



Dear Delegates,

It is with great honour that we welcome you to the United Nations Security Council at the sixth annual University of Toronto Model United Nations conference. Emily is the Director of UNSC and is a first year student hoping to study International Relations at Trinity College doing the Trinity One IR program. She has been involved with MUN for the past three years, including being President at her high school's club. Out of the nine conferences she has attended, five have been with the Security Council. Eli is the Moderator of the committee, and is a first year student hoping to study in Physics and Philosophy. He went to high school in Toronto, during which time he helped to organize his school's Model UN club. He has attended over a dozen Model UN conferences around North America (including UTMUN). Among his most memorable Model UN experiences is the time when Emily invaded and colonized his country within the first few hours of a conference.

This background guide will provide you with basic information and a starting point for your research. Please note that this background guide was written in November 2012, which means that all the following information is up to that point. The topics are interesting as it strays away from the very common topics in the Security Council of Iran, North Korea, or Syria. Instead, you will be able to debate the difficult issues of establishing a functional state in Somalia, identifying a way to resolve the South China Sea dispute, and the transition of Afghanistan after NATO's withdrawal. These are all pressing issues, with the functioning Security Council in New York addressing two of these topics recently. However, the question remains: What will you do to solve these problems? What is the best approach that will be sustainable?

We sincerely look forward to listening to the debate and resolutions- the more creative, the better. Remember, if the Iran Hostage Crisis was partially resolved with the CIA filming a fake movie, there is no limit to your imaginations. If you have any questions at all- whether it be how to research, how to debate, how to write a position paper, or even how to dress, please feel free to email the director at emily.tsui@mail.utoronto.ca. Good luck preparing for the conference, and we look forward meeting you all in February!

Sincerely,
Emily Tsui
UNSC Committee Director

Eli Bourassa
UNSC Committee Moderator

Page | 1



Introduction to the United Nations Security Council

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is one of the principle organs of the United Nations, and carries the most amount of power in the intergovernmental organization. The 192 member organization accepts the decisions of the Council as binding, despite the Council being under criticism for being undemocratic. Regardless, it has survived for 67 years and made considerable efforts to protect peace and security.¹

The structure of the UNSC has been under scrutiny for its inability to balance effectiveness, legitimacy and rights. There are five permanent members of the council, also known as the P5 nations. They include China, France, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and the United States of America. These countries possess 'veto' status, or the ability to block a resolution from passing. The other ten members are non-permanent members, representing different regional blocs and elected to two year terms by the General Assembly. Currently, they are Rwanda, Republic of Korea, Argentina, Australia, Luxembourg, Morocco, Togo, Guatemala, Pakistan, and Azerbaijan.²

Even though the veto power is granted to the P5, since 1990, it has been used sparingly, and only in the most extreme circumstances. The use of veto threatens the function and efficiency of the council, so its use is minimal. From 1945-2009, only 215 resolutions on substantive issues have been vetoed. Instead, its harsh criticism is often derived from the council's general lack of willingness to act.

The primary mandate of the Council is to maintain international peace and security, with the Security Council meeting whenever peace is threatened.³ Should an issue arise that may lead to hostilities, the Council's primary concern is to bring an end to it as soon as possible.

Even though it has been harshly criticized for its lack of response during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda or the Srebrenica massacre of 1995 during the Bosnian War, it has been successful in some of its missions. In 1988, the UNSC was crucial for the full withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.⁴ Resolution 1701* helped to stop the fighting between Hezbollah and Israel in

¹ Edward Luck, "Grading the great experiment," *United Nations Security Council: A Primer* (2006): 24, <http://site.ebrary.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/docDetail.action?docID=10164423> (accessed October 24, 2012).

² United Nations Security Council, "Members of the United Nations Security Council." Last modified 2012. Accessed October 24, 2012. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/members/>.

³ United Nations Security Council, "About the United Nations Security Council." Last modified 2012. Accessed October 24, 2012. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/>.

⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, "Major International Developments." Accessed October 26, 2012.



2006, by creating a plan of withdrawal for the Israeli forces while calling for an extension of peacekeeping forces.⁵

Your task is to mimic these successes and to preserve global security in the following topics. Please remember that debate should be constructive to discuss the situation and potential resolutions to the topics. Also, as in the real world, keep in mind that crisis updates may change the situation.

Bibliography

Luck, Edward. "Grading the great experiment." *United Nations Security Council: A Primer*. (2006): 24. <http://site.ebrary.com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/lib/utoronto/docDetail.action?docID=10164423> (accessed October 24, 2012).

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan, "Major International Developments." Accessed October 26, 2012.

Muravchik, Joshua. "The Effectiveness of the United Nations Security Council." *Council on Foreign Relations*. (2006). <http://www.cfr.org/un/effectiveness-un-security-council/p11520> (accessed October 24, 2012).

United Nations Security Council, "About the United Nations Security Council." Last modified 2012. Accessed October 24, 2012. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/>.

United Nations Security Council, "Members of the United Nations Security Council." Last modified 2012. Accessed October 24, 2012. <http://www.un.org/en/sc/members/>

⁵ Joshua Muravchik, "The Effectiveness of the United Nations Security Council," *Council on Foreign Relations* (2006), <http://www.cfr.org/un/effectiveness-un-security-council/p11520> (accessed October 24, 2012).

Topic #1: Establishing a Functional State in Somalia

Somalia has long been regarded as a failed state. However, in August 2012, Augustine Mahiga, Secretary-General Special Representative for Somalia said: "...there is a blueprint around the constitution which will now begin to build the state from what it used to be: a failed state, which means a non-functioning state."⁶ There is hope, and the UNSC must try and resolve to establish a functional state in Somalia.

History

During the late 19th century, various European powers began to colonize Africa. Notably, the British gained control over northern Somalia and established unrestricted ports. Established in 1897, British Somaliland would rule unchallenged until the 1920s. The Somali religious and patriotic leader Muhammad al-Hasan persistently attacked and rebelled against the British; until his stronghold was bombed by British warplanes. Even today, he still stands as a major figure of national identity in Somalia.

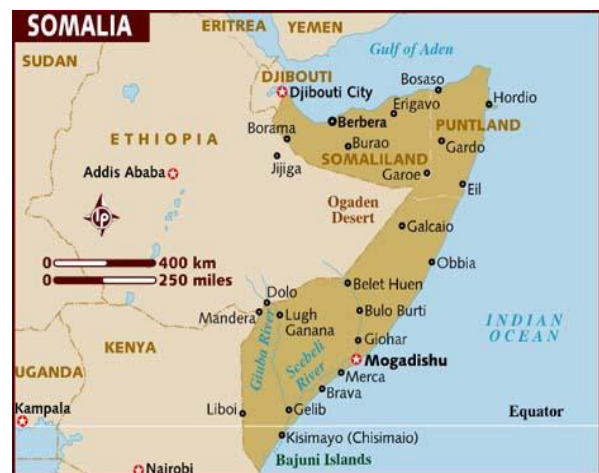


Figure 1: Map of Somalia ("Map of Somalia")

In 1940, during the Second World War, the Italians invaded British Somaliland. However a year later, the British drove out the Italians and brought a large portion of Italian Somaliland under their control. For nine years after, Somalia was under British military administration, which greatly advanced the transition towards self-government. Local courts and planning committees were established under the British parliamentary style of government.⁷

In 1949, the United Nations General Assembly placed Somalia under the Trusteeship Program for 10 years with the eventual goal of Somali Independence. This was achieved on July 1, 1960. Eleven months later, its first national constitution was adopted, creating the premise for a European-modelled democratic state.⁸

⁶ "Interview with Augustine Mahiga, Secretary-General's Special Representative for Somalia." *United Nations News Centre*, August 17, 2012. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/newsmakers.asp?NewsID=67> (accessed October 26, 2012).

⁷ "Somalia." *Background Notes On Countries Of The World: Somalia* (April 20, 2012): 1. *Business Source Premier*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 26, 2012).

⁸ Ibid.

One of the driving ideological forces of Somalia after independence was the Pan-Somali dream of uniting French Somaliland (present day Djibouti), Kenya, and Ethiopia. Yet in an effort to improve foreign relations with these countries, Mohamed Ibrahim Egal, the prime minister from 1967 to 1969, renounced its claim to the Somali populated areas of Ethiopia and Kenya. Angered, the army staged a bloodless coup on October 21, 1969, and Major General Mohamed Siad Barre was installed as the country's president.⁹ The constitutional democratic transition was immediately brought to an end. In its place, he adopted a policy of "scientific socialism" based off the Soviet Union's model.¹⁰

Somalia at a Glance

Capital: Mogadishu

Population: 10,085,638 (July 2012)

Urbanization Rate: 37% of total population

Life Expectancy: 50.8 years

Religion: Sunni Muslim

Literacy: 37.8% of total population; male- 49.7%, females- 25.8% (2001)

Key Exports (Commodities): livestock, bananas, hides, fish, charcoal, scrap metal

Key Imports (Commodities): manufactures, petroleum products, foodstuffs, construction materials

Major Trading Partners: UAE, Yemen, Oman, Djibouti, China, India

Sources: CIA, *The World Factbook*
Congress Country Studies.

