



**2013-2014**

**Model Arab League**

**Background Guide**

**Council of Arab Social Affairs Ministers**

**[ncusar.org/modelarableague](http://ncusar.org/modelarableague)**

National  
Council  
on US-  
Arab  
Relations



Dear Delegates,

It is my distinct pleasure and honor to welcome all of you to the 2013-2014 session of the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations Model Arab League program! I also would like to take this time to welcome you to the Council of Arab Social Affairs Ministers here at the National University Model Arab League (NUMAL 2014). My name is Sarmat Chowdhury, and I will be your chair for this session of the Council of Arab Social Affairs Ministers here at NUMAL 2014, and I must say that I am looking forward to the caliber of debate that you bring to the Council. I am currently a junior at George Mason University pursuing a B.A. in Government and International Politics (Honors) with a concentration in Comparative and International Politics, a B.A. in Conflict Analysis & Resolution with a concentration in International Conflict and minoring in International Security and History. At George Mason, I have the pleasure of serving as the President of the Model United Nations/Model Arab League organization, with over 8 years of experience in Model United Nations. This marks my first time chairing in the Model Arab League program, having previously participated in NUMAL 2013, SIMAL II 2013 and CARMAL 2013 respectively.

The Arab world has witnessed a whirlwind of change in the past two years that is still continuing to this day. The internationally coined “Arab Spring” started off as the Jasmine Revolution in the Republic of Tunisia, and slowly spread throughout the Middle East and North Africa. As the changes wrought by the “Arab Spring” start to settle in and as the region moves into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the fabric of society in the Middle East has changed. The agenda presented before the Council of Arab Social Affairs Ministers will challenge the member states of the League of Arab States to ensure that the civilians living within the League are prepared to meet and survive in the changing times.

The time is now, for you as delegates to ensure that the challenges experienced by member states of the League are mitigated and provided with solutions that can not only aid the citizens, but also allow the region to develop and stabilize. I challenge you all to go further in your research as you prepare for the various Models in the circuit. I have no doubt that come March you all will bring the very best in your debate.

I wait with great anticipation to see the debate that you bring to the Council of Arab Social Affairs Ministers.

Best of luck, delegates.  
Sarmat Chowdhury

## The Council of Arab Social Affairs Ministers

### Topic 1: Examining the socio-economic effects of climate change, especially regarding food and water security

#### I. Introduction to the Topic

##### A. General Background

Climate change is collectively understood to be the change in climate (regional temperature, precipitation, extreme weather) caused by an increase in the greenhouse gas effect. The effects of climate change can be felt in all walks of life, whether it be the political, social or economic arena. Climate change has been affecting all sectors due to the changes that it imposes on how humans have lived on the planet. Recently, the fear of climate change has led many nations in the international community to push for a consensus on how the international community should deal with the issue of climate change on a global scale.<sup>1</sup> Rising sea levels, loss of land, internal movement of population, and a plethora of other issues will adversely impact the international community unless steps are taken to ensure that the effects of climate change are mitigated.

##### B. History of the Topic in the Arab World

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region is home to the world's largest greenhouse gas emitters per capita, the State of Qatar and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.<sup>2</sup> In a region where there is a perpetual shortage of water availability and where a sizeable number of states are dependent on petro economies, the issue of climate change is coupled with the need for modernization of the agrarian sector and the continued industrialization in the Maghreb. However, the situation in the Middle East and North Africa is reaching a critical point, especially revealed in the most recent report by the World Bank on the effect of climate change in the members of the League of Arab States.<sup>3</sup> One of the main concerns is the issue of water shortages. The MENA region has already had a shortage of water in comparison to the carrying capacity of the region. Predictions on the water situation in the region are dire, with some analysts predicting that of the capital cities in the region, Sana'a will be the first city to run out of clean water, and as soon as 2080, setting a dangerous trend of predictions of the availability of water, particularly to those living in refugee camps, such as the Palestinians.<sup>4</sup> With the decrease in the availability of resources,

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<sup>1</sup> Ocko, Illissa. "EDF Voices: People on the Planet." *Environmental Defense Fund*. Environmental Defense Fund, 27 Sept. 2013. Web. 19 Dec. 2013. <<http://www.edf.org/blog/2013/11/14/seven-things-you-should-know-about-uns-new-ipcc-climate-change-report>>.

