

IREb1007

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

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Session 10: National Security II

On the Agenda for Today

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■ Deterrence

- Scope
- Coercive Diplomacy:
 - The Cuban Missile Crisis
 - The Gulf War

■ Fragile/Failed States

- Why States?
- Definition
- Sources of Failure
- Examples & Indicators

- OECD Fragility Framework 2020
- The Fragile States Index
- Why do States Fail?
- Where's the Problem?

■ Terrorism

- Definitions & Common Themes

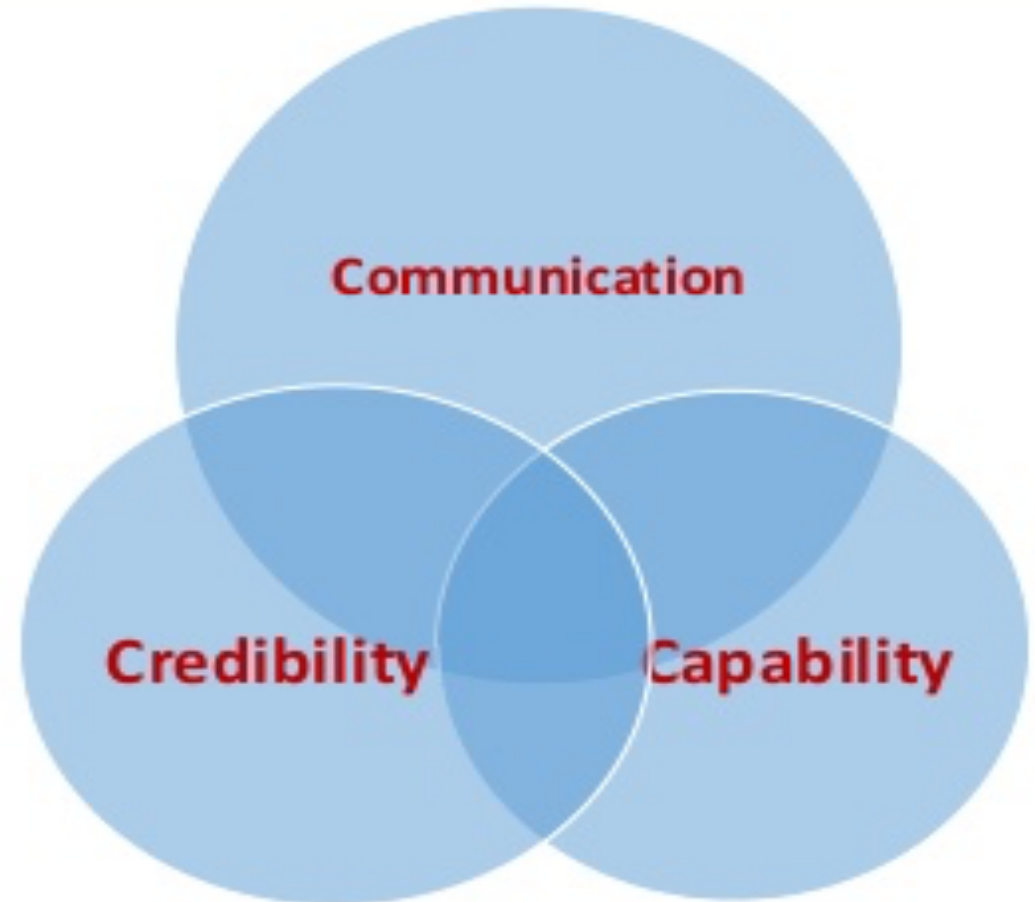
Deterrence: Scope

- **Narrow Conception:** Only **military tools** of statecraft (the threat of military response)
- **Broad Conception:** Expands the scope of **non-military actions** to include threats of economic sanctions, diplomatic exclusion, information operations
- Why is using a **broader concept** important?
 - **Threat-based deterrence strategies** can **provoke** the very conflicts they are meant to avoid
 - Actions taken to punish an aggressor can create a **desperate situation** in which the aggressor ends up believing that **war is its only option**