To maintain control, Barre suspended political freedoms and used military force to terrorize the Somali population. Somalia's foreign policy became radicalized, and even its friendship with the Soviet Union, established after the coup, ended.

Over the course of the next ten years, guerrilla groups emerged, including the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), the Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF), the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSFD), the Somali National Movement (SNM), United Somali Congress (USC) and many others.¹¹ Many of these groups arose because of their discontent with the Barre regime. By the end of the 1980s, armed opposition had spread towards the central and southern regions. After being displaced by the chaotic military action occurring in their homeland, hundreds of thousands of Somalis claimed refugee status in the surrounding regions.¹²

As a result, Barre's territorial control extended only to Mogadishu and its immediate surroundings. In 1990, the USC and SNM descended onto the capital, leading Barre to declare a state of emergency. As a result, in 1991, he was driven out of power. This subsequently resulted in the collapse of the Somali state. In response to this chaos, the UN authorized Operation Restore Hope, a joint mission by the United States and other

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ "Somalia's Difficult Decade 1980-90." *Library of*

¹² Ibid.

organizations to restore a degree of order and allow aid to be delivered to Somalis. However, with the death of 18 U.S. servicemen, the United States withdrew shortly after.¹³ This set the precedent for US' hesitation to be directly involved with boots on the ground in foreign conflicts.

During this time, various groups vied for power, resulting in a major reconciliation conference in 2000. This three year mandate created the Transitional National Government (TNG). When it expired, the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was established in 2004.¹⁴ Yet, there is still an absence of a central government and U.S.-designated terrorist organisations, such as al-Shabaab, garnered power.¹⁵ Al-Shabaab implemented a harsh interpretation of Shari'a Law and presently rules through intimidation as well as preventing the delivery of humanitarian assistance. Although in the last couple of years their influence has started to wane, they still pose a huge impediment to Somalia's development.

Present Situation

Even though the Somali crisis is complicated, there have been two main recent developments that may change the future of the country: 1) The drafting of a new constitution and 2) The appointment of 275 members to the parliament.¹⁶ The Transitional Federal Government was the internationally recognised government of Somalia until August 20, 2012, when the Federal Parliament of Somalia was inaugurated. During the adoption of the 2012 UNSC Resolution 2067, the Council welcomed the progresses made in Somalia that led to the selection of the president. It urged the expeditious appointment of inclusive government, prime minister, while congratulating the creation of the first permanent central government since the start of the civil war in 1991.¹⁷ The Transitional Government still retains influence; however, acting as the caretaker of the new government, the TFG was not directly elected. The members of the current parliament were selected by their clan chiefs, and have elected a new President, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud, a



Figure 2: Newly elected President Mohamud delivers a speech ("New Somali President narrowly escapes assassination attempt" 2012)

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ "Somalia."

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Wadar Khanfar. "A rare opportunity for Somalia – and the world." *The Guardian*, October 1, 2012.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/oct/01/rare-opportunity-somalia-piracy-terrorism> (accessed October 31, 2012).

¹⁷ United Nations Security Council, "Security Council Welcomes Progress in Somalia That Led to Selection of President, Urges Expeditious Appointment of Inclusive Government, Prime Minister." Last modified 2012. Accessed October 31, 2012.

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sc10768.doc.htm>.

moderate political activist and academic.¹⁸ Later, he is expected to name a Prime Minister, which will help form a new Council of Ministers.



Figure 3: AMISOM police travel to General Kaahiye Police Academy in Mogadishu (AMISOM 2012)

Currently, efforts to address the dire situation in Somalia include the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM). The mandates of this mission are as follows:

1. Support dialogue & reconciliation in Somalia, working with all stakeholders;
2. Provide protection to Transitional Federal Institutions (TFIs) & key infrastructure to enable them carry out their functions;
3. Assist in the implementation of the National Security Stabilization Programme (NSSP);
4. Provide technical assistance & other support to the disarmament and stabilization efforts;
5. Monitor the security situation in areas of operation;
6. Facilitate humanitarian operations including repatriation of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs);
7. Protect AMISOM personnel, installations and equipment, including self-defence.¹⁹

This mission has been cited as relatively effective, accomplishing more than other outside forces to pacify Mogadishu. However, critics have been fast to note that the AU has been hesitant in disclosing the number of dead in Somalia. Information leaked however suggests that this has been one of the deadliest peacekeeping mission of modern time.²⁰

¹⁸ "Somalia." *The New York Times*, October 5, 2012.

<http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/somalia/index.html> (accessed October 31, 2012).

¹⁹ African Union Mission in Somalia, "AMISOM Mandate." Last modified 2012. Accessed October 31, 2012. <http://amisom-au.org/about/amisom-mandate/>.

²⁰ "Somalia" *New York Times*.

It is important to note that the state of Somalia's security does have international ramifications. Pirate attacks in the region cost the world economy more than \$7 billion annually, and almost 50% of the world's trade passes through that region.²¹

Problems Somalia Faces

Somalia faces a number of issues. *Foreign Policy* magazine declared Somalia as number one on its "Failed States Index" for the fifth straight year. However, it also acknowledges that it is not a completely failed state. Somaliland, a quarter of the country's land mass, has separated itself from the rest of the country and is relatively stable and well run. Puntland, a nearby state, is also considered to be relatively stable although not as well run.²² Even



Figure 4: Somali woman holds the flag of Somalia ("Somalia's New Prime Minister Takes Office" 2012)

though half of the country is considered to be satisfactory, the state lacks the institutional capacity. Furthermore, it is a society torn apart by vicious wars and has extremely perplexing regional and international intervention issues. With the arrival of the new Federal Parliament of Somalia, there is hope that this new government may promote stability and security. However as it is relatively new, its muscles have yet to be flexed. Its effectiveness in laying out guarantees for their new Constitution are unknown. Notably, the consistent targeting of media personnel also poses a threat to the development of a free press to the new country. As of October 30, 2012, there have been 18 personnel killed, making it the second highest count in the targeted murder just after Syria.²³

²¹ Khanfar.

²² Richard Dowden. "Letters to Address the Failed States Article." *Foreign Policy*, 2012.
http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/08/13/letters_failed_states_index (accessed October 31, 2012).

²³ David Smith. "Radio dramatist's murder raises Somalia media death toll to 18." *The Guardian*, October 30, 2012.
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/oct/30/radio-dramatist-murder-somalia-media> (accessed October 31, 2012).



Figure 5: Armed members of the Al-Shabaab (Aynti 2012)

Al-Shabaab, the largest militant group fighting the transitional government in Somalia, also threatens the country's development. Government forces found it difficult to fight the organization because the way in which it is structured is generally unknown. Their current known spokesperson is Ahmed Godane. Towards the end of 2011, it has been known that the group broke up into 3 factions.²⁴ Its mandate is to topple the government in order to implement its own strict interpretation of Sharia law. They uphold the global jihadist ideology, believing that their small regional conflict is part of a perceived global religious fight. However, in September 2011, the militants have spilled out across the border into Kenya. This

caused a major issue for the international community because they would target Westerners and Western organisations.²⁵

As of September 2012 however, Kenya has proven to be an effective ally in the fight against al-Shabaab, as Kenyan forces captured one of the central strongholds of the organisation in Kismayu. This was of strategic importance, as the portside fort provided the militants with resources including weapons and the means to accumulate capital. Officially as of September 29, 2012, the militants withdrew from the city, choosing to flee rather than to engage the better equipped Kenyan army. Nonetheless, al-Shabaab warned that Kismayu "shall be transformed from a peaceful city governed by Islamic Shariah into a battle zone."²⁶

Another problem to the development of Somalia is famine. The UN estimates that currently 2 million people still need emergency rations to survive, despite their declaration that their famine ended in early 2012.²⁷ In 2011, famine ravaged the population, growing worse with a cholera epidemic during late August. Hundreds of thousands of Somalis fled to neighbouring countries, including Ethiopia and Kenya, in search of better conditions. This movement is particularly dangerous to refugee women as it has also resulted in the great widespread terror of an alarming increase in rapes and the sexual abuse of women and girls. Reasons behind the



Figure 6: Ugandan soldiers serving in AMISOM (Biryabarema 2012)

²⁴ Stanford University, "Al-Shabab Mapping Militant Organizations." Last modified October 9, 2012. Accessed October 31, 2012. <http://www.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/61>.

