2016 – 2017
Model Arab League

BACKGROUND GUIDE
Summit of Arab Heads of State

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Original draft by Jessica Morgan, Chair of the Summit of Arab Heads of State at the 2017 National University Model Arab League, with contributions from the dedicated staff and volunteers at the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations.
Honorable Delegates,

Welcome to the 2016 – 2017 Summit of Arab Heads of State. My name is Jessica Morgan and I will be serving as your chair for the 2017 National University Model Arab League. I am a biochemistry major from Converse College in Spartanburg, South Carolina. This will be my third year participating in Model Arab League. I have debated in various Model Arab League and NATO conferences and I have also served as a chair in both settings.

The Summit of Arab Heads of State is a council like no other. As a member of this council, you will be representing the leader of your state. Not only must you understand the policies of your state, but you must also have an equal understanding of the state leader that you are representing. Staying in character in this committee is of the utmost importance because of the role you must represent. Being well versed in both your state policy and your state leader will be key to successfully participating in this council.

Because of the unique nature of this committee, the debate that you will be involved in will be both interesting and highly challenging. Having a solid foundation in research and having confidence in your abilities as a debater will help you in this council. This background guide is meant to be a starting point for your research. The topics that have been assigned to this committee are extremely important to the League of Arab States, so addressing each topic as comprehensively as possible is vital. I am excited to meet you and I look forward to hearing your debate.

Sincerely,
Jessica Morgan
Summit of Arab Heads of State

Topic I: Considering a League-wide protocol for the monitoring of elections and establishing a framework to implement initiatives including but not limited to election standards and preventing electoral fraud.

I. Introduction to the Topic

A. General Background

Democracy is a set of principles that is understood differently by the many disparate cultures that claim to practice it; however, it is universally agreed that the keystone of proper democratic governance is the right of the people to vote and select their representatives. Without a just and equitable system to account for the will of citizens, there is no democracy. Thus, maintaining the integrity of public elections is crucial to ensuring the legitimacy of government and the stability of society. Where said integrity comes into question, election observing or monitoring is employed to audit the protocol and results of the process.

Election monitoring goes beyond making sure votes are properly counted. It is also a wholesale appraisal of electoral institutions, with observers “analyzing election laws, assessing voter education and registration, and evaluating fairness in campaigns.” This neutral observation can not only guarantee the integrity of the process, but also bolster the legitimacy of the victor, by certifying that the results accurately reflect the will of the people. In 2005, the United Nations – along with about 50 interested organizations – drafted a set of guidelines and requirements designed to ensure that monitoring is done fairly and without bias, called the Declaration of Principles for International Election Observation and the Code of Conduct for International Election Observers.

B. History in the Arab World

One of the prevailing trends in the newly-independent postcolonial states of the Arab world was the prevalence of autocratic rule, by either monarchs or dictators. For better or worse, this left the citizens of these countries largely without substantive voice in domestic matters – even where elections existed, they were often “uncompetitive and lacked both transparency and fairness.” As time has passed, the region’s populations have pressed for greater involvement in the political process, a call that has been heeded in varying degrees by Arab states. While political reform has yet to sweep the Middle East, “democratization processes have gained considerable importance on the agendas of Arab leaders in the past decade.”

4 “The League of Arab States and the Electoral Gap.”
Despite the rapid changes occurring in the realm of Arab democracy, the Arab League has traditionally exerted very little influence in the matter, due to “the lack of a specific mandate in the field and to the fact that the member states of the Arab League have historically perceived election observation and assistance as exclusively state domains.” This is largely due to the interpretation of Article VIII of the Arab League Charter, which states that “Every member State of the League shall respect the systems of government established in the other States of the League, and shall regard them as the exclusive concerns of those States. Each shall pledge to abstain from any action calculated to change established systems of government.”

Still, that is not to say that the Arab League has taken no action in this forum; in fact, from 1995 to 2009, the League conducted election monitoring operations in Algeria, Comoros, Djibouti, Iraq, Lebanon, Mauritania, Sudan, and Tunisia. However, per convention, the League only dispatched those observation missions at the invitation of the member states – it cannot conduct such activities without the explicit permission of the state holding the election. Rationale aside, this reluctance to audit its member states’ elections sets the Arab League apart from other multinational organizations: the African Union, European Union, Organization of American States, and Pacific Islands Forum all routinely engage in activities concerned with “promoting and protecting the integrity of national electoral processes.”

