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Background Guide

United Nations Security Council



UNSC

Property of Lagos Model United Nations
Background Guide: United Nations Security Council.

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Table of Contents

Letter from the USG	1
Abbreviations	2
Committee Overview	3
Introduction	3
Governance, Structure and Membership	4
Mandate, Functions and Powers	6
Recent Sessions and Current Priorities	7
Conclusion	8
Annotated Bibliography	8
Bibliography	9
I. Cyberespionage and Cyberterrorism in the 21st Century	11
Introduction	11
International and Regional Framework	13
Role of the International System	16
Cyberspace as the Base of Operation for Terrorist Groups	18
A New Era of Artificial Intelligence in State-Sponsored Attacks	19
Economic and Political Impacts of Cyberterrorism and Cyberespionage	20
Cyberattacks on Governmental and Non-Governmental Institutions	21
The Role of Technology in ensuring Cybersecurity	22
Enforcement of Legal Framework	23
Conclusion	24
Further Research	24
Annotated Bibliography	24
Bibliography	27
II. Women in International Peace and Security	32
Introduction	32
International and Regional Frameworks	33
Role of the International System	35
Addressing the Mitigating Factors of the International and Regional Frameworks	36
Challenges of Women’s Participation in International Peace and Security	37
Women in Peacekeeping	38
Women in Peacebuilding	39
Gender-Based Sexual Violence in Conflict Situations	40
Role of Women Organisations and Human Rights Defenders	40
Conclusion	41
Further Research	41
Annotated Bibliography	42
Bibliography	42

Letter from the USG

Dear Delegates,

It is my pleasure to welcome you to this year's Lagos Model United Nations (LMUN) conference. This year symbolizes many things for us at LMUN but most importantly, it is our fifth year and our fifth session. LMUN is a platform for youths to innovate, debate and take action to create the world that they want, while developing skills in leadership, public speaking, diplomacy, critical thinking, research and teamwork. This has been our mission for the last four years and we hope to achieve this and more this year.

The world has only ten years to achieve its goals on global issues including security. Yet, there is still a lot to be done. The task ahead is not an easy one, so everyone must play their part. It is my hope that delegates embrace this duty and strive to create solutions to the issues before their committees. Furthermore, it is my hope that this desire to make impact transcends beyond this conference.

The staff for the **Security Council** are: **Adedokun Titilope Ayo** (Under Secretary-General); **Chikamso Ononuju** (Chair); **Fayinka Abisola Tiwalade** (Vice Chair); **Keshinro Oluwalani Deborah** (Researcher); and **Sofekun Ayomide Babatunde** (Researcher).

Titilope was a delegate at LMUN 2017 & 2018, where she won Position Paper and Distinguished Delegate awards. She was also a Vice Chair at LMUN 2019. She served as a delegate at National Model United Nations New York 2019, where she won the Position Paper award and co-won the Outstanding Delegation award. In 2020, she served as a Chair at Geneva International Model United Nations. **Chikamso** is a 500 level law student at the University of Lagos and has served as Delegate, Researcher and Rapporteur of the Security Council in LMUN. She was a delegate at National Model United Nations, New York 2019, winning a Position Paper Award and was part of the team that won an Outstanding Delegation Award. She is passionate about social impact and co-founded the Youth Sustainability Development Conference (YSDC). **Abisola** is a 500 level law student at the University of Lagos. She was an Honorable Mention delegate at LMUN 2018. She also participated at the 28th All African Moot Court Competition 2019 and an octo-finalist at the Pan African Universities Debate Championship, 2019 in Ghana. **Ayomide** is a 400 level law student at the University of Lagos, with staunch interests in the SDGs and Human Rights. He was a delegate at LMUN 2019 where he was awarded the Distinguished Delegate. **Oluwalani** is a 300 level law student at the University of Lagos. She was a delegate at LMUN 2019 where she won the Distinguished Delegate award. In 2018, she was a delegate at the American Model United Nations in Chicago.

The Security Council has the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace, security and stability. The Security Council is currently the only United Nations body whose resolutions and decisions are binding on all Member States.

The topics to be discussed by the committee are:

- I. Cyber-Espionage and Cyber-Terrorism in the 21st Century
- II. Women in International Peace and Security

The Background Guide is one of the first steps to research at LMUN. However, delegates must note that it is not to serve as a replacement for their individual research. Therefore, delegates are encouraged to conduct research outside of the Background Guides. Delegates are also advised to make use of the Further Research, Annotated Bibliography and Bibliography parts of the Background Guide to aid their research. In addition to this, delegates are encouraged to use the Delegate Prep Guide and the Rules of Procedure for their preparation towards the Conference. These documents are available on the LMUN website – www.lmun.ng.

In order to further prepare for the conference, each delegate or delegation is to submit a Position Paper on the date communicated after registration and assignment of country and committee, in accordance with the position paper guide.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your preparation for the committee or the Conference itself, please contact me at - usgpeacesecurityhr@lmun.ng or the committee at - sc@lmun.ng.

We look forward to seeing you at the LMUN 2020 Conference!

Adedokun Titilope Ayo

USG Peace, Security and Human Rights, LMUN 2020

Abbreviations

AI	Artificial Intelligence
ARF	ASEAN Regional Forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CSIS	Centre for Strategic and International Studies
CTITF	Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task-Force
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West-African States
EU	European Union
GA	General Assembly
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
INFOSEC	Information Security
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
MINURSO	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
MLAT	Mutual Legal Assistance Treaties
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organisation
T-CY	Cybercrime Convention Committee
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Committee Overview

“A nation has the right to defend itself, but when it comes to the broader issue of peace and security, the legitimacy rests only with the Security Council.” – **Kofi Annan, former Secretary-General of the United Nations.**¹

Introduction

The United Nations (UN) was established after the Second World War that shook the world with its effects and brought ruin to many individuals and states.² It was created as an intergovernmental organisation with the mission of maintaining international peace and security, creating conditions conducive to economic and social development and advancing universal respect for human rights.³ The *Charter of the UN*⁴ established six primary organs of the UN, including the Security Council, which has the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security and has the responsibility to meet whenever peace is threatened.⁵ It is worthy of note that the Security Council submits an annual report to the General Assembly.⁶

The first session of the Security Council was held on 17 January 1946 at Church House in London and after this first meeting, the Security Council relocated to its permanent residence at the UN Headquarters in New York.⁷ Until 1965, the Security Council consisted of five permanent members and six non-permanent members⁸ and until 1971, the Republic of China (Taiwan) represented China as Permanent Member at the Security Council, after which it lost its seat to the People’s Republic of China.⁹ Until 1991, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) had a permanent seat in the Security Council and after the USSR’s dissolution, the Russian Federation continued the membership of the USSR in the Security Council and all other UN organs with the support of the 11 member countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.¹⁰

Since its creation, international rivalries and geopolitics have played a central role in shaping the Security Council’s agenda and conduct. During the Cold War, the Security Council was a purposefully ineffectual body, authorizing only 13 peacekeeping operations between 1945 and 1978.¹¹ However, since the 1990s, it has taken a more pro-active role on the world stage, and one of the major roles is conflict resolution, as many conflicts have been brought to an end through UN mediation and UN support.¹² Such conflicts include

¹ Financial Times Newspaper. Alec Russell interviewed former UN secretary-general Kofi Annan over five hours in Geneva, April 2011.

² Security Council, *What is the Security Council?* 2017.

³ Security Council, *What is the Security Council?* 2018.

⁴ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24, 1945.

⁵ Security Council, *What is the Security Council?* 2018.

⁶ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations* 24 October 1945, Article 24(3).

⁷ Security Council, *What is the Security Council?* 2018.

⁸ Hanhimäki, *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction* 2008, p. 32.

⁹ Council on Foreign Relations, *What criticisms has the Security Council faced?* 2018.

¹⁰ Blum: Russia takes over the Soviet Union’s Seat at the United Nations, 1992.

¹¹ Encyclopaedia Britannica United Nations Security Council, 2013.

¹² United Nations Seventieth Anniversary: 70 Ways the UN Makes a Difference.

Sierra Leone, Liberia, Burundi, the north-south conflict in the Sudan and Nepal. Due to the significantly higher human cost of responding to crises as they unfold, former Secretary-General Kofi Annan called for the Security Council to work to prevent conflicts, as well as improve post-conflict peacebuilding efforts.¹³ It is also important to note that with the adoption of the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (2015)¹⁴ the Security Council has begun the increased focus on the intersection between sustainability and peace, security and human rights. This stems from the fact that security and development are linked and threats to security give rise to socio-economic effects, including damage to natural resources, environmental degradation, economic and social inequalities, economic and political migration, natural disasters, etc.¹⁵ Therefore, the Security Council recognises that conflict can threaten development and the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and considers this in conflict resolution.

Governance, Structure and Membership

The Security Council is the only UN organ that has the power to make binding resolutions which must be accepted and implemented by the UN Member States. It consists of 15 Member States¹⁶ and there are five Member States that hold permanent seats in the Security Council, and these Member States are also entitled to veto decisions.¹⁷ They are the United States of America, the People's Republic of China, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Russian Federation and France. The permanent members of the Security Council have veto power and have exercised this veto power at different points in time. If a permanent member does not completely agree with a proposed resolution but does not want to use the veto power, such state may choose to abstain from the resolution which will allow the resolution to be adopted if it obtains the nine votes required.¹⁸ Apart from these five permanent members, there are also 10 non-permanent members of the Security Council.¹⁹ It is the General Assembly that elects these non-permanent members and these 10 members represent each of the regions. This election process originated in 1963 at the eighteenth session of the General Assembly when it was decided that the non-permanent members would serve a term of two years and would consist of five from African and Asian states, one from Eastern European states, two from Latin American states and two from Western European and other States. For the year 2020, the non-permanent members include; Belgium, Dominican Republic, Estonia, Germany, Indonesia, Niger, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, South Africa, Tunisia, and Vietnam.

¹³ Kofi Annan, *We the Peoples: The Role of the United Nations in the 21st Century*, 2000.

¹⁴ General Assembly, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*.

¹⁵ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute: *The Independent Resource on Global Security*.

¹⁶ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 23(1).

¹⁷ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 27(3).

¹⁸ Basic Facts about the United Nations (2017).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

The presidency of the Security Council is held by each of the members in turn for one month, following alphabetical order and the non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for two years with the seats being distributed on a regional basis.²⁰ Each member of the Security Council has one representative²¹ and each member has one vote.²²

For any procedural change or resolution to pass in the Security Council, it must garner at least nine votes.²³ The veto power is a unique privilege derived from the Charter of the UN, given only to the permanent members of the Security Council, which enables them to deny any resolution from being passed or adopted by voting negative.²⁴ The use of the veto is however rarely evoked, as consensus is the primary goal of the Security Council.²⁵ Out of the 1,859 draft resolutions voted upon between 1945 and 2008, the veto power was used only 261 times; only 18 draft resolutions have been vetoed since 1996.²⁶

Member and non-Member States of the UN, which are not part of the Security Council, may participate in meetings without the privilege to vote if matters are being discussed which affect the interest of the said state. However, the Security Council needs to issue an invitation and can set the condition for the participation of a non-member state of the UN.²⁷

Furthermore, the *Charter of the UN*²⁸ provides that “the Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions”. This gives the Security Council the power to establish subsidiary bodies and the Security Council has created such bodies over the years which are charged to address issues of international peace and security. All existing committees are made up of the fifteen members of the Security Council, while the President of the Security Council chairs the standing committees, other committees are chaired or co-chaired on a rotational basis by appointed members of the Security Council which is announced by the Security Council President.²⁹ Some of the current subsidiary organs of the Security Council include Counter-Terrorism Committee, Non-Proliferation Committee, Military Staff Committee, Sanctions Committee, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, International Tribunal for Rwanda and Peace Building Commission.