²⁵ "Somalia" New York Times.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

extent of these problems have included al-Shabaab's intervention in preventing the access of international aid for the people. The uses of women by the militants have also been done as a way to increase their own soldier's morale, and to terrorize the populace into submission. During these movements, this problem is compounded by the other armed groups. Even though efforts have been made to distribute aid or protect women, the geography of Somalia has proven to be inconvenient as large portions of land are desert, making communication and distribution logistically difficult.²⁸

Country Positions

United States of America: The USA was involved ahead of the 1992 UN Peacekeeping Mission in Somalia. Its goal was to protect the shipment of relief resources being sent there, as well as to restore order. However in 1994, two US helicopters were shot down by Somali militia, resulting in the US withdrawal in the region.²⁹ Since then, the US has been hesitant to get involved in Somalia. After the election of Mohamud as President to the Federal Government, the US government sent formal congratulations to the leader.³⁰

United Kingdom: The 1963 dispute over Kenya's northeastern region near Somalia led the Somalis to sever diplomatic ties with Britain. Since then, relations have much improved, with the UK government formally congratulating the appointment of the Council of Ministers by the Transitioning Government.³¹

China: Most of Somalia's and China's relations are trade-related that can be traced back to before medieval times. Even though most Chinese nationals left Somalia during 1991, a small number still remain. China supported the UNSC resolution to extend the AU mission in Somalia and actively participated in meetings of the Contact Group on Piracy off the Coast of Somalia since 2009.³²

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ "Somalia Profile: A chronology of key events." *BBC News*, October 24, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14094632> (accessed November 14, 2012).

³⁰ "U.S. congratulates Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud on becoming Somalia's new president." *Horseed Media*, September 11, 2012. <http://horseedmedia.net/2012/09/11/u-s-congratulates-hassan-sheikh-mohamoud-on-becoming-somalias-new-president/> (accessed November 14, 2012).

³¹ British Office for Somalia, "UK in Somalia." Last modified 2012. Accessed November 14, 2012. <http://ukinsomalia.fco.gov.uk/en/>.

³² Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "China and Somalia." Last modified August 22, 2010. Accessed November 14, 2012. <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjfb/zjzg/fzs/gjlb/3089/t16575.htm>.



Russian Federation: Russia generally supports the UNSC in fast-tracking Kenya's involvement to AMISOM as recommended by the council and regional blocs.³³

France: France's official mission in Mogadishu was closed in June 1993, but instead, its diplomatic ties remain open in their embassy in Nairobi. France supports AMISOM, with more than 10,000 Burundian and Ugandan soldiers trained by the French army. In 2009, the French government provided 35 million euros to the nation as part of its involvement in the UN and the European Development Fund.³⁴

With the election of the new African nations to the Security Council, it is important to recognize that they have some of the best firsthand knowledge of the situation in the region.

Questions to Address

How can the United Nations Security Council promote security in the country and maintain order?

Should there be international intervention to enforce security?

To what extent should governments sponsor NGO involvement in the region?

Where can the lines be drawn between the responsibility to protect (R2P) and infringing on national sovereignty?

Suggested External Sources (Attached with website links for your reference)

Resolution 2067 (2012)- The UNSC Resolution adopted on September 18, 2012 in regards to the Somali Crisis: [http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2067\(2012\)](http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2067(2012))

Resolution 2036 (2012)- The UNSC Resolution adopted on February 22, 2012 to expand troop involvement in Somalia: <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2012/sc10550.doc.htm>

The Guardian, UK- News updates in Somalia: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/somalia>

The Telegraph, UK- "Al-Capone" strategy to defeat piracy: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/piracy/9633408/Al-Capone-strategy-to-defeat-piracy.html>

³³ "Russia backs efforts to stabilise Somalia." *CapitalFM News*. (2012). <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2012/02/russia-backs-efforts-to-stabilise-somalia/> (accessed November 14, 2012).

³⁴ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of France, "France and Somalia." Last modified April 18, 2011. Accessed November 14, 2012. <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/somalia/france-and-somalia/>.



United Nations Security Council Resolutions adopted in 2012- 3 recent resolutions on Somalia:
<http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/2012.shtml>

Another excellent way to look at the progression of events in countries is to go to the website of a news agency and type in the country of topic of interest.



Bibliography

African Union Mission in Somalia, "AMISOM Mandate." Last modified 2012. Accessed October 31, 2012. <http://amisom-au.org/about/amisom-mandate/>.

allAfrica, "Somalia's New Prime Minister Takes Office." Last modified October 18, 2012. Accessed November 14, 2012. <http://allafrica.com/view/group/main/main/id/00020148.html>.

AMISOM, Last modified 2012. Accessed October 31, 2012. <http://amisom-au.org/2012/10/4784/>.

Aynti, Abdi. Royal African Society, "Understanding The Al-Shabaab/Al-Qaeda 'Merger'." Last modified 2012. Accessed November 14, 2012. <http://africanarguments.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/shabaab.jpg>.

Biryabarema, Elias. "Uganda says to pull out troops from Somalia over Congo charges." *Reuters*, November 3, 2012. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/11/03/ozatp-uganda-congo-un-idAFJOE8A200320121103> (accessed November 14, 2012).

British Office for Somalia, "UK in Somalia." Last modified 2012. Accessed November 14, 2012. <http://ukinsomalia.fco.gov.uk/en/>.

"Interview with Augustine Mahiga, Secretary-General's Special Representative for Somalia." *United Nations News Centre*, August 17, 2012. <http://www.un.org/apps/news/newsmakers.asp?NewsID=67> (accessed October 26, 2012).

Khanfar, Wadar. "A rare opportunity for Somalia – and the world." *The Guardian*, October 1, 2012. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/oct/01/rare-opportunity-somalia-piracy-terrorism> (accessed October 31, 2012).

The London Evening Post, "New Somali President narrowly escapes assassination attempt." Last modified 2012. Accessed October 31, 2012. <http://www.thelondoneveningpost.com/new-somali-president-narrowly-escapes-assassination-attempt/>.

Lonely Planet, "Map of Somalia." Accessed October 31, 2012. http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/africa/somalia/map_of_somalia.jpg.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "China and Somalia." Last modified August 22, 2010. Accessed November 14, 2012. <http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjb/zzjg/fzs/gjlb/3089/t16575.htm>.



Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of France, "France and Somalia." Last modified April 18, 2011. Accessed November 14, 2012. <http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/country-files/somalia/france-and-somalia/>.

"Russia backs efforts to stabilise Somalia." *CapitalFM News*. (2012). <http://www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2012/02/russia-backs-efforts-to-stabilise-somalia/> (accessed November 14, 2012).

"Somalia." *The New York Times*, October 5, 2012. <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/news/international/countriesandterritories/somalia/index.html> (accessed October 31, 2012).

"Somalia's Difficult Decade 1980-90." *Library of Congress Country Studies*.

"Somalia Profile: A chronology of key events." *BBC News*, October 24, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14094632> (accessed November 14, 2012).

United Nations Security Council, "Security Council Welcomes Progress in Somalia That Led to Selection of President, Urges Expeditious Appointment of Inclusive Government, Prime Minister." Last modified 2012. Accessed October 31, 2012. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2012/sc10768.doc.htm>.

"U.S. congratulates Hassan Sheikh Mohamoud on becoming Somalia's new president." *Horseed Media*, September 11, 2012. <http://horseedmedia.net/2012/09/11/u-s-congratulates-hassan-sheikh-mohamoud-on-becoming-somalias-new-president/> (accessed November 14, 2012).

Topic #2: The South China Sea Dispute



Figure 7: Sovereignty Claims in the South China Sea ("Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China" 2012)

Author Zijan Lu's statement "Chinese leaders realized in modern nationalist era, territorial integrity within clearly defined borders is an imperative for national security and independence," excellently captures the situation in the South China Seas. The desire by the Chinese government, since 1949, to hold onto its territory in the region has caused much tension with its neighbours, and the stability of world order.

History

The creation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 created the historical legacy of having ill-defined boundaries that would haunt the region for decades to come. When the Communist Party took power, their boundaries were vague, and the government created a set of provisions that would allow them to renegotiate power.³⁵ Today, many of these problems remain, most notably being recent in the news the issue of Spratly islands. It is most important to note that in understanding the nature of these disputes, it is paramount to study the history.

