



MUIMUN

May 26th - May 29th 2022

United Nations Security Council

Study Guide

Topic A:

The Aftermath of 9/11

Topic B:

Illegal arms trade: The Case of instability by women in Economic and Trade sector

Münster, May 2022

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Words of Welcome from the Chairs



Greetings Delegates!

Welcome to the MUIMUN 2022 Security Council Committee. My name is Benevolence, and I will be one of your Chairs at this conference. I am a Law student and Politics and International Studies graduate who is very much intrigued by the world of International Relations.

My journey with MUN began in Junior High school, and this will be 5th year chairing. I enjoy MUN as it not only stimulates dialogue but creates a rich space for interaction and tackling pressing issues. One of our topics this year is **Illegal arms trade: The cause of instability in the Middle East and Africa**. I look forward to hearing the solutions and stance the nations you will represent have on illegal arms trade, which currently poses threats to the security and lives of many people and property in the Middle East and Africa. Please note that this Background Guide serves as an introduction to the topics for this committee. It is not intended to replace individual research. We encourage you to explore your Member State's policies in-depth and use the Annotated Bibliography to further your knowledge on these topics. I hope by the end of this conference, you will all have gained valuable skills such as public speaking, debating, critical thinking, and or dispute resolution. Most of all I am glad you will benefit from an experience in international relations which will enable you all to view important issues from a new perspective.

I am open to any questions from you before and even after the conference. You may contact me at mambano90@gmail.com

Greetings everyone!

Welcome to the United Nations Security Council. My name is Hamza Naseer and I, along with Benevolence, will be your Chair for this committee. I am joining you from Lahore, Pakistan where I am currently enrolled in my Bachelor's program of Psychology and Philosophy.

I've been involved with Model UN for five years now and they never get boring. As a chair, I expect that you will come prepared, knowing your country's stance, and having read the study guide thoroughly. It's time to don suits, look fabulous, and debate!



Hoping to see you soon and witness your meme-making powers,

Hamza Naseer.

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Committee Overview

The United Nations Security Council was founded¹ in 1946. The Security Council is the main body of the United Nations that seeks to maintain peace and international security. The UN Security Council can also be regarded as a crisis management body and has the power and obligations to maintain peace amongst member states. The Security Council comprises ten elected members and five permanent members. Their purpose is to assess threats to international security such as arms proliferation. The five permanent members are: France, Russia, China, the United States and the United Kingdom.

The Security Council operates in accordance with Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter², which calls for seeking solutions via negotiations, arbitration, and any other peaceful means. However, should the Security Council fail to effectively impose Chapter VI, they evoke Chapter VII, which empowers them to take on more assertive actions such as authorizing use of force to restore or maintain peace and security or they can impose sanctions.

Did you know?

- *The Security Council fosters negotiations, can authorize use of force, impose sanctions and deploy peacekeeping missions.*
- *Five of the permanent members have veto power meaning they can unilaterally stop an official enactment such as a resolution*

The UNSC is the only body that has the ability to adopt binding resolutions.³ The Permanent Members are called the P5 and they have what is known as Veto power. Veto power means that if any of the P5 countries decide to vote no on a resolution, that resolution is automatically not passed. Considering that this gives a lot of power to the P5 and the P5 also

¹ United Nations, What is the Security Council? Available at <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/what-security-council>

² United Nations Charter. Available at <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter>

³ GA Resolution Resolution 1991; <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/186/66/IMG/NR018666.pdf?OpenElement>

consists majorly of Western powers, there have been attempts to reform the structure of the UNSC by either adding in more countries or completely eradicating the P5 (Morris, 2000)⁴.

The non-permanent members are elected for two-year terms by the UN General Assembly. These are chosen from UN Member States. One seat is for Eastern Europe, two seats go to states from Asia, two to Europe, two to Latin America, and three seats to African States.⁵ A majority of nine votes is needed on procedural matters by the Security Council though permanent members can abstain.⁶

Landmark Documents

Resolution 2616 (2021): determines how peace operations can support relevant national authorities in combating the illegal transfer and diversion of arms violating Council-mandated bans.

⁴ UN Security Council Reform: A Counsel for the 21st Century, Justin Morris, Security Dialogue Vol. 31, No. 3 (September 2000), pp. 265-277

⁵ GA Resolution Resolution 1991; <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/RESOLUTION/GEN/NR0/186/66/IMG/NR018666.pdf?OpenElement>

⁶ Article 27 UN Charter

Topic A: ILLEGAL ARMS TRADE: THE CAUSE OF INSTABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

Introduction

The issue of illegal arms trade in Africa and the Middle East is one that is not new but has been relevant with the rise of arm use in conflicts across the globe. Illegal arms trade facilitates instability through acts of terrorism and further escalates conflicts. This illicit form of trading is particularly rife in the Middle East and in Africa and has resulted in many civilians losing their lives or being displaced due to conflicts stemming from distribution of unregulated and illegal arms.

Illegal arms trade is in contravention of international law and basic human rights. Illegal arms trade perpetuates conflict and is against Sustainable Development Goal 16⁷, which aims to promote peace, justice and strong institutions. This issue commands great attention as many of those affected by illegal arms trade are not the perpetrators of the trade, but rather are mostly civilians (including women and children) who in most cases are victims of crossfire in conflicts.

Illegal arms trade in Africa

Small and light weapons are considered primary tools and major enablers of violence resulting in instability across the African continent. Illegal arms trade on the continent is proliferated by both external and regional sources. External sources include embargo breaking transfers from Eastern Europe and the Middle East.⁸ Most of these arms are quickly transferred into the possession of armed groups as soon as they reach the African soil. On the other hand, regional sources of illicit arms include trafficking of already illegal weapons across state borders, as well as diversion of national stockpiles (some held by peacekeeping forces). In 2011, the armed conflict in Libya led not only to the loss of state control but to the looting of weapons stockpiles that had been accumulated under the rule of former leader Mahammad Qaddafi.⁹ Some of these weapons would be trafficked into neighboring countries, reaching as far as the Central African Republic and Somalia. Furthermore, rebel groups such as Boko Haram have conducted attacks in Niger, Cameroon and Nigeria with aims of

⁷ United Nations, Sustainable Development Goals. Available at <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/>

⁸ Florquin, N. (2019), p16.