<sup>2</sup> World Bank. "World Bank's GGFR: Middle East Should Join Global Efforts in Reducing Greenhouse Gas Emissions from Gas Flaring." *News & Broadcast*. The World Bank, 5 Mar. 2012. Web. 12 Dec. 2013. <<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/NEWS/0,,contentMDK:21673358~menuPK:34463~pagePK:34370~piPK:34424~theSitePK:4607.00.html>>.

<sup>3</sup> World Bank. "Facing Up To The Threat of Climate Change in the Arab World." *Facing Up to the Threat of Climate Change in the Arab World*. The World Bank, 5 Dec. 2012. Web. 12 Dec. 2013. <<http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2012/12/05/facing-up-to-the-threat-of-climate-change-in-the-arab-world>>.

<sup>4</sup> Gellman, Halima. "Yemen: Think Things Are Bad Now? Don't Let It Run out of Water." *The Christian Science Monitor*. The Christian Science Monitor, 30 Nov. 2010. Web. 12 Dec. 2013.

protectionist policies and conflicts over remaining resources will rise in a region that will still be dealing with the aftermath of the Arab Spring in the coming future. With a region that is in the midst of the attention given by the international community and dealing with the current situation with the embattled Syrian Arab Republic, the region, and indeed the League of Arab States needs to face the challenge of climate change.

Perhaps one of the most unknown topics in the region is the threat of climate change and its effect in the region. Many in the Arab world are not aware of the danger climate change can have on their lifestyle. Member governments within the League of Arab States are also facing a dilemma, with the need for economic power and energy consumption clashing with the need to combat climate change.

### **C. Finding a Solution to the Problem: Past, Present and Future**

In a region where natural resources such as water are already scarce, the effects that climate change can have on such an environment and resources located in said region could prove to be damaging, unless the League of Arab States can ensure the continued availability of current resources. One of the groups that would be heavily influenced by these changes would be the nomadic tribes of the region, particularly the Bedouin tribes.<sup>5</sup> These tribes have a tradition of traveling throughout the region, and the effects of climate change have the potential to dramatically change their lifestyles, and affect where they would then decide to stay permanently. The changes that the nomadic tribes would experience would then put an added strain on population centers in the region, many of which are almost on the cusp of surpassing the carrying capacity of the given region. As access to resources dwindle and as the population of the region exponentially increases, it will become imperative for the governments within the League of Arab States to ensure that not only are the resources proportioned evenly between nations, but that the governments in the League also enact measures to ensure that their citizens have access to these resources.

## **II. Questions to Consider in Your Research**

- Is my government's environmental affairs ministry aware of the dangers climate change poses to my country?
- What steps, if any, has my government taken to ensure that the resources such as water and food are protected?
- How has my country worked with regional neighbors in the past on this topic?
- In the past, how has my country dealt with resource shortages? How effective was that action?

## **III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer**

- How can resources such as water be protected against the effects of climate change?

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<http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Opinion/2010/1130/Yemen-Think-things-are-bad-now-Don-t-let-it-run-out-of-water>.

<sup>5</sup> Scholz, Fred. "United Nations University Study on Changes in the Bedouin/Nomad Regions of the Islamic Orient." *United Nations University Archives*. United Nations University, n.d. Web. 12 Dec. 2013.

<http://archive.unu.edu/unupress/unupbooks/80143e/80143E01.htm>.

- What should League of Arab States' governments do to help their citizens deal with resource shortages?
- How can citizens and governments both aid in combating the effects of climate change?

#### **IV. Resources to Review**

##### **MENA: Environment Sector Brief**

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/MENAEXT/0,,contentMDK:20525954~pagePK:146736~piPK:226340~theSitePK:256299,00.html>

##### **Middle East Research and Information Project: Water Crisis**

<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer254/editors>

##### **Center for American Progress: The Arab Spring and Climate Change**

<http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/report/2013/02/28/54579/the-arab-spring-and-climate-change/>

##### **The World Bank: MENA CO2 Emissions Data**

<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.ATM.CO2E.KT/countries/XQ?display=graph>

