PAMUN XVIII RESEARCH REPORT— MEASURES TO PROMOTE STATE-BUILDING AND GOOD GOVERNANCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IN FURTHERANCE OF COMBATTING THE GROWTH OF RADICALISM - THE CASE OF IRAQ

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Introduction of Topic

It is very difficult to know when a policy of state building is required. Some former colonies, when they have become independent, have benefited from the institutions of the colonizing power and from its training of appropriately educated elites – but not all, and independence is often achieved at the expenses of the emergence of a weak state. Sometimes, devastating civil wars have destroyed the institutions of the state to such an extent, that only shards remain. Sometimes, war and conquest have undermined the capacity of the state to carry on its duties. More often than not, such states emerge without the benefits of a democratic culture, and quickly fall prey to predatory authoritarian regimes, which see in the state an opportunity to line their pockets and those of their followers, rather than to build strong and enduring institutions serving the needs of their population.

In all such situations, what emerges is a _fragile State_ unable to fulfill its tasks. It is in response to such fragility that policies of state building emerge, as an attempt to strengthen – and even to found – lasting and resilient institutions. Why would the international community care, and why should it seek to intervene in such situation? Very simply because fragile states are tearing the fabric of the international community: they serve as bases for international criminal endeavors of various kinds, and they are often torn by civil wars or external wars, and more recently also serve as bases for terrorists organizations. This is why the international community cannot remain idle, and this is the reason for why various attempts are made to remedy such situations.

Promoting state-building and good governance in the Middle-East in furtherance of combating radicalism directly connects to achieving Sustainable Development Goal #16: promoting peace, justice and strong institutions. Security institutions, law enforcement agencies, and development actors must cooperate to generate multi-faceted approaches to countering violent-extremism in vulnerable and conflicted environments.

Definition of Key Terms

Radicalism

The beliefs or actions of individuals or groups of people who advocate complete political or social change. Cognitive radicalization refers to extremist ideas while violent radicalization refers to extremist methods. Radicalization is when individuals, by believing in these ideologies, become extremists.

Fragile State

According to the United Nations, there is no clear-cut definition for a fragile state. However, the Strategy Note on UNODC Engagement in Post-Conflict and Fragile States indicates that one can deem a state as fragile when its government "either cannot or will not deliver core functions to the majority of its people." Due to ineffective mechanisms, countries often face issues such as but not limited to "instability, weak institutions, a lack of security and respect for the rule of law, and widespread corruption. The worst case scenario is a complete collapse of the state, or a withdrawal from parts of its territory."

State Building

Similarly to a fragile state, state building does not have an official definition. Nevertheless, according to the The International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF), state building refers to the "process to enhance capacity, institutions and legitimacy of the state, driven by state–society relations." Whether or not the procedure should be domestically or internationally handled is up for discussion: although many believe it should be approached by the international community, others believe local actors should lead the activity.

Extremism

The holding of extreme political, social or religious ideologies, which oppose a country or society's principles.

Counter-radicalization

The process in which non-radicalized individuals or communities are prevented from being radicalized. Through non-coercive means, governments or organizations aim to establish communal resilience against all types of radicalization.

De-radicalization

The process in which radicalized groups or individuals terminate their engagement in violent extremism/terrorism. However, individuals can be disengaged (no longer participating in physical violence) but still not be de-radicalized, due to the ideological support they still display. The United States, for example, refers to these efforts as "countering violent extremism".

Background Information

As stated by the United Nations Plan of Action to Avoid Extremism, "nothing can justify violent extremism but we must also acknowledge that it does not arise in a vacuum. Narratives of grievance, actual or perceived injustice, promised empowerment and sweeping change become attractive where human rights are being violated, good governance is being ignored and aspirations are being crushed." If good governance continues to be disregarded, citizens will continue to follow extremist ideologies in search of a way out. It is therefore imperative that an atmosphere of good governance and political and economic justice be evolved.

Roots of Radicalism

As mentioned above, the desire to implement radicalist ideas did not arise without a cause. In order to counter such extremism, it is essential that the root causes of the issue be understood.