⁹ UNODC. (2013), p 33.

capturing equipment from state forces.¹⁰ Theft, loss, corruption and production of artisanal firearms are amongst the sources of regional illicit arms trade.¹¹

Illegal arms trade in the Middle East

The Middle East suffers from a range of armed conflicts fueled by illicit arms flows, resulting in the incitement of civil wars in Syria, Yemen and Libya. Trafficked and armed weapons arm terrorist organizations such as the Islamic State group (IS) and al-Qaeda. These terrorist groups do not only threaten local populations but conquer territories, destabilize states, divert resources and commit international acts of terrorism. The three main security challenges the Middle East faces are:

- Diversion and stockpile leakage in post conflict settings: conflict in the Middle East, which has led to a series of large military buildup, continues to fuel illicit arms trade of small arms and light weapons in the region. Stockpiling, whether because of loss of government control or corruption, intensifies illegal arms trade. The Small Arms Survey reported that the 2003 Iraq war resulted in transfer of a minimum of 4.2 million small arms and light weapons from the military to non-state actors, and in some cases the wider civilian population, resulting in post-invasion looting of stockpiles. These weapons fueled anti coalition insurgency and internal conflicts in Iraq.¹²
- Transfer of arms to non-state actors: conflicts in the Middle East create a significant demand for arms transfers to and within the region. The major issue is that of diversion of arms into the hands of non-state actors, e.g. many states in the Middle East have a history of supplying arms to the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO).¹³ Other States, such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and UAE, are reported to have and still are supplying large quantities of arms to anti-government forces such as the Houthi movement.
- Significant and on-going military build ups by states: in the Middle East, states rely greatly on imports in order to acquire arms. This has generated domestic industries and facilities have been built for arms production. Many states in the region are amid

¹⁰ Florquin, N. (2019), p50.

¹¹ Florquin, N. (2019), p16.

¹² Bromley, M. (2018). p4.

¹³ Bromley, M. (2018). P9.

significant military build ups, with Saudi Arabia globally having the third largest military spending in 2017.¹⁴ Being the largest importer of arms begs the question of how much of these arms are obtained illegally and to what extent they are being used if not to cause instability and conflict.

Illegal Arms trade and Gender

Gender is an important factor when tabling matters of illegal arms trade causing instability. It is important to note that men and women are affected by and involved differently in issues pertaining to illegal arms trade. This is because in many cases women are more heavily and directly affected by armed violence compared to men (who in many but not all cases perpetuate violence).

Many women have contributed to the disarmament of arms control. An example is seen in the Liberian civil wars which are recorded as Africa's bloodiest conflicts in the post-independence era. These wars claimed hundreds of thousands of Liberian lives and displaced a million citizens into refugee camps and neighboring countries.

As the wars progressed into the 21st century, a band of rebels formed by Charles Taylor recruited child soldiers who were armed with illegal arms and were responsible for the slaughter of both military and civilians who opposed Taylor. These child soldiers (boys) were ganged into military service soldiers or ammunition ports. These young fighters were described by Observers from the Human Rights Watch as shooting "shiny toys" they had not been trained to use.

Women in Liberia were part of the major protestors of these wars and use of child soldiers as they were at the brunt of the conflict due to rapes, murders and loss of children to the gangs. Many demonstrations were held by women against the different fighting groups. They met with both Taylor and opposing rebel groups and convinced them to meet and talk into a resolution which served both parties. Despite being excluded in the actual peace talk and disarmament process, it was the women who went to fighter's camps convincing men and child soldiers to abandon weapons, resulting in the war ending.

Arms trade Black market

¹⁴ Bromley, M. (2018). p6.

Most weapons are produced and traded legally before being diverted into the illicit network. These could include trading legal weapons through debarred countries, exchange of bribes for export licenses and other miscellaneous work, poor security protocols that lead to accidental loss with them eventually leading into the hands of terrorists, rebels and crime syndicates. Approximately one million small arms are stolen or lost worldwide each year.¹⁵ There have been instances of soldiers trading their official weapons for cash or where their sympathies have led them to give their weapons to rebel groups they might be affiliated with. In countries where individuals can purchase multiple weapons, the phenomenon of straw purchasing (whereby an agent or middleman purchases the arms on behalf of the actual buyer) is practiced and weapons are sold across borders.

Historical Background

The issue of disarmament has been a pressing issue since the mid-19th century, as constant efforts to advance international humanitarian principles have been made globally.

The UN Protocol against the Illicit Manufacturing of and Trafficking in Firearms, Their Parts and Components and Ammunition, better known as the Firearms Protocol, was adopted on 31 May 2001 by General Assembly Resolution 55/225 and entered into force on 3 July 2005 (UNGA 2001a). The Firearms Protocol is a supplement to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) and focuses on transnational law enforcement challenges.¹⁶ Its elaboration took place under the auspices of the ECOSOC and its Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ). Its implementation process is overseen by the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).

The purpose of the Firearms Protocol is to promote, facilitate and strengthen cooperation among States Parties in order to prevent, combat and eradicate the illicit manufacturing of and trafficking in firearms, their parts and components and ammunition (UNGA 2001a, A/55/255).

As it is based in the UNTOC process, the need to prevent and control illicit activities that are associated with organized crime groups lies at the heart of the Firearms Protocol. It therefore provides a framework for states parties to control and regulate legal arms and arms flows,

¹⁵ Florquin, N. (2019), p52.

¹⁶ United Nations, The Firearms Protocol.

prevent their diversion into the illicit market, and facilitate the investigation and prosecution of related offenses. Its central premise holds that “strong controls allow increased transparency and enhance the ability of states to target illicit transactions”.¹⁷ Central provisions of the Firearms Protocol lie in the criminalization of illicit manufacturing, trafficking and altering firearms markings (Art. 5); confiscation, seizure and disposal of illicitly manufactured or trafficked firearms & ammunition (Art. 6); record-keeping to enable tracing activities (Art. 7); marking of firearms (Art. 8); prevention of the illicit deactivation of firearms (Art. 9); and provisions for the export, import, and transit of firearms (Art. 10). Critics of the Firearms Protocol highlight that it does not include state-to-state transfers, including transfers for military purposes, and that it is left to states to decide whether to apply the Protocol to transfers from state to non-state actors.

The Protocol can nevertheless be understood in the limited scope and content of the negotiation process which focused rather on crime control measures than on arms control.¹⁸

The efforts of curbing the proliferation often have much to be desired. There is an inability to understand and tap into the complex network of this form of trade. The networks have evolved into complex and innovative structures which easily exploit legitimate channels, which are already in place. Where the channels and infrastructure are missing, there is no shortage of will and capability to create new ones. These concealed networks are deeply entrenched not only with one another, but also with the global economies at large.

Recent Developments

Silencing the guns in Africa: a resolution dedicated to the criticality of tackling illicit arms to achieving a conflict-free Africa.

Resolution 2220 (2015): called for effective implementation of UN arms embargoes and support to the Arms Trade Treaty.

Arms Trade Treaty: the landmark Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), regulating the international trade in conventional arms – from small arms to battle tanks, combat aircraft and warships – entered into force on 24 December 2014.

Firearms Protocol: provides for a framework for States to **control and regulate licit arms and arms flows, prevent their diversion into the illegal circuit, facilitate the**

¹⁷ United Nations, The Firearms Protocol.

¹⁸ United Nations, The Firearms Protocol.

investigation and prosecution of related offenses without hampering legitimate transfer. It is the only legally binding instrument to counter the illicit manufacturing of and trafficking in firearms, their parts and components and ammunition at the global level.

Program of Action on the illicit trade in small arms: agreement by member states to improve national small arms laws, import/export controls, and stockpile management – and to engage in cooperation and assistance.