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

As noted, solutions to this problem must go beyond simply counting ballots. Delegates must consider whether the current arrangement for election monitoring within the League is sufficient, or whether changes should be made, and how such changes would comport with the stipulations of the Charter and other relevant documents. Furthermore, they must consider whether to implement standards and frameworks that would lay out requirements for elections to be truly considered free and fair. Particularly in light of the events of 2011 and beyond, what is the best method of ensuring stability and satisfaction with member states’ populations?

Additionally, considerations must be made for viability. Even beyond congruence with state sovereignty and limitations on the League’s power, there are practical elements that must be taken into account. “The high financial cost of deploying election observation missions is one of the main challenges that regional organizations commonly face,” and the Arab League is no exception. Moreover, a lack of continuity in the League’s previous observation missions has created difficulty in analyzing results and dissecting trends. What would an Arab League standard operating procedure look like vis-à-vis election monitoring, regardless of when or why it was employed?

III. Questions to Consider in Your Research

- Have elections results in my state ever been called into question? Have any of our elections been monitored in the past?

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5 “The League of Arab States and the Electoral Gap.”
6 “The League of Arab States and the Electoral Gap.”
7 “The League of Arab States and the Electoral Gap.”
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- Are there private organizations in place within my country that have been helpful to our election processes? Would the League of Arab States benefit from considering using some of these processes?
- If there is electoral corruption within my country, what means are most common in committing this fraud?
- How involved should the Arab League be when it comes to individual country’s elections?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer

- What standards need to be in place for an election to be considered free and fair?
- What are some specific provisions that would help member states prevent electoral fraud?
- Would these provisions help to allay the concerns of citizens in member states? Would they increase stability and legitimacy of an elected leader?
- Do the proposed solutions comply with sovereignty and other restrictions laid out in the League Charter and other relevant documents?

IV. Additional Resources

National Democratic Institute - Voter Registration in the Middle East and North Africa: Select Case Studies


Foreign Policy - How Election Monitors Are Failing

UCLA Center for Middle East Development - Fradulent Elections in the Middle East: A History
Topic II: Evaluating the progress made towards the Arab Common Market initiative with a goal of meeting the proposed date of implementation in 2020.

I. Introduction to the Topic

A. General Background

Customs unions and common markets are systems of economic integration that promote cooperation between member states by removing barriers to trade and movement of economic assets. A customs union is “a form of trade agreement under which certain countries preferentially grant tariff-free market access to each other’s imports and agree to apply a common set of external tariffs to imports from the rest of the world.”\(^8\) By eliminating taxes on trade, it becomes more attractive to trade with other members of the union, spurring greater cooperation and regional prosperity.

A common market is essentially an enhanced customs union. The preceding aspects of a customs union all apply, with the added benefit of increased mobility for labor and capital. To achieve this, restrictions on immigration and foreign investment are eliminated within the common market, allowing people and money to flow more freely across country borders. One example of a common market is Mercosur, the South American organization that includes Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The European Union is not a common market, but is actually one step beyond it, as an economic union (as states in the EU have also adopted a common currency and monetary policy).

B. History in the Arab World

In 1964, the Arab League’s Council of Economic Affairs Ministers voted to create the Council of Arab Economic Unity (CAEU), which was tasked with establishing a customs union and standardizing import and export policies. However, political obstacles and interstate disagreements prevented this goal from being realized until 1997, when the League’s Social and Economic Council established the Greater Arab Free Trade Agreement (GAFTA). GAFTA made provision for the reduction or elimination of tariffs, quotas, and other trade barriers, and was agreed to by 18 states.

However, GAFTA was less than overwhelming in achieving the goal of increased commerce among Arab nations.\(^9\) In 2009, only about 10 to 12% of Arab trade was being conducted with other Arab nations, with inter-Arab investment similarly low. As a result, the Social and Economic Council announced that it would establish a customs union by 2015, with a goal of transitioning into a common market by 2020.

Unfortunately, by the 2015 Arab League Summit in Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt, there was no Arab

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Customs Union; indeed, there was not even a mention of the initiative at the summit. Fakhry Elfiky, a professor at Cairo University and a former employee at the International Monetary Fund, explained that “The lack of democracy and political will, as well as the lack of a vision, were the main reasons why the ACM agreement became just ink on paper.” Others have cited similarities in Arab economies and exports – namely petroleum – as another factor that prevented a large push for the ACU and increased trade from occurring.

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

Whatever the reason for the delays, it is clear that there is still work to be done to achieve the goals envisioned for the Arab Common Market, and endorsed by immediate past Arab League Secretary-General Nabil Elaraby as recently as 2014. Standards will have to be agreed to and implemented, immigration and labor plans will have to be adopted, and cooperative economic policies will have to be negotiated.