Socio-economic

Globalization has allowed population to gain awareness about the opportunities and innovations developing all over the world. In conflict-riddled regions of Middle East, such openings are often absent from the society, resulting in frustration and victimization from undereducated and necessitous young generations who contrast their poverty-stricken lifestyles to others.

Historical reasons also contribute to this continuous exasperation. In Middle Eastern culture, the golden age of Islam (8th-14th century) in which their civilization surpassed all others, is of great significance. As opposed to other developing countries, Arab countries have also had rivalry with European countries in regards to political and economic prosperity. Colonial subjugation, military loss, and past feelings of superiority, have contributed to the fermentation of substantial resentment in sectors of the Middle East, and in turn, fostered high expectations and desires.

Political

Flawed political systems in the past which have lacked good governance, freedom of speech, and participation have been a leading factor in fueling radicalism due to the disapproval and political resentment it stimulates among citizens. The 'distance' of agreement between populations and their regimes provided the opportunity for voices of oppositions to arise. The violence, corruption, and injustices imposed upon citizens by certain governments of the region made people become less solicitous and more frustrated over their country's policies, causing them to shift towards more radical views and beliefs.

The 2003 Invasion of Iraq

On the 20th of March 2003, the United States, along with the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland invaded Iraq. The United States, led by President Bush, were under the belief that Iraq was building weapons of mass destruction. Their objective was to remove dictator Saddam Hussein as leader, in hopes of turning Iraq into a more liberal country which neighbor authoritarian countries could follow. Following Hussein's refusal to leave Iraq, hostilities began. Iraqi citizens were furious that another country had aggressed their homeland. Forces overtook major cities, such as Baghdad, the country's capital, and overthrew the Ba'ath Party, Hussein's regime, in two months. Bush withdrew the "majority of combat operations" on May 1st, 2003. At the start of the war, Hussein went into hiding and wasn't found by US forces until December 2003, where he was arrested for crime and mass killings. He was later executed in 2006.

Aftermath and Effects

Following the invasion, the country was in complete disarray. A provisional government known as the Coalition Provisional Authority was installed. They led the nation, with close watch by the United States, until the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1546 passed on limited sovereignty to a caretaker government, the Iraqi Interim Government, in hopes of advancing with elections. However, it lacked cohesion, and was not able to accomplish what it wanted to. The Iraqi Transitional Government was the last temporary government to be installed before the first permanent government was established in May 2006.

Attempts to reconstruct Iraq post-invasion by the international community began followed. However, efforts were halted continuously by the militant Iraqi insurgency, beginning with mass opposition and rejection to the United States led Coalition Provisional Authority. This rapidly turned into a sectarian conflict between numerous insurgency groups including the Baathists, supporters of Hussein, Iraqi nationalists, the Salafi Islamists who were Sunni, and Shi'a militias. A great social divide was created as society was fragmented in its constituent religious loyalties and political groups. Throughout the multiple attempts at state-building, clashes persisted, causing dire living conditions for the Iraqi population and many civilian deaths.

Extremist Organizations

Extremist organizations have also greatly contributed to the conflicts and violence in Iraq.

Al-Qaeda

Al-Qaeda is a Salafist organization that emerged during the Afghan War in the 1980s, when an Islamic anti-Soviet jihad was formed. Led by Osama Bin Laden, the objective of the

group was to create elite fighters who would lead the global jihad project and bring together the hundreds of small jihadist groups under a single umbrella. Since the 1990's, Al Qaeda has been more focused on creating turmoil in Western nations such as the U.S and its allies. The group has always desired to use and obtain biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction in order to target large, public symbols. Since its creation, al-Qaeda has committed several acts of violence worldwide. Some of the most gruesome acts include the 1998 attacks on two U.S. embassies in Africa, and the September 11 attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Centre, that made Al Qaeda known worldwide.

ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant) or IS (Islamic State)

ISIL, often referred to as ISIS, is another Salafist jihadist organization. The primary target of the Islamic State has been regimes in the Arab world such as the Assad regime in Syria and the Abadi regime in Iraq. The ultimate goal of ISIS is to overthrow the corrupt regimes in the Middle East and replace them with "true" Islamic governments. They wish to "cleanse" the Islamic community by attacking Shia Muslims and other religious minorities. They repeatedly attack and impede terror on countries all over the world, such as the August and November 2015 assaults in France and the Istanbul nightclub shooting in 2017.