²⁰ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 23(1).

²¹ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 23 (3).

²² United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 27 (1).

²³ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 27 (2).

²⁴ UN Dag Hammarskjöld Library, Security Council: Security Council Voting.

²⁵ Global Policy Forum, Security Council.

²⁶ Global Policy Forum, Changing Patterns in the Use of the Veto at the Security Council.

²⁷ General Assembly Rules of Procedure, 2017.

²⁸ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 29.

²⁹ United Nations Security Council: Subsidiary Organs Branch.

Mandate, Functions and Powers

The mandate of the Security Council is to maintain international peace and security and to take action whenever peace and security are threatened.³⁰ The Security Council's authority is particularly relevant with respect to the UN's four primary purposes, as specified in the *Charter of the UN* which are: "maintaining international peace and security"; "developing friendly relations among nations"; "cooperating in solving international problems"; and "promoting respect for human rights, as well as being a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations".³¹ *Chapters VI and VII of the Charter* specifically concerns the Security Council and the range of actions that can be taken when settling disputes. *Chapter VI* aims to settle disputes through peaceful means, such as negotiation and judicial settlement. Additionally, according to *Chapter VI*, the role of the Security Council is to determine the severity of the dispute brought before the body and the impact of the dispute internationally.³² *Chapter VII* explores further actions that can be taken concerning threats to peace, branches of peace, and acts of aggression.³³ This chapter also authorizes the Security Council to implement provisional measures aimed to de-escalate the situation.³⁴

Under *the Charter*,³⁵ the functions and powers of the Security Council include: "maintenance of international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the UN";³⁶ "investigation of any dispute or situation that might lead to international friction, and recommend methods of adjustment or terms of settlement";³⁷ "calling on the parties to a dispute to settle it by peaceful means";³⁸ "formulating plans for establishing a system to regulate armaments";³⁹ "determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and recommending what action should be taken";⁴⁰ "calling on the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable to prevent an aggravation of the situation";⁴¹ "calling on members of the UN to apply sanctions and other measures not involving the use of armed force to give effect to the Security Council's decisions";⁴² "resorting to or authorising the use of force to maintain or restore international peace and security";⁴³ "encouraging the peaceful settlement of local disputes through regional arrangements and using such regional arrangements for enforcement under its authority";⁴⁴ "recommending to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, elect the judges of

³⁰ Security Council, *What is the Security Council?* 2018.

³¹ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 1.

³² United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 34.

³³ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 1.

³⁴ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 40.

³⁵ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Chapters VI, VII, VIII, XII.

³⁶ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 24.

³⁷ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 34.

³⁸ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 33.

³⁹ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 26.

⁴⁰ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 39.

⁴¹ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 40.

⁴² United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 41.

⁴³ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 42.

⁴⁴ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 52.

the International Court of Justice (ICJ)”; “requesting the ICJ to give an advisory opinion on any legal question; and recommending to the General Assembly the admission of new members to the UN”.⁴⁵

Recent Sessions and Current Priorities

Some recent sessions of the Security Council include but are not limited to: The situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina which was held on 5 November 2019.⁴⁶ At this session, the Security Council renewed its authorisation of the European-led multinational stabilization force in Bosnia and Herzegovina for another year and urged parties there to proceed with forming a government and to refrain from any polarizing unconstructive policy or action.⁴⁷ Also, there is the Report of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan which was held on 31 October 2019.⁴⁸ The Security Council at this session decided to extend the mandate of the African Union-United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID) by one year, until 31 October 2020.⁴⁹ The Security Council also decided to focus on the protection of civilians, facilitation of humanitarian assistance, monitoring of human rights, particularly gender-based violence and abuse of children and support for the voluntary, dignified and sustainable return of displaced persons.⁵⁰

Furthermore, in 2019, the Security Council by a vote of 13 in favour to none against, with two abstentions (Russia and South Africa) adopted *Resolution 2468 (2019)* to extend the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) for six months (31 October),⁵¹ while emphasizing the importance of achieving a realistic, enduring and practicable political solution to the question of Western Sahara based on compromise. Furthermore, it emphasised the necessity for full respect of the military agreements reached with MINURSO concerning the ceasefire, calling on all parties fully comply with those agreements and desist from actions that may undermine negotiations or negatively affect the security.

The Security Council has also unanimously adopted the Resolution 2470 (2019) which extends the mandate of the UN Assistance Mission in Iraq till 31 May 2020. This was due to the concerns raised by the Security Council to the ongoing political fight, which it expressed as a costly obstacle to progress in Iraq.⁵²

⁴⁵ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 96.

⁴⁶ Security Council Resolution 2496 (2019).

⁴⁷ Security Council 8658th Meeting (AM): Security Council Extends European-Led Stabilization Force in Bosnia and Herzegovina for One Year, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2496 (2019).

⁴⁸ Security Council Resolution 2495 (2019).

⁴⁹ Security Council 8654th Meeting (PM): Security Council Extends Mandate of African Union-United Nations Operation in Darfur for One Year, Unanimously Adopting Resolution 2495 (2019).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ UN MINURSO, *Mandate*, 2019.

⁵² Security Council, *Security Council Extends Mandate of United Nations Assistance Mission in Iraq*, 2019.

Conclusion

The international community continues to face increasing threats from non-state actors and has also been faced with transnational organised crime, thus, the Security Council has tried to adapt working methods to curb these threats.⁵³ The current situation in China, Libya, and Israel showcases the Security Council's inability to completely guarantee peace and security in all regions of the world.⁵⁴ However, it represents the systemic divides among the members of the Security Council.⁵⁵ This lacking capacity can be partially explained by the controversial decision-making process of the Security Council, especially the veto power of the five permanent members. Despite these, the Security Council represents the only body within the UN that has the power to adopt binding resolutions, thus, it is still the entity of utmost importance for the maintenance of international peace and security.⁵⁶

Annotated Bibliography

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This document contains all the necessary facts needed to be known about the United Nations and pages 7-9 and page 58 focus particularly on the role of the Security Council, shedding light on the structure, membership, functions, powers and workings.

UN, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, 1 UNTS XVI. Retrieved 14 December 2019 from: <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>

This is the principal document of the United Nations, which sets out the rights and obligations of Member States and establishes the principal organs of the United Nations. The Charter also explains the procedures and workings of the United Nations.

UN, Department of Political Affairs. (2018). *Security Council Reporting and Mandate Cycles* [Report]. Retrieved 14 December 2019 from: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/inc/pages/pdf/sccycles.pdf>

This document provides information on the work and decisions of the Security Council, including resolutions and presidential statements. The document primarily consists of tables on items that have been discussed by the Security Council, various requests by the Security Council, and mandates of different

⁵³ Security Council, Structure, 2016; Security Council, 1540 Committee, 2015.

⁵⁴ Security Council Report, September 2014 Monthly Forecast – Syria, 2014.

⁵⁵ Security Council Report, The Permanent Members and the Use of the Veto: An Abridged History, 2013.

⁵⁶ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, Article 24.

entities and operations that report to the Security Council. This report will help delegates by providing succinct and clear information on the recent actions taken by the Security Council on its various thematic issues. Additionally, delegates may find the tables providing the actual clauses of different Security Council resolutions particularly helpful to their research.

UN, Department of Public Information. (2017). *Highlights of Security Council Practice 2017* [Report]. Retrieved 14 December 2019 from: https://unite.un.org/sites/unite.un.org/files/app-schighlights2017/doc/highlights_of_security_council_practice_2017.pdf

This document provides data on the work of the Security Council for the year 2017. The report primarily consists of graphs and diagrams, which provide data on the number of meetings of the Security Council, the number of Security Council missions by region, and voting records of the committee. With these graphs and diagrams, delegates will find this document easy to read and understand

UN, Security Council. (2017). *What is the Security Council?* [Website]. Retrieved 14 December 2019 from: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/>

This website gives an overview of the Security Council's history, its mandate, and its basic functions and powers. It should be considered one of the most important resources for delegates' further research since it provides detailed information about how the Security Council works in practice. The website also contains the body's provisional rules of procedure and a section on frequently asked questions. The latter is particularly useful when it comes to understanding the Security Council's functions and powers. Delegates will find on this website detailed information about the Security Council's recent sessions as well as other relevant outputs, which will aid in further research.

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UN, Department of Public Information. (11 July 2018). *Addressing Security Council, Pacific Island President Calls Climate Change Defining Issue of Next Century, Calls for Special Representative on Issue (SC/13417)* [Meetings Coverage]. Retrieved 14 December 2019 from: <https://www.un.org/press/en/2018/sc13417.doc.htm>

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I. Cyberespionage and Cyberterrorism in the 21st Century

“The internet is a prime example of how terrorists can behave in a truly transnational way; in response, States need to think and function in an equally transnational manner.” – **Ban Ki-moon, Former Secretary-General of the United Nations**⁵⁷

Introduction

The creation of the internet marked one of the biggest milestones in technological advancement. Since its inception in the early 1990s, the internet has been known to create a borderless and global means of communication and access to information.⁵⁸ This platform is popularly described as cyberspace and it has grown to create a realm for millions of computing devices. Previously, only a few had access to this space but today, cyberspace has become the new “Freedom of Press” platform and anyone can create a website, post information and engage in virtual communication. While cyberspace has enabled easier communication, terrorists have also exploited this platform to carry out their violent activities.

The ease of accessibility and use of the internet has also skyrocketed over the years as the number of individuals actively using the internet has gone from an estimated 16 million in 1995 to more than 1.7 billion in late 2010⁵⁹ and has been projected to reach a trillion users by 2025.⁶⁰ Therefore, in the event of a terrorist attack or threat on the cyberspace, the impact of such would affect billions of people who are internet users and cause devastating damage. In this regard, the issue of cyberterrorism and cyberespionage remains a violent threat due to the nature of the cyberspace and it remains crystal clear that “tomorrow’s terrorist may be able to do more damage with a keyboard than with a bomb”.⁶¹

Cyberterrorism includes various actions, including spreading of online propaganda, destroying information, and ultimately planning and executing terrorist attacks through computer networks.⁶² However, cyberespionage is the situation whereby individuals, groups, or businesses use Information and Communication Technology (ICT) for some personal benefit or economic gain.⁶³ State-sponsored groups or government actors may be perpetrators of cyberespionage in a bid to have illegal access to data and systems and also gain access to information which may positively influence their own country's national security, economy and military power.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), “The Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes” September 2012.