**THERE'S NOTHING MORE
DANGEROUS THAN A
MAN WHO HAS
NOTHING TO LOSE**

Coercive Diplomacy

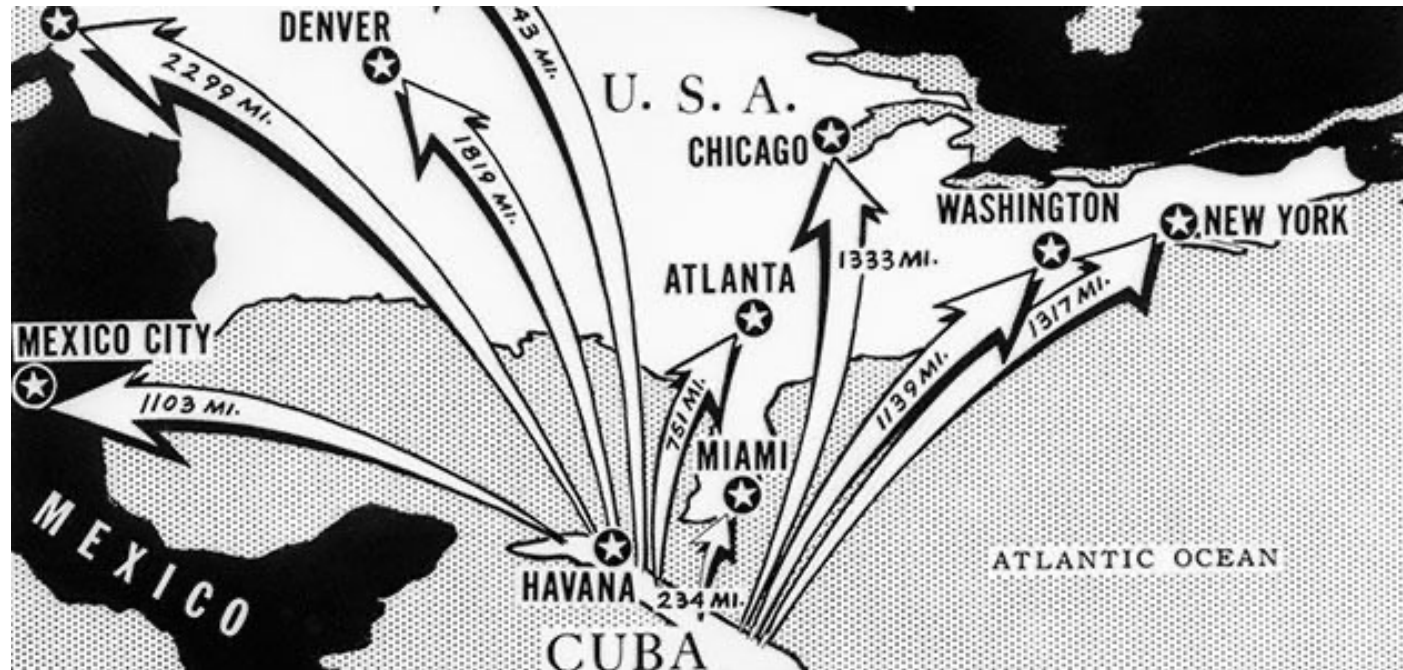
- “Defensive strategy that is employed to deal with the efforts of an adversary to change a status quo situation in his own favor, by persuading the adversary to stop what it is doing or to undo what it had done”
(Alexander George)
- Prerequisites of a successful deterrence
 - **Communication!**
 - **Diplomatic action + military force** used to force the opponent to back down



