2017-2018
Model Arab League
BACKGROUND GUIDE
SPECIAL COUNCIL ON POST-CONFLICT RECOVERY
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Original draft by Hina Uddin, Chair of the Special Council on Post-Conflict Recovery at the 2018 National University Model Arab League, with contributions from the dedicated staff and volunteers at the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations
Honorable Delegates,

Ahlan Wa Sahlan! Welcome to the 2017-2018 Model Arab League season. My name is Hina Uddin and I will be chairing the Special Council on Post-Conflict Recovery at this year’s national conference. I am a Junior at the University of Houston Honors College and this is my third year competing with the Model Arab League Program. I study Finance, and am passionate about the Middle East region because I think it is significant to all backgrounds and careers. I love the Model Arab League (MAL) program because it allows college students to talk about critical international issues in a productive way.

The Model Arab League program, and the National Council as a whole provide so many opportunities to students and I encourage you to look into them. This summer I had the opportunity to travel to Morocco for 6 weeks to learn Arabic at the Arab-American Language Institute in Morocco, a partner institution with the National Council on US-Arab Relations (NCUSAR). Immersion learning gave me the opportunity to learn more about the region than I ever thought possible. The NCUSAR regularly organizes short and long term learning abroad trips to Arab League nations for students. I hope you will consider traveling with the National Council or taking up any one of their terrific programs for an enhanced learning experience.

Now more on the Council for Post-Conflict Recovery:

The Special Councils are especially important to me because they provide a unique opportunity to speak about pressing and critical issues within the Middle East North Africa (MENA) region. This year, I hope we will have the opportunity to discuss solutions and long term goals for this dynamic region.

As delegates in the Council, and students of the Near East as a whole, I hope you will consider the ever-changing nature of the region in your resolutions and research. The complexity of the region is what drew me to study it in the first place, as I believe it holds an important role in shaping the international community today. I hope you will take the intricacy of the region with stride and come ready with bright ideas and debate ready research. I know the work that we do in the Council is representative of the reality of the issues that we are debating and I hope you know that our resolutions will be shared with the Arab League, so come in character and ready to make a difference!

I look forward to seeing the resolutions proposed and hope this will be an educational and productive experience for everyone.

Best,

Hina Uddin
Topic I: Analyzing the Possibility of Post-Conflict Fragmentation and Division of States in Member Nations such as Iraq, Libya, and Syria.

I. Introduction

A. General Background

To discuss post-conflict recovery, we must first define post-conflict. For the purposes of the 2017-2018 Council on Post-Conflict Recovery, post-conflict will be defined as a period of time where active fighting has ceased within a nation. In other words, post-conflict can be described as an instance where an affected country may not suffer from open conflict, but has not remedied the causes for war in the first place. Although there may continue to be turmoil within the state, the goal of post conflict recovery can only be reached once there is not an active threat to any efforts to aid the nation in question.

The question of fragmentation arises when said conflict has led to an irrevocable divide between a nation’s various ethnic, cultural, and religious populations. The MENA region is made up of various ethnic and religious minorities within the borders already set in place by member nations. As member nations struggle to control these groups within their borders, these conflicted states may fragment along lines of ethnicity, religion, or shared ideas of nationality.

B. History in the Arab World

The causes of AL state fragmentation can be identified through two sources: the creation of arbitrary nations by the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the rise of Violent Extremist Organizations (VEO’s) in the MENA region.

The Middle East is a diverse region made up of various ethnic and religious minorities. During World War 1, the Ottoman Empire became a significant threat to Great Britain, as it sided with Germany. After the war, France and Great Britain divided the Ottoman Empire into various spheres of influence which would eventually become modern day Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Turkey. As such, this arbitrary state creation stifled opportunities for cohesive nationalism to naturally develop in these diverse populations.

