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Failed State and Threats to Human Security

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Abstract

This paper elaborates the relations between the failed state and global conflict. The focus in this issue is how the state failed threat human security. Failed state definitely pose a threat to human security. Such threats can manifest in various forms, such as terrorism, endemic disease, civil war, and energy insecurity. Various forms of human threats that occur in a failed state, potentially spread to neighboring countries, so it can become the regional and global problems. The absence of legitimacy of the authority of state and government in failed states, becomes the key why problems arise in failed state. Interconnectivity in the globalization era causes the problems arising from the above mentioned failed states may be implicated regionally and internationally. As a complement, the case of Somalia and Syria conflict can be an interesting example to illustrate the relations between the phenomenon of failed states and threats to human security.

Keywords— Failed States, Human Security, Conflict

Introduction

What is the difference between a failed state, a weak state, state in crisis, and collapsed state. The actual differences between the four types are not very clear and are likely to overlap, so it is not easy to determine which countries are included in one of the four types. However, for purposes of taxonomy in academic studies, the classification can be done. Rotberg (2003) describes the four levels of the state in guaranteeing the ability of political goods and basic necessities for the lives of its people namely strong states, weak states, failed states, and collapsed states.

In the category of strong states, countries have effective control of the territory as well as to guarantee political goods and basic necessities for its people as a whole. Beside that, strong states can be seen from good indicators of GDP, Human Development Index, low corruption level, transparent election, economic growth, good infrastructure development, and social mobility dynamic. While in the category of weak states, countries are basically still have control over the territory and the lives of its people. But at the same time they have a wide range of crucial problems that can weaken the state functions and lead to the state is not fully effective in carrying out its functions, such as the interruption of economic fundamentals, the occurrence of security problems, as well as physical threat that happens the country. It can be derived from the mismanagement of state, authoritarianism style, greedy heads state, or attack from outside. Weak state also can be marked by ethnic unrest / racial, communal conflicts and other potential conflict the high tension in the society. Crime and corruption, the destruction of infrastructure, the slowing of economic growth, and no guarantee of law, may be another indicator that indicates the category of weak states. In other words, Rotberg (2003) said "weak states show a mixed profile, fulfilling expectations in some areas and performing poorly in others".

If a country fails to improve the condition from weak states classification, then the country is going to lead to conditions of failed states, namely failing states conditions. However Rotberg (2003) does not separate between weak states with failing states, therefore failing states is only a sub-category of the condition of weakness a state. If the condition persists failing states and the country cannot repair themselves, then that country falls into the category of failed states. Failed state is characterized by broad and deep conflict, dangerous conditions, and factions hostile. Rotberg (2003) explain, in conditions of a failed state, the state cannot fully control the territory. The country face a revolt or rebellion movement. State authorities lose control over many areas. State's power and legitimacy can be observed only in big cities or in cities with specific ethnic same with the regime. Or in other cases, state's control of certain areas only take place during daytime, while at night the rebel forces effectively take over control in those

areas. The state also experienced a variety of civil unrest (civil unrest), communal divisions, high criminality rate, and criminal gangs ruling the streets in many areas. The groups get legitimacy from the wider community, replacing their legitimacy toward state and central governments. The groups are usually led by a warlord and clan leader.

In this case, government bureaucracy also suffers destruction and has limited power in many areas. Economic activity is concentrated in the certain areas. Authorities cannot guarantee provision of basic necessities of life of the people.The impact of it, is the negative economic growth and wealth disparities. Vertical and horizontal conflicts in these countries led to casualties, as well as the breakdown of food supplies, the cessation of educational activities, and the ineffectiveness of economic activities. Even thousands of people displaced from their homes to find a safer place to live. Therefore, in these countries, the level of underdevelopment, poverty, unemployment, and death becomes very high. Rotberg (2003) explain that in case of natural disasters, weather anomalies, or climate change, these countries will experience more severe problems, because they cannot do mitigation and prevention. Rotberg (2002) said that failed states "is a polity that is no longer-able or willing to perform the fundamental jobs of a nation-state in the modern world". The problems that arise in the failed states because those countries do not have the capability and the capacity to control the citizens and the problems.