⁵⁸ UNESCO and the Use of the internet in its Domains.

⁵⁹ UK Government, “A Strong Britain in an Age of Uncertainty: The National Security Strategy” (2010) p. 29.

⁶⁰ Global IoT market size, Size of the Internet of Things (IoT) market worldwide from 2017 to 2025.

⁶¹ National Research Council, Computers at Risk, 1991.

⁶² Rev chil Derechotecnol Santiago dic. “Defining Cyberterrorism”. vol.7 no.2

⁶³ UNODC, The Doha Declaration: Promoting a Culture of lawfulness, “Hacktivism, Terrorism, Espionage, Disinformation campaigns and Warfare in Cyberspace”.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

These two concepts of cyberterrorism and cyberespionage are a major threat to many states as they remain a growing trend with increasing popularity in the 21st century.

Over the past couple of years, there have been significant cyberattacks on national governments and about 25 percent of these attacks are cyberespionage, retrieving information on governments, companies and individuals.⁶⁵ Different countries such as Russia, the United States of America, United Kingdom, North Korea⁶⁶ and Australia have all been victims as well as perpetrators of cyberattacks and cyberespionage in recent years.⁶⁷ Due to these attacks, states have begun to create specialised military operations that specialise in cyberattack defence.⁶⁸ Quite recently in December 2019, several cyberattacks were recorded. In December 2019, Microsoft was granted control over 50 web domains. These web domains had previously been used to target government employees by a North Korean hacking group, university staff, think tank experts, and others involved in nuclear proliferation issues.⁶⁹ Also, Iran announced that it had curbed a major cyberattack by a foreign government which targeted the e-government infrastructure of the country.⁷⁰ Furthermore, hackers of the Russian government targeted Ukrainian government officials, and non-governmental organisations in a spear-phishing campaign, which was to make them reveal confidential information.⁷¹

The United Nations (UN) Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task-Force (CTITF) have identified that terrorists use the internet for propaganda, training, planning and financing to carry out their activities.⁷² This means terrorists take advantage of the internet, using it as a tool to spread terrorist propaganda, train prospective terrorists, plan activities and receive financial support.⁷³

The seemingly harmless social media has become a tool for terrorists to coordinate attacks, spread propaganda and recruit new followers and as such, every individual who has access to social media is a potential victim and potential perpetrator. ICT is being largely used to facilitate terrorist-related offences and can be the target of terrorists such as in the case of attacks on companies. The internet has largely created an easier pathway for terrorists and has made a larger number of people exposed to such threats. Hackers easily gain illicit access to government information and steal classified information and this has caused terrible negative impacts over the years. In 2018, Russian hackers successfully accessed

⁶⁵ Centre for Strategic and International Studies, "Significant Cyber Incidents".

⁶⁶ Chris Frates and Curt Devine, "Government Hacks and Security Breaches Skyrocket".

⁶⁷ Centre for Strategic and International Studies, "Significant Cyber Incidents".

⁶⁸ Joanna Stern & Luis Martinez, Pentagon Cyber Command: Higher Status Recommended, ABC NEWS, 2 May 2012, (discussing the United States' own "Cyber Command Unit" known as CYBERCOM, currently under the purview of the U.S. Strategic Command); Estonia created the Cyber Defence League in response to the DoS attacks in 2007; Tom Gjelten, Volunteer Cyber Army Emerges in Estonia, NPR, 4 January 2011, (outlining the DDoS attacks in 2007); Iran announced the creation of its own military cyber-unit in 2011. Cyberattacks on Iran-Stuxnet and Flame, N.Y. TIMES, updated 9 August 2012.

⁶⁹ Centre for Strategic and International Studies, "Significant Cyber Incidents".

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "The Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes" September 2012.

⁷³ A. Bera, "Cyber Warfare Statistics".

the United States Security Control Room.⁷⁴ The federal officers reported that hackers working for Russia claimed hundreds of victims in a long-lasting campaign that allowed them to access the control rooms of US electric utilities which could have resulted in blackouts.⁷⁵ Officials of the Department of Homeland Security also commented on the situation, stating that the Russian hackers, who worked for a shadowy state-sponsored group previously identified as Dragonfly or Energetic Bear, had broken into supposedly secure, air-gapped or isolated networks which were owned by utilities. They carried out this operation by penetrating the networks of important vendors that had relationships with the power companies.

Also, as stated in January 2019 by cybersecurity firm, FireEye Inc. (who are responsible for the identification of attacks on dozens of internet sites belonging to entities across the Middle East, North Africa, Europe and North America),⁷⁶ “Iranian cyber attackers could be responsible for a wave of hacks on government and communications infrastructure worldwide, which would require a global response to fix.”⁷⁷ Furthermore and in order to emphasise the sensitivity of the issue, it is important to state that in 2017, “an alleged North Korean spy helped carry out cyberattacks against the UK National Health Service.”⁷⁸ Because the industry is a very sensitive one, it led to the cancellation of various operations, diversion of ambulances, and rendering the records of many patients unavailable temporarily.⁷⁹

It is the role of the Security Council to ensure peace and security in nations, and the duopoly of cyberterrorism and cyberespionage is largely becoming a massive threat to the different Member States. Despite the potential impact of this issue, it is not receiving as much attention as required from the international community. There have been a couple of frameworks put in place such as *Convention on Cybercrime (ETS No.185)*⁸⁰ and *Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime* but these have failed to be specific enough and lack the force of implementation. The Security Council thus has an important role to play in addressing cyberterrorism and cyberespionage in the 21st century and the importance of cybersecurity and continues to significantly contribute to the achievement of peace and security, as outlined with the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2015)*.⁸¹

International and Regional Framework

The use of the internet by terrorists is a problem that cuts across nations, thus requiring a response which cuts across nations and the international community. In this regard, the UN plays an important role in facilitating discussion and the sharing of best practices among

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ The Wall Street Journal, “Russian Hackers Reach U.S. Utility Control Rooms, Homeland Security Officials Say”.

⁷⁶ David Tweed, “FireEye: Iran Hackers Could Be Behind Wave of Cyber Attacks on Infrastructure” *Insurance Journal*.

⁷⁷ Ana Bera, “Cyber Warfare Statistics”.

⁷⁸ BBC News, “North Korean ‘spy’ charged over NHS cyberattack”.

⁷⁹ Ana Bera, “Cyber Warfare Statistics”.

⁸⁰ Council of Europe, *Convention on Cybercrime*, 23 November 2001, ETS 185.

⁸¹ General Assembly, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, 21 October 2015, A/RES/70/1.

Member States and has the responsibility of building consensus on common approaches to combating the use of the Internet for terrorist purposes.⁸² Goal 16 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) promotes peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development and promotes justice for all.⁸³ This SDG is dedicated to reducing all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere and significantly reduce illicit financial and arms flows, strengthening the recovery and combating all forms of organised crime (in this case, cyberespionage and cyberterrorism) by 2030.⁸⁴ There is no unified framework on cyberterrorism and cyberespionage by the UN, however, there are resolutions which oblige states to take actions.

*Security Council Resolutions 1373 (2001)*⁸⁵ and *1566 (2004)*⁸⁶ on threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts, adopted under *Chapter VII of Charter of the UN*⁸⁷ require Member States to take legislative action and other action to combat terrorism. This is required to be done through increased cooperation with other governments in the investigation, detection, arrest, extradition and prosecution of those involved in terrorist acts; and calling upon States to implement the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism. In response to this, there has been some notable work amongst regional bodies in enacting frameworks aimed at combating cyberterrorism, cybercrime and cyberespionage.

The first international treaty on cybercrimes is the *Convention on Cybercrime (ETS No.185)*,⁸⁸ and it was adopted by the Council of Europe in 2001. The ninth paragraph of the preamble provides that it focuses on the “detering of action directed against the confidentiality of computer networks by providing for the criminalization of such conduct and the adoption of powers sufficient for effectively combating such criminal offences by facilitating their detection, investigation and by providing arrangements for fast and reliable international co-operation”.⁸⁹

Furthermore, the *Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime*⁹⁰ was adopted in 2003. It focused on the criminalization of racist and xenophobic acts which were committed through computer systems (ETS No.189). The Member States of the Council of Europe and the other States Parties to the Convention on Cybercrime adopted it. This 2003 Protocol is an extension of the *Convention on Cybercrime* and it focuses on areas which involve racist or xenophobic offences.

⁸² UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), “The Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes” September 2012.

⁸³ General Assembly, *Transforming our world: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*, 21 October 2015, A/RES/70/1.

⁸⁴ UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs Disability: Envision2030 Goal 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions.

⁸⁵ Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001).

⁸⁶ Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004).

⁸⁷ United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, 24 October 1945, 1 UNTS XVI.

⁸⁸ Council of Europe, *Convention on Cybercrime*, 23 November 2001, ETS, 185.

⁸⁹ Council of Europe, *Convention on Cybercrime*, 23 November 2001, ETS, 185 para. 9, Preamble.

⁹⁰ Council of Europe, *Convention on Cybercrime*, 23 November 2001.

A notable regional framework is the Arab League's *Convention on Combating Information Technology Offences* (2010). The primary aim of this Convention is to strengthen cooperation between States to enable them to defend and protect their property, people, and interests from cybercrime and cyberterrorism.⁹¹ Also, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization's *Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of International Information Security* (2010)⁹² extends beyond cybercrime and cybersecurity to include Information Security (INFOSEC) of Member States. The Information Security of States is one of its primary objectives, as well as national control over content and systems.⁹³

The *African Union Draft Convention on the Establishment of a Legal Framework Conductive to Cyber Security in Africa (Draft African Union Convention)*⁹⁴ was adopted in 2012. This convention promotes the provision and maintenance of human, financial, and technical resources needed to facilitate cybercrime investigation. Additionally, the African region further extends the scope of the law on cybercrime to adopt the *African Union Convention on Cyber Security and Personal Data Protection* (2014).⁹⁵ The Convention includes, *inter alia*, a call to the African Union States to create and/or amend national laws to adequately combat cybercrime, harmonize national laws, create mutual legal assistance treaties (MLATs) where they do not exist, facilitate information sharing between States, facilitate regional, intergovernmental, and international cooperation and utilize existing means available to cooperate with other States, and even the private sector.

Cybercrime laws and directives have also been developed and implemented by sub-regional organisations. For example, the Southern African Development Community (SADC)'s *Model Law on Computer Crime and Cybercrime* (2012)⁹⁶ serves as a guideline for States in the SADC to develop substantive and procedural cybercrime laws. Based on the fact that it is a model law, it does not impose legal cooperation obligations on States and States are not bound by it. States that have cybercrime legislation can use the *SADC Protocol on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters* and the *SADC Protocol on Extradition* to aid coordination and cooperation in the international cybercrime investigation.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) also adopted the *Directive on Fighting Cybercrime* (2011).⁹⁷ This directive requires Member States to criminalize cybercrime in national law and facilitate mutual legal assistance, cooperation, and extradition in cybercrime and cybersecurity-related matters. ECOWAS also has a *Convention on Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters* and a *Convention on Extradition* to

⁹¹ The Doha Declaration: Promoting a culture of lawfulness.