Second, the growth of VEO’s in these conflicted areas has fueled separatist (or even expansionist) movements from the states in power in line with their ideology. Iraq has seen this with the onset of The Islamic State in the Levant (ISIS) as has Yemen with Al-Qaeda (AQ). As these governments become mired in conflict, they are unable to effectively counter these VEO’s, which use these opportunities to expand their territories.

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The most pressing and obvious challenge to the region is ISIS, which has declared a Caliphate in Northern Iraq and Syria. While the IS has suffered crushing blows to their strongholds in areas such as Mosul, their Caliphate still manages to hold onto vast swaths of land in the Northwestern part of Iraq and Eastern Syria. With Iraq, the Kurds (the largest minority population) actively advocates for the creation of a 3 state-solution, where the current borders would be divided into borders for Sunni, Shia, and Kurdish populations respectively.

With Iraq as a prior case study, the argument for state fragmentation in post-conflict Syria is likely. What started as an intra-state conflict between Syrian constituencies has evolved into inter-state conflict as the Islamic State has gained control of vast swaths of land in the North and East. As the Assad regime continues to tighten his hold on the people Syria, various rebel factions vie for command over other groups to fight back. In the north, the Kurdish people have organized themselves under the Kurdish National Council (KNC). Like Iraq, one solution to the Syrian conflict that has been mentioned is another three-state solution, where new states would be established for Syria’s Alawite, Sunni, and Kurdish populations.

As the Levant is mired in conflict, the Yemeni conflict in the Gulf poses another opportunity for state fragmentation. The country is currently facing power outages, extreme poverty and rising death rates due to fighting and turmoil. The governor of Yemen's southeastern province of Hadramout Major-General Ahmad bin Bourek mentioned in April of this year that if the nation waits for liberation of the rest of the provinces, “Yemen will split into *duwailat* (principalities),” so immediate action is critical. Clearly, many states within the League require attention and action in order to prevent fragmentation and division of nations.

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

The AL has historically been against the fragmentation of any state despite pressure from any minority group. For example, in 2016, the Arab League rejected the creation of a Kurdish Federation in Syria, and in 2014 the Arab League rejected the creation of Kurdish State as it does not recognize the Kurds as an autonomous minority. The feasibility of state division based on minority, religious, or ethnic identity depends upon the support coming from leading AL states.

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Nabil El-Araby, Secretary General of the AL noted that “People are speaking about a divided Syria into many small states like Yugoslavia. Absolutely no! This is not what is going to happen”. The goal of an overwhelming majority of the League of Arab States will be to prevent any fragmentation from occurring. It is the job of delegations to make informed decisions based on ally nations and goals of the nation they represent.

II. Questions to Consider in Your Research

- Which conflicts directly affect my state’s interests? Are they based in security, economics, or in other capacities?
- What minorities does my nation acknowledge as autonomous and requiring statehood?
- What are past examples of diplomatic solutions to border issues in Arab League nations? How has my country voted on these policies?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer

- What diplomatic solutions can be reached wherein current state governments and minority populations can be satisfied in border disputes?
- How can the AL ensure that equitable representation between minority populations wishing to secede from current state governments is carried out?
- How can the AL ensure violence is minimized following the implementation of these post-conflict resolutions?

IV. Additional Resources

- The League of Arab States and Regional Security: Towards an Arab Security Community?
- How to Assess Fragmented Arab States
- The Sykes-Picot Agreement and its current impact upon the Syrian conflict.

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**Topic II: Establishing a System to Ensure the Availability of Provisions, Building Materials, and Other Humanitarian Aid to Post-Conflict Zones.**

**I. Introduction**

**A. General Background**

A prevalent issue with post-conflict recovery in the League of Arab States is ensuring that conflict does not erupt once more. Post-Conflict recovery requires stability and eventual self-sustenance. Citizens should be able to live in Post-Conflict recovery zones, meaning that provisions and building materials should be available in order to ensure growth. If these basic necessities are not provided, this could lead to disruption or violence among constituencies in weak states. Moreover, Violent Extremist Organizations could use this opportunity to recruit disillusionsed citizens, which once more hinders the post-conflict recovery process. As such, the delegations of the Special Council are urged to discuss the creation of a sustainable humanitarian plan that will ensure stability in countries that are going through a post-conflict recovery process.

