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IDEOLOGIES AND INSECURITY

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Exercise Solo Flight

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EXERCISE *SOLO FLIGHT* – EXERCICE *SOLO FLIGHT*

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Fight against those among the People of the Book who do not believe in God and the Last Day, who do not forbid what God and His messenger have forbidden, and who do not consider the true religion as their way of life.

- Sayyid Qutb, Milestones

The opening quote is an example of an ideology that directly uses the beliefs of people to raise a sense of insecurity to another group of individuals. Human security can be overly used as an umbrella to justify interventions, and the term or concept has a very broad spectrum of meanings. But human security according to the United Nation Trust Fund for Human Security (UNFHS) “does not entail the threat or the use of force or coercive measures.”¹ Human Security empowers local development in order to develop a stable country, therefore focusing on the structural element of the state and region to build “Freedom from Want”.

In his 2016 statement, the Executive Director of the Global Center for Responsibility to Protect (R2P), Dr. Simon Adams stated that “the use of force is what helped protect”² civilians in several area of conflict. Thus, R2P does not focus on the structural element of the society, but mainly on the physical security and the “Freedom from Fear”, independent of the sovereign state and other efforts ongoing with other NGOs or UNFHS.

Can both human security and R2P have the same long term outcome, when one is more focused on “Freedom from Fear” while the other is developing the necessary long term conditions to develop the “Freedom from Want”? Can the contradictory element between Human Security and R2P be seen as fundamentally not compatible when there is

¹ United Nation Trust Fund for Human Security. “Human Security Handbook” pg. 6

² Dr. Simon Adams. “Statement of the Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect at the 2016 UN General Assembly Informal Interactive Dialogue on the Responsibility to Protect.” Accessed 9 April 2017. www.globalr2p.org/publications/445. Pg. 2

a disparity between ideologies in the region? Both could be perceived by the people as an instrument of colonisation, or a cultural change that is forced upon them. Both UNFHS and R2P are based on Universal Human Rights, with internationally accepted values. But both require an understanding of the current culture and ideologies in order to be successful. R2P is required to protect humans, and UNFHS is required to develop the environment and set the conditions for future self-empowerment and state or regional development but both are required to have an understanding of the ideologies' influences in the area of concern.

Since culture is derived from human interaction and social movement is a result of that interaction, ideologies play a part in creating either a balance or imbalance of people behaviour. In order for an ideology to become a cultural threat, it must be accompanied by a social movement, or a collectivity that has enough momentum or influence over a large portion of the population. As Garcia-Retamero states, “[t]hreats are intended to alter the behavior of individuals or groups.”³ Cultural threats therefore are any ideologies, acts and influences that threaten the collective's norms and beliefs.

This paper will be limited to the perspective of the perceived threat from different ideologies. This paper will articulate around two main concepts: first a look at the insecurity of the people, not the state, by understanding the term security. Secondly, how important ideologies can create a security threat by examining similarities between two main extremist ideologies.

³ Garcia-Retamero, Rocio, Stephanie M. Müller, and David L. Rousseau. “The Impact of Value Similarity and Power on the Perception of Threat.” *Political Psychology* 33, no. 2 (2012). Pg. 180.

SECURITY

The term “security” has been and still is being overused to try to capture a sense of urgency in developing policies to make something; a state, a concept and culture more secure. The term “security” is a relative concept, and is based on perceptions of the possibility of losing something. But when the term is applied to humans in general, the term can be easily misinterpreted and can be applied to almost anything. In French, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights article 03 reads as follow: “Tout individu a droit à la vie, liberté et la *sûreté* de sa personne.”⁴ The italicized word in French has a specific meaning that describes a state of someone or something that is sheltered or protected and does not have to fear.⁵ While the word *Sécurité*, expands the definition that describes the environment where someone or something is not exposed to the dangers or risks against physical aggression, accidents, theft or deterioration.⁶ In English, the Webster dictionary defines the word *security* as “the quality or state of being secure.”⁷ While *safety*, is defined as “the condition of being safe from undergoing or causing hurt, injury, or loss.”⁸ The *safety* definition is more aligned with the French meaning, and more precise. The English version of the United Nation Charter Universal Declaration of Human Rights uses at the same article the word *security*, which is a broader in terms and like the French version of *sécurité* it encompasses the environment. The distinction here is important when we try to have a common understanding about human security concept.