State Building Attempts

The 2003 Invasion turned Iraq into one of the world's most unstable countries. The situation in Iraq between 2003 and 2006 alone caused over 151,000 deaths. According to the United Nations, three million citizens have fled the tumultuous country which lacks infrastructure, basic necessities, and opportunity. There have been examples of both successes and failures in state-building. In this report, both will be discussed.

European Union

The European Union has contributed to the reconstruction of Iraq through diverse methods. The Madrid Conference on Reconstruction in Iraq, held on October 24th, 2003, reiterated the European Union's desire to participate in the efforts to rebuild the country. The conference hoped to not only devise state-building frameworks, but also collect pledges from international donors that would contribute to the cause. In 2004, it encouraged Iraq to join the Strategic Partnership for the Mediterranean and the Middle East, in addition to reinstating them as a favorite trade partner and negotiating on their behalf on trade and external debt issues. During the period of transitional governments, the European Union imported basic necessities into the state, and facilitated the integration of relief measures. Rather than engaging with an invasive approach like the United States,

the EU instead remained cooperative and worked alongside Iraqi authorities to supply what was needed.

The Kuwait International Conference for Reconstruction of Iraq

The Kuwait International Conference for Reconstruction of Iraq displays an example of a state-building effort of 2018, more than a decade after insurgencies erupted. The two-day conference, led by Kuwait, Iraq, the EU, and the World Bank, focused on re-confirming commitment and support to Iraq's development through constructing a long-term agenda of solutions for a stable Iraq, and assembling financing from both public and private sectors to endorse their activities. Their main topic of discussion was overcoming ISIS and their occupancy of the country. They hoped to achieve their goals through complete cooperation; participants from the public and private sectors, civil society institutions, humanitarian developmental areas, and organizations. Similarly to the European Union, including Iraqi citizens in their operations of rebuilding infrastructure and creating employment is of the utmost importance. The conference led to the collection of over 30 billion dollars by the international community, in addition to the EU's 400 million contribution.

International non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

International NGOs were supposed to be a great part of the reconstruction effort in Iraq in 2003 and 2004. Many, mainly American and European, rapidly installed offices in Iraq in order to aid the Iraqi citizens in the midst of humanitarian and political turmoil. However, a range of issues regarding their establishment in the country arose. The security of the NGO officers became impossible to ensure, as they consistently began to receive threats from insurgent groups. They, along with many other Iraqi citizens, viewed the humanitarian aid negatively. They judged them to be allies of the Western nations and their interests infringing on their sovereignty and invading their territory rather than helping rebuild it. Be. The NGOs were forced to hire private safety companies to protect their employees, which were both expensive and complicated for the organizations to handle. All offices were transferred to the neighbouring countries of Jordan and Kuwait, and would function long-distance, making it more difficult for projects to be efficiently executed. These conditions made it unfeasible for NGO's to effectively contribute to state-building efforts. What countries thought would be the main method of reconstruction was in fact a failure.

Iraqi Constitution

A constitution to set guidelines for the country was drafted in December 2003 by the Coalition Provisional Authority, led by the United States. A referendum to permanently approve the constitution took place in 2005. However, the Sunni Arabs completely disagreed with it as it did not include a veto provision for the protection of minorities. They also believed the United States had drafted the entire

thing, making them doubt its legitimacy. Sunni Arabs and Shia Arabs failed to find consensus on any possible edits or amendments to the constitution, thus the Sunnis delayed any advancements of it. Their disagreements became a subject of tension between the two groups. Both feared that the other would gain too much political power and overshadow the other. The execution of a constitution, rather than becoming a guiding framework for citizens to follow, deepened the country's sectional tensions.