There are four main regions where the South China Sea dispute is rested on: the Paracel Islands, the Spratly Islands, the Pratas Islands and the Macclesfield Bank. For this discussion of its dispute, the Pratas and Macclesfield are not as important to the issue. Claims in the South China Sea are by China, Taiwan, Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei. All claimants except Brunei have occupied islands or rocks and have built structures on them. The importance of staking these claims is that the state in control can claim territorial integrity and Exclusive Economic Zones from these islands.³⁶ These established zones could allow for living and non-living resource to be exploited and marine scientific research. China's claims to the Paracel and Spratly Islands rest on its history. The EEZ also allows for coastal states to assert their right and enforce domestic laws such as banning surveys against ships.³⁷



Figure 8: Spratly Archipelago (Longbottom 2012)

³⁵ Zijan Lu, *China's policy towards territorial disputes: the case of the South China Sea Islands*, (London: Routledge, 1989), 1-18.

³⁶ Brian Job, "Canada-Asia Agenda," *Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada* (2012): 1-8.

³⁷ Ibid.



Figure 9: Official Portrait of President Quirino ("Quirino Elpidio" 2007)

The Chinese established their presence in the region back during the Song Dynasty (960-1279), and in the modern era, the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) had reaffirmed its position.³⁸ The PRC claims virtually all of the South China Sea, but historically, they made the distinction between inner and outer ocean. It is important to note that it was not until the late nineteenth century that China would begin claiming exclusive sovereignty over that maritime region.³⁹ The first modern claims to the land were made by China in 1902; and France in 1931. The latter began construction on early Vietnamese claims to the region to erect marks of ownership. China protested against this, but did not pursue counter-action. Vietnam's claim to the South China Sea started in 1816, when they began planting flags and placed marks of authority in the Paracel region. Although some ethnic Chinese and Vietnamese stayed on the larger parts of the territories for an extended period of time, there were no permanent settlements established there. The Paracel Islands therefore acted as a defense mechanism between China and

Vietnam.⁴⁰

During the Second World War, the Japanese invaded and annexed the French territories in the region and asserted their claims to the region. By 1951 however, Japan lost interest and renounced its claims shortly after France let its claim expire.⁴¹ In May 1950, Philippine President Quirino stated that the occupation of the Spratly Islands by an enemy would threaten their national security. In retaliation, the People's Daily countered the remark by denouncing it as propaganda and reaffirming its position to retain control over the land. However, as it was reported by a news source, it was not seen as official. In 1951, a lengthy statement was issued during the San Francisco Peace Conference by a representative of China's Foreign Minister, which indicated that China wished for all neighbouring countries to renounce their claims to the Spratly, Macclesfield, Paracels and Prata islands.⁴² The official Chinese newspaper during 1951 had a commentary which outlined China's historical



Figure 10: Soldiers of the People's Liberation Army (Hao 2009)

³⁸ Lu, 1-18.

³⁹ "Conflict Over the South China Sea: Identity Politics Meets History," *The George Washington University Sigur Centre for Asian Studies* (2012), http://www.risingpowersinitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/policycommentary_mar2012_southchinasea.pdf (accessed November 15, 2012).

⁴⁰ "Conflict"

⁴¹ "Conflict"

⁴² Lu, 27.

legitimacy to the region, and pointed out that foreign claims to the land has been consistently rejected to the Chinese Nationalist government.⁴³

A few years later in 1956, China restated its claim to sovereignty over the Spratly Islands. In the same year however, the Philippines indicated that the land should be theirs because of the proximity to their nation. A year later, the South Vietnamese government also issued claims to the area by planting flags and setting up landmarks. From May 1959 to December 1971, China released more than 200 warnings to the United States for its violation of the territorial airspace and waters of the Paracel Islands.⁴⁴

Present Situation



Figure 11: ASEAN Member Nations
("ASEAN wants World Cup 2030" 2011)

In more recent history, the countries have taken different unilateral actions on the region in attempt to exert displays of territorial control. There is a perception by the claimant states that in order to maintain a claim to disputed territory or maritime space, they must act to enforce jurisdiction in contested areas, as claims have been a political imperative to national defence and as part of a state's national identity.⁴⁵ Since 1999, China has unilaterally banned fishing in their claimed regions of the South China Sea. In 2008, Vietnam staged elections in the Spratly Islands, where it elected deputies to its National Assembly and People's Council. However, China denounced these elections, stating that it violated a code of conduct for the South China Sea signed by ASEAN and China.

In 2012, China announced that their own election in the Spratly Islands meant that Xiao Jie was elected as the first mayor of Sansha City. Members of the Municipal People's Congress, operated by China, were also elected. The purpose of this was to administer over 200 islets, sandbanks in the region.⁴⁶ For the past few years in particular, Beijing has used tough language to reassert its claims, stating that it was vital that they take action so as to not lose territory.⁴⁷

⁴³ Lu, 18.

⁴⁴ Lu, 28-30.

⁴⁵ Job.

⁴⁶ "China: Mayor, officials elected for new Chinese city in Spratlys." *GMA News*, July 24, 2012.

<http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/266505/news/nation/china-mayor-officials-elected-for-new-chinese-city-in-spratlys> (accessed November 15, 2012).

⁴⁷ Bonnie Glaser. "Armed Clash in the South China Sea." *Foreign Affairs*, April 2012. <http://www.cfr.org/east-asia/armed-clash-south-china-sea/p27883> (accessed November 15, 2012).

The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) attempted to settle the disputes in the region. It appropriated some territory to different countries, while stating that unresolved claims should be resolved through peaceful negotiation. However, the United States believes that there is nothing in UNCLOS which prohibits military intervention, claiming there is nothing in the treaty which prevents the United States from conducting military activities in the EEZ.⁴⁸ China is furious by this interpretation, stating that actions in that region violate domestic and international law. Although located across the world, the United States does have a vested interest in the region, because of the energy potential, as well as its 1951 Mutual Defence Treaty with the Philippines, which stated, "Each Party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on either of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common dangers in accordance with its constitutional processes." However, Washington insists it does not want to be involved in the dispute and will not take sides in the disputed claims.⁴⁹

It is also very important to note that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has fostered dialogue between the nations in effort to resolve disputes. As mentioned earlier, China and the other 10 members of ASEAN promised to resolve their territorial and jurisdictional disputes by peaceful means without resorting to the threat or the use of force through signing a joint declaration.⁵⁰ Many of the countries have conducted bilateral talks to resolve their disputes; however there have been little concrete results. In April 2012, a summit of foreign ministers representing ASEAN member states met in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, to discuss the creation of a multinational agreement to ease tensions. Unfortunately the summit ended in rising tempers, as the nations were unable to agree on the language used to produce a report.⁵¹ The lack of co-operation in the region has left much of the international community in disillusionment, as foreign nations try to strengthen their own national interests in the region. However there is hope, as in September 2012, Indonesia



Figure 12: ASEAN Summit, April 2012 ("20th ASEAN Summit opens in Phnom Penh, Cambodia" 2012)

⁴⁸ Glaser.

⁴⁹ Glaser.

⁵⁰ U.S. Energy Information and Distribution, "South China Sea." Last modified 2008. Accessed November 15, 2012. <http://www.eia.gov/countries/regions-topics.cfm?fips=SCS>.

⁵¹ Patrick Barta. "Sea Dispute Upends Asian Summit." *Wall Street Journal*, July 23, 2012.

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303919504577524133983292716.html> (accessed November 15, 2012).

indicated that it had begun drafting a code of conduct for the South China Sea, which it is hoped would be vital in order to resolve the mounting tensions.⁵²

Main Issues to Consider

Although a regional dispute, the issue in the South China Sea does have international ramifications. It challenges the economic stability of foreign nations by adding difficulty to trade. It also strongly impacts for diplomatic relations in the international community. Countries, such as the United States are hesitant to take sides and ally themselves with one nation as there may be repercussions, military or economic, from another state.⁵³ The issue of maritime security is also a problem. The South China Sea has a history of violence, as fishing boats from one country are often harassed, which results in civilian deaths. Many residents of that region heavily rely on fishing as a source of food and income. The inability of countries to settle claims have also resulted in military action and violence, the most serious occurring between China and Vietnam. In 1974, China captured and invaded the Paracel Islands from Vietnam. Fourteen years later, 70 Vietnamese sailors died during a confrontation with the Chinese army when they sunk several Vietnamese ships in the Spratly Islands.⁵⁴

The South China Sea is known for its richness in natural resources such as oil and natural gas. Coincidentally, Asia's robust economic growth meant that there is a drastic increase in demand for energy in that region. According to the United States Energy Information Administration "oil consumption in developing Asian countries is expected to rise by 2.7 percent annually from about 14.8 million barrels per day (MMbbl/d) in 2004 to nearly 29.8 MMbbl/d by 2030. China is expected to account for almost half the growth."⁵⁵ This has made the land quite valuable, and consequently make sovereignty claims to be a more pressing issue than ever. Furthermore, as a third of the world's shipping passes through the waters, it is imperative that there be maritime security in order to ensure economic stability.

