"Do not follow where the path may lead. Go instead where there is no path and leave a trail." Muriel Strode

UMMUN 2007
Background Guide

North Atlantic Treaty Organization
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My name is Jordan Marcusse and I am the director of the NATO Committee for UMMUN 2007. I look forward to working with you in January as we respond to the resurgent conflict in Afghanistan. As a crisis committee, NATO will require quick thinking, flexibility, and a strong background knowledge of the situation. Although a lot is expected of delegates, I expect that we will have an interesting, fun, and exciting committee this year.

Allow me to introduce you to the committee staff. I am a fourth-year economics major and mathematics minor. This is my fourth year on UMMUN staff, having worked on UNCHR, the European Council, and the Political Committee. I was a model UN delegate in high school and UMMUN was my favorite conference. This will be my fourth year working with MIMUN. I have also attended college conferences all four years I’ve been at the University of Michigan. I am also a member of the International Affairs Society and the Squirrel Club.

My assistant director is Sarah Dansereau, a fourth-year political science major. Besides model UN, she works with the Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program and is involved in political campaigning. Last year she was a rapporteur for the Disarmament and Security Committee at UMMUN.

Our rapporteurs are Aaron Miller, Amanda Canvasser, and Hamza Warraich. Aaron is a 1st year student. His major is undecided but he’s considering studying French or sociology. He works in student government on the Student Life Committee and the Sigma Alpha Mu fraternity. This is his first year with UMMUN, but he did two years of model UN in high school.

Amanda Canvasser is a freshman as well. She plans on studying political science and Near Eastern studies. She is a member of the College Democrats, Dance Marathon, and Michigan Community Scholars. She participated in model UN in high school.

Hamza Warraich, our third rapporteur, is also a freshman. He is a freshman and he plans on studying business. He is a member of the Michigan Economics Society and the International Student Advisory Board. This is his first time with model United Nations.

I look forward to working with you in January. Until then, I recommend that you familiarize yourself with the conflict in Afghanistan and keep your eye on the news for further developments. In a conflict as rapidly and subtly changing as this, important developments could occur at any time. It should be interesting to see how our committee responds to this situation.

Jordan Marcusse
Director, North Atlantic Treaty Organization
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Committee Background

NATO is a military alliance between Europe and the United States. Meant as a defensive alliance, it has taken an increasingly active role in the world in the past decade. Since its inception in 1948, NATO has expanded from its 12 charter members in North America and Western Europe to 26 members encompassing most of Europe. Originally formed to combat the growing Soviet influence in Europe, NATO underwent a crisis of identity with the end of the Cold War in 1991 (BBC, 6).

NATO found a new purpose when it took on an increasingly proactive role in Europe during 1990’s, arguing that instability anywhere in Europe is a threat to Atlantic security. The first such mission was the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995). NATO initially adopted the role of protecting UN safe areas from Serbian militias. However, by 1994, NATO forces were actively bombing militia positions and eventually, leading NATO members and Russia coordinated peace talks between the Serbian, Croat, and Muslim militias (Washington Post, 20). As part of the Dayton Accords which ended the conflict, NATO led the international Stabilization force, which monitored conditions in Bosnia until 2004, when it was replaced by a European Union-led force (BBC, 6).

NATO expanded its scope once again in 1999 when it intervened militarily to halt atrocities perpetrated by the Serbian military in Kosovo. The 11 week campaign was the first time that NATO had undertaken military action without a UN mandate¹. The organization had successfully stopped ethnic cleansing and secured a volatile part of Europe, but had also, for the first time, committed aggressive acts against an internationally recognized government without the sanction of the United Nations. Since
September 11th, NATO’s role has been expanded further to combating instability anywhere in the globe.

**Mission Statement**

The Alliance’s aim is to help establish the conditions in which Afghanistan can enjoy – after decades of conflict, destruction and poverty – a representative government and self-sustaining peace and security. NATO is a key component of the international community’s engagement in Afghanistan, assisting the Afghan authorities in providing security and stability, paving the way for reconstruction and effective governance (NATO, 14).