Major Countries and Organizations Involved

Peacebuilding Commission of the United Nations (PBC)

This advisory body supports peace efforts in conflict countries like Iraq. Composed of 31 Member States, the Commission is led by the General Assembly, the Security Council, and ECOSOC. Their objective is to help implement the processes through concrete economic and advisory measures. They want to ensure accountable states that respond to the expectations and needs of their population, making sure that groups like women and children are also protected and have a voice. PBC's goals include "fostering inclusive political settlements and processes, establishing basic safety and security, achieving peaceful resolution of conflicts, and creating the foundations for inclusive economic development."

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization)

UNESCO's work in Iraq has been highly beneficial as they have incorporated unique technical and specialized expertise in their procedures. They directly support the Iraqi people in building peace and achieving their state building goals. Furthermore, they have made great strides in relation to education, freedom of expression, the development of independent media, as well as protecting Iraq's enormous cultural and artistic heritage for future generations.

From 2003 to 2007, UNESCO implemented a programme to improve the quality of Iraqi Arabic, mathematics and science textbooks to ensure that they were politically neutral and showed equality to men and women. Eleven million Iraqi students profited, and since only local companies were hired to print the textbooks, there was also an economic boost to the economy.

Other UNESCO initiatives include the rehabilitation of the Al Askari Holy Shrine, the creation of a television satellite channel called "Iraqi Edu" that provides quality education to Iraqi students eager to learn, teacher training programs with the collaboration of international universities, and the restoration of water canals in northern Iraq to help families avoid water shortages.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP)

UNDP leads the UN support to employment and income creation so that the Iraqi population can sustain themselves and become less dependent on financial aid. They do so by rehabilitating basic social infrastructure to impoverished refugees and families. UNDP focuses on monitoring and preventing human rights infringements and violence by mediating in local communities to resolve conflict. They have also played a role in strengthening the judicial sector and helping Iraq implement their own development programs. Their "Iraq Crisis, Response and Resilience Program" devises socio economic outreach programs to build local Iraqi community support systems.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and World Bank

The Development Assistance Committee (DAC), under the OECD, is a forum that discusses state-building in both fragile and developing countries. The World Bank has similar goals. Both these organizations tackle topics such as governance, macroeconomic policy, and 'aid effectiveness'. These institutions strive to provide guidance on how to implement economic literacy to developing and unstable nations through training and guidance. In addition they have leading roles in numerous conferences on reconstruction (such as the World Bank in the Kuwait Conference mentioned above).

The European Union

The European Union has supported Iraq through humanitarian aid, stabilization measures, security, and guidance on political reforms. Recently, on the 22nd of January 2018, the EU adopted a renewed strategy and efforts to help Iraq, asserting to use all their assets and tools to positively influence the Iraqi landscape.

The EU has provided and will continue to provide assistance for the delivery of basic public services and employment, and strengthen governance, civil society and human rights. Its goal is to use its relations with regional neighbours to encourage positive engagement and support the political and economic improvement of Iraq.

Security sector reform is a high priority along with political inclusiveness, respect for ethnic and gender minorities and the continuous fight against corruption. The EU is committed to promoting a constructive dialogue between the sectional divisions in the country in order to find legal and constitutional diplomatic solutions that can benefit both sides.

United States

Over the years, the United States has contributed financially to Iraqi reconstruction. The U.S. government has provided $1.7 billion in humanitarian aid for Iraq since 2014, making it the largest

contributor to address the Iraqi crisis. In January, it planned on providing $150 million for stabilization operations in 2018: funds would continue restoring basic utilities and grants to small businesses.

Previous Attempts at State Building

State-building attempts, both successes and failures, have been repeatedly pointed out in various pubkications. Reasons for their outcome are diverse.

The main reason behind the successes of European Union efforts and The Kuwait International Conference for Reconstruction of Iraq is that they both engaged in the same cooperational approach. The EU ensured that they worked on their projects alongside local organizations. The Conference in 2018 included Iraqi authorities in their decision-making; every party was able to express their voice. The United States invasion of Iraq followed by their political control of the country made the citizens feel over-controlled. Although their main goal was to install a democratic institution and improve the population's lives, Iraqis viewed these attacks as an infringement of their sovereignty, and a gain for American interests.