UN Register of Conventional Arms: an annual reporting mechanism through which governments can share information on weapons they transferred the previous year. Member States reporting to it provide information on the build-up and volume of the conventional arsenals which it deems essential to maintain a credible defense and perform effective peacekeeping tasks.

National Legislation on Transfer of Arms, Military Equipment and Dual-Use Goods and Technology: initiative adopted by the General Assembly encouraging governments to share national laws and regulations on arms export, which may contribute to mutual understanding and confidence among countries with the UN.

Current Challenges and Conclusions

Trade of illegal arms in the Middle East and Africa is a major contributor and proliferator of instability in those regions. Illegal arms trade further poses threats to the security and lives of many people and property. Breakdown of state structures, lax control over armories and poor service conditions of service personnel are among the reasons why illegal arms find their way into the hands of citizens. These arms are often used to perpetrate a variety of human right violations such as forced displacement, mass killings and attacks on humanitarian workers and peacemakers. In regions such as Africa and the Middle East, arms trade results in conflicts such as civil wars e.g. the ambush of Guinean peacekeepers in January 2000, which netted Sierra Leonean rebels more than 500 weapons including assault rifles, machine guns and two tons of ammunition.¹⁹

Arms are being used to engage in struggles over values and claims to status, resources, and power with the aim of the party in control to try and neutralize/dissolve power of, injure or eliminate their rivals. In most states the three main reasons for instability are:

- Conflicts over political participation
- Conflicts over access to resources

¹⁹ Schroeder, M. (2006) p.69.

- Struggles over identity

In the Middle East and Africa, civilians endure the most armed conflict- most of which stems from illegal arms trade, further causing economic and political instability. Therefore, arms control is particularly needed in these specific regions. The following has been done to try and tackle the issue:

- Adoption of **African Union Master of Practical Steps to silence the Guns in Africa by 2020**- offering an opportunity to renew and strengthen efforts to deal with illicit/illegal arms trade.²⁰
- **SGD Goal 16.4** – UN member states committed to significantly reduce arms flow by 2030
- **Implementation of the European Union SALW Strategy** -strategy to combat arms trade – with the purpose of combating illicit accumulation and trafficking of arms and light weapons.
- **The Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls and Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies**- headquartered in Paris, was established in Vienna in July 1996. Thirty-three states, including most of the major arms suppliers, are members. Its purpose is to contribute to regional and international security by:

- 1) promoting transparency in arms transfers among participating states;
- 2) ensuring that transfers of relevant items do not contribute to excessive and destabilizing accumulations of arms;
- 3) complementing existing control regimes for weapons of mass destruction;
- 4) reducing the need for states to acquire advanced weapons or technologies.

Illegal arms trade creates significant barriers to progression of peace and stability in the Middle East and Africa. In addition to the political and economic instability caused by illegal arms trade, the unwillingness and inability of Member States to engage with international assistance makes it more difficult for assistance to be disseminated with regards to curbing illegal arms trade.

The black-market small arms trafficking is thriving into a Billion Dollar Business at the expense of the world's security at large. These arms fuel regional instability and are often the reason behind the cause of conflicts and enabling lethal perpetrators to ignite hatred and

²⁰ African Union. (2016).

widespread violence, often for selfish gains. These illicit weapons are often instruments of criminal violence and disruption of developmental efforts. Close to half a million individuals are killed by the millions of illegal / illicit arms in circulation and more than 75 percent of the casualties by way of loss to life are caused by these weapons. The main reason of their widespread use is the easy availability, lethal character, ease of use and high durability. The United Nations has always endeavored to maintain peace and stability throughout the world. It is time find an effective resolution with global consensus to lead the way forward.

Questions a Resolution should answer

1. What are the effects of illegal arms trade in the Middle East and Africa?
2. Does illegal arms trade infringe on basic human rights?
3. How can a more unified approach to instability be initiated to maintain peace on a global scale?
4. How can the Security Council work together with Member States and the UN to maintain global peace?
5. What and how can multilateral agreements be achieved without breaching national sovereignty of affected and involved states?
6. How can states with secure control of arms assist with sustainable measures to ensure peace in the Middle East and Africa in line with SGD Goal 16?

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SGD Goals at: <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg16>

The Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls and Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies at: <https://www.armscontrol.org/factsheets/wassenaar>

United Nations Charter.

UN Register of Conventional Arms at: <https://www.unroca.org/>

Topic B: Emissions Trading

Introduction and Scope

The devastating events of 9/11 changed the nature of terrorism, and its meaning, for the whole world. With the destruction of the twin towers, it was evident that terrorism was no longer a solitary person acting alone. It was a complex organization, under the name of Al-Qaeda, and its head was Osama bin Laden.

In this study guide, the details of Al-Qaeda in terms of its origins and ideology will be presented, as well as their actions pertaining towards terrorism.

The important thing for delegates to keep in mind is that Al-Qaeda is one of many terrorist networks and in order to ensure that terrorism is dealt with effectively, delegates will have to work on a case by case basis. What may be a feasible way of tackling one terrorist network may not be the best way for another - in any case, delegates must act as members of the UNSC, keeping in mind the sovereignty of nations, and aiming for solutions that are practical in nature.

Historical Background²¹

In this portion of the study guide, the history of Al-Qaeda will be presented. This means that there will be elaboration regarding the development of their ideology and along with that, there will be mention of their historically influential leaders.

We will begin with a man whose name is known far and wide in the Muslim world: Sayed Qutb from Egypt. Qutb is referred to as the “Father of Jihadi Salafism.”²² He inspired almost all the key figures of Al-Qaeda, such as Ayman Al-Zawahiri and Osama bin Laden. He managed to become the voice of many Muslim’s who wished to be revolutionaries against what they perceived to be an unjust system. Ayman Al-Zawahiri wrote about him in his *Knights under the Prophet’s Banner*, “Sayyid Qutb’s call for loyalty to Allah’s Oneness and to acknowledge Allah’s sole authority and sovereignty was the spark that ignited the Islamic revolution

²¹ Unless otherwise specified, this information has been taken from Wright, L. (2006). *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. London: Allen Lane, which is a Pulitzer prize winning book on the subject.

²² Manne, R. (2016). “Sayyid Qutb: Father of Salafi Jihadism, Forerunner of the Islamic State”. ABC News, available at: <https://www.abc.net.au/religion/sayyid-qutb-father-of-salafi-jihadism-forerunner-of-theislamic-/10096380>

against the enemies of Islam at home and abroad.”²³ Qutb’s famous book, *Milestones*, is a book that is seen as the one that started the “intellectual origin of the Salafi jihadist movement.”²⁴ The book deals with the interplay of two concepts: *jahalliya* and *hakamiya*. The word *Jahalliya* is interpreted by Robert Manne in three ways: one is its historical connotations, the other is its cultural relevance, and finally, the way that Qutb has used the term. In Islamic history, *Jahalliya* simply means a time before Islam, which is seen as an “Age of Ignorance” where people were steeped in barbarism. Culturally, this word is also used to describe those who are not affiliated with Islam, where a dichotomy is drawn between those who are “moral” and those who are “immoral.” And finally, Qutb added even more severity to the word: “With him *jahiliyya* is the terrible condition of a world in the state of spiritual darkness, unenlightened by humankind's submission to God.”²⁵

Hakamiya is the opposite: it means sovereignty. Qutb specifies that there is only one good sovereignty: that of God. If there is the sovereignty of man instead of sovereignty of God, then *jhalliya* follows.