⁴ United Nation. “Universal Declaration of Human Rights”. Accessed 10 April 2017. URL: <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>. Article 3

⁵ Larousse. Dictionnaire Français. URL: <http://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais>. Definition of *sûreté*

⁶ Larousse. Dictionnaire Français. Definition of *sécurité*

⁷ Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary. 11th ed. Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, 2003. Also available at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/>. Definition of *security*

⁸ Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary. Definition of *safety*

At the individual level, within the complex environment where human beings live, safety and security can be a relative concept and is based on perception. Throughout history, several philosophers have tried to explain the concept of individual security, in the modern era, more studies are being conducted on this subject. Philosopher Thomas Hobbes, in *Leviathan*, tried to capture the essence of what constitute the perception of human security when he described the “natural law.” When he argues that the state of nature is in a “constant war”, he does not describe the concept of using force, but rather the perception of imminent or distant dangers.⁹ Hobbes intent was to describe an environment where there is no governance which brings a sense of insecurity amongst the people. Another concept Hobbes tried to convey is the concept that human beings naturally try to obtain power; this concept can be applied from the individual in a local area to a state in an international arena.¹⁰ The concept of power he refers to is that people have the inherent desire to gain some sort of control on their environment and therefore create conflict. The conflicts are not always violent, but rather the perception of gaining an advantage over something or someone else. He further develops this sense of want with the concept of people having an “equality of hope in the attaining of [their] ends.”¹¹ Therefore, his conclusions are that humans are bound to exert influence and power over others to create the condition of uncertainties and increase the perception of insecurity amongst them. Thus having an entity that governs and applies the rule of law will

⁹ Bailey, Andrew, Samantha Brennan, Will Kymlicka, Jacob Levy, Alex Sager, Clark Wolf. The Broadview Anthology of Social and Political Thought: From Plato to Nietzsche. Vol. Volume One. 1110. Broadview Press, ISBN: 978-1-55111-742-3 (v.1). 2008. Pg 412

¹⁰ Hobbes, Thomas. “Leviathan” In The Broadview Anthology of Social and Political Thought, Volume 1: From Plato to Nietzsche. Edited by Andrew Bailey, Samantha Brennan, Will Kymlicka, Jacob Levy, Alex Sager, Clark Wolf. 400-490. Broadview Press, ISBN: 978-1-55111-742-3 (v.1). 2008. Pg. 419-420

¹¹ Hobbes, Thomas. “Leviathan”. Pg 424

remove and diminish the perception of fear from others and therefore allowing peaceful living.

Human beings according to Jean-Jacques Rousseau counter Hobbes when describing people in a natural state, reasons that individuals are more timid and more inclined to be peaceful.¹² He further describes a society that corrupts the nature of humans and therefore he argues that blindly relinquishing authority to a stronger authority vice the weaker is what allows the condition to be set to have corrupted authority.¹³ Both philosophers use the natural laws concept to try to define the human condition at a unit level and how that unit reacts from all the external and internal forces within its environment.

Where Hobbes work is more central to the concept of the *Leviathan* to govern and apply the laws, Rousseau on the other hand brings the concept of the individual unit having a contract with its environment. There is a nuance here that both have divergent ideologies, Hobbes give the power to the state, while Rousseau directly links the people's will to the government and therefore the people have the right to revolt when the government has not withheld its social contract with the people. But both highlight that security is a perception; either the people perceive that they are secure, or they have a sensation of insecurity which enables the conditions of imbalance within the peoples' beliefs.