Delegates should keep these issues in mind when discussing how to settle the disputes in the South China Sea, as well as the relevance that UNCLOS has.

Claims by Country

UNCLOS- United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea. This 1982 convention created a number of guidelines concerning the status of islands, continental shelves, exclusive economic

⁵² Matthew Pennington, "Indonesia Floats South China Sea Draft at UN," *The Irrawaddy* (2012), <http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/14908> (accessed November 15, 2012).

⁵³ Job.

⁵⁴ U.S. Energy Information.

⁵⁵ U.S. Energy Information.

zones (EEZ), enclosed seas, and territorial limits. This chart was prepared by the United States' Department of Energy Information and Distribution.⁵⁶

Country	South China Sea	Spratly Islands	Paracell Islands	Gulf of Thailand
<i>Brunei</i>	UNCLOS	no formal claim	no	n/a
<i>Cambodia</i>	not applicable (n/a)	n/a	n/a	UNCLOS
<i>China</i>	all*	all	all	n/a
<i>Indonesia</i>	UNCLOS	no	no	n/a
<i>Malaysia</i>	UNCLOS	3 islands	no	UNCLOS
<i>Philippines</i>	significant portions	8 islands	no	n/a
<i>Taiwan</i>	all*	all	all	n/a
<i>Thailand</i>	n/a	n/a	n/a	UNCLOS
<i>Vietnam</i>	all*	all	all	UNCLOS

*excluding buffer zone along littoral states (calculations for buffer unknown)

Country Positions

China: China claims that it has “indisputable sovereignty” over the Nansha (Spratly) Islands and adjacent waters. It is vital to their national interest that they do not give up their territorial claims, as they claim it is part of their identity. China looks to establish a People’s Liberation Army garrison in the Spratly Islands, as well as finding other methods to assert their claims.

United States of America: The US has a strategic interest in stability of the region, because of its economic significance. Should a war break out between parties in the South China Sea, trade would be seriously impeded, and the already damaged US economy would be even further hurt. It should be noted that Beijing is US’s strategic rival, and the US would not look favourably toward Chinese domination of the region as it poses a threat to US economic power.⁵⁷ Their official policy is that they will not take sides in the dispute.

⁵⁶ U.S. Energy Information and Distribution, “South China Sea.” Last modified 2008. Accessed November 15, 2012. <http://www.eia.gov/countries/regions-topics.cfm?fips=SCS>.

⁵⁷ “US shows its maritime resolve in disputed South China Sea, sending signal to Beijing Read more: <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2012/10/19/us-shows-its-maritime-resolve-in-disputed-south-china-sea-sending-signal-to/>

Russian Federation: Russia has similar interests as the United States, but it would not oppose Chinese domination in the region as much to the extreme as the United States would.

Republic of Korea: Korea has gotten directly involved in the dispute as this challenges the extent of their Exclusive Economic Zone. It has also gotten involved with arguments against Japan, with their tensions recently flaring in August 2012 as the South Korean President stepped foot on disputed territory.⁵⁸

Questions to Address

How should disputes in international maritime law concerning sovereignty be addressed?

How do these arguments shape cultural identity in Asia today?

What actions can the United Nations Security Council take in conjunction with ASEAN to resolve the dispute?

How can a backbone be created for UNCLOS?

What kind of intervention, if any, is necessary?

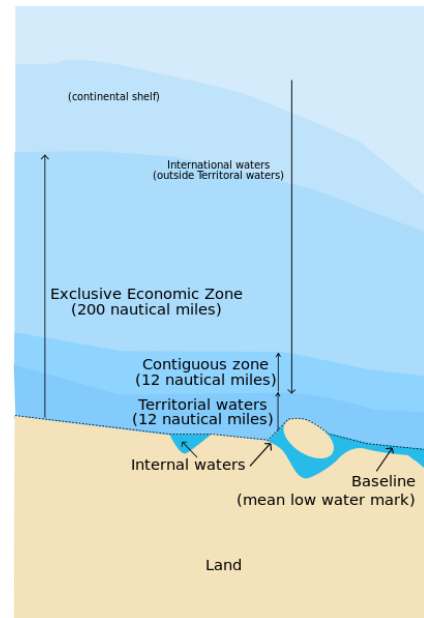


Figure 13: Sea Areas according to UNCLOS ("United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea" 2006)

Suggested External Sources (Attached with website links for your reference)

Department of Defense, United States of America: Annual report to Congress regarding the military and security developments involving the PRC 2010-2011
http://www.defense.gov/pubs/pdfs/2011_CMPR_Final.pdf

The Economist: South China Sea Dispute Article Database
<http://www.economist.com/topics/south-china-sea>

United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea, 1989
http://www.un.org/Depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/unclos_e.pdf

United States Department of Energy Information and Communication: Reactions of SCS neighbouring countries <http://www.eia.gov/countries/regions-topics.cfm?fips=SCS>

⁵⁸ Andrew Quinn, "Clinton urges cool heads in Japan-South Korea island dispute," *MSNBC* (2012), http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/48959089/ns/world_news-asia_pacific/t/clinton-urges-cool-heads-japan-south-korea-island-dispute/

Bibliography

"20th ASEAN Summit opens in Phnom Penh, Cambodia." *People's Daily Online*, April 3, 2012. <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/mediafile/201204/03/F201204031420045845189692.jpg> (accessed November 15, 2012).

Barta, Patrick. "Sea Dispute Upends Asian Summit." *Wall Street Journal*, July 23, 2012. <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052702303919504577524133983292716.html> (accessed November 15, 2012).

"Conflict Over the South China Sea: Identity Politics Meets History." *The George Washington University Sigur Centre for Asian Studies*. (2012). http://www.risingpowersinitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/policycommentary_mar2012_southchinasea.pdf (accessed November 15, 2012).

Glaser, Bonnie. "Armed Clash in the South China Sea." *Foreign Affairs*, April 2012. <http://www.cfr.org/east-asia/armed-clash-south-china-sea/p27883> (accessed November 15, 2012).

Hao, Yan. "Chinese PLA targets on defense might in multidimensional battlefields after 82-year development." *Xin Hua Net*, August 1, 2009. http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2009-08/01/content_11810700.htm (accessed November 15, 2012).

Job, Brian. "Canada-Asia Agenda." *Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada*. (2012): 1-8.

Longbottom, Will. "Dispute Dispute over oil rich islands in South China Sea could escalate into 'state-on-state conflict', U.S. admiral." *Maritime Security Asia*, January 18, 2012. <http://maritimesecurity.asia/free-2/south-china-sea-2/dispute-over-oil-rich-islands-in-south-china-sea-could-escalate-into-state-on-state-conflict-u-s-admiral-warns/> (accessed November 15, 2012).

Office of the Secretary of Defence, United States, "Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China." Last modified 2012. Accessed November 14, 2012. http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/middle_east_and_asia/china_sovereignty_claims_in_the_south_china_sea-2012.png.

Pennington, Matthew. "Indonesia Floats South China Sea Draft at UN." *The Irrawaddy*. (2012). <http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/14908> (accessed November 15, 2012).

Quinn, Andrew. "Clinton urges cool heads in Japan-South Korea island dispute." *MSNBC*. (2012). http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/48959089/ns/world_news-asia_pacific/t/clinton-urges-cool-heads-japan-south-korea-island-dispute/

TR Weekly, "ASEAN wants World Cup 2030." Last modified 2011. Accessed November 15, 2012. <http://www.ttrweekly.com/site/wp-content/uploads/2011/01/World-Cup-2030.png>.

U.S. Energy Information and Distribution, "South China Sea." Last modified 2008. Accessed November 15, 2012. <http://www.eia.gov/countries/regions-topics.cfm?fips=SCS>.

"US shows its maritime resolve in disputed South China Sea, sending signal to Beijing Read more: <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2012/10/19/us-shows-its-maritime-resolve-in-disputed-south-china-sea-sending-signal-to/>

Wikipedia, "United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea." Last modified 2006. Accessed November 15, 2012. <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/7d/Zonmar-en.svg/402px-Zonmar-en.svg.png>.

WikiPilipinas, "Quirino Elpidio." Last modified 2007. Accessed November 15, 2012. http://en.wikipilipinas.org/images/7/77/Ph_pres_quirino.jpg.

Zijian Lu, *China's policy towards territorial disputes: the case of the South China Sea Islands*, (London: Routledge, 1989), 1-18.

