLOMACY

This is also referred to as “third-party intervention”. It basically refers to the role played by a state or any actor (international organization etc) to help belligerent states/actors arrive at amicable settlement. For example

MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

It is a type of diplomacy in which three or more states participate. This type of diplomacy is also called Conference diplomacy. This type of diplomacy was created as a result of the Westphalia Congress in 1648. One of the best examples of multilateral diplomacy has been the League of Nations. The League of Nations was founded in Geneva on January 10, 1920 by Woodrow Wilson. However, because the states did not have a common thought and management system, this organization was dissolved in time for the girl. Another example of multilateral diplomacy has been the UN organization. This organization was founded in 1945 after the 2nd World War as a result of the membership in 51 countries, and it is a well-established organization that still continues its diplomacy function today.

DUAL DIPLOMACY

This is also known as “bilateral diplomacy”. This type of diplomacy constitutes all bilateral diplomatic contacts made through the authorities of the two countries. If a state has an embassy or consulate in any country, it continuously conducts bilateral diplomacy with that country.

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

All kinds of diplomatic activities that are subject to the relations of a state with the citizens of other countries are called "public diplomacy". Diplomacy is done by an official institution that represents a state, for example, by ambassadors and consulates affiliated with the ministry of foreign affairs, and in this type of diplomacy, businessmen, artists, NGOs of that country are carried out through universities. Another example of this type of diplomacy is the individuals who represent their state in the international Olympics. The main target audience in public diplomacy is people. In other words, this type of diplomacy is a way of introducing a positive approach towards their own states by introducing their own lifestyle, culture, historical background and traditions to the citizens of other states in the international arena.

CIVIL DIPLOMACY

Civil diplomacy is the type of diplomacy we call the diplomatic activities carried out individually between the non-official representatives of the countries. For example, at an international academic conference, we can show that writers and academics representing different countries share their views on a common topic. Today, we can say that civil diplomacy is more effective in diplomatic relations. In the axis of globalization, which we call the new World order, Civil Diplomacy is carried out through 'civil organizations'. Organizations such as IHH, the Human Rights and Freedoms and Humanitarian Relief Foundation, or UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Aid Fund, carry out a kind of civil diplomacy during the war (Umut İslam, 2012).

SUMMIT DIPLOMACY

Summit diplomacy type is high-level diplomacy carried out with the participation of the heads of states themselves. The developments in communication and transportation technology in the second half of the 20th century have developed summit diplomacy in the bipolar system. The most important advantage of this type of diplomacy is that it brings the most authoritative people on the subject of discussion and ensures that the result is reached in a shorter time. For example, the 1979 Camp David Accords signed between Egypt and Israel were accepted as a result of the negotiations between Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin.

CONFERENCE DIPLOMACY

This multilateral diplomacy has a closed feature. It is accepted that it emerged with the 1648 Congress of Westphalia. Conference diplomacy, which means solving the problems between European states through meetings, gained importance after the 1815 Vienna Congress. European states have tried to solve various problems at conferences. This diplomacy was also important in the interwar period.

PARLIAMENTARY DIPLOMACY

Parliamentary diplomacy is how two or more parliaments conduct an ongoing dialogue with regard to key international issues.

In the interwar period, the type of parliamentary diplomacy started to develop with the League of Nations. The increase in the number of international organizations and the globalization of the UN has increased the importance of parliamentary diplomacy. This diplomacy has an open diplomacy feature. The parties to diplomacy are the members of the said organization.

SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY

Shuttle diplomacy is the movement of diplomats between countries whose leaders refuse to talk directly to each other, to try to settle the argument between them. The shuttle diplomacy, which emerged as a result of the ease of transportation, provides the opportunity to solve the problem with the method of continuous contact between the parties. Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger has used shuttle diplomacy a lot in solving problems related to the Middle East.

NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY

This type of diplomacy has emerged as nuclear weapons affect the balance of power in the international system. Nuclear diplomacy has been used by the United States and Russia. The parties have negotiated nuclear weapons or defense systems. As another example, we can show the P5+1 Nuclear Agreement between the years 2006-2015 between the UNSC-Iran, the USA and Western states. It was concluded positively on 14 July 2015.

PREVENTIVE DIPLOMACY

Preventive diplomacy has been established with the UN organization for the purpose of keeping the peace. This type of diplomacy carried out by the general secretary of the organization aimed to reveal some solutions to various security problems.

SILENT DIPLOMACY

Another type of diplomacy that emerged within the framework of the UN and its affiliates is silent diplomacy. Silent diplomacy is used by small states of Asia and Latin America, especially Africa, who cannot open diplomatic representations for financial reasons.

CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

We can say that the type of Cultural Diplomacy emerged in the last century. This type of diplomacy is used by avoiding hard ways by using soft power like the type of public diplomacy mentioned above. There are 5 types of this type of diplomacy. These are:

- Cultural Traditions
- Religion
- Social Structure
- Economic System
- Art Space

Cultural diplomacy has become one of the leading foreign policy tools of states that want to improve their image and increase their prestige in the international arena. Cultural diplomacy broadly; It can be defined as the way of expressing oneself correctly and knowing the addressee correctly by sharing ideas, thoughts, worldviews, lifestyles, aesthetic understanding, pleasures and tastes.

ENVIRONMENTAL DIPLOMACY

The world has stepped into the mechanization and technological age with the 19th century, and this has led to the pollution of the world's ecological order. As a result of population growth and ecological pollution, environmental problems such as water scarcity, decrease in biological diversity, nuclear tests, and climate change have frequently been the subject of the agenda in the international arena. Due to the reasons stated, it has been observed that human life has begun to be negatively affected. It has been observed that the high level of carbon dioxide in some regions causes diseases by negatively affecting the lives of people residing in those countries. Negotiations for regulating such matters and protecting them in a legal framework cover the type of environmental diplomacy. This type of diplomacy includes the establishment of appropriate environmental regulations and the termination of ecological pollution by making environmental problems in the international arena in the form of conferences through diplomacy.

HUMANITARIAN DIPLOMACY

Humanitarian diplomacy, like other types of diplomacy, emerged in the 21st century. As a result of the wars in the international environment with the globalizing world, 'humanitarian diplomacy' has started to be important like other diplomacy fields. Although this type of diplomacy is a young type of diplomacy, it has become an advanced type of diplomacy as a result of the increasing wars in the international arena. We can state that the most important examples of this type of diplomacy are the International Red Crescent and Red Cross Federation. These institutions, which comply with humanitarian principles in every field and all types of war, have great importance in the development of this type of diplomacy. Some of the actors active in the field of humanitarian diplomacy are as follows:

- International Red Crescent

- Red Cross Federation – International Committee of the Red Cross/ICRC
- Turkish Coordination Cooperation Agency-TIKA
- International Labor Organization/ILO
- Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency – AFAD
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization-UNESCO
- Oxfam International – An organization working for global poverty reduction
- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees/UNHCR.

The above-mentioned organizations and organizations have carried out important activities in terms of humanitarian diplomacy in the international arena and continue their humanitarian aid activities today. This type of diplomacy is a type of diplomacy in states with armed conflicts by drawing the states or parties to the relevant issue, namely humanitarian aid.

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. Explain the difference between old diplomacy and new diplomacy
2. Briefly describe shuttle diplomacy
3. What is the significance of environmental diplomacy?

COERCIVE DIPLOMACY

Coercive diplomacy is a type of diplomacy without resorting to war. One of the best examples of this type of diplomacy is the economic sanctions and embargo imposed by the US and Western states on Iran, and we can show your deterrence strategy. The main reason for Iran to sit on the table for the P5+1 Nuclear Agreement, the economic sanctions imposed by the USA and Western states for years, pushed Iran to compelling diplomacy.

HARD DIPLOMACY

Hard power diplomacy gained qualification as a concept in the discipline of international relations as a result of the advice of the political strategy of cruelty and fear to the princes in Italy by Niccolo Machiavelli 400 years ago in history. This type of diplomacy is generally a form of power that is at the forefront of the classical approach. On the other hand, in the classical approach, states with military power dominate value states and have the authority to control world affairs.

There are 3 types of hard power diplomacy today:

- Military intervention
- Repressive diplomacy
- Economic sanctions. For the above-mentioned elements to be fulfilled, the armed forces, economic resources and other resources must be adequately compatible with the current conjuncture.

But for the hard power to reach its goal, it has to go through three stages. These are as follows:

1. Availability of sufficient hard power supply. At this stage, the hard power is effective in the decision-making and plan development of the party.
2. It is a form of expressly stating that the available resources will be used if the desired agreement is not reached in diplomacy. At this stage, it is aimed to send a message to the other party that the use of hard power is not desired, but can be used when necessary.
3. This stage is the use of hard power. It is a form of forcibly persuading the other party with the use of hard power.

SOFT POWER DIPLOMACY

The term "Soft Power", which was used for the first time in the late 1980s by Joseph Nye, one of the theorists of International Relations, means "the ability of any state to impose its own policy and political will on another state, without using force or force on another state, described as "proficiency". In order for countries to remain superpower and prestigious states in the international arena, they must have the ability to have a cultural and ideological influence on the people residing in the lands they take with their democratic methods, once they win the war. They must also conquer the minds and hearts of these people. Today, the concept of soft power is very important for the Russian Federation. Russia is trying to use soft power in order not to lose its power in the Caucasus and the Black Sea region. When we look at the last years, it is seen that Russia has always applied hard power diplomacy. The most obvious example is the situation in Crimea in Ukraine. But the Russian Federation saw that it could use "hard power" diplomacy in Crimea in the short term. As it can be seen, in order for a state to achieve stable domestic economic development, there is always a need for mechanisms of "soft power" diplomacy for a long-term mutually beneficial and international partnership. In this context, the "soft power" policy in diplomacy is seen as important in terms of creating an attractive image of the state.

There are three ways to apply Soft Power diplomacy. These are:

1. Cultural
2. Ideological
3. Institutional

SUMMIT DIPLOMACY

Summit diplomacy is a type of conference diplomacy used by international governments in which the heads of state meet for face-to-face negotiations. In 1950, Winston Churchill was the first person to describe a meeting of leaders of major power countries as a summit. The annual summit of Heads of State and Government in the United Nations General Assembly is another example of summit diplomacy.

CONFERENCE DIPLOMACY

Conference diplomacy can be defined as that part of the management of relations between governments and of relations between governments and intergovernmental organizations that takes place in international conferences.

Conference diplomacy is not just one of the most powerful multilateral instruments to peacefully address questions related to the post-conflict balance of power. It is today also the major tool in addressing global problems, identifying innovative solutions, and engaging in groundbreaking strategies for the sake of millions of people. The Post-2015 United Nations Development Agenda is a case in point. It is therefore an interesting exercise to have been invited to take a fresh look at recent conference diplomacy in the light of the bicentenary of the 1814-1815 Congress of Vienna.

NUCLEAR DIPLOMACY

Also known as “Atomic diplomacy”, it refers to attempts to use the threat of nuclear warfare to achieve diplomatic goals. After the first successful test of the atomic bomb in 1945, U.S. officials immediately considered the potential non-military benefits that could be derived from the American nuclear monopoly. Currently, Russia is employing nuclear diplomacy to try to achieve its war objectives in the ongoing Russo-Ukrainian War.

ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY

Economic diplomacy is the pursuit of economic security within an anarchic international system. A brief review of the contents of the major diplomacy textbooks shows that economic diplomacy is generally defined as the use of traditional diplomatic tools such as intelligence gathering, lobbying, representation, negotiation and advocacy to further the foreign economic policies of the state

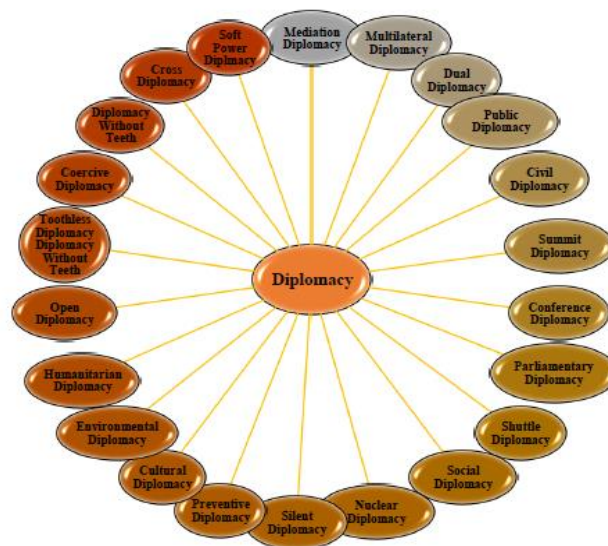
MILITARY DIPLOMACY

Military diplomacy can be defined as a set of activities carried out mainly by the representatives of the defence department, as well as other state institutions, aimed at pursuing the foreign policy interests of the state in

the field of security and defence policy, and whose actions are based on the use of negotiations and other diplomatic instruments. This meaning differentiates military diplomacy from some other related phenomena such as gunboat diplomacy or coercive diplomacy. Military diplomacy as such performs several basic functions, which include the following:

1. Gathering and analysing information on the armed forces and the security situation in the receiving state.
2. Promotion of cooperation, communication, and mutual relations between the armed forces of the sending and the receiving state.
3. Organization of working visits of representatives of the defence authorities and peaceful stay of the military units of the sending state in the receiving state.
4. Support of business contracts with arms and military equipment between the sending and the receiving state.
5. Representation of the sending state and its armed forces at official ceremonies and other events in the receiving state.

Figure 1: Types of Diplomacy



Source: Modified and edited by the author.

2.1 Mediation Diplomacy.

The term I call mediation diplomacy is the policies followed by the 3rd State in order to eliminate the problem in the middle as a result of two or more states failing to reach an agreement on an issue. For

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. Briefly explain the difference between hard diplomacy and soft power diplomacy
2. State one of the basic functions of military diplomacy
3. _____ is a type of conference diplomacy used by international governments in which the heads of state meet for face-to-face negotiations.

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4.5 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs1

1. Greek Diplomacy and Ancient Roman Diplomacy
2. This type of diplomacy was made in Italy in the 15th century. This type of diplomacy was carried out by the ambassadors of the state. This diplomacy was described by the public as lying, cheating, and cunning.
3. French

Answers to SAEs2

1. While old or ancient diplomacy refers to the form of diplomacy between Ancient Greece, Rome, Ancient Egypt and the Hittites, and diplomacy managed in Ad-hoc, the new period diplomacy started from the period between 17-18 Centuries. An example of the new period diplomacy is seen as the diplomacy that emerged after the French Revolution and made during the Congress of Vienna and the Hague Peace Conferences
2. Shuttle diplomacy is the movement of diplomats between countries whose leaders refuse to talk directly to each other, in order to try to settle the argument between them.
3. The significance of environmental diplomacy is that it seeks to establish appropriate environmental regulations and the termination of ecological pollution by making environmental problems in the international arena in the form of conferences through diplomacy.

Answers to SAEs3

1. While hard power diplomacy is a form of forcibly persuading the other party with the use of hard power, soft power diplomacy is seen as the ability of any state to impose its own policy and political will on another state, without using force or force on another state.
2. Promotion of cooperation, communication and mutual relations between the armed forces of the sending and the receiving state.
3. Summit diplomacy

**MODULE 3 HISTORY AND DIPLOMATIC STRATEGIES
FOR PLACING HUMAN SECURITY IN
THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA**

Unit 1	History and Evolution of Human Security
Unit 2	Canadian Diplomacy and the Development of the Human Security Agenda
Unit 3	Japanese Diplomacy and the Development of the Human Security Agenda
Unit 4	Norwegian Diplomacy and the Development of the Human Security Agenda

Unit 1 History and Evolution of Human Security

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 History of Human Security
- 1.4 Evolution of Human Security
- 1.5 Summary
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

1.1 Introduction

This unit provides substantial knowledge on the concept of human security, taking you through its history and breaking down its evolution process since the concept was coined. It analyses the origin of human security and what it has grown to become. The sections of this unit show how the concept of human security came to be and how it was derived from the concept of human rights, both concepts being interdependent. This unit will also delve into the growth of human security into what it is today.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- explain the history of human security.
- describe how the concept of human security has evolved since its inception till date.

1.3 History of Human Security

The concept of human security is not new, but it has had a notable resurgence since the last decade of the twentieth century. Its roots are in a long history of international politics that has referenced the individual and individual rights. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648), in which the subject of freedom and individual rights is considered in juxtaposition to the question of national state security, contains concrete concepts about what security means for the individual. The United States Constitution (1787), the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789) and the Bill of Rights (1791) are the first legal documents that guarantee the protection of human rights and serve as references for human security. The Geneva Conventions, The Hague Conventions, the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and other treaties by the International Committee of the Red Cross, which was established in Geneva in 1863, also contain precursors to Human Security (Tajbakhsh and Chenoy, 2006).

In 1945, the United Nations Organization (UN) was established. The focus of security has thus changed from the state to the individual thanks to the activities of UN organizations like the World Health Organization (WHO), UNICEF, World Food Organization (FAO), Development Program (UNDP), and the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). The actual wealth of a state is its people, according to the UNDP's first Human Development Report from 1990. In contrast to the more conventional security framework, the Security Council resolution (688) of 1991 represented a significant advance in the adoption of human security concepts. Following that, the UN consistently incorporated the human security framework into all its reports and programs. The UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report, which proposed seven dimensions of human security economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security had been fundamental to the adoption and dissemination of the concept of human security (UNDP, 1994).

Four important considerations are important to make the concept of human security workable: (1) Human security is people-centered and takes the following into account: (2) Human security is of global relevance. How do people live in societies? Can they freely express their potential? What chances do they have? It applies to everyone, regardless of their socioeconomic status; (3) The elements of human security are interrelated; and (4) Early prevention is easier to achieve than late intervention. For the comprehension and use of this concept, each of these inquiries is crucial (UNDP, 1994: pp.22-23).

Human security places more emphasis on sudden failures and negative risks that endanger people's lives and general well-being. It also pays more attention to the environment in which threats emerge and countermeasures are created. Human security defends its existence by economic, political, and maybe military means.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

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

1. *The roots of Human Security are in a long history of _____.*
2. *The Treaty of _____ contains concrete concepts about what security means for the individual.*
3. *Name one Convention that contains precursors to Human Security. _____.*
4. *State one UN organization that has changed the focus of security from the state to the individual. _____*
5. *Name 3 dimensions of human security as proposed by The UNDP's 1994 Human Development Report. _____.*
6. *Human security places more emphasis on _____ and _____ that endanger people's lives and general wellbeing.*

1.4 Evolution of Human Security

The idea of human security is based on the understanding that every person has rights and is entitled to respect. The development and growth of the awareness of human rights and consequently, human security which was formally acknowledged in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, occurred as a result of the convergence of various schools of thought throughout history (Aiken, 2009).

Although some writers assert and defend the idea that only western civilization has contributed to the development of the concept of human rights, the awareness of these rights has ancient roots and was shaped by a variety of schools of thought, particularly those founded on various religions, philosophies, and legal systems. With this viewpoint, it is feasible to pinpoint the first historical phase of the establishment and evolution of human rights as being influenced by religious and classical philosophical views on natural rights, which acknowledged that everyone had inherent, absolute, universal, and inalienable rights. There is no denying that religious and philosophical values were more articulated and implemented legally and politically in Western Civilization (Acharya, 2001).