The next category is the collapsed states. Although Rotberg distinguish collapsed states with failed states, but Rotberg said that the collapsed states is an extreme version of failed states. Rotberg (2003) said "a collapsed states is a rare and extreme version of a failed states". Collapsed states have characteristics similar to failed states, but with more severe levels. This is because in the collapsed state, there is no governmental authority. If the failed states still have government authorities, although very limited, the collapsed states did not have the authority of the government, or in other words, vacuum of authority. Political goods are fully regulated by the groups in society that are hostile to one another, or set up an ad hoc basis.

However, this classification is not always static. There are dynamics of conflict in various countries, thus affecting state's placement in academic category as described by Rotberg. Whether a state belonging to the strong, weak, failed, or collapsed states, depending on the extent to which these countries can manage, maintain, enhance, or improve the management of the internal condition of their country. If management can be done better, then a state can be classified into strong state. The countries that belong to the category of weak, failed, or collapse, can improve its status to the better level. Conversely, if the quality of management is worse, the strong states, can fall into the category of weak states, and countries belonging to the category of weak states, can fall towards the condition of failed states and collapsed states.

Categorization of States
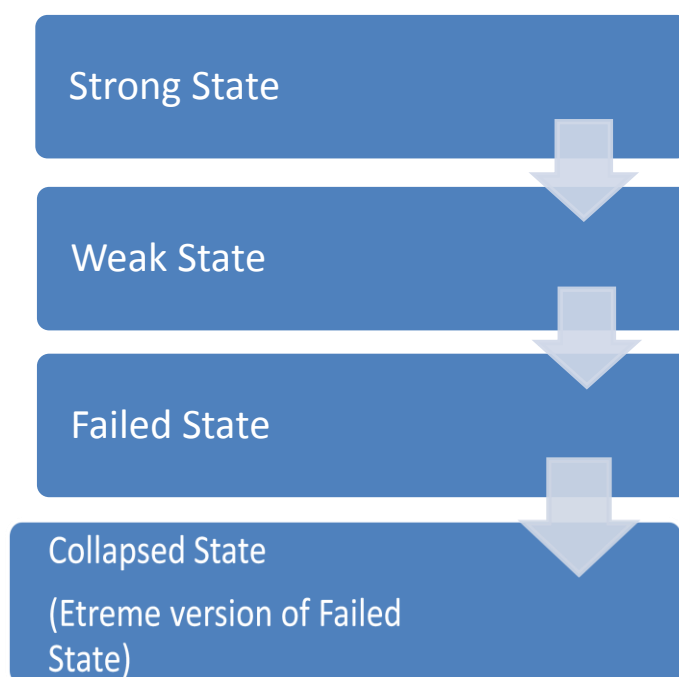
Rotberg (2003) illustrates that in the 1980s, countries such as Afghanistan, Angola, Burundi, Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Lebanon, and Somalia are among the countries in the category of collapsed states. But since the late

1990s, with internal improvement and international assistance, then these countries work better than the 1980s, and now can be classified into the category of weak states. So what factors lead a country can fall into a failed and a collapsed state category? Rotberg (2003) asserts that these circumstances are not accidental, but because was made by man himself. The fault lies in state leaders. The regime of Mobutu, Mugabe, do Santos, Siad Barre, Bandaranaike, and Hakmatyar is an example of a leader who make a mismanagement in their state. In some cases, the presence of natural resources is an important factor that encourages the leaders made a mismanagement. It can be corruption act, authoritarianism-militarism style, and restrict access to the public to access benefit from natural resources. But in other cases, factors such as tribal identity, ethnicity, or religion problem can encourage the country's leaders made the mistake of state management.

Global Threat That Comes from the Failed States

Rotberg (2002), explain that in the earlier days, before everything is connected like today, the problem in failed states can be isolated away from the global world. But in the era of globalization, in which everything is connected, problems from failed states is not only a internal concern. It also affect the regional-international conditions and have bad implications for every aspects in international relations. Lack of legitimacy in the failed state not only lead the leader cannot control its people, but also cannot guard its borders effectively. Criminal and terrorists groups can freely conduct operations, both in the country and to the surrounding countries. This can lead to disruption of the economy and trade supply, which resulting the disruption of international trade, such as in cases of piracy around the Arabian Sea by Somali. In addition, the circulation illegal weapons and cross-border drugs trade also occur due to lack of control in these countries. Another form of threat is endemic diseases that can arise and spread due to limited medical services and the absence of efforts to prevent infectious diseases.