This is similar to why international NGOs did not succeed in accomplishing the missions they were assigned. Between March 2003 and March 2008, 94 aid workers were killed, 248 injured, 24 arrested, and 89 kidnapped by insurgents. Although they entered Iraq in neutrality, with the sole purpose of aiding its citizens, the population did not view them this way. People believed their arrival was a continuation of the invasion.

The constitution failed for the same reasons, except this time, sectional divisions also interfered. Many Sunni felt the constitution that was drafted by the temporary government at the time was completely rushed and influenced by the United States. They also believed it didn't protect their interests, and only those of the Shia. A completely new constitution for a brand-new government should be holistic rather than sided. The two divisions were unable to come to a consensus, causing a delay in elections and the advancement of the country's leading system.

Main Issues

We must focus on stabilizing societies and improving the integrity of governments.

Excessive focus (both international and domestic) on military action against terrorist organizations and keeping refugees out rather than the political and socio economic state in the home countries

Terrorists bring yet another threat to state-building. They bring further civilian casualties and newly established government have difficulty combatting the militants, especially without foreign assistance. A balance must be reached between the focus on helping the "fragile" state recover and aiding it combat terrorists. Although these seem synonymous, the methods are different. Moreover, when people inhabiting such States aim to take refuge, nations often focus on rejecting them instead of helping the "fragile state".

Lack of legitimacy

State building is ineffective if a government is not seen as legitimate in the eyes of the people and international community. Governments must be regarded as credible. When the United States invaded Iraq, the institutions they created were not seen as credible by the people. The unorganized political order in various parts of the country gained legitimacy, creating contrasting perspectives in relation to national identity, thus pulling communities apart.

Fragmentation

Fragmentation of populations leads to the collapse of the state. Political, social, and economic fragmentation leads to many different concerns, destabilising the state and society. When former president Saddam Hussein was ousted in 2003, fighting between the country's political and religious blocks made the building of the state nearly impossible. For instance, after the US invaded Iraq, religious divisions between Muslim communities (Sunni and Shia) widened. The Americans could not bring the different factions to a consensus on the writing of the constitution, which was crucial for political reconstruction within the state. Moreover, not only did fragmentation hinder a clear line of action for the nation, it plunged the country back into civil war in the Sunni-Shia conflict, rendering constitutional remaking and state-building a great challenge.

Representing the needs of all

Another problem is that state building does not always represent the needs and concerns of all citizens, which hinders progress. Ensuring the viewpoints of all groups are taken into account is vital to build an inclusive political framework. Perhaps government officials should create social dialogue and town-hall meeting to discuss the policies with their citizens. Or, new governments may need to implement plans tailored to needs of specific region to carefully balance demands. It is difficult to reach consensus between different ethnic or religious groups. As long as the state-building process is not seen as representative of the population, it is viewed as illegitimate and likely fails.

Possible Solutions

In this year's PAMUN conference, delegates are expected to write specialized clauses, which should later amount to a coherent resolution with each of them addressing a specific aspect of the topic. When writing their clauses, delegates are to focus on a specific aspect or a "specialized topic" of the general issue that are outlined by 'major issues' and 'possible solutions' of this report. During your conference, chairs will deliver their delegates with more specific instructions. However, please keep in mind that these ideas do not in any way set restrictions for debate. Moreover, each solutions has both its benefits and disadvantages that delegates should thoroughly consider.

Several measures have been set into place through resolutions and frameworks, propelling the international community in a positive direction. Thus, their reinforcement should be continued.

A possible solution includes defining measures for compromise and unification. Since fragmentation hinders the goals of state building as different factions cannot be brought together to agree on political reconstruction, compromises should be reached between groups. Although it is difficult to make communities or factions shift their ideals, agreements can be reached. Forums and meetings should be created to facilitate this consensus building. This way, the government can be seen as representative of the population, viewed as illegitimate and work.

Another solution is for the Iraqi to work alongside aiding nations helping the "fragile state" so the invading nation does not abuse their power. Formal agreements can be drafted specifying the degree of power they exert. This would hinder further insurgencies from arising as it would be an act of collaboration rather than one of control, and ensure that reconciliation processes are also on a national level. Furthermore, long-term and sustainable approaches should be considered to ensure a smooth shift from state-building to normalization.