##### **Food Security and Food Sovereignty in the Middle East**

<http://www12.georgetown.edu/sfs/qatar/cirs/FoodSecuritySummaryReport.pdf>

## **Topic 2: Analyzing how migration due to civil unrest has affected employment, education, housing, and access to health and human services in the Arab world**

### **I. Introduction to the Topic**

#### **A. General Background**

For the past two years, the MENA region has been besieged by protests, and with the embers of these protests now dying, the damage and changes that have resulted from the protests are now being seen by the people within the League of Arab States. A massive migration of citizens fleeing the instability that has been left behind following the cessation of the protests has become an emerging issue. As many civilians take their families away from unsafe and unstable cities, they are not only migrating within their own countries, but are attempting to migrate to other Arab states that they perceive to be more stable. It is this migration trend that is now increasing across the board for member states that has concomitantly compounded the challenges for employment, education, housing and access to health and human services in the Arab world. While many of the protestors in the Arab Spring had joined the movement to fight against the level of inequalities and lack of opportunities that they perceived had existed in their communities, the ebbing of the Arab Spring did not simply cause those inequalities to vanish.

#### **B. History of the Topic in the Arab World**

The idea of migration is not an alien concept to either the region in general or to the Arab people culturally. Many Arabs that are part of nomadic tribes to this day, such as the Bedouin, are known to migrate within and across country borders in a continual cycle; many member states, including members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), employ migrant workers from South and Southeast Asia to carry out the manual labor that is needed in their developing sectors. However, since the advent of the Arab Spring and its continuation within the MENA region, the populations of member states have been faced with a daunting decision: stay within their home nation and brave the protests, or take their family and assets and transition somewhere else in the Arab world, or leave the region entirely, as many have done. For many states located in the Arab Maghreb, the idea of migrating to Europe to not only find employment opportunities that can help support themselves and their immediate families, but also their extended families back in the Arab world, is a lure that many find hard to resist. With a sense of insecurity, many are searching for ways to escape the already decreasing opportunities they are witnessing in the region.

#### **C. Finding a Solution to the Problem: Past, Present and Future**

While the trend of emigration to the U.S. and Europe has long existed in the Arab world,<sup>6</sup> consideration also has to be given to how the most recent population movements can add to the instability within the region. The high level of migration from the MENA region is an increasing cause for concern within the home states. The decrease in available human capital becomes a

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<sup>6</sup> Baldwin-Edwards, Martin. "Migration in the Middle East and Mediterranean: A Regional Study Prepared for the Global Commission on International Migration." *GTZ: Partner For the Future Worldwide*. The Global Commission on International Migration, 2005. Web. 12 Dec. 2013. <<http://www2.gtz.de/wbf/library/detail.asp?number=2878>>.

serious impediment to the development of, and attempt to reinstate stability within, member states. One of the key factors that can be taken into consideration for leaders attempting to curb popular revolts is to increase employment opportunities for their citizens and to incentivize the manual labor sector to appeal to a wider audience. Unemployment is a major area of concern for Arabs, especially because the lack of employment opportunities, including those matching the level of education of Arab citizens, was a primary factor that led to many of the demonstrations in the region. To achieve this, governments must focus on the development of the local and national economy by nurturing a multitude of sectors that, until now, have been filled by migrant workers. Many are also leaving because they feel there is a lack of access to the basic health and human services that the citizens and their families need.<sup>7</sup> One crucial step governments need to act upon is their responsibility to provide access to these core services. It is imperative that member states address these issues as migration trends evolve.

## II. Questions to Consider in Your Research

- How has the population in my country reacted to the recent changes that have been brought about by the Arab Spring?
- How has my country dealt with migrating populations in the past?
- Does my country currently have/expect massive movements of population?
- What is the current employment situation within my country? How is access to education and basic human and health services?
- What has my country done about employment, education, and access to basic health and human services since the Arab Spring?

## III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer

- How should the member states of the League deal with the increase in migrating populations?
- What can be done to incentivize the return of migrating populations?
- Should those that have left their home countries be sent back?
- Will standards for employment, education and access to basic health and human services be used by individual member states, or be mandated across the League?

