

Hello delegates, and welcome to the Counter-Terrorism Committee at UCMUN 2017! My name is Matthew Macesker, and I am looking forward to being your director for this committee. Terrorism is an issue that has been at the forefront of global policy decisions and media coverage for many years, and as part of the CTC you will be tasked with drafting solutions that strive to preserve peace and order against organized violence. The two topics that I have picked for this year are “Child Terrorists” and the “Financing of Terrorist Organizations,” timeless issues that speak to both the root causes and the symptoms of terrorism. These topics are broad enough that every country should be able to participate on the basis of economics, politics, or human rights. I have provided some specific examples in the following background guide to give you a good base for your research, but it will require a much more thorough understanding of the topic and your country’s position to craft effective resolutions. Remember that this committee will only be as good as you make it, so please take the time to prepare for the conference!

A little about myself: I am a junior double majoring in Electrical and Computer Engineering at UConn. To support my academics, I am currently doing research on machine learning and have spent the last few summers interning with major firms like General Dynamics and General Electric. As for Model UN, I started doing it in my sophomore year of high school, where I attended the Yale conference several times. When I came to UConn, I immediately found UCMUN and served in DISEC as the Assistant Director and Topic Specialist in my freshman and sophomore years, respectively. I really enjoy doing Model UN because I get the opportunities to both apply my hobbyist understanding of global politics and meet lots of new people. In whatever free time I have left, I enjoy kayaking, playing video games with friends, hiking new trails, and listening to all sorts of weird music.

I really look forward to meeting all of you at the conference! Feel free to email me at any point if you have questions about this committee or UCMUN in general, as I am always happy to help you out. Although these are serious topics, my goal is to ensure that everybody has fun during the conference and walks away at the end of the weekend with something learned. I hope that this experience at UCMUN 2017 will allow each and every one of you to grow so that in the future you will be leaders in your communities, in your careers, and maybe even on the world stage.

Good luck preparing, and have fun!

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Committee History:

In the weeks following the terror attacks on 11 September 2001, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) unanimously passed Resolution 1373 (2001). This landmark resolution bound all states to the mission of combatting terrorism by investigating and suppressing the financing and movement of terrorist organizations. To help implement these regulations, Resolution 1373 established the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC), comprised of the 15 members of the UNSC. The goal of the CTC is to monitor global terrorism and work with states on an individual basis to strengthen their counter-terrorism measures (“Counter-Terrorism”).

To assist states in gathering information and crafting counter-terrorism policies, the CTC formed the Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate (CTED) in 2004 (“Counter-Terrorism”). This group of forty experts assesses states through visiting and reporting identifying areas where counter-terrorism strategy is lacking and providing individualized feedback. These steps are taken so that governments may better follow the guidelines set by Resolution 1373 and similar UNSC resolutions. The CTED is also focused on protecting human rights in the fight against terrorism. Throughout its global assessment reports and workshops, the CTED emphasizes that preserving human rights and preventing incitement are major factors in stopping radicalization.

Although it was only established relatively recently, the CTC’s goals are increasingly relevant as terrorist attacks increase in scope and quantity. Recently, the CTC has been tasked with developing a “comprehensive international framework” to fight terrorist propaganda campaigns such as those used by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and is currently in the process of creating legislation to prosecute members of Boko Haram in central

Africa(“Security Council,” “Boko Haram”). In extending the mandate of the CTED until the end of 2017 with Resolution 2129 (2013), the UNSC noted that the threat of terrorism “has become more diffuse, with an increase, in various regions of the world, of terrorist acts including those motivated by intolerance or extremism,” emphasizing the importance of the CTC.

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Committee Simulation:*The Role of the Delegates*

A successful conference cannot take place without active and participatory delegates. Participation in committee is essential and takes the form of engaged, persuasive debate with other delegates through informed speech and writing. Delegates are expected to have thoroughly and accurately researched the position of their respective country ahead of time; knowledge of current refugee policy is most important but must be accompanied by an understanding of bloc positions, history, and cultural ideologies. As such, any resolution that is passed by the committee must be representative of the positions of the countries sponsoring it.