¹² Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. "Discourse on Inequality" In *The Broadview Anthology of Social and Political Thought, Volume 1: From Plato to Nietzsche*. Edited by Andrew Bailey, Samantha Brennan, Will Kymlicka, Jacob Levy, Alex Sager, Clark Wolf. Broadview Press, ISBN: 978-1-55111-742-3 (v.1). 2008. 611-718, Pg 624

¹³ Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. "Discourse on Inequality." Pg. 623

Early modern philosophers tried to make sense of how people interacted with each other and how the state could resolve insecurity as in Hobbes and Rousseau's writings. Some philosophers were more liberal than others, but all of them studied the effects of insecurity that people can have and how they can interact in peace with one another. Culture and ideologies emerged from these writings challenging them by new events like the industrialization in the nineteenth century. One of the most influential ideologies that came to fruition was that of Karl Marx Communist Manifesto. Ideologies can create a sense of insecurity within a group of people, a state or even a region by challenging the core values and culture directly.

IDEOLOGIES

Ideology in the eyes of sociologists can be expressed by the “phenomenon of beliefs.”¹⁴ Ex-Islamic extremist, Maajid Nawaz further argues that beliefs and ideologies are trans-national and can influence others in what he recalls from the New York Times as the *Age of Behaviour*.¹⁵ Since ideologies are borderless in this “age of behaviour”, they can influence beliefs at the individual level, bypassing the government. Social norms and behaviors can be altered and start a social movement. This social movement infancy starts with the people, therefore a bottom up approach. This is the argument that Maajid Nawaz stresses to leverage in exporting an ideology or belief to create a need at the lowest level first. This is where extremist ideologies were successful in spreading transnationally and rally people to divergent causes and beliefs.

¹⁴ Freedon, Michael. Ideology, Sociology of. Political Studies, 35, 18-38. Gemass.fr. URL: http://www.gemass.fr/IMG/pdf/IESBS-ideology_sociology_of_.pdf. Pg.7178

¹⁵ Nawaz, Maajid. A Global Culture to Fight Extremism. TedGlobal, 2011. Filmed July 2011. URL: https://www.ted.com/talks/maajid_nawaz_a_global_culture_to_fight_extremism

Extremist ideologies have the power to destabilize a system and its structure, because those ideologies often attack the root of the perception of insecurity and because a state, government or a power in a region is almost always reactionary to the people's actions or inactions. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon in his last report, highlights this problem and urges that more collective effort must be accomplished in “addressing deeper structural challenges, informed by a better assessment of the local context in which the phenomena occur.”¹⁶ This concept requires a better comprehension of all the ideologies in the local environment and how they relate to each other. This understanding demands the finding of the common ground of dissent and what are the triggers that would spread the ideologies and create an imbalance in the population of that local environment while considering the external and internal forces.

First we need to look at the cultural aspect and for the scope of this paper, the discussion will be confined to the “nonmaterial culture, [...] [which] consist of the ideas, attitudes and beliefs of a society,”¹⁷ more specifically to the ideologies that can be perceived to be a threat to a culture. Two main ideologies that are still creating a cultural threat and security problems are from two people from the same time period but from two different regions: Sayyid Qutb and Franz Fanon. Both of them wrote their ideologies just before their deaths in early 1960s. The international conditions at that time formed a threat to their culture which pushed them to write their violent ideologies.

¹⁶ Ki Moon, Ban. UN Secretary General. Mobilizing collective action: the next decade of the responsibility to protect, 2016. Report of the Secretary-General. General Assembly Seventieth Session Items 15 and 116. URL: <http://www.globalr2p.org/media/files/mobilizing-collective-action-the-next-decade-of-the-responsibility-to-protect.pdf>. Pg. 12

¹⁷ William Little. Chapter 3: Culture. in “Introduction to Sociology – 1st Canadian Edition.” BCCampus. B.C. Open TextBook project. URL: <https://opentextbc.ca/introductiontosociology/chapter/chapter3-culture/>