The Cuban Missile Crisis

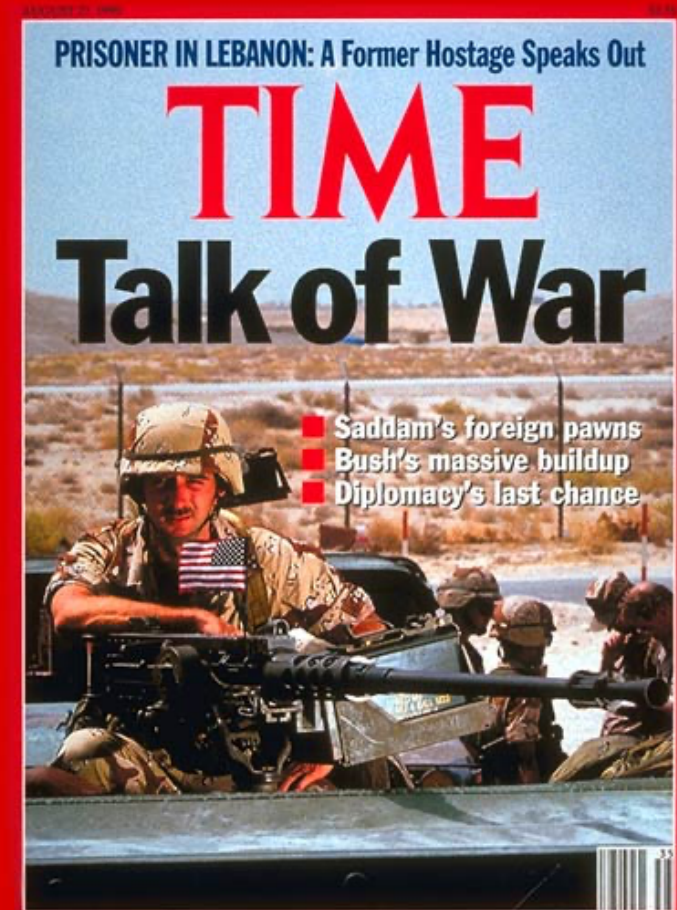
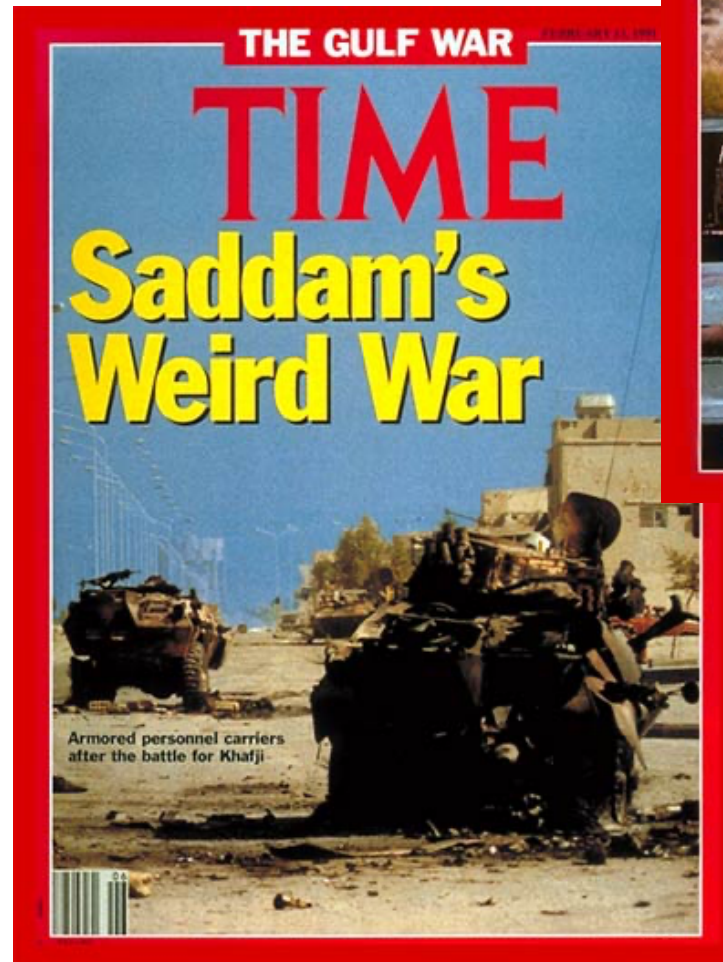
- **Success => Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)**
 - The Soviet Union deployed ballistic missiles into Cuba
 - U.S. President Kennedy successfully employed coercive diplomacy to compel the Soviet Union to remove them

- Kennedy' limited **demands**
- Kennedy limited the initial **means of coercion**
- Khrushchev + Kennedy followed operational **principles of crisis management**



The Gulf War

- Failure => The First Gulf War (1990-1991)
 - Coercive diplomacy **failed** to persuade Saddam Hussein to **remove military forces** from **Kuwait**
 - **Military force** was eventually used to remove Iraqi forces from Kuwait (**Operation Desert Storm**)



Failed/Fragile States



Why States?