In other words, a failed state is a country that failed to perform its basic function as a guarantor of the the fundamental rights of citizens. Failed state does not receive the legality from its citizens. In the absence of legitimacy, the conflict arises from the various groups in society. Conflicts cause problems such as poverty, endemic disease, destruction of infrastructure, cross-border crime, illegal weapons trading, and other issues. Such problems cannot be solved because of the lack of power of authority. In the era of globalization, then the problems in failed states are not only influential in the domestic level, but also have cross borders effects to other countries in regional and international level.

More detail explanation about any problems that may arise from failed states and its global implications presented by Patrick (2006). According to Patrick, all weak states could potentially cause global problem. In this explanation, Patrick does not make rigid classification of the levels of countries as Rotberg does. Therefore, Patrick combines all the countries that are considered weak into the category "Weak States". However, Patrick-citing Kauffman, Kray, and Mastruzzi- give a rating, from a "Weak State" that has good performance up to "Weak State" that has the poor performance. Patrick considers that in the current development, Somalia is a weak state that has poor performance, while Algeria is a weak state that has better performance.

According to Patrick (2006), one of the transnational threat that may emerged from these countries is illegal weapons trade, both conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The existence of illegal weapons weaken the state's ability control their people, such as in Afghanistan, Haiti and Congo. Illegal weapons trade can also threaten the countries around it, because the government is very weak to control its borders. According Patrick (2006), failed state also become a "safe haven" for transnational criminal organizations. Transnational organizations can freely perform operations, such as money laundry, drugs trade, as well as human trafficking. Cross-border crime is supported by the improvement of transportation and communications system, making it easier for criminal organizations carry out cross-border crime and move from one country to another.

According to Patrick (2006), the operations of transnational criminal organizations facilitated by globalization. Transnational criminal organizations often have a basis in "Weak States" because of the weakness of state control, inadequate regulatory systems, and weak law enforcement. From a "Weak State", criminal organizations can carry out cross-border action, and cannot be touched by the law and the jurisdiction of other countries. In some cases, weak states can collaborate and depend on the activity of transnational criminal organizations. As Afghanistan in the 1980s to the 1990s depends on the sale of opium that produced in the country. The development of criminal organizations in weak states would become global problem.

According to Patrick (2006), the next threat is endemic diseases. Patrick noted, since 1973, more than 30 mysterious infectious disease that has never been understood before in modern medicine, comes from a "Weak States". Diseases such as HIV / AIDS, Ebola, West Nile Virus, hepatitis, tuberculosis, malaria, and cholera are high level in those countries. The endemic diseases does not mean that authorities in those countries do not want to eradicate it, but they do not have the capability and capacity to do it. It can be a global problem, because globalization allows the mobility of goods and people from one place to another place. Movement of food, goods, or humans infected with viruses, from "Weak States", can carry the endemic disease transmission globally. Another potential

problem arises from failed states is "Energy Insecurity". Many countries are included in the category "Weak States" has significant energy reserves, such as oil and natural gas. States such as Russia, Venezuela, Iraq, Angola, Nigeria, and Saudi Arabia is the country's largest supplier of oil. If the countries in the "Weak States" is in unstable condition, the supply of oil and natural gas to the international world will be reduced. Consequently, the price of oil will rise. It has impact to world economy such declining levels of global trade. The other problem that emerge from weak states is terrorism. The researcher considers that failed states produce an increase in terrorist activities, either in the form of attacks, recruitment, and the establishment of terrorist bases. The explanation by Takeyh and Gvosdev (2002), give comprehensive explanation about relations between terrorism and failed states. Failed and failing states lose the ability to control its territory effectively. These countries also incompetent, have weak law enforcement, officials vulnerable bribes, and capabilities are questionable. Therefore, these things lead failed states provide "fertile soil" and opportunity for the growth of terrorist groups. Terrorist groups freely able to organize the group, recruiting, earn money for its operations, and manage logistics and communications with the network, or do attacks in the country. Thus, terrorist groups can develop such capabilities, and at the same time, do not get the resistance from state authority.This phenomenon is also known as "exploitation of 'stateless areas". This phenomenon illustrates the use of the spatial region in a country where the authorities have no control over the region. Piazza (2008) conduct research to analyze 197 countries from 1973 to 2003. From that research, Piazza concluded that the weakness of state factor led the birth of terrorism. Terrorist groups tend to be more developed in these countries. Other studies show the same result with Piazza research. Therefore it can be concluded that failed is a favorite place for terrorist groups to develop its activities.