Additional Reflections

If possible, Iraq should benefit from the lessons and experiences of countries, which have already gone through state-building processes, or are currently undergoing such processes. Delegates representing such countries should be ready to share the lessons and experiences of their countries during caucus time, as well as make proposals, which derive from them. Other delegates could do well to explore during their preparations at least one such experience, so that their proposals match previous instances of State-Building

Although each specific context is particular, commonalities do emerge, such as, for example, the

issue of Transitional Justice, usually addressed with a Truth and Reconciliation Commission; Setting-up Anti-Corruption Commissions with extensive powers of intervention also seems to be an essential feature of State-Building. It is often pointed out that aid modalities (how it is administered and to whom) have an impact on State-Building. While it seems to be true that "off the shelf" solutions are to be avoided, and that one needs to match the development approach to the context, one shouldn't ignore the weathered and tested "toolkit" developed over the years.
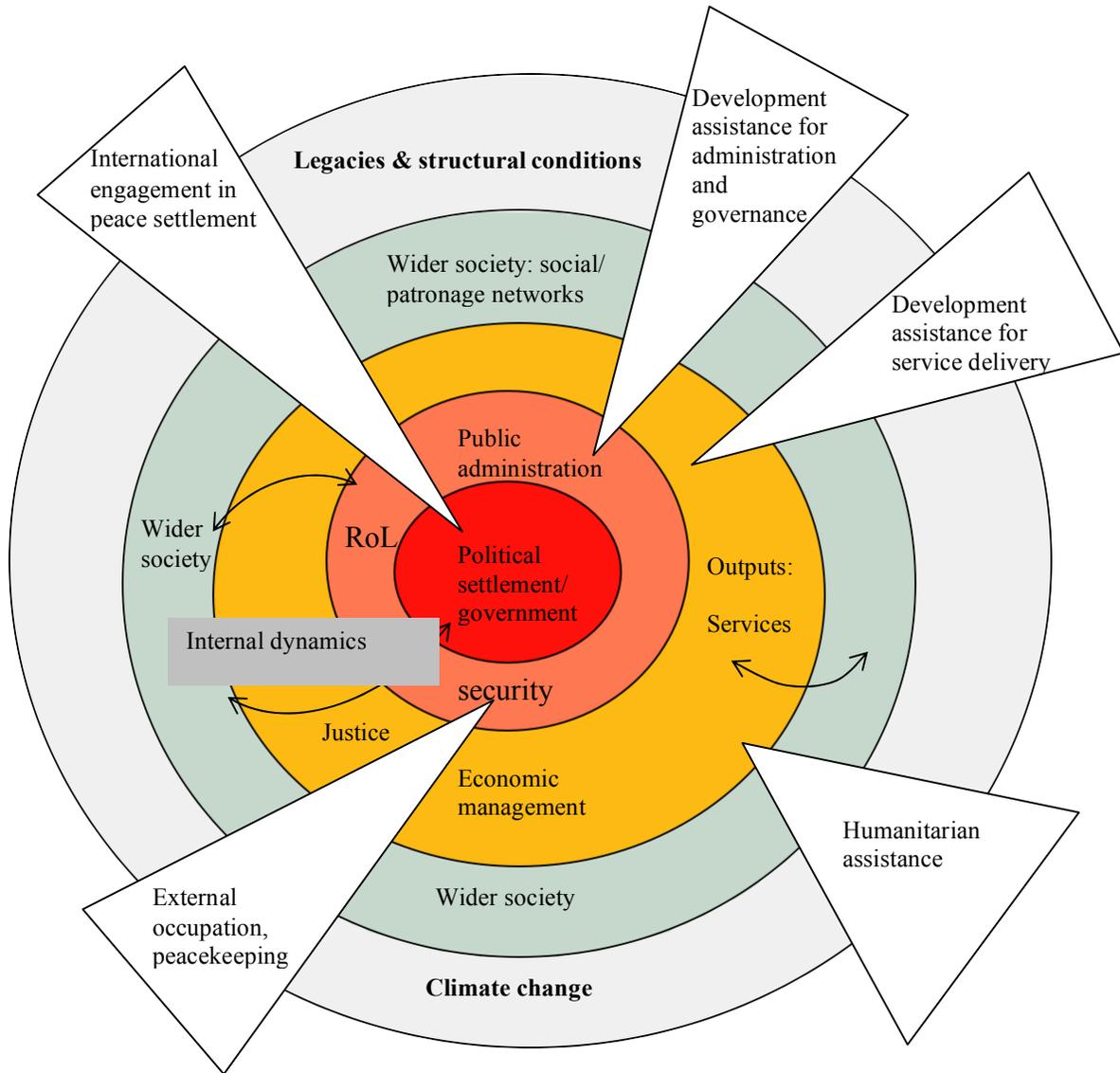
Matrix 1: Categorisation of state-building contexts