- The **Leviathan** (Hobbes)
 - Metaphor for the **state**
 - Artificial organ whose body is made up of its citizens
 - The **head** of the Leviathan is the **sovereign**
- To protect us from inevitable **anarchy**, Hobbes argued, we need a leader & protector (**sovereign**), whose position is governed by a contract with the people ("**Social Contract**")
- **People** trade in certain **rights**, freedoms in exchange of **protection + security**

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LEVIATHAN



THOMAS HOBBS

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Definitions

- **Fragile/Failed region/state:** “... has **weak capacities** to carry out **basic governance functions** and lacks the ability to develop mutually constructive relations with society
 - **Collapse of state institutions**, especially the police + judiciary => Paralysis of governance, **breakdown of law & order**, general **banditry** and **chaos**
- **Government** cannot/will not deliver **core functions** to most of its people
- **‘Fragility’** => Combination of **exposure to risk** + **insufficient coping capacity** of the state, systems and/or communities to manage, absorb or mitigate those risks
 - Can lead to **violence**, poverty, inequality, displacement, environmental + political degradation



Fragile/Failed States



- Two **sources** of “**failure**” => External/Internal
- **External:**
 - State is unable to meet its obligations as a member of the system of states
- **Internal:**
 - The state is unable to meet the **basic needs of its citizens** (social, economic, legal + political services) and safe-guard the public
 - **Internal disintegration of a state** => Economic devastation, social fragmentation ...
 - **Governmental collapse** => Lose of the right to rule, legitimacy

Fragile/Failed States



- State authority: State lacks clear international sovereign status, cannot control its borders; one or more groups subjected to violence or not provided security
- Effective political power: The **power of the executive is not subject to controls**; no effective channels for political participation
- Economic management: **Weak** or partial **financial management** tools; **no transparency** in the public management of natural resource extraction
- Administrative capacity to deliver services: The state levies less than 15% of GDP in tax; **access to public services** for specific regions of the country deliberately **limited**
- **Loss of physical control of territory/monopoly** on the **legitimate use of force**
- Erosion of **legitimate authority** to make collective decisions

Fragile/Failed States

Indicators of fragility and vulnerability =>

- **Political Indicators** (de-legitimisation of the state, progressive deterioration of the public service, widespread violation of human rights ...)
- **Social Indicators** (demographic pressures, massive movement of refugees/internally displaced peoples, legacy of vengeance-seeking group grievance ...)
- **Economic Indicators** (uneven economic development affecting fractions of the population)
- **Environmental indicators** (Risks of disasters generated by natural forces and/or interaction between the environment & human activities)



Fragile/Failed States

Indicators of fragility and vulnerability =>

- Fragility is expressed in different ways across the **economic, environmental, political, security** and **societal** dimensions (human capital dimension forthcoming)
 - Measured on a **spectrum of intensity**
- Each dimension is represented by 8-12 indicators
- **2020: 57 fragile countries + territories, 13 are extremely fragile**

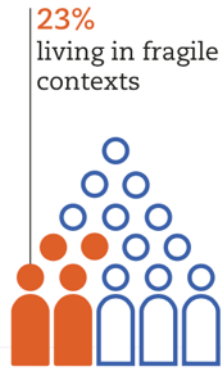


OECD fragility framework 2020



Population

1.8 billion people, or 23%, of the world's population are living in fragile contexts in 2020. This figure is projected to grow to 2.2 billion by 2030 and 3.0 billion by 2050, which will represent 26% and 31%, respectively, of the total world population.