Relations between the Failed States-Global Problems-Human Security
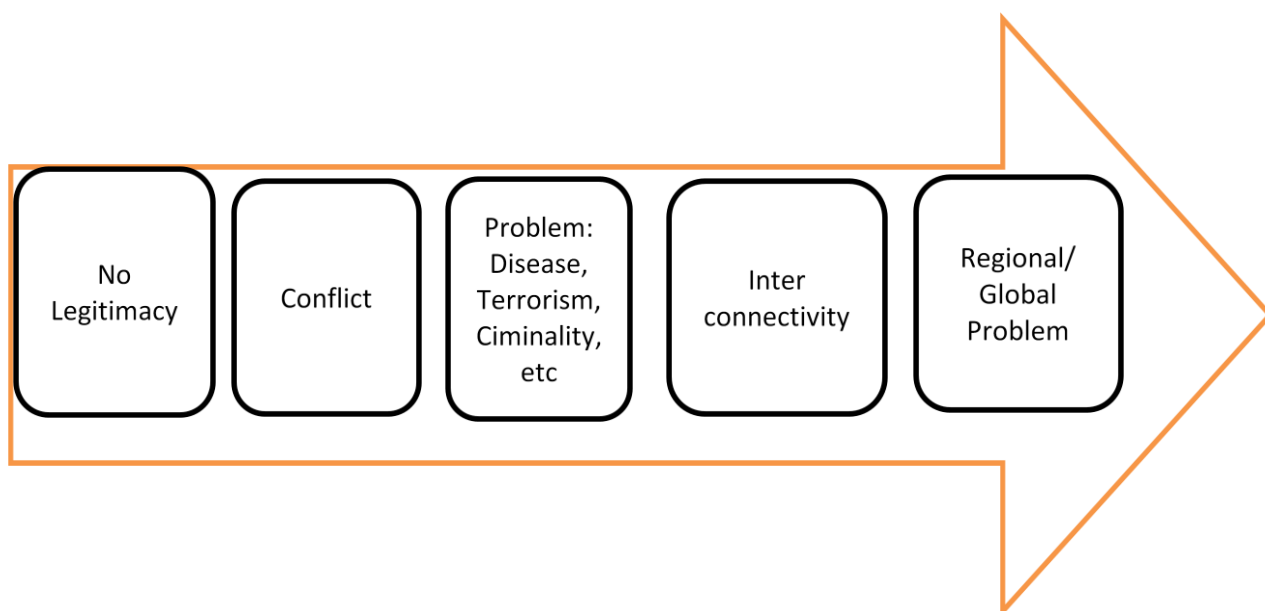
Case Study: Somalia and Syria

Somalia is an interesting case, because this country belongs to the category of collapsed state for years. Rotberg (2003) explain that since the turmoil in the 1980s, Somalia soon became a failed state. Somalia can be categorized as collapsed state since 1991, and it lasted until the early decades of the 2000s. Somalia's problem is very complex, because it involves a civil war, insurrection, the emergence of terrorism, and the absence of government authority. Rotberg (2003) give detail explanation about the process of Somalia became collapsed state. It's step begin from weak states, toward failed states, and lead to a collapsed state. Somalia conflict began from a coup carried out by General Mohammed Siad Barre. Supreme commander of Somalia's army considered that the actions of the Somali politicians potentially damaging the country, as being corrupt, inefficient, and inability to build a national political culture. Therefore, Barre compelled to take power in 1969. Since then, the Barre regime issued policies that is considered to improve the condition of Somalia, like suspended the constitution, forbid the existence of political parties, and promised an end to corruption. However, no significant development occurred during the Barre regime. During 20 years in power, the policy Barre regime precisely assessed as undermining democratic institutions. Barre regime violated human rights his people and allocated more economic resources only to his own clan. People provoke resistance, and withdraw support from the Barre regime. Barre's regime legitimacy become weak. Barre regime also experiencing challenges from neighboring countries, Ethiopia. In 1977, Somali fought against Ethipia in Ogaden War.

