2013 - 2014

Model Arab League

BACKGROUND GUIDE

Heads of State Council

ncusar.org/modelarableleague
Honorable Delegates,

Welcome to the 2013-2014 Model Arab League! My name is Elise LeCrone, and I am honored to serve as your chair for the 2014 National University Model Arab League. I am a Political Science and Economics major at Northeastern University in Boston, and this is my third year in Model Arab League. I serve on the Board of Directors of the International Relations Council at Northeastern University, which hosts Model UN, Model NATO, and Model Arab League programming. I have also debated previously on the Heads of State committee as well as several other committees and the Arab Court of Justice, in addition to chairing at several MAL conferences.

The Heads of State committee is a unique and extremely powerful body. Unlike other committees, the representatives in this committee are the leaders of the states themselves. In addition to understanding your country’s policies, you must also consider the personality and characteristics of the leader whom you are representing, especially in regard to their relationships with other leaders in the room.

The resulting debate will be lively, heated, and powerful. Heads of State is unique in that delegates will not have the same concerns about how your decisions might upset the heads of your governments – because you are the heads of your governments. This puts you in a uniquely powerful position to have extremely productive debates and take powerful action.

The topics outlined are of vital importance to the League and its members, and it is my hope that this guide will provide a solid foundation for productive and engaging debate. I wish you the best in your research and preparation in advance of the conference. I look forward to meeting you, and to an exciting and successful debate.

Regards,
Elise LeCrone
Heads of State Council

Topic 1: Addressing the effects of regime change on regional stability and diplomatic relations, with special attention paid to the situation in Syria

I. Introduction to the Topic

A. General Background

While the Arab Spring was hailed as a watershed moment for freedom and democracy by many around the world, it did not come without costs. Countries that experienced revolutions and subsequent changes in leadership had to grapple – and are still grappling – with the challenge of effective governance after the collapse of their dictatorships.

The leaders of Arab governments face the challenge not only of addressing this transition, but doing so while navigating the personal connections and conflicts between leaders. In addition, some individuals whose leadership has been called into question may be present in the room during debate. Thus, this committee does not have the luxury of dealing in the abstract or avoiding the issue via diplomatic pleasantries. This presents a challenge, but also a unique opportunity for progress.

B. History of the Topic in the Arab World

The League has a history of contentious relationships between leaders. For example, Egypt under the leadership of President Anwar Sadat was suspended from the League in 1979 after Sadat attempted to unilaterally negotiate peace with Israel\(^1\), highlighting divisions and tensions between the leaders of League member states.

More recently, in 2011, Arab League leaders were united by their opposition to former Libyan president Muammar Gaddafi. While on its surface, their imposition of a no-fly zone was perhaps a strategic security maneuver, the role of the personal relationships between Gaddafi and other leaders cannot be denied in an examination of their motives for this decision. According to the New York Times, “those backing the no-fly zone...especially the king of Saudi Arabia and the emir of Qatar, most likely drew personal satisfaction from the effort to push Colonel Gaddafi from power, though they did not say so.”\(^2\)

Libya has not transitioned seamlessly from the end of Gaddafi’s reign to its present system of governance. Prime Minister Ali Zeidan recently called on the outside world for assistance, following a wave of protests that have blocked access to many of Libya’s oil resources.\(^3\) The support of other League member states can be crucial for new

---

heads of state council

governments as they attempt to find their footing; likewise, a lack of support from its neighbors can be disastrous for a young government.

Egypt, which also experienced a significant regime change as part of the Arab Spring, has similarly faced subsequent challenges with governance. In August 2013, Mohamed Morsi, who had been installed following the removal of former dictator Hosni Mubarak, was removed by the military after his party had fallen into disfavor. The resulting clashes were violent, and many Egyptian citizens were killed. The new government is still struggling to maintain effective control of the country. Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan, criticized the coup and demanded that Morsi be democratically reinstated, a logical occurrence given his friendly relationship with Morsi.