⁹² Shanghai Cooperation Organization, *Agreement on Cooperation in the Field of International Information Security*, 2010.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ African Union Draft Convention on the Establishment of a Legal Framework Conductive to Cyber Security in Africa (Draft African Union Convention) 2012.

⁹⁵ African Union, *Convention on Cyber Security and Personal Data Protection*, 27 June 2014.

⁹⁶ Computer and Cybercrime: "Southern African Development Community (SADC) Model Law".

⁹⁷ Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), *Directive on Fighting Cybercrime* (2011).

facilitate cooperation in cybercrime investigations and extradite cybercriminals and suspected terrorists.

Role of the International System

The international community has recognised the importance of cybersecurity and protecting against cyberterrorism and cyberespionage, and has taken different steps and actions to protect against cyberterrorism and implement existing frameworks.

The General Assembly, in 2006, unanimously adopted the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy⁹⁸ and it represented a milestone in the domain of multilateral counter-terrorism initiatives. By virtue of this agreement, Member States agreed to condemn terrorism in all its forms and manifestations and to take action to ensure that they combat terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

Furthermore, *Security Council Resolution 1624 (2005)*,⁹⁹ addresses the incitement and glorification of terrorist acts and condemns the incitement of terrorist acts and repudiates attempts at the justification or glorification of terrorist acts that may incite further terrorist acts. It further calls upon all States to adopt necessary and appropriate measures to prohibit by law and prevent incitement to commit a terrorist act or acts in line with their obligations under international law. The importance of the individual action of States was further highlighted in 2012 when Ban Ki-moon, the former Secretary-General of the UN, appointed a group of 15 experts from the five permanent members of the Security Council in addition to Argentina, Australia, Belarus, Canada, Egypt, Estonia, Germany, India, Indonesia, and Japan to carry out a mandate from the General Assembly which was to “study possible cooperative measures in addressing existing and potential threats” related to the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT). This mandate was clearly stated the importance of expatiating on principles of responsible States behaviour.¹⁰⁰

The UN Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) in Geneva was one of the first to take an active part in cybersecurity. Germany funds a research titled “Perspectives on Cyber War: Legal Frameworks and Transparency and Confidence Building” to raise awareness of the subject matter among diplomats and give rise to further multilateral discussions.¹⁰¹

In addition, there have been several actions and initiatives taken outside the UN framework by organisations and regional bodies. In 2011, an “International Code of Conduct for Information Security” was presented to the General Assembly¹⁰² by the Shanghai

⁹⁸ General Assembly Resolution 60/288 (2006).

⁹⁹ Security Council, Security Council Resolution 1624 (2005) [on threats to international peace and security], 14 September 2005, S/RES/1624 (2005).

¹⁰⁰ General Assembly Resolution 66/24, 13 December 2012.

¹⁰¹ Cyber norm Emergence at the United Nations: “An Analysis of the Activities of the UN Regarding Cybersecurity”.

¹⁰² General Assembly, “International Code of Conduct for Information Security”, UN document A/66/359, 14 September 2011. Also, in 2011, the Russian Federation tabled a “Concept for a Convention on International Information Security” at the second International Meeting of High-Ranking Officials Responsible for Security Matters in Yekaterinburg, engaging in high-level meetings with a range of States on the merits of the proposal.

Cooperation Organisation (SCO). This proposed Code of Conduct contained provisions banning the use of the internet for military purposes, internet weaponry, which was termed “information weaponry”, and other hostile activities.¹⁰³

Going further, in 2015, the ASEAN Regional Forum established a “Work Plan on Security of and in the Use of ICTs”,¹⁰⁴ which was aimed at “promoting a peaceful, secure, open and cooperative ICT environment and preventing conflict and crises by developing trust and confidence between States in the ARF region, and by capacity building”.¹⁰⁵ Also, NATO adopted its first cyber-defence policy in 2008 and since then, Cyber-defence has received growing attention. NATO further recognised cyberspace as an operational base for terrorists, committed additional resources to cyber-defence strategies, and pledged to “further develop NATO – (European Union) cyber defence cooperation”.¹⁰⁶

Additionally, the European Union (EU) has played an important role in regulating behaviour in cyberspace. Over the years, the European Union has adopted a “Framework for a Joint EU Diplomatic Response to Malicious Cyber Activities” which is referred to as the “EU Cyber Diplomacy Toolbox”. It builds on the EU Cybersecurity Strategy and EU Cyber Diplomacy and serves as a deterrent to malicious ICT activity.¹⁰⁷ The G20, in November 2015, also issued an important communiqué which affirmed that existing international law, including the *Charter of the UN*, applies to State behaviour in cyberspace and called on all States to “abide by the norms of responsible State behaviour” which was recommended in the 2015 GGE report.¹⁰⁸ Further, in 2017, finance ministers and central bank governors of the G20 committed to strengthening the resilience of the global financial system against malicious uses of ICTs that could “disrupt financial services crucial to national and international financial systems, undermine security and confidence and endanger financial stability”.¹⁰⁹

The research community has also contributed immensely as UNIDIR has conducted research on international peace and security and has further served as host to conferences, which focuses on cybersecurity and cyber stability.¹¹⁰ It also launched an “Expert Workshop Series on International Cyber Security Issues” in 2016, in conjunction with the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).¹¹¹

It is noteworthy that technology companies have so much influence on the international stage and this causes them to regulate how their services and products are used.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ The initiative stems from the recommendations of the ARF Foreign Ministers’ Statement on Cooperation in Ensuring Cybersecurity resulting from the 2012 ARF ministerial meeting in Cambodia.

¹⁰⁵ ARF (2015), ASEAN Regional Forum Work Plan on Security of and in the Use of Information and Communications Technologies, 7 May, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ NATO CCDCOE, Cyber Defence Library.

¹⁰⁷ Draft Council Conclusions on a Framework for a Joint EU Diplomatic Response to Malicious Cyber Activities (“Cyber Diplomacy Toolbox”), document 9916/17, 7 June 2017.

¹⁰⁸ G20 Leaders’ Communiqué, Antalya Summit, 15-16 November 2015.

¹⁰⁹ G20 Communiqué, Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors Meeting, Baden-Baden, Germany, 17–18 March 2017.

¹¹⁰ Reports of UNIDIR’s “Cyber Stability Conference Series”.

¹¹¹ UNIDIR: “UN Cyberspace and International Peace and Security”.

Companies like Google and Facebook have adopted a method where they allow the users to know if their account has been targeted by a State or a State-sponsored party and this is geared towards enforcing responsible State behaviour.¹¹²

Cyberspace as the Base of Operation for Terrorist Groups

In 2015, the Security Council adopted *Resolution 2250* (2015),¹¹³ which focused on the need to protect youth from terrorist groups which were using the internet, particularly social media to groom, recruit, and incite young people to violence, including in post-conflict contexts, and called on Member States and the UN to pay special attention to the protection of this vulnerable group and the engagement of young people in shaping solutions, including online. The advantages of social media for terrorist groups are significant, particularly the fact that information travels across geographic spaces in a matter of seconds, and can often be accessed and shared by anyone.¹¹⁴ As a result, cyberspace has been adopted as a base of operation for terrorist groups.

It is common knowledge that young people dominate the internet and the youth are vulnerable. Thus, terrorists take advantage of this situation and use the cyberspace to encourage and recruit young people to commit terrorist acts. The cyberspace is very broad and easily accessible, thus, allowing not just the youth but a very large number of people to be susceptible to the effect of cyber terrorism. The UNODC described social media as a threat because social media platforms offer a platform to terrorists to spread their message more quickly and effectively. UNODC categorised threats into six forms, which are propaganda, financing, training, planning, execution and cyberattacks.¹¹⁵ In trying to regulate this issue, States have identified challenges related to balancing the protection of fundamental rights, such as freedom of expression, opinion, and privacy, with efforts to criminalize certain conduct or improve access to the tools needed to carry out investigations and prevent terrorist activity online.¹¹⁶ This raises a huge issue as to the thin line between freedom of speech and expression and terrorist propaganda. Groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and Al-Qaeda are known to have used the internet and social media on several occasions to propagate terrorist agenda; about 90% of organised terrorism in cyberspace is proliferated through social media.¹¹⁷

The General Assembly and the Security Council have acknowledged the fact that violent extremism has reached a level of sophistication and has become a threat that calls for action beyond law enforcement, military or security measures to address development,

¹¹² Charney, S., "Additional steps to help keep your personal information secure" Microsoft, 30 December 2015.

¹¹³ Security Council (SC), Resolution 2250 (2015).

¹¹⁴ RAND Europe interview with Innocent Chilwa, academic expert, 18 September 2017.

¹¹⁵ UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "The Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes" September 2012.

¹¹⁶ Explanatory report of the Council of Europe Protocol to the Cybercrime Convention on insight into the tensions between core freedoms such as freedom of speech, and efforts to criminalize acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems; Council of Europe, "Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime, concerning the criminalisation of acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems", document ETS no. 189.

¹¹⁷ Francesco Marone and Paolo Magri, "Digital Jihad: Online Communication and Violent Extremism".

good governance, human rights and humanitarian concerns.¹¹⁸ In response to this, the UN Office of Counter-Terrorism brings together the existing CTITF and the UN Counter-Terrorism Centre under one Under-Secretary-General and has a duty to strengthen ongoing work and drive more coherence in this area, including work relating to preventing violent extremism.¹¹⁹

Another major issue arising concerning terrorists using the cyberspace as a base of operation is the issue of cyber-jihad. There exists what are commonly referred to as “jihadist websites”. Such websites are popularly used by Al-Qaeda to propagate their ideologies and recruit members.¹²⁰ These websites also contain information such as steps on how to build and detonate weapons. In emphasising the fact that Jihadists have used the internet as a battlefield and base of operations, it is worthy of mention that in a July 2005 letter to Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the late leader of Al Qaeda operations in Iraq, senior Al Qaeda leader Ayman al-Zawahiri wrote: “We are in a battle, and more than half of this battle is taking place in the battlefield of the media.”¹²¹ This clearly goes to show that the seemingly harmless social media has been largely exploited by terrorists.

Furthermore, there is the growing issue of radicalisation of youth on social media, leading to violent extremism in Europe, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean.¹²² The internet and social media have been used as a tool for political radicalisation.¹²³ Extremist groups now take advantage of the freedom of speech, which is provided for in the legislation of many States to post hateful comments about their government and the nation on the internet. Additionally, these extremist groups try to cover up their activities by conveying it more acceptably and deceive internet users that would normally be offended by the subject matter, which may relate to racism, xenophobia or blatant hate discourse.¹²⁴

A New Era of Artificial Intelligence in State-Sponsored Attacks

The orderly operation of most societies is highly dependent on Information Communication Technology (ICT) and Artificial Intelligence (AI). Industries and services have become highly dependent on ICT to operate and daily activities such as transfer of funds, online trading, telecommunication, air traffic control, are highly dependent on ICT.¹²⁵ Essential services

¹¹⁸ Agenda for Action Recommendations on Preventing Violent Extremism.

