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SECURITY COUNCIL BACKGROUND GUIDE 2015

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NATIONAL MODEL UNITED NATIONS





THE 2015 NATIONAL MODEL UNITED NATIONS

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Dear Delegates,

We are pleased to welcome you to the 2015 National Model United Nations Conference New York (NMUN•NY) and the United Nations Security Council! For Conference A, your staff will be: Alexander Rudolph (SC A), Maximilian Jungmann (SC B), and Kaitlin Sandin (SC C). For Conference B, your staff will be Angela Shively (SC A), Pauline Marcou (SC B) and Kasey Erb (SC C). Alexander is finishing his B.A. in International Relations with an emphasis in cyber issues at the University of Manitoba. Maximilian holds a B.A. in Political Science and Media/Communication/Society from Trier University in Germany and is a second-year Master's candidate at the University of Heidelberg. He also works for a regional broadcasting station. Kaitlin received a B.A. in Political Science from Gonzaga University and works on criminal justice reform at the American Bar Association. Angela is completing her B.A. in Political Science and National Security Studies at the University of Houston and works within a non-profit organization that focuses on youth empowerment, the protection and conservation of animals, and environment issues. Pauline is a second-year Master's candidate at the Yale Jackson Institute for Global Affairs, working on environmental management and clean energy solutions. Kasey earned a B.A. in International and Global Studies from the University of Wisconsin-Oshkosh and a J.D. from the University of Wisconsin Law School; he currently works at the U.S. Department of Justice.

The topics under discussion for the Security Council are:

- I. The Situation in Iraq
- II. Measures to Combat Terrorism in Africa
- III. Maintenance of International Peace and Security: Security Sector Reform

The Security Council is the international community's most powerful institution dedicated to maintaining peace and security. The Council may issue both binding and non-binding resolutions, release presidential statements, commission reports by the Secretary-General, and authorize peacekeeping or humanitarian missions, among other actions. The Council's unique legal authority and broad reach makes it the leader of the international community's efforts to maintain international peace and security.

We hope you will find this Background Guide useful as it serves to introduce you to the topics for this committee. It is not meant to replace further research and we highly encourage you explore in depth your countries' policies as well as consult the Annotated Bibliographies and Bibliographies.

In preparation for the conference, each delegation will be submitting a [position paper](#). Please take note of the [NMUN policies](#) on the website and in the [Delegate Preparation Guide](#) regarding plagiarism, codes of conduct/dress code/sexual harassment, awards philosophy/evaluation method, etc. Adherence to these guidelines is mandatory. The [NMUN Rules of Procedure](#) are available to download from the NMUN website. This document includes the long and short form of the rules, as well as an explanatory narrative and example script of the flow of procedure. It is thus an essential instrument in preparing for the conference, and a reference during committee.

If you have any questions concerning your preparation for the Committee or the Conference itself, feel free to contact the Under-Secretaries-General for Peace and Security, María Luisa Ortega (Conference A) and Allison Chandler (Conference B). You can reach either USG by contacting them at: usg.ps@nmun.org.

We wish you all the best in your preparations, and we look forward to seeing you at the conference!

Sincerely,

Conference A

Alexander Rudolph, *Director, SC A*
Maximilian Jungmann, *Director, SC B*
Kaitlin Sandin, *Director, SC C*

Conference B

Angela Shively, *Director, SC A*
Pauline Marcou, *Director, SC B*
Kasey Erb, *Director, SC C*



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Abbreviations

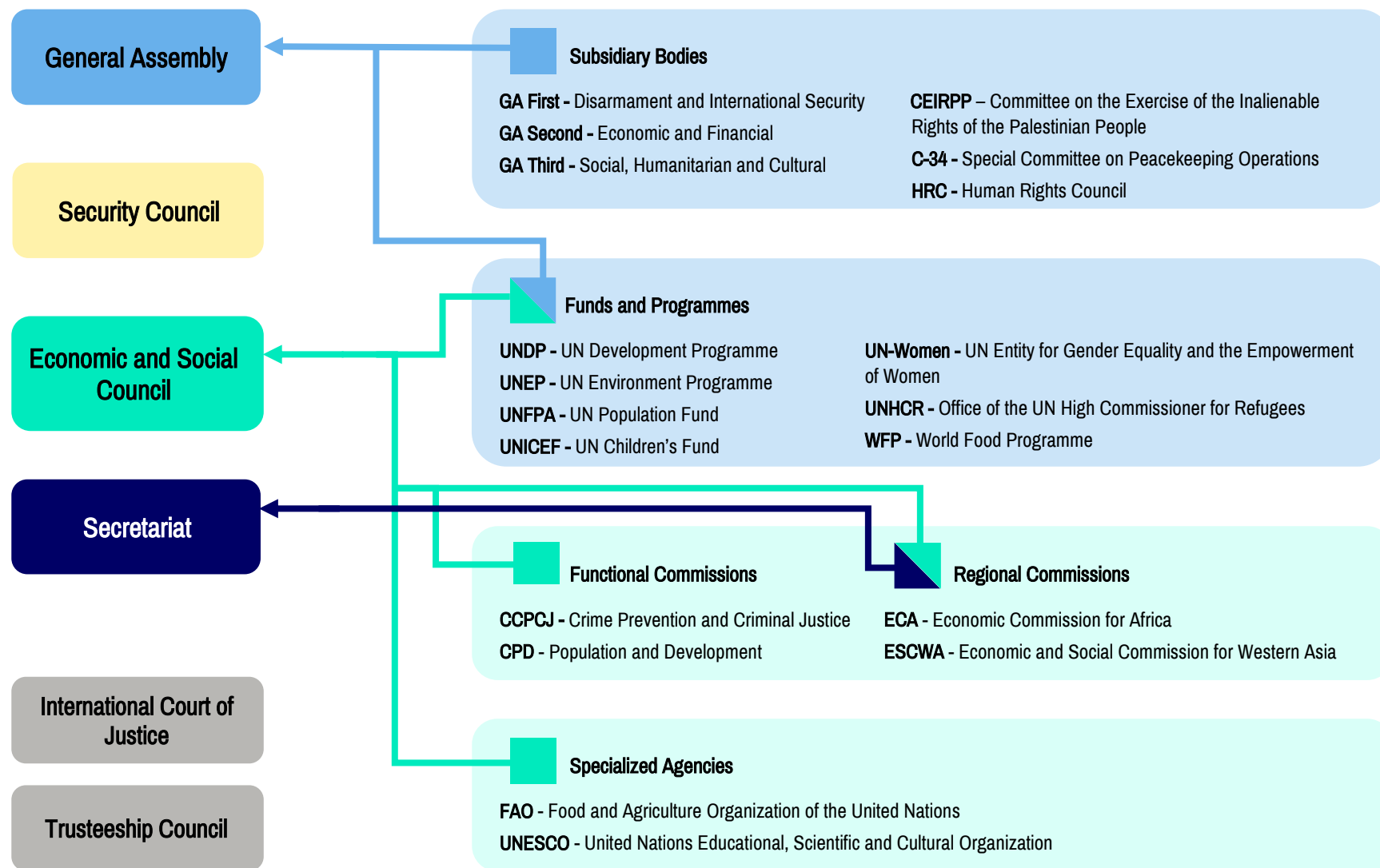
ACSRT	African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism
AFISMA	African-led International Support Mission in Mali
AMISOM	AU Mission to Somalia
ANF	Al-Nusra Front
AQAP	Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula
AQI	Al-Qaida in Iraq
AQIM	Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb
AU	African Union
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIVPOL	Civilian police
COR	Council of Representatives
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority
CSO	Civil society organizations
CTC	Counter-Terrorism Committee
CTITF	Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force
DPA	Department of Political Affairs
DPKO	Department for Peacekeeping Operations
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
GA	General Assembly
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
IASSRTF	Inter-Agency Security Sector Reform Task Force
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICODHA	Integrated Coordination Office for Development and Humanitarian Affairs
IDP	Internally Displaced Populations
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organizations
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRFFI	International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq
ISF	Iraqi Security Forces
ISI	Islamic State of Iraq
ISIL	Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NGOWG	NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security
OAU	Organization for African Unity
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights
OPCW	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons
OSAA	Office of the Special Advisor on Africa
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission
PBSO	Peacebuilding Support Office
REC	Regional economic committees
SC	Security Council
SRSRG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SSR	Security sector reform
SWAPOL	South West Africa Police
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights



UN	United Nations
UNAMI	United Nations Assistance Mission to Iraq
UNCT	United Nations Country Team
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHQ	United Nations Headquarters
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNTAG	United Nations Transition Assistance Group
US	United States of America

United Nations System at NMUN·NY

This diagram illustrates the UN System simulated at NMUN·NY. It shows where each committee “sits” within the system, to help understand the reportage and relationships between the entities. Examine the diagram alongside the Committee Overview to gain a clear picture of the committee's position, purpose and powers within the UN System.





Committee Overview

Introduction

After the devastating effects of two world wars, the international community decided to establish the United Nations (UN) as an intergovernmental organization with the primary responsibility of maintaining international peace and security and creating the conditions conducive to economic and social development while advancing universal respect to human rights.¹ The Security Council (SC) was established as one of its six principal organs and was given the primary responsibility to preserve international peace and security.²

The **United Nations Security Council (SC)** is one of the six primary organs of the United Nations, mandated by the *Charter of the United Nations* to maintain international peace and security. The Council submits an annual report to the General Assembly.

This guide will present the Council's history, its mandate, structure and membership. Then, the guide will present the body's major functions and powers, its peacekeeping and peacebuilding undertakings as well as the Council's conflict prevention activities. Subsequently, the guide will touch base upon the current priorities of the Council and some important implications of the ongoing conversation regarding socioeconomic development as a way to address the root causes of conflict. Finally, the guide will highlight some key, recent outcomes of the Council's most recent sessions.

History

The Security Council held its first session on 17 January 1946 at Church House in London.³ After its first meeting, the Council relocated to its permanent residence at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, New York.⁴ At that time, five permanent members and six non-permanent members comprised the membership of the Council.⁵ However, in over the subsequent years, discussions regarding the structure of the Council began to take.⁶ In 1965, the number of non-permanent members increased to ten, and although membership has not changed since, discussions regarding configuration take place frequently.⁷

During the Cold War, disagreements between the United States of America and the former Soviet Union blocked the Council from being an effective institution due to lack of agreement on even the most basic of issues and topics.⁸ However, beginning in the late 1980s, the body became more active, authorizing many peacekeeping missions, such as those in the former Yugoslavia, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Kosovo and East Timor.⁹ After the Cold War ended, traditional challenges to international peace and security shifted, forcing the Council to adapt to new scenarios, such as the challenge of addressing multiple humanitarian crisis simultaneously, in different regions of the world.¹⁰ After 2000, terrorism and extremism, became a priority of the Council, as evidenced by the adoption of a range of resolutions and the establishment of several subsidiary bodies.¹¹

More than half a century after the Council's creation, the international community confronts a rather diverse range of global threats, including nuclear terrorism, upsurge of violent non-state actors, organized crime, spread of infectious diseases, and states' collapses. The new challenges call upon Security Council Member States to engage in collaborate, preventative efforts in order to tackle them.¹²

¹ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, Preamble.

² United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: About*, 2014.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Hanhimäki, *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction*, 2000, p. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Bourantonis, *The History and Politics of UN Security Council Reform*, 2005, p. 10.

⁸ Encyclopedia Britannica, *United Nations Security Council*, 2014.

⁹ *Ibid.*; United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: About*, 2014.

¹⁰ Council on Foreign Relations, *Background: The UN Security Council*, 2014; Encyclopedia Britannica, *United Nations Security Council*, 2014.

¹¹ Security Council Report, *September 2014 Monthly Forecast: Counter-Terrorism*, 2014.

¹² Hanhimäki, *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction*, 2000, p. 39.

Mandate

The mandate of the SC is to maintain international peace and security and to take actions whenever peace and security are threatened.¹³ The Council's authority is particularly relevant when looking at the United Nations' four primary purposes, as specified in the *Charter of the United Nations* (1945): maintaining international peace and security; developing friendly relations among nations; cooperating in solving international problems; promoting respect for human rights as well as being a center for harmonizing the actions of nations.¹⁴ According to Article 39 of the UN Charter, the Council shall determine the existence of any threat to international security and formulate recommendations accordingly.¹⁵ In order to prevent the escalation of a given conflict, the Council may call upon the parties to comply with provisional measures.¹⁶ In addition to these responsibilities, the body may also recommend new Member States to the United Nations General Assembly (GA) as well as suggest the expulsion of a Member State if considered that it has persistently violated the UN principles, as laid out in the Charter.¹⁷

Governance, Structure and Membership

The Security Council is the only UN body, which has the power to adopt binding resolutions.¹⁸ This means that when a resolution is adopted by the Council, Member States, in accordance with Article 25 of the UN Charter, are obliged to accept and carry out the Council's recommendations and decisions.¹⁹ The Security Council also has a variety of other tools to address issues on its agenda. For example, the President of the Security Council may issue press statements or presidential statements, which are similar to resolutions, but are not legally binding.²⁰

Presidency

Each member of the Security Council holds the presidency of the Council for one-month, rotating according to alphabetical order.²¹ Security Council meetings can be held at any time when convened by the President of the Security Council and by the request of any Member State.²² Under Article 35 of the Charter, the president shall call a meeting if a dispute or situation calls the Council's attention.²³ The provisional agenda for each meeting is set by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and is further approved by the President of the Security Council.²⁴

Participation

Any UN Member State may be invited to the Council's sessions if the body decides to do so.²⁵ Invited Member States do not have the right to vote, but are allowed to submit proposals and draft resolutions.²⁶ However, such proposals may only be put to a vote at the request of a representative of the Security Council.²⁷

Membership

The Security Council is composed of five permanent members and ten non-permanent members. The five permanent members of the Security Council are China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States of America.²⁸ Every year, the General Assembly elects five of the ten non-permanent members for a two-year term.²⁹ Elections for non-permanent seats on the Security Council can be extremely competitive, with countries expressing interest years in advance. Countries elected to serve on the Security Council are expected to represent the

¹³ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: About*, 2014.

¹⁴ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, Art. 1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Art. 39.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Art. 40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Art. 24.

¹⁸ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: About*, 2014.

¹⁹ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, Art. 25.

²⁰ NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, *Mapping Women, Peace and Security in the United Nations Security Council: 2009-2010*, 2010, p. 11.

²¹ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: Presidency*, 2014.

²² UN Security Council, *Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council*, 2011.

²³ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: About*, 2014.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: Members*, 2014.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

interests of their region, and also usually have an influence at the international level and demonstrate leadership in specific areas of interest to their foreign policy.³⁰

Subsidiary Organs

The Security Council has many subsidiary bodies established under Article 29 of the Charter, including: the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, sanctions committees, and ad hoc committees.³¹ Further, the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) reports jointly to the General Assembly and the Security Council.³²

In the wake of the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001, the Security Council established the Counter-Terrorism-Committee, guided by Security Council resolutions 1373 (2001) and 1624 (2005).³³ The committee's main objective is to prevent terrorist acts both within national borders and across regions.³⁴ In 2004, the Security Council established the 1540 Committee in order to prevent the proliferation of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons.³⁵

Further, the Security Council establishes and sets the mandate for all peacekeeping operations, which are planned, prepared and directed by the Department for Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO); and political missions, which are often preceded by peace agreements and overseen by the Department of Political Affairs (DPA).³⁶

Voting

Every Member State of the Security Council has one vote.³⁷ Votes on all matters require a majority of nine Member States.³⁸ However, if one of the five permanent members of Council votes against a draft resolution, it does not pass.³⁹ This is known as the “veto power”.⁴⁰ While in the 1950s, SC Member States, in particular the former Soviet Union, made frequent use of their veto power, its usage declined in the 1960s and rose again in the 1970s and 1980s.⁴¹ During the last decades, however, the use of the veto power has been on a comparatively low level.⁴² Over the last few years, the Council has adopted many resolutions by consensus and has only been divided on a very limited number of issues.⁴³

Functions and Powers

The *Charter of the United Nations* (1945) provides the Security Council with a number of powers in order to guarantee international security.

- **Sanctions:** Pursuant to Article 41 in the Charter, the Council can call its members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or end violence.⁴⁴ These include economic sanctions, financial penalties and restrictions, travel bans, severance of diplomatic relations, blockades, among others.⁴⁵ It may further mandate arms embargos, enforce disarmament, or call upon international criminal mechanisms to become active.⁴⁶ For instance, in the last decade, the Council has

³⁰ Bourantonis, *The History and Politics of UN Security Council Reform*, 2005, p. 6.

³¹ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: Structure*, 2014.

³² Ibid.

³³ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee: Our Mandate*, 2014.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: Structure*, 2014; United Nations, *1540 Committee*, 2014.

³⁶ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: Structure*, 2014.

³⁷ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, Art. 27.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Hanhimäki, *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction*, 2000, p. 52.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 53; Security Council Report, *In Hindsight: The Veto*, 2013; Security Council Report, *The Permanent Members and the Use of the Veto: An Abridged History*, 2013.

⁴² Security Council Report, *The Permanent Members and the Use of the Veto: An Abridged History*, 2013.

⁴³ Security Council Report, *In Hindsight: Consensus in the Security Council*, 2014; Security Council Report, *In Hindsight: The Veto*, 2013.

⁴⁴ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, Art. 41..

⁴⁵ Targeted Sanctions Consortium, *The Effectiveness of United Nations Targeted Sanctions*, 2013; United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: About*, 2014.

⁴⁶ Cousens, *Conflict Prevention*, 2004, p. 111.

adopted several political and economic sanctions against extremist organizations such as Al-Qaida, including travel restrictions, financial measures, arms embargos and increased military presence.⁴⁷

- **Diplomatic Tools:** The Council has a mandate to investigate any dispute or situation that might lead to aggressions between states or other non-state groups or within states' national territories.⁴⁸ In order to do so, it may “recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement; formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments; determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and recommend what action should be taken.”⁴⁹ More recently, the Security Council determined the existence of a threat to peace when it demanded the immediate cease of military activities in Ukraine.⁵⁰
- **Military Action:** Besides the above-mentioned diplomatic instruments, the Council may also take military action against a state or other entity threatening international peace and security and may further decide on the deployment of troops or observers.⁵¹ The Security Council may also decide upon the deployment of new UN peacekeeping operations to be led by DPKO, as well as the extensions of its mandate and subsequent modification or drawdown of any troops.⁵² In 2014, for example, the Council continued to modify the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL), first established in 2003 by Security Council resolution 1509 (2003), as the mission prepares to drawdown and complete its work.⁵³
- **Partnerships:** The Council also cooperates with a number of international and regional organizations as well as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to implement its decisions.⁵⁴ Cooperation between the SC and UN-related organizations, as for example, the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons (OPCW), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the African Union (AU) are of paramount importance for addressing a broad range of menaces such as terrorism, disarmament, nuclear non-proliferation, extreme violence from non-state actors, beyond others.⁵⁵ Furthermore, collaboration between the SC and local actors as well as partnerships with NGOs are especially important for the deployment of peacekeeping operations.⁵⁶ In recognition of the importance of partnerships, in July 2014, the Security Council adopted resolution 2164 (2014), emphasizing the importance of regional partnerships in peacekeeping activities.⁵⁷

Peacekeeping and peacebuilding

The difference between peacekeeping and peacebuilding lies in their mandates, powers and institutional frameworks.⁵⁸ While “peacemaking generally includes measures to address conflicts in progress and usually involves diplomatic action to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement, peacebuilding aims to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management.”⁵⁹ Contrary to other missions, peacekeeping operations have a military or international police presence in the field.⁶⁰

Since the end of the Cold War, the Security Council has become more active in the establishment of peacekeeping forces, authorizing them to take robust action under Chapter VII of the Charter.⁶¹ Since 1992, the number of

⁴⁷ UN Security Council, *Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts (S/RES/2160 (2014))*, 2014; UN Security Council, *Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts (S/RES/2161 (2014))*, 2014.