Given this network of complex relationships, it is interesting to see where new Arab leaders fit into the community of leaders when they come into power. For example, the new Emir of Qatar has been successful in fostering a good relationship with an extremely powerful Arab leader: the King of Saudi Arabia. Emir Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani visited King Abdullah on his first official foreign trip after acceding to the throne, and he has good relations thus far with the Saudi king even though relations between the two countries were tense at times during Sheikh Tamim’s father’s reign.

The transition to power and establishment of relations with other leaders can be more challenging for those who come to power through a regime change as opposed to succession. For example, Prime Minister Zeidan of Libya incurred wrath from the Muslim Brotherhood in his own country simply for visiting interim president Adly Mansour of Egypt, who took over following the ouster of President (and Muslim Brotherhood leader) Mohammed Morsi.

These examples demonstrate the precarious nature of relationships between Arab leaders, and the precarious position of countries that have recently experienced regime change.

C. Finding a Solution to the Problem

While this topic is pertinent and important for the League to address for many reasons, perhaps the most pressing is the situation in Syria. As the rebel forces in Syria continue to attempt to force regime change, the country – and the region – will continue to experience instability and turmoil.

Recent regime changes throughout the region have seen varying degrees of success. The League must first come to a consensus on the extent to which it is the responsibility of member states to aid in preserving the stability and security of a fellow member that has experienced such an upheaval. Some states will not want to set a precedent for excessive involvement by other states because they fear the position this might put them in if, at any point in the future, they find themselves in a similar situation. However, one must also consider that turmoil resulting from a lack of effective governance or policing can have a destabilizing spillover effect on neighboring countries, and even throughout the region.

This committee may also wish to be proactive and discuss hypothetical situations that may arise, in the interest of planning a response to said situations should they occur. However, delegates must be cautious when such scenarios, as one would not want to provoke conflict by appearing to presume that certain leaders or countries will take certain actions.

II. Questions to Consider in Your Research

- How long has the government of your country been in power?
- How stable is the government of your country?
- Has your government taken a strong stance against any particular leaders in the past or present?
- How does your country view the prospects of key Syrian leaders?
- How have past League actions – either in support of or opposition to certain leaders – impacted its diplomatic relations with the rest of the world?
- How would your country respond to hypothetical scenarios in various countries?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Address

- What role can the League play in assuring smooth assisting transitional – and transitions of – governments?
- What responsibility does the League have to take further action with regards to the situation in Syria?
- To what extent can or should the League concern itself with the governance of a fellow member state?
- How can League member states advance their interests by protecting the stability of a new government?
- How would the League react to the assassination of Iraqi Prime Minster Nouri al-Maliki?
- How would the League react to an invasion of Gaza by the Palestinian Authority?

IV. Additional Resources to Review

BBC Article on the Situation in Syria
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-17258397
Protest, Revolt, and Regime change in the Arab World
http://www.isn.ethz.ch/Digital-Library/Publications/Detail/?ots591=0c54e3b3-1e9c-be1e-2c24-a6a8c7060233&lng=en&id=138509

Of Revolutions, Regime Change, and State Collapse in the Arab World

Egypt: Revolution and Aftermath
Topic 2: Assessing the role of the League in issues relating to migration, including but not limited to providing for refugees, forging agreements on work permits and visas, and the emigration of skilled workers to other regions

I. Introduction to the Topic

A. General Background

Refugees in the Arab world leave their homes for a variety of reasons – some to flee conflict and disaster, others to seek greater opportunity in a new land. Whatever the motivation, refugees and migrants are often vulnerable to poor conditions, lack of resources, and exploitation in their new country, particularly because they do not have rights equal to those of the citizens of that state. For this reasons, the Heads of State have an important opportunity to consider how life might be made better and safer for these people.

B. History of the Topic in the Arab World

The patterns of migration in the Arab world have been largely dependent on conflict, though there are other factors at play as well. In particular, the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict continues to produce massive numbers of refugees who are dispersed across multiple countries in the Arab world. Beginning with the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1948, people were displaced from their homes and started to spread throughout the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. The refugee problem persists, and the UN Relief and Works Agency estimates that there are now over 5 million Palestinian refugees.