**Topic overview - Afghanistan**

After the events of September 11th, 2001, NATO members voted for the first time to invoke the collective defense clause of the Washington Treaty, Article 5, obligating the organization to participate in the fight against Al Qaeda and the Taliban. Following a seemingly successful US-led war to oust the Taliban, NATO took over the mission in Afghanistan in 2003. Nevertheless, the Taliban and Al Qaeda have launched guerilla attacks with increasing frequency and lethality. The mission as it currently stands has secured Kabul quite effectively, but has left vast swathes of the countryside beyond the control of NATO or the Afghan government. It is possible that somewhere within the Afghan countryside, or over the porous border with Pakistan, Osama bin Laden may be hiding. With the US busy in Iraq, NATO’s resources are stretched thin necessitating a change of plans to secure Afghanistan.
Afghanistan

Host to al Qaeda at the time of the September 11\textsuperscript{th} terrorist attacks, Afghanistan is an important symbol for both sides of the War on Terror. The integration of a stable, peaceful Afghan state into the international community would be a great success for the United States and its allies in the struggle against al Qaeda. Similarly, to prevent Western success in the foremost battleground of its struggle would be a great moral victory for al Qaeda and the Taliban, even if the result fell short of the restoration of a fundamentalist regime. For these reasons, the growing Afghan insurgency necessitates renewed attention.

Background

In 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to establish a regime subservient to Soviet policy. Called Russia’s Vietnam by some, the Soviet invasion followed in the footsteps of previous British and Russian attempts to conquer the mountainous state, resulting in a long and fruitless effort to subdue a guerilla resistance movement. These guerillas, the mujahideen, came not only from Afghanistan, but also from the greater Muslim World. Many of them operated out of the mountainous borderlands with Pakistan, a major sponsor of their
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efforts. Initially dependent on Pakistani assistance, eventually the United States, the Muslim world, and China provided funding and arms as well (Library of Congress, 11).

After a peace agreement between Pakistan and Afghanistan, the Soviets withdrew in 1989, leaving a communist-led coalition government in power. However, this government, led by a former intelligence officer, Najibullah, was unpopular with the mujahideen. They soon attacked Jalalabad, but were defeated by the government army. Confident from this success, Najibullah expelled non-communists from his coalition and relied heavily on Soviet supplies to combat the mujahideen factions that continued to fight across Afghanistan (Library of Congress, 11).

With the 1991 collapse of the Soviet Union, Najibullah lost his main source of support, and by the next year, Kabul had been taken over by the Northern Alliance, a coalition of ethnic minority militias. However, no group was able to take control over the entire country, and in the fighting that followed even Kabul was reduced to ruins. Afghanistan was ruled by a constant in-fighting tumult of warlords (Human Rights Watch, 10).

In 1994, a group led by Mullah Mohammed Omar organized some mujahideen into a militia to combat the chaos around them and to enforce their interpretation of Islamic law. Since many of its members were students (talib) of Islamic schools, they called themselves the Taliban. Seeing their initial successes, the government of Pakistan began to support the Taliban in
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eyours to gain control of the country, so that they might have a friendly, stable
government in Afghanistan which could keep trade routes with Central Asia safe. By
October of 1996, the Taliban had conquered Kabul, and effectively Afghanistan, with only
a few pockets of resistance held by the Northern Alliance. In all of the territories that they
administered, the Taliban imposed its radical interpretation of Islamic law, taking away
many rights and freedoms, especially from women (Human Rights Watch, 10).

In 1988, a wealthy young Saudi named Osama bin Laden, along some of his fellow
mujahideen, founded a group called al Qaeda to oppose those they perceived as threats to
Islam. It was meant to be a sort of global mujahideen. With the retreat from Afghanistan
and eventual collapse of the Soviet Union, al Qaeda seemed to be lacking a mission until
the 1990 Gulf War. The Gulf War and subsequent basing of US troops in Saudi Arabia
caused al Qaeda to turn its eyes toward America and the West. The new goal became
ridding the Saudi kingdom of non-Muslim occupiers like the American soldiers (Australian
Government, 1).

In 1991, al Qaeda relocated to Sudan. From there, it carried out sporadic terrorist
attacks on American targets, bombing the World Trade Center in 1993. Bowing to US
pressure, the Sudanese government forced bin Laden to leave in 1996. Having been
stripped of his Saudi citizenship, he went to Afghanistan, which the Taliban had recently
conquered, bringing al Qaeda, with him. It was there that he met and allied with Ayman al-
Zawahiri, forming a truly global, organized terror group. They openly declared their
hostility towards the West, and from that point on, al Qaeda accelerated its pace of attacks
(CBC, 7).
Following attacks on US embassies in Africa (Nairobi, Dar Es Salaam, 1998) and the USS Cole (Yemen, 2000) the US, and global, policy towards terrorism was limited to responding to attacks. After the embassy bombings, bin Laden was indicted by the US, and then a missile attack was launched against two facilities believed to be used by al Qaeda, but no further military action followed. Similarly, after the Cole attack, the US response was to send the FBI to Yemen to find the perpetrators (PBS, 17). It was only after the attacks of September 11th that America and the world truly paid attention to al Qaeda and its hosts, the Taliban.