¹¹⁹ The new Office of Counter Terrorism was established through General Assembly (GA) Resolution 71/291 on 15 June 2017. Mr. Vladimir Ivanovich Voronkov of the Russian Federation was appointed as Under-Secretary-General of the Office on 21 June 2017. General Assembly, “Capability of the United Nations System to Assist Member States in Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy”, UN document A/71/858, 3 April 2017.

¹²⁰ National Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism: Jihadists and the internet (2009 Update).

¹²¹ The Office of the Director of National Intelligence, 11 October 2005.

¹²² United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Digital Library, “Youth and Violent Extremism on Social Media”.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Stefano Baldi, Eduardo Gelbstein and Jovan Kurbalija, “Hacktivism, Cyberterrorism and Cyberwar: The Activities of the Uncivil Society in Cyberspace”.

now rely on ICTs for its functioning¹²⁶ and the smooth running of basic things in our society also depends on ICT such as traffic control, air conditioning, elevators, etc.¹²⁷ Governments also highly depend on ICT in carrying out their functions and as such, it is clear that both the government and private companies are highly dependent on ICT for the smooth running of their activities.

However, AI may have done more harm than good by giving hackers an easier avenue to access the confidential information of States and companies, thus making it possible for attacks to be launched more easily. A notable percentage of these attacks launched on States are sponsored by other States, to gain access to confidential information and secure networks.

Thus, as a result of this growing threat, the General Assembly *Resolution 57/239* (2002) recognised that rapid advances in information technology have changed the way governments, businesses, organisations and individual users who develop, own and use information systems and network, must approach cybersecurity.¹²⁸

AI, which was developed to make life easier, is being used as a life-threatening resource, a tool for States to launch attacks on other States and a tool for terrorists to operate. It has become a resource that has been manipulated by terrorists to not just gain access to confidential information but also as a stepping stone to launch attacks on States.

Economic and Political Impacts of Cyberterrorism and Cyberespionage

Generally, there are two broad aspects of negotiations as regards cybersecurity in the UN. There is the politico-military aspect, which focuses on cyberterrorism and cyber warfare, and there is the economic aspect that deals with cybercrime and cyberespionage.¹²⁹ Cyberterrorism and cyberespionage take major economic and political tolls on the government of any country.

The General Assembly believes that “information technologies and means can potentially be used for purposes that are inconsistent with the objectives of maintaining international stability and security and may adversely affect the security of States”.¹³⁰ This is very true, as it has been established that ICT can be used to launch attacks on States and these attacks may cause major political impacts on such States. There is also the criminal misuse of information technology¹³¹ and this area may be classified under cyberespionage or cybercrime.

¹²⁶ Suter; “A Generic National Framework for Critical Information Infrastructure Protection”, 2007.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Tim Maurer; “Cyber Norm Emergence at the United Nations - An Analysis of the Activities of the UN Regarding Cyber Security”.

¹³⁰ General Assembly Resolution 53/70 (2000).

¹³¹ General Assembly Resolution 55/63 (2000).

Cyberespionage and cyberterrorism place major negative political and economic impacts on States. There would be a need for States, organisations and companies to invest more in security measures to prevent their strategic information from cyberterrorists and this may take a toll on the country's budget and the economy of the State. Also, States would be faced with a larger economic burden because they would be required to enhance their cybersecurity and protect critical infrastructure.¹³² Also, when a security breach is announced, the stock may immediately begin to fluctuate, thus causing a negative economic impact on the State.¹³³

Cyberattacks may also lead to a state of insecurity in States, which has a major impact on the governments of States.¹³⁴ The impacts may vary from monetary loss to physical infrastructural damage to civilian casualties and may also place a very heavy cost on the governments. As a response to this, it has become pertinent to make the internet safer and protect the users of the internet, thus, requiring the development of new services and government policies.¹³⁵

The importance of protecting information and infrastructure cannot be overemphasised, as the financial damage caused by cyberespionage and cyberterrorism is enormous.¹³⁶ Thus, States have an obligation to take effective measures to counter the destructive economic and political impact of terrorism on the security of States.¹³⁷

Cyberattacks on Governmental and Non-Governmental Institutions

Over the years, there has been a growing trend of spying on government-owned information, illicit acquisition of sensitive information and procurement of State resources. Such sensitive information is in effect used as a weapon of combat against countries. The numbers of cyberattacks targeted towards governmental institutions are growing in number rapidly.¹³⁸ There are also largely State-sponsored acts of economic and industrial espionage,¹³⁹ as well as important data breaches that are targeted towards important government agencies and services and multinational companies.¹⁴⁰ Regarding the attacks targeted towards governmental institutions, there is an emerging method of using ICT to

¹³² Understanding Cybercrime, "Phenomena, challenges and legal response" September 2012.

¹³³ Tim Maurer; "Cyber Norm Emergence at the United Nations - An Analysis of the Activities of the UN Regarding Cyber Security".

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ ITU WTSA Resolution 50 (Rev. Johannesburg, 2008), on Cybersecurity; ITU WTSA Resolution 52 (Rev. Johannesburg, 2008), on Countering and combating spam; ITU WTDC Resolution 45 (Doha, 2006), on Mechanism for enhancing cooperation on cybersecurity, including combating spam; European Union Communication: Towards a General Policy on the Fight Against Cyber Crime, 2007; Cyber Security: A Crisis of Prioritization, President's Information Technology Advisory Committee, 2005.

¹³⁶ Hayden, "Cybercrime's impact on Information security, Cybercrime and Security", IA-3, page 3

¹³⁷ UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "The Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes" September 2012.

¹³⁸ The Rapid Growth of Cybercrimes Affecting Information Systems in the Global: is this a Myth or Reality in Tanzania?

¹³⁹ CSIS, "List of Significant Cyber Incidents".

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

interfere in the internal affairs of other States, to manipulate the political outcomes in those States.¹⁴¹

Governmental and non-governmental institutions alike are critical infrastructures in States and in November 2016, the Security Council was briefed for the first time, through an Arria-Formula open meeting on the use of Information and Communication Technology in fuelling political or military tensions and the importance of the protection of these ICT-dependent critical infrastructure in such cases.¹⁴² Cyber terrorists are known to have the ability to cripple critical infrastructure such as communication, energy and government operations while, cell phones have been used on different occasions to track terrorists and to provide evidence against them.¹⁴³

It is important to understand that cyberespionage affects individual as well as private bodies who engrave their data and resources in the digital sphere and both individuals and governments are at high risk of losing critical information.¹⁴⁴

Cyberattack has become a tool for cyber warfare among rivalling countries and is a potential toxic device affecting security in the international community.¹⁴⁵

The Role of Technology in ensuring Cybersecurity

Cybersecurity has ranked highly on the agenda of the UN for a couple of years. The UN took up the subject out of a recognition that building trust and confidence in the use of ICTs is crucial to the socio-economic well-being of humanity¹⁴⁶ and on the realisation that one of the ways to tackle technology is through the development of stronger and better technologies.

Governments must adopt the development of secure technologies in their States and there is the need for continual evolution in new technologies to allow for the early detection and quick response to, incidents compromising computer security.¹⁴⁷ Many cyber threats exist due to insecure user activities and the vulnerability of computer networks around the world. Based on this, it is important to promote a strong security culture and keep computer networks secure. Such strong technology culture can be developed through government use and investment in modern technology to easily detect threats of cyberterrorism or cyberespionage.¹⁴⁸ The likelihood of attacks on vital infrastructure such

¹⁴¹ UNIDIR (United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research) Resources: The United Nations, Cyberspace and international peace and security – Responding to complexity in the 21st Century.

¹⁴² What's in Blue, "Open Arria-Formula Meeting on Cyber Security", 28 November 2016.

¹⁴³ F Cassim, "Addressing the Spectre of Cyber Terrorism: A comparative perspective".

¹⁴⁴ UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), "The Use of the Internet for Terrorist Purposes" September 2012.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ ITU National Cybersecurity Strategy Guide.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

as hospitals and other essential services could be reduced if a strong culture of security is adopted.¹⁴⁹

Bearing in mind the importance of developing stronger technologies to detect and curb cyberterrorism and cyberespionage, it is equally important that Member States provide support for training in ICT skills. The UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Expression has encouraged States to provide support for training in ICT skills, including explaining the benefits of accessing information online, teaching internet safety and security and also teaching how to responsibly contribute information online.¹⁵⁰

Technology thus has a huge role to play in putting lasting solutions to cyberespionage and cyberterrorism and there is the need for States to utilise technological advancement and digital software towards solving the existing menace.

Enforcement of Legal Framework

Many of the existing frameworks on cyberespionage advocate that the society be free from cybercrimes and attack through adopting appropriate legislation and securing cooperation amongst the international community. Currently, the *Budapest Convention*¹⁵¹ is the only binding international instrument on cyber warfare. It is a guide for countries that may wish to develop a national law on cybercrime and it also serves as a framework for international cooperation between the State parties to the treaty.¹⁵²

The Cybercrime Convention Committee (T-CY) at its 8th plenary session 2012 decided to issue Guidance Notes. These were to aid the implementation of the *Budapest Convention on Cybercrime*.¹⁵³ The Convention prescribes theories on countering terrorism and proffers effective solutions in countering terrorism in cyberspace. Under Articles 14-21, the Convention outlines procedural provisions that guide in criminal investigation and providing measures to combat terrorism cases.

The *Budapest Convention* contains substantial criminal provisions creating a legislative atmosphere worthy of curbing cyber activities. Articles 2 to 13 of the Convention cover specific crimes and illicit activities. The Protocol¹⁵⁴ to the Convention contains two articles which are relevant border on extremism and radicalization which may eventually lead to terrorism. These are Article 4 which covers “racist and xenophobic motivated threat” and Article 6 which covers “denial, gross minimization, approval or justification of genocide or crimes against humanity.”

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ A/66/290, paragraphs 45- 47 and 88.

¹⁵¹ Convention on Cybercrime, ETS 185, 23.XI.2001.

¹⁵² Council of Europe, *Convention on Cybercrime*, 23 November 2001, ETS, 185.

¹⁵³ Alexander Seger, Exe. Sec CoE. (2016). Introduction In: Seger, A *T-CY Guidance Note #11 Aspects of Terrorism covered by the Budapest Convention*. Strasbourg: Cybercrime Convention Committee (T-CY), p. 3.

¹⁵⁴ Additional Protocol to the Convention on Cybercrime, concerning the criminalization of acts of a racist and xenophobic nature committed through computer systems (ETS No.189) 2003.

Conclusion

Cyberespionage and cyberterrorism have caused massive threats to internet users in the 21st century. This issue remains pressing as a larger percentage of the world has access to the internet and States need the internet to be fully functional. Also, due to the nature of cyberspace, cyberespionage and cyberterrorism, it is an issue that governments may not be able to attain a hundred percent security, however, it is important that they understand the threats and when they may peak, understanding risks and vulnerability of the networks and also knowing how to tackle a threat when it arises. This is important because failure to take such preventive measures poses a great threat on states and international peace and security.