The ongoing Syrian civil war presents a new and pressing problem in the region as well. The UN High Commissioner for Refugees estimates that there are almost 4.5 million refugees who are “directly affected by the violence in Syria.” The influx of these people strains the services and infrastructure in the countries to which they flee.

Many people, however, leave their homes for reasons not motivated by conflict. Often, they travel to another country to seek employment and educational opportunities that do not exist in their home countries. The GCC countries have a smaller local workforce, and have been employing many foreign workers in order to support the oil industry. However, these workers often face problems in their new homes that stem from laws and

policies of the host country. In many Arab states, “Exclusion of migrant domestic workers from the host country's legislative safeguards – labor laws and occupational health and safety provisions – leaves the workers defenseless and entirely dependent on individual employers' interpretations of decent living and working conditions.”¹² Most recently, this has become a particular problem in Qatar, where preparations for the 2022 World Cup in Doha has led to a massive influx in foreign workers, in a country where the workforce already comprised 94.2 of the “economically active population” in 2010; concerns have already begun to arise over the treatment of these workers.¹³ ¹⁴

The League member states are facing challenges related not only to migrants from other Arab states, but also from outside the Arab world. In particular, workers from Asia have streamed into the GCC states. In 2011, 11 million guest workers in the GCC countries came from states “east of the Persian Gulf.”¹⁵ The presence of these workers sometimes creates animosity amongst unemployed Arabs, who may perceive these non-Arab workers as out-competing them for jobs.

C. Finding a Solution to the Problem

The problem of refugees means that no internal conflict or hardship stays truly internal. Numerous League members are impacted by this problem, whether because they have experienced conflict, are adjacent to a conflict-ridden country, lack employment opportunities, or possess employment opportunities that other states do not. States that are experiencing an exodus of their citizens need to consider the reasons for this migration; states receiving migrants en masse must determine how they will serve these populations.

Ideally, the League would be able to address and solve the root causes of such migration, it be conflict or a lack of resources and opportunities in a particular state, in order to prevent workers from leaving their home countries or the region. However, this is likely more of a long-term goal than a short-term one. Thus, in the interim, as these population movements persist, the League should work to ameliorate the often dismal conditions experienced by these people. Particularly in countries receiving mass amounts of refugees and migrants, the League may have a role to play in ensuring that the host country’s infrastructure and resources are not crippled by this influx. For example, the League

---

pledged $100 million in July 2012 to aid refugees from the Syrian conflict.\textsuperscript{16} The League should consider whether it wishes to continue providing funding to member states experiencing refugee problems, or if there are other possible solutions to this pervasive issue.

The League member states can also work together to develop common policies on work permits and visas, so that foreign workers in each member state are afforded a certain standard of treatment. League members have taken some action domestically to monitor the safety of foreign workers – for example, in 2010, Jordan strengthened the legal framework to punish employers who violate the rights of migrant workers; countries such as Kuwait, Oman, and Palestine strengthened their labor laws in general (for both native and migrant workers).\textsuperscript{17} Yet there is little in the way of League-wide agreements on standards of treatment for these workers or policies to facilitate the acquisition of work permits. This committee may wish to discuss formulating such policies.

\section*{II. Questions to Consider in Your Research}

\begin{itemize}
  \item Does your country employ many migrant workers? What percentage of your country’s labor force do they comprise?
  \item Do many of your country’s citizens leave to work in another state?
  \item Is your country currently experiencing conflict or other hardship that is causing its citizens to leave for another country?
  \item Does your country shelter many refugees who have fled conflict?
  \item Does your country have the capacity and resources to support refugees living within its borders?
  \item What are your country’s policies surrounding work permits and visas for foreign workers?
\end{itemize}

\section*{III. Questions a Resolution Might Address}

\begin{itemize}
  \item How can member states provide adequate resources for refugees fleeing conflict, particularly the influx resulting from the Syrian conflict?
  \item How can the rights of migrant workers be protected?
  \item What common policies can the League adopt with regard to work permits and visas for foreign workers?
\end{itemize}