Essentially, this was a sociological analysis between submission and authority - and the reason why this may have resonated with so many people at the time is because it tapped into people’s emotions due to the historical events of the time. For example, Egypt and five other Arab armies were losing a war which established Israel as a Jewish state. The defeat left the Arabs stunned and they were shocked at the inefficiency of their leaders. Qutb’s book came at the right time: it provided an answer to the Arabs about why they had failed: they were following the authority of men, not the authority of God. And it told them what to do: re-establish the sovereignty of God. This resonated with and created individuals who did not believe any longer in the authority of governments and states because they believed in a higher power. Furthermore, it meant that the authority of all those governments which were not Muslim in nature were also automatically defunct: since only the authority of God is to be followed. This created a dangerous trend of thinking which resulted in the origins of Salafi Jihadism.

Qutb justified his support for violent jihad by highlighting that if Islam could be spread by peaceful means, why would the Final Prophet of Islam feel the need to take up arms? This was taken as legitimate because every action of the Final Prophet is seen as sacred and

²³ . Ayman al-Zawahiri, *Knights under the Prophet's Banner*, in *His Own Words: A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri*, ed. Laura Mansfield (Old Tappan, NJ: TLG Publications, 2006), p. 48

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

divinely sanctioned. Qutb himself was seen as a voice to be listened to. He was espousing jihad by appealing to the despair of people and presenting it as a means of escape. The Egyptians, and Arabs in general, were upset over the establishment of Israel with support from the US. The Egyptians were also upset over King Farouk who had puppet rule in Egypt at the time. He also used pre-existing elements of anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism, to propagate his call for jihad. He came off as a person who “knew” the West intimately and thereby knew more than those who had never been and confirmed what they secretly believed: that it was a world steeped in “jahaliyya.”²⁶

In his own country, Qutb had worked closely with the Muslim Brothers and Gamal Abdul Nasser in order to bring them into power. The Muslim Brothers were also seen as the only ones who were actually fighting the rule of King Farouk and they succeeded in forcing the King into exile and bringing Nasser to power.

But when Nasser came into power through much of Qutb’s help, Qutb saw that the kind of Islam Nasser was going to implement was not what Qutb wanted. He began to declare that the Egyptian government was also steeped in jahaliya. As a result, a clash between these two very powerful and influential men developed: on one side, there was Nasser, the government, with the army on his side, and then there was Qutb, seen more of as a rebel figure, who had the mosques on his side and was fighting what he perceived as the government’s injustice in the streets. Nasser imprisoned Qutb first for three months. Then, there was an assassination attempt on Nasser by the Muslim Brothers. People began to see Nasser as a brave man when he survived. Nasser threw Qutb into prison again and only released him by intervention of Iraq’s president, Abdul Salam Aref. Qutb was arrested again, one last time, when members of the Muslim Brothers confessed that Qutb was planning to kill public leaders and overthrow the government.²⁷

Sayyid Qutb was hanged after dawn prayers on August 29, 1966 for that reason. This sent shockwaves across the Muslim world: a Muslim government had just hanged a prominent Muslim scholar to death. The result of this was that Qutb was seen as a “martyr” for Islam and became even more famous and influential for Muslims who were discontent with the state of world affairs and wished to do something about it.

²⁶Wright, L. (2006). *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. London: Allen Lane.

²⁷Ibid

After Qutb, another prominent theologian is Ayman Al-Zawahiri. He is the current leader of Al-Qaeda, also hails from Egypt and was strongly inspired by Qutb. During the Nasserite regime, Al-Zawahiri was part of many underground cells involved in trying to overthrow Nasser's government. Al-Zawahiri's uncle was on Qutb's legal team and would tell his nephew many tales of the legendary man. These had a huge effect on Al-Zawahiri, who was only 15 when he helped create a cell which aimed to overthrow the Egyptian government and establish an Islamic state.

Zawahiri was strongly dedicated to the establishment of an Islamic State which would find its origins in Egypt. In his memoir, *Knights Under the Prophet's Banner*, he writes, "If God wills it, such a state in Egypt, with all its weight in the heart of the Islamic world, could lead the Islamic world in a jihad against the West. It could also rally the world Muslims around it. Then history would make a new turn, God willing, in the opposite direction against the empire of the United States and the world's Jewish government."²⁸

As is evident, his anti-Semitic interpretation of the world also prompted his actions. Around this time, Nasser passed away and Anwar al-Sadat came to power. Sadat realized the strength of the Islamic radicals around him and let the Muslim Brothers do as they wished as long as they renounced violence. As a result of this renunciation of violence, Zawahiri also started to see the Muslim Brothers as not radical enough. They seemed to be more willing to make concessions and negotiate with the government. This probably prompted his decision to help refugees in Pakistan when offered to do so by the Muslim Brothers. He had by now become a doctor and also felt that the geography and political climate of Egypt was not suited to the establishment of an army for Jihad. Perhaps a different terrain, either in Pakistan or Afghanistan, would offer more opportunities. He came back to Cairo in 1979 with a lot of vision and experience that allowed him to carry on his mission of establishing an Islamic State. He had seen the Afghan Mujahideen and seen how they fought the Soviets. He had also begun working with people who were skilled in warfare, most notably al-Zumar and al-Qamari. They had been both in the Egyptian army and knew how to assassinate political figures. Sadat, meanwhile, had taken a secular turn and turned against the very same Islamic Radicals who he had leaned on to come into power. He began to preach, "No politics in religion and no religion in politics,"²⁹ and nothing could have angered the underground Islamist

²⁸Ayman al-Zawahiri, *Knights under the Prophet's Banner*, in *His Own Words: A Translation of the Writings of Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri*, ed. Laura Mansfield (Old Tappan, NJ: TLG Publications, 2006)

²⁹Wright, L. (2006). *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. London: Allen Lane.

groups more. Sadat also banned niqab in universities and brokered a peace deal with Israel. The Islamist groups decided to murder him.³⁰

On the eighth anniversary of the Yom Kippur war, in the year 1981, soldiers recruited by the Islamist group jumped out of their military vehicles and threw grenades into the stand where Sadat was. The President was shot. They also decided to strike at Sadat's funeral. But that is when the government cracked down heavily on dissidents and Zawahiri, Qumari and Zumar were arrested. Qumari was shot dead after trying to escape prison. Zumar served his sentence and renounced his life of militarism. Zawahiri received a three-year sentence for having dealt in arms. In prison, it is believed he became even more radical. That is where he faced torture, and that created a desire for revenge.³¹

That is where he also met fellow radicals which certain academics, like Gabriel Marcel, a French philosopher, suggest increases radicalism. "The fanatic cannot be an isolated being... he exists among others and ... between these others and himself there is formed ... a unity of identity or harmonic range. This unity... is felt as a link which exalts, and the fanaticism of one man is always kept alight by contact with the fanaticism of another."³²

After being released, Zawahiri went to Saudi Arabia for a pilgrimage and aimed to have his visa converted to a work visa. That is where he most likely met bin Laden, who went on to become a source of funding for all wishing to engage in violent jihad.