As an example, the DAESH ideology is a derivative of the Muslim Brotherhood doctrine and later expanded in a more extremist fashion when Qutb wrote Milestones. In the effort to establish a Muslim society, Qutb stresses that the Muslim Society is in “all its affairs it is based on worship of God.”¹⁸ Then he further develops that any laws written by man are not true and therefore not valid and are not to be followed and only the Shari’ah can have the power to organize man.¹⁹ This concept is not compatible with the United Nation Universal Human rights or any international laws because those were developed by man and not God. As Qutb articulate clearly:

No one is allowed to devise a law and say that it is according to the Law of God unless it is declared that God is the Legislator, and that the source of authority is God Himself and not some nation or party or individual, and sincere attempt is made to find out the will of God through reference to His Book...²⁰

Qutb’s ideology builds on creating an Islamic State with deep Islamic culture that will provide all the answers to live a modern life that is govern by God, meaning a theological state that will dictate the ways of life under the true God’s governance. His ideology is primarily based on the “La Ilaha Illa Allah”, which means “the way of life of Islam.”²¹ He wrote that any society that is not Muslim, and here the distinction is that it is not in the way of God, is a “Jahili society” and as he wrote in his time, he believed that “all society existing in the world today are jahili.”²² This is the definition that promotes the right under God to exert violence to establish a true Muslim Society. This ideology presents a cultural threat for some Islamic states where it is acceptable to have a

¹⁸ Qutb, Sayyid. Milestones. MAKTABAH BOOKSELLERS AND PUBLISHERS Birmingham – England. URL: <https://www.kalamullah.com/Books/Milestones%20Special%20Edition.pdf>. Pg. 88

¹⁹ Ibid, Pg. 89,96-97

²⁰ Ibid, Pg 96-97

²¹ Ibid. Pg. 87

²² Ibid. Pg. 91

segregation of government and religion instead of relying at only the Quran. While Qutb's ideology emphasizes that the Quran and the Sharia have all the answers to provide that modern Islamic Community, it is very vague and general on how to create the governance and the structure required to build the nation. His writings incite violence against all non-true Muslim society, against colonial presence and the western ideologies.

Al-Qaida strategist Abu Mus'ab Al Suri understood how to make Qutb social changes a reality. He wrote this method for global jihad and used a building block approach to set the foundation. Sociologist Dr. William Little recalls that three main frames are required to set the conditions of social movement. The first one is the "diagnostic framing" which means to clearly define the problem; the second one is "prognostic framing" where one proposes a solution; and the "motivational framing" that calls to action.²³ Al Suri's building block approach uses the same model by reinforcing the ideology of Islam and procuring the necessary narratives and symbols.²⁴ When used in conjunction with technology to reach people transnational in the *age of behavior*, his writings can have a degree of influence and set the conditions for social changes.

During the same period, Franz Fanon wrote and published *Les Damnés de la terre* just before he died in 1961. This publication calls Africans to rise and de-colonize Africa by violence. Again, here is a common point with Qutb's ideology, colonial presence and a threat to the culture, which occurred in the same time period in two different regions. Franz Fanon was a psychiatrist and was involved mostly in the independence of Alger in

²³ William Little. Chapter 21: Social Movement and Social Change. in "Introduction to Sociology – 1st Canadian Edition." BCCampus. B.C. Open TextBook project. URL: <https://opentextbc.ca/introductiontosociology/chapter/chapter21-social-movements-and-social-change/>

²⁴ Lia, Brynjar. Architect of Global Jihad: the life of al-Qaida Strategist Abu Mus'ab al-Suri. Oxford University Press Inc. 2014. ISBN: 978-0-19-932-645-7. Pg. 440-441

mid 1950s where his anti-colonization views were developed. He came to the conclusion that de-colonization can only be achieved by violence and that call of violence needs to come from all native Africans to replace the white man.²⁵