⁴⁸ Austria, *Functions and Powers of the UN Security Council*, 2014.

⁴⁹ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945.

⁵⁰ Cousens, *Conflict Prevention*, 2004, p. 111.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² United Nations, *United Nations Peacekeeping*, 2014.

⁵³ UN Security Council, *Middle East (S/RES/2172 (2014))*, 2014; UN Security Council, *Liberia (S/RES/2176 (2014))*, 2014.

⁵⁴ Forman & Grene, *Collaborating with Regional Organizations*, 2004; UN Security Council, *Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council*, 2011.

⁵⁵ United Nations, *Structure and Organization*, 2014; United Nations Security Council, *Middle East (S/RES/2118 (2013))*, 2013.

⁵⁶ Forman & Grene, *Collaborating with Regional Organizations*, 2004, p. 296-197.

⁵⁷ UN Security Council, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (S/RES/2167 (2014))*, 2014; What's in Blue, *Adoption of a Resolution on Regional Partnerships in Peacekeeping*, 2014.

⁵⁸ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: About*, 2014.

⁵⁹ United Nations Peacekeeping, *Peace and Security*, 2014.

⁶⁰ United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: About*, 2014.

⁶¹ Gray, *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, 2004, p. 88-89.

peacekeeping operations has raised immensely.⁶² The countries that comprise the majority of troop and police-contributing countries over the last two decades has changed. In 1992, France, the United Kingdom, Canada, and the Netherlands were the highest contributors; however, over the last several years, developing countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and India have been the largest contributors.⁶³

Conflict prevention

Conflict prevention is among the Security Council's highest priorities.⁶⁴ The Council may stop the outbreak of a conflict through agenda-setting, fact-finding missions, diplomatic initiatives, sanctions, peace operations, and peace enforcement.⁶⁵ However, if a conflict breaks out, the Security Council may establish mission mandates and authorize the level and nature of resources for conflict prevention to the UN Secretariat.⁶⁶ From November 2010 to March 2012, the DPA held "horizon-scanning briefings" in order to provide the Security Council with information for improving conflict prevention measures.⁶⁷ In recent years, the Council has adopted a number of resolutions on the prevention of conflicts in Africa, strengthening the partnership between the African Union and the UN.⁶⁸ Member States have further discussed the issue of natural resources and conflict prevention, and in 2013, adopted resolution 2101 (2013), in which they advocated for renewing the sanctions regime against Côte d'Ivoire as its internal situation continues to pose a threat to international peace and security in the region.⁶⁹

Moreover, on 21 August 2014, the Security Council adopted resolution 2171 (2014) highlighting the United Nations' role on conflict prevention and emphasizing that while each Member State has the primary responsibility for preventing conflicts within its territory; UN regional offices, special political missions, peacekeeping commissions and the Peacebuilding Commission itself play an important role in this regard.⁷⁰ The SC has also recently addressed the issue of genocide.⁷¹ On 16 April 2014, the Council adopted resolution 1250 (2014) asking all UN Member States to enforce measures for the fight against genocide, as well as its prevention.⁷²

Current Priorities

The *Secretary-General's Five Year Action Agenda* (2012) outlined the United Nations' priority of building a safer and more secure world, including through enhancing partnerships for peacekeeping; building a global, accountable and robust humanitarian system; revitalizing the global disarmament and non-proliferation agenda; enhancing global collaboration towards the fight against terrorism, scaling up counter-terrorism efforts, addressing organized crime, piracy and drug trafficking.⁷³ Further, within the context of broader UN priorities, it has also been emphasized the UN has an essential role in promoting disarmament and it is essential to develop new tools and strategies for collective action to counter global security threats.⁷⁴

There is also an effort to better link peace and security with development, due in large part to the important role that development has in conflict prevention. The UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, founded in 2012 by the UN Secretary-General and composed by more than 60 UN agencies and international organizations, further recommended that peace and security be incorporated as one of the four key dimensions of

⁶² Berdal, *The Security Council and Peacekeeping*, 2004, p. 177.

⁶³ Luck, *UN Security Council*, 2006, p. 41.

⁶⁴ Cousens, *Conflict Prevention*, 2004, p. 106.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁶⁷ Security Council Report, *In Hindsight: Horizon-Scanning Briefings*, 2013.

⁶⁸ Security Council Report, *April 2013 Monthly Forecast: Prevention of Conflicts in Africa*, 2013; UN Security Council, *Cooperation between the United Nations and regional and subregional organizations in maintaining international peace and security (S/RES/2033 (2012))*, 2012; What's in Blue, *Open Debate on Conflict Prevention and Natural Resources*, 2013.

⁶⁹ Security Council Report, *Conflict Prevention and Natural Resources*, 2013; UN Security Council, *Côte d'Ivoire (S/RES/2101 (2012))*, 2012.

⁷⁰ Cousens, *Conflict Prevention*, 2004, p. 108.

⁷¹ Security Council Report, *August 2014 Monthly Forecast: Conflict Prevention*, 2014; What's in Blue, *Open Debate and Resolution on Conflict Prevention*, 2014; What's in Blue, *Prevention and Fight Against Genocide Briefing*, 2014.

⁷² Security Council Report, *August 2014 Monthly Forecast: Conflict Prevention*, 2014; UN Security Council, *Threats to international peace and security (S/RES/2150 (2014))*, 2014.

⁷³ United Nations, *The Secretary General's Five Year Agenda*, 2012, p. 8.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

the new holistic approach of the emerging post-2015 development agenda.⁷⁵ In the proposed sustainable development goals, and the broader post-2015 development agenda, freedom from violence, conflict and abuse as well as conflict-free access to natural resources, are among the relevant issues addressed.⁷⁶ At the center of the post-2015 development agenda are the principles that a peaceful and secure world is key to the realization of the development framework, and further, that sustainable development and universal respect to human rights cannot be fully attained in war-torn scenarios.⁷⁷

Recent Sessions

Although the Security Council, unlike other UN bodies, does not have a set of predefined priorities, it has recently focused its attention on certain regions of the world, such as Sudan, South Sudan, Mali, Libya, Afghanistan, Syria, Central African Republic, among others.⁷⁸ Besides this country-specific approach, a number of thematic issues such as terrorism; children and armed conflict; protection of civilians in armed conflicts; women, peace and security, and addressing human rights violations under the responsibility to protect framework, are at the core of the Council's current debate.⁷⁹

For example, in August 2014, the Security Council adopted resolution 2175 (2014) on the "Protection of civilians in armed conflict," emphasized the necessity of protecting humanitarian personnel and calling upon the Secretary-General to report on the safety and security of humanitarian personnel.⁸⁰ The Council further adopted resolution 2170 (2014), condemning terrorist activities and reiterating its call upon Member States to take measures to counter incitement of terrorist acts and address issues related to foreign terrorist fighters and terrorist financing.⁸¹ Both of these resolutions represent the new international challenges that Security Council is facing – ways to better protect civilians in conflict situations, and how to combat the threat of violent, non-state armed groups driven by ideology and operating in fragile and conflict-affected states.

Conclusion

As the international community faces increasing asymmetrical threats from non-state actors and transnational organized crime, the Security Council has tried to adapt to new working methods.⁸² Moreover, the current situation in Syria, Iraq and Ukraine apparently demonstrates that the SC has failed to guarantee peace and security in all regions of the world.⁸³ This lacking capacity can be partially explained by the Council's controversial decision-making process, specifically the veto power of the five permanent members.⁸⁴ However as the Security Council represents the only body within the UN that has the power to adopt binding resolutions, it is still of utmost importance for the maintenance of international peace and security.⁸⁵ The inter linkages between issues previously addressed in silos is an important one to recognize and address – as the world grows more complex, so too, must the Security Council's understanding of the world and actions taken to maintain peace and security. The Council must use all of the tools in its toolbox - peacekeeping and peacebuilding activities, conflict prevention efforts and diplomatic and coercive enforcing instruments – as part of a comprehensive approach, are key for addressing traditional and emerging global threats and therefore assuring a secure world.

Further Research

While doing further research on the Security Council, delegates should consider the following questions: How can the Council address more effectively the new international peace and security challenges, as for example, cyber warfare, non-state actors, extremism? How can the relationship between the Council and other peace and security regional organizations be improved? How does the post-2015 development agenda influence Security Council's

⁷⁵ UN System Task Team on the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, *Realizing the Future We Want*, 2012, p. 31.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ United Nations, *Highlights of the Security Council Practice 2013, 2014*, p. 2.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ UN Security Council, *Protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/RES/2175 (2014))*, 2014, p. 2.

⁸¹ United Nations, *Highlights of the Security Council Practice 2013, 2014*.

⁸² United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: Structure, 2014*; United Nations, *1540 Committee*, 2014.

⁸³ Security Council Report, *September 2014 Monthly Forecast – Syria*, 2014.

⁸⁴ Security Council Report, *The Permanent Members and the Use of the Veto: An Abridged History*, 2013.

⁸⁵ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, Art. 24.



current activities? How can the Security Council better prevent conflict? What can the Security Council work to ensure there is not a relapse of conflict and how can they strengthen peacebuilding efforts, in this respect? How can the Council better ensure its obligations to mainstream gender across its work are met? How can the work of the Security Council ensure it is reflecting the real challenges on the ground and better connect with civilians living in conflict-affected situations? How can the Security Council better learn from and take into consideration voices from civil society in its work?

Annotated Bibliography

Council on Foreign Relations. (2013). *Backgrounders: The UN Security Council* [Website]. Retrieved 11 July 2014 from: <http://www.cfr.org/international-organizations-and-alliances/un-security-council/p31649>

This website, provided by the Council on Foreign Relations, gives a comprehensive introduction into the structure and work of the Security Council and therefore constitutes a good starting ground for more detailed research. The website discusses the Council's powers and possibilities in taking coercive actions and addresses broadly discussed issues as criticism to the Security Council's structure as well as possible reforms. In addition, the website contains links on further resources on the Security Council and recent international security issues as, for example, the Global Governance Monitor, which evaluates the international regime for armed conflict.

Hanhimäki, J. M. (2000). *The United Nations: A Very Short Introduction*, New York, New York: Oxford University Press.

While giving a brief overview of the history, structure, mandate and perspective of the United Nations in general, this volume also includes a comprehensive section on the Security Council as well as a separate chapter on peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The book offers a succinct explanation of the Council's political and operational constraints, including the veto power principle. It further provides delegates with a general overview of the importance of the Security Council for international security from its creation until now. Due to its comprehensive language, this book may serve delegates as a first starting point for further research on the Security Council as well as on international power relations.

Malone, D. (2004). *The UN Security Council: From the Cold War to the 21st Century*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

This collected volume provides readers with a very detailed overview of the Security Council and its past and present challenges. Written on a high academic level, this book touches upon a large number of the Council's themes, institutions and operations. As it discusses major operations on four continents, the document can be a useful tool for detailed analysis on various international security crises.

United Nations. (1945). *Charter of the United Nations*. Retrieved 11 July 2014 from: <http://www.un.org/en/documents/charter/index.shtml>

As the fundamental principles of the Security Council are written down in the Charter of the United Nations, this document should be among the first resources to consider. Article 23, which sets the membership structure and articles 23 to 26, which discuss the basic functions and powers, are of particular importance for understanding both the structure and function of the Security Council. In addition, articles 27 to 32 explain the Council's voting procedure and its overall structure. The Charter can be particularly helpful for delegates in understanding the powers and limitations of the body.

United Nations. (2014). *United Nations Security Council: About* [Website]. Retrieved 11 July 2014 from: <http://www.un.org/en/sc/about/>

This website gives an overview of the Security Council's history, its mandate and basic functions and powers. It should be considered as one of the most important resources and a foundation for delegates' further research, since it provides detailed information on how the Security Council works in practice. The website contains the body's provisional rules of procedure and a section on frequently asked questions. The latter is particularly interesting when it comes to understanding the Council's functions and powers.

Delegates will find in this website detailed information about the Council's recent sessions as well as other interesting outputs.

Security Council Report. (2014). *Security Council Report: Index* [Website]. Retrieved 16 September 2014 from: <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/index.php>

This independent non-profit organization provides information on the working methods of the Security Council, country and regional issues, thematic and general issues. It further presents monthly forecasts highlighting issues that are currently being debated on the Council. These include counter-terrorism strategies, the situation in Afghanistan, Syria or Liberia, among others. The website is a source of updated information for delegates and will prove very useful when further researching on the current activities of the Council.

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I. The Situation in Iraq

Introduction

The current situation in Iraq takes place within a challenging cultural and political context. The country is composed of several ethnic groups: the majority of the population is Arab (75-80%), and the Kurdish minority represents 15-20% of the total population.⁸⁶ Almost the entire population is Muslim, with a small minority of Christians (around 1%).⁸⁷ The Muslim population is split between two denominations of Islam, with 60-65% of Shia and 32-37% of Sunnis, but the latter have mostly ruled the country while the majority of the population of what is now known as Iraq was Shia.⁸⁸ This sectarian division has been a source of tension and violence for several centuries.⁸⁹ The Kurds also suffered from oppression under the regime of Saddam Hussein but enjoyed a de facto independence under the protection of the United States after the Iraq-Kuwait war in 1991.⁹⁰

The country's and region's security has recently been severely threatened by the continuing growth of extremism over the last decade, including, most recently, a Sunni insurgent group known as the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), which has taken control of a large part of the territory and major cities in Iraq and Syria.⁹¹ Since January 2014, a surge in violence between Iraqi government forces, ISIL, and other extremist groups has generated mass displacements of populations from the regions of Anbar and Mosul.⁹² The Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) has estimated that around 1.2 million Iraqis have fled their homes to find refuge in Kurdistan and within the Anbar region.⁹³ More than 5,500 civilians have been killed during the first half of the year 2014, with close to 10,000 wounded.⁹⁴ The death toll increased dramatically since the beginning of June 2014, and the United Nations has recorded a range of violations of human rights and humanitarian law perpetrated against the civilian population.⁹⁵

The Security Council (SC) has considered the situation in Iraq since the beginning of the 1980s, and the question of the situation in Iraq has been regularly on the agenda of the Council since the US-led invasion of 2003.⁹⁶ In June 2014 the Security Council started focusing specifically on ISIL and other extremist groups, and the Council adopted its first resolution on that topic in August 2014.⁹⁷ Emphasis in Council discussions has been on the humanitarian crisis, the attacks perpetrated by those groups, and on sanctions against individuals affiliated with ISIL. The situation in the region provides an opportunity for a strengthened role of the UN system and of other non-governmental organizations, in restoring peace, fortifying local and national capacities and building political, economic and social stability.

International and Regional Framework

Several instruments can be used to frame the action of the Security Council in regards to the current situation in Iraq, and two fields are of particular interest in this context: the prevention and suppression of terrorism and the protection of civilian populations.

United Nations Framework

Chapters VI and VII of the *Charter of the United Nations* (1945) provide the Security Council framework for action in two instances: the pacific settlement of disputes and "action with respects to threats to the peace, breaches of the

⁸⁶ Martin, *Explainer: Shia-Sunni divide and Iraq's deadly sectarian war*, 2014; United States, *The World Factbook: Iraq*, 2014.

⁸⁷ United States, *The World Factbook: Iraq*, 2014.

⁸⁸ Ibid; Lipka, *The Sunni-Shia divide: Where they live, what they believe and how they view each other*, 2014; Noorbaksh, *Shiism and Ethnic Politics in Iraq*, 2008.

⁸⁹ Noorbaksh, *Shiism and Ethnic Politics in Iraq*, 2008.

⁹⁰ Karon, *Understanding Iraq's Ethnic and Religious Divisions*, 2006.

⁹¹ Katzman, *Iraq: Politics, Governance, and Human Rights*, 2014.

⁹² UN Security Council, *Third report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2110 (S/2014/485)*, 2014.

⁹³ UN OCHA, *Iraq: Humanitarian situation continues to deteriorate*, 2014.

⁹⁴ UN OHCHR & UNAMI, *Report on POC in the Non International Armed Conflict in Iraq: 5 June–5 July 2014*, 2014.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Security Council Report, *UN Documents for Iraq: Security Council Resolutions*, 2014.

⁹⁷ UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Iraq*, 5 June 2014; UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Iraq*, 11 June 2014; UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Iraq*, 5 August 2014.

peace and acts of aggression.”⁹⁸ Member States are required to refer any dispute to the Council if all previous attempts for alternative dispute resolution have failed.⁹⁹ After examining the existence of a threat to international peace and security, the Security Council shall decide what “measures not involving the use of armed forces are to be employed”, including sanctions.¹⁰⁰ The use of force comes as a last resort in case measures under Article 41 are deemed or prove to be inadequate.¹⁰¹ It can take the form of an authorized intervention by one or several Member States, a military blockade or a peacekeeping operation.¹⁰²

Prevention and suppression of terrorism

The UN has adopted 13 international Conventions to combat terrorism since 1963.¹⁰³ Each convention targets different aspects of terrorist activities, from acts committed on board aircrafts, to the taking of hostages and nuclear terrorism.¹⁰⁴ In the context of the situation in Iraq, several conventions are particularly relevant. Under the *International Convention for the suppression of Terrorist Bombings* (1997), Member States are encouraged to adopt appropriate measures within their domestic legislation, in order to punish any person who “unlawfully and intentionally delivers, places, discharges or detonates an explosive or other lethal device in, into or against a place of public use, a State or government facility, a public transportation system or an infrastructure facility.”¹⁰⁵ In 1999, the UN General Assembly adopted the *International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism*, which establishes the principles of cooperation and exchange of information between States parties, in order to prevent any person to provide or collect funds for terrorism purposes.¹⁰⁶ At the regional level, the 1998 *Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism* offers a common ground of action for the League of Arab States against terrorist organizations.¹⁰⁷ It establishes a detailed set of measures for the prevention and suppression of terrorism and terrorist offenses, emphasizing the need for cooperation among Arab States in the judicial field and through the exchange of information and expertise.¹⁰⁸

UNAMI, as one of the key international actors in Iraq over the last few years, has been particularly dedicated to supporting political dialogue between political groups, in order to strengthen cooperation on addressing the threat posed by extremists.¹⁰⁹ The mission’s efforts have especially focused on strengthening dialogue between the Kurdistan Regional Government and the national authorities.¹¹⁰ The Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) for Iraq, the head of UNAMI and the recently emphasized on the need for “broad political dialogue, inclusive economic and social policies and community reconciliation” within any counter-terrorism strategy at the national level.¹¹¹ Beyond that, existing legal instruments should be used to foster regional and international cooperation in designing and implementing clear and effective strategies on the ground.