After recovering from the shock of the attacks, the US government quickly began identifying the organizers of the attack by piecing together leads from ongoing investigations. Al Qaeda was quickly identified as the culprit and demands for the extradition of bin Laden were made to the Taliban. They responded with offers of halting the opium trade and claims of ignorance of al Qaeda's plans. This innocence was belied by the September 9 assassination of the leader of the Northern Alliance. After repeated rebuffs by the Taliban, the US and Britain launched their war against the Taliban on October 7, coordinating an aerial bombing campaign with coalition special forces and the Northern Alliance. By the end of the year, the Taliban had surrendered all of the major
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cities and fled to the hills. However, Osama bin Laden and other al Qaeda and Taliban leaders had escaped (CNN, 8).

There were two major decisions in the US offensive against the Taliban that are revealing. After the attacks, NATO activated clause Five: “The parties agree that an attack against one of them ... shall be considered an attack against all of them,” (NATO, 15) committing NATO members to military assistance in the US response to September 11th. However, the United States chose to assemble a “Coalition of the willing.” It remains to be seen whether this was ordered to avoid the multilateral decision-making process involved in a NATO force, an attempt to draw the support of more than America’s traditional allies, or simply a reflection of the limited capabilities of Europe’s militaries relative to America’s.

Perhaps more significant for the situation in Afghanistan today, the ground forces that conquered Afghanistan were the Northern Alliance and allied warlords, not an army of Western soldiers (BBC, 5). Coalition forces only engaged in small skirmishes where al Qaeda was believed to be, or coordinated Northern Alliance efforts with American bombing campaigns. While this gave the winning forces an Afghan face, this quick, hands-off campaign complicated the political scenario for the aftermath.

Although, with the fall of Kandahar in December 2001, most of Afghanistan had been liberated from the Taliban, the country was largely carved up into competing warlord fiefdoms, some just as oppressive as the Taliban. There were many skirmishes and conflicts and rule of law had broken down across much of the country. Problems distributing aid and cleaning up after the bombing campaign were complicated by the political vacuum in the country. However, women’s education and health care returned to parts of the country and some men were able to shave their beards. Overshadowing this
liberation was the threat, even in Kabul with its large Western presence, of angry individuals enforcing Taliban-style morality through their own measures, often violent (Harpers, 9).

In December of 2001, the UN sponsored a conference in Bonn, Germany to set up a timetable for setting up an Afghan government. In order to resolve the lack of leadership, the Afghan Interim Authority was set up to administer the country for 6 months and prepare the country for elections and a constitutional convention. Hamid Karzai, who had organized resistance to the Taliban since 1996, was selected as its leader. An able leader, Karzai oversaw two Loya Jirga’s (national assemblies) which approved a provisional government led by him (2002) and the writing of the Afghan constitution (2004). He was elected president of Afghanistan in October 2004 in an election that, although plagued by terrorist threats, most observers agree was fair and reflected the will of the Afghan people (UNAMA, 18).

Current Situation

Since the events of September 11, 2001, NATO has been increasingly involved in security and nation-building tasks in Afghanistan. The alliance’s role has broadened from responding to threats to crisis-prevention, filling the sorts of vacuums of power that allowed the Taliban to come to power in Afghanistan in the first place. As such, NATO’s role is
In August 2003, NATO took over the command of ISAF, the multinational force supporting Afghan stability, security, and reconstruction. This streamlined the leadership structure of the force, which had previously rotated between countries every 6 months. Initially limited to Kabul, ISAF has gradually assumed responsibility for the whole of the country, a process concluded in October of 2006. ISAF’s primary instrument towards its goals are the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRT’s), which both secure and assist aid and development projects in the various provinces of Afghanistan (NATO, 13).
In addition to PRT's, ISAF is working to support the national and provincial security apparati through training and maintenance of military forces throughout the country. Whereas today, Karzai's government has little sway outside of the major cities and provincial capitals, the goal of ISAF is to enable the Afghan government to extend the rule of law to even the most remote areas of the country. ISAF has 15,000 soldiers spread across the large, remote country. As such, the forces are not intended to actively fight threats to Afghan stability, but rather to bolster the Afghan forces (NATO, 13).