**B. History in the Arab World**

The region that egregiously requires aid is Syria. The Syrian conflict has resulted in over 470,000 fatalities, 1.9 million wounded, and many more millions displaced.\(^{11}\) Unfortunately, there is no clear or foreseeable end to the conflict, as the Assad regime, Rebel Forces, VEO’s, and the Kurdish people continue to seize other force’s territories. With such a weakened infrastructure, it is paramount that the AL provide humanitarian aid to the Syrian people who have not fled the country, as they are the most vulnerable population that will suffer from protracted conflict. At the same time, there should be specific measures in place to ensure that Syrian citizens are receiving aid, and that other groups like ISIS are not stealing them.

Similar to Syria, Iraq is also an example of a nation that has been riddled with violence and unrest and has left millions in need of humanitarian aide. Since the 2003 invasion of Iraq, there has been a reported 268,000 deaths in the country, including civilians and combatants.\(^{12}\) GCC nations have been the most inconsiderable donors in terms of humanitarian aid, as they view Iraq as having little benefit or payout by aiding the country, and should be encouraged to increase aid as they have paled in comparison to the support of Western nations.\(^{13}\)

Libya is another sad example where post conflict recovery was implemented, but poor planning, limited support, and an inefficient government plunged the North African state into conflict once more. The source of protracted conflict in Libya stems from the fact that the United Nations (UN) failed to create a lasting solution that ensured equitable representation between all parties

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involved. As such, it is up to the AL to once more pledge resources and aid to the Libyan civilians who are at risk by violence on all sides.

These examples are to name just a few; it will be up to council members to address how and what aid can be provided to states in post conflict recovery.

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

Nations in the MENA region have continued to support rebuilding efforts in countries that have entered the post-conflict recovery phase. In late July, Amman hosted an international reconstruction conference, “Syria ReBuild 2017,” which discussed ways to enhance international investment in the development/restructuring of the Syrian state. With an expectation for a large demand of reconstruction material, Lebanon is expanding its Port in Tripoli. Turkey and Saudi Arabia have also pledged to aid with reconstruction. Although rebuilding efforts have been shared and expansive, it will be important for delegations to consider how the League can ensure humanitarian aide ends up in the right hands, what goods should be allocated where, and where funding for goods will come from. Accusations of state-sponsored terrorism run rampant within the League; it is crucial that we find the correct channels through which aid can be provided without running the risk of spurious claims being made against member states of the AL.

II. Questions to Consider in Your Research

- How does the AL work with the international community to gain access to aid?
- Would humanitarian aid be more effectively provided from intergovernmental organizations or non-governmental organizations?
- What forms of humanitarian aid would provide the most utility in post-conflict recovery states?
- What nations have been the leaders in aid? How can we alleviate economic burdens that these leaders suffer?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer

- Can the League ask for support from other intergovernmental organizations?
- How can the League ensure safe delivery of aid materials?
- How can the AL decide if a nation is in the correct phase of post-conflict recovery to receive aid?

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15 ReBuild Syria . www.re-buildsyria.com/.
IV. Additional Resources

- Arab Donors Humanitarian Aide contributions
- UNICEF- Humanitarian Action for Children
- Humanitarian Aid hits record $27.3 billion, but Middle East Donors Cut Contributions
I. Introduction

A. General Background

In June of 2017, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) saw about 440,000 refugees return to Syria. Whether the return was due to perceptions of increased safety in regions of return (predominantly the Syrian-Lebanese border) or a desire to return to familiarity, one thing is clear: the Syrian refugees are returning to is not the same Syria they fled from previously.