By creating ideas about human nature, natural law, natural rights, social justice, moral responsibility, and the role of governments in defending and protecting their citizens' rights, diverse philosophical traditions of those without any religious overtones also made a significant contribution to raising awareness of the universality of human rights. The Confucian schools of moral philosophy in China and the Hammurabi-supported Babylonian school stand out among these traditions. While religious and philosophical doctrines enhanced the theoretical aspect of human dignity and the ensuing universal duties and obligations, the actual application of these ideas over centuries in the fields of politics, economics, society, and the arts led to theoretical and practical changes that were codified into laws in various civilizations (Gordon, 2003). Hammurabi's Code and the extraordinary body of Roman law that distinguished *Ius Gentium* (law of the peoples) from *Ius Naturae* (natural law) must be mentioned among them (Langlois, 2009).

The five centuries that make up the Renaissance, the Reformation, the creation of national states, the Enlightenment, the declaration of independence of the United States of America, and the French Revolution would be considered the second stage, during which there was a monumental advancement in the vision and consciousness of human rights. Individual rights and freedom were prioritized during this time, and in some circumstances, they even became absolute, from a logical and enlightenment philosophy and *iusnaturae* legal standpoint. Grotius considered independence and natural law about a particular political or religious power and the ensuing need to acknowledge the natural rights of all people who, due to their shared humanity, should be treated in a just and equal manner, regardless of their religious or social status (Langlois, 2009).

Beginning in the 19th century, substantial efforts were made to safeguard human security and justice as well as to protect human dignity as a result of the inclusion of human rights in national constitutions. The end of the slave trade, the rise of organizations in civil society and religion dedicated to helping migrants, the exploited, and the excluded, as well as the founding of the International Committee of the Red Cross to aid combat casualties, were among the most significant of these advancements (Suhrke, 1999).

The two World Wars' devastating upheavals prompted the UN to be established and international legislation to protect human rights to be passed, starting with the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration was a turning point in the history of human rights and helped to raise awareness of human security. The Declaration is not a binding court order. It has nevertheless evolved into the Magna Carta and

a globally acknowledged legal and ethical framework for international, regional, and national human rights systems as a result of the widespread acceptance and application of its ideas as law. It also acts as a reference for other regional and global declarations and agreements on civil and political rights as well as economic, social, and cultural freedoms (Aiken, 2009).

Civil society organizations and international organizations have taken on a crucial role in denouncing human insecurity and lack of protection and security, as manifested in violence, hunger, poverty, preventable diseases, and man-made disasters, with the end of the Cold War and the global process of democratization. In this environment, a process to reform the notion of security began in the 1990s with the aid of various efforts and contributions from several disciplines, including the domains of development, international relations, political economics, legal philosophy, and human rights (Black, 2014). Security began to change from its traditional emphasis on the defense of state sovereignty and territory against external and internal threats to one that gave individual security primary priority. The UN Development Programme coined the phrase "human security", focusing on the protection of the populace rather than the territorial sovereignty of nations, as a result of this paradigm shift. According to this paradigm shift, the state's responsibility in areas of security is to work in conjunction with the social and political actors on its territory as well as those of other states to advance the security, rights, and development of every person. In this sense, the legitimacy of national security is contingent upon the protection of human security (Suhrke, 1999).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

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

1. *The idea of human security is based on the understanding that every person has _____*
2. *The first historical phase of the establishment and evolution of human rights was influenced by _____ and _____ views on natural rights.*
3. *Beginning in the _____ century, substantial efforts were made to safeguard human security.*
4. *What organizations have taken on a crucial role in denouncing human insecurity and lack of protection and security?*
5. *What Programme coined the phrase "human security"?*

1.5 Summary

Conclusively, human security is a people-centered concept of global relevance that has resurged since the last decade of the twentieth century, with its roots laid in international politics. Some of the first legal documents that contain references to human security are The United States Constitution (1787), and the Bill of Rights (1791). The concept is further promoted by many United Nations organizations that concern themselves with the well-being of humanity. Human security evolved out of human rights which are a concept that is ingrained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). The concept of human security evolved through religious and classical philosophical views on natural rights to the Renaissance era and even through the French Revolution to what it is today, the major catalyst being the activities of the United Nations. Today civil society organizations and international organizations are keeping the concept alive through their collective efforts.

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1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to SAEs 1

1. *International Politics.*
2. *Westphalia*
3. *The Geneva Conventions or The Hague Conventions*
4. *World Health Organization (WHO), UNICEF, World Food Organization (FAO), Development Program (UNDP), or the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).*
5. *economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security, and/or political security*
6. *sudden failures and negative risks*

Answers to SAEs 2

1. *Rights.*
2. *Religious and classical philosophical*
3. *19th*
4. *Civil society organizations and international organizations.*
5. *The UN Development Programme.*

**Unit 2 Canadian Diplomacy and the Development of the
Human Security Agenda**

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Understanding Canadian diplomacy
- 2.4 Development of human security agenda in Canadian diplomacy
- 2.5 Human security and foreign policy issues in Canada
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

2.1 Introduction

This unit breaks down the features of Canadian diplomacy and explains what its foreign policies focus on. The development of human security in Canada is also explored as the pre-and post-World War activities of the country are analyzed to decipher its stance on adhering to human security practices. Finally, this unit examines the foreign policy issues troubling the Canadian government particularly about its human security network.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- adequately describe Canadian diplomacy.
- explain how the concept of Human Security in Canadian diplomacy came to be.
- evaluate how the pursuit of Human Security has caused foreign policy issues in Canada.

2.3 Understanding Canadian diplomacy

Early 1990s foreign policy reviews underlined that Canada's national interests require a global rather than a regional foreign policy and, as a result, a significant and productive diplomatic presence. The necessity to "make painful decisions" was echoed throughout the numerous discussions leading up to the first two National Forums on Canada's International Relations (1994 and 1995), as well as the final parliamentary reports on foreign policy and defense (Potter, 1996). A fundamental conflict between Canada's management of its international affairs as a more active global player in an era of globalization and interdependence

and a more disengaged actor has been brought to light by growing domestic fiscal strains.

Many of the tools for influencing global thought are at the disposal of Canadian diplomacy. Although significant budget cuts in the 1990s resulted in a noteworthy reduction in the number of Canadian diplomats stationed abroad, Canada still brings to the table several impressive assets, including a physical network of 160 missions connected by the most sophisticated information technology infrastructure of any foreign ministry in the world. Canada has created standards that enable it to be more agile than many of its larger counterparts due to its significant experience dealing with civil society groups on delicate international trade and security matters. Since a parliamentary review in 1995, the promotion of Canada's culture and values overseas and the classic and conventional manifestation of "public" diplomacy has been positioned as the "third pillar" of Canada's foreign policy (Potter, 2002).

Canada has a history of mediating conflicts, participates in important international accords and regimes, and has done a good job of helping the developing world; thus, the post-Cold War environment is ideal for it to exercise its soft power capabilities. Canada's position as a communications and information technology innovator, which is acknowledged internationally, enables it to spread its ideas more quickly and widely than other nations. It has taken Canada some time to recognize that it has not been utilizing this power to its full potential. There are now indications that this unrealized potential is being acknowledged (Jones, 2013).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

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

1. *What is causing the conflict between Canada's management of its international affairs as a more active global player rather than a more disengaged actor?*
2. *Significant budget cuts in the _____ resulted in a noteworthy reduction in the number of Canadian diplomats stationed abroad*
3. *A parliamentary review in 1996 promoted Canada's culture and values overseas. True or False?*
4. *Canada is recognized globally as a _____ and _____ innovator.*

2.4 Development of human security agenda in Canadian diplomacy

Canada was one of the first nations to formally adopt the Human Security agenda. Because the end of the Cold War did not increase global stability, Canada's then-foreign minister Lloyd Axworthy (1996-2000) urged for an expansion of the security framework to incorporate a wide range of risks in a crucial piece published in 1997. Human security, he asserted, involves far more than the absence of a military threat. It comprises protection from financial hardship, a livable standard of living, and a guarantee of basic human rights. This idea of human security accepts the interconnectedness and mutual reinforcement of the forces impacting human security as well as the complexity of the human environment. However, this piece established the first complete collection of human security challenges that Canada was to put on its national agenda. He had already used the word in speeches given shortly after taking government in 1996. The creation of a peacebuilding capability, the outlawing of anti-personnel landmines, the treatment of children in terms of sexual abuse, child labor, protection from violence, and later a revised approach to development assistance in addition to the promotion of rules-based trade to spur economic development were paramount issues (Small, 2016).

The two components of Canada's strategy were as follows: (i) the country and its foreign minister attempted to advance policy initiatives on specific issues in multilateral fora; and (ii) the diplomatic corps worked to forge alliances of like-minded states and actors drawn from transnational civil society that would support this new comprehensive approach to international security. One may argue that Canada was looking for partners for coordinated human security policy programs at various phases and in diverse locations more generally. However, detractors have frequently criticized the new foreign policy approach as being less significant than the extensive media coverage seemed to indicate, highlighting Canada's reduced involvement in UN peacekeeping missions and significant budget cuts to the foreign ministry and Canada's official development assistance. Canada developed a new paradigm for its approach to foreign policy with the idea of human security and went on to take the lead in its operationalization. Canada initially adopted a broad approach to human security during the first years of its implementation, but ultimately chose to concentrate on the perspective of "freedom from fear" (Riddell-Dixon, 2005).

The uniqueness of Canada's foreign policy was evident even during the Cold War in the focus on peace, security, development, disarmament, international collaboration, and aggressive campaigns for the elimination

of anti-personnel landmines. Canada's "first major accomplishment" was the signature of the Agreement on the Prohibition of the Use of the Anti-Personnel Mines at the Convention in Ottawa (also known as the "Ottawa Treaty" of 1997), which allowed it to continue being a leading voice in the world arena. Canada incorporated a significant portion of the knowledge it has gathered about peacekeeping and disarmament since the Second World War into its human security policy. Examining the Ottawa Process and other Canadian initiatives in that area reveals a creative solution to unresolved disarmament challenges as well as a significant readiness on the side of the government to cooperate with middle powers and civil society organizations. Canada's human security policy reveals the nation's historical commitment to ideas of liberal internationalism, that is, a strong commitment to global and international forms of governance, by calling for reconsideration of the norm of non-intervention and highlighting the need for intervention in cases of gross human rights violations (Greaves, 2012).

Canada's human security agenda was formally categorized into five distinct themes and 22 issues by the middle of the year 2000. As new dangers and opportunities materialized, new problems were introduced. The Ottawa Treaty banning anti-personnel landmines, the Rome Treaty creating the International Criminal Court, the two Security Council resolutions Canada sponsored mandating the protection of civilians in all United Nations (UN) peace operations, and the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) that introduced the idea of state sovereignty were Canada's most notable achievements (Small, 2016). The ICISS, which created the notion of "Responsibility to Protect," (adopted by the General Assembly in the UN reform package of 2006) enabled Canada's foreign policy to reach its zenith in the area of human security (R2P). This was done in reaction to the new circumstances that emerged after the Cold War when civilians became increasingly the focus of conflicts and violence such as the genocide in Rwanda, in 1994.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

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

1. *Canada was one of the last nations to formally adopt the Human Security agenda. True or False?*
2. *Lloyd Axworthy asserted that human security comprises of _____, _____ and _____.*
3. *Name one of the two components of Canada's strategy for developing human security.*
4. *What perspective did Canada choose to concentrate on after initially implementing a broad approach to human security?*

5. *What was Canada's "first major accomplishment" towards human security?*

2.5 Human security and foreign policy issues in Canada

By the second half of Lloyd Axworthy's term as foreign minister from 1996 to 2000, human security had become the guiding principle of Canadian foreign policy. Despite their varying levels of personal commitment, it continued to develop under succeeding Liberal Foreign Ministers, partly because of the logistical and diplomatic momentum Axworthy left behind. But after the Conservatives took power in 2006, the language was discarded, the funding was cut, and Canada stopped being a global proponent of the idea (Furtado, 2008).

The human security agenda essentially represented a change in "the angle of vision" away from a state-centric view of security and toward one that put human security at the center of foreign policy. According to the Canadian interpretation of the concept, human security is advanced by shielding people from violent threats to their lives, rights, or safety. It brought together under one conceptual framework concerns that had previously been seen as separate foreign policy realms, such as democratic government, arms control, human rights, humanitarian aid, and peacekeeping. Since intrastate conflict and state failure were so common in the 1990s, many of the concerns on the agenda have become more urgent. They all entailed hazards to people's security that their own governments either would not or were unable to handle (Greaves, 2012).

Canada's foreign policy concerns regarding human security are attributable to a few factors. One of these is that the likelihood of interstate conflict is much higher in the twenty-first century than it was in the nineties, particularly in light of a resurgent Russia, China's rise to great power status, which is now openly contesting the preexisting security order in Asia, and North Korea's increased danger. Unlike in the 1990s, the human security agenda did not provide solutions for these types of traditional state-centered security issues, and Canada is no longer able to largely delegate the management of these threats to its allies while it attends to issues better suited to its limited resources and limited willingness to pay. Although they must compete for limited political attention, diplomatic ability, and financial resources, state-centered security concerns are a reality that Canada must address (MacLean, 2009).

In addition, even while it is conceivable to develop a human security strategy for combating terrorism that is based on tackling the causes of

violent extremism, many terrorist organizations operate wholly outside of any normative framework that Canada recognizes. The human security tools and approaches can, at best, provide a partial defense against the security risks posed by these terrorist organizations and those who support them. Finally, human security is no longer a fresh concept in terms of diplomatic and political "propaganda." The phrase is now frequently used in multilateral debates. Some of its criteria those relating to the protection of civilians—are already well-established in UN policy. For example, over the past 16 years, Japan in particular has shown to be a far more steadfast supporter of the concept than Canada has. It is therefore unlikely to amaze anyone if Canada should appear on the international stage and claim that it has only now remembered what it had neglected about ten years prior, while the rest of the world has been moving forward with adopting the idea (Small, 2016).

In conclusion, it can be said that Canada's human security objective has narrowed over time. The focus of its criticism has been on the means rather than the aims of the human security agenda, which were deemed improper. This could perhaps be because Canada's rhetoric on human rights was not strictly protected, or even perhaps because it's international aid and human development initiatives lacked the required financial resources. Overall, Canada's problems with human security are rooted in its lax attitude toward peacebuilding efforts and its outward lack of initiative.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

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

1. *Under Lloyd Axworthy's term as foreign minister, human security was never a guiding principle of Canadian foreign policy. True or False*
2. *The Canadian interpretation of the concept of human security is advanced by shielding people from violent threats to their lives, rights, or safety. True or False?*
3. *Canada is still very able to largely delegate the management of interstate threats to its allies as it did in the 1990s. True or False?*
4. *Canada's human security objective has continuously narrowed over time. True or False?*

2.6 Summary

In conclusion, Canada is one of the first nations to attempt to incorporate the idea of human security into its national policy as a result of the concept changing recently and gaining international attention. The Canadian

approach, with its emphasis on "freedom from fear," has emphasized the significance of safeguarding people from physical assault. Canada has established a Human Security network to carry on fruitful discussions around the prohibition of things like anti-personnel landmines. Canada's historical adherence to liberal internationalism, which is a strong adherence to global and international systems of government, is seen in the country's human security strategy. However, its proactiveness towards maintaining its 1990s stance on the importance of human security has lessened consistently and the country is now struggling to regain its recognition as one of the foremost pioneers of human security.

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2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to SAEs 1

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1. | <i>Domestic Fiscal Strains</i> |
| 2. | <i>1990s</i> |
| 3. | <i>False</i> |
| 4. | <i>Communications and Information Technology</i> |

Answers to SAEs 2

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1. | <i>False</i> |
| 2. | <i>Protection from financial hardship, a livable standard of living, and a guarantee of basic human rights</i> |
| 3. | <i>(i) the country and its foreign minister attempted to advance policy initiatives on specific issues in multilateral fora; and (ii) the diplomatic corps worked to forge alliances of like-minded states and actors drawn from transnational civil society that would support this new comprehensive approach to International security.</i> |
| 4. | <i>Freedom from fear</i> |
| 5. | <i>The signature of the Agreement on the Prohibition of the Use of the Anti-Personnel Mines at the Convention in Ottawa (also known as the "Ottawa Treaty" of 1997)</i> |

Answers to SAEs 3

- | | |
|----|--------------|
| 1. | <i>False</i> |
| 2. | <i>True</i> |
| 3. | <i>False</i> |
| 4. | <i>True</i> |

**UNIT 3 JAPANESE DIPLOMACY AND THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMAN SECURITY
AGENDA**

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Understanding Canadian diplomacy
- 3.4 Development of human security agenda in Canadian diplomacy
- 3.5 Human security and foreign policy issues in Canada
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

3.1 Introduction

Like Canada, Japan is one of the few countries that first defined and included human security in its foreign policy and diplomatic relations. Japan did this by identifying with the UN definition of human security and expanding the confines of human security beyond the Canadian version. The Japanese took a broader approach to human security, one that has been referred to by scholars as a classing human development agenda. In this module, we explore the foundations and workings of human security in Japan's diplomatic relations.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

- identify the methods used by Japan to focus on human security in its diplomatic relations.
- determine the role of human security in Japanese Diplomacy.
- Understand the development of human security in Japan's foreign policy

3.3 Understanding Japanese Diplomacy

The main objectives of Japanese diplomacy are to ensure Japan's security and economic development as well as to promote world peace and advancement.

The basic policy of Japan's diplomacy can be summarized as follows:

1. It is to promote diplomacy of peace based on dialogue as a nation earnestly seeking world peace and to contribute to international stability.

2. It is to actively promote international cooperation and to play a role befitting Japan's international standing to contribute to the solution of the common problems facing the countries of the world and to the harmonious development of the international community.

Based on this policy, Japan's foreign policy objective revolves around

1. Creating friendly relations with the United States and other advanced democracies, while also contributing to the stability and of the Asia-Pacific region.
2. Maintain and strengthen international peace
3. Contributing to multilateral cooperation for international peace such as the settlement of disputes and disarmament

Given the above, it is safe to agree that at the core of Japan's foreign policy is the goal of contributing to the peace and progress of the world in the international community of today, where nationalistic trends are becoming stronger and diverse, and interdependence has become intensified (MOFA, 1975).

Self-assessment exercises (SAEs) -1

Attempt the following questions

1. Why is contributing to peace and progress of the world at the centre of Japan's foreign policy?
2. What policy has Japan taken to achieve the objectives of its diplomacy?

3.4 Evolution and Development of Human Security Agenda in Japanese diplomacy

During the cold war, Japan embarked upon the policy of reconstructing its self-image and projections at the international and regional levels. Japan's policymakers focused on the use of economic aid instead of military prowess to enlarge the country's sphere of influence in the East Asian region in ways that would not jeopardize its reconstructed image and identity as a pro-peace and stable country. Japan sought to do this through the emerging concept of human security. They perceived it as a gateway through which Japan could use its anti-militarist image both by improving cordial relationships with neighbouring countries and constructing a foreign policy agenda closely associated with the tenet of human security (Baba & Gönen, 2016). Through the pursuit of economic security, Japanese policymakers sought to avoid engaging the country in the military dimension of security, which remained highly contested due to the legacy of Japan's militarist past (Atanassove-Cornelius, 2006).