Topic #3: Afghan Transition After NATO's Withdrawal



Figure 14: Map of Afghanistan ("Map of Afghanistan" 2012)

"9/11 was a wake-up call. It made clear that the major threats to NATO allies no longer emanated from Europe...but from regions outside of the 'old continent.' ... If NATO was to continue to provide for the security of its member states in a world of globalized insecurity, the alliance had to leave behind the traditional geographical approach to security. And it had to be prepared to tackle problems at their source."⁵⁹

History

The framers of NATO could have never imagined Afghanistan to be their worst battleground of the twenty-first century. In the post-9/11 era, international security, particularly in Afghanistan, has been a topic of strong importance on many countries' agenda. After al-Qaeda's attacks on the United

States, NATO invoked Article 5 in their Charter.⁶⁰ The Bush administration did not initially call on NATO, but instead asked the United Nations to authorize NATO allies to help with the operation.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1386 on December 20th 2001 established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) with a mandate to "assist the Afghan Interim Authority in the maintenance of security in Kabul and its surrounding areas, so that the Afghan Interim Authority as well as the personnel of the United Nations can operate in a secure environment."⁶¹ This mission was a UN-sanctioned



Figure 15: ISAF Logo (Wikipedia)

⁵⁹ A. Minuto-Rizzo, "NATO's transformation and new principles: The Mediterranean," *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 18, no. 3 (2007): 1-17.

⁶⁰ Stanley Sloan, "NATO in Afghanistan," *UNISCI Discussion Papers*, 32 (2010): 35, <http://search.proquest.com/docview/224075813?accountid=14771> (accessed November 15, 2012).

⁶¹ Sloan.

peacekeeping force, with a peace-enforcement mandate under Chapter VII of the Charter. When it was established, it only had about 4,500 troops which were mostly European.⁶² UK originally accepted initial responsibility for operation's command. The command rotated between member states and after a six-month period, ISAF was under Turkey's command. By the end of 2002, Germany and Netherlands held a joint command when the mandate of the mission expanded with the attempt of extending the authority of the central government to the provinces.⁶³ This proposition was met with resistance by the United States and some Afghan regions, with the latter having the fear of an erosion of Afghanistan's sovereignty and a marginalization of its own forces. The US was worried that it would weaken its own ability to command its forces.

Afghanistan at a Glance

Capital: Kabul

Population: 30,419,928 (2012)

President: Hamid Karzai

Languages: Dari Persian, Pashto

Religion: Sunni Muslim, Shia Muslim

Sources: CIA, *The World Factbook*,

While the ISAF was being established, the US and military allies continued the military Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), which acted under the umbrella priority of the combat on the Global War of Terror.⁶⁴ This Operation was created by the US in October 2001 following the 9/11 attacks. Originally, the ISAF and OEF coalition operated in separate command structures.

The Bush administration began a more aggressive policy to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq, which resulted in military operations in that area beginning in 2003. In April of that year, NATO assumed command of ISAF. This was a controversial move, as not even half a decade earlier, the Europeans resisted involvement in military operations beyond Europe.⁶⁵ Yet this new assumption of command was met with little dissent, and would pose to be a great test on NATO's effectiveness.

In December 2004, NATO's role in Afghanistan was expanded with a goal of providing security across the entire country. The operation was organized around 5 conceptual phases, which were: I- Assessment and preparation, II- Geographic expansion through Afghanistan, III- Stabilization, IV- Transition to domestically provided security, and V- Redeployment of ISAF troops.⁶⁶

⁶² Najibullah Lafraie, "NATO in Afghanistan: Perilous mission, dire ramifications," *International Politics*, 46, no. 5 (2009): 550-572.

⁶³ Sloan.

⁶⁴ Sloan.

⁶⁵ Sloan.

⁶⁶ Sloan.

ISAF's main organizational method was through the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT), which were local methods aimed at fulfilling the goals of the UN mandate. Many of these teams had staff to train the Afghan security forces, as well as providing health care, education, police training and agricultural development to the people in the region.⁶⁷ Critics of this program stated that PRTs have left large territories unprotected and unaided, while politically imposing caveats beyond their assigned mandate. Lines between aid workers and combatants have been blurred, which threatened the safety of NGO staff as their neutrality was compromised. However, the PRT program emphasized the need for a method of reconstruction and development which would provide a sustainable future for Afghan infrastructure, economy, educational opportunities, public health programs and modern legal systems.⁶⁸ NATO's role in Afghanistan is not exclusive to PRTs and military operations, and is comprehensive to fulfilling political-military objectives in Afghanistan, liaison meetings with the Afghan government, civil society, representatives of the international community and neighbouring countries.⁶⁹

Present Situation and Looking Forward

NATO's involvement in Afghanistan has been regarded as a true test for the alliance, as the impact it has on transatlantic relationships and relations on the Muslim world with the West is extremely significant. The task of establishing a legitimate,

Figure 16: Afghan President Karzai shakes hands with NATO Secretary General Rasmussen after a joint press conference in Kabul (Lekic 2012)

transparent and centralized government in Afghanistan is a serious problem as Afghanistan has a long history of resembling a failed state. Rule of law and security have traditionally been administered in an ad-hoc fashion, with almost no standardization. The new Afghan constitution, ratified in January 2004, called for the creation of the office of presidency as well as a legislature. It laid the framework guaranteeing equal rights for men and women, as well as



⁶⁷ Sloan.
⁶⁸ Sloan.
⁶⁹ Lafraie.

creating a foundation for Sunni Islamic law. The international government recognized this government, despite evidence of widespread voter fraud. This establishment of government came under harsh criticism however, as it became known that the regime was fraught with corruption and there were serious flaws which undermined the rule of law, operational justice systems, human security, local governance, and democratic values.⁷⁰

Since the inception of SCR 1386, the ISAF has existed parallel but separate from OEF. In 2009, the OEF continued as a counter-insurgency combat operation with 38,500 troops under US command, while the ISAF was mandated by the UN to provide security and development for Afghanistan.⁷¹ The advancement of the mission to stage four meant that NATO assumed responsibility for providing security for the entire country, which made it difficult to distinguish the two operations. Because of this, parts of the OEF and ISAF commands were consolidated, which allowed for the development of similar strategy and tactics in order to most successfully accomplish their missions.

As of July 2012, fifty nations have contributed troops to the mission, which work alongside the 28 NATO allies.⁷² These nations work together to see to the success of the ISAF. The last part of the mission, launched in 2011, is due to expire at the end of 2014. Its goal is to transition Afghanistan to full security responsibility.⁷³ NATO has stated that its involvement in Afghanistan will not end in 2014, but



Figure 17: US soldiers in Afghanistan (Wikipedia)

instead will continue to provide support to Afghan security forces post-2014. Counter-

terrorism forces will remain, whether it take on a direct or advisory role. President Obama has pledged to remove most of 68,000 U.S. troops that are presently there.⁷⁴ Any involvement, in order to guarantee success of the region, must focus on, in a national level, a stable political

⁷⁰ Seth Jones, *Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan*, (Arlington: RAND Counterinsurgency Study, 2008), 80.

⁷¹ Sloan.

⁷² North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "NATO and Afghanistan." Last modified September 26, 2012. Accessed November 15, 2012. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_8189.htm.

⁷³ "NATO and Afghanistan."

⁷⁴ Tony Capaccio. "Dunford Sees Some U.S. Military in Afghanistan Post-2014." *Bloomberg News*, November 15, 2012. <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-11-15/dunford-sees-some-u-dot-s-dot-military-in-afghanistan-post-2014> (accessed November 15, 2012).

transition. After that, efforts could be focused on national logistics, intelligence, police and leader training, administration support, etc.⁷⁵

On Thursday, November 15, 2012, the United States began talks with Afghanistan which would authorize an American force present in the region after their scheduled withdrawal in 2014. The aim of these talks is to keep a small force in Afghanistan to protect against terrorist threats and advise security forces. Successful talks would prove to the international community and Afghanistan that the US still had a vested interest in the protection of Afghans. Domestic challengers to this stated that they wanted a guarantee of American immunity in Afghan courts.⁷⁶

On October 9, 2012, the UNSC unanimously adopted Resolution 2069, which approves a one year extension for ISAF.⁷⁷

Major Issues

Complications emerged beginning in 2007 with the spillover of command in the Taliban to Pakistan areas. Until the second half of 2009, the Pakistani government was unwilling or unable to take on the Taliban, perhaps because of the mass movement of people across the borders each day. Pakistan's involvement poses a challenge to the ISAF as stability can never be established in Afghanistan unless Pakistan controls its border and resolves its own issues with terrorist insurgencies.⁷⁸

NATO's main challenges when fighting the Talibans or other insurgent groups include:

- 1- The changing tactics of the Taliban,
- 2- The Taliban's sanctuary in Pakistan,
- 3- NATO's civilian casualties (In the first 6 months of 2007, more than 500 civilians were killed by NATO and US forces in Afghanistan),
- 4- NATO's lack of local knowledge and lack of motivation,

⁷⁵ David McGregor, "The NATO Mission in Afghanistan Post 2014: The Transformation Decade," *NATO Defense College* (2012), http://securitymanagementinitiative.org/files/NATO_CR_sep2012.pdf (accessed November 15, 2012).