Contrary to Sayyid Qutb, Fanon calls on the cultural disparity to incite violence instead of the religious dimension. He further explains that the indigenous people have no ethics; no values and only the colonials have those properties.²⁶ Fanon argues that indigenous people who work and imitate the colonials are the enemy and they should not be spared which has some similarity with Qutb's jajili and jihad concept in order to describe enemies of the ideology.²⁷ But contrary to Qutb, Fanon's ideology calls on the *Marxist* revolution of the classes when he wrote that only the peasants are revolutionary.²⁸ Qutb on the other hand calls on all true Muslims, even the newly converted, which his views are not based on ethnicity.²⁹

One of Fanon's concept to highlight here when discussing UNFHS and R2P concepts or a whole of government approach to a developing country is the perceived symbols that those agencies create; meaning that when white men build a school to try to help with the development of the country, it can be perceived as a tool of colonization. The same issue can be seen when dealing with Qutb's ideology; any developments coming from non-true Islamic entity are not Godly and therefore a target for the jihad. Both ideologies were meant to de-colonized the region and let the native people build

²⁵ Fanon Franz. *Les Damnés de la terre*. Une édition électronique réalisée à partir du texte de Frantz Fanon, *LES DAMNÉS DE LA TERRE*. Préface de Jean-Paul Sartre (1961); Préface d'Alice Cherki et postface de Mohammed Harbi (2002). Paris: Éditions La Découverte/Poche, 2002, 313 pp. Paris: François Maspero, 1961, 1968. Pg. 44

²⁶ *Ibid.* Pg. 50

²⁷ *Ibid.* Pg 56-57

²⁸ *Ibid.* Pg.66

²⁹ Sayyid Qutb. *Milestones*. Pg. 90, and Chapter 9

their own environment without any influence from major powers. Building their own environment based on their culture and beliefs without fear of external influence is often contradictory with the international efforts.

CONCLUSION

The word security can be applied on several levels, and often the word security helps in instilling a sentiment of insecurity therefore, it often means that there is a threat to something and that measures are to be put in place to alleviate the sense of insecurity. The definition when applied to people as discussed has two level of meaning. The first one is the safety of the individuals, which means to be safe and the second level is securing the environment in order for the people to strive and grow. Thus, when people feel that their beliefs and culture are challenged or endangered, it brings a sense of insecurity at the core level. Culture is a derivative of human interaction and culture will evolve by interacting with others. Currently, with globalization, human interaction is being conducted at an international level bringing different cultures in contact. This globalization sets one condition to allow ideologies to be transnational.

This paper discussed two main ideologies from two distinct regions. Both ideologies are a reflection of the globalization and colonization. As Maajid Nawaz argues with the concept of the age of behavior, ideologies can spread across the globe with the advent of technology.³⁰ Extremist ideologies in the two examples are based on the use of violence to achieve their social change and create their own environment. Even if the different ideologies are from different regions, common arguments can be

³⁰ Nawaz, Maajid. A Global Culture to Fight Extremism.

found. The Islamic Extremists and Fanon's view of their world shaped their beliefs and ideologies. How effective an ideology can be spread is outside the scope of this paper, but Qutb and Fanon had the same framework: they clearly identified the problem and clearly wrote the solution. The call to action and the results were seen after their deaths, but their writings are still well alive.

The fight of DAESH in the Middle East results in movement of more jihadists in North Africa which will only exert more pressure on the region's beliefs and culture. It is important to understand all the ideologies, culture and beliefs in the region in order to understand how an intervention can be successful in the long term. The understanding of the common points may help in developing strategies to help UNFHS and R2P agendas. To reinforce Ban Ki Moon's statement of having "a better assessment of the local context in which the phenomena occur"³¹, will help decide if a country that provides development aid should be waving its flag or instead plant the seed and let the local people to grow the seed. The latter option will lessen the perceived cultural threat and therefore reduce the insecurity effect.

³¹ Ki Moon, Ban. UN Secretary General. Pg. 12

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