This is the case for most crisis struck areas. Homes, businesses and schools have been destroyed and the reintegration process is crucial. The reformation of an education system is arguably the most vital process in post-conflict reconstruction, as these children will be responsible for aiding and rebuilding Syria once they come of age. Moreover, the development of a narrative about the recent conflict into education systems is a tenuous process, as people who fled come from different factions. The return of refugees requires “the cooperation and participation of a broad range of actors, including the migrants, civil society and the governments in both host and transit countries and countries of origin.” These are all issues delegations should take into consideration when drafting resolutions.

B. History in the Arab World

The Kurdish reintegration of refugees from Norway and Great Britain saw many issues and obstacles. In particular, the return environment of migrants is often difficult to adjust to because of the drastic changes that take place politically, socially and economically during the period of conflict. Migrants may be returning to vastly different landscapes.

During the return of the Kurds to Northern Iraq, many had trouble adjusting due to changes in values, attitudes and practices, particularly in accordance to legality. Returning refugees had adapted to a way of life in Western nations that they deemed superior than their home countries. To avoid continued harsh adjustments, reintegration organizations began to invest in post-conflict countries through providing vocational training, micro-business development, educational opportunities, and legal assistance. These investments were key in creating a working economy in a post conflict nation as they allow for growth in economy and consumer

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\section*{C. Finding a Solution to the Problem: Past, Present, and Future}

According to the Human Rights Watch (HRW), countries that have accepted refugees “have taken generous steps to increase enrollment, such as offering free public education and opening afternoon “second shifts” at schools to accommodate more children.”\footnote{“Education for Syrian Refugee Children.” \textit{Human Rights Watch}, www.hrw.org/tag/education-syrian-refugee-children.} However, significant barriers such as lack of transportation to schools, child labor and language discrepancies have kept school age children at home. This has led to significant language gaps in refugee children’s education. A return to home countries will require extensive work to reintegrate children who haven’t attended school for years back into the system.

It may be helpful to address the actions taken by host countries when attempting to integrate people into their economies. For example, in Turkey, additional work permits were granted to refugee adults, increasing adult refugee employment while at the same time reducing child labor and giving refugee children opportunity to attend school.\footnote{“Education for Syrian Refugee Children: What Donors and Host Countries Should Do.” \textit{Human Rights Watch}, 31 May 2017, www.hrw.org/news/2016/09/16/education-syrian-refugee-children-what-donors-and-host-countries-should-do.} Although more work needs to be done, there have been steps taken by nations that can be replicated in post-conflict war nations.

When looking at the structuring and development of educational systems in Syria, it's important to note the resource demand necessary to execute it; there will be materials required for the building of schools, but also capital resources such as books, teachers, and often other unaccounted goods.

The rebuilding and redevelopment of physical infrastructure will take a tremendous toll on any workforce, but if makeup and skill set are analyzed beforehand, development could be expedited. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), “establish[ing] training programs for workers and job seekers, and reform[ing] the education system to reflect new needs, such as language and computer skills”\footnote{Chami, Ralph. “Libya beyond the Revolution: Challenges and Opportunities.” www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/dp/2012/1201mcd.pdf.} are key in building human capital and reintegrating a population into a successful economy.

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

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  \item What is the average education of a child in a post-conflict recovery zone?
  \item What kinds of training programs have been used in the past to overcome barriers imposed by protracted conflict zones?
  \item What do post-conflict recovery state economies look like? How much of their economy is
diverted towards redevelopment?

- What resources can my nation offer in terms of job growth and training to post-conflict nations?
- What are some of the barriers impeding job growth and literacy in post-conflict nations?

III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer

- What training programs can be offered to working age people returning to post-conflict nations?
- How can the League of Arab States increase the percentage of school going children in the MENA region, specifically states that are in post-conflict recovery phases?
- How can the League overcome barriers for people unable to work due to injury from conflict?