⁷⁶ Michael Gordon. "U.S. in Talks With Afghans on Presence After 2014." *The New York Times*, November 15, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/16/world/asia/us-in-talks-with-afghans-on-presence-after-2014.html?_r=0 (accessed November 21, 2012).

⁷⁷ "Adopting Resolution, Security Council Unanimously Approves One-Year Extension for International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan." *UN Department of Public Information*, October 9, 2012. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2012/sc10786.doc.htm> (accessed November 26, 2012).

⁷⁸ Sloan.

- 5- Involvement of the Taliban in the drug trade, specifically with opium,
- 6- Weaknesses of the Afghan security forces,
- 7- Weaknesses of the Afghan government,
- 8- Afghan's collective memory of foreign invasions.⁷⁹

When NATO withdraws, these collective problems will have to be combatted by the Afghan government. Currently, the Afghan security



Figure 18: NATO Countries ("80 percent of Afghanistan free of violence: NATO general" 2012)

forces number at 173,000 soldiers and 130,000 police. NATO has 130,000 members in the region, and currently helps to suppress the militants there. The public is divided on whether by 2014 Afghan security forces will be ready.⁸⁰ Furthermore, another issue that may threaten a peaceful transition was that previous elections were widely characterized as having a lack of security, violence, extremely low voter turnout and widespread electoral fraud. With the next presidential election schedule to take place in 2014, citizens wonder how the legitimacy of democracy can be ensured.

Any premature NATO pullout from the country may result in an irresponsible form of continuing rampant crime and illegal drug production.⁸¹ Afghanistan currently supplies over 90% of the world's opium, a raw ingredient of heroin. The UN Office on Drugs and Crimes has reported that the drug trade has generated about \$100 million a year for the Taliban insurgency. The office also called on the country to target the

⁷⁹ LaFraie.

⁸⁰ Fred Bezhan. "Afghans Fear For Future After NATO Withdrawal." *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, April 1, 2012. http://www.rferl.org/content/afghans_fear_for_future_after_nato_withdrawal/24533901.html (accessed November 25, 2012).

⁸¹ "Afghan government could fall apart after NATO withdrawal." *RT*, October 8, 2012. <http://rt.com/news/afghanistan-government-nato-withdrawal-894/> (accessed November 25, 2012).

major traffickers and corrupt government officials in order to crack down on crime and to suppress the terrorist organization.⁸²

Furthermore, a new report released by the International Crisis Group (ICG) in October 2012, reaffirms that the Afghan police and army were unprepared for security responsibility. The report states that failure to act on the issues of election security would lead to a political impasse that may lead to a declaration of a state of emergency. This would, in turn, lead to the state's collapse.⁸³ Another issue to be concerned about is the resurgence of al-Qaeda in the region following the withdrawal. The sheer number and influence that they may potentially have will prove to be a severe problem in the region.⁸⁴

Clarification: Al-Qaeda vs. Taliban

The Taliban and the al-Qaeda remain as distinct groups with different goals, ideologies and sources of recruits. They collaborate in different regions of the world on the basis for the need of assistance against a powerful enemy. Most of al-Qaeda's leaders, who are primarily not Afghans, can be traced to the political developments in the Middle East, and engage in militant campaigns against their home governments. Their



Figure 19: Afghan National Army soldier finds opium in Taliban safe house in Helmand (Wikipedia)

movements are based off militant Islamism formulated by Arab ideologues in the 1960s or earlier.

The Taliban has its roots in the Mujahedeen which were active in the 1980s. During the start of the Taliban, most of the current leaders were too young to even attend school, growing up in rural southern Afghanistan. It was a Mullah that participated in the fight against Soviet occupation named Mohammed Omar that would lead the Taliban movement. During the 1990s,

⁸² "Afghanistan- Country Profile." *BBC News*, September 12, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-12011352> (accessed November 26, 2012).

⁸³ North, Andrew. "Afghanistan's government 'could collapse' after 2014." *BBC News*, October 8, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-19868043> (accessed November 25, 2012).

⁸⁴ James Kirkup. "Al-Qaeda could 're-emerge' in Afghanistan after Nato withdrawal." *The Telegraph*, May 21, 2012. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/9280709/Al-Qaeda-could-re-emerge-in-Afghanistan-after-Nato-withdrawal.html> (accessed November 25, 2012).

the early Taliban movement was formed, reacting to criminal gangs west of Kandahar City. This group had a blend of local cultural and a literalist interpretation of Islam, with the goal of imposing order in chaotic situations. Their rise to power began mostly from the mid-1990s, where it had the support from the government of Pakistan. In 1996, the Taliban formed the de facto government of Afghanistan.

With 9/11, the Taliban disintegrated under the pressure of the military campaign, waiting to see what would happen. When President Bush expressed that groups were either “with us or against us,” the Taliban and al-Qaeda were integrated into one group.⁸⁵

	Al-Qaeda	Taliban⁸⁶
Originated as	Islamist group founded by Osama Bin Laden and Mohammed Atef	Students of Jamiat Uleme-e-Islam
Areas of Operation	Worldwide, carrying out attacks in US, Yemen, India and Europe	Afghanistan and Pakistan
Ideology	Based on Sharia Law and influenced by “qutbism”	Combination of Sharia Law and Pashtun tribal codes
Leaders	Osama bin Laden (1988-2011); Ayman al-Zawahiri	Mullah Mohammed Omar; Mullah Abdul Ghani Baradar; Mullah Obaidullah Akhund
Dates of operation	1988-present	September 1994-present

Country Positions

No country currently involved in Afghanistan has stated that they were willing to conduct a full withdrawal in 2014. However, much of the rhetoric used implies that it is the mass of the military forces that will be withdrawn, keeping the logistical support intact to ensure the smoothest transition possible.

⁸⁵ Felix Kuehn and Alex Strick van Linschoten. "Separating the Taliban from al-Qaeda: The core of success in Afghanistan." *New York University Center for International Co-operation*. (2011). http://www.cic.nyu.edu/afghanistan/docs/gregg_sep_tal_alqaeda.pdf (accessed November 26, 2012).

⁸⁶ This table is summarized from: Diffen, "Al-Qaeda vs Taliban- Difference and Comparison." Last modified 2011. Accessed November 26, 2012. http://www.diffen.com/difference/Al-Qaeda_vs_Taliban.

United States of America: The US has stated its commitment on November 25, 2012 that it would leave 10,000 US troops in Afghanistan after the NATO commitment ends, following the recommendations of ISAF commander General John Allen. The force's goal will be to conduct training and counterterrorism operations.⁸⁷

United Kingdom: UK remains on track to withdraw all combat troops by 2014 as mandated by NATO. Their official position is that talks can only begin with the Taliban if the group renounced violence and agrees to Karzai's plans for opening the political process. Unofficially, they recognize the serious difficulty of opening such talks.⁸⁸

France: As of November 20, 2012, France ended its combat operations in Afghanistan as it pulled hundreds of troops from its base in Kabul. At France's peak, it was one of the largest contributors to the NATO mission with 4,000 troops, but since then, domestic public opinion has severely soured. Currently for 2013, 1,500 French troops remain with the mission of repatriating the equipment used during the 11 year French military role. 500 will help train and support Afghan forces.⁸⁹

Russia: Russia explicitly stated through its acting ambassador to NATO that it will not co-operate with NATO over Afghanistan after 2014 unless the alliance gets UNSC authorization for a new training mission. It calls upon the UNSC to draft such mandate. Halting Russia's support to the matter would threaten the security of an important transit route for NATO. NATO must send home 200,000 shipping containers used in the combat mission, which is best done through using the Russian route.⁹⁰

Pakistan: Pakistan's influence is substantial on the matter, and as it re-opened its territory in July after

ISAF at a Glance

Established: December 2001 by UNSCR 1386

Commander: John R. Allen (USA)

Total Coalition Deaths: 3,027

Total Civilian Deaths: Over 10,000

Major Contributing Nations: 50 troop contributing nations total; USA, UK, Germany, Italy, France, Poland, Romania, Australia, Spain, Turkey

Total Strength: 104,905

Withdrawal Dates: Canada- 2011; Poland- 2012; US- 2015; UK- 2015

Sources: CIA, *The World Factbook*, NATO, *ISAF Mission*

⁸⁷ "US to leave 10,000 troops in Afghanistan past 2014." *France 24*, November 26, 2012. <http://www.france24.com/en/20121126-10000-us-troops-remain-afghanistan-past-2014-isaf-nato-withdrawal> (accessed November 26, 2012).