Moreover, there will likely be discussions about whether the Arab Common Market is worth pursuing at all. Though the European economic union goes farther than the envisioned ACM, there are still concerns and complications associated with simple common markets. Would states agree to labor and product standards? Can the disparate economies of the Arab world truly cooperate under a semi-unified economic policy? Are the exports of the Arab world diverse enough to justify increased trade?

II. Questions to Consider in Your Research

- What are the current economic conditions within my country? Have any steps been made to improve this condition?
- Is my country already involved in trade agreements with other member countries?
- What economic and/or political barriers exist within my country that might inhibit the development of the Arab Common Market?
- What benefits would my country want to see from the Arab Common Market?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer

- How can trade between member states be increased, incentivized, and improved? Is an Arab Common Market the best way to achieve this?
- Is there a way to diversify the economic structures within the region?
- What policies need to be passed in order to make this newer version of the Arab Common Market more successful than its predecessor?
- How will the Arab Common Market avoid the pitfalls associated with other regional markets and trade unions?

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IV. Additional Resources

Republic of Lebanon Ministry of Economy and Trade - Greater Arab Free Trade Area

Middle East Monitor - Arab League: Common market in 6 years, customs union next year

League of Arab States - 1965 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
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Topic III: Discussing means by which League members can improve and employ counterinsurgency (COIN) strategies and tactics to combat militant non-state actors.

I. Introduction to the Topic

   A. General Background

Insurgencies are “the organized use of subversion and violence to seize, nullify, or challenge political control of a region.”$^{11}$ They are often characterized by an organized, non-state paramilitary force attempting to subvert the legitimate government of a region, and implementing its own informal regime in its place. It is important to note that insurgencies, while outwardly militaristic, are often rooted in an ideal or ideology: this may be a political system, independence movement, religious motivation, or any other unifying cause. They also frequently exhibit the characteristics of a “proto-state,” with aspects of a military, bureaucracy, and civil society; thus, the defeat of an insurgency cannot be achieved solely through military might. Counterinsurgency, then, broadly defined, is “comprehensive civilian and military efforts designed to simultaneously defeat and contain insurgency and address its root causes.”$^{12}$

As such, culture, legitimacy, and intelligence – the bases for which are all heavily rooted in the allegiance of a region’s population – are critical aspects that complement military operations. Without cultural understanding and empathy, a population will not support counterinsurgency forces; without that support from locals, the government will not be seen as legitimate, nor will it receive valuable intelligence from them. The population will seek other means to fulfill their needs, a mantle which insurgents are often altogether happy to pick up, gaining the trust and loyalty of locals as they do so. It is this tug-of-war between insurgents and counterinsurgents to win the support of a local population – and with it, legitimacy and intelligence – that defines the outcome of an insurgency.

Many times, these insurgencies are the result of “a grievance between segments of a state’s population with its constituted government.”$^{13}$ This makes threat and root cause identification paramount, as the remedy thereof is essential to deescalating tensions and reinstalling legitimate state power. Promises by insurgents to provide a cure to the perceived ills make the movement appealing to those who have been aggrieved. Counterinsurgency operations must make simultaneous efforts to not only contain the violence that is associated with insurgencies, but also to begin alleviating the problems that drove citizens to support the rebels in the first place. This so-called “hearts and minds” approach, while often overlooked in contemporary operations, cannot be discounted as an effective means of quelling intrastate conflict.

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12 *Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies* (FM 3-24).
13 *Insurgencies and Countering Insurgencies* (FM 3-24), 4-2.
B. History in the Arab World

As is often the case in post-colonial regions, many countries in the Arab world gained their political independence through insurgency, or experienced varying degrees of regime change through coups d’état or uprisings. Egypt, Iraq, Yemen, Syria, Libya, and Algeria are some of the more notable instances, though nearly every Arab state has had to endure a popular uprising at one time or another. The results of some of these insurgencies persist today: Sultan Qaboos of Oman is one such example.

More recently, the Arab world has been forced to face growing interstate – rather than intrastate – threats, particularly in the form of extremist groups like Daesh and al-Qaeda. Though their aims are not analogous to those of the 1960s and 1970s (often the seizure of a state’s government and infrastructure), the means they employ are similar. These groups present themselves as the true advocate and arbiter of the oppressed, and demonstrate their utility to populations by providing services that the state government can or will not. Depending on the relative capacity of the government to combat it, an insurgent group might even take informal bureaucratic control of remote regions, and implement their own infrastructure and system of government.