Background research is clearly not only crucial for a realistic debate but for a successful committee. Delegates should keep in mind, however, that drafting a resolution is not a simple process, requiring extensive negotiation and structured arguments. Of course, other complicating factors such as political alliances, social and cultural viewpoints, and funding make the writing of resolutions even more challenging. Like any form of negotiation, an impressive debate must draw on compromise and a wide range of knowledge, skills that any accomplished delegate needs.

That being said, there are rules within this committee and the conference as a whole that must be followed. While proper parliamentary procedure and decorum must be maintained throughout all committee sessions, it is even more important that delegates have respect for themselves, those around them, the staff, and the international issues at hand. Following these rules will make UCMUN more enjoyable for everyone, especially as a learning conference. This

conference is supposed to be fun, and it will be as long as delegates act appropriately and respectfully.

The Role of the Dias

The Director and the Assistant Directors will form the Dias. They are obligated to maintain a structured, appropriate debate; they will accomplish this by establishing and keeping committee rules as well as ensuring delegate participation. More specifically, the Dais is responsible for setting debate, ending debate, and voting procedure. All members of the Dais are also available as a resource that delegates may approach with any questions regarding parliamentary procedure, the topics being discussed, or the conference in general.

Topic A: Child Soldiers

Introduction:

Since the late 1990s, there has been an exponential increase in terror attacks per year, many of which were perpetrated by organized groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and al-Qaeda (“Database”). Dominating both news cycles and military budgets, the War on Terror has become lodged in the Western consciousness as war crimes such as beheadings and bombings are committed by adult insurgents across Asia and Africa. To perpetuate these atrocities, modern terror groups are indoctrinating children such that they can be used as tools for combat, suicide attack, and propaganda. Although the use of children by state militaries has diminished to nearly zero across most of the world, underage combatants and propagandists are being recruited at an increasing rate by extremist organizations such as Boko Haram, which recruited over 2,000 children in 2016 (“At least 65,000”). The recruitment of these children has deep connections to both refugee crises and human trafficking, and is part of an ongoing humanitarian crisis.

The use of children by violent extremist organizations poses a moral dilemma when trying to effectively combat terrorism. Furthermore, these “child terrorists,” defined as such because they fall under official UN descriptions for both child soldiers and terrorism, fall under a legal gray area. The United Nations has condemned the recruitment or use of children under the age of 18 in hostilities, but currently international law is vague on whether or not child soldiers can be prosecuted for their crimes (“Child Recruitment”). By Resolution 1373, the CTC exists to

help “ensure that any person who participates in ... terrorists acts or in supporting terrorist acts is brought to justice,” but child terrorists are often coerced through economic or religious pressure and may not understand the magnitude of their crimes. Exposing young children to violence and terrorist ideology creates intense psychological scarring, and normal prosecution does not necessarily prevent the rise of a new generation of terrorists (Elbagir). In order to heal communities and reverse indoctrination, there have been efforts to rehabilitate child soldiers from groups such as al-Shabaab and Boko Haram, but there are economic and social roadblocks in order to implement these programs on an international scale. The CTC must create policy that will stop the use of child soldiers by extremist organizations without sacrificing the international community’s ability to fight terrorism.

History and Description of the Issue:

Describing “Child Terrorism:”

The topic at hand comes from the intersection of two major issues which plague the modern world: the use of child soldiers and the growth of terrorist organizations. Although there is no official definition of a child terrorist, this committee shall use a combination of the definitions provided in the Paris Principles released by UNICEF as well as a general definition of terrorist activities. The Paris Principles defines a “child associated with an armed force or armed group” as a boy or girl under the age of 18 who has “been recruited or used by an armed force or armed group in any capacity” (“Paris Principle”). As indicated, use of children by armed groups is not limited to combat, as they have been used as laborers and sexual slaves as well. However, for the purpose of this committee, the focus will be on the use of children in relation to terrorist

activities.

Defining terrorism itself is more difficult since there is no universally agreed-upon definition of terrorism. Many states, academics, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) disagree on what exactly defines terrorism, which has led to the deadlock on the proposed UN Comprehensive Convention of International Terrorism (Deen). Although most states have agreed to fight terrorism, defining what exactly constitutes a terrorist leads to disagreement as actors currently engaged in conflict, such as Israel and Palestine, accuse each other of terrorist activity. For the purposes of this committee, terrorism will be generally outlined as violence and intimidation committed by non-state actors and designed to promote a political or economic agenda. More specifically, the focus is on organizations commonly referred to as major terrorist groups, such as ISIL, the Taliban, Hezbollah, the Irish Republican Army (IRA), etc. These groups have been known to use children, considered as such by the definition provided by the Paris Principles, in activities relating to terrorism such as armed conflict, executions of civilians, suicide attacks, and the production of propaganda.