The stabilizing mission of ISAF is separate from that of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), the US mission against al Qaeda in Afghanistan. Whereas OEF is an offensive operation, meant to track and kill terrorists, ISAF is intended to build up defenses against threats to the Afghan state. These missions, however, may overlap. The same terrorist networks that are targeting the state could also be attacking US operations. Alternatively, the situation might be like that between the Taliban and al Qaeda before September of 2001, cooperation between the two groups. If this is the case, coordinating operations could be problematic (NATO, 13).

A separate UN mission, the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), is working to oversee and coordinate the peace process, Afghanistan’s political development, the delivery of international aid, and monitor human rights. As a peaceful committee, UNAMA faces the same perils as other aid missions in Afghanistan: the threat of terrorism disrupting its work. Many aid agencies have, temporarily or permanently, had to leave Afghanistan because of threats to their security (UNAMA, 18). ISAF's goal is to reduce the ability of the Taliban and other insurgents to accomplish this.
Since the fall of the Taliban, the security situation in Afghanistan has changed. Initially reliant on military maneuvers such as aerial bombings of known terrorist bases, anti-terror operations have virtually exhausted the old, accumulated data. Now the Taliban and al Qaeda have been driven underground, limited to small groups striking mainly along isolated roads far from the cities (BBC, 3). It is possible that these groups have no direct connections to one another and are linked only by ideology. As the coalition is learning, it can be a hard war to fight when it’s not clear what the targets are.

As the Taliban has changed, so have its tactics. With the US-led occupation of Iraq growing increasingly bloody, Taliban recruiters have sought to adopt the strategies of the insurgents there. Rather than directly confronting coalition soldiers, the focus has shifted to kidnappings and improvised explosive devices. Similarly, foreign fighters have been persuading native Afghans to join the insurgency, giving it an Afghan face (BBC, 3).

The Taliban, while rarely able to openly establish itself anywhere in Afghanistan, has shown an increased presence in the country. For example, Taliban radio has been broadcast outside of Kandahar since April 2005 (BBC, 4). Death tolls from Taliban and other Afghan insurgent attacks have risen in 2005 and 2006, drawing the attention of the American media. Occurring at the same time as increasing fears for the future of Iraq, there is a renewed concern that Afghanistan may yet fall.

Current US and ISAF tactics have drawn complaints from Karzai and the Afghan assembly. In September of 2005, he complained to the US military about over-reliance on aerial bombing and unauthorized searches of Afghan homes. He feared alienating his own people with harsh tactics and civilian casualties (MSNBC, 12). In order to succeed in Afghanistan, the coalition will need not only to secure the country, but to win and maintain
the support of the Afghan people. Because of this, military and intelligence actions need to keep in mind the sensitivities of the people.

Since the fall of the Taliban, the opium trade has flourished. Almost completely eliminated when the Taliban held power, the poppy harvest has soared. Up to a third of the economy may be based on the opium trade and Afghanistan accounted for nearly two-thirds of the world's heroin supply in 2005 (UNODC, 19). This is especially troubling since the drug trade might be funding al Qaeda and the Taliban. While extensive programs are underway to eliminate the opium crop, ISAF currently does not play a part in destroying poppy farms, leaving that to the Afghan government and the United Nations.

These eradication efforts complicate the reconstruction of the country, as aid must go to convincing farmers to find other crops to plant, as well as replace the potential profit of the valuable opium harvest.

A confounding problem in stabilizing Afghanistan is the porous border with Pakistan's remote Northwestern Province. Populated by tribes that often associate with Afghan groups, this province is largely uncontrolled by Karachi and is potentially host to many militias and terrorist groups opposed to the US operation in Afghanistan. It is believed that Osama bin Laden fled to Pakistan during the US-led invasion, and is suspected that he may still be hiding in the mountains of the border region. The terrorists
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who attacked the Tube in London in 2005 appear to have received their training in Pakistan as well (The Australian, 2). While it would seem that country is rife with targets for the US-led War on Terror, this avenue has not been pursued. Coalition forces are not permitted to operate in Pakistani territory because this would upset the delicate political situation.