Human security in Japanese diplomacy is characterized by respect for the human rights of every citizen on earth and protection from poverty, disease, ignorance, oppression, and violence. It finds expression first in the speech of Prime Minister Murayama to the UN General Assembly in 1995. Following UNDP's conceptualization of human security in 1994, it became a subject of international discourse on security and many organizations, NGOs and leaders began to inculcate it in their foreign policy. Japan was the first of these countries (Remacle, 2008). PM Murayama's speech in 1995 therefore endorsed human security, thereby, reflecting Japan's desire to reassert itself in the international community and carve out a role that was an expression of their commitment to the military policies (Edström, 2011; Korkietpitak, 2012). Having laid the foundation for the presence of human security in Japanese politics, it was Obuchi Keizō, Prime minister from 1998 to 2000 who framed the human security agenda of Japan. Obuchi's initial effort to further the cause of human security came when the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction was signed by 122 countries in Ottawa. This became his first step to promote human security. He defined human security in a way that became the prevailing one in Japan and was widely quoted in the international debate on human security

“It is my deepest belief that human beings should be able to lead lives of creativity, without having their survival threatened nor their dignity impaired. While the phrase ‘human security’ is a relatively new one, I understand that it is the key which comprehensively covers all the menaces that threaten the survival, daily life, and dignity of human beings and strengthens the efforts to confront those threats (PM Obuchi Keizō, 1998).

Obuchi further identified in sync with the UNDP, certain areas within the ambit of human security. Thus:

Environmental problems such as global warming are grave dangers not only for us but also for future generations. In addition, transnational crimes such as illicit drugs and trafficking are increasing. Problems such as the exodus of refugees, violations of human rights, infectious diseases like AIDS, terrorism, anti-personnel landmines and so on pose significant threats to all of us. Moreover, the problem of children under armed conflict ought never to be overlooked.

Thus, the Japanese human security policy stresses the importance of economic development and provision for basic human needs, a human security perspective summarized by the expression-freedom from want. This concept is much closer to the idea of human development and thereby tries to address the structural causes of (human) insecurity

(Bosold and Werthes, 2005). At the core of the development of a human security agenda in Japan is also the emphasis that the security concerns listed above concern not just individual countries but also issues that require the working together of “governments and international organizations to strengthen the linkages and cooperation with citizen’s activities to cope with such problems”. As a result of this, the Japanese government has channeled its human security agenda through different multilateral platforms such as the UN and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and the Japanese independent Commission on Human Security (CHS) (Bosold and Werthes, 2005). Since many of the problems affecting human security cross national borders, no country can solve such problems alone; the coordinated action of the international community is necessary.

To this end, Japan under Obuchi contributed a sum of ¥500 million (US\$4.2 million) to establish a human security fund within the United Nations. This Trust Fund was to address issues regarding Asia under the auspices of the UN, but its scope began to change as Japan pursued interests outside of the Asian region. It was clear that Obuchi had firmly established and defined human security in Japan. This development did not end here. It continued under the next Prime Minister, Mori Yoshirō. Mori ensured that the core of his foreign policy was the agenda set forth by Obuchi. He gave the concept of human security and expanded its definition which included conflicts human, rights violations, poverty, infectious disease, crime, and environmental destruction that threaten the peace of international society. He continued Obuchi’s UN-centered strategy and took the initiative to establish the Commission on Human Security (CHS), also under the wings of the UN, while also increasing Japan’s contributions to the trust fund to an extent that it became the largest UN trust fund (Baba & Gönen, 2016; Edstrom, 2011). Significantly in 2003, the human security report of the CHS emphasized two approaches.

While from Murayama to Mori, the Japanese human security agenda was a foreign policy initiative, the direction changed under PM Koizumi Jun’ichirō who included the human security issues as part of the Official Development Assistance (ODA). This made human security a matter of ODA policy and no longer a key concern for foreign policy as Obuchi and Mori had presented it. Thus, human security became a major aspect of ODA policy. Thus, it is defined as:

a concept that advances the nation and community building through empowerment and protection of individuals to live happily and in dignity, free from fear and want (MOFA, 2021).

In recent times, Prime Minister Suga recognized that coronavirus is a human security crisis that constitute a threat to human lives, livelihood, and dignity. He submitted that Japan intends to take a strategic lead in the international efforts to ‘leave no one’s health behind’. One of the ways Japan proposed to do this is via economic revitalization for countries hit by the coronavirus crisis the most. This led to the implementation of an Emergency Support Loan of US\$4.5billion over a period of two years and economic partnerships with other countries (MOFA, 2021). As such, we can agree that human security is still an aspect of Japan’s policy even though it does not occupy the front burner.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt the following questions

1. Is human security still a relevant in Japan’s diplomacy today?
2. Trace the development of Japan’s human security agenda.
3. What roles did Japan’s prime ministers play in the development of human security?

3.5 Human security and foreign policy issues in Japan

Japan was motivated by three factors in making human security as a pillar of its foreign policy. They are an aspiration to become a regional and global leader, the quest for a UN Security Council seat and the enhancement of its image, particularly the image of its ODA. The economic crisis in Asia in 1997 made it possible for Japan to enact human security as a pillar of its foreign policy. The crisis necessitated that Japan stood up to the occasion to provide safety net for the Asian economy. The administration of Keizo Obuchi saw an opportunity to take action to support socially vulnerable people affected by the reduction in government spending. Human security became the tool to make happened. The following action taken by Obuchi fully established human security in Japan’s foreign policy. This included the establishment of a human security trust fund under the UN. Showing the UN of its commitment to human security ad peacekeeping operations has also been a motivating factor for making human security a pillar of its foreign policy. Japan continues to forge ties with different countries in other to achieve this aim. On a third note, Japan’s commitment to human security is also targeted at improving the acceptance and popularity of its ODA at home (Korkietpitak, 2012).

The annual report on foreign policy, *Gaikō seisho* [The diplomatic bluebook], is a key official source of Japan’s foreign policy. It surveys foreign policy and has been issued by the Japanese foreign ministry since

1957. After Obuchi's speech in 1998, the new security concept was introduced into the 1999 issue of the *Diplomatic Bluebook*. The human security policy in Japan can be divided into different phases as seen in the Diplomatic bluebook from 1999 (Edström, 2011). Edstrom (2011) presents this timeline:

- Phase 1: 1999–2000 - A pillar-to-be of Japan's long-term foreign policy
- Phase 2: 2001–2003 - A priority of Japan's foreign policy
- Phase 3: 2004–2006 - A pillar of Japan's ODA policy
- Phase 4: 2007– One of five key concepts of Japan's ODA policy

It was a decisive moment when human security was made a concern of ODA policy and thus no longer a matter of foreign policy per se. Since Obuchi's vision boiled down to human security as a "pillar" of foreign policy, its transformation to a matter of ODA policy meant not only that the foundation of his foreign policy vision evaporated but also the vision itself. Human security has moved from being a "pillar-to-be" of Japan's long-term foreign policy under Obuchi and Mori, via being a "pillar" of ODA policy, to end up as one aspect along with others taken into consideration in the formulation and implementation of Japan's ODA policy. However, that Obuchi's foreign policy vision has evaporated does not, of course, mean that the concept and idea of human security as a key concern of Japan's international policy has come to an end, but it is no longer a vision guiding foreign policy as it was to Obuchi and Mori. Human security no longer holds the center stage in the way they and other ardent human security protagonists planned and hoped for.

Notably, several aspects of the human security agenda have been amenable to action through existing ODA programs. For instance, Japan's aid for human security in Southeast Asia has focused on the economic and social dimensions of the concept, including poverty and economic crisis, instead of the application of it to conflict situations. One thing, however, remains clear is the link between human security and civil conflict allows Japan to engage constructively in the maintenance of security. In 2000, following the G8 Miyazaki Initiative on Conflict Prevention of July, the Government of Japan officially introduced an aid policy for conflict prevention to assist reconstruction and development in fragile states. Specific actions for conflict prevention are support for governance, emergency humanitarian assistance, rehabilitation and reconstruction plans, partnership with NGOs, assistance for the social reintegration of demobilized soldiers, refugees, and internally displaced persons (IDPs), and regulation and collection of small arms (Potter 2012).

After 2001, human security continued to inform Japanese development assistance, but aid also began to be used as a tool of counterterrorism.

This was codified in the 2003 Charter of the ODA where four issue areas were recognized as security concerns for Japan and target areas of its aids. This included Terrorism, disasters, drugs, and organized crimes. By 2006, foreign minister Aso Taro included in the annual ODA white paper, piracy to the list. The government of Junichiro Koizumi (2001—2006) and its successors pushed the security- aid nexus. The second chapter of the 2002 Diplomatic Bluebook focused on September 11, 2001, multiple terrorist attacks on the United States and expressed Japan's solidarity with its ally in combating international terrorism. Emergency assistance, reconstruction aid for Afghanistan, and aid to surrounding countries were included among the government's countermeasures, and the chapter highlighted Japan's leadership in hosting the international donor's meeting on the reconstruction of Afghanistan and its provision of refugee aid and reconstruction assistance. The Bluebook stressed Japan's cooperation with the U. S against terrorism. Since 2006, both loan and grant aid have been allocated to fund the provision of refitted Japan Coast Guard patrol boats to Indonesia, the Philippines, Vietnam and Djibouti prompting the amendment of Japanese policy on the export of armaments. The Koizumi government also actively supported reconstruction efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq as part of the American-led global war on terror (Potter, 2015, Korkietpitak, 2012).

After 2000 peacebuilding and human security became integral components of Japan's foreign aid policy. This is a remarkable shift for Japan a country long noted for its passivity in international politics. It is even more impressive because Japan is the only Asian country to have declared the consolidation of peace and human security to be a new pillar in its foreign policy. However, actual aid has not always reflected this political discourse. After 9/11 human security and the traditional hard security agenda of the war on terror converged. The overlap of ODA with PKO activities has allowed Japan a more constructive contribution in the international arena through the human securitization of development but has also increased concerns that Japan is placing alliance and traditional considerations before its developmental human security agenda (Potter, 2015).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

Attempt the questions below

1. What factors are responsible for the inclusion of human security in Japan's foreign policy?
2. Discuss the role of the ODA in Japan's human security Agenda

3.6 Summary

Japan's human security agenda is somewhat like the classical approaches to development assistance with a focus on health care, education, economic security, and peacekeeping. As such, In Japan's view, however, human security is a broad concept. In as much as its objectives are to ensure the survival and dignity of individuals as human beings, it is necessary to go beyond thinking of human security solely in terms of protecting human life in conflict situations. Japan's human security is therefore much interwoven with several UN bodies and programs thus emphasizing the multilateral approach given to human security in Japan. Notably, Japan has used the duo of CHS and TFHS as well as the ODA policy as tools for the pursuit of human security.

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UNIT 4 NORWEGIAN DIPLOMACY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMAN SECURITY AGENDA

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Understanding Norwegian Diplomacy
- 4.4 Development of human security agenda in Norwegian diplomacy
- 4.5 Human Security and foreign policy issues in Norway
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

4.1 Introduction

This unit gives insight into the features of Norwegian diplomacy, shedding light on how its foreign policies were established and what it has become today. It goes on to provide substantial knowledge on the development of human security in the country's diplomatic agenda and why Norway considers humanitarian aid and welfare a crucial part of its foreign policy. More so, the sections of this unit provide details on how human security has affected Norway's foreign policy today.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

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

- intricately describe Norwegian diplomacy.
- explain how the concept of Human Security in Norwegian diplomacy came to be.
- evaluate how the pursuit of Human Security has caused foreign policy issues in Norway.

4.3 Understanding Norwegian Diplomacy

Norway's diplomatic relations are based on its participation in NATO and the United Nations system (UN). Likewise, Norway participates in the integration of the European Union (EU) despite not being a member of the EU due to its membership in the European Economic Area. In June 1905, Norway dissolved its union with Sweden on the same day that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was founded. The newly established Foreign Ministry's first goals were to represent Norway's interests through

diplomatic channels and to offer consular assistance to Norwegian shipping and trade abroad.

For greater cooperation between the diplomatic departments after World War 1, the Norwegian foreign ministry was merged and reformed. However, the ministry had to implement austerity measures during the following several years due to the time's economic turmoil. Norway was a founding member of both the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the United Nations following the conclusion of World War II. The first group of non-permanent members of the UN Security Council included Norway as well (Hanhimäki, 2015). Norway has created a foreign policy framework known as the "Norwegian model" since the end of the Cold War, with the aim of promoting peace and stability through coordinated action among governmental and non-governmental Norwegian organizations, serving as an honest mediator in international conflicts, creating a loose network of Norwegians with access to and credibility among parties, and being prepared to take a long view of global issues.

The Norwegian foreign minister claimed in 2002 that peace processes provide interest to his country and that it needs a few of these items, even though the Cold War is no longer one of them (Matlary, 2002). Matlary explained that while Norway's northern border with the Soviet Union made it a strategic priority for the U.S. and other NATO allies during the Cold War, this status vanished after the end of the ideological conflict and Norway's need to find new ways to establish itself on the global stage. The main issue with Norwegian public diplomacy, according to Leonard and Small (2003), is that country's invisibility. The Norwegian Foreign Ministry hired the London-based Foreign Policy Centre (FPC) to create a public diplomacy plan for Norway in order to address this issue. A strategy report that was given to the Norwegian public in June 2003 as a result (Leonard & Small, 2003) identified four shared image- and value-platforms that should serve as the foundation for coherence when presenting Norway to the rest of the world. These include (i) an internationalist society/a society with a spirit of adventure, (ii) a society living in harmony with nature, (iii) a society with a high level of equality, and (iv) a humanitarian superpower peacemaker.

Norwegian attempts to promote peace are numerous and have a lengthy history that dates back to the turn of the twentieth century (Skånland, 2010). They cover a variety of activities. The nation works to avert violence by providing help for the development and humanitarian causes, mediating and facilitating peace agreements, and supporting global peacekeeping initiatives. Norway's standing as a "good international citizen" has increased as a result of its participation in mediating the Oslo Accords between Israel and Palestine and its

subsequent involvement in Guatemala, Bosnia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, the Philippines, Haiti, and Columbia (Mack 2007). The success of Norwegian engagement abroad does not solely depend on how strongly its society empathizes with a just cause. It is also a result of the "Norwegian Model," which emphasizes the capacity to foster communication between the executive branch, civil society, and academic institutions in particular foreign policy initiatives (Tvedt 2011). Nearly all respondents thought that NGOs play a crucial role in the peace dimension of foreign policy. The Norwegian government has consistently seen NGOs as participants in and contributors to its foreign policy and given them the authority to operate as a fictitious state's representative abroad. Regarding the many strands of Norwegian Public Diplomacy, Norwegian NGOs are also heavily involved in consultation processes with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and have the power to even influence the selection of policy priorities. Neumann (2011) refers to this method of diplomacy as "dual-track diplomacy," where one track focuses on traditional governmental actors and the other track on the NGO sector.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 1

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

1. *Norway is a member of the European Union. True or False?*
2. *Norway has developed a model of foreign policy known as the _____ .*
3. *At what time was Norway considered a strategic priority by the U.S. and other NATO allies and why?*
4. *What are the four shared image– and value–platforms around which coherence in presenting Norway to the world should be built, as identified in June 2003?*
5. *NGOs play a critical role in the peace dimension of Norway's foreign policy. True or False?*

4.4 Development of human security agenda in Norwegian diplomacy

In the "Human Security Network," which was established in 1999 and is made up of a number of states and NGOs that support the idea of human security, Norway is one of the key participants. The network's mission is to advance the idea of human security as a component of domestic and

international policies. The network's main objective is to advance human rights.

Norway includes human rights principles on particular subjects it deems crucial in its foreign policy. The abolition of the death penalty, the protection and promotion of people who belong to religious minorities, the rights of Indigenous peoples, and sexual orientation and gender identity are among the topics covered in the guidelines. These documents convey Norway's viewpoint on important human rights issues rather than focusing on human security per se. The execution of Norway's adoption of UN Agenda 2030 is delayed by perceived obstacles such as sustainable consumption and production, health and education, equality, employment, and migration. Norway also provides meticulously prepared measures for each of the SDGs. The government places a high priority on access to quality jobs and education, particularly for young people and those at risk of social exclusion (Middleton, 2020).

Even though UNDP's approach to human security was viewed by many as being too broad and containing too many factors, a number of state leaders accepted the challenge of advancing the concept. In particular, Norway played a joint leadership role in pushing the idea on a global scale, while its strategy differed from that of the UNDP. Norway adopted a more focused strategy, stressing "protection-based" human security, which involves safeguarding civilians from causes of direct physical harm such as armed conflict and genocide. The first meeting between Norwegian Foreign Minister Knut Vollebaek and Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy took place in Ottawa, Canada, in 1997. The Ottawa Treaty, also known as the Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production, and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction, was signed by Norway among the first nations. The negotiation of the Treaty created a standard for international collaboration. Norway and other like-minded nations committed to working together to provide funding for demining and aid to victims as well as to help develop a new system at the level of civil society for tracking how well states are adhering to their treaty duties. Norway sought to lay out a path and pursue a course where small and intermediate states may exercise influence that advances global security. The state has actively participated in economic development across the globe and has worked closely to advance human rights over time (Bátora, 2005).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

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

1. *Norway's narrower approach towards human security became known as _____ human security.*
2. *Norway had been among the last countries to join the Ottawa Treaty. True or False?*
3. *Norway wanted to create a road map and pursue a course where great world powers could exert a kind of influence that contributes to a safer, more secure world. True or False?*

4.5 Human Security and Foreign Policy Issues in Norway

The idea that the security of people in other countries or regions would follow from domestic security has served as the foundation for Norway's foreign policy. Enlightened self-interest became a good that Norway has been able to deliver to others through external relations or aid, demoting human security to the realm of foreign policy. In addition to pursuing the aim of human security on a global scale, Norway has taken the lead in adopting it as a national goal by carefully examining the nation's domestic policies. As a result, Norway has been able to maintain the idea rather effortlessly within its foreign policy.

In fact, Norway is providing a record-breaking NOK 6.3 billion in humanitarian financing as part of its increased support for initiatives aimed at safeguarding civilians, enhancing food security, and providing aid to displaced persons in crisis- and conflict-affected nations. Furthermore, the UN, the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, and Norwegian humanitarian groups are receiving the majority of Norway's 2021 humanitarian budget (Solberg's Government, 2021).

Norway increased its main contributions to the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) and the World Food Programme (WFP) in 2021 to a combined total of NOK 680 million and NOK 800 million, respectively. These significant increases in financing were made in response to the coronavirus pandemic's increasing displacement and escalating food poverty needs. The Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) of the UN has received financing from Norway totaling NOK 420 million so far. One of CERF's biggest donors is Norway. When crises develop or worsen, CERF makes sure that aid gets to those in need as soon as possible and provides money for emergencies that are not adequately funded. Since then, the money has been allotted for food assistance in the Democratic

Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, and Nigeria. Norway also supports the efforts made by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to defend and help citizens of nations experiencing armed conflict. Norway has given the ICRC NOK 163 million to help the organization's work to combat sexual and gender-based violence, among other things (SGBV). As a donor nation and a humanitarian actor, Norway will undoubtedly continue to play a significant role in international humanitarian endeavors (Solberg's Government, 2021).

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 3

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

1. *Norway only pursues the goal of human security at the global level. True or False?*
2. *Despite the Coronavirus pandemic, Norway has increased its humanitarian aid to other countries. True or False?*
3. *Name 3 organizations that Norway has supported.*

4.6 Summary

Norway relies on a centralized, corporatist system to coordinate its public diplomacy. The organization in charge of organizing what is to be represented as "Norwegian" overseas is the Foreign Ministry. To do this, a single set of statements and pictures that best represent Norway have been chosen after extensive discussion among a limited group of key society players. The chosen image- and value-platforms of equality, nature, and peace represent causes or values that are appealing to almost every society in the globe. Due to this allure, worldwide efforts by state and non-state Norwegian actors that are depicted as advancing one or more of the principles are therefore likely to be more successful almost anywhere in the world. The Norwegian state has succeeded in positioning itself or integrating itself into what may be described as multidirectional value- and image platforms, with which the majority of Norwegian society can identify. The Norwegian government's ability to entice societal actors to affiliate themselves with their state is significantly improved by this positioning. Additionally, by concentrating on peace, Norway can captivate foreign audiences' attention and minds because peace talks are a hot topic for the media.