Protection of civilians

The *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR, 1948), the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR, 1966) and the *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights* (ICESCR, 1966) are the foundations of international human rights law. The UDHR enumerates the fundamental rights to which all human beings are entitled and that Member States have pledged to secure and protect.¹¹² The ICCPR and ICESCR complement one another, as one specifically addresses civil and political rights, including the right to life, freedom from arbitrary detentions, religion and electoral rights, and provisions to prevent the recruitment of child soldiers;

⁹⁸ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1951, Chapters VI & VII.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Chapter VI.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Art. 41.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Art. 42.

¹⁰² United Nations, *United Nations Security Council: Frequently Asked Questions*, 2014.

¹⁰³ United Nations, *International Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism*, 2008.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ United Nations, *International Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism: International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings*, 2008, p. 78-88.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89-103.

¹⁰⁷ United Nations, *International Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism: The Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism*, 2008, p. 178-193.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178-193.

¹⁰⁹ UN Security Council, *Third report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2110 (S/2014/485)*, 2014.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ United Nations, *UNAMI Herald*, 2014.

¹¹² UN General Assembly, *Universal Declaration of Human Rights (A/RES/217)*, 1948.

and the other focuses on economic, social and cultural rights such as the right to education, and the right of vulnerable populations to special protection and assistance.¹¹³ The Republic of Iraq has signed and ratified both treaties.¹¹⁴ In 2004, the League of Arab States adopted the *Arab Charter on Human Rights*, which entered into force in 2008.¹¹⁵ A total of 17 Arab States have now ratified the Charter, including Iraq (2012).¹¹⁶ The document covers a wide range of individual, political, social, economic and cultural rights, and guarantees the equality between men and women as well as the rights of children.¹¹⁷

The primary instruments to protect civilians in armed conflicts and other situations of violence are the 1949 *Geneva Conventions* and their *Additional Protocols*.¹¹⁸ As a non-international armed conflict (due to the conflict primarily being between a government and a non-state armed actor, and not between two states), the current situation in Iraq primarily falls under the provisions of Common Article 3, which establishes the minimum standards for the treatment of non-combatants, the wounded and the sick.¹¹⁹ Iraq is a State party to all *Conventions* and to the *Additional Protocol I* of 1977, but is neither a signatory nor a party to the *Additional Protocol relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts*.¹²⁰ This *Additional Protocol II* applies to “all armed conflicts [...] which take place in the territory of a High Contracting Party between its armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organized armed groups which, under responsible command, exercise such control over a part of its territory as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement this Protocol.”¹²¹

The Security Council has regularly covered the topic of “protection of civilians,” and has adopted several resolutions in order to build a solid framework for the protection of civilian populations in armed conflicts.¹²² As a way to guide its regular work and ensure consistent implementation of existing norms, in 2002, the Council requested that an “Aide Memoire,” listing relevant issues and good practice language, be developed. In February 2014, the “Aide Memoire: For the consideration of issues pertaining to the protection of civilians in armed conflict,” was updated to reflect developments in the field.¹²³ Most recently, Resolution 2175 (2014) severely condemned all forms of violence and intimidation against humanitarian aid workers and urged all Member States to ratify relevant treaties and conventions as well as to comply with international humanitarian law.¹²⁴

Role of the International System

The international system is represented by a diverse range of organizations in Iraq, including UN agencies and programs, non-UN entities and civil society organizations, with the UN Assistance Mission to Iraq (UNAMI) and the UN Security Council playing a fundamental role driving peace and security efforts.

United Nations Security Council

The “Situation in Iraq” has been on the agenda of the Security Council for several decades, first during the Iran-Iraq war, then during the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, and presently in the aftermath of the US-led invasion.¹²⁵ Resolution 1267 established the sanctions regime against Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities in 1999, by which the

¹¹³ UN General Assembly, *International Covenant On Economic, Social And Cultural Rights, International Covenant On Civil And Political Rights And Optional Protocol To The International Covenant On Civil And Political Rights (A/RES/2200)*, 1966.

¹¹⁴ UN Office of Legal Affairs, *UN Treaty Collection: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, 2014; UN Office of Legal Affairs, *UN Treaty Collection: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights*, 2014.

¹¹⁵ Al-Midani, *The Enforcement Mechanisms of the Arab Charter on Human Rights and the Need for an Arab Court of Human Rights*.

¹¹⁶ The International Center for Non-for-Profit Law, *NGO Law Monitor: League of Arab States*, 2013.

¹¹⁷ League of Arab States, *Arab Charter on Human Rights*, 2004.

¹¹⁸ ICRC, *Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (Fourth Geneva Convention)*, 1949.

¹¹⁹ UN OHCHR & UNAMI, *Report on POC in the Non International Armed Conflict in Iraq: 5 June–5 July 2014*, pp. 4-7, 2014.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ ICRC, *Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (Protocol II)*, 1977.

¹²² Security Council Report, *Protection of Civilians*, 2014.

¹²³ UN Security Council and OCHA, *Aide Memoire: For the consideration of issues pertaining to the protection of civilians in armed conflict (S/PRST/2014/3)*, 2014.

¹²⁴ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/2175 (2014)*, 2014.

¹²⁵ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/479 (1980)*, 1980; UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/660 (1990)*, 1990.

SC imposed an arms embargo and assets freeze.¹²⁶ A total of 212 individuals and 67 groups, including the Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (also known as Al-Qaida in Iraq) have been listed by the committee.¹²⁷ A US-led multinational force invaded Iraq in March 2003, after the government was accused of not complying with its disarmament obligations under Security Council resolution 687 (1991).¹²⁸ Initial attempts to authorize the invasion through a Council resolution were abandoned when facing strong opposition from several permanent and non-permanent members.¹²⁹ Acting under Chapter VII of the Charter, the Security Council adopted resolution 1483 in May 2003, which put an end to the trade sanctions against the Iraqi government and recognized the United States and the United Kingdom “as occupying powers under unified command.”¹³⁰ This resolution also requested the appointment of a Special Representative (SRSG) for Iraq by the UN Secretary-General in order to coordinate humanitarian and reconstruction assistance, to support the rebuilding efforts of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), and promote legal and political reforms as well as the protection of human rights.¹³¹ This resolution provides the foundation for the work of UNAMI and the UN system in general in the country.

In a context of the continuing instability that has characterized Iraq since 2003, Resolution 1618 (2005) condemned the terrorist attacks, urging “Member States to prevent the transit of terrorists to and from Iraq, arms for terrorists, and financing that would support terrorists, and re-emphasiz[ing] the importance of strengthening the cooperation of the countries in the region, particularly neighbors of Iraq, in this regard.”¹³² After issuing a Presidential Statement in January 2014 condemning the terrorist attacks perpetrated by ISIL, the Council released several press statements in June and August 2014, expressing concerns over the persecution of civilian populations and minorities.¹³³ Further action was taken on 15 August 2014, with the unanimous adoption of resolution 2170.¹³⁴ This resolution extended the Al-Qaida Sanctions List to six individuals affiliated with ISIL and the extremist group Al-Nusra Front (ANF), and demanded that “ISIL, ANF, and all other individuals, groups, undertakings and entities associated with Al-Qaida cease all violence and terrorist acts, and disarm and disband with immediate effect.”¹³⁵ The Council has also repeatedly condemned the murders of foreign journalists and humanitarian aid workers by ISIL and its affiliates.¹³⁶

The United Nations Assistance Mission to Iraq (UNAMI)

The special political mission to Iraq was established by Security Council resolution 1500 in August 2003 in order to support the implementation of the mandate laid out in resolution 1483 (2003).¹³⁷ Additional components of UNAMI’s mandate include coordinating humanitarian and reconstruction assistance, facilitating the political and democratic reconstruction of the country, and promoting its economic rebuilding, the protection of human rights, and the reform of the security and judicial sectors.¹³⁸ After an initial period of 12 months, the mandate of the mission was renewed, and the Security Council has been renewing it since then on a yearly basis.¹³⁹ Under the leadership of the SRSG for Iraq, UNAMI is currently mandated to advise and assist the Iraqi government in establishing an inclusive political dialogue for national reconciliation, building respected democratic institutions through electoral processes, resolving internal disputes and facilitating regional dialogue and cooperation; to promote and facilitate humanitarian assistance and reconstruction efforts, economic reform and sustainable development, the promotion of

¹²⁶ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1267 (1999)*, 1999.

¹²⁷ UN Security Council, *Al-Qaida Sanctions List*, 2014.

¹²⁸ Katzman, *Iraq: Politics, Governance, and Human Rights*, 2014; UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1441 (2002)*, 2002.

¹²⁹ Emeagwali & Gonzalez, *UN Security Council Deliberations Regarding Iraq*, 2003.

¹³⁰ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1483 (2003)*, 2003.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1618 (2005)*, 2005.

¹³³ UN Security Council, *Presidential Statement S/PRST/2014/1*, 2014; UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Iraq*, 5 June 2014; UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Iraq*, 11 June 2014; UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Iraq*, 5 August 2014.

¹³⁴ UN DPI, *Security Council Adopts Resolution 2170 (2014) Condemning Gross, Widespread Abuse Of Human Rights by Extremist Groups in Iraq, Syria*, 15 August 2014.

¹³⁵ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/2170 (2014)*, 2014.

¹³⁶ UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Murder of James Foley*, 22 August 2014; UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Murder of Steven Sotloff*, 6 September 2014; UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Murder of David Haines*, 14 September 2014; UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Murder of Hervé Gourdel*, 24 September 2014; UN DPI, *Security Council Press Statement on Murder of Alan Henning*, 3 October 2014.

¹³⁷ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1500 (2003)*, 2003.

¹³⁸ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1483 (2003)*, 2003.

¹³⁹ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/2169 (2014)*, 2014.

human rights, legal and judicial reforms, and the work of United Nations agencies and programs in the country.¹⁴⁰ The mission also promotes the integration of gender perspectives within its mandate, in order to support and advance women's rights and gender equality in the Iraqi society.¹⁴¹ The Security Council requires the Secretary-General to report to the Council every three months on the progress made in fulfilling the responsibilities of UNAMI.¹⁴²

The United Nations System

The UN Country Team (UNCT) serves as the umbrella for the 19 UN agencies and programs operating in the country, and works closely with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and UNAMI – which plays a key leading and coordinating role for the UN system in Iraq across the various sectors of its mandate.¹⁴³ UNCT establishes the priorities of its action through the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) in Iraq, with the most recent version covering the period 2015-2019.¹⁴⁴ All UN Agencies and IOM have endorsed the framework and committed to fulfill its goals, which are: to strengthen the ability of public authorities to respond to the needs of the Iraqi population; and social inclusion and equity.¹⁴⁵ UNCT members are cooperating on various fields of their intervention: the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and IOM for example are working closely to provide assistance and protection to Internally Displaced Populations (IDPs) and refugees from Syria, Iran, Palestine and Turkey present in the country, mainly through the distribution of emergency relief items and cash assistance programs.¹⁴⁶

Non-UN entities

The countries involved in the US-led invasion played a significant role in rebuilding the country alongside UNAMI and UNCT. The United States and the United Kingdom, among others, established the CPA in 2003, in order to govern the country and implement a political and economic transition towards a liberal democracy.¹⁴⁷ The economic policy implemented by the CPA mainly focused on currency, fiscal and monetary reforms, putting the Iraqi banking system back on its feet and encouraging foreign investment and openness to international trade.¹⁴⁸ The CPA was then dissolved in June 2004, and the multinational force deployed in the country progressively transitioned towards strengthening the Iraqi Security Forces' (ISF) capacity in preparation for withdrawal of the multinational force in 2010-2011.¹⁴⁹ The European Union has also been contributing to the recovery and reconstruction efforts in the country since 2003, in supporting democracy, human rights, good governance, and poverty reduction.¹⁵⁰ For the 2014-2020 period, EU development aid is focused on human rights and the rule of law, education, and sustainable energy for all.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, the EU recently completed a nine-year Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq (EUJUST LEX-Iraq), which aimed at strengthening the rule of law and promoting a culture of respect for human rights through training and capacity-building of justice system officials.¹⁵²

Civil Society

Civil society organizations (CSOs) have been flourishing, particularly since 2003, after several decades of control and close monitoring by the Ba'athist regime.¹⁵³ The 2005 Constitution recognizes and supports the mission and independence of CSOs, and the 2010 *Law on Non-Governmental Organizations* (Law No. 12) is considered one of the most progressive in the region.¹⁵⁴ In 2008, around 6,350 organizations were registered with the Iraqi non-governmental organization (NGO) Directorate, but some estimates consider there could be up to 12,000 Iraqi NGOs

¹⁴⁰ UN Department of Political Affairs, *United Nations in Iraq: UNAMI Mandate*, 2014.

¹⁴¹ UN Department of Political Affairs, *United Nations in Iraq: Gender*, 2014.

¹⁴² UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/2169 (2014)*, 2014; UN Security Council, *Third report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2110 (S/2014/485)*, 2014.

¹⁴³ UN DPA, *United Nations in Iraq: UN Agencies in Iraq*, 2014; UN Department of Political Affairs, *Iraq*.

¹⁴⁴ UNAMI, *UNAMI Herald*, 2014.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ UNHCR, *UNHCR Iraq Factsheet – Quarter 1 2014*, 2014; IOM, *Iraq Crisis Response – Weekly Situation Report #6*, 2014.

¹⁴⁷ Katzman, *Iraq: Politics, Governance, and Human Rights*, 2014

¹⁴⁸ Foote, Block, Crane & Gray, *Economic Policy and Prospects in Iraq*, 2004.

¹⁴⁹ Katzman, *Iraq: Politics, Governance, and Human Rights*, 2014

¹⁵⁰ European Union, *EU-Iraq Relations*, 2014.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² European Union, *EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission for Iraq (EUJUST LEX-Iraq)*, 2014.

¹⁵³ NGO Coordination Committee for Iraq, *Iraq's Civil Society in Perspective*, 2011.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

operating in the country.¹⁵⁵ However, most of them do not meet the requirements of impartiality, accountability and transparency that are expected from CSOs, and they are facing many challenges in their operations.¹⁵⁶ The growing insecurity and sectarian tensions have threatened the existence and operations of NGOs in certain regions, and organizations have been dealing with serious government's incapacity and corruption in the provision of basic services and economic growth to the Iraqi population.¹⁵⁷

There are approximately 70 International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) operating directly or indirectly, through a national NGO, in Iraq.¹⁵⁸ They provide key support and basic services to local populations and lay a crucial role in implementing and monitoring programs on the ground. By working closely with national NGOs, they fill in critical gaps in the national government services and policies. In 2003, a group of 14 NGOs launched the NGO Coordination Committee for Iraq in order to ensure a coordinated and effective humanitarian action at the national level.¹⁵⁹ The Committee is currently composed of 39 international NGOs and 32 national NGOs, including the International Rescue Committee, Oxfam, the Norwegian Refugee Council and others.¹⁶⁰ Iraqi NGOs have been playing a crucial role in reaching out to displaced populations and providing them with emergency relief and support. The organization Harikar has established legal clinics and social centers in various locations, to provide counseling and training to individuals and families.¹⁶¹ Additionally, other NGOs such as Al-Mesalla and the Civil Development Organization have distributed non-food items to IDPs in Kurdistan.¹⁶²

Regional Context

ISIL and other extremist groups are presenting a serious threat to the security of Iraq and its neighbors, as they are now operating across borders and countries. The region has also been under strong pressure from the Syrian conflict and the flow of refugees fleeing the country. However, those issues present an opportunity for Member States in the region to deepen their cooperation and implement efficient mechanisms to restore and maintain peace and security.

The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL)

ISIL is a predominantly Sunni jihadist group formed in April 2013 with the objective to launch a civil unrest movement in the country and establish a caliphate, which is a traditional Islamic state based on sharia law.¹⁶³ The group grew out of Al-Qaida in Iraq (AQI), a terrorist organization founded in 2003 by Abu Musad al-Zarqawi to fight the US-led invasion of Iraq. The members of AQI initially originated from Pakistan and Afghanistan, and then integrated recruits from Syria, Iraq and neighboring countries. As the group became predominantly Iraqi, its former leader Abu Ayyub al-Masri renamed it the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) in 2006.¹⁶⁴ The alias ISI relates to larger territorial ambitions over the Middle-Eastern region, and it is now believed that foreign jihadists from the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the United States have joined the movement.¹⁶⁵ ISIL is currently led by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, who is reportedly residing in Syria.¹⁶⁶

Over the course of 2014, the group has gained control over northern regions of Iraq and cities such as Fallujah and Mosul.¹⁶⁷ It established administrative structures in territories across both sides of the Syrian-Iraqi border and declared an Islamic caliphate over the regions it controls on 29 June 2014.¹⁶⁸ It is believed that ISIL used to receive financial support from individuals based in Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia.¹⁶⁹ It now earns most of its funding from

¹⁵⁵ Iraqi Research Foundation for Analysis and Development, *Iraq Civil Society*, 2014.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ NGO Coordination Committee for Iraq, *Iraq's Civil Society in Perspective*, 2011.

¹⁵⁸ NGO Coordination Committee for Iraq, *Operating in High Risk Environment, NGOs intervention adapted to insecurity in Iraq: Overview and Challenges*, 2010.

¹⁵⁹ NGO Coordination Committee for Iraq, *About NCCI*, 2014.

¹⁶⁰ NGO Coordination Committee for Iraq, *Our Members*, 2014.

¹⁶¹ Harikar, *Duhok Governorate, Weekly report 7-11 September 2014*, 2014.

¹⁶² Al-Mesalla, *Report about Shangal crisis and IDPs in Iraqi Kurdistan*, 2014; Civil Development Organization, *Clothing distribution among IDP children*, 2014.

¹⁶³ Laub & Masters, *Islamic State in Iraq and Greater Syria*, 2014.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ BBC, *Syria Iraq: The Islamic State militant group*, 2014.

¹⁶⁶ Laub & Masters, *Islamic State in Iraq and Greater Syria*, 2014.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Global Security, *Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant/Al-Qaida in Iraq*, 2014.