Bin Laden's father was an architect for the Saudi royal family which gave him a lot of wealth. N. In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Bin Laden went there immediately, handing out donations. But he was not fully involved in Afghanistan - his trips at that time were short. The question of why he was interested in Afghanistan is interesting. One of the reasons is that Muslims all over the world saw Afghanistan as a Muslim country and the Soviet Union as irreligious, therefore it was the attack of the faithless upon the faithful. This line of thinking prompted Muslims to come and fight the Soviets in Afghanistan. But another reason which seems more realistic is that the mujahideen were supported by nations because of the fact that certain countries wished to resist the Soviet expansion for economic reasons. Lawrence Wright mentions that the Soviet takeover of Afghanistan might just have been "the first step in a march toward the warm waters of the Persian Gulf. Pakistan would be next."³³

³⁰Ibid

³¹Ibid

³²Marcel, G. (2008). *Man against Mass Society*. South Bend: St. Augustine's Press.

³³Wright, L. (2006). *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. London: Allen Lane.

The ultimate plan could have been to control the Strait of Hormuz, which is the supply route for petroleum that comes from Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Kuwait, and Iran. If this were controlled by the Soviets, then possibly petroleum would not be easily accessible by the European Union or the United States of America. Hence, it became necessary for these states to resist the Soviet Expansion, and that might be one of the reasons why the Mujahideen enjoyed the open support of both the US and Saudi Arabia.³⁴

During the war, Bin Laden joined hands with Abdullah Azzam, a freedom fighter from Palestine. They both set up an office in Peshawar, Pakistan. Mujahideen would come there from all over the world and would receive shelter and food. Azzam supplied the tactics and inspired the mujahideen by publishing fatwas (such as *Defense of Muslim lands*) and Bin Laden supplied a steady flow of money. All this happened whilst nations also supported the mujahideen. The Saudi Government, for example, was contributing \$350 to \$500 million per year for Afghani jihad. The money would be placed in a Swiss bank account which was controlled by the US. The Saudi government also ran programs privately where they would raise money for their own preferred commanders. A lot of that money went into support for Bin Laden and his activities.

For these reasons, the Soviets may have lost the war. Lawrence Wright however asserts that perhaps the Soviets were losing the war anyway and that the presence of a thousand or so Arabs with very few of them on the battlefield would not have made much difference in the outcome of the war.³⁵

Al-Qaeda, literally meaning training camp, was founded in Peshawar. It was formed after a meeting between leaders from many countries, and two things were agreed upon: 1) Al-Qaeda would be international in scope, and 2) It would continue with jihad.

Al-Qaeda's leadership structure was well-organized. The majority of the leadership that was set up to advise Bin Laden consisted of people from Egypt, such as Zawahiri or Dr. Fadl. But it also featured people from Algeria, Libya, and Oman. New recruits would fill out forms and sign their allegiance to bin Laden and would swear themselves to secrecy. Unmarried recruits would receive \$1000 dollars in salary and married ones would receive \$1500. Lawrence Wright notes, "From the beginning, al-Qaeda presented itself as an attractive employment opportunity for men whose education and careers had been curtailed by jihad."³⁶

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid

³⁶ Ibid

Al-Qaeda had a constitution as well and it summed up the goals of the organization. The goal was “To establish the truth, get rid of evil, and establish an Islamic nation.”³⁷

Recruits were given education and military training. The commanders would be individuals with at least seven years of jihad experience as well as a college degree. The commanders would establish a council that meets every month, establish a budget, and have a plan of action for the year. Al-Qaeda had separate committees dedicated to different things: military committees, surveillance committees, political committees, information committees... some subsections of these committees were even dedicated to matters pertaining to nuclear weapons.³⁸

Al-Qaeda picked up force and the members were so dedicated to it that it began to get out of Bin Laden’s hands. If anything, he was only seen as a source of funding and the rest of the things, like ideology, or tactics employed, were carried out by others like Azzam or Zawahiri. But most important in the history of Al-Qaeda is Abu Hajr. Abu Hajr was the man whose fatwas gave Al-Qaeda a proper vision. Al-Qaeda, after the Soviets left Afghanistan, suffered from a sense of meaninglessness: it had initially made its goal to fight the Soviets. Now, when they were gone, it did not know what to do. That is what Abu Hajr fixed through his fatwas. His first fatwa justified attacks on American troops and the second made justified the murder of innocent people. This turned Al-Qaeda into a terrorist organization of global scale. It was no longer fighting individuals who belonged to militaries - it was going after civilians too. The aim, to establish an Islamic Caliphate like in the days of old, was hindered by the presence of the West of which America was the hegemonic leader. It would have to be defeated. New targets were decided upon which is why Al-Qaeda carried out attacks like the 1992 Yemen hotel bombings, or the USS Cole bombing in 2000. Zawahiri and bin Laden became closer during this time and joined their respective forces. They also began living in Kandahar, Afghanistan.³⁹

The seeds of 9/11 it is believed were planted in Bin Laden’s mind through Khalid Sheikh Mohammad. Mohammad was the nephew of Ramzi Yousef, who had carried out the first attack on the World Trade Center in 1993. He told Bin Laden of Yousef and how they planned

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Ibid

to “bomb twelve American jumbo jets over the Pacific.”⁴⁰ Ramzi Yousef had perfected a bomb undetectable by airport security. He tested it out on a flight from Manila to Tokyo. It was under the seat of passenger Haruki Ikegami and upon detonation, the bomb tore Ikegami apart and nearly brought the aircraft down.

It was Khalid Sheikh Mohammad who masterminded the 9/11 attacks. On September 10, 2001, bin Laden, Zawahiri, and some close members of Al-Qaeda fled into the mountains above Khost, Afghanistan. The men had a satellite dish and a television set - bin Laden told them soon something great was about to happen and Muslims from around the world would come to Afghanistan to fight against America. From there, the tragic events of 9/11 took place and the world was brought to standstill by shock.⁴¹

From there, they saw the fall of the Twin Towers and the entire world was brought to a standstill by the shock.

Important legislation and events

9/11 became the reason why the United States of America chose to invade Afghanistan. It was called the “War on Terror” and its formal aim was to depose the Taliban as well as to capture Bin Laden. Bin Laden managed to escape⁴² but this was the first time that Article 5 of NATO had been invoked, which was a historically important step.⁴³ Eventually, bin Laden was found in Abbottabad, Pakistan, in the year 2011, and killed.