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4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises

Answers to SAEs 1

1. *False*
2. *Norwegian Model*
3. *During the Cold War due to its northern border with the Soviet Union*
4. *(i) a humanitarian superpower / a peacemaker, (ii) a society living with nature, (iii) a society with a high level of equality, and (iv) an internationalist society / a society with a spirit of adventure*
5. *True*

Answers to SAEs 2

1. *Protection-based*
2. *False*
3. *False*

Answers to SAEs 3

1. *False*
2. *True*
3. *World Food Programme (WFP)*
UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR)
UN's Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF)
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

**MODULE 4 CONTEXTUAL ISSUES IN HUMAN
SECURITY, COUNTER-TERRORISM AND
DIPLOMACY**

Unit 1	Media and Counter-Terrorism
Unit 2	Diplomacy and Counter-Terrorism
Unit 3	Terrorism, Counter-Terrorism, and Human Rights
Unit 4	The Global War on Terror and Responsibility to Protect

UNIT 1 MEDIA AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 The Media and Information Dissemination
- 1.4 The Media and Terrorism
- 1.5 Media and Counter-Terrorism
- 1.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

In this unit, we examined the nexus between the media and counterterrorism. Terrorism and communication have always been inextricably linked. To achieve their goals, terrorists seek to promote their acts of violence to as wide an audience as possible, whether seeking to radicalize potential recruits, or aiming to spread fear through society they can stand to gain from media coverage of their acts. In the same vain, the media is very key in countering terrorism. This Unit of the module focuses on how the media can be deployed to counter terrorism.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this Unit, you are expected to have achieved the following:

- Know the role of the media in information dissemination.
- The relationship between the media and terrorism.
- Highlight the ways by which the media serve to counter terrorism.

1.3 The Media and Information Dissemination

The term media, which is the plural of *medium*, refers to the communication channels through which we disseminate news, music, movies, education, promotional messages and other data. It includes physical and online newspapers and magazines, television, radio,

billboards, telephone, the Internet, fax and billboards. It describes the various ways through which we communicate in society. Because it refers to all means of communication, everything ranging from a telephone call to the evening news on television can be called media. When talking about reaching a very large number of people we say *mass media*. *Local media* refers to, for example, your local newspaper, or local/regional TV/radio channels.

1.4 The Media and Terrorism

Terrorist networks utilize the media, most especially social media, to conduct ideological campaigns covertly or overtly and massively. Technology is one of the strategic factors driving the increasing use of the Internet by terrorist organizations and their supporters for a wide range of purposes, including recruitment, financing, propaganda, training and incitement to commit acts of terrorism, and the gathering and dissemination of information for terrorist purposes. While the many benefits of the Internet are self-evident, it may also be used to facilitate communication within terrorist organizations and to transmit information on, as well as material support for, planned acts of terrorism, all of which require specific technical knowledge for the effective investigation of these offenses.

Terrorists have always adapted new technologies to their purposes, and social media is no exception. Indeed, social media has proved particularly well-suited for terrorist propagandizing and recruiting for several reasons.

First, social media enables terrorists to communicate radicalizing messages to a far wider circle of potential adherents than they could have reached with traditional with someone who could provide materials, ideological grooming, and connections to wider jihadist networks. Decades ago, when the global jihadist movement was in its infancy, the followers of radical clerics circulated their sermons on audiotapes, reproduced one at a time and passed from one follower to another. Desperate to reach a wider audience from his bases in Sudan and Afghanistan, Osama bin Laden faxed his diatribes and fat was to media outlets in London. Today, social-media platforms like Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, and YouTube offer the ability to instantaneously convey one's message to users around the world, often in the form of captivating images or videos. What's more, unlike hosted websites, which one might argue also offer the global reach, these services are free, user-friendly, and most can be used pseudonymously. While terrorists have used password-protected forums since the beginning of the internet age, the pool of potential recruits, supporters, or sympathizers that can be reached on

social media is vastly larger than the pool of potential visitors to a password-protected forum.

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. *The term media, which is the plural of medium, refers to the communication channels through which we disseminate news, music, movies, education, promotional messages and other data. _____ (True/False)*
2. *Identify any four (4) social media platforms. a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____*
3. *Terrorist networks do not utilize the media, most especially social media, to conduct ideological campaigns covertly or overtly and massively. _____ (True/False)*

1.5 Media and Counter-Terrorism

The mass media has no doubt advanced the war on terrorism, particularly after the terrorist attacks on the U.S. that killed 2,996 people on September 11, 2001. While terrorists have developed many ways to use the Internet in furtherance of illicit purposes, their use of the Internet also provides opportunities for the gathering of intelligence and other activities to prevent and counter acts of terrorism, as well as for the gathering of evidence for the prosecution of such acts. A significant amount of knowledge about the functioning, activities and sometimes the targets of terrorist organizations is derived from websites, chat rooms and other Internet communications. Further, increased Internet use for terrorist purposes provides a corresponding increase in the availability of electronic data which may be compiled and analysed for counter-terrorism purposes. Law enforcement, intelligence and other authorities are developing increasingly sophisticated tools to proactively prevent, detect and deter terrorist activity involving the use of the Internet. The use of traditional investigative means, such as dedicated translation resources for the timely identification of potential terrorist threats, is also expanding.

Online discussions provide an opportunity to present opposing viewpoints or to engage in constructive debate, which may have the effect of discouraging potential supporters. Counter-narratives with a strong factual foundation may be conveyed through online discussion forums, images and videos. Successful messages may also demonstrate empathy with the underlying issues that contribute to radicalization, such as political and social conditions, and highlight alternatives to violent means

of achieving the desired outcomes. Strategic communications that provide counter-narratives to terrorist propaganda may also be disseminated via the Internet, in multiple languages, to reach a broad, geographically diverse audience.

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. *Mention any five (5) purposes for which terrorists use the media.* a. _____ b. _____ c. _____
d. _____ e. _____
2. *Online discussions provide an opportunity to present opposing viewpoints or to engage in constructive debate, which may have the effect of discouraging potential supporters* _____ *(True/False)*

1.6 Summary

In this unit, we examined the nexus between the media and counterterrorism. We noted that terrorism and communication have always been inseparably linked. The media has often been referred to as the “oxygen of terrorism”, in the famous words of former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Terrorists aim to attract the attention of the electronic media and the international press. Terrorism is aimed at the people watching, not at the actual victims. This characterisation of the media does not imply actual sympathy felt or displayed for terrorist groups, but rather refers to the publicity that they provide them and consequently the power of nuisance that they grant them. The media economy, largely based on a competitive race to attract audiences, incentivises this symbiotic relationship between terrorists and the press.

1.7 **References/Further Readings/Web Sources**

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1.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs1

1. True
2.
 - a. Facebook
 - b. YouTube
 - c. Twitter
 - d. Instagram
 - e. WhatsApp
3. False

Answers to SAEs2

1.
 - a. recruitment
 - b. financing
 - c. propaganda
 - d. training
 - e. incitement to commit acts of terrorism
 - f. gathering and dissemination of information
2. True

UNIT 2 DIPLOMACY AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Relationship between Diplomacy and Counter-Terrorism
- 2.4 Use of Diplomacy to Counter-Terrorism
- 2.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 Introduction

In the last unit, we examined the nexus between the media and counterterrorism. In this unit, we discussed diplomacy and counter-terrorism. Diplomacy represents the most powerful tool one possessed by every country, in the fight against modern forms of terrorism that have expanded beyond state boundaries. As a global problem, terrorism has exposed the entire planet to the threats posed by operations carried out by terrorist groups and organizations. Accordingly, no country can single-handedly succeed in the fight against terrorism. It must be done at all levels of diplomatic engagement between and among state and non-state actors. This Unit explores how diplomacy can be employed by actors within the international system to counter terrorism.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this Unit, you are expected to have achieved the following:

- Know the relationship between diplomacy and counter-terrorism.
- Know ways by which diplomacy can be employed to counter terrorism.

2.3 Relationship between Diplomacy and Counter-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 the 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.

The modern diplomatic practice represents a complex set of skills, institutional and extra-institutional international relations, which are not limited to formal contacts between representatives of governments of various countries, as opposed to traditional diplomacy. Today's diplomacy is much more a diplomacy that takes place between the representatives of citizens' associations, informal institutions, non-governmental organizations, intellectuals, analysts, and researchers, than diplomacy between two or more ministries of foreign affairs that is conducted through diplomatic missions in the relevant states.

Diplomacy represents the most powerful tool one possessed by every country in the fight against modern forms of terrorism that have expanded beyond state boundaries. As a global problem, terrorism has exposed the entire planet to the threats posed by operations carried out by terrorist groups and organizations. An adequate and skillfully implemented diplomacy is the central factor that can consolidate all anti-terrorist measures in a compact and related whole. Political and diplomatic anti-terrorist measures can contribute to the resolution of intractable conflicts, and should attempt to do so through the means of both public dialogue and so-called secret diplomacy. These methods prevent terrorist organizations from participating in mass movements that are seen as affecting both political and social change. Fostering change without resorting to violent means implies that a familiar characteristic of traditional movements is strengthened, while the impact of terrorist organizations is reduced.

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. _____ has a significant and irreplaceable role in the fight against modern terrorism.
2. 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. _____ (True/False)

2.4 Use of Diplomacy to Counter-Terrorism

Diplomacy therefore can play a major role in anti-terrorist activities in general, whether in agreements, negotiations, or even mediation processes aimed at finding peaceful anti-terrorist solutions. Those individuals in political and diplomatic positions are some of the highest ranking figures in state and governmental bodies; thus, they can play a decisive role in diplomatic anti-terrorist activities, because they can:

- Ensure a standardized approach to the problem of modern terrorism through timely activities abroad, placing a focus on the obligation of countries not to provide material or political support to terrorist activities;
- Insist on the removal of causes of terrorism, regardless of the scope and intensity of its activity;
- Provide data and evidence in the initial phase that can be used to confirm the presence of terrorist organizations and groups, in order to ensure international assistance and support for the fight against terrorism;
- Conduct timely consultations with relevant regional and global political stakeholders to obtain support for planned anti-terrorist activities.

Methods by which Diplomacy

- Blacklisting of countries supporting or sponsoring terrorism.
- Withholding aid to non-compliant countries, or countries supporting the cause of terrorists.
- Partial or conditional amnesty can be granted to the members of some terrorist groups that are seen in their home countries as being part of liberations movements, further delegitimizing more violent terrorist groups.
- Diplomatic pressure/sanctions can be exerted on countries and all other supporters of terrorist organizations (e.g., withdrawal of diplomatic staff from countries that provide financial or moral support to terrorism, termination of diplomatic relations with those countries, etc.).

Diplomacy is critical to combating modern international terrorism which, in many respects, knows no boundaries. Terrorist groups have increasingly spread their reach around the globe. Combating a terrorist network like the one that includes Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida group requires the cooperative efforts of many countries because the network operates in many countries. Effective counterterrorism diplomacy is the glue needed to hold these efforts into coherent whole rather than merely disjointed parts. The building of a counterterrorist coalition following the attacks of 11 September is only the most recent and conspicuous demonstration that the United States needs the help of foreign partners in countering even those threats directed specifically against the United States. Counterterrorist diplomacy is not just the responsibility of professional diplomats in foreign ministries. Officials performing other specialized, and counterterrorist-related, functions have to cooperate extensively with foreign counterparts to do their jobs. Regulatory agencies responsible for the security of civil aviation and other modes of transportation, for example, have to perform what is, in effect, a

diplomatic function to accomplish the necessary coordination where their security systems intersect with those of other countries. Customs and immigration officials must do the same. Most of this specialized cooperation is bilateral, but multilateral diplomacy also has contributions to make. It can provide broad sanctions for measures that would have less legitimacy if taken by an individual state. The United Nations Security Council has done so, for example, with resolutions (beginning with Resolution 1267 in 1999) pertaining to the Taliban's support of terrorism based in Afghanistan. Multilateral diplomacy including resolutions of the U.N. General Assembly and a dozen international conventions on terrorism also strengthens an international norm against terrorism. Some of those conventions, such as ones dealing with the hijacking of aircraft, also provide a basis for practical cooperation on matters where national jurisdictions may overlap. The limitations of diplomacy as a counterterrorist tool are obvious. Terrorists do not change their behavior in direct response to a treaty or U.N. resolution. But diplomacy supports all of the other tools, whether by broadening the moral force behind them or providing an international legal framework for their use.

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. *Today's diplomacy is much more diplomacy that takes place between:*

- a. _____ b. _____ c. _____
d. _____
e. _____

2. *Individuals in political and diplomatic positions are some of the highest ranking figures in state and governmental bodies; thus, they can play a decisive role in diplomatic anti-terrorist activities, because they are able to:*

- a. _____ b. _____
c. _____
d. _____

3. *Diplomatic methods employed to counter terrorism include:*

- a. _____ b. _____
c. _____
d. _____

2.5 Summary

In this unit, we examined the relationship between diplomacy and counterterrorism. Diplomacy represents a very powerful tool in the fight against modern forms of terrorism that have expanded beyond state boundaries. As a global problem, terrorism has exposed the entire universe to the threats posed by operations carried out by terrorist groups and organizations. An adequate and skillfully implemented diplomacy is the central factor that can consolidate all anti-terrorist measures in a compact and related whole. Political and diplomatic antiterrorist measures can contribute to the resolution of intractable conflicts, and should attempt to do so through the means of both public dialogue and so-called secret diplomacy. These methods prevent terrorist organizations from participating in mass movements that are seen as affecting both political and social change. Fostering change without resorting to violent means implies that a familiar characteristic of traditional movements is strengthened, while the impact of terrorist organizations is reduced.

Diplomatic pressure can be exerted on countries and all other supporters of terrorist organizations. This could be in form of the withdrawal of diplomatic staff from countries that provide financial or moral support to terrorism, and termination of diplomatic relations with those countries, amongst others. Diplomacy therefore can play a major role in anti-terrorist activities in general, whether in agreements, negotiations, or even mediation processes aimed at finding peaceful anti-terrorist solutions.

2.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources

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2.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs1

1. Diplomacy
2. True

Answers to SAEs2

1.
 - a. the representatives of citizens' associations
 - b. informal institutions
 - c. non-governmental organizations
 - d. intellectuals
 - e. analysts
 - f. researchers
2.
 - a. Ensure a standardized approach to the problem of modern terrorism through timely activities abroad, placing a focus on the obligation of countries not to provide material or political support to terrorist activities;
 - b. Insist on the removal of causes of terrorism, regardless of the scope and intensity of its activity;
 - c. Provide data and evidence in the initial phase that can be used to confirm the presence of terrorist organizations and groups, in order to ensure international assistance and support for the fight against terrorism;
 - d. Conduct timely consultations with relevant regional and global political stakeholders for the purpose of obtaining support for planned anti-terrorist activities. Individuals in political and diplomatic positions are some of the highest ranking figures in state and governmental bodies; thus, they can play a decisive role in diplomatic anti-terrorist activities, because they are able to:
 1. (a)Blacklisting of countries supporting or sponsoring terrorism.
 - a. (b)Withholding aid to non-compliant countries, or countries supporting the cause of terrorists.
 - b. Partial or conditional amnesty can be granted to the members of some terrorist groups that are seen in their home countries as being part of liberations movements, further delegitimizing more violent terrorist groups.
 - c. Diplomatic pressure/sanctions can be exerted on countries and all other supporters of terrorist organizations (e.g., withdrawal of diplomatic staff from countries that provide financial or moral support to terrorism, termination of diplomatic relations with those countries, etc.).

UNIT 3 TERRORISM, COUNTER-TERRORISM, AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 Terrorism and Human Rights
- 3.4 Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights
- 3.5 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

In this unit, we will discuss terrorism, counter-terrorism and human rights. Terrorism aims at the very destruction of human rights, democracy and the rule of law. It attacks the values that lie at the heart of the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments: respect for human rights; the rule of law; rules governing armed conflict and the protection of civilians; tolerance among peoples and nations; and the peaceful resolution of conflict. Terrorism has a direct impact on the enjoyment of several human rights, in particular the rights to life, liberty and physical integrity. Terrorist acts can destabilize Governments, undermine civil society, jeopardize peace and security, threaten social and economic development, and may especially negatively affect certain groups. All of these have a direct impact on the enjoyment of fundamental human rights.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this Unit, you are expected to have achieved the following:

- Explain the relationship between terrorism and human rights.
- Highlight the relationship between counter-terrorism and human rights.

3.3 Terrorism and Human Rights

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 the

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.

The destructive impact of terrorism on human rights and security has been recognized at the highest level of the United Nations, notably by the Security Council, the General Assembly, the former Commission on Human Rights and the new Human Rights Council. Specifically, Member States have set out that terrorism:

- Threatens the dignity and security of human beings everywhere, endangers or takes innocent lives, creates an environment that destroys the freedom from fear of the people, jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and aims at the destruction of human rights;
- Has an adverse effect on the establishment of the rule of law, undermines pluralistic civil society, aims at the destruction of the democratic bases of society, and destabilizes legitimately constituted Governments;
- Has links with transnational organized crime, drug trafficking, money-laundering and trafficking in arms, as well as illegal transfers of nuclear, chemical and biological materials, and is linked to the consequent commission of serious crimes such as murder, extortion, kidnapping, assault, hostage-taking and robbery;
- Has adverse consequences for the economic and social development of States, jeopardizes friendly relations among States, and has a pernicious impact on relations of cooperation among States, including cooperation for development; and
- Threatens the territorial integrity and security of States, constitutes a grave violation of the purpose and principles of the United Nations, is a threat to international peace and security, and must be suppressed as an essential element for the maintenance of international peace and security.

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. Some States have engaged in torture and other ill-treatment to counter terrorism, while the legal and practical safeguards available to prevent torture, such as regular and independent monitoring

of detention centres, have often been disregarded. Other States have returned persons suspected of engaging in terrorist activities to countries where they face a real risk of torture or other serious human rights abuse, thereby violating the international legal obligation of non-refoulement. The independence of the judiciary has been undermined, in some places, while the use of exceptional courts to try civilians has had an impact on the effectiveness of regular court systems. Repressive measures have been used to stifle the voices of human rights defenders, journalists, minorities, indigenous groups and civil society. 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.

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. *Briefly explain the relationship between terrorism and human rights.*
2. *Highlight any five (5) ways in which terrorism threaten the human rights of people across the globe?*
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____
 - d. _____
 - e. _____

3.4 Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights

Just as terrorism impacts on human rights and the functioning of society, it 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 that must be pursued together as part of States' duty to protect individuals within their jurisdiction.

Respect for human rights and the rule of law must be the bedrock of the global fight against terrorism. This requires the development of national counter-terrorism strategies that seek to prevent acts of terrorism, prosecute those responsible for such criminal acts, and promote and

protect human rights and the rule of law. It implies measures to address the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, including the lack of rule of law and violations of human rights, ethnic, national and religious discrimination, political exclusion, and socio-economic marginalization; to foster the active participation and leadership of civil society; to condemn human rights violations, prohibit them in national law, promptly investigate and prosecute them, and prevent them; and to give due attention to the rights of victims of human rights violations, for instance through restitution and compensation.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 2

Attempt these exercises to measure what you have learnt so far. This should not take you more than 10 minutes.