When this occurs, all too often the response is to send military battalions to assault these towns, wreaking havoc on a population that had already been enduring hardship. Moreover, these liberation attempts can be seen as attempts to deprive the locals of the services that the insurgent government had begun to provide, serving to alienate the official state government even further. Compounding the issue is the Western affiliation of these so-called liberating forces, which often lack the aforementioned cultural empathy and understanding that is so critical to winning the allegiance of the local population. This only serves to underline the insurgents’ message that they are the only group truly looking out for the interests of the people. In fact, the destruction that results from military campaigns designed to suppress insurgencies often have the effect of strengthening support for extremists. This is a detail not lost on the insurgents themselves: in 2014, Daesh declared, “If you fight us, we become stronger and tougher. If you leave us alone, we grow and expand.”

This principle has been demonstrated in Iraq, Yemen, and Syria, where insurgent groups have garnered significant support in their fight against legitimate state governments from decimated populations.

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

As has been noted, Arab states have coped with the issue of insurgency on numerous occasions. Some were borne of the phenomenon; others have been brought to their knees by it. The League has taken some steps towards the traditional methods of countering violent extremist groups, particularly through the 1998 Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism, as well as the creation of the Counterterrorism Committee of the League of Arab States. That said, it has yet to formulate a substantive approach to battling the root causes of insurgency, which is often the base from which terrorism grows, as well as the link to civilians that lend legitimacy to those violent acts.

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As has been repeated *ad nauseum*, “as insurgency is a political phenomenon…military force alone…often only polarizes the society the insurgency is embedded in even further.” If the Arab world hopes to bring a close to many of the extremist groups and resistance movements these governments face, they will have to use the military as a means of supporting and facilitating political solutions. Doing so runs counter to popular notions of combatting these groups – as those results are tangible and measurable, if not effective – and will require compromise and negotiation. However, results of prior counterinsurgency efforts have yielded far greater results than military operations when properly employed: Turkey from 1984-1999 and Algeria from 1992-2004 provide regional examples. By building off those successes, and learning from the lessons of the myriad failures, the League of Arab States may be able to create a framework by which states can permanently and equitably resolve the underlying roots of insurgencies.

II. Questions to Consider in Your Research

- Has my state encountered its own insurgency in the past? If so, was my state successful in countering it? Why or why not?
- What are the roots of political conflict in my state – and perhaps in others – that could potentially develop into a basis for insurgency?
- What organizations, departments, and groups does my state employ to prevent and cope with political unrest? Could they be used as examples or models for a League-wide framework?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer

- How can the League develop a comprehensive counterinsurgency doctrine that will aid and instruct members in how to combat insurgencies, the prerequisites for doing so, and how they might prevent them from occurring at all?
- What steps can the League take to dismantle the networks that insurgencies rely on for funding, intelligence, and other resources?
- How can members utilize the ever-expanding advent of technology – an advent often employed more deftly by insurgents – to counter the messaging and informal infrastructure of insurgencies?

IV. Additional Resources

*U.S. Government Counterinsurgency Guide*

*Victory Has a Thousand Fathers: Sources of Success in Counterinsurgency*

*Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism*

*“Invisible Armies Insurgency Tracker”*  

http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/markaz/posts/2015/06/22-why-arab-states-are-bad-at-counterinsurgency
Topic IV: Assessing the prevalence of detrimental practices in government bureaucracies, such as extortion and corruption, and devising League-wide methods to combat them.

I. Introduction to the Topic

   A. General Background

Governments are designed and designated to legislate and remedy the concerns of the society they are responsible for – yet, when government itself is the problem, what is the solution? This is the question that must be answered by those trying to root out corruption, extortion, and other undesirable elements at all levels of bureaucracy. Corruption is legally defined as “the act of an official or fiduciary person who unlawfully and wrongfully uses his station or character to procure some benefit for himself or another person, contrary to duty and the rights of others.”

While this is most often thought of as bribery, it encompasses much more, including preferential treatment of certain individuals, groups, or organizations; theft and embezzlement; and repression of dissent.

Low level corruption harms the population by effectively making public services “pay to play,” and inherently tipping the balance of benefits towards those who can afford them. High level corruption damages not only the population – by diverting funds away from vital services to bureaucrats’ pockets – but also the country as a whole, as investors are less likely to spend money to develop the state’s economy. Corruption at any level poses one of the most damaging and difficult challenges to eradicate, and often require external bodies to audit and hold accountable the governments in question.