¹⁶⁹ Gulmohamad, *The Rise and Fall of the Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham (Levant) ISIS*, 2014.

oil fields it controls in Syria, tax extortion over local businesses, illegal activities such as trafficking, and the capture of Mosul in June 2014.¹⁷⁰ In June 2014, the Iraqi government called for the intervention of the United States to counter the advance of ISIL in the country.¹⁷¹ On 8 August 2014, President Obama launched a series of airstrikes against the positions of the extremist groups, principally targeting the Mosul dam and Irbil.¹⁷² The airstrikes have now been extended to the Syrian territory following the strategy developed by the US Government.¹⁷³ US and Jordanian armed forces have been conducting heavy airstrikes on the Kurdish town of Kobane in Syria in order to counter the advance of ISIL in the region.¹⁷⁴ In parallel, the US has formed a coalition of ten countries, including Australia, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Turkey and the United Kingdom, for immediate action to combat ISIL and other extremist groups.¹⁷⁵

Regional implications of the Syrian conflict

The movement of national protest that started in March 2011 in Syria, and quickly became an armed rebellion, has had numerous implications for the region. The porous borders between Syria and its neighbors have facilitated the movements of armed groups and material from one country to the other, thus destabilizing societies and countries already under tension or in a precarious situation.¹⁷⁶ The divide between pro- and anti-Assad has inflamed the sectarian tensions in Iraq, with Sunni tribes crossing the border to join the opposition forces and Shia fighters providing support to President Assad's forces in Syria.¹⁷⁷

The flow of Syrian refugees fleeing the conflict is presenting a significant threat to the stability of neighboring countries. As of July 2014, almost 3 million refugees from Syria have been registered by UNHCR: 1.14 million reside in Lebanon, 800,000 in Turkey, 600,000 in Jordan, more than 200,000 have fled to Iraq and 140,000 to Egypt; the majority of all refugees reside in urban areas, which adds an additional facet to an already challenging situation.¹⁷⁸ The impact of those refugees on the host communities is quite significant, as strong constraints are placed on local economy, resources, infrastructures and services.¹⁷⁹ In Iraq, this adds up to an already-existing situation of domestic instability and poses an additional burden on a country struggling with its own internal population displacements.¹⁸⁰

Potential for regional cooperation

The regional spillover of the Syrian crisis and the rising of the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant outside of the Iraqi borders are putting great pressure on the countries of the region. When facing a terrorist organization that is directly threatening their integrity and the security of their populations, Member States have an opportunity to unite against a common adversary and to strengthen their cooperation.¹⁸¹ Iran has, for example, the potential to offer military assistance to the Iraqi government, under the form of training and coordination, information and intelligence, and military supplies.¹⁸² The Syrian government could also gain from joining forces with its neighbors in order to fight ISIL.¹⁸³ At the political level, strict measures to freeze assets and prevent ISIL and other terrorist groups from acquiring arms are also necessary and can be implemented through existing or new mechanisms.¹⁸⁴ However, they can only be fully effective with a strong commitment of all Member States concerned in the region. The Arab League took a step towards potential coordinated action against ISIL in early September, when its

¹⁷⁰ Gulmohamad, *The Rise and Fall of the Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham (Levant) ISIS*, 2014.

¹⁷¹ Aljazeera, *Iraq asks US for air strikes on ISIL rebels*, 2014.

¹⁷² The Guardian, *US military Isis air strikes in Iraq: day-by-day breakdown*, 2014.

¹⁷³ The New York Times, *Transcript of Obama's Remarks on the Fight Against ISIS*, 2014.

¹⁷⁴ Aljazeera, *US steps up air strikes on ISIL in Syria*, 2014.

¹⁷⁵ Wintour, *US forms 'core coalition' to fight Isis militants in Iraq*, 2014.

¹⁷⁶ Calabrese, *The Regional Implications of the Syria Crisis*, 2012.

¹⁷⁷ BBC, *How Syria conflict affects its neighbours*, 2013; Calabrese, *The Regional Implications of the Syria Crisis*, 2012.

¹⁷⁸ UN High Commissioner for Refugees, *Syria Regional Refugee Response*, 2014.

¹⁷⁹ IOM, *Iraq: The Impact of the Syria Crisis*, 2013.

¹⁸⁰ Chatham House, *Syria's Refugees: Regional Implications of the Conflict*, 2014; IOM, *Iraq: The Impact of the Syria Crisis*, 2013.

¹⁸¹ The New York Times, *In Iraq Crisis, a Tangle of Alliances and Enmities*, 2014.

¹⁸² Esfandiari, *Explainer: How Iran Could Help Iraq Fight ISIL*, 2014.

¹⁸³ UN Security Council, *Third report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2110 (S/2014/485)*, 2014.

¹⁸⁴ Reuters, *U.N. Calls For Military Force Against ISIL in Iraq*, 2014.

members agreed to take “all necessary measures” to confront ISIL and enhance its cooperation with international, regional and national efforts currently in place.¹⁸⁵

Political, Electoral and Constitutional Issues

The sectarian tensions between Sunnis and Shias, and between Arabs and other ethnic groups, have made the democratic transition process after the fall of Saddam Hussein in April 2003 particularly difficult. Under the 2005 Constitution, the President, traditionally of Kurdish identity, and Prime Minister, traditionally a Shia Arab, share the power to authorize executive decisions, which have to be approved by a Sunni speaker of parliament and the Iraqi Council of Representatives (COR).¹⁸⁶ However, frustration among Sunnis became strong, as their positions in the power structure diminished and they demanded that the newly elected government fulfill its promise of justice and equal security.¹⁸⁷ The Government has been criticized for not including the Sunni minority in the political process, and this marginalization has heightened the grievances of the Sunni population.¹⁸⁸ In this context, despite the fact that most Iraqi Sunnis reject terrorism and ISIL, the discontent among the Sunni Arab population provides grounds and opportunities for the organization to expand its presence and target the government.¹⁸⁹ In parallel, tensions have been growing between the Kurdish minority and the Iraqi government, mainly around unclaimed territory in the north, the distribution of oil revenues and acceptance of contracts from foreign oil companies.¹⁹⁰

The Iraqi people elected a new COR in April 2014, and the State of Law coalition, which includes Mr. Maliki’s Da’wa party, won more than 90 seats out of 325 in total.¹⁹¹ The Kurdish parties won 62 seats, and the Sunni bloc composed of three different parties won 53 seats in total.¹⁹² Confronted with a growing security crisis and the advance of ISIL in the country, the COR reached an impasse in designating the new leaders of the government.¹⁹³ On 15 July 2014, Sunni Salim al-Jabouri, a moderate, was finally elected as speaker of the parliament, a first step towards forming a new government.¹⁹⁴ On 24 July 2014, the COR chose Fouad Massoum, a Kurdish politician, to replace Jalal Talabani as the country’s president.¹⁹⁵ On 11 August 2014, Nouri al-Maliki agreed to step down and the COR nominated Shiite politician Haider al-Abadi to form a new government.¹⁹⁶

Role of UNAMI

The political mission to Iraq played a leading role in the first steps of the Iraqi democratic transition, by assisting in the drafting of the Constitution and supporting the Independent High Electoral Commission of Iraq, the Interim Government and the Transitional National Assembly.¹⁹⁷ In 2007, the Security Council expanded the Mission’s political mandate with resolution 1770, which provides that UNAMI shall assist the Government and the people of Iraq in strengthening political dialogue, developing processes for holding free and fair elections and resolving disputed internal boundaries.¹⁹⁸ UNAMI’s Office of Political Affairs has made the latest issue a priority, working to enhance regional dialogue and cooperation between communities at the local level.¹⁹⁹ UNAMI also provided advice and assistance to the Electoral Commission in organizing the most recent COR and Governorate Council elections, and in implementing gender-specific activities to collect gender-focused election data and promote the role of women in democratic processes.²⁰⁰

¹⁸⁵ Aljazeera, *Arab League pledges to tackle Islamic State*, 2014.

¹⁸⁶ Snyder, *Post-War Iraq: The Triangle of Ethnic Tensions*, 2014.

¹⁸⁷ Katzman, *Iraq: Politics, Governance, and Human Rights*, 2014, p. 4; Snyder, *Post-War Iraq: The Triangle of Ethnic Tensions*, 2014.

¹⁸⁸ Wicken, *Iraq’s Sunnis in Crisis*, 2013.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Snyder, *Post-War Iraq: The Triangle of Ethnic Tensions*, 2014.

¹⁹¹ UN Security Council, *Third report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2110 (S/2014/485)*, 2014.

¹⁹² Katzman, *Iraq: Politics, Governance, and Human Rights*, 2014, p. 20-22

¹⁹³ Aljazeera, *Iraq parliament defers vote on new government*, 2014.

¹⁹⁴ Bradley, *Iraqi Parliament Breaks Deadlock to Elect Speaker*, 2014.

¹⁹⁵ Arango & Al-Salhy, *Iraq Picks New President to Confront Militant Threat*, 2014.

¹⁹⁶ Morris & Sly, *Iran endorses Haider al-Abadi as Iraq’s new prime minister, spurning Nouri al-Maliki*, 2014.

¹⁹⁷ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1546 (2004)*, 2004.

¹⁹⁸ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1770 (2007)*, 2007.

¹⁹⁹ United Nations, *United Nations in Iraq: Political and Constitutional Affairs*, 2014.

²⁰⁰ UN Security Council, *Third report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2110 (S/2014/485)*, 2014.

Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs

On the ground, the OCHA is supervising the humanitarian response to the ongoing crisis and the efforts to provide shelter, clean water, food, basic supplies, health services and protection to the displaced populations and the people in conflict areas.²⁰¹ OCHA has estimated that more than half of the national population has been affected by the violence between armed groups and government forces and that 1.5 million Iraqis are in need of humanitarian assistance.²⁰² Among the populations in need, women-headed households, children and persons with disabilities have been identified as particularly vulnerable to violence and human rights violations.²⁰³

ISIL has been accused of committing serious human rights violations, including crimes against humanity in the Syrian province of Raqqa.²⁰⁴ In Iraq, the organization has been deliberately targeting civilians through suicide attacks and bombings, kidnappings and abductions, and acts of sexual violence.²⁰⁵ Sharia law has been imposed in certain parts of the territory controlled by ISIL, and further, fundamental rights such as the freedom of movement and religious observance, are being restricted.²⁰⁶ In Mosul, which has been under control of ISIL since mid-2014, death threats were made against the Christian minority if they did not convert to Islam, and massacres, abductions and torture of Turkmen, Shabaks and Yazidis have been documented.²⁰⁷ ISIL has also taken hostage and executed on multiple occasions foreign and national journalists and humanitarian aid workers.²⁰⁸ There have also been reports of human rights violations by the security forces of the Iraqi government and government-backed militias. The ISF air strikes against armed groups have resulted in large numbers of civilian casualties, with at least 75 civilians killed in June and July 2014.²⁰⁹ Unlawful executions of more than 250 detainees have also been reported, with the large majority of those prisoners being Sunni Arabs.²¹⁰ Children have been particularly affected by the conflict, with a serious lack of access to basic services and education. There have also been reports of children being enrolled in fighting forces on both sides.²¹¹ Women have been victims of sexual and other physical violence, sexual exploitation and forced marriage, and the conflict has posed serious threats to their security.²¹²

Role of UNAMI

The political mission to Iraq has played a crucial role in monitoring, documenting and investigating reports of human rights violations in the country.²¹³ Under Security Council resolution 1770 (2007), UNAMI is mandated to “promote the protection of human rights and judicial and legal reform in order to strengthen the rule of law”, but also to “promote, support and facilitate [...] the coordination and delivery of humanitarian assistance and the safe, orderly and voluntary return, as appropriate, of refugees and displaced persons.”²¹⁴ Its Human Rights Office works with the public authorities, civil society partners, NGOs, UN funds and programs in promoting practices and institutions respectful of political, social, economic and cultural rights.²¹⁵ They organize the training of ISF and assist the government in establishing an Independent High Commission for Human Rights based on international standards.²¹⁶ UNAMI’s Integrated Coordination Office for Development and Humanitarian Affairs (ICODHA) is in charge of monitoring and informing the Mission’s headquarters of the evolution of humanitarian needs across the country, and works closely with OCHA in coordinating initiatives implemented by the national government and the humanitarian community, including UN agencies and NGOs.²¹⁷ In early October, OCHA released the Immediate

²⁰¹ UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, *Iraq 2014 Strategic Response Plan, Revision*, 2014.

²⁰² UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, *Iraq*, 2014.

²⁰³ UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, *Iraq 2014 Strategic Response Plan, Revision*, 2014.

²⁰⁴ UN OHCHR & UNAMI, *Report on POC in the Non International Armed Conflict in Iraq: 5 June–5 July 2014*, 2014.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁷ Swarts, *Christians flee Mosul after ISIL threat: Convert to Islam or die*, 2014; Human Rights Watch, *Iraq: ISIS Abducting, Killing, Expelling Minorities*, 2014.

²⁰⁸ Goldman & Witte, *Islamic State beheads second Briton, threatens to kill ex-U.S. Army Ranger*, 2014; Aljazeera, *ISIL 'publicly executes Iraqi journalist'*, 2014.

²⁰⁹ Human Rights Watch, *Iraq: Civilian Toll of Government Airstrikes*, 2014.

²¹⁰ Human Rights Watch, *Iraq: Campaign of Mass Murders of Sunni Prisoners*, 2014.

²¹¹ UN OHCHR & UNAMI, *Report on POC in the Non International Armed Conflict in Iraq: 5 June–5 July 2014*, 2014.

²¹² *Ibid.*

²¹³ United Nations, *United Nations in Iraq: Human Rights Reports*, 2014.

²¹⁴ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1770 (2007)*, 2007.

²¹⁵ United Nations, *United Nations in Iraq: Human Rights Office*, 2014.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ United Nations, *United Nations in Iraq: Integrated Coordination Office for Development and Humanitarian Affairs*, 2014.

Response Plan signed with the Iraqi Government to respond to the IDP crisis in Kurdistan.²¹⁸ However, the humanitarian access to populations in western and central Iraq is severely constrained by the conflict and the lack of resources from the humanitarian community.²¹⁹

Economic and Social Development

Many obstacles, such as the political and security situation, corruption, the lack of funding and the poor coordination among aid organizations, have obstructed the path towards a sustainable economic growth and inclusive social development.²²⁰ Oil has been dominating the Iraqi economy, considering the country has the fifth largest oil reserves.²²¹ Oil accounts for 95% of Iraq's foreign exchange, and non-oil economic sectors have been largely ignored by development policies and investments.²²² The unemployment rates in the country are estimated at 15% for the national population and 22.5% for the youth.²²³ As of 2011, more than 11% of the population was still living with less than USD 2.5 per day.²²⁴ Enrollment in primary education has been increasing steadily, to reach 95% in 2015, but severe disparities persist between males and females.²²⁵ Similarly, employment opportunities for women remain unequal in labor markets, with only one out of six people employed in the non-agricultural sector being female.²²⁶ Those problems are also direct obstacles to the foundation of sustainable and inclusive peace in Iraq, and require the Security Council to consider diverse aspects of international peace and security including when linked to economic and social development.

Role of UNAMI

The UN Assistance Mission to Iraq is mandated, under Security Council resolution 1770 (2007), to promote and support economic reform and sustainable development policies, the implementation of socio-economical programs, and the coordination of donor contributions through the International Reconstruction Fund Facility for Iraq (IRFFI).²²⁷

UNAMI's ICODHA plays a key role in enhancing collaboration and dialogue between the public authorities and the civil society, as it is coordinating development activities between the UN, the government and NGOs.²²⁸ The Gender Unit also works at supporting the advancement of gender equality in Iraq, through advocacy, advice and technical support, partnerships and training, in close cooperation with the government, the civil society and UN agencies.²²⁹ For example, UNAMI supported in April 2014 the organization of a conference to review and discuss the recommendations of the committee charged with upholding implementation of the *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women* (CEDAW).²³⁰ The Mission's mandate and current activities thus provide a large range of options to support the Iraqi government and local populations in implementing an inclusive and sustainable model of development, in order to address the root causes of conflict and establish lasting peace as well as strong security in the country and the region.

Conclusion

The ongoing security situation in Iraq finds its origins in the enduring tensions between religious, ethnic and tribal groups, and exacerbated by the government's lack of capacity promote socioeconomic development, establish a strong governance infrastructure, and now, respond to the crisis. The scale of the conflict between armed groups and government forces now goes beyond Iraq's borders and ISIL is posing a threat to the security of the entire region. In

²¹⁸ UNOCHA, *Iraq Crisis: Situation Report No. 14*, 2014.

²¹⁹ UNOCHA, *Iraq Crisis: Situation Report No.15*, 2014.

²²⁰ World Bank, *Rebuilding Iraq: Economic Reform and Transition*, 2006.

²²¹ Iraqi Research Foundation for Analysis and Development, *Iraq Investment Environment – 2014*, 2014.

²²² Ibid; Tamimi, *Iraq Struggles 10 Years After Change*, 2013.

²²³ Tamimi, *Iraq Struggles 10 Years After Change*, 2013; UNDP, *The Millennium Development Goals in Iraq – Update*, 2013.

²²⁴ UNDP, *The Millennium Development Goals in Iraq – 2013 Update*, 2013.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ UN Security Council, *Resolution S/RES/1770 (2007)*, 2007.

²²⁸ United Nations, *United Nations in Iraq: Integrated Coordination Office for Development and Humanitarian Affairs*, 2014.

²²⁹ United Nations, *United Nations in Iraq: Gender*, 2014; UN Security Council, *Third report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2110 (S/2014/485)*, 2014.

²³⁰ UN Security Council, *Third report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2110 (S/2014/485)*, 2014.

the end, building lasting peace in Iraq and protecting local populations requires improving the capacity of the government to maintain security in the country, to implement inclusive social, political and economic policies for all ethnic groups and genders, to respond to the specific needs of vulnerable populations and to effectively protect human rights. Solving the current security crisis furthermore requires an enhanced cooperation between affected and neighboring countries, both at the military and political levels. In this context, the Security Council should play a key role in restoring peace and stability in Iraq and in the region, and should make use of its mandate to ensure that all relevant actors, such as UN Agencies and CSOs, are included in the process.

Further Research

Moving forward, delegates should consider the following questions: what regional and international mechanisms and tools could be used to counter the advance of ISIL and other armed groups? How can existing forums, both at the regional and international levels, play a stronger role in restoring peace and security in the region? In Iraq, what policies and mechanisms could be considered to strengthen territorial integrity and enhance dialogue between national and local governments, as well as between the various groups that make up the Iraqi society? What role does development play in restoring and maintaining peace and security, and how can the SC support economic and social development? What kind of response would be necessary from the Security Council in this context? More specifically, should it be addressed by a military intervention conducted by a coalition of Member States or should the Security Council take further action to fight ISIL and other extremist groups, through a peacekeeping mission for example? Does the current threat to regional and international peace and security require a stronger UN response? Overall, how can the UN system better support the Iraqi government and CSOs in building a path for sustainable development and national stability?

Annotated Bibliography

Council on Foreign Relations. (2014). *The Sunni-Shia Divide*. Retrieved 7 August 2014 from: http://www.cfr.org/peace-conflict-and-human-rights/sunni-shia-divide/p33176#!/?cid=otr-marketing_url-sunni_shia_infoguide#overview-video

The Sunni-Shia divide has played a major role in the ongoing ISIL crisis, and has been a factor of severe instability in Iraq and in the Middle-eastern region. Considering the complexity of the religious dynamics in place, it is very important for delegates to get a good understanding of the underlying issues. This guide presented by the Council on Foreign Relations provides a clear and extensive background on the problem and does a good job at presenting what is at stake in this conflict.

International Committee of the Red Cross. (1949). *Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (Fourth Geneva Convention)*. Retrieved 7 August 2014 from: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6b36d2.html>

The Fourth Geneva Convention is one of the foundational documents of international humanitarian law and for this reason should be a source of reference for delegates. The document lists the various rights of civilian populations in times of war and conflict, and all signatory States are required to abound by those principles. The 1977 Protocol to the Convention is of particular relevance for the situation in Iraq and delegates should consider ways to strengthen its implementation on the ground.

Laub, Z. & J. Masters. (2014). *Islamic State in Iraq and Greater Syria*, Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved 7 August 2014 from: <http://www.cfr.org/iraq/islamic-state-iraq-greater-syria/p14811>

The Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant currently poses the most severe threat to the security of Iraq and neighboring States. Even if the delegates' efforts should not solely focus on ISIL, it is important for them to get a good understanding of the group's origins, dynamics and strategy. This guide from the Council on Foreign Relations is an excellent resource for that purpose.