Source: World Population Prospects, 2019

Geography

In 2020, 43% of the population in fragile contexts is living in urban areas, compared to 54% of the population in non-fragile contexts. This share is expected to increase to 48% in fragile contexts by 2030 and to 59% by 2050.



Source: World Urbanization Prospects, 2018

Climate and environment

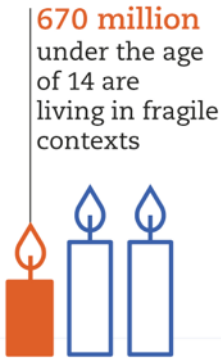
Half of the 48 contexts most exposed to climate change are fragile; together, they account for 61% of the total population of fragile contexts.



Source: ND-GAIN Country Index

Youth

A third of the world's children (670 million) are living in fragile contexts in 2020, and they make up 38% of the total population of fragile contexts. This figure underscores the importance of human capital investments.



Source: World Population Prospects, 2019

Poverty

In 2020, fragile contexts are home to an estimated 76.5% of people living in extreme poverty (460 million). An additional 26 million people are expected to fall into extreme poverty due to the impact of COVID-19 in fragile contexts.



Source: World Bank

Governance

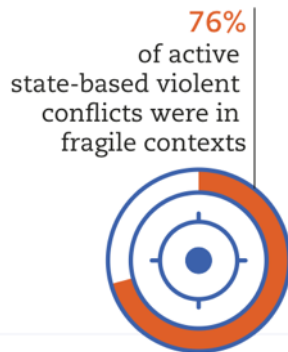
In 2019, 35 fragile contexts were classified as authoritarian regimes; 17 were hybrid regimes; and 2 were flawed democracies.



Source: Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index, 2019

Violence and armed conflict

Fragile contexts accounted for 76% of all active, state-based violent conflicts and 96% of all deaths from state-based armed conflict in 2019.



Source: Uppsala Conflict Data Program

Forced displacement

In 2019, fragile contexts hosted 13.5 million refugees, and 7 of the top 10 refugee-hosting developing contexts were fragile. A total of 18.4 million refugees originated from fragile contexts, compared to 1.5 million refugees from non-fragile, developing contexts.



Source: UNHCR Refugee Statistics

Food insecurity

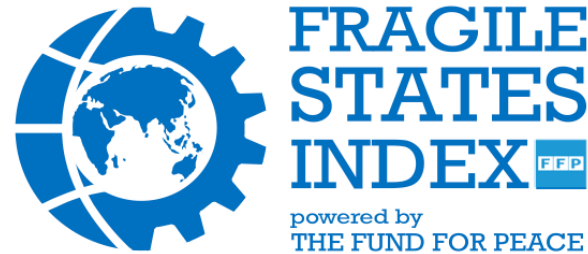
In 2019, 44 of the 55 food-insecure contexts were fragile, accounting for 128 million (95% of global total) acutely food-insecure people in crisis or worse.



Source: World Food Programme Global Report on Food Crises 2020

The Fragile States Index

- Published by “Fund for Peace”, U.S. non-profit, NGO, research + educational institution



- Facets**

- Twelve **indicators** (social, economic, political, cohesion)
- Zero** (most sustainable) to **10** (least sustainable) scale
- Final score is sum of all twelve indicator scores

POLITICAL

INDICATORS



P1: State Legitimacy

P2: Public Services

P3: Human Rights and Rule of Law

SOCIAL

AND CROSS-CUTTING INDICATORS



S1: Demographic Pressures

S2: Refugees and IDPs

X1: External Intervention

COHESION

INDICATORS



C1: Security Apparatus

C2: Factionalized Elites

C3: Group Grievance

ECONOMIC

INDICATORS



E1: Economic Decline

E2: Uneven Economic Development

E3: Human Flight and Brain Drain

VERY SUSTAINABLE

- 14.6 Finland (178) ▲
- 16.2 Norway (177) ▲
- 17.1 Switzerland (176) ▲
- 17.2 Denmark (175) ▲
- 17.8 Iceland (174) ▲
- 17.9 New Zealand (173) ▲
- 18.2 Sweden (172) ▲
- 18.7 Canada (171) ▲
- 18.8 Luxembourg (170) ▲
- 19.7 Australia (169) =
- 19.9 Ireland (168) ▲