1. *Briefly explain the relationship between counter-terrorism and human rights.*
2. *Respect for human rights and the rule of law must be the bedrock of the global fight against terrorism _____ (True/False)*

3.5 Summary

In this unit, we discussed terrorism, counter-terrorism and human rights. The unit notes that terrorism aims at the very destruction of human rights. There is no doubt that terrorism has a direct impact on the enjoyment of several human rights, in particular the rights to life, liberty and physical integrity. Terrorist acts can destabilize Governments, undermine civil society, jeopardize peace and security, threaten social and economic development, and may especially negatively affect certain groups. All of these have a direct impact on the enjoyment of fundamental human rights.

3.6 **References/Further Readings/Web Sources**

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3.6 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs1

1. 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.
2.
 - a. Threatens the dignity and security of human beings everywhere, endangers or takes innocent lives, creates an environment that destroys the freedom from fear of the people, jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and aims at the destruction of human rights;
 - b. Has an adverse effect on the establishment of the rule of law, undermines pluralistic civil society, aims at the destruction of the democratic bases of society, and destabilizes legitimately constituted Governments;
 - c. Has links with transnational organized crime, drug trafficking, money-laundering and trafficking in arms, as well as illegal transfers of nuclear, chemical and biological materials, and is linked to the consequent commission of serious crimes such as murder, extortion, kidnapping, assault, hostage-taking and robbery;
 - d. Has adverse consequences for the economic and social development of States, jeopardizes friendly relations among States, and has a pernicious impact on relations of cooperation among States, including cooperation for development; and
3. Threatens the territorial integrity and security of States, constitutes a grave violation of the purpose and principles of the United Nations, is a threat to international peace and security, and must be suppressed as an essential element for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Answers to SAEs2

- a. 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 that must be pursued together as part of States' duty to protect individuals within their jurisdiction.
- b. True

**UNIT 4 THE GLOBAL WAR ON TERROR AND
RESPONSIBILITY TO PROTECT (R2P)**

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 Understanding Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
- 4.4 Background of R2P
- 4.5 The Global War on Terror and R2P
- 4.6 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.7 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

In the contemporary international system, which is characterized by developments quite distinct from what obtains during the Cold War, state sovereignty goes with the Responsibility to Protect (R2P). In essence, a state is qualified to enjoy the privileges which sovereignty provides only when it actually demonstrates the responsibility to protect its citizens. Otherwise, it loses such privilege and it becomes open to intervention by the international community.

On the other hand, the war on terror which needs to be fought on a global scale – transcending state borders by locating where terrorists formations are and either taking justice to them, or bringing them to justice, faces some limitations from R2P. This Unit discusses the issues bordering on the global war on terror and the R2P, with the view to understanding the relationship between the two, towards enhancing best practices.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

By the end of this Unit, it is expected that you would have achieved the following:

- Know the meaning of Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
- Explain the relationship between the Global War on Terror and R2P

4.3 Understanding Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

The Responsibility to Protect is an emerging norm and a political principle in the international community for preventing and responding to four distinct crimes: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. These are often collectively referred to as atrocity crimes

or R2P crimes. R2P places responsibility upon a state, to protect its citizens from the above-mentioned crimes, otherwise, the international community has the responsibility to act.

What does that mean? Well let's start by ruling out what it is not. R2P is not a law, nor a legally binding framework. The crimes that it seeks to prevent are defined in international law, such as the Genocide Convention, the Geneva Conventions and additional protocols and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, but R2P itself is not a legal framework. I believe we are going to hear about its legal basis later today.

R2P is an emerging international norm. It is a norm that seeks to facilitate the implementation of these agreed laws. The core principle of this is that all states have a responsibility to protect their populations from R2P crimes. It establishes that the protection of people from these crimes lies first with the state. However, as we all know, not all states are able or willing to uphold this responsibility all of the time; they sometimes need help, encouragement or even more forceful interventions. And so R2P assigns additional responsibilities to the international community - meaning all member states of the UN - as well as to international and regional organisations and non-governmental organisations.

R2P holds that this international community has a responsibility to assist other countries in upholding their responsibility and should states be unwilling or unable to protect, the international community should respond and take action to protect. This may be by using diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means like human rights monitors, for example, to protect populations. Stronger measures, like enforced sanctions or the use of military force authorised by the UN Security Council, can also be used if states are clearly failing to protect. You can see that the international community has many different tools at its disposal for upholding its responsibility.

So, you have three layers - or 'pillars' - of responsibility:

- that of the state;
- that of the international community to assist; and
- that of the international community to take decisive action should a state fail to protect.

This still doesn't really answer the question of why we need R2P. We have the law, why do we need this norm? The answer to this can be seen in the realities and challenges faced by states when they are confronted by the commission of atrocity crimes.

It is not new to say that the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st have been marked by an increase in internal conflicts rather than wars between states, making civilians the main casualty of war.

4.4 Background of R2P

Following the atrocities committed in the 1990s in the Balkans and Rwanda, which the international community failed to prevent, and the NATO military intervention in Kosovo, which was criticized by many as a violation of the prohibition of the use of force, the international community engaged in a serious debate on how to react to gross and systematic violations of human rights. In September 1999, while presenting his annual report to the UN General Assembly, Kofi Annan reflected upon “the prospects for human security and intervention in the next century” and challenged the Member States to “find common ground in upholding the principles of the Charter, and acting in defence of common humanity”. He repeated the challenge in his 2000 Millennium Report, saying that: “if humanitarian intervention is, indeed, an unacceptable assault on sovereignty, how should we respond to a Rwanda, to a Srebrenica, to the gross and systematic violation of human rights that offend every precept of our common humanity?”

The challenge was taken by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS), set up by the Canadian Government, which at the end of 2001 issued a report entitled *The Responsibility to Protect*. The concept of the responsibility to protect drew inspiration from Francis Deng’s idea of “State sovereignty as a responsibility” and affirmed the notion that sovereignty is not just protection from outside interference – rather is a matter of states having positive responsibilities for their population’s welfare, and to assist each other. Consequently, the primary responsibility for the protection of its people rested first and foremost with the State itself. However, a ‘residual responsibility’ also lay with the broader community of states, which was ‘activated when a particular state is clearly either unwilling or unable to fulfill its responsibility to protect or is itself the actual perpetrator of crimes or atrocities’

The subsequent report of the High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, entitled *A more secure world: our shared responsibility* (A/59/565) and the Secretary-General’s 2005 report *In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all* (A/59/2005) endorsed the principle that State sovereignty carried with it the obligation of the State to protect its own people, and that if the State was unwilling or unable to do so, the responsibility shifted to the international community to use diplomatic, humanitarian and other means to protect

them. Neither report asserted a basis to use force for this purpose other than Security Council authorisation under Chapter VII of the Charter as a last resort, in the event of genocide and other serious international crimes.

At the 2005 high-level UN World Summit meeting, Member States finally committed to the principle of the responsibility to protect by including it in the outcome document of that meeting (A/RES/60/1). Though the concept adopted omitted some of the aspects proposed initially by the ICISS, it retains its fundamental aspects in relation to the prevention of and response to the most serious violations of international human rights and humanitarian law.

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 does R2P stand for? And briefly explain its meaning.
2. What are the three “pillars” of R2P?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____

4.5 The Global War on Terror and R2P

R2P and counter-terrorism frameworks have evolved parallel to each other within the United Nations. R2P was first articulated as a framework in the 2001 International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. The same year, shortly before the report was released, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 occurred. It soon became clear that nascent articulations of R2P focused on individual human rights would struggle to compete with military-heavy approaches to counterterrorism.

The ‘war on terror’ framed terrorism as an act of war that demanded extraordinary actions by the state. This was facilitated by UN Security Council Resolution 1375, which required states to ratify existing treaties against terrorism and take responsibility for preventing acts of terrorism. However, resolution 1375 made no mention of human rights. This gave the impression that efforts to counter terrorism had to be balanced against the state’s role of protecting its civilians and that the latter may have to be sacrificed to achieve the former.

In response to state abuses in the name of counter-terrorism, the 2004 High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change responded to state abuses by noting that heavy-handed approaches to countering terrorism

undermined the very principles that terrorists themselves hoped to repudiate. The High-Level panel recommended that the UN Secretary General take a more active approach in designing strategies for counter-terrorism to ensure adherence to the rule of law. In September 2006, the UN adopted a Global Counter-Terrorism strategy (GCTS). The framework provided by the GCTS strongly echoes the principles that are the basis of R2P.

4.5.1 The R2P Framework

3. The state has a responsibility to protect its own populations from the crimes of genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity.
4. The role and responsibilities of the international community to assist the state in fulfilling its responsibilities.
5. The role of the international community to act when protection by the state is manifestly failing.

4.5.2 The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy

1. Addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism.
2. Measures to prevent and combat terrorism.
3. Measures to build states' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in that regard.
4. Measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism.

The GCTS specifically notes that states must take “measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism.” Indicating the importance of human rights in counter-terrorism efforts, the UN Secretary-General made it clear that, “effective counter-terrorism measures and the protection of human rights are not conflicting goals, but complementary and mutually reinforcing ones.”

4.5.3 Where R2P and CT Overlap: Sovereignty and International Obligations

R2P and the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (GCTS) both emphasise the principle of sovereignty and advocate for a ‘first responder’ role of the state as the security provider. Only then do they move beyond the state to articulate the responsibilities of the international community in assisting states in protecting civilians and non-combatants from harm, up to and including, acting without host-state consent.

The R2P pillars refer not just to protection but also prevention of atrocity crimes. Similarly, the GCTS refers to supporting states in countering terrorism but emphasises doing so while observing human rights obligations. Put more simply, both frameworks recognize the importance of building state capacity to reinforce sovereignty and prevent terrorism, or atrocity crimes.

Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs) 4

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

1. *Briefly comment on the relationship between R2P and Counter-Terrorism.*

4.5 Summary

This unit focused on the global war on terror and the responsibility to protect, popularly referred to as R2P. The relationship between counterterrorism and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) is a complicated one. States struggle to find a balance between addressing potential and imminent terrorist threats and observing human rights. The ‘Global War on Terror’ has seen human rights violations justified by the existential necessities of national security. At the same time, acts of terrorism may constitute crimes against humanity as one of the four atrocity crimes listed under R2P. This has placed the international community in an uncomfortable position: international law requires observance and protection of human rights, yet resolutions passed by the UN Security Council require international support to states countering terrorist threats. However, a closer look at the UN frameworks focused on countering terrorism reveals striking, and increasing, similarities between those efforts and the framework underpinning the R2P. There are several common priorities between R2P and counterterrorism, such as the primacy of sovereignty and sovereign responsibility, the importance of human rights – including when addressing issues of terrorism, and the emerging prioritization of prevention. When leveraged appropriately, these overlaps make it possible for interveners to address the conditions that lead to both terrorism and atrocity crimes, particularly by focusing on the protection of civilians.

4.6 **References/Further Readings/Web Sources**

Nanlohy, S. (2022). R2P, Terrorism, and the Protection of Civilians. Are All Humans Human? Or Are Some More Human than Others?”, *Global Responsibility to Protect*, [gr2p-article- p178_005.pdf](https://gr2p-article-p178_005.pdf)

European Centre for the Responsibility to Protect (ECR2P), (2022). *The Responsibility to Protect and Counter-Terrorism*. <https://ecr2p.leeds.ac.uk/the-responsibility-to-protect-and-counterterrorism/>

4.7 **Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)**

Answers to SAEs 4

1. Responsibility to Protect

The Responsibility to Protect is an emerging norm and a political principle in the international community for preventing and responding to four distinct crimes: genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing. These are often collectively referred to as atrocity crimes or R2P crimes. R2P places responsibility upon a state, to protect its citizens from the above-mentioned crimes, otherwise, the international community has the responsibility to act.

2. a. that of the state

b. that of the international community to assist

c. that of the international community to take decisive action should a state fail

to protect.

Answers to SAEs2

1. Although R2P and counter-terrorism frameworks have evolved parallel to each other within the United Nations. R2P was first articulated as a framework in the 2001 International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. In September 2006, the UN adopted a Global Counter-Terrorism strategy (GCTS). The framework provided by the GCTS strongly echoes the principles that are the basis of R2P.

**MODULE 5 GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND HUMAN
SECURITY**

- Unit 1 Global Governance and Human Security Challenges
- Unit 2 Human Security as Part of the International Security
Agenda
- Unit 3 Global Initiatives for Realising Human Security Agenda
- Unit 4 The Roles of Institutions of Global Governance in
Promoting Human Security

**UNIT 1 GLOBAL GOVERNANCE AND HUMAN SECURITY
CHALLENGE**

Unit Structure

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Learning Outcomes
- 1.3 Understanding the Nature of Global Governance and the Human
Security Challenge
 - 1.3.1. Conceptualizing Global Governance
- 1.4 Global Governance and Human Security Challenges
 - 1.4.1 Pervasive Poverty and Deepening Inequality
 - 1.4.2 Increase in Violent Conflicts
 - 1.4.3 Transnational Security Crises
 - 1.4.4 International Terrorism.
 - 1.4.5 Globalization
- 1.5 Assessment and Critique of Human Security
 - 1.5.1 UNDP Human Development Index (HDI)
 - 1.5.2 The Global Peace Index (GPI)
 - 1.5.3 The Fragile States Index (FSI)
 - 1.5.4 The Environmental Performance Index (EPI)
- 1.6 Summary
- 1.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

1.1 Introduction

In this unit, we shall focus on global governance and human security challenges. Basically, the unit seeks to provide a better understanding of the commitment of global governance institutions to issues of human security. It also seeks to provide better understanding of the nature of human security challenges. The unit concludes with an assessment and critique of global governance institutions in terms of the delivery of human security. This is done using various indicators that are currently been used to assess human security. These indicators include: the Annual

UNDP Human Development Index (HDI), The Global Peace Index (GPI), The Fragile States Index (FSI), and the Environmental Performance Index (EPI) developed by Yale University and Columbia University, in collaboration with the World Economic Forum.

1.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to;

- Define global governance
- Understand the nature of global governance and the human security challenges
- Identify and explain the major human security challenges
- Identify key indicators used in assessing human security
- Assess and critique human security performance

1.3 Understanding the Nature of Global Governance and the Human Security Challenge

Global governance (hereafter GG) brings together diverse actors to coordinate collective action at the global level. The goal of GG, amongst others is to provide global public goods, particularly peace and security, justice and intervention systems for conflict, provision of standards for trade, finance and health, amongst others (Orback, 2021, p.1). The leading institution in charge of GG today is the United Nations Organisation (UNO) established in 1945. Beyond the UNO, other institutions with global mandates to play important roles in GG include, but are not limited to, the so-called Bretton Woods institutions: the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the World Health Organisation (WHO). Those institutions are not without their critics, being often blamed for failure to ensure justice and equity in global affairs. Security is no doubt dominant to any meaningful human existence and therefore a core concern to any modern state. However, the conception of security is also important to its operationalization not only at state levels, but also, at international levels. For example, for the colonial powers that invaded Africa and subdivided the continent amongst themselves in 1885-1886 according to the cartographer Otto von Bismarck of Germany at the so-called scramble for Africa conference, security meant survival of the colonial government that controlled mainly settlers and the colonized territories. And for the African rulers that took over after the colonial powers, regime survival became akin to state security and national interest. The direct implications are that the kind of security that puts the individual first was not given prime of place. The consideration of international security as survival of the most powerful in the realist world

of anarchy also has implications. In the international system each sovereign state must provide for its security and therefore any issue that poses an existential threat to a state, its government or its territory is considered as a security issue.

The change in the conception of the target of security from state to human beings has implications both for the understanding of the sources of security threats and how international actors including states as well as GG institutions respond to the threats. Importantly, the shift in focus from the rights, concerns and needs of states to those of human beings or citizens opens up the state for critical scrutiny. For example, issues such as pervasive poverty and deepening inequality, environmental issues such as climate change, health issues such as HIV/AIDS and recently the COVID-19 pandemic have emerged as key features of the contemporary global system. Powerful GG institutions such as the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), World Bank, IMF, WTO, etc., are recognizing the failure to address these concerns as potential threats to the global order. While the UNSC, which is the global most powerful body dedicated to tackling security issues, had concerned itself with traditional security threats in the past, on 10 January 2000, the UNSC, met to discuss the challenge of HIV/AIDS, particularly in Africa (Ng, 2010). The focus of the meeting was far different from the traditional concerns of the UNSC. This shows that there is an expansion of the global security agenda to capture non-traditional matters, such as health, environment and poverty issues. In fact, the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic has further elevated health issues to the global security agenda.

While human insecurity can be undermined by natural causes such as floods, earthquakes, drought etc., it has become evident that human insecurity results directly from existing power structures that determine who enjoys the entitlement to security and who does not. Such structures can be identified at several levels, ranging from the global, through the regional, the state and finally the local level. Scholars have argued that the failure of the state and the GG institutions to facilitate the enjoyment of dividends of human security has resulted in their pursuit of human security through non-formal and non-governmental approaches.

1.3.1. Conceptualizing Global Governance

The major concepts that underpin this study are global governance and human security. The concept of GG has received considerable attention from scholars; however, it does not have a universally accepted meaning. In essence, GG is essential but fragmented, complex and little understood. Several issues trail the conception of GG. For example, GG is conceived as a purposeful order that emerges from institutions, processes, norms,

formal agreements, and informal mechanisms that regulate action for a common good. As noted by Benedict (2001) GG encompasses activity at the international, transnational, and regional levels, and refers to activities in the public and private sectors that transcend national boundaries. Scholte (2011, p.8) define GG as “a complex of rules and regulatory institutions that apply to trans-planetary jurisdictions and constituencies”. This definition leaves open the possibility that GG involves not only nation-states, but also other types of actors including business firms, civil society organizations (CSOs), local governments, regional groups and agencies. According to Ramphal and Carlsson (1995) GG is the current label under which international integration of all kinds, including world government, is being discussed. The term is also used to describe any desired reforms of Intergovernmental organizations to enable them better to address new issues on the global agenda.

The concept of GG triggers two sets of unresolved issues. One has to do with claims of the legitimate exercise of authority and the other with democratic values. In contrast to theories of governance at local and national levels, a social contract between citizens and institutions of GG has not been developed sufficiently to constitute a sufficient basis for legitimacy (Maclean, Black, Shaw, 2006). In its current conception, GG implies democratic governance. However, the reliance on standards, rules, and procedures is often set by scientific and professional bodies. They in turn, rely on bureaucratic agencies of the state to implement policies. There is no established mechanism for enforcement, hence, voluntary organizations monitor compliance. None of these are based on democratic principles of representation or equal participation. For instance, the UNSC is not based on equal representation and efforts at democratizing the most powerful body of the UN have been met with stiff resistance from the most powerful members of the UNSC.

In this conception of GG, cooperative action is based on rights and rules that are enforced through a combination of financial and moral incentives. In the absence of a single authoritative institution or world government structure, GG is comprised of elements and methods from both the public and private sectors. These basic elements include agreed-upon standards, evolving norms based on shared values, and directives issued and enforced by the most powerful states. GG entails the harmonization of laws among states, international regimes, global policy issue networks, and hybrid institutions that combine functions of state agencies and private sector organizations.

According to Casswell (2008) GG, as a response to the global nature of the markets and communication networks, requires not just intergovernmental responses, such as those carried out by the UN system,

but also responses from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and voluntary organizations operating at a regional and international level. GG, therefore, refers to the complex of institutions, mechanisms, relationships, and processes between and among states, nonstate actors, markets, citizens, and organizations that articulate collective interests on the global plane, establish rights and obligations, and mediate differences. GG involves multiple states, as well as international organizations, with one state or more states having more of the lead role than the rest.