Another impact included a global economic recession.⁴⁴ It also resulted in many countries strengthening their anti-terrorism legislature. For example, after the 9/11 attacks, there was an immediate meeting of the Security Council. In this meeting, Res. 1368 was passed unanimously which condemned the attacks of 9/11 and also promised a joint effort to curb terrorism. “Calls on all States to work together urgently to bring to justice the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these terrorist attacks and stresses that those responsible for aiding, supporting or harbouring the perpetrators, organizers and sponsors of these acts will be held accountable...”⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² (Corera, *Bin Laden's Tora Bora escape, just months after 9/11*, 2011)

⁴³ NATO / Otan. What is NATO? (n.d.). Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://www.nato.int/nato-welcome/index.html>

⁴⁴ CRS Report RL31617, *The Economic Effects of 9/11: A Retrospective Assessment*

⁴⁵ Resolution 1368 (2001) / adopted by the Security Council at its 4370th meeting, on 12 September 2001, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/448051?ln=en>

The Res. 1368 also mentioned another important Res. i.e. Res. 1269.⁴⁶

Resolution 1269 was the first time that the United Nations had addressed terrorism generally and unanimously agreed, seeing the increasing number of terrorist attacks, that anti-terrorist conventions should be implemented.⁴⁷ It served as a precedent for Res. 1368 which saw nations coming together with Article 5 of NATO being evoked for the first time in history.

The most important and effective document came on 28th September 2001, which was Res. 1373. This too was passed unanimously and was seen as an extension of Res. 1368. It highlights in detail what steps nations should take in order to curb terrorism. For example, previously it has been mentioned that mujahideen enjoyed the support of the United States of America and Saudi Arabia to resist Soviet expansion. Now, as Res. 1373 reads, “Criminalize the wilful provision or collection, by any means, directly or indirectly, of funds by their nationals or in their territories with the intention that the funds should be used, or in the knowledge that they are to be used, in order to carry out terrorist acts,”⁴⁸ this would no longer be a possibility. Countries had seen how supporting terrorist outfits could backfire and were now changing tact to ensure that nothing of the sort was done again.

Res. 1373 highlights first the responsibility on all nations to fight terrorism on an international scale.

Secondly, it highlights how accounts of those involved in terrorist activity can be frozen. Operative Clause 1, Sub-clause C states that nations agree to, “Freeze without delay funds and other financial assets or economic resources of persons who commit, or attempt to commit, terrorist acts or participate in or facilitate the commission of terrorist acts...”⁴⁹

It provides a comprehensive framework with which nations would proceed and even today it can be used as an example to follow when it comes to tackling terrorism on a united front. The most integral component to the resolution 1373 is the call for all nations to work together when it comes to the exchange of information. It was also very nuanced in pointing out the link between terrorism and other forms of organized crime.

⁴⁶ Resolution 1269 (1999) / adopted by the Security Council at its 4053rd meeting, on 19 October 1999, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/287509?ln=en>

⁴⁷ Lehto, Marja (2009): Indirect responsibility for terrorist acts. Redefinition of the concept of terrorism beyond violent acts / by Marja Lehto. Leiden, Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers (The Erik Castrén Institute monographs on international law and human rights, 1568-2765, v. 10).

⁴⁸ Resolution 1373 (2001) / adopted by the Security Council at its 4385th meeting, on 28 September 2001, access here: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/449020?ln=en>

⁴⁹ S/RES/1373 (2001), access here: <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/557/43/PDF/N0155743.pdf?OpenElement>

It has been pointed out that the invasion of Iraq in 2003 might have also been prompted by Americans thinking that Saddam Hussain was also linked to the attacks on 9/11. As many as seven in ten Americans thought that Sadam might be behind the attacks too, at the time.⁵⁰ Internally, within the United States, different forms of laws were passed that were created to justify the War on Terror and also to detain individuals suspected of terrorism. The Homeland Security Act of 2002 was introduced which created the Department of Homeland Security. Similarly, the USA Patriot Act was introduced in 2001 which allowed law enforcement bodies to carry out more surveillance, such as by tapping domestic and international phones and made the penalties for terrorism activities far more severe. It also increased the number of activities that would justify terrorism charges.⁵¹

War on Terror

The phrase, “War on Terror” was initially used by President George W. Bush when giving a speech in Congress⁵² but was never used formally in any internal government documentation. President Obama then announced on May 23rd, 2013, that the war on terror was over. In December 2014, they announced that the militant role played by the US in Afghanistan was also over. Despite this, the US was still very active in Afghanistan. In 2017, President Trump expanded the role of America in Afghanistan. Nonetheless, it was during his tenure that the Doha Agreement was signed to bring the war in Afghanistan to an end. It was signed between the Taliban and the United States. Under the agreement, all NATO states within Afghanistan would withdraw, as would American troops.⁵³ By August 30, 2021, the Taliban took over Afghanistan after a military offensive which overthrew the Afghan Government. This particular event is of paramount importance for the delegates. The first question to be asked is that should the Doha Agreement be seen as a form of negotiation with terrorists, and therefore a new trend in the foreign policy of the USA? The second question is that if a terrorist outfit like the Taliban have been negotiated with, then does that mean from now on, the Taliban should be dealt with as one would deal with another state, especially considering that now they are effectively ruling Afghanistan? Thirdly,

⁵⁰ Guardian News and Media. (2003, September 7). *US public thinks Saddam had role in 9/11*. The Guardian. Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2003/sep/07/usa.theobserver>

⁵¹ Evans, J. C. (2001). Hijacking civil liberties: The USA PATRIOT Act of 2001. *Loy. U. Chi. LJ*, 33, 933.

⁵² Cable News Network. (n.d.). Transcript of president Bush's address. CNN. Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/20/gen.bush.transcript/>

⁵³ Qazi, S. (2020, February 29). *Afghanistan's Taliban, US sign agreement aimed at Ending War*. Taliban News | Al Jazeera. Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/2/29/afghanistans-taliban-us-sign-agreement-aimed-at-ending-war>

should the Taliban serve as a precedent for other terrorist outfits that might aspire to do the same and reach the same status as the Taliban? Fourthly, have there been any steps taken to prevent this from happening? Historically, the reso. 1373 was meant to prevent exactly this from happening: the prosperity of terrorism. Yet, nonetheless, it seems like this particular reso. 1373 did not work out. Why was that? Is it because the USA violated its own commitment to reso. 1373 or because the resolution itself had loopholes, in the sense that there was no talk of sanctions of those who violate the resolution, perhaps? Or that there was a double standard of policy: certain terrorist outfits were seen as terrorist outfits e.g. Al Qaeda whilst others were treated as people one can negotiate with e.g. Taliban? And the question is what now? Today, the Taliban are heading Afghanistan, and regularly roll out policies that are not just contrary to the values of Western civilization but also contrary to human rights. For example, women are obligated to cover their faces in public and girls cannot receive higher education.^{54 55}

The War on Terror has been severely criticized for many reasons. One reason was the effects of the war itself - approximately 37 million people, mostly civilians, were displaced.⁵⁶ Another reason was that people felt the war was being used as a free pass to crack down on the civil liberties of people. There were examples of excessive torture, surveillance, extraordinary rendition, and drone strikes.^{57 58} Finally, the idea of there being a “war” against “terror” itself seemed to imply that terror could be dealt with via military means - people suggested that there must be other ways of ending international terrorism.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Ahmadi, B., Ebadi, A. (2022, April 1). Taliban's ban on girls' education in Afghanistan. United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/04/talibans-ban-girls-education-afghanistan#:~:text=On%20March%2023%2C%20the%20first,barred%20girls%20from%20further%20education>.