Thus, through the work of the UN, the Security Council and its recommendations, the international community and Member States can solve the issues arising from cyberterrorism and cyberespionage. The Security Council remains focused on achieving a world with thriving cybersecurity and curbing the menace of cyberespionage and cyberterrorism.

Further Research

What are the major challenges Member States face in ensuring cybersecurity? What are the challenges that may have hindered the Security Council from being very inclusive in this subject matter? How do you suggest that the Security Council becomes more inclusive? What feasible methods can be taken in ensuring that terrorists do not use social media to proliferate their agenda, without infringing on the right to freedom of expression and the press? How can the exploitation of youths on social media by terrorists be curbed? What cost-effective methods can Member States adopt in ensuring effective use of technology to prevent cyberespionage? Are there conventions which Member States believe need to be amended for better enforcement? How can Member States work in conjunction with the international community to ensure full-proof cybersecurity in States? What are the major economic impacts of cyberespionage and cyberterrorism on Member States? What are the ways through which legal frameworks on cyberterrorism and cyberespionage can be enforced?

Annotated Bibliography

Addressing the Spectre of Cyberterrorism: A comparative perspective by F. Cassim [Website] (2012). Retrieved 13 December 2019 from: <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/pej/article/view/81295>

The author gives a general overview of the concept of cyberterrorism and allows readers to understand the threat of cyberterrorism and the issues arising from this concept. This document also emphasizes the different uses of the internet by

terrorist groups and goes further to make a case study of the effect of cyberterrorism in different countries.

Digital Jihad, Online Communication and Violent Extremism (2019). Retrieved 28 January 2020 from:

https://www.ispionline.it/sites/default/files/pubblicazioni/ispi-digitaljihad_web.pdf

This document critically explains the concepts of violent extremism, jihad activism, online communication and terrorist financing. Delegates need to study this document to fully grasp and understand the concept of cyber jihad, jihad activism and this proliferation of such threats through the use of the internet or cyberspace.

International Telecommunication Union (ITU) (UN specialised agency responsible for issues on information and communication technologies), “Understanding Cybercrime: Phenomena, Challenges and Legal Response” (2012). Retrieved 13 December 2019 from: <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/cyb/cybersecurity/docs/Cybercrime%20legislation%20EV6.pdf>

This report aims to help developing countries better understand the national and international implications of growing cyber threats, to assess the requirements of existing national, regional and international instruments, and to assist countries in establishing a sound legal foundation. This report provides a comprehensive overview of the most relevant topics linked to the legal aspects of cybercrime and focuses on the demands of developing countries.

National Security Research Division, Chapter Two: Cyberwar is Coming! Retrieved 13 December 2019 from: https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/reprints/2007/RAND_RP223.pdf

This document critically analyses cyberwar and gives a historical background to the concept of cyberwar. It also explains the information revolution and the advancement of technological know-how. It also goes further to give the implications of cyberwar and the disadvantages of insecure networks.

Social Media in Africa – A Double-edged Sword for Security and Development. Retrieved 28 January 2020 from: https://www.undp.org/content/dam/rba/docs/Reports/UNDP-RAND-Social-Media-Africa-Research-Report_final_3%20Oct.pdf

It is important that delegates study this document as it aims at raising awareness on how social media can be used by al-Shabaab, Boko Haram and ISIL as part of their inventory and tools to radicalise individuals in Africa. It also outlines governmental efforts to address this issue in order to enhance future policy and programming in this area.

The ITU National Cybersecurity Strategy Guide (2011). Retrieved 13 December 2019 from: <http://www.itu.int/ITU-D/cyb/cybersecurity/docs/ITUNationalCybersecurityStrategyGuide.pdf>

This document by the ITU which is the specialised agency of the UN responsible for issues that concern information and communication technologies focuses on the issues that countries should consider when elaborating or reviewing national cybersecurity strategies. It recommends that countries use national values as the basis for strategies and adopts global security standards.

United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR), The United Nations, Cyberspace and International Peace and Security: Responding to Complexity in the 21st Century (2017). Retrieved 11 December 2019 from: <https://www.unidir.org/files/publications/pdfs/the-united-nations-cyberspace-and-international-peace-and-security-en-691.pdf>

This report is concerned with the United Nation's response to the malicious purposes ICT can be leveraged for in the context of international peace and security. It outlines where progress has been made in developing a normative framework to shape behaviour in the use of ICTs and ensure the stability of the ICT environment, highlighting where challenges and on-going sources of disagreement lie. This report also discusses linkages and complementarities with non-UN processes, as well as linkages and complementarities with items on the UN agenda, directly or indirectly linked to international peace and security.

United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs (UNODA): Civil Society and Disarmament (2017). Voluntary, Non-Binding Norms for Responsible State Behaviour in the Use of Information and Communication Technology: A Commentary. Retrieved 13 December 2019 from:

<https://www.un.org/disarmament/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Civil-Society-2017.pdf>

This document is a commentary by various scholars and practitioners who give various recommendations of responsible State behaviour in cyberspace. It also discusses the need for rapid responses to emerging threats of cyberterrorism.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in collaboration with the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, "The use of the Internet for terrorist purposes" (2012). Retrieved 13 December 2019 from: https://www.unodc.org/documents/frontpage/Use_of_Internet_for_Terrorist_Purposes.pdf

This document complements the existing resources developed by UNODC in the areas of counter-terrorism, cybercrime and rule of law. It addresses the

importance of developing integrated, specialized knowledge to respond to the technical assistance needs of Member States in combating this continually evolving threat. It is aimed at guiding current legal frameworks and practice at the national and international levels relating to the criminalization, investigation and prosecution of terrorist cases involving the Internet.

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II. Women in International Peace and Security

“There is a continuing need to increase success in preventing conflict by increasing the participation of women in all stages of mediation and post-conflict resolution” – Francois Delattre, former President of the Security Council¹⁵⁵

Introduction

The beginning of any war or conflict automatically spells a different kind of effect on women as opposed to men.¹⁵⁶ It has always had a more disastrous effect on the lives and dignity of women and girls all over the world.¹⁵⁷ These effects can be seen in the reports given after various conflicts such as the Somalian conflict which reported sexual violence such as rape on many of the women,¹⁵⁸ the conflict in Gaza which reported a large amount of emotional and physical abuse on women,¹⁵⁹ the 1994 Rwandan genocide which reported the rape of about 500,000 women¹⁶⁰ and many more reports on hostilities in various countries such as Algeria, Myanmar, Southern Sudan and Uganda.¹⁶¹ Sometimes, systemic rape is even used as a weapon of warfare. This can be seen in the Darfur conflict from 2003 to 2010,¹⁶² thereby putting the lives of women and girls at risk.¹⁶³

Hence, there has been this notion that the only role women play in conflicts globally is that of the victims.¹⁶⁴ Based on this, despite how much they suffer during these conflicts, they are excluded from participating in peace negotiations to end these conflicts.¹⁶⁵ Statistics from major peace treaties tracked by the Council on Foreign Relations show that between 1992 and 2018, women constituted merely a minute part of the participants as they were only 13% of negotiators, 3% of mediators and 4% of signatories.¹⁶⁶ This is lamentable as women are also agents of change and they can play an active role in peacebuilding.¹⁶⁷ The benefits of including women in the processes of peacebuilding cannot be over-emphasised. The participation of women in international peace and security will ensure that peace agreements are durable and of good quality.¹⁶⁸ It was discovered by a study carried out on 82 peace agreements which arose from 42 armed conflicts between 1989 and 2011 found that those agreements which had female signatories were able to achieve substantial

¹⁵⁵ Security Council Presidential Statement Reaffirms Link between Women’s Involvement in Conflict Prevention Efforts, Calls for Increased Participation | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases.

¹⁵⁶ T. Madzhima-Bosha, “The effects of conflicts are felt hardest by women and children”.

¹⁵⁷ UNPFA, *The Impact of Conflict on Women and Girls*, 2001, p. 3.

¹⁵⁸ *Hostages of the Gatekeepers, Abuses against Internally Displaced Persons in Mogadishu, Somalia*.

¹⁵⁹ Council of Europe Report, “Humanitarian Crisis in Gaza” Committee on Migration, Refugees and Displaced persons, p. 3.

¹⁶⁰ International Panel of Eminent Personalities to Investigate the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda and Surrounding Events, July 2000.

¹⁶¹ UNIFEM, *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts’ Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women’s Role in Peace-building*, 2002, p. 9.

¹⁶² UN-Women, *Women, Peace and Security Manual*, p. 9.

¹⁶³ “Protect women’s rights before, during and after conflict”, UN chief tells high-level Security Council debate April 2019.

¹⁶⁴ Frances Stewart, *Women in Conflict and Post Conflict situations*.

¹⁶⁵ UN-Women, *Facts and Figures: Peace and Security*.

¹⁶⁶ Council of Foreign Relations, *Women’s Participation in Peace Processes*, 2019.

¹⁶⁷ UN-Women, *The Power of Women Peace Builders*, 2019.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

peace.¹⁶⁹ It also ensures that the implementation of these agreements.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, we must find a solution to the problem of the lack of women in international peace and security.

The discussion on the role of women in international peace and security is not a recent one.¹⁷¹ It stretches from conferences held in the Netherlands in 1915, where 1,200 women gathered to promote the idea of including women in the processes of drafting peace agreements¹⁷² to the 10 Security Council resolutions¹⁷³ which have been enacted on the topic of Women, Peace and Security between 2000 and 2019.¹⁷³ However, it is noteworthy that despite the existence of these abounding efforts to solve the problem, these efforts have proved futile. This can be seen in the records of minute participation of women in peace and security globally.¹⁷⁴

Here, the focus is placed on the benefits of painting women in a different light in relation to international peace and security. It will address the mitigating factors of the already existing frameworks and examine why they have not been efficient. Furthermore, it will examine the role that women can play in ensuring global peace and also address specific issues affecting women in conflict situations.

International and Regional Frameworks

The efforts to find a solution to the challenge of women in global peace and security dates back to the 1969 discussion of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) where it was decided that women should be treated differently in cases of armed conflict.¹⁷⁵ This led to the adoption of the General Assembly's *Declaration of the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict*,¹⁷⁶ which afforded women and children special protection during conflicts.

The United Nations (UN) World Conference on Women held in Mexico in 1975 led to the adoption of the Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and their Contribution to Peace and Development¹⁷⁷ and further necessitated the adoption of the *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women* (CEDAW) in 1979.¹⁷⁸ This Convention has served a basis for the discussion of women in international peace and security through its provision for states to make annual reports on the implementation of the Convention in their respective states.¹⁷⁹ In 1995, the Beijing Action Plan was enacted to

¹⁶⁹ Krause, J. Krause, W & Branfors, P., *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace, International Interactions*, 2018.

¹⁷⁰ UN-Women, *In focus: Women, Peace and Security*, 2019.

¹⁷¹ WILPF, *The Background*.

¹⁷² *Ibid*.

¹⁷³ WILPF, *The Resolutions*.

¹⁷⁴ UN-Women, "Facts and Figures: Peace and Security".

¹⁷⁵ WILPF, *The Background*.