League of Arab States. (2004). *Arab Charter on Human Rights*. Retrieved 7 August 2014 from: <http://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/instree/loas2005.html?msource=UNWDEC19001&tr=y&auid=3337655>

The Arab Charter on Human Rights is a very recent effort from Arab States to improve the status of human rights in the region and ensure they are effectively promoted and protected. It was inspired by the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and adapted to align with regional and cultural sensibilities. Delegates should emphasize the importance for Member States to become parties to human rights conventions, including the Arab Charter on Human Rights, in order to ensure better protection of civilian populations.

United Nations. (2008). *International Instruments Related to the Prevention and Suppression of International Terrorism*. Retrieved 7 August 2014 from: https://www.unodc.org/documents/terrorism/Publications/Int_Instruments_Prevention_and_Suppression_Int_Terrorism/Publication_-_English_-_08-25503_text.pdf

This document compiles all regional and international legal instruments currently in place, for the prevention and suppression of terrorism. Delegates will find there the key conventions that can be used to combat the terrorist organizations currently operating in Iraq. At the regional level, the Arab Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism is particularly relevant for the topic at hand, and delegates should consider ways to apply its provisions in order to enhance regional cooperation.

United Nations, Department of Political Affairs. (2014). *United Nations in Iraq* [Website]. Retrieved 9 July 2014 from: <http://www.uniraq.org/index.php?lang=en>

The website of the UN System in Iraq is a great resource for delegates who wish to get a complete overview of the work of the UN in the country, across a large set of sectors and agencies. The webpage dedicated to the UN Assistance Mission to Iraq summarizes the role and mandate of the mission and references all key documents related to it. It should help delegates get a clear

understanding of the current UN involvement in the country in order to define relevant and effective solutions to the security situation.

United Nations, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs. (2014). *Iraq 2014 Strategic Response Plan, Revision*. Retrieved 7 August 2014 from: https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/CAP/Revision_2014_Iraq_SRP.pdf

The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs is responsible for ensuring a coherent response to emergencies by all humanitarian actors. The revised version of the 2014 Strategic Response Plan for Iraq provides the delegates with updated estimations of the populations' needs, an overview of the current humanitarian assistance in place in the country and an understanding of the different issues faced by humanitarian actors on the field. It is a very useful document to understand the situation in Iraq at the humanitarian level and it should help delegates to research and design appropriate actions to protect civilian populations.

United Nations, Security Council, 5729th meeting. (2007). *The Situation in Iraq (S/RES/1770 (2007))*. Retrieved 7 August 2014 from: [http://undocs.org/S/RES/1770\(2007\)](http://undocs.org/S/RES/1770(2007))

The Security Council resolution 1500 (2003) established the UN Assistance Mission to Iraq to strengthen the work of the UN system in the aftermath of the US-led invasion of the country. In 2007, SC resolution 1770 expanded the Mission's mandate to reinforce the long-term dimension of its work on the ground. It is important for delegates to know very well the provisions of UNAMI's mandate in order to make a valuable use of it when suggesting solutions and negotiating in Committee; this resolution should be their main document of reference for that purpose.

United Nations, Security Council. (2014). *Third report of the Secretary-General submitted pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 2110 (S/2014/485)*. Retrieved 9 August 2014 from: <http://undocs.org/S/2014/485>

In resolution 2110 (2013) which renewed UNAMI's mandate for 12 months, the Security Council requested the UN Secretary-General to report every four months on the progress made towards the mission's mandate. The latest report submitted in July 2014 provides delegates with a detailed overview of the most recent political and security situation in Iraq and of the activities of the Organization in the country. It is a reliable source of reference for their research and should help gain a solid understanding of the situation and recent developments.

United Nations, Security Council, 7230th meeting. (2014). *The Situation in Iraq (S/RES/2169 (2014))*. Retrieved 7 August 2014 from: [http://undocs.org/S/RES/2169\(2014\)](http://undocs.org/S/RES/2169(2014))

On 28 July 2014, the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 2169 (2014), which renews the mandate of UNAMI for another 12 months. Considering the security situation in the country, the Council requested the Secretary-General to report every three months instead of four, with the next report expected in November 2014. This resolution is the legal foundation of the work of the UN Mission in the country and is a key document for delegates to understand the role of the Security Council on the topic.

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II. Measures to Combat Terrorism in Africa

Introduction

While combating terrorism has been on the United Nations Security Council's agenda for decades, globalization has given new urgency to the issue.²³¹ Easier travel and communications led to a noticeable increase in terrorist attacks in the 1990s, escalating markedly with the bombing of embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and culminating with the unprecedented terrorist attacks perpetrated against the United States on 11 September 2001.²³² The proliferation of terrorist groups since 2001 has left no region of Africa untouched by the taint of extremism.²³³ Though there is still no official United Nations (UN) definition of terrorism, the Security Council (SC) defines terrorism in resolution 1566 (2004) as "criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act."²³⁴ A terrorist is anyone who "supports, facilitates, participates or attempts to participate in the financing, planning, preparation or commission of terrorist acts or provides safe havens."²³⁵

Terrorism has been on the UN's agenda since its inception and many UN bodies, chief among them the Security Council, play an active role in implementing the UN's counter-terrorism framework.²³⁶ The UN's capacity to combat terrorism has improved significantly since 2001, but recent events, particularly in Africa, have demonstrated that renewed efforts are required to eradicate terrorism and combat violent extremism.²³⁷ In the past two years alone, terrorist groups in Africa have led an armed insurgency in Mali, carried out a deadly attack on a Kenyan mall, and kidnaped more than 200 Nigerian schoolgirls.²³⁸ Aggravating factors such as, weak border security, corruption, and dire economic situations plague many African states, allowing terrorist groups to operate and recruit.²³⁹ If left unchecked, violent extremism will continue to threaten the security, economic development, and governance of all African Member States.²⁴⁰ The responsibility to maintain international peace and security, as proscribed in the *Charter of the United Nations* (1945), requires all Member States to take firm action to combat terrorism "committed by whomever, wherever and for whatever purposes."²⁴¹

This guide will first discuss the international and regional counter-terrorism framework and highlight the difference in approach before and after the events of 11 September 2001. It will then describe the role of the international community with a particular focus on the Security Council, the General Assembly, and African regional economic committees (RECs). The guide explores the regional conditions that make combating terrorism in Africa particularly difficult and provides a brief description of the three largest extremist groups operating in Africa: Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), Boko Haram, and Al-Shabab. It then discusses the implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Africa. Finally, the guide concludes with questions to guide further research.

International and Regional Framework

Combating terrorism has been on the agenda of the international community since before the founding of the United Nations.²⁴² In 1937, the League of Nations adopted a convention to outlaw and prevent terrorism, though it never

²³¹ Chowdhury Fink, *Meeting the Challenge: A Guide to United Nations Counterterrorism Activities*, 2012, p. 1-3.

²³² UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 4.

²³³ UN Security Council, *Peace and security in Africa (S/PRST/2013/5)*, 2013.

²³⁴ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 17; UN Security Council, *Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts (S/RES/1566 (2004))*, 2004, p. 2.

²³⁵ UN Security Council, *Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts (S/RES/1566 (2004))*, 2004, p. 2.

²³⁶ Chowdhury Fink, *Meeting the Challenge: A Guide to United Nations Counterterrorism Activities*, 2012, p. 1.

²³⁷ UN Security Council, *Peace and security in Africa (S/PRST/2013/5)*, 2014, p. 1.

²³⁸ Laub & Masters, *Backgrounder: Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)*, 2014; Masters, *Backgrounder: Al-Shabab*, 2013; Sergie & Johnson, *Backgrounder: Boko Haram*, 2014.

²³⁹ UN Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations to help States and subregional and regional entities in Africa in fighting terrorism (S/2014/9)*, 2014.

²⁴⁰ What's in Blue, *Open Debate: Challenges of Combating Terrorism in Africa*, 2013.

²⁴¹ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945; UN Security Council, *Peace and security in Africa (S/PRST/2013/5)*, 2013, p. 1.

²⁴² United Nations, *UN Action to Counter Terrorism: International Legal Instruments*.

came into force.²⁴³ Similarly, the UN recognized terrorism as a grave threat, requesting Member States to maintain international peace and security.²⁴⁴ Article VII of the Charter endows the Security Council with the authority to pass binding resolutions and take action, including the use of force against non-state actors or Member States that pose a grave threat to international peace and security.²⁴⁵

The UN and its specialized agencies have passed 14 international legal instruments and four amendments on terrorism.²⁴⁶ The first legal instrument adopted was the *Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed On Board Aircraft* (1963), signed by States Parties to the International Civil Aviation Organization, outlawing any attempt to endanger passengers or flight crew on international flights.²⁴⁷ Six additional treaties outlaw terrorist acts in the aviation sphere, while another three outlaw terrorist acts at sea and in the maritime industry.²⁴⁸ Threats to international travel and commerce dominated the UN's counter-terrorism agenda for several decades.²⁴⁹ Other important instruments adopted by the UN General Assembly (GA) include the *International Convention on the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism* (1999) and the *International Convention on the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism* (2005).²⁵⁰

Though terrorism was a debate topic since the early days of the UN, most Member States failed to ratify a majority of the treaties against terrorism before 11 September 2001.²⁵¹ Only Botswana and the United Kingdom ratified all 12 of the treaties against terrorism in existence before the attacks.²⁵² Implementation varied significantly by region, resulting in a weak international framework that was sharply criticized after the events of 11 September 2001.²⁵³ In recent years, the UN and its Member States have recommitted themselves, multilaterally and unilaterally, to combating terrorism, but many states, especially in Africa, lack the resources and technical capacity to fully implement UN mandates.²⁵⁴ Despite the increased efforts to combat terrorism, most of the international instruments addressing the issue are still not universally ratified.²⁵⁵

One of the most important contributions to the UN's counter-terrorism regime is the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (A/RES/60/288), which was unanimously adopted by the GA in 2006.²⁵⁶ The UN Strategy was created to address the recommendations of the 2005 High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, which called on the UN to create a global framework for combating terrorism.²⁵⁷ The Strategy contains four pillars: "addressing conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism; preventing and combating terrorism; building the capacity of Member States to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in that regard; and preserving respect for human rights and the rule of the law while combating terrorism."²⁵⁸ The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy guides the UN's system-wide approach to counter-terrorism.²⁵⁹

The African Union

The African Union (AU), formerly known as the Organization for African Unity (OAU), created its own framework to countering terrorism in addition to working with the UN. The AU built upon the OAU's existing counter-terrorism framework, including the *1992 Resolution on the Strengthening of Cooperation and Coordination among African States* and the *OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism* (1999), adopted in response

²⁴³ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: International Legal Instruments*.

²⁴⁴ *Charter of the United Nations*, 26 June 1945.

²⁴⁵ *Charter of the United Nations*, 26 June 1945.

²⁴⁶ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: International Legal Instruments*.

²⁴⁷ United Nations, *Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed On Board Aircraft*, 1963.

²⁴⁸ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: International Legal Instruments*.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 4.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20, 27.

²⁵⁶ UN General Assembly, *The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (A/RES/60/288)*, 2006.

²⁵⁷ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: Background*.

²⁵⁸ UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, *Summary and Conclusions: Workshop on the Regional Implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Eastern Africa*, 2011, p. 4.

²⁵⁹ Chowdhury Fink, *Meeting the Challenge: A Guide to United Nations Counterterrorism Activities*, 2012, p. 1.

to the bombings in Kenya and Tanzania perpetrated by Al-Qaida in 1998.²⁶⁰ The AU also rejected terrorism in all forms in the *Dakar Declaration Against Terrorism* in 2001.²⁶¹ In 2002, the AU adopted the *AU Plan of Action* to provide a “roadmap” for African states to implement the mandates of the OAU Convention and relevant SC resolutions.²⁶² Finally, in 2004, the *Protocol to the OAU Convention* gave the AU Peace and Security Council responsibility for coordinating the implementation of regional and UN counter-terrorism mandates.²⁶³ The Protocol also created the African Centre for the Study and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT), which functions as the operational arm of the African Union’s counter-terrorism regime.²⁶⁴ The ACSRT is responsible for working directly with AU Member States on capacity-building measures.²⁶⁵ For instance, the ACSRT, the AU Peace and Security Department, and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) recently collaborated to create the “African Model Law for Combating Terrorist Financing.”²⁶⁶ A model law is a tool that helps states write or amend national laws that comply with international treaty obligations, in this case, preventing the financing of terror groups.²⁶⁷ Under this initiative, the ACSRT will assist AU Member States in drafting legislation based on the model law.²⁶⁸

The United Nations considers cooperation with regional and subregional bodies essential to implementing its counter-terrorism strategy in Africa.²⁶⁹ Since 2007, the Security Council and the AU Peace and Security Council have met annually to discuss joint areas of concern and increase cooperation between the two bodies.²⁷⁰ At their most recent meeting on 6 June 2014, the councils discussed the situations in Somalia and Mali, among other topics.²⁷¹

Role of the International System

As the primary organ charged with the maintenance of international peace and security, the Security Council issues mandates and technical measures to combat terrorism.²⁷² Before 2001, the Council’s counter-terrorism agenda focused primarily on sanctioning Member States that sponsored terrorism, including Libya, Sudan, and Afghanistan.²⁷³ Security Council resolution 1267 (1999) established the Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee to oversee sanctions against the Taliban and later Al-Qaida.²⁷⁴ However, most of the Council’s counter-terrorism resolutions were not issued under Article VII of the *Charter of the United Nations* (1945), therefore they are not legally binding and compliance is voluntary.²⁷⁵ The events of 11 September 2001 prompted a significant change in the way the SC addressed terrorism.²⁷⁶ On 28 September 2001, the Security Council passed resolution 1373, under Article VII of the UN Charter, requiring Member States to address gaps in the global counter-terrorism regime through enacting national legislation that criminalizes acts of terrorism and makes terrorism an extraditable offense, preventing its financing, and denying refuge to terrorist groups within their borders.²⁷⁷ In 2004, the Security Council adopted resolution 1535 which established the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate in order to assist Member States with technical implementation of resolution 1373.²⁷⁸

²⁶⁰ African Union Peace and Security Department, *The African Union Counter Terrorism Framework*, 2014; UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 10.

²⁶¹ African Union, *Dakar Declaration Against Terrorism*, 2001.

²⁶² UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 31.

²⁶³ African Union, *Protocol to the OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism*, 2004.

²⁶⁴ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 33.

²⁶⁵ African Union Peace and Security Department, *The African Union Counter Terrorism Framework*, 2014.

²⁶⁶ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 33.

²⁶⁷ UN Office on Drugs and Crime, *Model Laws and Treaties*, 2014.

²⁶⁸ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 33.

²⁶⁹ UN Security Council, *Peace and security in Africa (S/PRST/2013/5)*, 2013, p. 4.

²⁷⁰ Security Council Report, *Annual Meeting with AU PSC Members*, 2014.

²⁷¹ UN Security Council, *Joint communiqué of the eighth annual joint consultative meeting between members of the Security Council of the United Nations and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union*, 2014, p. 6-9.

²⁷² UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 13.

²⁷³ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: Security Council Actions to Counter Terrorism*.

²⁷⁴ UN Security Council, *Security Council Committee pursuant to resolutions 1267 (1999) and 1989 (2011) concerning Al-Qaida and associated individuals and entities: General Information on the Work of the Committee*.

²⁷⁵ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 19.

²⁷⁶ UN CTC, *UN Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee Meets on the Occasion of the 13th Anniversary of 9/11*, 2014.

²⁷⁷ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 19.

²⁷⁸ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: Security Council Actions to Counter Terrorism*.

In resolution 2122 (2013), the Council called for the integration of gender and consideration of the role of women across its thematic work on counter-terrorism, building on the normative framework of the women, peace and security agenda, as established in resolution 1325 (2000).²⁷⁹ The Council explicitly committed in resolution 2122 to mainstream a gender perspective to areas such as peacebuilding, the rule of law, peace and security in Africa, and addressing threats to international peace and security, among others.²⁸⁰ In this regard, the Council has increasingly considered both the impact of extremism and terrorism on women, as well as ways to ensure responses to counter extremism and terrorism, both promote the role of women, as well as adopt a gender perspective.

On 13 May 2013, the SC held an open debate on the challenges of combating terrorism in Africa.²⁸¹ Soon after, the Council published a Presidential Statement, which expressed concern over increased violence caused by terrorism in Africa and threatened to sanction groups and individuals who were associated with African extremist groups, including Al-Qaida in Islamic Maghreb (AQIM), the Movement for Unity and Jihad (MUJAO), and Ansar Eddine.²⁸² At the Council's request, in January 2014, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon issued a report on "the Work of the United Nations to help States and subregional and regional entities in Africa in fighting terrorism" (S/2014/9).²⁸³ The report noted with concern factors unique to Africa that create conditions conducive to extremism, including porous borders, proliferation of small arms and light weapons, transnational crime, social exclusion, and a lack of good governance, and recommended increased efforts in building the rule of law and empowering women and young people.²⁸⁴

Due to the strong relationship between development and security, many UN bodies have important roles to play in the fight against terrorism.²⁸⁵ The GA plays an important role as a norm-setting body.²⁸⁶ The GA first addressed terrorism in 1972 with the adoption of resolution 3034 (XXVII) on "measures to prevent terrorism."²⁸⁷ In subsequent years, the GA adopted the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons* (1973) and the *International Convention against the Taking of Hostages* (1979).²⁸⁸ In the 1990s, the GA began to consider issues related to terrorism on a more regular basis, and created, the Ad Hoc Committee on Terrorism in 1996.²⁸⁹ The Ad Hoc Committee regularly works with the Sixth Committee, which considers legal questions before the Assembly, to strengthen international legal norms against terrorism.²⁹⁰ The GA also continues to support the implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy through periodic reviews, the most recent of which was conducted in 2012.²⁹¹

Many other UN entities, such as the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), contribute to the implementation of Security Council counter-terrorism mandates by providing technical assistance to Member States.²⁹² UNODC is an important partner in combating transnational crime, with which terrorism is inextricably linked, because of its mandate to provide technical assistance to Member States to combat drugs, crime, and terrorism.²⁹³ The body performs on the ground capacity-building programs that assist Member States with the implementation of international legal instruments against terrorism, train criminal justice officials, and counter terrorist financing.²⁹⁴ CTITF, created by the Secretary-General in 2005, implements the UN's system-wide counter-terrorism efforts and provides assistance to all Member States.²⁹⁵ Other UN bodies that regularly work to eradicate terrorism and address the root causes of extremism and

²⁷⁹ UN Security Council, *Women and Peace and Security (S/RES/2122 (2013))*, 2013.

²⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁸¹ What's in Blue, *Open Debate: Challenges of Combating Terrorism in Africa*, 2013.

²⁸² UN Security Council, *Peace and security in Africa (S/PRST/2013/5)*, 2013, p. 3.

²⁸³ UN Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the United Nations to help States and subregional and regional entities in Africa in fighting terrorism (S/2014/9)*, 2014.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

²⁸⁵ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: Making a Difference*.

²⁸⁶ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism*.

²⁸⁷ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: General Assembly Actions to Counter Terrorism*.

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: General Assembly Actions to Counter Terrorism*.