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. Define global governance
2. Briefly explain the nature of global governance in relation to human security challenges
3. List at least five institutions with global mandates to play important roles in global governance.

1.4 Global Governance and Human Security Challenges

Global governance, “the collective management of common problems at the international level, is at a critical juncture” (Mishra, 2013, p. 622). Although GG institutions have recorded some successes since they were developed after WW II, the growing number of challenges on the international agenda, and their complexity, is outpacing the ability of international organisations and national governments to cope. The nature of the world today requires cooperation and interdependence rather than the complex power play, contestations and competition that have characterized GG since the end of WW II. The shift to a multipolar world is complicating the prospects for effective GG (Mishra, 2013). The emergence of economic powers from the south and their increasing demand for inclusion also poses a challenge to the present structure of GG. Power is not only shifting from traditional powers to emerging powers, but also toward non-state actors (NSAs).

At the beginning of the 21st century, threats such as pervasive poverty, violent conflicts, infectious diseases, and terrorism as well as a new generation of global challenges including climate change, energy security, food and water scarcity, international migration flow and new technologies are increasingly taking centre stage (Buzan, 2006; Buzan, 1991). Many of the issues cited above involve interwoven domestic and foreign challenges. In addition, diverse perspectives on and suspicions about GG and related institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, and WTO, amongst others, which are seen as Western concepts and

instruments, have added to the difficulties of effectively addressing the growing number of challenges.

Human security recognizes that human safety is integral to the promotion and maintenance of international peace and security. In the post-Cold War era, several devastating conflicts claimed the lives of millions of people in continents of Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe. The expectation that the end of the cold war will usher a period of global peace soon became dashed hope as violent conflicts including genocide, ethnic cleansing, failed and lawless states, and massive refugee flows threatened world peace necessitating a coordinated global response. The humanitarian complexes generated were such that the global powers could not turn a blind eye despite the power assertions and contestations within GG institutions such as the UNSC. The most pressing challenge that emerged in the human security area was to find effective means and mechanisms to protect human beings from violent conflicts.

1.4.1 Pervasive Poverty and Deepening Inequality

One of the major challenges that emerged in the human security area necessitating global effort is pervasive poverty and deepening inequality (Thomas, 2001). According to the UNDP, despite modest improvements over the 1990s in “global social indicators such as adult literacy (64 percent to 76 percent), access to safe water (40 percent to 72 percent) and infant mortality rates (from 76 to 58 per 1000 live births), global deprivation continues” (UNDP, 1997, p.22). These global social indicators of human security have declined despite the promise of the peace dividends. That notwithstanding, according to the UN (2021) based the most recent estimates, in 2015, 10 percent of the world’s population lived at or below US \$1.90 a day. That is lower by 16 percent from 2010 and 36 percent in 1990. Since 2015, the World Bank has defined extreme poverty as people living on less than US\$1.90 a day, measured using the international poverty line. The new target is to have no more than 3 percent of the world’s population living on just US\$1.90 a day by 2030. Poverty has remained a pressing challenge to human security. It is against this backdrop that the ending poverty in all its forms is the first of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

1.4.2 Increase of Violent Conflicts

Another major challenge to human security necessitating global effort to address has been the increase of violent conflicts. The hoped-for peace expected from the creation of GG institutions such as the UN have yet to fully materialized. While the UN has made significant achievements in

the pursuit of global peace through the dispatch of “Blue Helmets” in peacekeeping operations, the failure to deliver the promise of the peace dividend is in part due to the lack of genuine commitment by global powers to work in concert towards achieving human security. Palik, Rustad and Methi (2020) examined conflict trends from 1946–2019 and reported that the number and deadliness of conflicts have increase many times since 1946. While there has been decline in the number of inter-state conflicts, same cannot be said of intra-state conflicts which have increased since the end of the cold war. Not less than 35 countries experienced civil conflicts and worldwide around 50,000 died in battle-related deaths (Palik, Rustad & Methi, 2020). The two deadliest conflicts were recorded in Afghanistan and Syria (Palik, Rustad & Methi, 2020). The number of Islamic State (IS) conflicts increased from 12 in 2018 to 16 in 2019 (Palik, Rustad & Methi, 2020). State-based conflicts are concentrated in conflict hotspots such as Syria, Iraq, and Yemen in the Middle East, in the border between Mali and Burkina Faso, Eastern DRC and Somalia in Africa, and Afghanistan and the Philippines in Asia. Africa and Asia in particular have experience a higher number of recurring conflicts than other regions (Palik, Rustad & Methi, 2020). The humanitarian problems that have accompanied these conflicts require that at the global level, humanitarian action has complemented by an active effort at both conflict prevention and post-war recovery (Human Security Unit-OCHA, 2010).

1.4.3 Transnational Security Crises

Some global challenges to human security arise because threats within countries rapidly spill beyond national frontiers. The UNDP identified these challenges to include: unchecked population growth; disparities in economic opportunities; excessive international migration; environmental degradation; drug production and trafficking; international terrorism (UNDP, 1994). Amongst others, the environment is increasingly being altered by the constant human activities and the overuse of the earth’s resources, urbanization and increasing waves of industrialization and globalization. The planet’s life supporting system has for that matter been highly damaged. Consequently, the world is being faced with complex environmental problems that have necessitated global efforts to be addressed. Some of the significant global environmental problems include; deforestation, greenhouse effect, global warming and climate change, biodiversity loss, transboundary pollution, depletion of ozone layer. Climate change has emerged as the toughest, most intractable issue to galvanise global consensus towards addressing the concerns driven by environmentally friendly NGOs and International organizations. Dramatic and unprecedented natural disasters have been recorded in different parts of the world. For example, USA has

experience, unusually frigid winter in 2015, Hurricane Harvey and Hurricane Irma in 2017, California wildfires, heat waves in the U.S. and Europe. Yet some do not attribute these to climate change. Climate changes have implications for food scarcity crisis in sub-Saharan Africa. This results in violence threatening the physical integrity of communities and massive internal displacement of persons in Africa.

1.4.4 International Terrorism

Another complex challenge to human security is the international terrorism. As stated in the UNDP Human Development Report (1994, p.37), violence can travel from one country to another through conventional warfare-and through terrorism (Buzan, 2006; Buzan, 1991). Between 1975 and 1992, there was an average of 500 international terrorist attacks a year. Bombing was the most common terror attack within this period. Today, terrorism has become a global phenomenon. For example, while terrorism has been a scourge hunting humanity for a very long time, it was the September 11 attacks on the United States by the Al-Qaeda that arguably brought concerted global attention to the phenomenon. Since then, other regions including Africa have been in the spot light for the global war on terror. In the 1990s, terror attacks in Africa were somewhat episodic and limited to relatively well-defined local contexts (in Algeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Uganda, for example). But now the emergence of groups like Boko Haram in Nigeria (with its regional reach), and the spread of Somalia's Al-Shabaab attacks into Kenya and Uganda, have made terrorism a key security threat in Africa.

1.4.5 Globalization

Globalization has made individual human suffering an irrevocable universal concern. The new threats to human security in the era of globalisation include, but not limited to, financial volatility, global crime, lack of job security, violence and conflict need not just new, but stronger policies to protect and promote human security, including policies often called 'social protection'. While governments continue to be important, global integration of world markets and instant communication have given a role and a profile to those in business, civil society, and NGOs and intergovernmental organizations (IGOs). Synergies between issues and the new coalitions that result have produced new forms of diplomatic action. Coalition building among like-minded states and non-state actors is one dynamic element of this "new diplomacy."

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 and explain any major human security challenge that you know
2. *Complete this sentence, the nature of the world today requires _____ and _____ rather than the complex power play, contestations and competition that have characterized GG since the end of WW II.*

1.5 Assessment and Critique of Human Security

Have the promises of dividends of human security been delivered by the GG institutions? Are people more secured now than they were before the introduction of the concept of human security? This section of the paper will attempt to assess human security performance. Various indicators are currently being used to assess human security. These indicators are used to identify factors that threaten it. These indicators include: the Annual UNDP Human Development Index (HDI), The Global Peace Index (GPI), The Fragile States Index (FSI), and the Environmental Performance Index (EPI) developed by Yale University and Columbia University, in collaboration with the World Economic Forum.

1.5.1 UNDP Human Development Index (HDI)

The UNDP publishes Human Development Index (HDI) annually which provides a comparative analysis of international human development indicators. This is a summary measure of average achievement in key dimensions of human development: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and experiencing a decent standard of living. Health is assessed by life expectancy at birth, while knowledge is assessed via the mean schooling years for adults aged 25 years and more, and expected years of schooling for children of school entry age. The standard of living is measured by Gross National Income (GNI) per capita (UNDP, n.d.). According to the 2018 UNDP HDI, there are still major deficiencies in human well-being and life opportunities in countries where human security was threatened. Countries that topped the global HDI rankings were Norway, Switzerland, Australia, Ireland and Germany. The countries that ranked lowest were all in Africa, namely Niger, the Central African Republic, South Sudan, Chad and Burundi. From this report, it is clear that the countries that ranked low had human security threatened (UNDP, 2018b).

1.5.2 The Global Peace Index (GPI)

The Global Peace Index (GPI), produced by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), is another important indicator used to assess the threat to human security. The think-tank ranks 163 independent states and territories and assesses their level of peacefulness. The GPI comprises 23 indicators of the absence of violence or fear of violence in three thematic domains. The first refers to the extent of ongoing domestic and international conflict. The GPI indicators cover the number and duration of internal conflicts as well as deaths arising from conflicts, both internal and external. Importantly, it gauges military expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and also the number of armed services personnel per 100,000 people (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2019, pp. 2, 84-85).

The 2021 GPI reveals a world in which the conflicts and crises that emerged in the past decade have begun to abate, only to be replaced with a new wave of tension and uncertainty as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic and rising tensions between many of the major powers. In 2021, Iceland remained the most peaceful country in the world. It has occupied this position since 2008 (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2021). It is followed by New Zealand, Denmark, Portugal, and Slovenia. Afghanistan is the least peaceful country in the world for the fourth consecutive year, followed by Yemen, Syria, South Sudan, and Iraq (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2021). Violence remains one of the most pressing issues for human security globally. Violence continues to have a significant impact on the world's economic performance. In the ten countries most affected by violence, the average economic impact of violence was equivalent to 36 percent of GDP, compared to just under four percent in the countries least affected by violence. Syria, South Sudan, Afghanistan, and the Central African Republic incurred the largest proportional economic cost of violence in 2020, equivalent to 82, 42, 40, and 37 percent of GDP, respectively (Institute for Economics and Peace, 2021).

1.5.3 The Fragile States Index (FSI)

Another indicator used to assess threat to human security is the Fragile States Index (FSI) produced by the Fund for Peace (FFP). The FFP uses twelve conflict risk indicators to measure the condition of a state. This is compared over time to determine whether they are improving or worsening. According to the 2021 FSI showed that Yemen, Somalia, South Sudan, Syria and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) were the most fragile countries. These countries have struggled with prolonged civil war and a humanitarian catastrophe (FFP, 2021). Nigeria

ranked 12th in the FSI. Nigeria has for several years remained firmly rooted in the top 20 of the most fragile states in the world. When the assessment started in 2005, the country was ranked 54. That has remained the best. Nigeria has degenerated since then, sliding to 17th in 2007, 18th in 2008, 15th in 2009 and 14th between 2010 and 2012. Nigeria's position is partly a result of the high level of insecurity such as the Boko Haram insurgency in the North-east, kidnappings, banditry, armed robbery, violent herdsman in different parts of the country, particularly in the middle belt, and the increasing violence by separatist agitations in some parts of the country (Thisday Newspaper, 2021).

1.5.4 The Environmental Performance Index (EPI)

The Environmental Performance Index (EPI) by Yale University and Columbia University, in collaboration with the World Economic Forum, is another indicator used to assess the threat to human security. The 2020 EPI used 32 performance indicators across 11 issue categories, the EPI ranks 180 countries on environmental health and ecosystem vitality. The categories are air quality, water quality, heavy metals, biodiversity and habitat, forests, fisheries, climate and energy, air pollution, water resources and agriculture. More specifically, the indicators range from tree cover loss, wastewater treatment, and species protection to sanitation. These metrics provide a gauge at a national level of how closely countries measure up to established environmental policy goals. Denmark, Luxembourg, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and France ranked the five highest for their environmental performance in 2020 contrasting the worst performers – Liberia, Myanmar, Afghanistan, Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire (Yale University et al., 2020).

Despite the relative successes that have been attributed to human security inclusion in GG, it has come under a great deal of criticism amongst scholars (Paris, 2001, 2004; Duffield and Waddell, 2004, 2006; Krause, 2004; Chandler, 2008). The main criticisms relate it's to conceptual ambiguity and lack of a precise definition. According to Paris (2001) human security can be likened to other equally vague concepts like "sustainable development". Even though everyone talks about it, "few people have a clear idea of what it means" (Paris, 2001, p. 88). Because lack of precise definition, human security has been broadened to encompass anything from environmental degradation and pollution to homelessness and unemployment. In the words of Khong (2001, p. 232) "we end up prioritizing everything. If everything is prioritized, then, by definition, nothing is". According to Chandler (2008) human security is "the dog that didn't bark". This in turn poses a practical dilemma for policy-makers charged with the allocation of already scarce resources.

Another criticism of human security is that states have been able to co-opt the human security narrative to further their own ends, augmenting hegemonic interests and narratives rather than challenging or transforming them (Black, 2006, p.13). Instead of having a genuine commitment to the emancipation of the most vulnerable and impoverished. While non-military “middle powers” such as Norway, Japan, and Canada have used the promulgation of the human security agenda to gain prestige in the international state system, Western powers have privatized aid and development agencies where the security and development is seen as only a means towards the security.

Some scholars have also criticized the human security concept on the ground that it serves to disempower weak and undeveloped states (McCormack, 2008; Duffield & Waddell, 2004). By linking security and development. According to Duffield and Waddell (2004, p.18), the world has been divided into those who *have* and those who *have not* to mean that states which *can* provide human security for their population (Western, ‘developed’ states) and those which *cannot* (Third World, undeveloped, ‘weak’ states). It is in this light that McCormack (2008) insists that the development of the norm ‘the responsibility to protect’ and linking it inextricably to the human security project by the ICISS and the recharacterization of sovereignty as responsibility makes intervention easier for major international institutions or powerful states (McCormack, 2008, p.114). The point therefore is that, if sovereignty is dependent on a state government’s ability to protect its populations from poverty, disease, crime, homelessness, environmental degradation, and pollution, the natural thing would have been to strengthen its capacity to do so and not to further withdraw their capacity to do so. “Sovereignty as responsibility” has become “those over there” have become threats to “us over here” and also to international security. R2P no matter how well-intentioned is still a vague initiative. It denies long-established principles of state sovereignty, and may well encourage unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of other states, issuing "a blank cheque for virtually limitless UN interventionism.

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. Identify the major key indicators used in assessing human security
2. Using any of the indicators, attempt to critique human security performance
3. According to Duffield and Waddell (2004, p.18) the world has been divided into those who _____ and those who _____

1.6 Summary

This unit focused on global governance and the human security challenges. The unit provided better understanding of the commitment of global governance institutions to issues of human security. It concluded with an assessment and critique of global governance institutions in terms of delivery of human security. This unit clearly underscored the point that global governance encompasses activities that transcend national boundaries at the international, transnational, and regional levels. Consequently, global governance is thought to be an international process of consensus-forming which generates guidelines and agreements that affect national governments and international corporations. Despite efforts toward achieving global solutions to the challenges threatening human security at the global level, ethnic conflicts, infectious diseases, climate change, food insecurity, and other pressing threats, are increasingly threatening global security and stability, prompting doubts about the ability of the current global governance order to respond to the challenges plaguing the 21st century

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1.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

1. *Global governance can be defined as a process of international cooperation among transnational actors, aimed at negotiating responses to problems that affect more than one state or region.*
2. *By its nature, global governance aims at addressing human security challenges. It focuses on solutions that matter to a wide range of global problems such as promoting human welfare and economic growth, developing policies that respect human rights, health concerns, humanitarian and environmental problems, and how to reduce insecurity while fostering human potential. It also seeks to promote international cooperative solutions to challenges.*
3. *Institutions with global mandates to play important roles in global governance include, but are not limited to: (1) United Nations; (2) Bretton Woods institutions; (3) the World Bank, (3) International Monetary Fund (IMF), (4) the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and (5) the World Health Organisation (WHO)*

Answers to SAEs 2

1. ***Pervasive Poverty and Deepening Inequality:***
This is one of the major challenges that emerged in the human security area necessitating global cooperation to address. According to the UN (2021), in 2015, 10 percent of the world's population lived at or below US \$1.90 a day. That is lower by 16 percent from 2010 and 36 percent in 1990. Poverty has remained a pressing challenge to human security. It is against this backdrop that the ending poverty in all its forms is the first of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.
2. *cooperation and interdependence*

Answers to SAEs 3

1. *The major key indicators used in assessing human security include: the Annual UNDP Human Development Index (HDI), The Global Peace Index (GPI), The Fragile States Index (FSI), and the Environmental Performance Index (EPI) developed by Yale University and Columbia University, in collaboration with the World Economic Forum.*

2. *The Fragile States Index (FSI)*

The Fragile States Index (FSI) produced by the Fund for Peace (FFP) is an indicator used to assess the threats to human security. The FFP uses twelve conflict risk indicators to measure the condition of a state. Fragile states have characteristics that substantially impair their economic and social performance. These include weak governance, limited administrative capacity, chronic humanitarian crises, persistent social tensions, and often, violence or the legacy of armed conflict and civil war. Nigeria is one of the states considered as fragile due to complete security challenges.

3. *have and have not*

UNIT 2 HUMAN SECURITY AND THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AGENDA

Unit Structure

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Learning Outcomes
- 2.3 Institutionalizing the Human Security Agenda
- 2.4 UN Security Agenda and Institutionalization of the Human Security Agenda
- 2.5 Human Security and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

2.1 Introduction

In this unit, we discussed human security as part of the international security agenda. The human security approach has been widely accepted as a proven analytical and planning framework that supports more comprehensive and preventive responses by the United Nations, cutting across sectors, developing contextually relevant solutions, and adopting partnerships to help realise a world free from fear, want and indignity. Humanity under the auspices of the United Nations has agreed that the traditional notion of security, which focuses on the state and its machinery of force has failed to guarantee international peace and security across the world hence, attention is being given to the human security approach who's the subjects are individuals, and its end goal is the protection of people from traditional (i.e., military) and nontraditional threats such as poverty and disease.

2.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to;

- Explain why human security is significant as part of the international security agenda.
- Identify the major actors involved in the institutionalization of the human security agenda
- State the meaning of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) and discuss its role as a major component of human security

2.3 Institutionalizing the Human Security Agenda

In his analysis of GG, O'Neill (2009) has observed that successful international regimes tend to evolve through three main stages (O'Neill, 2009). Initially, there is an agenda-setting phase where common problems are identified and reasons for international action are developed. In the second phase, states meet to agree on the principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures for a legal treaty or framework convention. Third, states move into a phase of regime strengthening, whereby negotiations work toward supplementing the framework convention incrementally through further agreements. Our major focus in this section is on agenda-setting role of global institutions and specifically, on human security as part of the international security agenda.