Then appeared many anti-Barre militias such as Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), United Somali Congress (USC), Somali National Movement (SNM), the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), and the group of non-violent resistance such Somali Democratic Movement (SDM), the Somali Democratic Alliance (SDA) and the Somali Manifesto Group (SMG) (life-peace.org 2008). The existence of these groups weaken Barre regime's existence. The beginning of the revolution against Barre occured since 1986 (Rotberg 2003). Barre regime collapsed completely and there was no successor for the governing authority. In 1991, President Ali Mahdi Muhammad was appointed as a successof of Barre. However, other resistance groups that led by General Mohamed Farrah Aidid, Abdirahman Ahmed Ali Tuur, and Ahmed Omar Jess refused such leadership. The new split arose among the anti-Barre coalition groups. Since 1991, Somalia completely fell into civil war and led to the country's collapse. Beside that, there was insurgency from the Somaliland. The region of Puntland also asked for the autonomy from Somalia, although did not claim independence from Somalia (Lewis 2014).

Collapsed conditions persist until 2003, with the absence of a single government authority. The United Nations comission do ad hoc and limited intervention. In 2004, the groups that were previously warring, created a central coalition government institution, called The Transitional Federal Institutions (TFIs). These institutions include the Transitional Federal Charter (TFC), the Transitional Federal Government (TFG), and the Transitional Federal Parliament (ICG 2008). TFC has a role to arrange a new constitution. TFG's role as the executive power. But until 2011, the TFG institutions got a lot of resistance and not widely recognized by various other groups (Lewis 2014). In addition, TFG has effective power only in the capital Moghadisu. While TFP is a competent institution in the legislation. Since 2004, the TFP succeeded in dividing the seats parliement that relatively acceptable for existing groups. TFP ratified Islamic sharia (Lewis 2014). These developments made Somalia out from collapsed state category into better conditions. but this country still has many problems had to be solved, including the resistance of various armed groups and warlords. Wars and conflicts between groups are still common in this country today, including from the Islamic Courts Union or as al-Shabab group (ICG 2008).

Syrian conflict also illustrates the reality of a failed state. Long conflict in Syria has killed hundreds of thousands people. Casualties arise on both sides, the pro-regime and anti-regime groups. Assad regime has repeatedly launched air strikes towards civilians. Conversely, some anti-regime groups also did inhumane acts against supporters of the regime. The early roots of this conflict is the dissatisfaction of the majority of the people of Syria toward Bashar al-Assad. Bashar al-Assad received power from his father, Hafedz al-Assad who ruled for more than decades. Closed political access, authoritarian style, as well as the Arab Spring trend, triggering resistance most of the people of Syria against the Bashar al Assad regime. In the trend of the Arab Spring, the regime of Bashar al Assad implement repressive action. As a result, the conflict widens, a peaceful demonstration change into a popular resistance and that led to the protracted civil war. The conflict not only occur between the pro-Bashar al Assad groups and the anti-Bashar al Assad groups. Anti-regime groups itself was also experience internal conflict. Conflicts occure between the FSA with ISIS. Both groups blame each other. ISIS accuse the FSA is part of a US conspiracy and other Western countries to control of Syria. FSA accuse ISIS is an organization "Takfiris" who likes to attack other groups. Both groups fought in several locations. Syria towards becoming a failed state. The territory control of Syria was split between the regime, the FSA groups, and ISIS group (Wibowo 2015).