²⁹¹ UN General Assembly, *The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy Review (A/RES/66/282)*, 2012.

²⁹² UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 4.

²⁹³ UN Office on Drugs and Crime, *Mandate of the Terrorism Prevention Branch*, 2014.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁵ United Nations, *Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF)*.

radicalization include the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the UN Development Programme (UNDP), and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).²⁹⁶

Regional economic committees (RECs) are also important partners in the fight against terrorism in Africa.²⁹⁷ Their primary purpose is to facilitate trade within their respective regions, yet several have recognized the important link between security, development, and economic growth and have created counter-terrorism programs as a result.²⁹⁸ The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has been one of the most active counter-terrorism programs of the RECs.²⁹⁹ ECOWAS regularly works with UNDP to address both traditional security concerns and other conditions conducive to terrorism in the region.³⁰⁰ In addition to ECOWAS, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), a REC composed of East African states, launched the IGAD Capacity-Building Program against Terrorism in 2006 to assist Member States building counter-terrorism capacities and facilitate regional security.³⁰¹ However, ECOWAS and IGAD are the only two of the eight African RECs with formal counter-terrorism capacity-building programs.³⁰² Most RECs, and the African Union itself, are significantly under-resourced and do not possess the manpower or the technical capacity to implement their own counter-terrorism measures.³⁰³

Terrorism in Africa

In contrast to the US and European approach to countering terrorism, which, in the aftermath of the events of 11 September 2001, focused primarily on hard security measures such as strengthening police and military capacities, the UN system is increasingly focusing on addressing conditions that allow terrorist groups to operate and recruit freely.³⁰⁴ Many of these root causes exist in Africa, including weak state structures, corruption and a lack of rule of law; porous borders; vast swaths of ungoverned territory and territory difficult to govern; and scarce economic opportunity, especially for young people.³⁰⁵ For instance, unsecured borders in southern Libya allowed small arms and light weapons to be transported to AQIM, who in turn carried out attacks across Mali, Niger, and Algeria.³⁰⁶ State corruption and persecution, whether real or perceived, is another aggravator that allows terrorist groups to thrive and recruit new members. In Nigeria, Boko Haram uses the Nigerian army's heavy-handed tactics as evidence of supposed persecution of Muslim communities in the north of the country by national authorities.³⁰⁷ Additionally, the CTITF has concluded that terrorist groups in Africa have been particularly successful at exploiting and radicalizing groups that lack economic opportunities.³⁰⁸

AQIM has especially benefited from the lack of border security in the Maghreb and Sahel regions.³⁰⁹ The group was founded during Algeria's civil war in the 1990s in opposition to the secular government and eventually "rebranded" by aligning themselves with Al-Qaida in 2006.³¹⁰ The group's goal is to overthrow the governments of Algeria, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia and impose sharia law.³¹¹ AQIM is financed through transnational crime including arms and drug smuggling and kidnapping for ransom.³¹² In 2012, a group of Tuaregs, a disaffected ethnic group seeking independence, seized control of a broad swath of territory in northern Mali.³¹³ AQIM and allied

²⁹⁶ United Nations, *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism: Making a Difference*.

²⁹⁷ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 21.

²⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

³⁰⁴ UN General Assembly, *The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (A/RES/60/288)*, 2006.

³⁰⁵ UN Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations to help States and subregional and regional entities in Africa in fighting terrorism (S/2014/9)*, 2014.

³⁰⁶ Laub & Masters, *Background: Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)*, 2014.

³⁰⁷ Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, *Populations at Risk: Nigeria*, 2014.

³⁰⁸ UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, *Summary and Conclusions: Workshop on the Regional Implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Eastern Africa*, 2011, p. 10

³⁰⁹ Thurston & Lebovich, *A Handbook on Mali's 2012-2013 Crisis*, 2013, p. 4.

³¹⁰ Laub & Masters, *Background: Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)*, 2014.

³¹¹ Porter, *AQIM's Objectives in North Africa*, 2011.

³¹² Callimachi, *Paying Ransoms, Europe Bankrolls Qaeda Terror*, 2014; Thurston & Lebovich, *A Handbook on Mali's 2012-2013 Crisis*, 2013, p. 4.

³¹³ Arieff, *Crisis in Mali*, 2013, p. 1.

terrorist groups MUJAO and Ansar Eddine initially fought with the Tuaregs against the Malian military but later discarded the alliance and took direct control of the captured territory.³¹⁴ While in control, they carried out stonings and amputations as well as destroyed several UNESCO World Heritage Sites.³¹⁵ In response to the dire security and humanitarian situation, the Security Council authorized the joint AU/ECOWAS African-led International Support Mission in Mali (AFISMA) to help Malian forces recapture the north.³¹⁶ However, the Malian government invited French forces to intervene directly.³¹⁷ While the combined French/Malian force was successful in recapturing the lost territory, violence continues and lasting peace has not been achieved.³¹⁸ Further complications include the transition from a military coup to a democratically elected government in August 2014, pervasive corruption, drought, and a bleak economic forecast.³¹⁹

Boko Haram was founded in Nigeria in 2002 to protest pervasive inequality and corruption.³²⁰ Poverty rates in Nigeria fuel Boko Haram's narrative of persecution.³²¹ The group evolved into an internationally-recognized "terrorist" organization after continued violent clashes with state forces.³²² Nowadays, Boko Haram aims to abolish the governmental power-sharing agreement between Christians and Muslims and establish an Islamic Nigeria ruled by sharia law.³²³ The group has escalated the number and scope of its assaults in recent years.³²⁴ Their tactics include attacks on schools, assassinations, burning of villages, suicide bombings, and abductions.³²⁵ In fact, the kidnapping of more than 200 schoolgirls in 2014 led the Security Council to add Boko Haram to the Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee list.³²⁶ Though their cause is local, Boko Haram has widened its sphere of influence by crossing the border into Cameroon as well as procuring training, arms, and funds from AQIM, MUJAO, Ansar Eddine, and Al-Shabab.³²⁷ The Nigerian government declared a state of emergency in 2013 and successfully pushed Boko Haram out of several northern cities, but attacks on rural areas continue unabated.³²⁸

Al-Shabab is a major source of instability in Eastern Africa.³²⁹ It began as the hardline wing of a militant extremist group that rose to power during Somalia's civil war in the 1990s.³³⁰ Al-Shabab is funded by illegal activities including piracy, state sponsorship, and extortion of local populations.³³¹ The group benefits from Somalia's lack of governance and uses the country as a training ground and base for terrorist attacks across the region, including the 1998 bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, and more recently, the 2013 attack in a Kenyan mall.³³² It has also carried out attacks against neighboring states that have contributed to the AU Mission to Somalia (AMISOM).³³³ The group has strong ties to both Al-Qaida's main branch and Al-Qaida in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) and has reportedly

³¹⁴ Thurston & Lebovich, *A Handbook on Mali's 2012-2013 Crisis*, 2013, p. 1, 5.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ UN Security Council, *The Situation in Mali (S/RES/2085 (2012))*, 2012.

³¹⁷ Al Jazeera, *French troops launch ground combat in Mali*, 2013; Arieff, *Crisis in Mali*, 2013, p. 1.

³¹⁸ Arieff, *Crisis in Mali*, 2013, p. 1.

³¹⁹ Thurston & Lebovich, *A Handbook on Mali's 2012-2013 Crisis*, 2013, p. 6.

³²⁰ Sergie & Johnson, *Backgrounder: Boko Haram*, 2014.

³²¹ Ibid.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, *Background Report: Boko Haram Recent Attacks*, 2014, p. 2-3.

³²⁴ Ploch Blanchard, *Nigeria's Boko Haram: Frequently Asked Questions*, 2014, p. 7.

³²⁵ Sergie & Johnson, *Backgrounder: Boko Haram*, 2014.

³²⁶ UN Department of Public Information, *Security Council Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee Adds Boko Haram to its Sanctions List*, 2014.

³²⁷ Global Centre for the Responsibility to Protect, *Populations at Risk: Nigeria*, 2014; National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, *Background Report: Boko Haram Recent Attacks*, 2014, pp. 5-6.

³²⁸ Sergie & Johnson, *Backgrounder: Boko Haram*, 2014.

³²⁹ UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), *Summary and Conclusions: Workshop on the Regional Implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Eastern Africa*, 2011, p. 9.

³³⁰ Masters, *Backgrounder: Al-Shabab*, 2013.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 35.

³³³ Masters, *Backgrounder: Al-Shabab*, 2013.

trained fighters from all across Africa.³³⁴ While AMISOM has had some success, rebuilding state structures is essential to achieving long-term peace in Somalia.³³⁵

Implementing the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Africa

Much of the Security Council's work to combat terrorism in Africa is focused on implementing the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.³³⁶ The Security Council's Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) Executive Directorate, in partnership with the UNODC and CTITF, is responsible for assisting Member States with the Strategy's implementation.³³⁷ The CTC Executive Directorate monitors and coordinates the implementation of Security Council counter-terrorism mandates, while the UNODC and CTITF provide Member States with direct technical assistance.³³⁸ The Strategy seeks to build Member States' capacities to combat terrorism and diminish conditions that allow it to flourish while maintaining respect for human rights and the rule of law.³³⁹ The Secretary-General's report (S/2014/9) identifies several areas in need of refocused attention, chief among them building criminal justice capacities of Member States, and increasing cooperation between states and the UN.³⁴⁰

The criminal codes of many African states define terrorism as a domestic offense, which means that perpetrators cannot be extradited to face charges in other states.³⁴¹ Others define terrorism very broadly, which increases the danger of state security forces improperly charging defendants with terrorism.³⁴² The lack of an official UN definition of terrorism impedes states' cross-border cooperation and information sharing.³⁴³ The Secretary-General's report (S/2014/9) found that police, prosecutors, and judicial officials are in need of tailored training to detain and prosecute terrorists, as investigations were often "delinked from human rights considerations in comparison to regular criminal policing situations."³⁴⁴ The Security Council recognized the link between the rule of law and terrorism in resolution 1624 (2005), which calls for the criminalization of incitement of terrorist acts and the denial of safe haven to those who are guilty of incitement.³⁴⁵ Addressing the rule of law is essential to combating terrorism as it helps African states build law enforcement capacities and decreases public perception of state corruption. It is also an important part of strengthening gender equality as called for in Security Council resolution 2122 (2013) on "women and peace and security."³⁴⁶

Another barrier to implementing the Strategy in Africa is the presence of both a communication and perception gap between African states and the UN.³⁴⁷ A report by the UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa (OSAA) found that some Member States and regional institutions believe that there is a fundamental disconnect between their respective approaches to counter-terrorism.³⁴⁸ For instance, some developing Member States believe that the Security Council too often focuses on strengthening "hard" security measures such as military and police capabilities.³⁴⁹ Most African states believe that addressing the issues conducive to radicalization, or "soft" security, is a more effective approach to counter-terrorism.³⁵⁰ The report also found that the UN fails to fully appreciate how a lack of resources hampers Member States' abilities to communicate effectively with the UN, let alone enact counter-

³³⁴ UN Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the United Nations to help States and subregional and regional entities in Africa in fighting terrorism (S/2014/9)*, 2014, p. 2.

³³⁵ UN Security Council, *Joint communiqué of the eighth annual joint consultative meeting between members of the Security Council of the United Nations and the Peace and Security Council of the African Union*, 2014, p. 7.

³³⁶ UN Security Council, *Peace and security in Africa (S/PRST/2013/5)*, 2013, p. 5.

³³⁷ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 48.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ UN General Assembly, *The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (A/RES/60/288)*, 2006.

³⁴⁰ UN Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations to help States and subregional and regional entities in Africa in fighting terrorism (S/2014/9)*, 2014, p. 21, 22.

³⁴¹ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 10.

³⁴² *Ibid.*

³⁴³ Chowdhury Fink, *Meeting the Challenge: A Guide to United Nations Counterterrorism Activities*, 2012, p. 21.

³⁴⁴ UN Security Council, *Report of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations to help States and subregional and regional entities in Africa in fighting terrorism (S/2014/9)*, 2014, p. 19.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁴⁶ UN Security Council, *Women in peace and security (S/RES/2122(2013))*, 2013, p. 2.

³⁴⁷ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 26.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁰ Chowdhury Fink, *Meeting the Challenge: A Guide to United Nations Counterterrorism Activities*, 2012, p. 16-17.

terrorism measures: “There is a presumption at UN Headquarters (UNHQ) that posting documents on the websites in New York should make them easily accessible to the national bureaucracies of African states and intergovernmental organizations.”³⁵¹ However, many states do not have the capabilities to turn these prescriptions into policy.³⁵² Participants at the CTITF’s Workshop on the Regional Implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Eastern Africa echoed the report’s findings, stating that a lack of awareness of available resources hampered efforts to implement UN counter-terrorism mandates in Africa.³⁵³ Similarly, the Security Council Report, an independent monitoring organization, noted that, despite good intentions, there remains a lack of follow-through after the joint annual meetings between the UN SC and the AU Peace and Security Council.³⁵⁴ Improved communication between African Member States and the United Nations is vital to implementing the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in the region.

Conclusion

Africa faces many challenges in combating terrorism beyond weak criminal justice systems and disagreement with United Nations’ policy. Traditional security competencies, such as border security and military capacity must be addressed to prevent the operation of terrorist groups such as AQIM, Boko Haram, and Al-Shabab. However, social measures like promoting education and reducing poverty and unemployment are also essential to addressing extremism. Terrorism, especially in Africa, will continue to proliferate if either security or development is neglected. The UN has the opportunity to significantly improve millions of lives by integrating both security and development goals in its approach to counter-terrorism. The Security Council has a unique authority to set mandates and compel Member States to take action. Only through strong leadership by the Security Council, the UN Secretariat, and Member States themselves can terrorism be eliminated in Africa.

Further Research

There are many questions to be addressed by delegates given the complexity of the topic. How should regional conditions shape the UN’s counter-terrorism efforts in Africa? How can the Security Council incorporate African perspectives into its counter-terrorism implementation efforts? How should the Council balance the need for both hard and soft security reforms? How can the Security Council use its mandate to prevent conflict to address conditions conducive to terrorism? How can the UN mainstream gender considerations throughout its counter-terrorism agenda? What actions can the Security Council take to hamper African terrorist groups’ ability to operate? How can communication between African states and relevant UN bodies be improved?

³⁵¹ UN Office of the Special Advisor on Africa, *Africa and International Counterterrorism Imperatives*, 2010, p. 26.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force, *Summary and Conclusions: Workshop on the Regional Implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Eastern Africa*, 2011, p. 4.

³⁵⁴ Security Council Report, *Annual Meeting with AU PSC Members*, 2014.

Annotated Bibliography

Masters, J. (2013). *Backgrounder: Al-Shabab*. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved 8 July 2014 from: <http://www.cfr.org/somalia/al-shabab/p18650>

This document published by the Council on Foreign Relations is a detailed and easy-to-read introduction to Al-Shabab. The author describes the origins, tactics, and recent activities of the group. Masters details the actions taken by Kenya and Ethiopia to combat Al-Shabab's influence, which is essential to understanding the terrorist group's political motivations. It also contains links to more information.

Security Council Report. (n.d.). [Website]. Retrieved 8 July 2014 from: <http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/>

This independent website is an excellent source of information on the activities of the UN Security Council. It publishes monthly summaries of the Council's actions, in-depth reports on select issues, and a blog devoted to the daily activities of the Council. The blog, What's in Blue, serves as a companion to the main site, and serves as an especially useful source for delegates to better understand the daily functioning of the Security Council beyond formal resolutions and press releases. This website is also a good source of information on how the Council is addressing peace and security in Africa and should be utilized extensively by all delegates.

Sergie, M.A. & T. Johnson. (2014). *Backgrounder: Boko Haram*. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved 8 July 2014 from: <http://www.cfr.org/nigeria/boko-haram/p25739>

This document examines the origins of Nigerian terrorist group Boko Haram. It describes the political motivations of the group and the underlying conditions, such as extreme poverty and a lack of economic opportunity that allow the group to recruit and operate. The authors describe how weak borders allow Boko Haram to operate across multiple states and in concert with other extremist groups like AQIM. The document is helpful in understanding the national and regional conditions that enable Boko Haram to perform attacks in Western Africa.

Thurston, A. & A. Lebovich. (2013). *A Handbook on Mali's 2012-2013 Crisis*. Institute for the Study of Islamic Thought in Africa. Retrieved 1 September 2014 from:

<http://www.bcics.northwestern.edu/documents/workingpapers/ISITA-13-001-Thurston-Lebovich.pdf>

This handbook provides a detailed contextual analysis of the crisis in Mali by describing the interconnected destabilizing events, including a military coup, a rebellion by separatists, and violence carried out by extremist groups. It details the origins of each involved group and its impact on the crisis. It also contains a timeline of events and links to more information, all of which will prove very helpful to delegates seeking to understand the situation in Mali.

United Nations. (n.d.). *United Nations Action to Counter Terrorism* [Website]. Retrieved 8 July 2014 from: <http://www.un.org/en/terrorism/>

This website is an excellent starting point for delegates' research. It briefly summarizes the UN's efforts to combat terrorism, including actions of the Security Council, the GA, the Economic and Social Council, the CTITF, and the Secretary-General. It provides a broad analysis of the UN's efforts to combat terrorism and describes the difference in approach from the early days of the organization to present day. It also contains links to all UN treaties, reports, and resolutions related to terrorism.

United Nations Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force. (2011). *Summary and Conclusions: Workshop on the Regional Implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Eastern Africa*. Retrieved 10 July 2014 from: <http://www.un.org/en/terrorism/ctitf/pdfs/Final%20Report%20for%20Addis%20Workshop%20Completed%202.pdf>

The UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF) determined that one of the greatest barriers to full implementation of the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy is a lack of understanding of the Strategy by key government entities and civil society. In cooperation with the Government of Ethiopia, CTITF held a Regional Workshop for Member States of the Eastern African region to promote implementation of the Strategy. The Summary and Conclusions of this workshop contain practical steps to implementing the Strategy in Eastern

Africa. Delegates should also consult the summary and conclusions of similar workshops held by CTITF on implementing the Strategy in West and Southern Africa.

United Nations, General Assembly, 60th Session. (2006). *The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (A/RES/60/288)*. Retrieved 8 July 2014 from: <http://www.undocs.org/A/RES/60/288>

The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, adopted in 2006, represents the first time UN Member States agreed to a common approach to combating terrorism. The Plan of Action contains four pillars: addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism; preventing and combating terrorism; building States' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and strengthening the role of the United Nations system, and; ensuring respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism. It is essential that delegates review the Strategy as it guides the counter-terrorism efforts of the entire UN system.

United Nations Office of the Special Advisor on Africa. (2010). *Africa and International Counter-terrorism Imperatives*. Retrieved 3 August 2014 from: <http://www.un.org/africa/osaa/reports/new-reports/OSAA-TerrorismPaper-12Nov2010.pdf>

This expert paper is essential to understanding the UN's efforts to combat terrorism in Africa. The report reviews the contributions to counter-terrorism made by the UN Security Council, General Assembly, UNODC, and the CTITF. It also describes the counter-terrorism efforts of the AU and several African regional economic committees (RECs). It discusses in detail how the UN's counter-terrorism programs have evolved to reflect the relationship between development and security. Most importantly, the report identifies areas in which the UN's efforts can improve.