Issue	Range/examples	(Potential) implications
Nature of starting point		
Starting point of state-building: type of trajectory and peace/conflict	*Type I – (largely) peaceful*: secession/collapse of former USSR *Type I – with conflict* – secession/collapse of empire (conflict): former Yugoslavia; East Timor *Type II – (largely) peaceful*: Ghana *Type II – with conflict*: DRC *Type III – internal conflict* – internal collapse of state/civil war: Somalia; Liberia; Sierra Leone *Type III – internal conflict cum occupation*: Iraq, Afghanistan	Post-conflict state-building requires specific attention to peace-building; conflict itself makes SB success more challenging
Peace restored?	Fairly stable peace arrangements: Mozambique Tense but stable: Kosovo Low key fighting: Afghanistan; DRC Civil war: Iraq	Rapid restoration of peace is advantageous for SB Dynamics between peace and state legitimacy
Range/depth of external engagement	'Regular' development assistance Limited peace-keeping operation Occupation Transitional authority	Dynamics of internal and external actors
Legacies		
Degree of pre-conflict stateness/ presence of state as service provider	(Very) low: Afghanistan Reasonably high: Kosovo; Iraq High/very high: Germany; Japan	High previous stateness generally advantageous but also implies higher expectations

Previous regime	Highly oppressive: Iraq Authoritarian: former Yugoslavia Feeble democratic: Solomon Islands	Collapse of previous highly oppressive regime – can bring out long-suppressed conflicts Previous democratic experience assumed to be advantageous
Background conditions		
Specific risk factors	Narcotics production or trading Natural resources (especially oil and diamonds) Unstable/destabilising neighbourhood: West Africa; Iran/Iraq	Especially narcotics can have a highly pernicious impact (cannot be turned into a legal activity)
Structure of society	Divided into a few fairly well defined 'blocs': Iraq?; Kosovo Ethnically diverse (many ethnic/linguistic groups): Papua New Guinea Ethnically relatively homogenous/ethnic divisions not decisive Sense of national public: established, weak, absent Degree of modernisation and urbanisation	Presence of a least a proto-national consciousness is advantageous Urbanisation may contribute to greater awareness of a 'country-wide' public
Geography	How difficult or easy is the territory to control? How densely is the country populated?	Difficult territory (mountains; jungle) offer greater opportunities to spoilers
Geopolitics/ neighbourhood	What are the interests of external actors in stabilising/destabilising the state – in particular neighbouring countries and 'big powers'?	External actors with an interest in undermining stability can be a threat to SB
Economic opportunities and aid		
Economic opportunities	What are the opportunities for economic revival? Distance to the sea and/or to major export destinations; economic assets (e.g. mining; attractiveness for tourism; opportunities for integration into regional production networks; labour costs, etc.)	Greater economic opportunities can ease SB challenges
External assistance	The amount of aid forthcoming and its phasing over time; capacity to absorb and manage aid	High pay-off of aid to post-conflict countries if properly phased

Graph 2: Domains and actors in the state-building process

For Further Inquiry

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Appendix or Appendices

i. A deeper look into the involvement of NGO's in Iraq:
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ii. United Nations Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism:
https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/plan-action-prevent-violent-extremism

iii. The United Nations web page on Iraq and their humanitarian assistance efforts:
http://www.uniraq.org/index.php?lang=en

iv. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1483:
https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/495555?ln=en