SUSTAINABLE

- 22.9 Netherlands (167) ▲
- 23.2 Germany (166) ▲
- 23.5 Portugal (165) ▲
- 24.1 Austria (164) ▲
- 25.8 Slovenia (163) ▲
- 26.3 Singapore (162) ▲
- 27.1 Belgium (161) ▲

VERY STABLE

- 30.5 France (160) ▲
- 32.0 South Korea (159) ▲
- 32.3 Japan (158) ▲
- 33.4 Uruguay (157) ▲
- 33.6 Malta (156) ▲
- 35.7 Czechia (155) ▲
- 36.5 Lithuania (154) ▲
- 37.2 Mauritius (153) ▲
- 38.1 United Arab Emirates (152) ▲
- 38.2 Slovak Republic (151) ▲
- 38.3 United Kingdom (=149) ▼
- 38.3 United States (=149) ▼
- 38.5 Estonia (148) ▲

MORE STABLE

- 40.2 Costa Rica (147) ▲
- 40.4 Spain (146) ▲
- 41.0 Poland (145) ▲
- 42.3 Latvia (144) ▲
- 42.4 Italy (143) ▲
- 42.5 Chile (142) ▼
- 43.7 Qatar (141) ▲
- 46.0 Panama (140) ▲
- 46.1 Argentina (139) ▼
- 46.1 Croatia (138) ▲
- 46.4 Barbados (137) ▲
- 46.7 Romania (136) ▲
- 47.6 Hungary (135) ▲
- 48.0 Oman (134) ▲
- 49.2 Bulgaria (133) ▲
- 49.9 Bahamas (132) ▼

MORE STABLE

- 50.9 Kuwait (131) ▲
- 51.9 Mongolia (=129) ▲
- 51.9 Trinidad & Tobago (=129) ▲
- 52.1 Antigua & Barbuda (=127) ▲
- 52.1 Greece (=127) ▲
- 54.7 Seychelles (126) ▲
- 55.2 Grenada (125) ▲
- 55.5 Montenegro (124) ▼
- 56.1 Cyprus (123) ▲
- 56.6 Brunei Darussalam (122) ▲
- 57.1 Botswana (121) ▲
- 57.6 Malaysia (120) ▲
- 58.8 Albania (119) ▲
- 59.2 Cuba (118) ▲
- 59.8 Kazakhstan (117) ▲

WARNING

- 60.0 Jamaica (116) ▲
- 60.1 Suriname (115) ▲
- 60.8 Belize (114) ▲
- 62.1 North Macedonia (113) ▲
- 63.3 Samoa (112) ▲
- 63.9 Vietnam (111) ▲
- 63.9 Bahrain (110) ▼
- 64.2 Ghana (=108) ▲
- 64.2 Armenia (=108) ▲
- 64.4 Dominican Republic (107) ▲
- 64.8 Cape Verde (106) ▲
- 65.1 Namibia (105) ▲
- 65.2 Paraguay (104) ▲
- 65.8 Belarus (103) ▲
- 66.0 Guyana (=101) ▲
- 66.0 Moldova (=101) ▲
- 66.1 Serbia (100) ▲
- 66.2 Maldives (99) ▲
- 67.2 Mexico (98) ▲
- 67.6 Peru (97) ▲
- 67.8 Indonesia (96) ▲
- 68.1 Tunisia (95) ▲
- 68.8 Saudi Arabia (94) ▲
- 68.9 El Salvador (93) ▲
- 69.0 Ukraine (92) ▲
- 69.1 Gabon (=90) ▲
- 69.1 Turkmenistan (=90) ▲
- 69.4 Ecuador (89) ▲
- 69.5 Bhutan (88) ▲
- 69.9 China (=86) ▲
- 69.9 Fiji (=86) ▲