\section*{IV. Additional Resources to Review}

\textbf{Stories from Syrian Refugees}

\url{http://data.unhcr.org/syrianrefugees/syria.php}


Syrian Refugees
http://syrianrefugees.eu/

UNRWA
http://www.unrwa.org/

Migrant Workers in the UAE

Arab Versus Asian Migrant Workers in the GCC Countries
http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/EGM_Ittmig_Arab/P02_Kapiszewski.pdf

The Situation of Migrant Domestic Workers in Arab States
http://www.academia.edu/1006359/The_Situation_of_Migrant_Domestic_Workers_in_Arab_States_A_Legislative_Overview
Topic 3: Formulating a League-wide agreement on standards regarding treatment, extradition, and asylum for deposed Arab leaders

I. Introduction to the Topic

A. General Background

Countries around the world that have endured the rule of authoritarian regimes have dealt with the fate of their dictators in a variety of ways. Some have gone into exile following their removal, some have been convicted by international tribunals, and some have been convicted by national courts. For example, Charles Taylor of Liberia and Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia were both charged by international tribunals in the Hague – Taylor was sentenced to 50 years in prison, while Milosevic died before the completion of his trial.\(^{18,19}\) Manuel Noriega, formerly the leader of Panama, has been moved between prisons in the United States, France, and his home country since he was overthrown in 1989, having been convicted by courts in each of those countries.\(^{20}\) Jean-Claude Duvalier of Haiti was charged with corruption by a court in his home country after returning from self-imposed exile, though he has lived under fairly lax house arrest since then.\(^{21}\)

As one can observe from the varying fates of these leaders, there is no universally adhered-to process for these leaders following their removal. The International Criminal Court (and other special international tribunals in the Hague) provide the answer in some situations; however, not all countries are signatories to the ICC, and there is skepticism about the legitimacy of the court in some areas of the world.\(^{22}\) Additionally, though some countries are willing to grant asylum to deposed leaders, many countries refuse to take them because of the political implications attached to such an action.\(^{23}\)

B. History of the Topic in the Arab World

The Arab world has experienced numerous regime changes in the last few years, as dictators who had been in place for many years were toppled via popular uprising during the Arab Spring. The treatment of these leaders after they have been deposed has varied between countries.

---


\(^{21}\) *Ibid.*


\(^{23}\) *Ibid.*
In Tunisia, President Ben Ali resigned the presidency in the face of an uprising. After France denied his request to land within the country, he instead fled to Saudi Arabia and was later tried *in absentia* and sentenced to 35 years in jail.

Hosni Mubarak, the former dictator of Egypt, was forced to resign in February 2011 after weeks of intense demonstrations. He was sentenced to life in prison. However, he was freed in August 2013 after the overthrow of Egyptian president Mohamed Morsi (who succeeded Mubarak), after a court ruled that there were no legal grounds for his imprisonment.

Following a NATO intervention in Libya, Muammar Gaddafi went into hiding, but was soon captured by rebel fighters. As he attempted to escape, he hit by shrapnel from a hand grenade and then stabbed with a bayonet. He died shortly thereafter.

Given the ongoing conflict in Syria, it is possible that Bashar al-Assad may be next. If Assad is deposed, the Arab world will once again have to contend with the fate of a former dictator. Thus, this moment in time marks a critical juncture at which the League may learn from recent history in order to develop a policy for similar future events. This is particularly important given that the fate of former leaders may have implications for the success of the government that succeeds them.

C. Finding a Solution to the Problem

The treatment and fate of recently deposed leaders has been left largely to the discretion of the forces that have taken over in the wake of the regime’s downfall. Sometimes these situations have had at least the appearance of legitimacy – in Tunisia, Ben Ali and his wife were tried and convicted in a court, although the *in absentia* nature of this case means that they have not actually been punished. On the other hand, in Libya, deposed leader Muammar Gaddafi was captured and heinously murdered by militants, without any pretense of due process.

It is crucial for the League to determine what standards it may want to set for the fate of these leaders. What happens to former rulers in the wake of regime change can send an important message to the rest of the world about the security and condition of law and order within the country in question. As Sarah Leah Whitson, the Middle East and North Africa director of Human Rights Watch, stated in regard to Gaddafi’s death, “Finding out

---


how [former dictators] died matters. It will set the tone for whether the new Libya will be ruled by law or by summary violence.\(^{28}\) Thus, forming a strong policy on this issue may be to the advantage of the League politically – not to mention advantageous for the security situation on the ground.