¹⁷⁶ Declaration on the Protection of Women and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflicts (1974).

¹⁷⁷ UN-Women, *Women, Peace and Security Manual*, p. 19.

¹⁷⁸ WILPF, *The Background*.

¹⁷⁹ UN-Women, *Women, Peace and Security Manual*, p. 19.

address the persistent gender discrimination despite the adoption of CEDAW over a decade ago.¹⁸⁰ It was enacted with Critical Areas to focus on the achievement of gender equality globally.¹⁸¹ However, Critical Area E is worthy of note as it focuses on increasing participation of women in conflict resolution and the recognition of women's peacebuilding contributions.¹⁸²

The discussions emanating from the adoption of CEDAW and the inhumane treatment of women in conflict situation globally led the Security Council to adopt *Resolution 1325* (2000),¹⁸³ its first resolution on Women, Peace and Security (WPS Agenda).¹⁸⁴ *Resolution 1325* focused on the participation of women in all levels and the protection of women from sexual and gender-based violence. Furthermore, *Resolution 1820* (2008)¹⁸⁵ was the first international framework that recognised the use of rape as a weapon of war. It also addressed the fact that rape and sexual violence during conflicts can constitute war crimes and crimes against humanity.¹⁸⁶ Security Council *Resolution 1889* (2009)¹⁸⁷ explains the solution to the challenge of women in International Peace and Security by providing for the expansion of women's leadership in peace negotiations and agreements. Security Council *Resolution 1960* (2010)¹⁸⁸ provides sanctions for perpetrators of sexual violence during conflicts. Security Council *Resolution 2122* (2013)¹⁸⁹ provides a practical approach to increasing women participation in peacebuilding and encourages Member States to remove the barriers stopping the inclusion.¹⁹⁰ Due to the realization that the aim of all the past resolutions were not fully achieved, the Security Council decided to pass *Resolution 2493* (2013)¹⁹¹ to address the new emerging challenges.

In 2018, the European Union (EU) adopted the EU Strategic Approach to women in Peace and Security to map the approach of the EU on solving the problem.¹⁹² It was adopted to ensure that girls and women can participate in preventing conflicts and promoting reparations in post-conflict situations.¹⁹³ In 2019, the EU organised a summit on the "EU to support women mediators: moving beyond stereotypes",¹⁹⁴ which elucidates the inclusive plan of the EU in conflicts situations through the creation of women mediators. The African Union (AU) gave its first report on the Implementation of the WPS Agenda in Africa in

¹⁸⁰ UN-Women, *The Beijing Platform for Action: Inspiration Then and Now*.

¹⁸¹ UN-Women, *Women, Peace and Security Manual*, p. 16.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*

¹⁸³ Security Council *Resolution 1325* (2000) [on women peace and security] S/RES/1325 (2000).

¹⁸⁴ Women, Peace and Security Academic Collective, *The WPS Agenda*.

¹⁸⁵ Security Council *Resolution 1820* (2008) [on acts of sexual violence against civilians in armed conflicts] S/RES/1820 (2008).

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁷ Security Council *Resolution 1889* (2009) [on women peace and security] S/RES/1889 (2009).

¹⁸⁸ Security Council *Resolution 1889* (2009) [on women peace and security] S/RES/1960 (2010).

¹⁸⁹ Security Council *Resolution 2122* (2013) [on women peace and security] S/RES/2122 (2013).

¹⁹⁰ UN-Women, *Women, Peace and Security Manual*, p.19.

¹⁹¹ Security Council *Resolution 2493* (2019) [on women peace and security] S/RES/2493 (2019).

¹⁹² EU Strategic Approach to women in Peace and Security.

¹⁹³ Women, Peace and Security; "There is no lasting peace if half of the society is excluded from it".

¹⁹⁴ EU to support women mediators: moving beyond Stereotypes.

2016.¹⁹⁵ This report explains the challenges of implementing the National Action Plans which resulted from the Security Council *Resolution 1325* (2000).

Role of the International System

A lot has been done by the international community to draw the attention of the world to the important role that women can play in international peace and security.¹⁹⁶ The enactment and adoption of various resolutions and conventions such as the CEDAW and the WPS Agenda is evidence of this work.¹⁹⁷

In a bid to create a gender-inclusive peace and security environment, the Security Council has done a lot to promote the WPS agenda. This can be seen from the 10 resolutions passed by the Security Council on the WPS agenda from 2000 till date.¹⁹⁸ These resolutions have addressed various issues as they concern the role of women in international peace and security.¹⁹⁹ In order to hasten the realization of these resolutions, the Security Council has also organised a lot of open debates where Member States can openly discuss the practical steps which can be taken to achieve the WPS agenda.²⁰⁰

The UN Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN-Women) has also been vibrant in the fight for women in international peace and security. The UN-Women has carried out a lot of action on the WPS Agenda such as championing women participation in peace talks in Syria, Myanmar, South Sudan, Mali and Colombia, which led to a significant number of women being present at the drafting of the peace agreements.²⁰¹ They have also helped in preventing conflicts in places such as Uganda where they facilitated a women-led mediation between opposing parties after the 2016 elections and in Burundi, where they helped 516 women mediators address more than five thousand local conflicts in 2015. Furthermore, in terms of peacebuilding, the UN-Women through a partnership with the Peacebuilding Commission worked to ensure that 15% of funds going to post-conflict recovery are earmarked for projects geared towards enhancing gender equality.²⁰²

In addition, the UN Peace Building Commission (PBC) has played a very active role in the achievement of the WPS agenda.²⁰³ The PBC created a Gender Promotion Initiative (GPI) that helped in advancing the WPS agenda in many countries.²⁰⁴ The General Assembly has organised symposiums and general meetings on the problems affecting the achievement

¹⁹⁵ AU Women, Peace and Security (WPS): Highlights of the 27th summit.

¹⁹⁶ WILPF, *The Background*.

¹⁹⁷ Women, Peace and Security Academic Collective, *The WPS Agenda*.

¹⁹⁸ See Security Council *Resolutions 1325* (2000), *1820* (2008), *1888* (2009), *1889* (2009), *1960* (2009), *2106* (2013), *2122* (2013), *2242* (2015), *2647* (2019), and *2493* (2019).

¹⁹⁹ UN-Women, *Women, Peace and Security Manual*, p. 16.

²⁰⁰ WILPF Analysis on the Security Council 2019 Open Debate on Women Peace and Security.

²⁰¹ UN-Women publication on peace and security.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ Remarks to Peacebuilding Commission Ambassadorial-level Meeting: Strengthening Linkages between Women, Peace and Security and Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

of the WPS agenda.²⁰⁵ Also, the UN Human Rights Council in its Universal Periodic Reviews (UPR) of conflict and post-conflict countries has gone ahead to address salient issues related to implementation of the WPS agenda.²⁰⁶

Other organisations such as NGOs and civil societies also play an important role. Various Civil Society Organisations (CSO) around the world help to propagate the gospel of the WPS agenda at both international and national levels. An example of such CSOs is the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) which advocated for the adoption of the Security Council *Resolution 1325* (2000) and still proceeds to advocate the implementation of the WPS agenda.²⁰⁷ They also encourage their respective Member States to implement National Action Plans that support the cause of the WPS agenda.²⁰⁸

Addressing the Mitigating Factors of the International and Regional Frameworks

Despite the seemingly huge success that has been achieved by the WPS agenda based on its implementation through the National Action Plans of various countries, it is obvious that there is still a lot of work to be done.²⁰⁹ There are various challenges which plague the implementation of all the frameworks which have been adopted in various parts of the world.²¹⁰ These challenges are sometimes unique to some parts of the world because of the peculiarities of those places.²¹¹ For example, only 19 countries on the African Continent have started to implement the WPS Agenda by creating their own National Action Plan.²¹²

Furthermore, due to problems such as the predominant gender inequality in some parts of the world, women are still not allowed to participate actively in the process of preventing conflicts. Even the Beijing Action Plan has only been achieved in one African country, Rwanda because gender inequality is still very much entrenched in the culture of many Africans.²¹³

Furthermore, another major mitigating factor for the WPS agenda is the indiscriminate focus on the inclusion of women and Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV).²¹⁴ This creates a situation where less focus is placed on the structures and issues that prevent women from participating in the peace processes initially which is intrinsic to the solution. It limits the problem of women in peace and security to only SGBV which is erroneous. Also, the processes and mechanisms for the achievement of the WPS agenda are deeply flawed,

²⁰⁵ *Coverage: Fulfilling the promise of women's meaningful participation in peace processes.*

²⁰⁶ Yvette Dzakupasu, *An Analysis of Chapter Twelve of the Global Study: Human Rights Mechanisms.*

²⁰⁷ WILPF, *Civil Society.*

²⁰⁸ US Civil Society Working Group on Women Peace and Security (US CSWG), *Advancing Women, Peace and Security.*

²⁰⁹ WILPF, *Analysis: Progress and Challenges.*

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ C. Hendricks, "Progress and Challenges in Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the African Union's Peace and Security Architecture, Africa Development" (2017) XLII(3), pp 73-98.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ UN-Women *Beijing Action Plan Political Declaration and Outcome*, p 226.

²¹⁴ C. Hendricks, "Progress and Challenges in Implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in the African Union's Peace and Security Architecture, Africa Development" (2017) XLII(3), pp 73-98.

for instances, the peace processes which currently exist are not situated in ways that allow for women participation.²¹⁵

In addition, the lack of data collection and analysis mechanisms is a major problem in the implementation of the WPS agenda globally.²¹⁶ There is a lack of metric by which progress can be measured because there is no data to check the signs of progress.²¹⁷ Data collection and analysis is important to the implementation of the WPS agenda because it shows what needs to be done and what has been achieved.²¹⁸

Challenges of Women's Participation in International Peace and Security

There are many reasons for the lack of prominent participation of women in International Peace and Security.²¹⁹ They include factors ranging from illiteracy, gender-based violence in conflict situations to gender inequality in most countries. Most of the women who are supposed to be part of the peace negotiation processes are illiterates. Two-third of the 796 million adults worldwide who cannot read are women.²²⁰ This creates a seemingly valid reason for the exclusion of these women from peacekeeping negotiations.

Gender inequality is another major challenge to the participation of women in International Peace and Security. There are gender stereotypes in various countries of the world which prevent the women in those societies from getting involved in certain activities.²²¹ These gender stereotypes present the idea that women should not be involved in combat-like activities such as getting into the military or joining peacekeeping operations.

The patriarchal structures in most countries and the behaviours of those in charge stands as a big stumbling block to the participation of women in international peace and security.²²² These patriarchal behaviours and structures have led to a backlash when the idea of women in international peace and security is suggested.²²³ This reduces the number of women who can participate in peace negotiations and post-conflict reparations.²²⁴

Also, in times of conflicts, women are usually targeted and made victims of rape, physical and sexual assault hence they are not even in the best position to help during post-conflict situations.²²⁵ Most times, SGBV is used as a tool to undermine the strength of the enemy

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ N.F. Hudson, UNSCR 1325: *the challenges of framing women's rights as a security matter* 2013.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*

²¹⁹ J. Krause, W. Krause and P. Branfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace, International Interactions" 2018.