While the concept of human security was first used in a significant way in the 1994 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report, arguably its placement as part of the international security agenda involved the roles played by critical actors such as governments of Canada and Japan and the United Nations. Before the UNDP report, previous initiatives sought to connect peace and development and to draw the attention of the international community to reconsider the traditional sources of threats to peace. Notable efforts in this regard included the Brandt Commission in 1980 and the Palme Commission in 1982. While the Brandt Commission made a strong case for putting people first in national and international security and coined the term “sustainable development”, the Palme Commission introduced the idea of “common security” as hinged on economic progress to ensure the freedom from want (Gilder, 2021). The UNDP built on the work of the earlier commissions and advanced the notion of “sustainable human development”. However, it was under the administrator, Gus Speth that the UNDP sought to be increasingly involved in times of crisis aspiring to coordinate the UN’s peace operations, political and humanitarian efforts, and development efforts (Jolly & Ray, 2006). Security became a concern for the UNDP because the needs of people during different forms of emergencies, be it a natural disasters, wars, or humanitarian crises, are inseparable from sustainable development. The practical outcome was the 1994 UNDP’s Human Development Report which coined human security. The Report attempted to create a vision of human security that could be adopted by both states and the UN in furthering social development (Jolly & Ray, 2006).

As stated earlier, the UNDP worked with other partners. For example, the Canadian government, became one of the champions of the human security concept and, argued that: "Human security means freedom from

pervasive threats to people's rights, safety and lives." Depending on what one considers as constituting "people's rights and safety" the scope of this definition is either narrow or broad. In practice, the Canadian government chose to focus its Human Security Agenda on the personal (physical) security dimension and concentrated on security issues at the international level that seemed to cry out for international attention (Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada, 2004). Under Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy, he made human security his hallmark and brought Canada to a leadership position on the issue.

An attempt to institutionalize the human security agenda internationally created the Human Security Network, a result of a bilateral agreement between Canada and Norway in 1998 and later 13 other countries and one observer later joined the initiative. This intergovernmental forum was created so as to advance and embed further the human security agenda within GG, with the end goal of creating a more humane world free from fear and want and where people can fully develop their human potential. The network was intended to serve as a forum for dialogue and research and, above all, as an avenue to share evolving understandings and practices to advance the development of the human security approach.

The Canadian foreign ministry developed a "Human Security Agenda" with the following five themes: protection of civilians; peace support operations; governance and accountability; public safety; and conflict prevention. The implementation of the agenda has taken various forms. First, the negotiation of arms control agreements such as weapons causing widespread human suffering, like landmines and small arms. Second, targeting aid for post-conflict peacebuilding such as in the former Yugoslavia. Third, improved UN early warning and prevention capabilities to newly establishing legal bodies like the International Criminal Court. Within each theme, Canada chose sub-issues or groups of persons for special attention, such as war-affected children under the protection of civilians, rapid deployment of peacekeepers - under peace support operations, security sector reform and individual criminal accountability - under governance and accountability, trans-national organized crime - under public safety, and early warning - under conflict prevention.

For its part, Japan has advocated a broader vision, taking into account both the element of freedom from fear and freedom from want. Moreover, Japan has actively promoted and supported the human security concept in the UN by being, *among others* the founder and main donor of the UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS), the Commission on Human Security and the Friends of Human Security (FHS). After the Millenium Summit, held in September 2002, and at the

initiative of Japan, the UN Commission on Human Security (CHS) was created, co-chaired by Sadako Ogata, former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and Amartya Sen, Nobel Prize laureate. In 2003 the CHS published its report “Human Security Now”.

In the Final Document of the 2005 World Summit, the Heads of State and Government refer to human security in the following manner: “We stress the right of people to live in freedom and dignity, free from poverty and despair. We recognize that all individuals, in particularly vulnerable people, are entitled to freedom from fear and freedom from want, with an equal opportunity to enjoy all their rights and fully develop their human potential” (UN, 2005). The Heads of State thus took a significant step toward the institutionalization of human security at the UN level, understanding it as the right to live free from fear and want. From the mid-1990s until today, the concept of human security has gained international recognition and is being used by many non-governmental organizations, states and international institutions. On the NGO side these have included Oxfam, the Academic Council on the UN System, the UN University, the Arias Foundation, the Center for Defence Information, the Worldwatch Institute, the Commission on Global Governance, the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, the International Action Network on Small Arms, Pax Christi, Harvard University’s Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research, the Human Security Center at the University of British Columbia, Safer world, the Bonn International Center for Conversion, the Center for Humanitarian Dialogue (Geneva), the Regional Human Security Center (Amman), the Canadian Consortium on Human Security, and so on. At various international forums such as G8 Summit, Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), Pacific Islands Leaders’ Meeting (PALM), the ASEAN-Japan Summit, APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation), OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) Ministerial Council Meeting, ESCAP (Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific), human security was put in the adopted documents. Human security is becoming increasingly prominent in the global agenda.

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. Explain why human security is significant as part of the international security agenda.
2. Identify the major countries/actors involved in the institutionalization of the human security agenda
3. The _____ foreign ministry developed a "Human Security Agenda" with five themes: protection of civilians; peace support operations; governance and accountability; public safety; and conflict prevention.

2.4 UN Security Agenda and Institutionalization of the Human Security Agenda

Within the UN system, the phrase “human security” has become a regular feature of UN and multilateral discourses, being used by officials such as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees or the UN Secretary-General. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan also found a place of choice for human security in his speeches: "Ensuring human security is, in the broadest sense, the United Nations' cardinal mission. Genuine and lasting prevention is the means to achieve that mission. Thus, human security has gained a significant position in the international security agenda. For instance, the 62nd Session of the UN General Assembly in May 2008 was witness to a thematic debate on human security in which various countries participated (UN General Assembly, May 22, 2008). At the 64th Session held in 2010, as a follow-up to the Millenium Summit, the Secretary General presented a report on human security. The report updates the progress achieved in promoting human security since the 2005 World Summit. The adoption of General Assembly resolution 66/290 on 10 September 2012 was a significant milestone for the application of human security in the UN system. In paragraph 3 of the resolution, the General Assembly agreed by consensus that 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.

Figure 5.1: Human Security Agenda



On the whole, the human security agenda has emphasised the protection of civilians, peace support operations, conflict prevention, governance and accountability and public safety. The placement of human security as part of the international security agenda resounds human security over traditional in every international security policy. In principle, the welfare of human beings around the world becomes the object of concern rather than the military and strategic interests of a particular state. The defence of human life is more important than the defence of land, and personal integrity is as important as territorial integrity.

The use of threats and force are not excluded as tools of international diplomacy under human security but they are minimized because of the potential damage to human lives in their application. The deployment of armed forces for defence, collective security and humanitarian intervention is permitted, if not encouraged, but only so long as the application of force is justified, proportional, and legitimate under international law, while minimizing if not eliminating deaths of innocent people. Human security puts a premium on human life. Thus, peacekeeping is preferred to war-fighting, which is only seen as viable as a last resort. Proper procedure, due process and fostering cooperation are preferred to surprise attack, armed deterrence and robust defence as *modus operandi*. Transparency and factual reporting in military operations replace secrecy and one-sided propaganda as the characteristic of information dissemination. Emphasis is placed on conflict prevention in place of armed reaction because prevention can save lives as well as maintain human progress, and can be less costly in many ways. In the human security sphere, weapons are not the major tool, they are largely

replaced with a host of cooperative endeavours to broaden dialogue and understanding.

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. Which of these UN Secretaries-General prioritized human security in his speeches?
 - a. *Jean Jagues Rousseau*
 - b. Kofi Annan
 - c. *Boutros-Boutros Ghali*
 - d. Muammar Ghaddafi
2. The use of _____ and _____ are not excluded as tools of international diplomacy under human security
3. The human security agenda has emphasised protection of _____, peace support operations, conflict prevention, governance and accountability and public safety.

2.5 Human Security and the Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

While there are numerous examples of the human security approach in action, two notable global political events with direct ties to the human security agenda include the development of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principles guiding humanitarian intervention and the passage of the Ottawa Treaty banning anti-personnel landmines. The Responsibility to Protect 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. R2P stipulates three pillars of responsibility:

1. 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.
2. PILLAR TWO: The wider international community has the responsibility to encourage and assist individual states in meeting that responsibility.
3. 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.

There have been divergent views on the promotion of human security as part of the international security agenda. For instance, the members of the

Human Security Network including Canada and Norway consider human security a pillar of their countries' foreign policies and are active in its promotion. However, differences exist in the way Japan and these countries approach human security, specifically concerning its relevance to the concept of "national security" and "humanitarian intervention" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2021) In September 2000, the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) was established at the urging of the Canadian government to study relations between humanitarian intervention and state sovereignty. In its report, The Responsibility to Protect (R2P), ICISS argued that sovereign states should take responsibility to protect their own citizens. It declares that when sovereign states are unwilling or unable to protect their citizens from serious threats resulting from internal war, repression and state failure, international intervention becomes necessary for the purpose of protecting those citizens. The contents of R2P are reflected in the UN High Level Panel Report Threats, Challenges and Change issued in December 2004 which proposes conditions under which international military intervention would be permitted. The international debate over the role of military intervention for humanitarian purposes will continue to draw attention. However, this approach to human security which stresses the R2P has generated concerns among developing countries about possible external intervention. Concern exists that the governments of developing countries such as India and some Latin American states may raise objections. Despite its shortcomings, the R2P has brought more organized attention to civilian response capability, and to the need for militaries to rethink their force configuration, doctrine, rules of engagement, and training to deal better with mass atrocity response operations.

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. What is the meaning of Responsibility to Protect (R2P)?
2. Discuss the role of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) as a major component of human security
3. Identify the major pillars of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P)

2.6 Summary

This unit is very significant in this course. The issues discussed here are fundamental to understanding the interface of human security and the international security agenda. The unit identified the major actors and institutions involved in promoting the idea and practice of human security as well as the diplomatic efforts in integrating it as part of the international security agenda. We also examined the responsibility to protect,

particularly, its definition, significance as a major component of human security and the major pillars of the R2P. The concept of human security, aimed at protecting people's lives, leads to the responsibility to protect and the responsibility to protect, allowing military intervention to protect people's lives, leads to human security as it aims to protect human security.

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2.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

7. *Human security has emerged as a concept for understanding international security. It is significant as part of the international security agenda because as compared to the traditional notions of security which informs most of the work of the United Nations, it addresses the root causes of vulnerabilities, focuses attention on emerging risks and emphasizes early action. It strengthens local capacities to build resilience, and promotes solutions that enhance social cohesion and advance respect for human rights and dignity*
8. *Major states that promoted the concept of human security Canada, Norway, Japan and Switzerland, and organizations such as the UN, UNDP, World Bank, IMF and WTO have also been involved in the promotion of the concept.*
9. *Canadian*

Answers to SAEs 2

- 1 *(b). Kofi Annan*
- 2 *use of threats and force*
- 3 *civilians*

Answers to SAEs 3

1. *The Responsibility to Protect (R2P) 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.*
2. *As a major component of human security, Responsibility to Protect has brought more organized attention to civilian response capability, and to the need for militaries to rethink their force configuration, doctrine, rules of engagement, and training to deal better with mass atrocity response operations.*
3. *The responsibility to protect (commonly referred to as 'RtoP') rests upon three pillars:*
Pillar 1: The responsibility of each State to protect its populations;
Pillar 2: The responsibility of the international community to assist States in protecting their populations;
Pillar 3: The responsibility of the international community to protect when a State is manifestly failing to protect its populations.

UNIT 3 GLOBAL INITIATIVES FOR ACHIEVING HUMAN SECURITY AGENDA

Unit Structure

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 Learning Outcomes
- 3.3 The Human Security Network (HSN)
 - 3.3.1 The Friends of Human Security (FHS)
- 3.4 The UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS)
- 3.5 The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development
- 3.6 Summary
- 3.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

3.1 Introduction

In this unit, we shall discuss the global initiatives for realizing and implementing the human security agenda. **Global Initiatives** for human security refer to creativities at the international level that promotes collaborative action for human security through stakeholder engagement, content and high-level, multi-stakeholder forums. By sharing knowledge and best practices, and calling on all stakeholders to take action, they address human security challenges facing the world. These initiatives include, but not limited to, the Human Security Network (HSN), the Friends of Human Security, 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction, and the Sustaining Peace Agenda (IIHR, 2010). However, we shall focus on the first four.

3.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to;

- Understand the global initiatives for human security
- Identify the global initiatives for human security
- Discuss the tenets of each global initiative for realizing and implementing the human security agenda

3.3 The Human Security Network (HSN)

An important global initiative to promote and implement human security is the Human Security Network (HSN) initiated in 1999 by Canada and Norway. This is a group of like-minded countries from all regions of the

world that, at the level of Foreign Ministers, maintains dialogue on questions pertaining to human security. While the group was formally launched at a Ministerial meeting in Norway in 1999, conferences at Foreign Ministers level have been held in Bergen, in Norway (1999), in Lucerne, Switzerland (2000), Petra, Jordan (2001), Santiago de Chile (2002), Graz, Austria (2003), Bamako, Mali (2004), and Ottawa, Canada (2005) (Human Security Network, 2021). The Network identifies practical areas for collective action and pursues security policies that focus on the protection and security of individuals. The Network plays a catalytic role by bringing international attention to new and emerging issues. The Network's efforts to achieve greater human security include issues such as the universalization of the Ottawa Convention on Anti-personnel Landmines, the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC), the protection of children in armed conflict, the control of small arms and light weapons, the fight against trans-national organized crime, human development and human security, human rights education, the struggle against HIV/AIDS, addressing implementation gaps of international humanitarian and human rights law, and conflict prevention (Human Security Network, 2021).

3.3.1 The Friends of Human Security (FHS)

The FHS was established in October 2006 under Japan's initiative. The purpose of FHS is to provide an informal forum for United Nations Member States as well as relevant international organizations to discuss the concept of human security from different angles in order to seek a common understanding of human security and explore collaborative efforts for mainstreaming it in United Nations activities (Friends of Human Security, 2016). In addition to this, a thematic debate on human security was held for the first time in May 2008 at the General Assembly of the United Nations in accordance with the proposal by H.E. Mr. Srgjan KERIM, President of General Assembly at the Third Meeting of the Friends of Human Security.

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 are **Global Initiatives** for human security?
2. Outline the major global initiatives for realizing and implementing the human security agenda
3. The Human Security Network (HSN) initiated in _____ by Canada and Norway.
4. The FHS was established in October 2006 under _____ initiative.

3.4 The UN Trust Fund for Human Security (UNTFHS)

Funding is fundamental in achieving human security in the world. To realize the full potential of the human security approach, the UNTFHS (The Fund) was established in March 1999 to finance activities carried out by UN organisations. The establishment of The Fund is to demonstrate the added value of the human security approach and further extend its usage and awareness both within and outside of the UN system. The Fund initially focused on projects in the areas of health, education, agriculture and small-scale infrastructure development. These were implemented by the UN Agencies, Funds and Programmes. However, at the UN Millennium Summit in 2000, the UN Secretary-General called upon the international community to respond to the broad range of threats facing people at the start of the 21st century (Global Issues Cooperation Division Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2009).

As a contribution to this effort, an independent Commission on Human Security (CHS) was established. Based on the recommendations of the CHS, an Advisory Board on Human Security (ABHS) was created to promote human security and advise the Secretary General on the management of the UNTFHS. The ABHS held its first meeting on 16 September 2003 and agreed on new priorities for the UNTFHS. These included, among others, producing concrete and sustainable benefits to vulnerable people and communities threatened in their survival, livelihood and dignity; using the “protection and empowerment” framework; addressing the multi-sectoral demands of people and communities; integrating responses by the international community; working together with national governments and local partners; and avoiding duplication with existing initiatives.

In 2004, the UN Secretary-General transferred the substantive management of the UNTFHS from the Office of the UN Controller to the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), and established the Human Security Unit (HSU) in OCHA. The overall objective of the HSU is to place human security in the mainstream of UN activities. In 2009, the HSU published, *Human Security in Theory and Practice: Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security*. The handbook provides concrete guidance for applying the human security approach in the development, implementation and evaluation of human security projects and programmes.

3.5 **The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development**

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, approved in September 2015 by the UNGA, establishes a transformative vision towards the economic, social and environmental sustainability of the 193 UN Member States that adopted it. It is the guiding reference for the work of the international community until the year 2030. The UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set up in 2015 by UNGA and intended to be achieved by the year 2030 are included in the UNGA Resolution referred to as the 2030 Agenda. The SDGs, which succeeded the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which ended in 2015, has the 17 SDGs broadly conceived to achieve a world free of poverty, hunger, disease and want, free of fear and violence.

The UN is of the view that the Human Security approach offers an important framework that can assist the United Nations system and its partners to assess, develop and implement integrated responses that result in more resilient societies where people are safe from chronic threats such as abject poverty, hunger, disease, violence and repression, while protected from sudden and hurtful disruptions (The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2017). Specifically, human security supports the UN system to build on its unique position to facilitate integrated actions to achieve the SDGs in a more people-centred, comprehensive, sustainable and inclusive manner. By providing organizations, large and small, with a new way to address root causes of development deficits, and to prioritize, integrate and promote targeted and people-centred solutions, the application of human security can result in a stronger United Nations response (The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, 2017). It is imperative to state that global governance institutions also have major roles to play in the realisation of the global initiatives for human security. To this we turn our attention.

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. Briefly discuss any of the global initiatives for realizing and implementing the human security agenda
2. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) was succeeded by _____
3. In what year did the Human Security Unit of the UN publish the book title: *Human Security in Theory and Practice: Application of the Human Security Concept and the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security*?

3.6 Summary

We have examined the global initiatives for realizing and implementing the human security agenda. We defined global initiatives and identified the different global initiatives for human security. We also examined each of the initiatives and their significance. The initiatives include, but not limited to, the Human Security Network (HSN), the Friends of Human Security, 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. Even though we focused on four initiatives in this unit, students are strongly encouraging to do additional reading on the global initiatives. It is against this backdrop that in responding to one of the questions in the Self-Assessment Exercises (SAE), we provided insight on the New York Declaration for Refugees.

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3.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

1. **Global Initiatives** for human security refer to creativities at the international level that promotes collaborative action for human security through stakeholder engagement, content and high-level, multi-stakeholder forums. By sharing knowledge and best practices, and calling on all stakeholders to take action, they address human security challenges facing the world.
2. The major global initiatives for realizing and implementing the human security agenda include, but not limited to, the Human Security Network (HSN), the Friends of Human Security, 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security.
3. 1999
4. Japan's

Answers to SAEs 2

1. The New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants was adopted on September 19, 2016 by the United Nations General Assembly. The New York Declaration reaffirms the importance of the international refugee regime and contains a wide range of commitments by Member States to strengthen and enhance mechanisms to protect people on the move. It has paved the way for the adoption of two new global compacts in 2018: a global compact on refugees and a global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration. In adopting the New York Declaration, Member States, amongst others, reaffirmed their obligations to fully respect the human rights of refugees and migrants; and agreed that protecting refugees and supporting the countries that shelter them are shared international responsibilities and must be borne more equitably and predictably
2. Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
3. 2009

**UNIT 4 THE DIPLOMATIC ROLES OF INSTITUTIONS OF
GLOBAL GOVERNANCE IN PROMOTING HUMAN
SECURITY**

Unit Structure

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Learning Outcomes
- 4.3 *The World Bank and Human Security*
 - 4.3.1 The IMF and Human Security
- 4.4 The WTO and Human Security
 - 4.4.1 The United Nations, UNDP and Human Security
- 4.5 The WHO, Human Security and the COVID-19 Pandemic
- 4.6 Summary
- 4.7 References/Further Readings/Web Sources
- 4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

4.1 Introduction

Global governance institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, WTO, UN/UNDP and WHO play crucial roles towards the actualization of human security at national and international levels. They set global development policy and set, apply and monitor the global entitlement rules. Beyond these organizations, GG is more generally conducted through a range of organisations acting as intermediary bodies. Those include bodies in charge of regional coordination, such as the European Union (EU), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), African Union (AU), the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) which coordinate the policies of their members within their regions. Those also include strategic or economic initiatives under the leadership of one country – North Atlantic Treaty Organizations (NATO) for the US and China's Belt and Road Initiative, amongst others. Finally, GG relies on looser norm-setting forums, such as the G20, the G7, the World Economic Forum (WEF). In a way, the work of the UNDP has leaned in that direction. In this section of the paper, we examined and critiqued the role of selected GG institutions in human security policy.