League members have several options in this regard. They may choose to promote fair trials for their deposed “colleagues,” whether in the International Criminal Court or in the national court systems. For example, as stated previously, ousted President Ben Ali was convicted in a national court in Tunisia, though many Tunisians were dissatisfied with the proceedings, and the court was unable to enforce its punishment since Ben Ali had already fled the country and Saudi Arabia was unwilling to extradite him.\(^ {29}\) These problems of legitimacy and authority are likely to arise in the instance of former leaders being tried by national courts.

In contrast, Muammar Gaddafi and his son Saif al-Islam Gaddafi were indicted by the ICC in June 2011. The proceedings against Muammar were terminated after his death, and Saif al-Islam continues to be detained in Libya, as Libyan authorities have stated their intention to try him in a national court and thus refused to turn him over to the ICC.\(^ {30}\) \(^ {31}\) Successfully trying leaders in the ICC may also prove challenging sometimes because many League members are not States Parties to the Rome Statute (which established the ICC).\(^ {32}\)

The League must also consider whether members should be allowed to grant asylum to deposed leaders. This has happened multiple times in recent years – as mentioned earlier, Ben Ali is currently residing in Saudi Arabia; as another example, the new Tunisian president offered to grant asylum to Bashir al-Assad “if it would end the conflict.”\(^ {33}\) Leaders must consider the political implications of granting asylum. In some scenarios, it may provide a route for leaders in trouble to leave their positions while minimizing further conflict. On the other hand, what message does it send to harbor an individual who was considered a criminal by some of his fellow Arab leaders, or by the rest of the

international community? These are important considerations as the League perhaps develops a policy on granting asylum.

II. Questions to Consider in Your Research

- What stance has your government taken on the fate of recently deposed leaders?
- Has your country ever been ruled by a dictator who was later removed from power?
- Has your country ever granted asylum to a former dictator?
- What relationships does your country have with leaders who are currently in power who might be considered authoritarian?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Address

- Should the League promote extradition of deposed leaders to the ICC (or other relevant international tribunals), or should it promote trials for these leaders in national courts?
- Should the League forbid member states from granting asylum to deposed dictators?
- How might the League ensure that certain standards of treatment for these former leaders are met, particularly in the face of potential opposition from the new government of the state in question?

IV. Additional Resources to Review

Washington Post article on fate of deposed dictators
http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/deposed-dictators-where-are-they-now/2013/08/21/14cbff5c-0ac0-11e3-b87c-476db8ac34cd_gallery.html

Retirement for Deposed Dictators: Where Do They Go?

Mubarak’s Case: What’s the Best Approach with Ex-Dictators?

The Problem With Removing Dictators
http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/08/20128684712352153.html
Topic 4: Addressing challenges to regional security stemming from climate change and environmental stresses such as diminishing water resources, rising food prices and food insecurity, and population displacement

I. Introduction to the Topic

A. General Background

Climate change and subsequent environmental stresses have begun to pose problems not only for the health of the planet, but for the security of the Arab world as well. These environmental changes put stress on water and food resources, leading to their depletion. The scarcity of these vital resources creates a security issue, as disputes erupt or are fueled by competition for these resources and the higher prices resulting from this competition.

B. History of the Topic in the Arab World

The Arab world has increasingly been plagued by climate-related disasters. According to a report released by the World Bank at the end of 2012, 50 million people in the Arab world have been affected by natural disasters in the last three decades, many of which were a result of climate change. According to the report, these disasters have cost the Arab countries more than $12 billion. Inger Andersen, the World Bank Vice President for the Middle East and North Africa, said, “Climate change is a reality for people in Arab countries. It affects everyone – especially the poor who are least able to adapt – and as the climate becomes ever more extreme, so will its impacts on people’s livelihoods and wellbeing.”