Threats to Human Security

The Senlis Council (2008) describes the Somalia conflict has impact on human security, both for the people of Somalia, as well as the global community. The long conflict in Somalia has complicated the delivery of humanitarian aid. The humanitarian operations are not effective to run. Warring groups also forced civilians to move from the place of origin to flee across border into Kenya. It is estimated that 1.42 million Somalis have been displaced. Meanwhile, climate anomalies that recently occurred in Somalia cause a risk of infectious diseases. The infectious disease can cause death or weaken the health of the population. The UNHCR (2014) estimates that at least 3.7 million Somalis, or about one-third of the population, are in the famine condition, while tens of thousands have died from lack of health care and adequate sanitation in the country. UN predicts that the famine in Somalia makes at least 20 percent of households facing extreme food shortages problem, acute malnutrition in over 30 per cent of the population, and two deaths for every 10,000 people every day (UNHCR 2014). The crisis in the country, resulting more than 75 percent of the population in emergency condition (UNHCR 2014).

UNDP's data show that the extreme poverty in Somalia reached 43.2%, or nearly half of Somalia's population entirely. The economic growth rate nearly minus because GNP scored only about 200 US Dollars (UNDP 2007). Low economic growth is also demonstrated by the high unemployment rate which reached 47.4%, or almost half the population of Somalia (UNDP 2007). Similarly, health care certainly not exist, it can be analyzed from indicators such child mortality, low life expectancy, and malnourished condition (UNDP 2007). All data shows that the failed states do not have the ability and capability to guarantees the fundamental rights of citizens, including health care, economy, and education. Rotberg (2003) conclude that "failed states is a polity that is no longer-able or willing to perform the fundamental jobs of a nation-state in the modern world."

At this time, the implications from Somalia conflict is piracy in international sea near Somalia area and presence of terrorist group in this country (United Nations Information Service 2005). The weakness of the state authorities in controlling citizens cause citizens are not afraid to engage criminal acts such as piracy and join the terrorist group. Pirates gropus commit criminal acts because by the lack of jobs, high levels of poverty, and there is no economic activity to improve their quality of life. Piracy be the only option for finding a job and an income.

Piracy near Somalia sea has become a threat to international shipping since the beginning of the Somali Civil War in the early 1990s (Lewis 2014). Many international organizations, including the International Maritime Organization and the World Food Programme, expressed concern over the increasing acts of piracy. Piracy has contributed to an increase in the cost of shipping in international trade. Piracy threatens the world marine transport sector, because many commercial ships and merchant ships crossing international sea areas at the Arabian sea. Since 2008, Somali pirates began to expand their operations outside the Gulf of Aden (bbc.co.uk 2009). The frequency of attacks have also increased during this time. Large cargo ships, oil and chemical tankers is favourite target of attack for Somali pirates .

According to the foreign minister of Kenya, Somali pirates have received more than US $ 150 million in only for 12 months prior to November 2008 (bbc.co.uk 2008). This issue has become a global problem. On October 5, 2008, the UN Security Council issue a resolution in 1838 that called on countries to apply military force to suppress acts of piracy (un.org 2008). Similarly, at the 101st session of the Council of the International Maritime Organization, India called for a UN peacekeeping force to tackle piracy off the Somali coast (somalithinkthank.org 2011). The Somali government cannot be expected in this condition, despite international force them to punish Somali citizens who became pirates, and prevent the reoccurrence of piracy.

The al-Shabab group also come from groups that cannot be controlled by the Somali authority. The group is actually derived from the organization's Islamic Courts Union. Since 2006, groups of ICU struggling to apply Islamic law in the area of Southern Somalia. But this group was defeated by the Somali TFG government that backed by the military assistance from many states (longjournal.org 2007). ICU's defeat triggered the group splitting into several factions, one of this faction is al-Shabab. This group reorganizes back strength. In 2008, al-Shabab claimed allegiance to Al Qaeda. Al-Shabaab joined al-Qaeda in November 2008, after a request to join the international terrorist organization in September 2008 (longwarjournal.org 2011). The high-ranking al-Qaeda, including Osama bin Laden, Ayman al Zawahiri, and Abu al Libi Yayha, praised Al -Shabaab in Al Qaeda propaganda tapes. Al Qaeda also encouraged the group to continue to carry out attacks against the Somali government, neighboring countries that support the TFG, and the Western countries. The commander of the Al-Qaeda has taken over some of the top leadership positions in Shabaab (Roggio 2010).