Children are at a special risk for exploitation by terrorist groups, which indicates why child terrorists are becoming increasingly widespread. In order to perpetuate their ideals and ensure the survival of their organizations, terrorist groups target children for indoctrination. They are seen as more ideologically malleable, especially after being bombarded with religious and violent images, and are seen as a way to carry on the ideals of the given organization (Vinograd). Not only are children useful for promoting ideology and propaganda, especially to other youths, but they offer a specific military advantage. From some perspectives, including radical Islam, children are seen as expendable in the quest to maximize political or religious power, justifying

their use as suicide bombers or front-line combatants (Lakhani). Case studies indicate that children are more fearless and excited in combat, especially when under the influence of drugs or alcohol, and are more easily desensitized to violence (“Promotion and Protection”). Children provide unique advantages to terrorist organizations, though the effects of their exploitation take a toll on individuals and communities.

For as long as there has been conflict, children have unfortunately been involved with conflict. The Greeks and Romans both used children to provide support during warfare, and young boys were historically ubiquitous in Western militaries, serving as drummer boys and powder monkeys. Children as young as fifteen years of age were often found in combat roles before the 20th century. However, public opinion on child soldiers began to shift with the bloody American Civil War, and recruiters began to discourage and stop children from joining the army during the First World War (Schofield). The Declaration of the Rights of the Child was signed by the League of Nations in 1924, and decreed that children were to be protected from exploitation; nonetheless, many children were used by militaries in World War II, the majority of which came from Nazi Germany’s *Hitlerjugend* program. After the formation of the United Nations and the passage of the 1977 Additional Protocol to the Geneva Convention, which asked states to refrain from recruiting children, the use of child soldiers across the developed world has dissipated such that the majority of nations do not include children in their militaries.

Although most stable states scorn the use of children in hostilities, the exploitation of child soldiers has continued through the 20th century through violent dictatorships, irregular armies, and terrorist organizations. In Asia, children were indoctrinated as soldiers by the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia in the 1970s and used to commit genocide, while the Tamil Tigers of Sri

Lanka, commonly considered a terrorist organization, recruited children from the 1980s until recently. Children were also used to clear minefields in Iran during the Iran-Iraq War, and were recruited to fight in the Kosovo War in 1998. In Africa, child soldiers have been used in massive quantities since the 1980s in civil wars and tribal conflicts across countries such as Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Liberia (Gettleman). In the DRC, children have been used not only by rebel factions, but also by the legitimate Congolese government (Gregory). Some of the most substantial usages of child soldiers come from terrorist groups such as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), which operates from South Sudan and the DRC and has abducted tens of thousands of children to use as troops and slaves (NCTC). Although the LRA and many other minor African insurgent groups have greatly diminished in influence over the last decade, numerous child soldiers and communities scarred by insurgency remain.

Since 9/11 and the start of the Global War on Terror, radical Islamist terrorist groups have been the focus of most counterterrorism efforts in the Middle East and Africa. The use of children directly as part of terrorist operations, however, was not widespread until the late-2000s. Palestinian terrorist groups, such as Hamas, pioneered the use of children as suicide bombers in the early 2000s, with at least nine documented suicide attacks taking place between 2000 and 2004 (*Child Soldiers Global Report*). Although these Palestinian groups have disavowed the use of children in hostilities, Hamas has created propaganda directed at children that promote religious martyrdom as a result of suicide bombings (Levitt 110-112). In other areas, such as Pakistan, radical madrassas, or religious schools, provide children a narrative wherein their culture is said to be under siege by powers such as the United States, encouraging them to join militant groups such as the Taliban or al-Qaeda (Lakhani). These schools, which have been a

source of young spies, suicide bombers, and militants for terrorist organizations since at least the mid-2000s, are able to enroll many children either because their families are poor or through kidnapping (Azami). Other groups, such as Boko Haram in Nigeria, kidnap thousands of boys and girls and indoctrinate them using scenes of killing and constant sexual violence (Obaji). In recent years, the problem has only intensified with the rise of ISIL and affiliated organizations.