## IV. Resources to Review

**The World Bank, “Fairness and accountability: Engaging in health systems in the Middle East and North Africa”**

<http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EXTARABICHOME/Resources/475644-1372258525900/English-MENA-HNP-Strategy.pdf>

**UNDP Arab Human Development Report, “Job Creation in the Arab Economies: Navigating through Difficult Waters”**

<http://www.arab-hdr.org/publications/other/ahdrps/paper03-en.pdf>

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<sup>7</sup> UNHCR. "Sudan." *UNHCR News*. The United Nations High Commission on Refugees, 2013. Web. 11 Dec. 2013. <<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e483b76.html>>.

**The World Bank: MENA Region Data**

<http://data.worldbank.org/region/MNA>

**Middle East Research and Information Project: Egyptian Migration and Peasant Wives**

<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer124/egyptian-migration-peasant-wives>

**Middle East Research and Information Project: Political Aspects of Health**

<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer161/political-aspects-health>



### **Topic 3: Addressing measures to protect and preserve national treasures and further develop Arab art and culture in times of both peace and war**

#### **I. Introduction to the Topic**

##### **A. General Background**

With the Middle East and North Africa rich in culture and national treasures, protection of these assets needs to be a priority for both Arab citizens and the Arab governments. From the grand mosques and examples of Islamic architecture to the pre-Islamic structures and relics that draw tourists from around the world, the region is rich in historical and cultural heritage. Tourism is a vital role in many of the economies of the member states, and some of the main attractions that continue to draw tourists to the region are the national treasures that lie within their borders. Along with protecting and preserving the national heritage that the member states already have, many member states' governments have undertaken measures to ensure that modern Arab culture and art are both developed and promoted.<sup>8</sup> Traditional and modern literature, art, music, gastronomy, language and sports are just some of the areas that many governments within the League are supporting.

##### **B. History of the Topic in the Arab World**

Since the creation of the League, from the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia to the Union of the Comoros, all 22 member states have taken steps to ensure that national treasures and sites that have both cultural and historical importance are protected not only for national pride, but as a source of revenue through the development of the tourism industry. However, the tourism that many of the nations rely on to sustain their economies took a nose dive with the Arab Spring as it spread from Tunisia to the rest of the MENA region.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, as the unrest and protests spread throughout the region, many of the tourist attractions had to be shut down as tourists avoided these destinations due to safety and security concerns. The inviting beaches associated with the Arab Maghreb nations were surprisingly empty within a matter of days, effectively destroying the local seaside economies in that region.<sup>10</sup> In Egypt, many people were demonstrating against the Mubarak regime, but others were concerned about the preservation of the museums in Cairo that housed the national treasures of Egypt in danger of being destroyed in the mêlée. There was also a fear that should the instability continue in the country, the pyramids of Giza and the Great Sphinx could be damaged in the protests and as a result of a lack of governmental control as well.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Al Khalifa, Sheikha Mai Bint Ibrahim. "Debate: The Gulf Is Doing Enough to Promote Arab Culture." *ASHARQ ALAWSAT Debate The Gulf Is Doing Enough to Promote Arab Culture Comments*. Asharq Al-Awsat, 27 July 2013. Web. 12 Dec. 2013. <<http://www.aawsat.net/2013/07/article55311208>>.

<sup>9</sup> News Desk. "Arab Spring Costs Region \$ 15 Bln in Lost Tourism." *The North Africa Post RSS*. The North Africa Post, 30 May 2013. Web. 12 Dec. 2013. <<http://northafricapost.com/3744-arab-spring-costs-region-15-bln-in-lost-tourism.html>>.

<sup>10</sup> Blair, David. "Arab Spring: The Impact on Holidaymakers, One Year On." *The Telegraph*. Telegraph Media Group, 28 Dec. 0017. Web. 12 Dec. 2013. <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/travelnews/9088373/Arab-Spring-the-impact-on-holidaymakers-one-year-on.html>>.

<sup>11</sup> Williams, Greg. "Archaeology and Cultural Heritage in Egypt after Mubarak | The ASOR Blog." *The ASOR Blog*. The American School of Oriental Research, n.d. Web. 12 Dec. 2013. <<http://asorblog.org/?p=4338>>.