²²⁰ T. Paffenholz, *7 Stumbling Blocks to Meaningful Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes: A forward looking reading of the SG 2018 WPS report.*

²²¹ J.A. DeGroot, *Good women: Gender stereotypes, the military and peacekeeping.*

²²² T. Paffenholz, *7 Stumbling Blocks to Meaningful Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes: A forward looking reading of the SG 2018 WPS report.*

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *Syrian Women and the Peace Process: An Argument for Inclusion.*

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

and when coupled with gender divide in these communities, there is hardly any chance for the woman to participate in peacebuilding processes within their communities.²²⁶

These challenges can be combated through affirmative action and educating societies about the dangers of stereotypes. These include active steps being taken to ensure the participation of women in the attainment of global peace and security. There is also a need to create awareness in various societies of the importance of women participation in international peace and security.

Women in Peacekeeping

Peacekeeping operations, as opposed to peace building, are activities that help to prevent war and promote lasting peace globally. It also includes helping countries navigate the rehabilitation process from conflict to peace.²²⁷ Furthermore, it includes activities such as facilitating political processing, protecting civilians, assisting in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants into the society.²²⁸

The number of women peacekeepers has been very low historically.²²⁹ This is majorly because of the patriarchal notion that women are not fit for such roles. In 1993, women constituted only 1% of deployed military officers.²³⁰ In 2014, out of 125,000 approximated UN peacekeepers, only 3% of uniformed military persons and 10% of police were women.²³¹

However, it is important to note that female military personnel are important to success in peacekeeping missions.²³² They make the peacekeeping force approachable to women and children and their presence empowers women in host communities.²³³ The presence of an increased number of female officers also helps to ensure that the mission covers all the needs of the local population including interviewing survivors of SGBV and speaking to female victims in communities where women are discouraged from speaking to men.²³⁴

In addition, the participation of women in peacekeeping operations is associated with fewer misconducts and a better perception by the citizens of military integrity.²³⁵ For instance, in Namibia, Rwanda and South Africa, the local population thought female officers were better at de-escalating potential violence, less threatening and more receptive of civilians.

226 *Ibid.*

227 *Ibid.*

228 United Nations, *What is Peace Keeping?*

229 United Nations, *Women in Peacekeeping.*

230 *Ibid.*

231 *Ibid.*

232 *Ibid.*

233 *Ibid.*

234 *Ibid.*

235 *Increasing Female Participation in Peacekeeping Operations*

Women can play a very important role by joining the peacekeeping missions to various countries to prevent the continuation of conflict all over the globe. They can also help to reconcile warring factions before it turns into a full-blown conflict.

Women in Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding is very important in post-conflict situations because it helps the societies to return to the original state it was before the war happened and even make them better than they were before the conflict. It involves the process of ensuring lasting peace and preventing the reoccurrence of such conflicts.²³⁶ It is the responsibility of various actors in the society such as; government religious organizations, civil societies, traditional leaders and structures, the media and the business community.²³⁷ The activities involved in peacebuilding range from providing skills training and education in the post-conflict communities to helping to reconcile warring factions in the societies.²³⁸

Women can participate in peacebuilding through these various activities.²³⁹ For instance, in Liberia, women participated in activities such as communal farming, group micro loans that encourage women to improve their standard of living collectively.²⁴⁰ In Sierra Leone, women formed civil society groups that worked towards the inclusion of women in the peace negotiations.²⁴¹

The benefits of including women in peacebuilding operations cannot be overemphasized. Based on a study carried out by the International Peace Institute on 182 peace agreements between 1989 to 2011, agreements which have women participation had a 35% increase in the probability that they will last more than 15 years.²⁴² This shows that the inclusion of women in peace negotiations improves the chance of such agreements lasting longer. Another major benefit of women participation in peacebuilding is that it combats gender inequality in these societies and closes the gender gap.²⁴³ This is because it puts women at the decision-making level thereby giving them a voice.

Additionally, women can help to reduce violence against women during conflicts by monitoring during war to report and pressurize offenders to prevent SGBV against women. Also, they can help women's activists whose lives are endangered due to their activism and promote gender-sensitive relief aid and creating women shelter for victims of domestic violence.²⁴⁴ Furthermore, they can help with mitigating the trauma and reconciliation processes by creating trauma healing programs to address SGBV against women.²⁴⁵

²³⁶ Selected Definitions of Peace building.

²³⁷ *Women in Peacebuilding Resource and Training Manual.*

²³⁸ The Role of Youth in Peacebuilding: Challenges and Opportunities.

²³⁹ *Why women should have a greater role in peacebuilding.*

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² USIP, *The essential role of women in peacebuilding.*

²⁴³ Dylan O. Driscoll, *Women's participation in peacebuilding and reconciliation in Iraq.*

²⁴⁴ *Women in Peacebuilding Resource and Training Manual.*

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Gender-Based Sexual Violence in Conflict Situations

War and conflict have always had a more disastrous effect on the lives and dignity of women and girls all over the world.²⁴⁶ These effects can be seen in the reports given after various conflicts such as the reports of rape, sexual assault, human trafficking, child pornography and other forms of gender-based sexual violence. Sometimes, systemic rape is even used as a weapon of warfare as can be seen in the Darfur conflict between 2003 to 2010,²⁴⁷ thereby, putting the lives of women and girls at risk.²⁴⁸ Research has shown over time that the effects of conflicts on girls include violations of women and girls, victims of rape in war, child sexual abuse, forced or coerced prostitution or trafficking, and other forms of sexual exploitation.²⁴⁹ While these health outcomes also occur in non-conflict settings, they may be increased in cases of conflicts by a lack of access to proper medical care, concurrent infectious disease, malnutrition, stress, and other health problems.²⁵⁰

Gender-based violence in conflict situations affected women and girls even after the conflicts have ended.²⁵¹ It reduces their ability to participate in society economically because they are not mentally fit to go back to their jobs after the conflicts due to the trauma. Also, rape and all forms of sexual violence are used as weapons of warfare which can result in pregnancy.²⁵² This can lead to unsafe abortion which can put the women and girls' reproductive health at risk.²⁵³ Furthermore, another major effect which may result from gender-based violence in conflict situations is the reaction of the society to women who have been harassed during conflicts.²⁵⁴ They are constantly shamed and ill-treated in the society especially in cases where it results in pregnancy.²⁵⁵

Therefore, it is important to help women recuperate from these effects.

Role of Women Organisations and Human Rights Defenders

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO) and civil societies have played a great role in the processes of defending women's rights at different levels.²⁵⁶ This includes the adoption of various major instruments such as CEDAW and the WPS agenda.²⁵⁷ On the achievement of the WPS agenda, they have constantly emphasized the need for the Security Council to protect the rights of women and ensure their participation in peace processes.²⁵⁸

²⁴⁶ UNPFA, *The Impact of Conflict on Women and Girls*, 2001, p. 3.

²⁴⁷ UN-Women, *Women, Peace and Security Manual*, p. 9.

²⁴⁸ *Protect women's rights 'before, during and after conflict'* UN chief tells high-level security council debate April 2019.

²⁴⁹ Ward J, Vann B: *Gender-based violence in refugee settings*. Lancet. 2002, 360 (Suppl): s13-s14.

²⁵⁰ United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: *Sexual and gender-based violence against refugees, returnees, and internally displaced persons*. 2003, Geneva: UNHCR.

²⁵¹ UNPFA, *The Impact of Conflict on Women and Girls*, 2001, p. 77.

²⁵² UN-Women, *Women, Peace and Security Manual*, p.9.

²⁵³ UNPFA, *The Impact of Conflict on Women and Girls*, 2001, p. 77.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 78.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 78.

²⁵⁶ WILPF, *The Background*.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁵⁸ WILPF, *Through the lens of Civil society*, p. 27.

Furthermore, these NGOs have constantly worked to provide humanitarian assistance in cases of conflicts which help in the recuperation processes.²⁵⁹

Despite these laudable achievements, it is important to examine the role that these women related non-governmental organisations and civil societies play in post-conflict situations. Programs for Rehabilitation and reconstruction, from the perspective of the NGOs, should not be used only to repair the infrastructure and material gotten that has been destroyed. They should be shown in such a way that they aid administrative, social and economic administrations of the affected communities and help with reestablishing psychological well-being.²⁶⁰ Also, they can form strategic partnerships with the UN in order to provide rapid humanitarian assistance to victims of violence in post-conflict situations.²⁶¹

However, these NGOs face various problems in achieving their set goals. These problems include; Lack of coordination and cooperation among the affected parties. For example, parties such as states and the UN may not be willing to cooperate with the NGOs.²⁶² Also, adequate protection is not given to the workers of these organisations seeing as most of the volunteers die while working.²⁶³

Conclusion

The role of women in international peace and security is not only that of victims rather they are active agents of change. Women can participate in various roles in peacekeeping and peacebuilding. Furthermore, research has shown overtime peace processes which include women usually last longer. In addition, women in conflict situations may suffer from Gender-based violence during conflicts, this can lead to various negative effects on their lives. The women related NGOs have a large role to play in the rehabilitation and recuperation of these victims. However, there are certain problems such as lack of security which prevent these NGOs from carrying out their duties.

Further Research

What are the challenges facing the WPS agenda? What are the problems of women in international peace and security? What are the remote causes of the lack of women in peace processes? How can gender-based violence in conflict situations be tackled? What are the roles played by NGOs and Civil societies in achieving the WPS agenda? What are the methods by which the desired result for women in international peace and security can be achieved? What role do national governments play in the achievement of the WPS agenda? What methods can be taken to increase the number of women in peacekeeping? How can we increase the number of women in peacebuilding?

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ David Sogge, *Compasión y cálculo, Icaria/ Transnational Institute*, Barcelona, 1998, p. 36.

²⁶¹ S. Florea, *The role of NGOs in post reconstruction: a partnership with the United Nations*, (2005) Geneva, Switzerland, p. 38.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

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This report gives a general overview of the WPS agenda from an African perspective. It examines the rate of women marginalization in peace processes within the African continent. It also states clearly the reasons behind such marginalization and how it can be addressed. Seeing as Africa has an overwhelming amount of lack of women in peace processes, this report is very important.

WILPF, “The Background”. Retrieved 28 December 2019 from: <https://www.peacewomen.org/why-WPS/solutions/background>

The author explains in clear details the background to the adoption of the WPS agenda. He explains the events leading up to the adoption of the WPS agenda by the Security Council. These events are of utmost importance because they give an insight into what the world was like before the adoption of the WPS agenda and the problems which necessitated such a solution. It also informs us of how to chart a new course in achieving the WPS agenda.

WILPF, “The Resolutions”. Retrieved 28 December 2019 from: <https://www.peacewomen.org/why-WPS/solutions/resolutions>

This article discusses each one of the ten resolutions passed by the Security Council on the WPS agenda. On each resolution, it examines the major points of its adoption, the major setbacks or problems of such resolutions and how it can be tackled. This close examination of each resolution gives an idea about what can be done to achieve the WPS agenda.

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