IV. Additional Resources

- [https://www.brookings.edu/on-the-record/reintegrating-refugees-and-internally-displaced-women/](https://www.brookings.edu/on-the-record/reintegrating-refugees-and-internally-displaced-women/)
- IOM Assisted Voluntary Return and Integration

I. Introduction

A. General Background

Jane E. Stromseth, Professor of Law at Georgetown University describes the rule of law as an “extremely complex bundle of cultural commitments and institutional structures that support peace, human rights, democracy, and prosperity”. When establishing order in post-conflict nations, the rule of law becomes considerably more difficult to ensure due to the history of political turmoil and the questions of which form of government the nation should undertake in the transitional period of political rebuilding.

Yet still, it is important to remember that any long term solutions to conflict in nations within the Arab League require a goal of self-sustainability. The goal of member nations should be to ensure that any nation that is actively looking for solutions to political turmoil is looking to eventually be an independent actor and will sustain autonomy through the process of transitional justice.

B. History in the Arab World

For clear examples of transitional justice in MENA region nations, the AL nations affected by the Arab Spring come to mind. Beginning in 2011 in Tunisia, and spreading to Egypt, Libya and countless other Arab League nations, the Arab Spring was the push for democracy that has shaped the MENA region today. Tunisia became one of the first nations to enter a transitional period and pledged to address human rights abuses in its nation. However, six years later, the country still faces hardships in improving its political, social and economic climates.

Most nations that have entered a transitional period post-conflict have adopted a temporary government or council to aide with securing a new rule of law. In countries such as Egypt, Morocco, and Tunisia, these transitions have led to more democratic constitutions and pluralistic elections.

Other countries remain in conflict due to the Arab Spring or otherwise including Somalia, Sudan, Libya, Iraq, Syria and Yemen. The Arab League in the past has not been involved in the

transitionary period of post-conflict or in aiding the citizens because there has never been an agreement of as to how the League should aid in post conflict recovery. Though the most recent Arab League Declaration, the Amman Declaration, published in March of 2017, stated the need for peaceful resolutions of conflicts and the need to help both refugees and the reestablishment of infrastructure in areas of conflict, there has been no clear plan or path set on how the Arab League can facilitate aid to post-conflict areas. As conflicts hopefully come to an end, the League should be prepared to aid in a quick re-establishment of rule of law and the protection of citizens and refugees returning to their home country.

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

Most nations have established a rule of law for transitional periods, including commissions that dictate regulations for the transfer in power. But as in Tunisia, most have fallen short. HRW author Amna Guellai notes, “The 2012 national commission responsible for investigating corruption and the embezzlement of public funds revealed that Zine el Abidine Ben Ali’s family and friends diverted public funds and land by exploiting state institutions, such as state banks, the justice system and the police, to maximize their own gains and punish those who tried to stand up to their business initiatives.” In Libya, and other countries across the MENA region, the problem is similar.

Post-conflict transition periods can be messy and confusing. Clear goals and plans are important to stop corruption from growing. The AL has the unique opportunity to act as an overseer of any implementation of rule of law, but autonomy is equally important to consider in any redeveloping nation. That being said, the AL should look towards other legal or judicial institutions to help facilitate the completion of just and proper systems of governance in post-conflict countries throughout the MENA region.

II. Questions to Consider in Your Research

- Which AL nations will require reestablishing rule of law in the near future? Of the states that are currently undergoing this process, do any cases need additional revision or support?
- Can the history of my nation aid in making recommendations to countries in transitional periods?
- What is the general consensus of most AL nations on democratization?
- What kind of rule of law is my nation looking to promote in Arab League nations?


III. Questions a Resolution Might Answer

- How much of a role does autonomy play in establishing a rule of law in an Arab League nation?
- What intergovernmental bodies will facilitate the creation of new systems of governance?
- Who will oversee elections?
- How will legality be addressed during transitional periods of government? Who will decide permissible actions in post-conflict, pre-established government nations?

IV. Additional Resources

- Political Transition in a Post-Arab Spring Middle East: A Comparative Analysis of Tunisia, Egypt, and Yemen
- The Struggle for Middle East Democracy
- Transition to Democracy in the Middle East
- The Dynamics of Democracy in the Middle East