ELEVATED WARNING

- 70.1 South Africa (85) ▲
- 70.2 Bosnia & Herzegovina (84) ▲
- 70.3 Sao Tome & Principe. (83) ▲
- 70.8 Thailand (82) ▲
- 71.2 Georgia (=79) ▲
- 71.2 Micronesia (=79) ▲
- 71.2 Morocco (=79) ▲
- 71.3 Azerbaijan (78) ▲
- 72.5 Benin (77) ▲
- 72.6 Russia (76) ▲
- 73.0 Brazil (75) ▼
- 73.1 Uzbekistan (74) ▲
- 73.9 Kyrgyz Republic (73) ▲
- 74.6 Algeria (=71) ▲
- 74.6 Senegal (=71) ▲
- 75.0 Bolivia (70) ▼
- 75.1 Israel / West Bank (69) ▲
- 75.3 India (68) ▼
- 75.4 Jordan (67) ▲
- 75.5 Tajikistan (66) ▲
- 76.6 Colombia (65) ▼
- 76.8 Honduras (64) ▲
- 76.9 Laos (63) ▲
- 77.1 Nicaragua (62) ▲
- 78.1 Tanzania (61) ▲
- 78.3 Lesotho (60) ▲
- 79.1 Turkey (59) ▲
- 79.2 Guatemala (58) ▲
- 79.5 Madagascar (57) ▲
- 79.7 Solomon Islands (56) ▲

HIGH WARNING

- 80.3 Cambodia (55) ▲
- 81.0 Philippines (54) ▲
- 81.2 Comoros (53) ▲
- 81.8 Sri Lanka (52) ▲
- 82.2 The Gambia (51) ▲
- 82.3 Papua New Guinea (50) ▲
- 82.6 Nepal (49) ▲
- 82.7 Timor-Leste (=47) ▲
- 82.7 Djibouti (=47) ▲
- 83.0 Equatorial Guinea (=45) ▼
- 83.0 Eswatini (=45) ▲
- 83.4 Iran (44) ▼
- 84.0 Malawi (43) ▼
- 84.4 Sierra Leone (42) ▲
- 84.5 Zambia (41) ▲
- 84.7 Lebanon (40) ▲
- 85.7 Bangladesh (39) ▲
- 85.8 Togo (38) ▲
- 85.9 Burkina Faso (37) ▼
- 86.0 Egypt (=35) ▲
- 86.0 Rwanda (=35) ▲
- 87.3 Angola (34) ▲
- 88.7 Mauritania (33) ▲
- 89.7 Côte d'Ivoire (32) ▲

ALERT

- 90.0 Liberia (31) ▲
- 90.2 North Korea (30) ▲
- 90.3 Kenya (29) ▲
- 91.2 Venezuela (28) ▼
- 91.7 Mozambique (27) ▼
- 92.1 Congo (Republic) (=25) ▲
- 92.1 Pakistan (=25) ▲
- 92.8 Uganda (24) ▲
- 92.9 Guinea Bissau (23) ▲
- 94.0 Myanmar (22) ▲
- 94.6 Ethiopia (21) ▼
- 95.2 Libya (20) ▼
- 95.3 Niger (19) ▲
- 95.8 Eritrea (18) ▲
- 95.9 Iraq (17) ▲
- 96.0 Mali (16) ▼
- 97.2 Guinea (15) ▲
- 97.3 Nigeria (14) ▲
- 97.7 Haiti (13) ▲
- 97.9 Burundi (12) ▲
- 97.9 Cameroon (11) ▼
- 99.2 Zimbabwe (10) ▲

HIGH ALERT

- 102.9 Afghanistan (9) ▲
- 104.8 Sudan (8) ▲
- 106.4 Chad (7) ▲
- 107.5 Central African Republic (6) ▲
- 109.4 Congo (Democratic Republic) (5) ▲

VERY HIGH ALERT

- 110.7 Syria (4) ▲
- 110.8 South Sudan (3) ▲
- 110.9 Somalia (2) ▲
- 112.4 Yemen (1) ▲

Why do States Fail?