4.2 Learning Outcomes

At the end of this unit, you should be able to;

- Understand the diplomatic roles of institutions of global governance in promoting human security
- Identify the major institutions of global governance

- Discuss the contributions of each institution of global governance in promoting human security

4.3 The World Bank and Human Security

Since its founding in 1944, the World Bank has evolved from a lender focused on European reconstruction to the preeminent GG institution also involved in promoting human security. The World Bank argued that it has made constructive contribution to the human security debate (World Bank, 2008). The World Bank's World Development Report 2000/1 on Poverty, identified three pillars of poverty reduction efforts: facilitating empowerment, enhancing security, and promoting opportunities. The "security" pillar is described as follows: "Reducing vulnerability – to economic shocks, natural disasters, ill health, disability, and personal violence—is an intrinsic part of enhancing wellbeing and encourages investment in human capital and in higher-risk, higher-return activities" (World Bank, 2008). The report uses security to refer not narrowly to economic security for vulnerable populations, but also to conflict prevention and/or resolution. It identifies priority areas for international cooperation, which include not only international financial stability, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria, agricultural advances, and environmental protection, but also a reduction in arms trade, and post-conflict reconstruction. The key contribution of this report from the human security perspective is the organic fusion of hitherto disparate areas of study: risks and vulnerabilities, risk management strategies, and studies that recognize distinct strategies depending upon the size and nature of the affected community.

The World Bank argued that it has also undertaken to work on conflict. In the 1990s, 24 percent of International Development Assistance (IDA) commitments went to countries that had experienced significant civil conflicts, and the Bank works in 37 post-conflict countries. The Bank, thus defined its rules of engagement for client countries at various stages of their internal violence, and also developed a post-conflict unit and fund that has given grants in 27 countries, and programs such as de-mining and reintegration of displaced persons. In January 2001, it issued an Operational Policy 2.30 "Development Cooperation and Conflict" that opens with the sentence, "The Bank recognizes that economic and social stability and human security are preconditions for sustainable development." The Governance Global Practice supports client countries to build capable, efficient, open, inclusive, and accountable institutions. This is critical for returning to sustainable growth after COVID-19.

The World Bank, has been the subject of much criticism over the years. In his 2006 book, *The White Man's Burden*, former World Bank economist William Easterly, criticized the Western efforts at poverty reduction. He argued that "The plan to end world poverty shows all the pretensions of utopian social engineering," The bank's attempts to rapidly impose free markets on developing countries in the 1980s and 1990s, known as economic "shock therapy," produced a "record of failure" in Latin America, Africa, and former Soviet countries. Scholars have argued that client nations would be better served by homegrown, piecemeal reforms than the stringent policies of the World Bank (Chang, 2010; Masters & Chatzky, 2019; Stiglitz, 2002). According to Joseph Stiglitz, who resigned from his position as the World Bank's chief economist in 1999, the bank is a free-market fundamentalism for many developing countries (Masters & Chatzky, 2019). Stiglitz (2002) argued the economic reforms the IMF and World Bank often required as conditions for their lending, the so-called Washington Consensus of fiscal austerity, high interest rates, trade liberalization, privatization, and open capital markets have often been counterproductive for target economies and devastating for their populations (Masters & Chatzky, 2019). He linked indiscriminate lending conditionality to the onset of financial crises in East Asia in 1997, Argentina in 1999 and Africa in the late 1980s and 1990s. For Chang (2010) the World Bank and the IMF present themselves as 'good Samaritans' whose only motives are to assist the developing world, but they are actually 'bad Samaritans' because their motives are essentially selfish. The criticisms above do not suggest that the World Bank helps to prevent state failure through loans and advice on governance. Rather it could be argued that its policies precipitate state failure and even collapse through conditions that adversely affect state capacity and social capital. Where state failures have occurred in Africa, they often lead to coup d'états, insurgencies civil violence, and refugee outflows.

4.3.1 The IMF and Human Security

Since its inception in July 1944, the IMF has undergone considerable change as chief steward of the world's monetary system. Officially charged with managing the global regime of exchange rates and international payments that allows nations to do business with one another, the fund recast itself in a broader, more active role following the 1973 collapse of fixed exchange rates, intervening in developing countries from Asia to Latin America. In 2010, it gained renewed relevance as the European sovereign debt crisis unfolded, and, a decade later, it responded to the economic collapse triggered by the coronavirus pandemic.

The IMF was conceived as a watchdog of the monetary and exchange rate policies vital to global markets. Apart from its surveillance and technical assistance which is provided to middle income countries help manage their economies, IMF provides lending (Masters, Chatzky & Siripurapu, 2021). The fund gives loans to member countries that are struggling to meet their international obligations. Loans, or bailouts, are provided in return for implementing specific IMF conditions designed to put government finances on a sustainable footing and restore growth through “structural adjustment programmes”. SAP policies have included balancing the budget, removing state subsidies, privatizing state enterprises, liberalizing trade and currency policy, and removing barriers to foreign investment and capital flows (Masters, Chatzky & Siripurapu, 2021).

The IMF has also been severely criticized for undermining global efforts at promoting human security. In his 2002 book, *Globalization and Its Discontents*, Nobel Prize winning economist Joseph Stiglitz denounced the fund as a primary culprit in the failed development policies implemented in some of the world’s poorest countries. He argues that many of the economic reforms the IMF required as conditions for its lending fiscal austerity, high interest rates, trade liberalization, privatization, and open capital markets have often been counterproductive for target economies and devastating for local populations (Stiglitz, 2002). William Easterly makes this case in his 2006 account of the failures of Western aid to the undeveloped world, *The White Man’s Burden*. While he acknowledges some IMF successes in firefighting financial crises in Mexico and East Asian countries in the mid-1990s. He criticizes many of the fund’s interventions in severely impoverished countries, particularly in Africa and Latin America (Easterly, 2006). In addition, he describes many of the fund’s loan conditions and technical advice as out of touch with ground-level realities. According to Stiglitz (2002), both the World Bank and IMF are the agent of the richest countries on earth, especially America, and its function is to offer loans to poor countries, but only if they privatise their economies and allow western companies free access to their raw materials and markets.

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 do you understand by the diplomatic roles of institutions of global governance in promoting human security?
2. Identify the major institutions of global governance
3. The World Bank was founded in the year_____
4. State one of the major criticisms of the IMF

4.4 The WTO and Human Security

The WTO was formally founded in 1995. Before then, the GATT, the forerunner of WTO was set up during the Bretton Woods Conference of August 1944 to liberalise world trade and prevent a slide to protectionism that was seen during the run up to WW II. While the GATT did manage to remove the majority of tariffs for manufactured goods, it still had considerable work to do at liberalising trade in the service and agricultural industries. The WTO represented the culmination of the so-called Washington Consensus, which is an ideology of international elites that derive the greatest benefit from the free market system. The WTO, now comprising 164 members since July, 2016, became the main vehicle for implementing the Washington Consensus as both the negotiator of free trade agreements and the court of arbitration for trade disputes between states. But behind the curtain of governments were powerful corporate interests that enjoyed access to national governments and trade negotiators and in some cases-initiated trade challenges by governments against other member governments.

The security of corporations and multinational companies rather than human security has played an important, if not always overt, role in the formation and conduct of the WTO, resulting in a system skewed in their favour. For example, agricultural corporations that urged the United States to challenge the special economic development measure accorded to poorer banana-producing countries by the European Union. Using free trade rules, the WTO ruled in favour of the United States, which does not even export bananas, and handed an important victory to corporations with lucrative holdings in those developing countries negatively affected by EU preferential policies. But a price was paid by poorer countries that, in some cases, are entirely dependent on banana exports for their economy. Alliances are being formed in the global South to confront the unfair demands of the North in free trade negotiations. In the lead-up to the WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancun, Mexico, in September 2003, Brazil, South Africa, India, China and other emerging countries forged an alliance to confront Northern countries on their unfair trade demands. The main issues the Southern countries raised were the devastating American and European agricultural subsidies; they also opposed the introduction of new issues, such as investment. In Cancun the various coalitions of Southern countries, such as the Group of 21, resisted successfully the traditional strong-arm tactics of the Northern countries and the WTO talks ended in a stalemate.

The WTO has been widely criticized in terms of its aims and underlying philosophy. In particular, global free trade has been seen to widen economic inequalities by giving dominant powers access to the markets

of weak states while having little to fear themselves from foreign competition. Free trade, moreover, gives economies global markets rather than local needs, and tends to place profit before considerations of community, stability and workers' rights. Environmentalists have made particular criticisms of the WTO, arguing that free trade and economic deregulation tend to weaken environmental protection and preservation. The WTO's principles fail to take into account the environmental impact of free trade and economic restructuring. The WTO is often criticized for being undemocratic and for favouring the interests of rich and powerful state. This is evident in a lack of even-handedness, in that protectionist practices in the developed North, particularly in agriculture, have often been tolerated while they have been fiercely criticised in the developing South. The WTO has also been criticised for being ineffective, in that the task of decision-making in the area of trade practices has often been frustratingly slow. This is evident in the faltering progress of the Doha Round of negotiations, which has been hampered by tensions between Northern and Southern states in particular.

4.4.1 The United Nations, UNDP and Human Security

The UN is a universal institution of GG. It was founded in 1945, in the wake of the Second World War, as a way to prevent future conflicts on that scale. Its primary mandate is to save us from experiencing another major global war, like World War II. The UN has expanded its size and operations to accommodate the pressures placed on it by its member states and to meet the new challenges to international security in a rapidly globalizing world. In 2001, the Commission on Human Security was created by the UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan and published its Human Security Now Report two years later. At the UN-level, the UNGA has adopted a definition of the concept and has also held thematic debates on the subject (UN General Assembly, 22 May 2008). However, it is the UNSC which has the power and primary responsibility to maintain international peace and security under Article 24 of the UN Charter and can take action under Chapters VI and VII of the Charter to either settle a dispute through peaceful means or take enforcement measures to maintain or restore international peace and security (Gilder, 2021). Therefore, the Security Council is unique in its position to articulate threats to international peace and security advance what it deems to be an important agenda, and coordinate a human security approach (Ng, 2010).

The conceptual framework of human security has had profound effect on the mandating of UN peace operations. According to Howe, Kondock and Spijkers (2015) while peace operation mandates do not use the language of human security, they are impacted by the UN's wider human security agenda which includes the protection of civilians, R2P and pursuit of the

MDGs, now SDGs. Gilder (2021) reveal that from the examples of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali (MINUSMA) and the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in the Central African Republic (MINUSCA), the UN is beginning to focus more on the human security approach in its missions. Specifically, he noted that these missions sought to apply the five principles of human security, namely, human rights and the rule of law; space to identify the vital core; identification of vulnerabilities and building resilience; missions are protection focused; and empowerment of individuals (Gilder, 2021, p.131).

Both MINUSMA and MINUSCA have carried out a number of activities aimed at promoting human rights and establishing the rule of law. MINUSMA has been directly involved in the training of Malian Defence and Security forces and police since 2013 and understands that 'long-term reconciliation will not be possible without the promotion and defence of the human rights of all communities in the north. The concept of human security recognises vulnerability as a crucial factor in decision-making (Gilder, 2021, p.132). The mandates of MINUSMA and MINUSCA recognise the vulnerability of women and children and call for specific protection and the deployment of Child Protection Advisors and Women Protection Advisors. Other groups have been identified as vulnerable in Mali and the CAR such as displaced persons, the elderly, disabled, and Muslim communities. Both MINUSMA and MINUSCA have protection of civilian (PoC) Mandates. The PoC mandates themselves specify the protection of civilians 'under imminent threat of physical violence' (Gilder, 2021, p.132).

As expounded in the section three, the UNDP drew global attention to the concept of human security in its *Human Development Reports*. In 1994, the *Human Development Report* focused explicitly on human security. The report argued that, for too long, the concept of security has been shaped by the potential for conflict between states. For too long, security has been equated with threats to a country's borders. For too long, nations have sought arms to protect their security (UNDP, 1994, p. 3). For most people today, a feeling of insecurity arises more from worries about daily life than from the dread of a cataclysmic world event. Job security, income security, health security, environmental security, security from crime, these are the emerging concerns of human security all over the world (UNDP, 1994, p. 3). The 1994 report, by focusing on human security, sought to influence the UN's 1995 World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen. Throughout the late 1990s, the UNDP's annual reports built on and refined this concept. The UNDP played a crucial agenda-setting role at an early stage with its focus on human security. The UNDP publishes an annual Human Development Index (HDI) that provides a

relevant comparative analysis of international human development indicators.

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. *What is the major role of WTO in global governance?*
2. *State the foremost criticism of the WTO*
3. *The UNDP Human Development Report of 1994, focused explicitly on the concept of _____.*

4.5 The WHO, Human Security and the COVID-19 Pandemic

The COVID-19 outbreak in Wuhan, China and its subsequent spread to the parts of the world brought to the fore the imperative of global health governance which is a key component of human security. Global health governance has been understood as the formal and informal institutions, rules, and processes by which states, intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), foundations, the private sector, and other non-state actors collectively act on health issues that cross borders (Taylor, 2002). Since its establishment on 7 April, 1948, the WHO has played essential roles in the GG of health and disease; due to its core global functions of establishing, monitoring and enforcing international norms and standards, and coordinating multiple actors toward common goals (Ruger & Yach, 2009)). Global health governance requires WHO leadership and effective implementation of its core global functions to ensure better effectiveness of all health actors, but achieving this global mission could be hampered by narrowing activities and budget reallocations from core global functions (Ruger & Yach, 2009).

Health is an essential component of human development and individual well-being and this is increasingly recognized at the global level. At the same time, human development and individual well-being cannot be achieved if people are not sufficiently protected against threats and do not themselves feel safe. Health security, human security, and human rights are therefore closely interconnected. The Forty-Ninth Session of the WHO *Regional Committee for the Eastern Mediterranean* in August 2002 discussed on *Health and Human Security*. In the report, the WHO argued that equity of access to health care should be one of the main policy goals. Every national health system should ensure universal access to adequate quality care and avoid unfair and unjustified discrimination between individuals, groups and communities. The striving for equity in access to health care must be a fundamental objective of the process of health sector reform (WHO, 2002).

However, the WHO as a GG institution has also been an arena of global power contestation and politicking. While state, particularly powerful states and inter-governmental state actors, are mostly underscored as the major forces driving GHG, the factor of “money talks” has given rise to newer powers, most of which are non-state actors as major driving forces in the GHG architecture. Examples in this regard are the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Celebrated in global health circles for having a larger budget than the WHO, the Foundation’s global health program has exhibited tremendous influence with regard to its ability to finance activities and institutions directly, influence agendas, and secure a presence in high-level global health summits and the World Health Assembly. Beyond being a major donor in the area of health, Bill Gates and Melinda, have become significant players in not only the field of health, but a reference point in global politics as a whole. As observed by Peters, Hollings, Green and Ogunniran (2020) WHO has been subjected to serious criticism for its handling of the COVID-19 virus, specifically that it failed to act decisively to stop the global outbreak and that the organization became subservient to American and China’s politics and unable to demonstrate its independence (Peters, Hollings, Green & Ogunniran, 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic is by far the most serious pandemic and its management has been further complicated by the fact that the pandemic occurred within a sharply escalating deterioration of US-China relations, heightened by the trade wars (Peters, Hollings, Green & Ogunniran, 2020). The COVID-19 impacted on human security in all ramifications, health, economic, political, individual and community security, and even politics. The COVID-19 pandemic and public policies associated with it affect economic and health security in Africa negatively. Given the fact that many African countries have been struggling to cope with different facets of economic and health security challenges without much success before the outbreak of COVID-19, the additional setbacks created by pandemic make the situation more cumbersome (Umukoro, 2021). This is because public policies such as travel ban and lockdown reduce economic activities thus affecting the various sources of livelihoods in different parts of Africa. The new challenge to the spread of the new variant of COVID-19 such as the Delta and Omicron in Africa stem from the availability and acceptability of the vaccines. The COVID-19 vaccine has become the new form of political power and competition between old and emerging powers (Matambo, 2021). African countries still lag behind, European, American and to some extent, Asian actors that have politicized the vaccine as they try to show their benevolence towards Africa while reaping soft power diplomatic benefits in return.

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. Explain the diplomatic role of the WHO in ensuring human security*
- 2. The COVID-19 was first discovered in _____*
- 3. With reference to Africa, briefly discuss the impact of the COVID-19 on human security*

4.6 Summary

This unit focused on diplomatic roles of global governance institutions such as the World Bank, IMF, WTO, UN/UNDP and WHO towards the promoting human security at international level. Our discussion in this unit has shown that human security has been championed and implemented by a range of global governance institutions, working through state and non-state actors. The diplomatic roles of each of the identified global governance institution was critically examined, with a view to establishing in whose interest these global governance institutions are actually promoting and, and whether they are actually supporting and upholding same standards of human security for both the developed and developing countries of the world. Students are encouraged to explore additional materials on the subject in order to deepen their understanding of the diplomatic roles of institutions of global governance in promoting human security.

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4.8 Possible Answers to Self-Assessment Exercises (SAEs)

Answers to SAEs 1

10. *The diplomatic roles of global governance institutions refer to the coordination of the behavior of transnational actors and facilitation of cooperation toward achieving the objectives of human security. Beyond the UN, other institutions with global mandates play diplomatic roles in global governance.*
11. *The major global governance institutions include formal international institutions like the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).*
12. *1944*
13. *The economic reforms of the IMF have been criticized for being counterproductive. IMF gives conditions for its lending, which include: fiscal austerity, high-interest rates, trade liberalization, privatization, and open capital markets. All these have often been counterproductive for target economies and devastating for local populations.*

Answers to SAEs 2

1. *The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the only international organization dealing with the global rules of trade. Its main function is to ensure that trade flows as smoothly, predictably and freely as possible. WTO is also is a forum for governments to negotiate trade agreements. It is a place for them to settle trade disputes. It operates a system of trade rules.*
2. *The WTO has been criticised for being ineffective, in that the task of decision-making in the area of trade practices has often been frustratingly slow. This is evident in the faltering progress of the Doha Round of negotiations, which has been hampered by tensions between Northern and Southern states in particular.*
3. *human security*

Answers to SAEs 3

4. *WHO's diplomatic role in global health governance is a practical expression of the Constitutional function to act as "the directing and coordinating authority on international health work. WHO works worldwide to promote health, keep the world safe, and serve the vulnerable. Our goal is to ensure that a billion more people have universal health coverage, to protect a billion more people from health emergencies, and provide a further billion people with better health and well-being.*
5. *Wuhan, China*

6. *The COVID-19 impacted on human security in all ramifications, health, economic, political, individual and community security, and even politics. The COVID-19 pandemic and public policies associated with it affect economic and health security in Africa negatively. Given the fact that many African countries have been struggling to cope with different facets of economic and health security challenges without much success before the outbreak of COVID-19. In addition, the lockdown in response to the covid-19 outbreak affected the poor, vulnerable and undernourished people in Africa who did not have access to sanitation and health services and lived in densely populated areas and depended on daily work for survival*