   B. History in the Arab World

By one measure, 7 of the 20 most corrupt states in the world are League members, though outlier states like Qatar and the UAE are among the least corrupt, scoring in about the same range as the United States. As a trend however, the Arab world scores very poorly in government cleanliness – particularly outside the Gulf – and scores a meager 39 out of 100 as a region in Transparency International’s Corruption Perceptions Index. According to the organization’s 2016 “People and Corruption: Middle East and North Africa Survey,” nearly 1 in 3 people paid a bribe, 1 in 4 paid a bribe to police, and about 2 in 5 who reported the bribe suffered retaliation. Additionally, citizens tend to believe that corruption is increasing, and governments are doing a poor job of fighting it.

While many theories have been floated regarding the origins of the events of the Arab Spring,
one particular subset of issues is repeatedly invoked: deficits in the rule of law. While rule of law is a broad term, some of the particular concerns in the Middle East were those involving corruption, extortion, and inequity in the judicial system. These problems create great distress for local populations, as failure to comply with demands for bribes can lead to confiscation of goods and other business assets, which can be nearly impossible to recover in judicial systems that are far from fair or impartial.

This was the distress that confronted Mohamed Bouazizi, the Tunisian fruit vendor who arguably was the catalyst of the Arab Spring. In order to legally operate his business, Bouazizi would have had to obtain “an official authorization for ‘setting up in a public place’ – that, in practice, no one has been able to obtain.” Unable to pay a bribe to police, who seized his cart and goods, a desperate Bouazizi set himself on fire in protest, and set in motion the events that would sweep the Arab world.

But while so-called “petty corruption” – which mainly refers to extortion by low-level bureaucrats and other government employees (such as police) – is the most visible type, large scale corruption can absolutely cripple states. One example of this type of corruption was that of former Tunisian President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. Of course, one cannot discuss Ben Ali without discussing his family, or as they were popularly referred to prior to his deposition, “The Family.” The Family, which referred not only to Ben Ali’s relatives, but also the extended families of those relatives and his in-laws, garnered a reputation for its unquestionable control over almost every aspect of the Tunisian economy.

Over his two-plus decades as president, Ben Ali and The Family “amassed a fortune in banks, telecommunications firms, real-estate companies and other businesses, giving them control over as much as one-third of Tunisia’s $44 billion economy.” Countless entrepreneurs found themselves unable to compete in the market, as The Family “squeezed out some business rivals by exerting political pressure to win lucrative state contracts.” In fact, so integral to success was the Ben Ali connection that “more than half of Tunisia’s commercial elites were personally related” to the president. But as The Family’s control of the Tunisian economy increased, so did unemployment and public discontent with Ben Ali, making him and the Family one of the prime targets of the Tunisian revolution.

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

Along with Transparency International, groups such as the World Bank, International IDEA, and the United Nations have all released various reports and assessments of global corruption. Prescriptions include institutional reforms, legal frameworks, enforcement mechanisms, and greater transparency. Unfortunately, it can be difficult to institute these changes when the bodies tasked with doing so are often the same bodies that need to be cleaned up. As a result, a League-wide solution may be more effective in ensuring successful implementation.

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23 “How ‘The Family’ Controlled Tunisia.”
That said, it is clear that solutions will vary from state to state: while Tunisia’s corruption under Ben Ali was massive at the top, his deposition largely remedied the problem, as it had not penetrated the day-to-day bureaucracy as deeply. Conversely, while the overthrow of Mubarak in Egypt helped alleviate some of the issues created by corruption, extortion and bribery were so embedded in the Egyptian system that it persisted through the regimes of Mubarak, Morsi, and now Sisi. Thus, while all states would benefit from reforms at the top and bottom, the areas that need the greatest focus will be different for individual countries. Moreover, considerations must be made for aspects other than prevention, such as protection for whistleblowers and stronger judicial systems to prosecute these offenses.

II. Questions to Consider in Your Research
   • In what areas does my country tend to have issues with corruption?
   • What are the common forms of corruption in my country (e.g. bribery, police, judicial system, etc.)?
   • Does my country already have systems in place to prevent corruption?
   • Does my country work with any NGOs to prevent corruption?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer
   • How will countries analyze their governments in order to discover if any detrimental practices are in place?
   • How large of a role should the Arab League play in this solution?
   • How will the countries combat these detrimental practices if any are discovered?
   • How will these detrimental practices be prevented?

IV. Additional Resources

  Transparency International - Corruption Perceptions Index 2015

  The Economist - Democracy Index 2015

  Ernst and Young - Bribery, Corruption, and Fraud in the Middle East Survey