⁵⁵ Tariq, M. O., Ahmadi, B. (2022, May 12). How the Taliban's hijab decree defies Islam. United States Institute of Peace. Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://www.usip.org/publications/2022/05/how-talibans-hijab-decree-defies-islam>

⁵⁶ Housman, P. (2020, September 18). Report finds at least 37 million people displaced by US post-9/11 wars. American University. Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://www.american.edu/cas/news/report-finds-at-least-37-million-people-displaced-by-us-post-9-11-wars.cfm#:~:text=The%20report%20is%20titled%20Creating,post%2D9%2F11%20wars%3A>

⁵⁷ Guardian News and Media. (2016, March 28). *CIA photographed detainees naked before sending them to be tortured*. The Guardian. Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/28/cia-photographed-naked-detainees>

⁵⁸ Drone warfare. The Bureau of Investigative Journalism (en-GB). (n.d.). Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/projects/drone-war>

⁵⁹ Richissin, T. (n.d.). War on terror" difficult to define". The Seattle Times: Nation & World: "War on terror" difficult to define. Retrieved May 17, 2022, from https://web.archive.org/web/20090114085106/http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/html/nationworld/2002023596_russanal02.html

An important element to the discussion about the War on Terror is how it was framed, language wise. Political theorist, Richard Jackson points out that the “war on terrorism,’ . . . is simultaneously a set of actual practices—wars, covert operations, agencies, and institutions—and an accompanying series of assumptions, beliefs, justifications, and narratives—it is an entire language or discourse.”⁶⁰ He writes, “Simply by referring to an ‘attack on civilisation’ for example, the language brings to mind or naturalises its binary opposite – barbarism and savagery. Therefore, by implication, terrorists are characterised as inherently cruel, hateful, murderous and lacking in human values.”⁶¹ It’s creating a dichotomy of the civilized on one side and the barbarians on the other. This kind of thinking also contributed to an increase in Islamophobia especially after the 9/11 attacks. Many found themselves facing hate crimes if they were from a background which was Middle Eastern and/or Islamic. Even those were from different faiths, such as Sikhs, were stereotyped to be similar to Muslims and therefore, subjected to discrimination and racial profiling. Women wearing hijab or similar head covering were also targeted.⁶² Leaders from most of the Middle East were quick to condemn 9/11, with the exception of Iraq.⁶³ The USA set up Guantanamo Bay and began to detain individuals they suspected of being involved with terrorism. People were being held there without charge and often exposed to brutal forms of torture. 270 detainees are still held there by the USA with much criticism from international bodies and human rights organizations.⁶⁴ Noam Chomsky, prominent political scientist, has labeled the strategy being used by the United States of America as the “Global War on Terror Sledgehammer Strategy.”⁶⁵ The US, often in tandem with other nations, would come down heavily on weaker nations by using superior military strength and thereby almost ruin an entire country. He believes that is what happened with Afghanistan, then Iraq, and then elsewhere, like Libya. He writes, “the three traditional imperial powers (Britain, France, and the United States) procured Security Council resolution 1973 and

⁶⁰ Jackson, R. (2018). *Writing the War on Terrorism: Language, politics, and counter-terrorism*. Manchester University Press.

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Hate crime reports up in wake of terrorist attacks. CNN.com - Hate crime reports up in wake of terrorist attacks - September 17, 2001. (2001, September 17). Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://web.archive.org/web/20051127025019/http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/09/16/gen.hate.crimes/>

⁶³ *Attacks draw mixed response in Mideast*. CNN.com - Attacks draw mixed response in Mideast - September 12, 2001. (2001, September 12). Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://web.archive.org/web/20071101150055/http://archives.cnn.com/2001/WORLD/europe/09/12/mideast.reaction/index.html>

⁶⁴ *USA: Release or fair trials for all remaining Guantánamo detainees*. Amnesty International. (2021, June 23). Retrieved May 17, 2022, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2008/05/usa-release-or-fair-trials-all-remaining-guante3alnamo-detainees-20080502/>

⁶⁵ Chomsky, N. (2017). *Who rules the world?* Penguin.

instantly violated it, becoming the air force of the rebels.”⁶⁶ This was during the Libyan Civil War, 2011. Gaddafi was in power at the time but because reso. 1973 justified military action in Libya⁶⁷, France, Britain, and the USA, attacked Gaddafi’s forces and prevented them from taking over Benghazi. Chomsky goes on to further state, “In brief, the Global War on Terror sledgehammer strategy has spread jihadi terror from a tiny corner of Afghanistan to much of the world, from Africa through the Levant and South Asia to Southeast Asia. It has also incited attacks in Europe and the United States. The invasion of Iraq made a substantial contribution to this process, much as intelligence agencies had predicted.”⁶⁸ Even the strategies then that were adopted to counter terrorism ended up instilling it futhermore. Delegates are expected to analyze these events not just from the perspective of their respective countries but also from the eyes of international law. Were the actions of NATO members consistent with the international agreements they had signed, such as resolutions 1368 and 1373? Does internal support for certain laws give a country the right to act in a manner that is inconsistent with international law? What strategy should be employed to deal with terrorism, considering that even as of today, terrorism is on the rise than on the decline?

ISIS

The Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is an organization that was founded around 2005 as a part of the Al-Qaeda terrorist network. It was first called Al-Qaeda in Iraq then Islamic State in Iraq and was finally renamed ISIS in 2013 after its expansion to Syria.⁶⁹ The current leader since 2010 is Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the now self-proclaimed caliph of the territories under the organization's control. The weakness of the Iraqi state after the invasion of the U.S. led coalition in 2003 and the withdrawal of coalition forces in 2011, as well as the civil war in Syria beginning 2011, were the ideal breeding ground for the spread of Islamic State.⁷⁰ The Islamic State sees itself as fighting for a "pure" and legitimate Islamic-ruled state. Their understanding of Islam is jihadist-Salafist and they want the Sharia as basic law.⁷¹ Minorities in particular are and have been particularly endangered by ISIS, since although all those who do not practice their faith in the same way as the ISIS are considered to be

⁶⁶ Ibid (page 259)

⁶⁷ <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/s/res/1973-%282011%29>

⁶⁸ Chomsky, N. (2017). Who rules the world? Penguin. (page 300).