After September 11th, Pervez Musharraf and the Pakistani military agreed to allow Coalition forces to fly through its territory on the way to Afghanistan. Musharraf, who won power through a military coup in 1999, is in a tough political position, as he draws criticism for his cooperation with the US in its increasingly unpopular, and in the eyes of many, anti-Muslim War on Terrorism. He has seen multiple attempts on his life as he tries to reconcile the demands of his people and the West in his policy toward measures against al Qaeda and the Taliban. Placing excess pressure on him could mean the loss of a vital ally for the US and NATO (MSNBC, 12).

Today NATO is faced with many issues on how to respond to a changing situation in Afghanistan. Chief among them is how to stabilize and secure a country so large and diverse. Should ISAF change its tactics for securing the country? What is needed to accomplish peace? Is it more manpower, more training, a more aggressive approach? What should be done about cross-border terrorism? In addition what more can ISAF do to alleviate poverty, unemployment, and the drug trade?
Bloc Positions

The United States: As the victim of September 11th, and as the world’s “superpower,” the United States has the most at stake in Afghanistan. To fail would cause much concern in America and send a strong message to its enemies. The most military-minded of the NATO members, the US is focused on fighting terrorism and especially capturing Osama bin Laden than anything else. However, with the action in Iraq tying up much of the US military, they need the help of their allies in any major ground military operation.

Western Europe: The countries of Western Europe have a great focus on, and more experience with, nation-building than their fellow NATO members. They provide a lot of the money and man-power for the development projects in Afghanistan. Since the Iraq War, sentiment has grown against aggressive US policies. As a result, Western European militaries are more hesitant than their American counterparts toward expanding the military role in Afghanistan.

The United Kingdom and Canada: Sharing a common history and values with the US, as well as a political and international attitude somewhere between the US and Western Europe, these countries hold the alliance together. Both countries have large commitments to the action in Afghanistan and play a pivotal role there.

Eastern Europe: Still grateful to the US for its Cold War support for their independence, but looking towards the European Union for their future prosperity and security, these
countries could be considered the “swing states” of NATO. Although they tend to side with the US in terms of international and military policy, they have large elements within their population who share a more Western European attitude.

Focus Questions
1.) What policies can be adopted to fight terrorism without alienating the Afghan people?
2.) What tactics have worked in the past in combating guerilla insurgencies? Specifically, what tactics has your country tried in order to establish and maintain nation order?
3.) Would your country be willing to contribute more soldiers to assist the Afghan government? What about money or technical assistance?
4.) How much emphasis should be placed on security vs. development vs. anti-drug policies?
5.) Could a compromise on some level be reached with the insurgency to involve them in the new Afghan state, and would this be acceptable?
6.) Should a more aggressive policy be adopted towards Pakistan?
7.) Should ISAF focus more on the countryside and less on the cities?

Research Links
NATO
www.nato.org
Homepage of ISAF with a description of the mission
http://www.nato.int/issues/isaf/index.html
UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, includes a good description of its activities
www.unama-afg.org/Index.htm
History of Afghanistan
www.unama-afg.org/about/info.htm
BBC News - Good archive for finding news stories about Afghanistan
news.bbc.co.uk
Profile of NATO
news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/country_profiles/1549072.stm
Human Rights Watch – Description of human rights issues in Afghanistan
www.hrw.org/campaigns/afghanistan/
State Department profile of Afghanistan
www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5380.htm
Library of Congress research on Afghanistan
lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/aftoc.html
Newsweek Interview with the head of ISAF
http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/11750719/site/newsweek/
Newsweek article on the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan
http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/14975282/site/newsweek/
Committee Rules
NATO will be following standard UMMUN GA Rules of Procedure with following exceptions:

GA-11) As the committee will open with only item on the agenda, there will be no formal Adoption of the Agenda. The committee will automatically discuss the topic at hand: the situation in Afghanistan.

*However, GA-12 still applies. NATO is a crisis committee and it may be appropriate to limit debate to a crisis that arises.*

GA-45) Members may vote in favor or against any substantive proposal, or may abstain from voting. In order to pass a proposal, a unanimous decision of voting members is required. Members abstaining are considered not to have voted.

*In order to pass, a resolution requires a vote composed entirely of yea’s and abstentions. However, procedural matters will still be decided by a simple or two-thirds majority, as called for in standard GA rules.*
References


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