International Regulations:

There is a body of regulations and guidelines released by the United Nations and affiliated organizations that dictate the illegality of child terrorism. The Geneva Convention asked states to refrain from recruiting children under the age of 15, and the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child extended this principle to request that states prevent all involvement of children under 15 in hostilities. While the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict, which was ratified by 166 states, raises the age of military involvement to 18, this carries no legal weight. Rather, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court is the only binding clause relating to the age of children in conflict, establishing that “conscripting or enlisting children under the age of 15 years” as a war crime (“Rome Statute”). This legal distinction means that groups recruiting children under the age of 18 but older than 15 is not technically illegal. However, the majority of countries in the world have domestic legislation that bans the recruitment of soldiers under 18, indicating that the problem of youth recruitment is isolated mainly to terrorist groups. These laws on child soldiers, as well as Resolution 1373, should serve as the basis for the prevention, rehabilitation, and possible prosecution of child terrorists.

Current Status:*Modern Threats:*

Within the last five years, the issue of child terrorism has become associated primarily with one group, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), and its affiliates. ISIL, also known under a variety of other names and acronyms, rose to prominence after 2013 in the power vacuum created by civil war in Syria and Iraq, securing large swaths of territory in conflicts against government and rebel forces as well as perpetuating terrorist attacks overseas (Cassman). With an estimated fighting force of over 30,000 that is bolstered by affiliated organizations such as Sinai Province and Boko Haram as well as foreign fighters, ISIL seeks to establish a caliphate that revolves around a strict interpretation of Sharia law. In order to realize its ambitions, ISIL has been recruiting children at an unprecedented rate not only to create soldiers but to ensure the survival of its organization's ideology. Children who are recruited through both voluntary and forceful means are sent to training camps in Syria and Iraq where they are indoctrinated with extremist Sunni ideology and taught how to use weapons and explosives (Vinograd). These “Cubs of the Caliphate” are being utilized at an increasing rate for terror attacks and form a cornerstone for ISIL’s expansion.

The ISIL case is unusual because the organization actively boasts about its use of children. While most of the previously mentioned terrorist organizations recruited children covertly, ISIL actively promotes its procurement of young recruits through social media and local propaganda. In 2015, 89 children who died in ISIL operations, including suicide attacks, were photographed and promoted as martyrs in social media propaganda (Bloom). This openness about the use of children in terrorist activities may cause the increasing use of child terrorists in

other organizations. For instance, al-Shabaab, an al-Qaeda affiliate, was reported by a Security Council report to have used 4,123 children between 2010 and 2016, with recruitment steadily increasing since 2015 (Lederer). Some estimates claim that at least half of al-Shabaab's fighting force is comprised of children, who are often recruited from religious schools or kidnapped and trained in the use of explosives and weaponry. Recruiting children is increasingly central to the survival of active terrorist groups, and the act must be curbed in order to effectively fight terrorism as a whole. Even groups that are considered to be in decline, such as the Lord's Resistance Army, have been abducting boys and girls to bolster its ranks into 2016 (Bavier). Although the use of children in regular forces has diminished to nearly zero, ISIL has popularized the use of children for terrorism.

Despite the fact that most children involved with terror are actively corralled by terrorist organizations, there is the phenomenon of children acting independently from such groups. Similarly to the 2015 San Bernardino attack or the 2016 Orlando nightclub shooting, where the perpetrators were not official members of a terrorist organization but independent actors influenced by their activities and propaganda, there have been cases where children perpetuate these kinds of attacks. For example, in 2016 there were two cases in Germany where children perpetrated attacks with the direct intention of benefitting the Islamic State. In February of 2016, a 15-year old girl stabbed a police officer in the back of the neck with a kitchen knife, and in December a 12-year old boy was arrested for attempting to detonate two bombs in the town of Ludwigshafen ("German"; Nienaber). In both of these cases, the perpetrators were in direct contact with IS agents via messaging services and bragged about their terror-aligned interests on social media. Adolescents seeking to confirm their identity are at risk to enter "echo rooms" on

the internet where they are bombarded with radical propaganda and form online strong bonds that supersede their offline ties (Geeraerts). This fact makes children vital targets for organizations such as ISIL as they seek to bolster their ranks and spread homegrown terror.