⁸⁸ Nicholas Watt. "The Guardian." *David Cameron warned over speed of troop withdrawal from Afghanistan*, July 18, 2012. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jul/18/david-cameron-warned-afghanistan-troop-withdrawal> (accessed November 26, 2012).

⁸⁹ Heidi Vogt. "Faster than NATO, France ends Afghan combat role." *USA Today*, November 20, 2012.

<http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2012/11/20/nato-france-ends-afghan-combat/1716807/> (accessed November 26, 2012).

⁹⁰ Adrian Croft. "NATO must have U.N. mandate for post-2014 Afghan mission: Russia." *Reuters*, October 10, 2012.

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/10/10/us-nato-russia-idUSBRE8991KB20121010> (accessed November 26, 2012).

months of closure with the death of 24 Pakistani soldiers. Any plan for NATO transition must include Pakistan, as neither country will have security, stability and prosperity unless it makes some agreement on resolving common goals of fighting the Taliban.⁹¹

China: China and Afghanistan released a joint statement on June 2012 that stated it would step up co-operation in security and the war on terrorism. They would also increase intelligence sharing. China has no immediate plans to play a major development role, and has instead given a \$23 million grant for unspecified projects. China's major worry is the threat of a Taliban-dominated Afghanistan that could assist the Chinese separatist group of the East Turkestan Islamic Movement. Post 2014, China has established forms of communication with parts of the Taliban to guarantee that there is no stability insecurity.⁹²

Azerbaijan: Azerbaijan also holds the same strategic importance as Pakistan and Russia, as supply lines transit through their region.

Questions to Address

What is the role of US-operated drones in Afghanistan and to what effect do they have an impact on the way the mission is conducted?

How can fair and free elections be encouraged by the UNSC?

What is the international community's most effective strategy to combat terrorism?

How can the UNSC ensure stability of no spillover fighting in light of Syria's situation?

Suggested External Sources

BBC News, Country Profile of Afghanistan: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-12011352>

International Crisis Group, Executive Summary and Recommendations for Afghanistan on the road to the 2014 Transition: <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/afghanistan/236-afghanistan-the-long-hard-road-to-the-2014-transition.aspx>

⁹¹ Helene Cooper and Matthew Rosenberg. "NATO Agrees on Afghan Security Transition in 2013." *New York Times*, May 21, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/22/world/nato-formally-agrees-to-transition-on-afghan-security.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0 (accessed November 26, 2012).

⁹² Jane Perlez. "China Shows Interest in Afghan Security, Fearing Taliban Would Help Separatists." *The New York Times*, June 8, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/09/world/asia/china-signals-interest-in-afghanistan-after-nato-leaves.html> (accessed November 26, 2012).



NOREF Policy Brief on NATO transition in Afghanistan and the Heart of Asia:
http://www.peacebuilding.no/var/ezflow_site/storage/original/application/ac8aa098c98c17f0a9ffa634c3b6ca06.pdf

Pakistani Defence Committee, suggesting the challenges ahead of 2014:
<http://www.senatedefencecommittee.com.pk/publication/Towards%202014%20Challenges%20for%20NATO%20in%20Afghanistan.pdf>

Resolution 1917 (2010)- UNSC extension of UNAMA's mandate:
http://www.nato.int/isaf/topics/mandate/unscr/resolution_1917.pdf



Bibliography

"80 percent of Afghanistan free of violence: NATO general." *The Nation*, September 30, 2012. <http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/international/30-Sep-2012/80-percent-of-afghanistan-free-of-violence-nato-general> (accessed November 26, 2012).

"Adopting Resolution, Security Council Unanimously Approves One-Year Extension for International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan." *UN Department of Public Information*, October 9, 2012. <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs//2012/sc10786.doc.htm> (accessed November 26, 2012).

"Afghan government could fall apart after NATO withdrawal." *RT*, October 8, 2012. <http://rt.com/news/afghanistan-government-nato-withdrawal-894/> (accessed November 25, 2012).

"Afghanistan- Country Profile." *BBC News*, September 12, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-south-asia-12011352> (accessed November 26, 2012).

Andrew North. "Afghanistan's government 'could collapse' after 2014." *BBC News*, October 8, 2012. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-19868043> (accessed November 25, 2012).

Bezhan, Fred. "Afghans Fear For Future After NATO Withdrawal." *Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty*, April 1, 2012. http://www.rferl.org/content/afghans_fear_for_future_after_nato_withdrawal/24533901.html (accessed November 25, 2012).

Capaccio, Tony. "Dunford Sees Some U.S. Military in Afghanistan Post-2014." *Bloomberg News*, November 15, 2012. <http://www.businessweek.com/news/2012-11-15/dunford-sees-some-u-dot-s-dot-military-in-afghanistan-post-2014> (accessed November 15, 2012).

CIA World Factbook, "Map of Afghanistan." Last modified 2012. Accessed November 26, 2012. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/af.html>.

Cooper, Helene, and Matthew Rosenberg. "NATO Agrees on Afghan Security Transition in 2013." *New York Times*, May 21, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/22/world/nato-formally-agrees-to-transition-on-afghan-security.html?pagewanted=all&r=0> (accessed November 26, 2012).



Croft, Adrian. "NATO must have U.N. mandate for post-2014 Afghan mission: Russia." *Reuters*, October 10, 2012. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/10/10/us-nato-russia-idUSBRE8991KB20121010> (accessed November 26, 2012).

Diffen, "Al-Qaeda vs Taliban- Difference and Comparison." Last modified 2011. Accessed November 26, 2012. http://www.diffen.com/difference/Al-Qaeda_vs_Taliban.

Gordon, Michael. "U.S. in Talks With Afghans on Presence After 2014." *The New York Times*, November 15, 2012. http://www.nytimes.com/2012/11/16/world/asia/us-in-talks-with-afghans-on-presence-after-2014.html?_r=0 (accessed November 21, 2012).

Jones, Seth. *Counterinsurgency in Afghanistan*. Arlington: RAND Counterinsurgency Study, 2008.

Kirkup, James. "Al-Qaeda could 're-emerge in Afghanistan after Nato withdrawal'." *The Telegraph*, May 21, 2012. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/asia/afghanistan/9280709/Al-Qaeda-could-re-emerge-in-Afghanistan-after-Nato-withdrawal.html> (accessed November 25, 2012).

Kuehn, Felix, and Alex Strick van Linschoten. "Separating the Taliban from al-Qaeda: The core of success in Afghanistan." *New York University Center for International Co-operation*. (2011). http://www.cic.nyu.edu/afghanistan/docs/gregg_sep_tal_alqaeda.pdf (accessed November 26, 2012).

Lafraie, Najibullah. "NATO in Afghanistan: Perilous mission, dire ramifications." *International Politics*. 46. no. 5 (2009): 550-572. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/ip.2009.11> (accessed November 15, 2012).

Lekic, Slobodan. "Karzai: NATO can speed up handover of security." *Navy Times*, October 18, 2012. <http://www.navytimes.com/news/2012/10/ap-karzai-says-nato-can-speed-up-handover-101812/> (accessed November 26, 2012).

McGregor, David. "The NATO Mission in Afghanistan Post 2014: The Transformation Decade." *NATO Defense College*. (2012). http://securitymanagementinitiative.org/files/NATO_CR_sep2012.pdf (accessed November 15, 2012).

Minuto-Rizzo, A. "NATO's transformation and new principles: The mediterranean." *Mediterranean Quarterly*. 18. no. 3 (2007): 1-17.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "NATO and Afghanistan." Last modified September 26, 2012. Accessed November 15, 2012. http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_8189.htm.

Perlez, Jane. "China Shows Interest in Afghan Security, Fearing Taliban Would Help Separatists." *The New York Times*, June 8, 2012. <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/09/world/asia/china-signals-interest-in-afghanistan-after-nato-leaves.html> (accessed November 26, 2012).

Sloan, Stanley. "Nato in Afghanistan." *UNISCI Discussion Papers*. 32. (2010): 34-55. <http://search.proquest.com/docview/224075813?accountid=14771> (accessed November 15, 2012).

"US to leave 10,000 troops in Afghanistan past 2014." *France 24*, November 26, 2012. <http://www.france24.com/en/20121126-10000-us-troops-remain-afghanistan-past-2014-isaf-nato-withdrawal> (accessed November 26, 2012).

Vogt, Heidi. "Faster than NATO, France ends Afghan combat role." *USA Today*, November 20, 2012. <http://www.usatoday.com/story/news/world/2012/11/20/nato-france-ends-afghan-combat/1716807/> (accessed November 26, 2012).

Watt, Nicholas. "The Guardian." *David Cameron warned over speed of troop withdrawal from Afghanistan*, July 18, 2012. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/jul/18/david-cameron-warned-afghanistan-troop-withdrawal> (accessed November 26, 2012).