However, the Arab Spring has allowed for a liberation and renewal in Arab creativity and culture. Across the region, with dictatorial governments being overthrown by Arab citizens, a cultural revolution, recognizing the Arab world had changed, emerged as the protests died, spearheaded by a generation of enthusiastic, young Arabs who seized the opportunity to develop new cultural identities. Music, art, graffiti, literature and even the usage of social media has shown that while the Arab Spring did have an impact on a multitude of economic sectors in the region, it also allowed for many in the Arab world to find a medium where their liberation euphoria could then be channeled.

### **C. Finding a Solution to the Problem: Past, Present and Future**

As Arab governments across the region attempt to stabilize their internal affairs and borders, many governments are focusing on ensuring that the tourism sectors that they had prior to the protests are brought back to their pre-Arab Spring levels of operations. In the past, many Arab governments have had a tight control over the tourism sectors, particularly in the capitals of their nations, where many of the museums held the national treasures that were on display for the international community and the public at large to come and enjoy. But with the protests, though now receding, the new challenge will be to ensure that if similar situations arise in the future, certain measures will be taken to protect the treasures that are part of the very fabric of national pride for future generations. We have seen in the current civil war that is occurring in Syria has resulted in the destruction of many of the Umayyad mosques and minarets across the country, a loss of religious, historical and cultural significance. A solution is needed not only for protection of this cultural heritage, but also for long-term sustainability. In the past when the United Nations Arab Human Development Report was released,<sup>12</sup> it showed a severe lack of cultural development, and any resolution that the Council intends to not only draft but also vote on, needs to ensure how Arab culture can be furthered across the region.

## **II. Questions to Consider in Your Research**

- What is considered a “national treasure” in my country?
- How has the tourism industry in my country been affected by the Arab Spring protests?
- Should my country take more steps to protect national treasures, or has the government already done enough?
- What is local development of culture like in my country?

## **III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer**

- How can the League ensure that national treasures are protected during times of conflict and peace?
- How can the League ensure that cultural activities and development are being offered to all citizens of the League?
- Should the League set up a standard as to what is considered cultural?

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<sup>12</sup> UNDP. "United Nations Arab Human Development Reports (1990-2013)." *Human Development Reports*. The United Nations Development Programme, n.d. Web. 12 Dec. 2013.  
<[http://hdr.undp.org/xmlsearch/reportSearch?c=r:Arab States&k=&t=\\*&y=\\*](http://hdr.undp.org/xmlsearch/reportSearch?c=r:Arab States&k=&t=*&y=*)>.

- Should Arab heritage be defined, chosen and guarded by national governments of the countries in which they are located, or the League of Arab States?

#### **IV. Resources to Review**

**Middle East Research and Information Project: “Culture, State, and Revolution”**

<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer263/culture-state-revolution>

**Modern Heritage Observatory: Working to Preserve Modern Heritage**

<http://www.modernheritageobservatory.org/article.php?id=74&c=11#.UpzrjsSsiSo>

**Aga Khan Trust for Culture**

[http://www.akdn.org/aktc\\_programmes.asp](http://www.akdn.org/aktc_programmes.asp)

**The New York Times: Preserving Heritage, and the Fabric of Life, in Syria**

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/27/arts/design/27preserve.html?pagewanted=all&r=0>

**Middle East Institute: Graphic (Novel) Repression in Egypt**

<http://www.mei.edu/content/graphic-novel-repression-egypt>

## **Topic 4: Expanding efforts to reduce region-wide sectarian tension and violence by creating opportunities for inter-religious and inter-ethnic dialogue and exchange**

### **I. Introduction to the Topic**

#### **A. General Background**

The League of Arab States is composed of 22 member states, all of which share a common ethnic, linguistic, or cultural heritage. Whether it is those in the Arab Maghreb, Afro-Arabs, Levantine Arabs or the Gulf Arabs, they all fall under the cultural and ethnic category of Arabs and thus share a common language and cultural practices. Even on a religious aspect, the majority of Arab member states' citizens adhere to the Islamic faith, creating another uniting factor. However, specifically using the modern era of the Middle East and North Africa as reference as well as focusing on the political dynamics of the League of Arab States, it is apparent that even with a common cultural and religious heritage that is seen with the governments and the citizenry, there is a severe lack of unity between member states as well as citizens of the Arab world. Prejudices and stereotypes about fellow Arabs are rife throughout the Middle East. It is apparent that the divisions along ethnic, national, and religious lines are leading to sectarian violence in the region and it is the duty of the League of Arab States to ensure that steps are taken to decrease the level of region-wide sectarian violence.