Modern Recruitment Strategies:

One of the keys to stopping the association of children with terror is to end their recruitment. However, beyond forcible kidnapping and religious indoctrination there are a myriad of ways in which terrorists gain access to youth. Perhaps the most common method is to take advantage of violent conditions. From example cases in Ethiopia and Myanmar, the UN has identified war orphans and poorer children encouraged by their parents as being at high risk for recruitment by militias. Whether to satisfy their hunger or to protect themselves from violent anarchy, children often join terrorist groups as an act of desperation, and are then indoctrinated into the ideology (“Promotion and Protection”). Recently, the war in Syria as well as economic conditions in northern Africa have created a deluge of refugees, many of whom are unaccompanied youths. As reported by a counterterrorism think tank, ISIL has been targeting refugees with propaganda and have been offering money and food to children at refugee camps if they joined the organization (Townsend). It is important that children exposed to conditions of war are given the support they need so that they do not turn to terrorism.

With the advent of social media and communication technologies, however, children in war-ravaged countries are not the only ones at risk for recruitment by terrorist organizations. Disenfranchised children in first world nations have also become targets for recruitment as foreign fighters, to commit attacks at home, or even to provide other forms of support for terrorism. In 2015, three middle-class girls who were 15 and 16 years old, respectively left the

United Kingdom for Syria, having been radicalized online through exposure to a female blogger for ISIL (Blaker). There are now over 3,000 people from Western nations who have left to join ISIL, and young people form a substantial portion of this group. ISIL agents are able to attract children by providing a false image of a purposeful life in the caliphate through services such as Twitter, Facebook, and Tumblr, and gain the trust of potential converts through direct messaging before providing instructions to relocate to the caliphate. Online radicalization presents a massive problem for Western nations, where children place themselves into situations where they are abused and potentially made to fight against their own countrymen.

Bloc Positions:

Unlike many other issues plaguing the world today, the international community is generally united on the topic of child soldiers. The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed conflict has been ratified by the majority of countries on the globe, and there are only 10 countries recognized by the U.S. Department of State as users of children in state-sponsored militias (“Child Soldiers Prevention Act”). Likewise, terrorism is a problem that most of the international community is dedicated to fighting. The General Assembly unanimously voted in favor of resolution A/RES/60/288, the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, which, in 2006, stated that, the member states of the United Nations “consistently, unequivocally and strongly condemn terrorism” (“UN Global”). Although there are disagreements on what exactly constitutes terrorism, there are no countries that directly support major groups such as ISIL and al-Qaeda.

Where states may differ are the specifics of properly dealing with children involved with

terrorism. For instance, although no child has been charged with a war crime since World War II, local governments that are currently fighting terrorism, such as Syria, Nigeria, or Afghanistan, may have different methods for prosecuting children. As an example, twelve children were sentenced to death in Puntland, Somalia in July of 2016 for membership in al-Shabaab (Tremblay). Although the central government of Somalia assured that the children were not going to be executed, this outlines the potential differences between local and international efforts to combat terrorism which could spill out onto the global debate floor. Furthermore, there are imperatives that the global community may want to adopt that conflict with certain rights. To stop the spread of extremism among children, the United Kingdom and Australia, among others, have passed legislation to monitor the online activities of children and encourage teachers and adults to report youths who seem to be at risk for “radicalization” (D). These provisions, which stand in contrast to Article 16 of the Convention of the Rights of the Child, are likely to be opposed by countries with strong privacy laws like Spain and Slovenia if they are provided as suggested counter-terrorism legislation by the CTED. The nuances of each state’s views on combatting terrorism and child’s rights will be the focus of debate.