By joining with Al Qaeda, Al Shabab can attract the sympathy of foreigners to join this group. As the British MI6 intelligence agency, estimates that more than 100 Britons have practiced fighting in Somalia and about 40 people expected to remain active in the group (voa-islam.com 2011; theguardian.com 2011). In fact, many young people who come from various countries, including Europe, USA, and a number of Arab countries, and they join and participate together with the group al-Shabab, including "Abu Mansoor Al-Amriki", the young man from the US who became one head of al-Shabab group. As-Shabab group has recruited thousands of young people from various regions and areas throughout Somalia. They are indoctrinated to fight against the West hegemony and the Somali government. As-Shabab also received training materials to fight and how to make bombs on the network of Al Qaeda. Al-Shabab undergone several strategic victories, including secured the port and the key city of Somalia. As-Shabab also succeeded in forcing the Ethiopia forces abandon its mission in Somalia. In the period 2009-2011, al-Shabab successfully launched several attacks in Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia (tempo.co.id 2011). In 2010, al-Shabab terrorist attacks into Uganda that killed more than 74 people. Even in 2011, al-Shabab managed to carry out a grenade attack in Nairobi, capital of Kenya. In the report some other international media, al-Shabab of kidnapping, intimidation, and murder of social workers. Therefore, according to Bruton (2010), with the development of as-Shabab were able to grow very rapidly in Somalia, Somalia had become a terrorist safe haven.

In Syria, ISIS has been grow as controversial group. ISIS is widely known in the community of Islam as a neo-Khawarij. This is due to the character possessed Khawarij group in historical treasures, owned by ISIS group: from how to practice religion hardness (Rausyan Fikr Institute 2015, 43 in Wibowo & Zamzamy 2015). Not only for the people of Iraq and Syria, or the jihadists, the international community also expressed concerns about the development of ISIS (Wibowo & Zamzamy 2015). ISIS reported killing influential Sunni and Shiite cleric in Iraq and Syria when clerics are refusing pledged to "Caliph" Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. Middle East Monitor and Research Institute (MEMRI) report that a Sunni cleric stated that ISIS has killed more than 500 Sunni scholars. In another part, ISIS destroy the holy sites such as the tomb of the prophet Jonah. Casualties also fell among the Shia community. As portrayed in the documentary film by Ahlulbayt TV, entitled "ISIS-Islamic Extremism", ISIS massacred Shia soldiers who had surrendered and were unarmed. The documentary also show footage by ISIS when slaughtered three Syrian truck drivers. The reason is very simple, when interrogated by ISIS soldiers, those three truck drivers were not able to answer Sunni jurisprudence. In another section, showing how the minority in Iraq and Syria fear of ISIS. They were

forced to flee from the cities after ISIS seize homes and property of minorities. In other authentic records, it is described ISIS member ask about the price for a non-Muslim woman who became his prisoner. Another action of documentary show ISIS destroyed the world heritage be 2000 years old ancient palaces and destroyed statues of ancient gods in the museum in Syria and Iraq. Other recordings describe the people cruxifion by ISIS member in Syria. Chaos conditions and complexity of the Syrian conflict caused nearly 6.5 million Syrians displaced, 300,000 people killed, and 4 million residents of Syria flee abroad (Wibowo 2015).

Conclusion

Failed state does not have the power to enforce the authority and power to terrirtory and its citizens. Fragmentation of community groups that had previously been exist, cannot be reconciliated and are likely to be worsen. Because the lack of authority, state cannot perform the role and functions as a guarantor, provider, or regulator for the public interest. As a result, public facilities is no longer available for its citizens. Various problems in the public welfare sector arise in failed states, such as neglect of health facilities, the spreading of endemic diseases, the low economic level, the high levels of poverty, unemployment and crime. Failed state also no longer be able to guarantee the security sector. Conflict, terrorism, piracy, and illegal weapon trade are the security problems in failed states. From these problems,the failed state threaten human security in economy, food, health, environmental, personal, community and political sector.The interconnection in the globalization era, resulting in the world seemed to be a global village. Thus the events in one country will affect global conditions. Insecurity conditions in a failed state could become a threat to global constellation. For example, many terrorist groups based in failed states can operate such as launch threats and attacks in many other countries. Moreover, crime in the form of piracy and piracy is also common in the path of international sea are located near specific failed state.

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