The negative impacts of climate change are manifest in various forms. For one, the extreme increase in temperature has led to droughts and a decrease in the supply of available water. Since 40% of employed Arab citizens work in an agriculture-related jobs, this may pose dire consequences for the agriculture industry and for the livelihood of those employed in it. If no further measures are taken to address this situation, household incomes in Syria and Tunisia could decrease by 7%, and decrease by 24% in Yemen.

In addition to drought and water scarcity, climate change has increased the risk of flash floods in the region. According to the World Bank report, 500,000 people were affected

35 Ibid.
by flash floods in the region in the last decade, compared with 100,000 in the decade before.\(^{38}\)

As a result of the challenges posed to agriculture by increasing temperatures, food supply and prices are at risk as well.\(^{39}\) Fluctuations in food prices are more than a nuisance; they are a security concern as well. One study concluded that “The Arab Spring would likely have come one way or another, but the context in which it did is not inconsequential. Global warming may not have caused the Arab Spring, but it may have made it come earlier.”\(^{40}\) In 2007-2008, food prices in the Arab world rose sharply.\(^{41}\) This rapid price increase incited riots across the region, notably in Morocco, Jordan, Egypt, Yemen, and Bahrain; these countries all experienced political uprisings a few years later. If people are not able to afford the basic necessities of life for themselves and their families, their anger will eventually turn toward that which they see as failing to assist them: the government. Thus, Arab leaders must be particularly cautious of this particular climate change-fueled problem, as it can quickly and severely damage their credibility in the eyes of their citizens.

C. Finding a Solution to the Problem

Given the security implications of climate change, it is a vital issue for the League to address. Leaders must combat the problem via temporary fixes and long-term solutions to the root cause of these problems.

In the short-term, leaders should consider how they can combat the problem of rising prices of food and fuel. Many Arab countries have begun providing food subsidies to keep costs low, but this is an imperfect solution. Food subsidies take up a large portion of government budgets – for example, 4% of the national budget in Egypt.\(^{42}\) Subsidies are also often ineffective because they are not targeted. Therefore, leaders should revisit this policy and determine whether it should be improved or replaced with a different approach.

Additionally, leaders must determine how they can prepare themselves for instability that might result from anger and hardship over increasing food prices, as well as other natural disasters. Since this issue affects people’s daily lives and well-being so directly, the stability of prices of essential goods is crucial for maintaining the stability of a regime. Leaders must be cognizant of this and determine how they can keep their citizens fed in order to avoid unrest.

\(^{38}\) Ibid.


\(^{40}\) Ibid.


\(^{42}\) Ibid.
It is important for the League to consider long-term solutions as well. The only way to halt this dangerous trend is to address the root causes of climate change. While this must be a global effort, League members – especially those who are major greenhouse gas producers – certainly have a role to play. The World Bank report of 2012 offered an “Adaptation Pyramid Framework” for the Arab world, intended to “strengthen public sector management in a changing climate, and to assist stakeholders in integrating climate risks and opportunities into all development activities.” This may serve as a basis for further discussion of the issue. It will require the involvement of governments – and possibly League-wide policies – to ensure the well-being of Arabs across the region in the face of ongoing climate change.

II. Questions to Consider in Your Research

• Has your country experienced extreme temperatures, droughts, floods, or other extreme climate events?
• What water resources does your country possess?
• Is your country’s water supply at risk of becoming scarce?
• What food resources do your citizens depend on?
• Is your country’s food grown and produced domestically, or does it depend on other countries for imports?
• Does your country subsidize food? If so, what percentage of your government’s budget is devoted to subsidies?
• Has your country experienced any riots or unrest caused by rising prices of food or other goods?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Address

• How can the League address the scarcity of water and food resources in order to ensure that the citizens of all League member states are able to access clean water and adequate nutrition?
• How can the League prepare itself to be resilient to the negative security implications of rising food prices?
• How can the League focus on building infrastructure that is more resilient to natural disasters?
• How can the League assist populations that have been displaced due to a lack of resources in their former home?

IV. Additional Resources to Review

Report: Adaptation to a changing climate in the Arab countries

Report: The Arab Spring and Climate Change

Report: Economics of Climate Change in the Arab World

World Bank fact sheet on Arab climate change