United Nations, Security Council, 6965th Meeting. (2013). *Peace and security in Africa (S/PRST/2013/5)* [Presidential Statement]. Retrieved 8 July 2014 from: <http://www.undocs.org/S/PRST/2013/5>

This May 2013 Presidential Statement notes with concern the increased violence caused by terrorist groups in Africa. The statement describes the specific conditions that allow terrorism to spread, including porous borders, illegal arms trafficking, and a lack of economic opportunity. The document also contains brief descriptions of relevant Security Council resolutions, UN actions, and regional partnerships. This concise and up-to-date document is an essential read for delegates seeking to understand the Security Council's actions to combat terrorism in Africa.

United Nations, Security Council. (2014). *Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the United Nations to help States and subregional and regional entities in Africa in fighting terrorism (S/2014/9)*. Retrieved 8 July 2014 from: <http://www.undocs.org/S/2014/9>

Commissioned by the Security Council in its May 2013 Presidential Statement on peace and security in Africa (S/PRST/2013/5), the Secretary-General's report is an up-to-date review of the United Nations' and other international bodies' efforts to fight terrorism in Africa. This document describes the negative effects of terrorism on the development and socioeconomic wellbeing of African states, the efforts made by many UN bodies in capacity-building to prevent and address terrorism. Moreover, the report contains the Secretary-General's recommendations for future areas of focus. This document is an excellent starting point for delegates' research.

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III. Maintenance of International Peace and Security: Security Sector Reform

“[A] professional and accountable security sector under the framework of the Rule of Law can strengthen public confidence in the State and provide the stability necessary for peacebuilding and development.”³⁵⁵

Introduction

Since the end of World War II, the UN has worked to prevent the scourge of war, conflict, and armed violence that has ravaged all regions of the world.³⁵⁶ According to the *Charter of the United Nations* (1945), among the purposes of the United Nations (UN), the maintenance of international peace and security is listed first.³⁵⁷ One of the ways the UN has attempted to maintain international peace and security has been through the promotion of respect for the rule of law.³⁵⁸ The most significant and recent trend for the UN to promote respect for the rule of law has been through security sector reform.

In 1998, the concept of the security sector or security sector reform (SSR) was first referenced in a speech by the United Kingdom’s Secretary of State for International Development, Clare Short, reiterating a broader call “for a comprehensive and integrated approach to the security sector in development contexts.”³⁵⁹ Previously, the international community focused on improving security through direct aid to the state and military forces and did not focus on the governance and oversight of security institutions.³⁶⁰ Since the end of the Cold War, a transition towards a people-centered security approach has taken place with the goal of achieving human security.³⁶¹

In the *Millennium Declaration* (2000), the UN placed human security as the defining motive to ensure that people have a right to dignity and freedom from hunger, violence, oppression or injustice.³⁶² The UN recognizes the State as the primary actor that should be supported by the UN in order to achieve these goals through prevention of conflict.³⁶³ In 2006, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations adopted a stance for the inclusion in peacekeeping operations of supporting the development of an effective, professional, and accountable security sector in order to foster sustainable peace and development.³⁶⁴ This topic covers a history of SSR in UN and some of the most important areas in SSR that the UN and other international organizations seek to improve at the national level in order to maintain international peace and security.

International and Regional Framework

Although there is no universal definition of the security sector, the Secretary-General of the UN has described many facets of the security sector.³⁶⁵ The security sector encompasses institutions such as the armed forces, police, intelligence agencies, and other security services. The security sector also includes governance and management institutions like civil management and oversight bodies; national security advisory bodies; the courts and judiciary; corrections systems; human rights commissions; other security firms including private security companies and militia groupings; civil society actors; non-governmental organizations (NGOs); and even the media.³⁶⁶ The security sector should be built around three key principles. First, a security sector is based on a legal framework for the

³⁵⁵ UN Department of Public Information, *Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon’s Statements*, 2014.

³⁵⁶ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

³⁵⁷ *Charter of the United Nations*, 1945, Art. 1.

³⁵⁸ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

³⁵⁹ Sedra, *Security Sector Reform 101: Understanding the Concept, Charting Trends and Identifying Challenges*, 2010, p. 3.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁶¹ *Ibi.*

³⁶² UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

³⁶³ UN General Assembly, *Prevention of Armed Conflict: Report of the Secretary-General (A/55/985)*, 2001.

³⁶⁴ UN General Assembly, *Report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and its Working Group (A/61/19/Rev.1)*, 2007.

³⁶⁵ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

³⁶⁶ Sedra, *Security Sector Reform 101: Understanding the Concept, Charting Trends and Identifying Challenges*, 2010, p. 3.

legitimate and accountable use of force in line with international human rights norms.³⁶⁷ Second, the State implements security measures by governing and managing the agencies and institutions charged with various security duties.³⁶⁸ Third, the security sector is imbued with a culture of service that encourages unity, integrity, discipline, impartiality and respect for human rights.³⁶⁹

The definition of security sector reform is not considered universal. The Secretary-General has, however, begun defining the general principles of security sector reform. The most important principle is that any security sector reform process should begin with the State establishing strong national ownership so as to be sensitive to the particular needs of the country.³⁷⁰ Described by the Secretary-General, security sector reform is “a process of assessment, review and implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation led by national authorities that has at its goal the enhancement of effective and accountable security for the State and its peoples without discrimination and with full respect for human rights and the rule of law.”³⁷¹ This definition goes beyond military and police and encompasses an overarching view of security institutions that are effective, accountable and responsive to citizen concerns.³⁷²

While SSR has been a success in many countries, the political context has proven vital in determining long-term, favorable results for reform efforts.³⁷³ In order to create improved trust between citizens and State security institutions, SSR must be closely integrated with post-conflict peace processes such as truth and reconciliation or transitional justice.³⁷⁴ In order to ensure that SSR is streamlined into these transformative processes, the host government’s leadership is necessary and crucial.³⁷⁵ National ownership over such processes will help shape the relationship between the citizens and State security institutions while also improving the provision, quality, and governance of these institutions.³⁷⁶

Regionally, there have been efforts to establish guidelines for SSR projects. Many countries, particularly those located in North America and Europe, have advocated for strengthening security governance and creating professional security personnel as shown in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development’s (OECD) “Handbook on Security Sector Reform.”³⁷⁷ A clear institutional framework is stressed for the synchronization of security and development policies.³⁷⁸ Because there is a limited pool of security officers from donor governments to support SSR missions, other organizations such as non-governmental organizations, consultants, and even private military and security companies are necessary provide the technical expertise needed for training security personnel.³⁷⁹ Other regions have focused on adapting SSR programs to national interests.

SSR programs must be based in the unique context of the national government. Although most donors are foreign actors, their support must not deviate from the national government’s plan for SSR.³⁸⁰ As evidenced in the African Union’s *Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform*, this includes tailoring projects according to the unique history and culture, informal, customary, and traditional security providers within the country.³⁸¹ Other concerns within the international community have included gender equality and women’s empowerment in any SSR program.

³⁶⁷ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² *Ibid.*

³⁷³ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁷ OECD, *OECD Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*, 2007, p. 13.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁰ African Union, *African Union Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform*, 2013.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*

The necessity for women's participation in the peacebuilding process has been firmly established through Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) on "Women and Peace and Security," as well as subsequent resolutions.³⁸² Resolution 1325 (2000) stressed that women needed an increased representation in conflict prevention and management as a means to import gender perspectives in the decision-making process.³⁸³ This can be supported in SSR projects by addressing cultural norms that may prevent women from participating and rising through the ranks in security sector institutions.³⁸⁴ One of the most important methods for making a gender-responsive security sector is by simply increasing the number of women serving in the security sector. Addressing these and other particular concerns will lead to a more effective and professional security sector.

Equal and effective participation of women across all stages and levels SSR is crucial to the prevention and mitigation of conflict.³⁸⁵ Gender-sensitive policies in the security sector will help to create more adept security services and reduce instances of gender-based violence committed by the security sector and within communities.³⁸⁶ In addition to Resolution 1325 (2000), the Security Council has also stressed addressing sexual violence in armed conflict at all levels, including SSR, by preventing sexual violence, providing assistance to victims, and holding perpetrators criminally accountable as shown in Resolution 1820 (2009) and Resolution 1888 (2009).³⁸⁷

Role of the International System

In 2007, the Security Council released a Presidential Statement acknowledging the growing significance of SSR as a crucial factor in all peace operations.³⁸⁸ In a statement, the Security Council called for a comprehensive report to be prepared by the Secretary-General on UN approaches to SSR.³⁸⁹ This report would examine the implementation of SSR in peacebuilding operations, lessons learned in previous undertakings, and the role and responsibilities of UN agencies and their coordination with national and international actors.³⁹⁰

Security Council support for SSR

As displayed through the actions of the Security Council, SSR is becoming a more significant topic in the international agenda. An important moment took place in April 2014 as the Security Council passed its first resolution on SSR, Resolution 2151 (2014).³⁹¹ At a time when the demand for SSR is at an all-time high, Resolution 2151 (2014) stresses the importance of having national governments direct their own SSR processes.³⁹² One of the foremost methods for the UN to support national ownership of these processes is by including the perspectives of host countries in the mandates of UN peacebuilding missions.³⁹³ In tandem with national ownership, reform of local security institutions, such as police, corrections, and military, must be part of a larger initiative seeking to enhance the overall governance and capacity of all security institutions.³⁹⁴ The UN was noted as a leader among international actors in facilitating and coordinating sector-wide reforms of security architectures that address strategic governance, management, and oversight aspects.³⁹⁵ In line with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter,

³⁸² UN Security Council, *Women and peace and security (S/RES/1325 (2000))*, 2000.

³⁸³ UN Inter-agency SSR Task Force, *Integrated Technical Guidance Note on SSR – Gender-responsive SSR*, 2012, p. 39.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³⁸⁵ UN Security Council, *The maintenance of international peace and security: Security sector reform: challenges and opportunities (S/RES/2151 (2014))*, 2014.

³⁸⁶ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

³⁸⁷ UN Security Council, *Women and peace and security (S/RES/1820 (2009))*, 2008; UN Security Council, *Women and peace and security (S/RES/1888 (2009))*, 2009.

³⁸⁸ UN Security Council, *Statement by the President of the Security Council (S/PRST/2007/3)*, 2007.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁹¹ UN Security Council, *The maintenance of international peace and security: Security sector reform: challenges and opportunities (S/RES/2151 (2014))*, 2014.

³⁹² *Ibid.*

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁵ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

partnerships with regional and subregional organizations are encouraged to serve in a multitude of capacities ranging from financial assistance to technical support through South-South cooperation.³⁹⁶

Resolution 2151 (2014) also stressed the inclusion of diverse groups in SSR agendas are necessary to address the needs of the people. Protection of children was highlighted through the development standard operating procedures on child protection in military training.³⁹⁷ Other measures to prevent abuses against children cited mechanisms for preventing recruitment of child soldiers, child protection training for the military, and preventing attacks on school and hospitals.³⁹⁸ The security sector must abide by international law including the Convention on the Rights of the Child and its Optional Protocols (1989).³⁹⁹

Strengthening UN support for SSR

The Secretary-General's report, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in support security sector reform* (A/62/659), was released in 2008 highlighting the nature of the UN's activities thus far and areas for increased involvement. Although the UN had mandated security sector reform be included in many prior peacekeeping operations, it was found that successful SSR is only capable through a firm national commitment, coordination among national actors, and an inclusive process where national and local leaders, prominent civil society leaders, and minorities were engaged.⁴⁰⁰ This, especially, includes the streamlining of gender perspectives into policies to build non-discriminatory security institutions that reflect local populations and responsive to the security needs of the people.⁴⁰¹ More attention must also be afforded to civilian governance and management institutions that supervise the security sector.⁴⁰² Along with civil society organizations and the media, civilian oversight will lead to a more effective and responsible security sector in the long-term.⁴⁰³ The UN is well-positioned to provide much support and leadership for SSR processes.

Recently, the UN has completed an overview of the intergovernmental organization's support for SSR. In 2013, the Secretary-General released his report, "Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform" (A/67/970), which is only the second effort in reviewing and recommending improved system-wide coherence and coordination of SSR and SSR-related projects.⁴⁰⁴ The report reiterated the core principle of SSR efforts is the establishment of human security by stating that "when populations are not secure, neither is the state."⁴⁰⁵ Although significant progress had been made the UN since the Secretary-General's first report on SSR, many challenges still remained serving as obstacles to successful SSR programs.

At the onset, the political environment of the host country may determine whether attempts to reform the security sector are successful or not.⁴⁰⁶ In order for any SSR program to be successful, broader efforts to resolve political disputes is necessary, which may also include facilitating national dialogues, truth and reconciliation processes, or transitional justice.⁴⁰⁷ The UN also needs to cast a wider net by engaging more than just the federal government if SSR processes are going to be truly inclusive of civil society, women, and other diverse groups.⁴⁰⁸ However, other challenges evidence the growing demand for support in several SSR processes.⁴⁰⁹ The Special Committee on

³⁹⁶ UN Security Council, *The maintenance of international peace and security: Security sector reform: challenges and opportunities* (S/RES/2151 (2014)), 2014.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁰ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General* (A/62/659), 2008.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*

⁴⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁴ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General* (A/67/970), 2013.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

Peacekeeping Operations and the Security Council have both noted the increase in requests and the resulting mandates for SSR in peacekeeping and special political missions.⁴¹⁰

Inclusion in SSR agendas for diverse groups is only the beginning for creating trust between citizens and security institutions.⁴¹¹ Security institutions must maintain professionalism and accountability during the delivery of security services.⁴¹² The improvement of public trust and addressing the delivery of security services may be accomplished through initiatives such as community-oriented policing, which enhances the protection of civilians.⁴¹³ Strengthening civilian protection measures and adequate training of security personnel may also be accomplished through participation of women.

Inter-Agency Security Sector Reform Task Force

Prior to 2007, the UN lacked system-wide coherence on principles and standards for SSR efforts. With no single institution coordinating UN SSR policies, a forum was built for discussions regarding any and all SSR projects and a Security Sector Reform Unit was established to formulate common principles and standards for SSR. To coordinate all the relevant stakeholders involved in SSR, the Inter-Agency Security Sector Reform Task Force (IASSRTF) was created in 2007.⁴¹⁴ The Secretary-General brought together seven agencies to enable UN system-wide coherence to deliver efficient and effective support for SSR efforts: the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO), the Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the Peacebuilding Support Office (PBSO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Development Fund for Women (now part of UN Women), and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC).⁴¹⁵ Many other UN bodies and agencies have joined the IASSRTF since its creation, doubling its membership to 14.⁴¹⁶ While the DPKO and the UNDP serve as co-chairs of the IASSRTF, the SSR Unit serves as the secretariat, organizes meetings, providing SSR-specific policy guidance and other daily tasks.⁴¹⁷

The Security Sector Reform Unit was established based on the decision of the Secretary-General's Policy Committee.⁴¹⁸ Located within the DPKO, the SSR Unit formulates common principles and standards for SSR, as well as providing personnel in the field with guidance on strategies and technical advice.⁴¹⁹ After much discussion with the other agencies in the IASSRTF, the first edition of the Integrated Technical Guidance Notes was released.⁴²⁰ These notes are the first compilation of the principles and standards for efforts where the UN has a comparative advantage over other international actors in assisting national governments such as gender-sensitive SSR, peace processes, and democratic governance of the security sector.⁴²¹ Establishment of a common policy on SSR has been heralded as a momentous achievement for the UN and SSR.⁴²²

Department of Peacekeeping Operations

Through its SSR Unit, the DPKO serves as the lead UN agency for SSR, as well as the point-of-contact for other national and international partners on SSR.⁴²³ The SSR Unit is located within DPKO's Office of Rule of Law and Security Institutions and works on a wide range of areas that include "police, justice, corrections, mine action, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants."⁴²⁴ Through the SSR Unit, DPKO has been able to

⁴¹⁰ UN Security Council, *Statement by the President of the Security Council (S/PRST/2011/19)*, 2011; UN General Assembly, *Report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and its Working Group (A/66/19)*, 2012.

⁴¹¹ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ UN, *Inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force*, 2009.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁸ UN General Assembly, *Report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and its Working Group (A/61/19/Rev.1)*, 2007.

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁰ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

⁴²² *Ibid.*

⁴²³ United Nations, *Security Sector Reform – DPKO*, 2009.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

expand its peacekeeping operations to include assistance on national security sector development plans and strategies, legislation, national debates regarding security, management and supervision, and national coordination of agencies.⁴²⁵ This has coincided with the growth of SSR inclusion in peacekeeping mandates from only 14 in 2008 to 37 in 2012.⁴²⁶ As a result, the number of dedicated SSR teams in peacekeeping operations, in the same time period, expanded from only three to eleven.⁴²⁷ As SSR continues to gain significance in the international agenda, and the demand grows for SSR processes, DPKO will continue to find ways to integrate SSR into peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations.

United Nations Development Programme

Under UNDP, the Rule of Law, Justice and Security Unit and the Access to Justice and Rule of Law Team work together on all SSR-related projects that UNDP is tasked with.⁴²⁸ With the help of these two sub-agencies, UNDP is able to pull from its vast experiences in many areas to support SSR efforts, such as corrections, small arms control, and gender awareness.⁴²⁹ UNDP has also provided political, as well as technical, assistance to several developing countries including the development of national frameworks and priority plans on SSR.⁴³⁰

Much of the work of UNDP in supporting SSR focuses on building the capacity of governments to develop sustainable justice and security frameworks.⁴³¹ For instance, in Somalia and Sudan, UNDP has aided programs implementing comprehensive rule of law reforms strengthening the capacity of the justice, judicial, and law enforcement institutions, as well as encouraging the promotion of access to justice.⁴³² UNDP has also worked to facilitate debates at the national level on issues regarding governmental supervision of the security sector by parliaments, civil society, and the media in both Latin America and Central Asia.⁴³³ National actors have been assisted by UNDP in Haiti, Kosovo, and Timor-Leste in the structure and facilitation of policies to effectively manage and oversee the police and the judiciary.⁴³⁴

Civil Society

Civil society is able to reinforce various roles and functions that at times public institutions are unable to fulfill. Often, governments are hesitant to include the role of civil society in the reform of the military and defense sectors as it is not always clear how civil society contributes to SSR.⁴³⁵ Broadly, civil society serves as an informal oversight mechanism on the security sector by increasing transparency by informing and educating the public on the conduct of security institutions, analyzing security policies and practices, and supporting the developing of policies to better protect citizens.⁴³⁶

In the Secretary-General's 2008 report on SSR (A/62/659), the UN supported the inclusion of civil society in SSR and noted that civil society organizations are a critical factor in strengthening the effectiveness of governance and oversight mechanisms of the security sector.⁴³⁷ For instance, in Nepal, OHCHR helped a civil society network monitor security personnel during protests, which led to the formulation of recommendations based on their observations.⁴³⁸ In other instances, community-based women's organizations have facilitated discussions among communities and security actors to highlight threats to citizen safety and develop appropriate responses.⁴³⁹ In

⁴²⁵ United Nations, *Security Sector Reform – UNDP*, 2009.