- **Multileveled** => Historical reasons, power relations, political economy

Colonial Legacies =>

- **Artificial borders**
- Low levels of development
- Extreme **poverty** and **debt**
- **Premature independence**
 - lacking state institutions
 - Incompetent governance



Why do States Fail?

The Politics of the Cold War

- **During the cold war** => The great powers had an interest in **supporting** some third world newly independent states and **preserving** the situation in others
 - **Local struggles** that could have led the two superpowers to direct conflict were '**frozen**'
 - Proxy Wars as part of cold war competition
- **Post cold war** => Factions and **rival domestic forces** were strengthened, many states **lost authoritative legitimacy** => Conflicts
 - **Destabilization** of the region



Why do States Fail?



Negative International influence

- Stripped out of Natural resources
- Neighboring **civil wars**
- Neighboring **instability**
- Neighbor's **refugees**

SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS

FAMILIES FLEEING VIOLENCE

More than **11 million Syrians are on the run**, including some 5.6 million who have been forced to seek safety in neighboring countries. Inside Syria, more than 6.2 million people are displaced and **13.1 million are still in need of humanitarian assistance.**

TURKEY **3,600,000**

SYRIA
6,200,000 million people internally displaced

IRAQ
250,000

1 in 6 people is a Syrian refugee
LEBANON
950,000

1 in 14 people is a Syrian refugee
JORDAN
670,000

As of December 2018
Sources: data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/regional.php
hno-syria.org



Where's the Problem?



- Fragile states and **poverty** are **intertwined**
 - Breakdown of public health, infrastructure => famine, epidemics => Abuses of human rights
 - By 2030, 60% of the world's poor will be concentrated in fragile states
- Growing **consensus: human rights** are an **international concern**
- Widespread **violation of human rights** seen as a *de facto* **threat to peace**



Where's the Problem?

- Collapsed states induce **regional instability** =>
 - **Domino effect/spill over to neighbouring states:** 'Neighbourhood costs': Refugee flows, Economic stress, Political instability
- Failed states usually **do not** constitute a **direct national security threat** to non-neighbors
- The threat is **indirect**, through the results of failure => State is NOT in control of its territory: Safe haven for terrorists



Terrorism and Counterterrorism



Introduction



- The term '**Terrorism**' is **not** subject to a **universally agreed upon definition**
 - Difficulty in agreeing on a basis for determining when the use of **violence** is **legitimate**
 - **Bias** to exclude governments
- Criminal justice responses to terrorism vary between States, though 9/11 led to greater international cooperation concerning counter-terrorism
- '**Terrorism**' ('**terrorisme**': dread) initially described violence directed at suspected enemies of the **state** during the period of the **French Revolution (1793-1794)**
 - An **instrument** of the **state**
- **Not a new** phenomena

Definitions



UN => 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"

US => Activities that (A) involve **violent acts**/acts dangerous to human life that are a **violation** of the **criminal laws** of the US or of any State ...

(B) appear to be intended—(i) to **intimidate/coerce** a **civilian population**;

(ii)to **influence** the **policy** of a government by intimidation/coercion; or

(iii) to affect the conduct of a government by **mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping** ...

EU => **Criminal offences** against persons & property which given their nature/context, may **seriously damage** a country/international organization where committed with the aim of: seriously **intimidating** a **population**; unduly compelling a **government** or international organization to perform/abstain from performing any act; or seriously **destabilizing** or **destroying** the fundamental **political**, constitutional, **economic** or **social structures** of a country/international organization

Definitions



- **Common Themes:**
 - **Type => Criminal Acts of violence**
 - **Motivation => Politically motivated**
 - **Target => Perpetrated against civilian targets**
 - **Modus Operandi/Tactic => Inducing fear/intimidation/coercion**
 - **Goal => Influence governmental decision-making**
 - **Premeditated**
 - **Agent => Non state actor, not during a war**



Next Session...

27

- **Counterterrorism**
 - **Cyber Security in International Relations**
 - **Cyberspace as a battlefield**
- 

Thank You For Your Attention!

Questions???