#### **B. History of the Topic in the Arab World**

As the modern day Arab nation states have emerged across the region and solidified their borders, one of the trends that have followed is the idea of national identity, which has often overruled numerous attempts at pan-Arab Nationalism. It is these sentiments of nationalism that have enabled sectarian distrust between various Arab ethnic and religious groups to flourish. On a cultural level, even the colloquial dialects within Arabic language have also played into the assumptions and stereotypes that are presented to the Arab public.<sup>13</sup> Recently, many Arab governments across the region have called for greater League unity, not only between governments of the member states, but also between the citizens of those states themselves. For example, this call for greater unity led to the formation of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), leading to greater socio-economic interaction.<sup>14</sup>

In regards to religion, a majority of Arab adherents to Islam are Sunni Muslims. While this is the dominant sect, many countries such as Iraq, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman, and Syria have sizeable Shia minorities. Moreover, several states host significant Christian populations as well as other religious minorities. While historically the tensions that have existed between the two Muslim groups were primarily due to difference in religious ideology and doctrine, in recent

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<sup>13</sup> Bishop, Brian. "A History of the Arabic Language." *A History of the Arabic Language*. Brigham Young University, 24 Apr. 1998. Web. 12 Dec. 2013. <<http://linguistics.byu.edu/classes/ling450ch/reports/arabic.html>>.

<sup>14</sup> MSU. "Gulf Cooperation Council: A History." *GlobalEDGE: Your Source for Global Business Knowledge*. Michigan State University: Global Edge, 2012. Web. 12 Dec. 2013. <<http://globaledge.msu.edu/trade-blocs/gcc/history>>.

years it has become a political issue, where the divisions were used to the advantages of the totalitarian governments.<sup>15</sup>

### **C. Finding a Solution to the Problem: Past, Present and Future**

As the League of Arab States attempts to increase the solidarity and unity of its member states, it is important to realize that a dialogue must be established to determine what steps can be taken to unify the Arab world. While we have seen nations for political reasons in the past enter into political alliances that would benefit the merger of their countries (Egypt and Syria), they have not lasted, and a new approach which emphasizes the need for cultural and ethnic unity and solidarity must be taken. Any solution that is brought forth in front of the League must mention the steps that will be taken to ensure that respect for national sovereignty will be given. Another issue that must be addressed in a resolution will be the need for inter-religious dialogue between the Islamic sects of Sunnis and Shia's.

### **II. Questions to Consider in Your Research**

- How has my country balanced pan-Arab nationalism vs. nationalism?
- What is the Sunni-Islam population? What is the Shia-Islam population?
- What has my country individually done to aid in Arab unity?

### **III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer**

- What can governments do to increase Arab unity?
- How can the League mitigate various religious and ethnic tensions that exist within the region?
- What steps can the League take to quell future cultural and religious tensions?

### **IV. Resources to Review**

#### **ISW: Sectarian and Regional Conflict in the Middle East**

<http://www.understandingwar.org/report/sectarian-and-regional-conflict-middle-east>

#### **DICID: Interfaith Dialogue Presents Opportunities**

[http://www.dicid.org/english/news\\_website\\_details.php?id=107](http://www.dicid.org/english/news_website_details.php?id=107)

#### **United States Institute of Peace: Series on Sectarianism in the Middle East**

<http://www.usip.org/publications/usip-series-sectarianism-in-the-middle-east>

#### **Middle East Research and Information Project: Roots of the Shi'i Movement**

<http://www.merip.org/mer/mer133/roots-shii-movement>

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<sup>15</sup> Clark, M. "Haunted by History – The Power Politics of the Sunni-Shia Divide." *POPULAR SOCIAL SCIENCE*. Popular Social Science, 21 Nov. 2012. Web. 17 Dec. 2013.  
<<http://www.popularsocialscience.com/2012/11/21/haunted-by-history-how-the-sunni-shia-divide-has-increasingly-come-to-determine-the-power-politics-of-the-middle-east/>>.

**Al Arabiya News: Interfaith dialogue, a key to ending extremism**

<http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/middle-east/2013/07/28/Ending-extremism-through-interfaith-dialogue.html>