⁴²⁶ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁸ United Nations, *Security Sector Reform – UNDP*, 2009.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

⁴³² *Ibid.*

⁴³³ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ Governance and Social Development Resource Centre, *Civil Society and Security Sector Reform*, 2014.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁷ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

⁴³⁸ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*

September 2014, the International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent (ICRC) hosted a workshop for senior officials on International Rules Governing Military Operations in Xi'an, China.⁴⁴⁰ This workshop provided training for senior military officers from more than 50 different military organizations on how to better comply with international humanitarian law in combat and law enforcement operations.⁴⁴¹ Civil society can serve as unique partners in the development of SSR.

SSR Inclusion in Peacekeeping Operations

Peacekeeping operations are uniquely situated for the inclusion of SSR processes. Peacekeeping operations are mostly deployed once there is a peace agreement between the parties in conflict, which fosters an amenable environment for SSR.⁴⁴² The agreement might, in some cases, spell out specific security sector reforms which must take place as part of the cessation of hostilities, or security sector reform might be considered as part of the mandate of the peacekeeping operation and a component of broader peacebuilding efforts. Comprehensive peacebuilding efforts, particularly those that include SSR, contribute to sustainable peace, which can drastically improve the rate of economic growth and lead to long-term sustainable development.⁴⁴³ With the help of SSR, national governments are able to develop “responsive, effective and accountable security and justice institutions ... and prevent a slide back into conflict.”⁴⁴⁴

Military

Typically, UN peacekeeping operations are deployed in countries where the national security capacity has deteriorated or even absent in some regions.⁴⁴⁵ In rare occasions on past peacekeeping operations, UN peacekeepers and others have replaced national security authorities in order to provide security and foster the establishment of local institutions.⁴⁴⁶ Since 1989, security sector reform has been a part of peacekeeping operations in developing effective and efficient military and defense sectors under the leadership of civilian governments.⁴⁴⁷

Development of an effective military institution is crucial to national defense and the development of the country, but it must remain under the civilian control of a democratic society and respond to legitimate demands of the people.⁴⁴⁸ In order to have an effective military, soldiers must have proper training and development, as well as career transition and resettlement plans for when soldiers leave the armed forces.⁴⁴⁹ Besides defending from armed aggression, the military is also a key actor in responding to humanitarian emergencies, providing internal security and influencing security reform in other institutions such as police and other emergency services.⁴⁵⁰ Professional and properly trained soldiers are also able to prevent human rights abuses. As an example, the OHCHR monitored the implementation of internal control measures by Colombian defense forces for the preventing human rights violations during the internal armed conflict.⁴⁵¹ The UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste trained soldiers on maritime security and provided expertise on national defense policies and planning to the Secretary of State for Defense and the Army Commander.⁴⁵²

Police Reform

Although the military may influence the police, there needs to be adequate supervision to ensure that there are no security gaps between the military and police and no overlaps in responsibility.⁴⁵³ A properly trained police sector may help improve respect for human rights, upholding the rule of law, and provide security to communities and

⁴⁴⁰ International Committee of the Red Cross, *Senior Workshop on International Rules governing Military Operations*, 2014.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² OECD, *OECD Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*, 2007, p. 100.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁵ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ OECD, *OECD Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*, 2007, p. 124.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁵¹ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ OECD, *OECD Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*, 2007, p. 124.

citizens.⁴⁵⁴ However, human rights abuses and corruption frequently occur within police forces.⁴⁵⁵ Strong government and civilian supervisory institutions are vital to ensure that the public trust in police forces is maintained.⁴⁵⁶

As part of UN peacekeeping operations, UN Police are deployed to serve as interim law enforcement and foster the development of state police and law enforcement institutions.⁴⁵⁷ According to the Secretary-General, more than 11,000 UN Police are deployed around the world.⁴⁵⁸ UN Police are often deployed alongside the national police force to facilitate professional development and adequate training of police officers, such as can be seen in the co-location of CIVPOL along SWAPOL in Namibia.⁴⁵⁹ In Haiti, the UN peacekeeping mission aided in a joint assessment of the national police force that led to a strategic policing plan for increasing security at UN camps for internally displaced people.⁴⁶⁰ In Comoros, the Office for Disarmament Affairs facilitated the creation of a code of conduct for police officers on the use of force and firearms, as well as a national strategic policing plan.⁴⁶¹

Strengthening the Rule of Law

The concept of the “rule of law” is defined by the United Nations as “a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards.”⁴⁶² One of the most vital aspects to strengthening the rule of law is an effective civilian governance and oversight of security institutions.⁴⁶³ Strong leadership from the national government is necessary for proper management and establishment of norms within the country on policies and procedures, which enables economic growth.⁴⁶⁴

Strengthening the rule of law through reformed governance and oversight can develop the necessary institutional infrastructure that fosters durable and sustainable peace.⁴⁶⁵ In 2013, the Security Council underlined the importance of critical rule of law priorities and provided strategies to address the needs of judicial institutions, law enforcement and corrections systems in Resolution 2086 (2013).⁴⁶⁶ Other SSR projects may also be necessary for enhancing respect for the rule of law, such as legal empowerment of the poor and other vulnerable groups, increasing access to justice, helping communities deal with the atrocities from conflict through truth and reconciliation commissions, and prosecuting conflict-related crimes.⁴⁶⁷ The UN has coordinated with both Liberia and Guinea-Bissau to develop legal structures that facilitate the monitoring of intelligence agencies by the legislature.⁴⁶⁸ Although the national government is the leader in strengthening the rule of law, non-state actors like civil society organizations and the media can provide significant assistance in establishing the norms necessary for good governance to take hold.⁴⁶⁹

UN’s first attempts at SSR

⁴⁵⁴ OECD, *OECD Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*, 2007, p. 163.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁷ United Nations Police, *What the UN Police Do in the Field*, 2014.

⁴⁵⁸ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

⁴⁵⁹ UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Namibia – UNTAG Background*, 2014.

⁴⁶⁰ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶² UN Security Council, *The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies, Report of the Secretary-General (S/2004/616)*, 2004.

⁴⁶³ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁶ UN Security Council, *United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (S/RES/2086 (2013))*, 2013.

⁴⁶⁷ United Nations Development Programme, *UNDP Results – Rule of Law*, 2012.

⁴⁶⁸ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

⁴⁶⁹ UN General Assembly, *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform, Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*, 2008.

The first peacekeeping operation to address the security sector was in Namibia in 1989. Mandated with monitoring the South West Africa Police (SWAPOL), the UN Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) included a civilian police (CIVPOL) component that was tasked with accompanying SWAPOL on patrols and assuring that elections were conducted freely and fairly without intimidation.⁴⁷⁰ CIVPOL was able to monitor SWAPOL's activities and ensured that the police forces maintained law and order as an efficient, professional, and impartial force.⁴⁷¹ CIVPOL had a limited amount of authority to influence SWAPOL, but UNTAG was able to assure that the political process was unhindered.⁴⁷² After elections, UNTAG also assisted in establishing a new, integrated Namibian military force comprising members from all parties to the conflict.⁴⁷³ UNTAG's efforts to promote a more effective and accountable security sector led to the successful independence of Namibia.

Inclusive Security Sector Reform

Women

As noted by the Security Council in Resolution 2151 (2014), women play an important role in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peacebuilding.⁴⁷⁴ As a principle of SSR, improving respect for human rights and upholding the rule of law cannot be achieved without being able to handle post-conflict security issues such as gender and sexual violence, sexual exploitation, human trafficking, and gender discrimination.⁴⁷⁵ Women must have equal and effective participation in justice and security institutions.⁴⁷⁶

The Security Council has highlighted the importance of including women in the security sector throughout its resolutions on “Women, Peace and Security,” including Resolution 1960 (2010).⁴⁷⁷ This resolution emphasized that women needed to constitute a greater percentage of military and police personnel in peacekeeping operations.⁴⁷⁸ Promotion of gender balance, as well as equal and effective participation of women in SSR, is necessary for an effective and accountable security sector.⁴⁷⁹ The inclusion of women must also be met with adequate training for military and police personnel on preventing sexual and gender-based violence. Often, the security sector is plagued with perpetrators of sexual violence and lack female security personnel and adequately trained security personnel for gender-sensitive cultures and other various scenarios.⁴⁸⁰ When justice and security institutions are inclusive of women and also address gender perspectives, thus reflecting the composition and concerns of its entire population, peace is more likely achievable and sustainable due to increased responsiveness to the different needs and priorities of communities.⁴⁸¹

Including gender strategies in SSR plans can lead to peace and security dividends that may not be recognized as valuable at the outset of peacebuilding efforts. Higher rates of participation in police forces by women have been shown to correlate with higher rates of reported sexual assault.⁴⁸² A security sector recognized for the ability to respond to security threats can lead to the acceptance of and participation by minority groups in the security sector to resolve other security needs.⁴⁸³ Women's participation in national legislatures, such as South Africa's Multiparty Women's Caucus and Colombia's bicameral *Bancada de Mujeres*, help promote gender-sensitive policies in the security sector.⁴⁸⁴ A more recent and disturbing trend has been the rise of sexual violence used as a “tactic of warfare,” which needs to be countered with both a political and judicial response according to the Inter-agency SSR

⁴⁷⁰ UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations, *Namibia – UNTAG Background*, 2014.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ UN Security Council, *The maintenance of international peace and security: Security sector reform: challenges and opportunities (S/RES/2151 (2014))*, 2014.

⁴⁷⁵ UN Inter-agency SSR Task Force, *Integrated Technical Guidance Note on SSR – Gender-responsive SSR*, 2012, p. 37.

⁴⁷⁶ UN Security Council, *The maintenance of international peace and security: Security sector reform: challenges and opportunities (S/RES/2151 (2014))*, 2014.

⁴⁷⁷ UN Security Council, *Women and peace and security (S/RES/1960 (2010))*, 2010.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁹ UN General Assembly, *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*, 2013.

⁴⁸⁰ UN Inter-agency SSR Task Force, *Integrated Technical Guidance Note on SSR – Gender-responsive SSR*, 2012, p. 37.

⁴⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

Task Force.⁴⁸⁵ One method to combat sexual violence may be to have the Team of Experts on Rule of Law and Sexual Violence in Conflict, which was created by Resolution 1888 (2009), to promote national efforts in investigating and prosecuting cases of sexual violence, as was done in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.⁴⁸⁶ Although gender mainstreaming of SSR will not solve all gender issues, it is a start to creating an environment conducive to responding to the unique security needs of women, girls, men, and boys.⁴⁸⁷

Children

Another marginalized group that needs to be included in SSR programs is children. Although efforts to prevent the recruitment of children into armed forces has gained international attention, it is equally important to incorporate children's rights and child protection into national legal frameworks through SSR. As a member of the IASSRTF, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) works to implement the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child* and other international standards in SSR processes.⁴⁸⁸ UNICEF has assisted many peacebuilding operations with support for inclusion of child rights provisions into national constitutions, which ensures that children will be part of security processes long after SSR has concluded.⁴⁸⁹ While it may be an afterthought in developing countries, the establishment of juvenile justice systems fosters the reintegration of children into society, especially if the youth were forced to become soldiers.⁴⁹⁰ In 2010, Sierra Leone finished constructing a new courthouse with a courtroom specially designed for children and their special circumstances.⁴⁹¹ Hybrid courts have also been proposed as a means to address the unique challenges children face in post-conflict environments.⁴⁹² Differentiation must be made among the many situations children experience in post-conflict situations such as witnesses to crimes, victims, and even perpetrators of crimes.⁴⁹³ Hybrid courts, along with child rights mechanisms, allows for a more effective and quicker resolution of justice for children.⁴⁹⁴ This will enable children to seek medical care, resume education, and rejoin society in a manner conducive to sustainable peace.

Conclusion

As the first role of the UN Security Council, the maintenance of international peace and security will remain at the forefront of its agenda. Security Sector reform has gained widespread recognition as an effective tool for preventing and mitigating outbreaks of armed conflict that have plagued the world for many years. Not every SSR program has been considered a success, but much progress has been made in recent years since the Security Council has highlighted the importance of SSR in peacebuilding. Still, much remains to be learned on how to implement SSR most effectively for the development of a reliable, accountable, and transparent security sector responsive to the needs of the people. Women and children must participate in the reform of security institutions at all levels. While traditionally reform has focused on the military and police, greater focus must be placed on civil society and civilian governance and management in order to holistically develop a security sector able to sustain peace in the long-term. Above all, SSR should insert the principle of the rule of law into a society at its core for any reforms to take root. The role of the UN and the Security Council will continue to shape SSR at the international, regional, and national levels.

Further Research

In preparation, delegate should consider the role of the UN Security Council in SSR and if their own country has addressed security sector reform. Delegates should also consider the following: How can the international community help States improve their legal framework governing security institutions and the rights of the people? Are women participating in the security sector equally and effectively the same as men? Are diverse groups like women, children, and minorities having their security needs met by the security sector? Bearing in mind that every society has its own marginalized populations, delegates should consider what obstacles remain preventing the security needs of certain populations from being addressed? Delegates should also be wary of the logistical support

⁴⁸⁵ UN Inter-agency SSR Task Force, *Integrated Technical Guidance Note on SSR – Gender-responsive SSR*, 2012, p. 37.

⁴⁸⁶ Office of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Sexual Violence in Conflict, *Team of Experts*, 2014.

⁴⁸⁷ UN Inter-agency SSR Task Force, *Integrated Technical Guidance Note on SSR – Gender-responsive SSR*, 2012, p. 38.

⁴⁸⁸ United Nations, *Security Sector Reform – UNICEF*, 2009.

⁴⁸⁹ UN Security Council, *Children and Armed Conflict (S/RES/1612 (2005))*, 2005.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹¹ Samba, *In Sierra Leone, Judiciary Commissions Two New Courts*, 2010.

⁴⁹² Nosworthy, *Children and Security Sector Reform in Post-Conflict Peace-Building*, 2010, p. 17.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*



States need in order to accomplish these goals. Finally, delegates should look into engaging possible partners such as regional organizations in national SSR projects or obtaining greater policy guidance and expertise from UN agencies.

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African Union. (2013). *African Union Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform*. Retrieved 14 August 2014 from: <http://www.peaceau.org/en/topic/au-policy-framework-on-security-sector-reform-ssr>

As the African Union's first Policy Framework on Security Sector Reform, many unique perspectives on SSR are provided that are not considered by the West. These perspectives will likely become part of future national SSR programs as Africa continues to develop its security sector. As SSR becomes more significant, African concerns on security may become more crucial concerns for other countries. Many African priorities for SSR may become accepted among developing countries and thus useful in your research.

Burt, G. (2011). *At the Margins of SSR: Gender and Informal Justice*. Centre for International Governance Innovation. Retrieved 14 August 2014 from: http://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/Conference_Report.pdf

Although SSR has been part of the international agenda for some time, only recently has gender gained recognition as a necessary component of such processes. Ensuring the security of women is crucial for any security sector to be considered an adequate and effective provider of security. This report covers a two-day conference held in Canada examining the role of gender awareness in SSR and is useful in highlighting gender-sensitive policies for SSR.

Global Facilitation Network for Security Sector Reform. (2007). *A Beginner's Guide to Security Sector Reform (SSR)*. Retrieved 1 November 2014 from: <https://statebuildingmonitor.files.wordpress.com/2012/01/a-beginners-guide-to-security-sector-reform-ssr1.pdf>

Just as it is named, this beginner's guide provides a great introduction into SSR and the significance of SSR processes for a developing country. Including a basic introduction into the multiple areas of security sector reform, this guide breaks down the fundamentals and explains the necessities for a country and what can go wrong if certain institutions fail to maintain security. This guide is crucial for those looking to thoroughly understand the topic area.

United Nations, Inter-agency Security Sector Reform Task Force. (2012). *Security Sector Reform: Integrated Technical Guidance Note*. Retrieved 11 August 2014 from:

http://unssr.unlb.org/Portals/UNSSR/UN_Integrated_Technical_Guidance_Notes_on_SSR.PDF

This document provides the IASSRTF's overview of the cross-cutting issues encountered by SSR processes. Issues ranging from gender to democratic governance and national ownership to developing a national security policy. Although there are many other notes, this one in particular covers many best practices that have been developed over many years through the work of the UN's agencies and peacekeeping missions.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. (2007). *OECD Handbook on Security Sector Reform: Supporting Security and Justice*. <http://www.oecd.org/development/incaf/38406485.pdf>

The OECD's Handbook is the first holistic guide to one specific SSR process encompassing all of the possible routes and topic areas to consider. Many international donors are part of the OECD and, often times, look for SSR programs that follow the guidelines outlined in the Handbook. Specific information on the role of security institutions and security needs are addressed that may be of concern to your delegation, especially those in the West.

Sedra, M. (n.d.). *The Future of Security Sector Reform*. Centre for International Governance Innovation. Retrieved 13 August 2014 from: <http://www.ssrresourcecentre.org/ebook/>

This e-book compiles a great number of essays on the security sector reform agenda and the possibilities of future issues in SSR. Leading international scholars provide an in-depth look on what has worked and what has not in developing a reliable state security architecture. This is a great source for examining theories of SSR that have been proposed and the realities of SSR in practice. With such a broad look at SSR, this source will be helpful setting a position on the topic.

United Nations, General Assembly, Sixty-seventh session. (2013). *Securing States and societies: strengthening the United Nations comprehensive support to security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/67/970)*.

Retrieved 11 July 2014 from: http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2013/480

This Secretary-General report is the most recent comprehensive review of SSR by the United Nations. Within the report, the Secretary-General reviews the developing trends and challenges of projects implementing SSR. The role of the UN and the Security Council is highlighted in current and future projects. Recommendations for future SSR projects are included along with the lessons learned that they are based on. This report serves as a great guide to the current situation of SSR within the UN.

United Nations, General Assembly, Sixty-second session. (2008). *Securing peace and development: the role of the United Nations in supporting security sector reform: Report of the Secretary-General (A/62/659)*. Retrieved 10 August 2014 from: <http://undocs.org/A/62/659>

As the first Secretary-General report, this document provides a great overview of the UN's role in leading the development trend of Security Sector Reform. A history of SSR and possible future roles for the UN and other agencies is discussed. Recommendations are included for future roles that the UN has embraced and may embrace in the future. A great guide to the history of SSR within the UN and need for a change at the international level for SSR.

United Nations, Security Council, 7161st meeting. (2014) *The maintenance of international peace and security: Security sector reform: challenges and opportunities (S/RES/2151 (2014))*. Retrieved 11 July 2014 from: [http://undocs.org/S/RES/2151\(2014\)](http://undocs.org/S/RES/2151(2014))

Resolution 2151 is the first stand-alone resolution adopted by the Security Council on SSR. Many significant and important objectives of the Security Council within SSR are outlined throughout the document. Other stakeholders in SSR are also included such as national institutions and the Peacebuilding Commission. More importantly, the resolution focuses on the participation of civil society and vulnerable populations in SSR and is important in understanding the role each can play.

Wulf, H. (2004). *Security sector reform in developing and transitional countries*. Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. http://www.berghof-handbook.net/documents/publications/dialogue2_wulf.pdf

An early NGO report, many conclusions and recommendations are made based on early SSR programs. Although not far from the UN's conclusions and recommendations, this report does provide a different perspective on the challenges and dilemmas faced by SSR processes. Specific to this report is a list of priorities for SSR programs that may be necessary when faced with difficulties in funding reform projects, which gives helpful insight on what are the most significant developments a country needs to maintain security. This report shall prove useful when considering the development of future SSR projects and the challenges to implementation.

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