⁶⁹ <https://www.history.com/topics/21st-century/isis>

⁷⁰ <https://www.bmvg.de/de/themen/dossiers/weissbuch/gedanken/islamischer-staat-fragen-und-antworten-12292>

⁷¹ <https://www.history.com/topics/21st-century/isis>

outlaw infidels, the actions against minorities such as the Yazidis in 2014 were particularly violent and brutal.⁷² Much of the money for their terrorist attacks stems from seizing control over oil refineries, banks and further assets but they finance itself via human trafficking, kidnapping ransoms, protection money extortion, drug trafficking and stealing valuable artifacts as well as donations and support from foreigners.⁷³

One should not ignore the fact that Al-Qaeda can be seen as a precursor of ISIS. It is a more violent and more successful and larger version of Al-Qaeda. Terrorism experts see it as a greater threat than Al-Qaeda (Bucci et al., 2014). Analysis of its success includes a particular focus on its propaganda machine. For example, it is accepted that the statements that were made by ISIS were increasingly simplistic in nature - in short, ISIS realized that simplicity sells. On an analysis, perhaps because of ISIS' far more violent nature, their statements to the public are much more simple than those of Al-Qaeda. (Shannon et al., 2017). Along with that, their online presence far surpasses the presence of any other terrorist organization. As researchers observe, "...the group has established several media organisations (e.g. Al Hayat Media Center), magazines (e.g. Dabiq; Rumiya), and operates 24 hours a day online through various social media outlets such as Twitter, Instagram, Facebook, Tumblr, Kik, YouTube, Ask.fm, Skype, and Google Play. More recently, it has utilised the messaging App, Telegram, to post its magazines, videos, and distribute encrypted (private) messages, plans, and instructions. And these efforts have been quite fruitful; estimates from 2014 say that ISIL was recruiting 20 new members each day, and reports from 2015 suggest that, despite suffering significant losses from airstrikes, the group was nevertheless gaining approximately 1000 new recruits each month." (Shannon et al., 2014)

Robert Manne observes in his book, *The Mind of the Islamic State*, that "the mind of the Islamic State represents the most recent iteration of an ideology that has been developing over the past fifty years." (Manne, R., 2017). Manne went over the previous issues of Dabiq, which was a quarterly online magazine run by ISIS. He found that they were very long and often well-written articles, and he found that the ideology of ISIS in his opinion was "remarkably consistent and internally coherent ideology, no less consistent and coherent than the Marxism– Leninism of the Soviet Union during the era of Stalin..." (Manne, R.,

⁷² <https://www.bmvg.de/de/themen/dossiers/weissbuch/gedanken/islamischer-staat-fragen-und-antworten-12292>

⁷³ <https://www.history.com/topics/21st-century/isis>

2017). One can ascertain from Manne's descriptions of Dabiq that it sought to appeal to a vast majority of people. It included academic articles that featured discussions on principles on Islam, but also images that sought to show ISIS as a force to be reckoned with. The images were of people they had brutally murdered and there were descriptions of their attacks in the West. It also featured a particular portion meant for women, where columns mentioned how to raise children that would be future warriors, etc. Robert Manne also reveals the ties that ISIS has with Sayyid Qutb, who has been mentioned before. "There exists a more or less general consensus that the ideology of the Islamic State is founded upon the prison writings of the revolutionary Egyptian Muslim Brother Sayyid Qutb, in particular some sections of his commentary *In the Shade of the Qur'an*, but most importantly his late visionary work *Milestones*, published in 1964. Qutb argued that the entire world, including the supposedly Muslim states, had fallen into a time of pre-Islamic ignorance, *jahiliyya*, or pagan darkness. He called upon the small number of true Muslims to form a revolutionary vanguard to restore the light of Islam to the world." (Manne, R., 2017). Al-Qaeda and ISIS can be described to differ in terms of their preference for violence. ISIS was going all the way: even shias were not acceptable to ISIS members. Al-Qaeda on the other hand pointed out that the main struggle of the mujahideen was against America. Manne notes that Ayman Al-Zawahiri published his *General Guidelines for Jihad* in which he pointed out that one should only fight the shia in self-defence and that other religious minorities should be left in peace after an Islamic State was established. "Their fight was against the Crusader-Jewish alliance and not against fellow Muslims." (Manne, R., 2017). These differences grew till in 2014, Al-Qaeda cut off all ties with ISIS. "In early June, ISIS conquered Mosul. Controlling considerable territory in the east of Syria and the west of Iraq, on June 29, 2014, it announced that the long-awaited caliphate had been restored." (Manne, R., 2017).

After this, seeing the vast amount of land that ISIS had captured as well as their cruel regime, as well as how they were prospering by taxing residents in Raqqa ((Kreisman, 2017), a joint coalition was made consisting of the USA and other nations such as Britain and France that attempted to support the Syrian Defense Forces to fight against ISIS. While initially the USA said it would play a role that would be advisory in nature, it was seen that US troops were working side by side with rebel groups on the ground. (Nancy A. Youssef, 2017). The assault lasted for four months until finally, ISIS fell and its three year regime

since 2014 of horrific crimes, of “beheadings, crucifixions and torture to terrorise residents” (BBC, 2017) came to an end.

Nonetheless, ISIS is an ideological paradigm, not just a terror group - when ISIS is removed from one locality, that does not ensure that another radical group inspired by ISIS or ISIS itself may not spring up in another region. Such has been the situation in Africa where “sub-Saharan Africa accounts for 48 percent, or 3,461, of the deaths worldwide attributed to ISIS in 2021.” ((Mekhennet, 2022) Another faction of ISIS also sprang up in the Southern Philippines, in the city Marawi, in May 2017. The Philippine Government took decisive action and waged a battle against the IS-inspired Maute group and emerged victorious. There was no direct link proven between ISIS in Syria and ISIS in the Philippines but nonetheless, one can see how even without physical interactions, the actions of ISIS began to inspire terror groups to take up their cause and attempt to establish an Islamic State in different geographical locations.

Questions a resolution must answer

1. What role did Resolutions 1368 and 1373 play in shaping the Global War on Terror?
2. What future strategies should be adopted to counter terrorism?
3. Have nations violated human rights and international law during the war on terror? Should they be brought to trial? If so, how?
4. What will be the future of Guantanamo Bay?
5. Are joint coalition efforts in another country a form of illegal foreign intervention?
6. Using ISIS and Al-Qaeda as case studies, what can be done to ensure similar groups do not form again in other parts of the world?

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Conference and Research Tips

In preparation for the moderated caucus during the conference delegates might be required to submit opening statements which will highlight their country's position on the topic. A speakers list will be opened to member states in order to create a platform that allows engagement, making short comments on the issue at hand.

Typically, delegates will be required to adhere to the rules of procedure when participating in the debate. In preparation for the Conference, each delegate will be required to submit a Position Paper in accordance with the MUIMUN guidelines.

The key to being successful at MUN is thorough and comprehensive preparation. We recommend that all delegates become familiar with the following five areas of study. Each area should be addressed in the following order, as each is progressively more in-depth than the one listed before:

- The UN
- General Background of Country
- The Committee
- The Topic
- Your Country's position on said topic

Delegates, be aware that the objective of your opening speech is to persuade and even convince others and not merely state an opinion. Be aware of the strengths and weaknesses of your cause and that of your opponent. A speech is only heard once and it should leave a strong impression as other speeches will follow, and you want yours to be remembered. Select the most important points and arrange them in ascending order of importance. The final point should be the most important one.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact the committee chair at:
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