Committee Mission:

The Counter-Terrorism Committee is dedicated to countering the spread of violent extremism while protecting the rights of all people, including children. As outlined in its founding resolutions, the CTC is obligated to providing guidelines for effective legislation that will allow states to more effectively stop the abuse of children by terrorist organizations (Child’s Rights International Network). Furthermore, this committee must provide guidelines that will

give the proper provisions for the reintegration or prosecution of child terrorists in accordance with existing international legislation like the Rome Statute. The CTC, through the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate, is able to spur investigations and monitoring programs with the assistance of Member States to track the spread of children involved with terror. Although the CTC has no power to begin efforts such as sanction programs or military interventions, it is free to make recommendations to the Security Council for further consideration. In conclusion, the CTC must provide comprehensive and integrated strategies to stop the exploitation of children by violent extremist organizations and protect the rights of the world's most vulnerable.

Questions to Consider:

1. What are your country's anti-terrorism and humanitarian policies? Do they contradict?
2. Is your country currently engaged in fighting terrorism? If so, how has it been dealing with child terrorists?
3. If your country is not directly dealing with terrorism, then what are its obligations to those that are dealing directly with this issue?
4. Should the protection of children be considered part of an integrated approach to combatting terrorism, or is it purely a humanitarian issue?
5. How can the CTC provide assistance in stopping the online recruitment of children and quelling the spread of propaganda?
6. Should the CTC suggest a universal policy for ending child terrorism, or should the issue be handled on a case-by-case basis?

7. Is it permissible for children to be prosecuted for terrorist acts? What is the best way to rehabilitate them?

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Topic B: Financing Terrorist Organizations

Introduction:

Over the last century, the breadth of terror has become increasingly wide and complex. The Weathermen and Red Brigades of yesteryear have given way to behemoths like ISIL and al-Qaeda, highly organized and trained groups that rival small states in terms of manpower and military might. As with most else in this world, the power and impact of these terrorist groups can be attributed to one practical resource: money. To feed and clothe a standing army, as ISIL and al-Shabaab have done, takes considerable amounts of resources, and although these groups have been blacklisted from the traditional global market, they have found methods to fund their means. For instance, from various sources including drug trafficking and donations, the Taliban takes in a revenue of over \$500 million yearly, more than the that of countries such as Syria and the Central African Republic (Schmitt, Kenyon). There are a wide variety of methods used by terrorist organizations to generate illicit funds, and despite the many safeguards put in place by the international community there are millions of unaccounted dollars that make their way to funding terrorism.

Understanding the significance of this issue, there are many organizations dedicated to fighting the laundering that funds terror. The United Nations has bound all states to “prevent and suppress the financing of terrorist acts” through Resolution 1373, while the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF) publishes the Special Recommendations on Terrorist Financing provides policy suggestions to states on controlling wire transfers and charities in

association with terrorism (FATF). Many states like the US and China have formed special task forces to tackle the financing of terrorist organizations. Despite these many efforts, there is no comprehensive solution to the problem of terrorist financing. The Counter-Terrorism Committee is bound by Resolution 1373 to stop the financing of terrorism as part of its mission to assist Member States in stopping bloodshed and chaos. In cooperation with the UN, Member States, and other NGOs, the CTC must create policy that will quash the flow of funds to terrorist organizations, who spend money on arms and bombs rather than feeding the women and children who are starving in areas like the Old City of Mosul (Cockburn).

History and Description of the Issue:

Equipping Terror:

Although some homegrown terrorists can make do on limited funds, organized terrorist groups like Boko Haram and Hamas require large caches of resources in order to purchase equipment or to pay soldiers. Although the vast majority of agents fighting for terrorist organizations do so for ideological reasons, there also need to be means for fighters to pay for their homes and families. Before the 9/11 terrorist attacks, married members of al-Qaeda received \$1,500 a month in salary as well as a health-care plan (Wright 141-143). Although these wages began to diminish as al-Qaeda came under greater pressure in the later 2000s, there still needed to be some financial incentive for soldiers to risk their lives for terrorist organizations like the aforementioned. In many impoverished regions, fighting for terrorist organizations is a more profitable enterprise than working for local authority. The Taliban would often pay their fighters more than the local Afghan National Police, making terrorism appealing to men who

wish to feed their families (Kenyon). More expensive than paying terrorists in many cases is the cost of recruiting them, as a 2014 beheading video released by ISIS cost over \$200,000 (Haaretz). Personnel costs are one of the biggest drains on funds for extremist organizations.

Committing acts of terror takes large sums of money as well, but insurgent organizations have been able to stretch their funds more than any regular army. Although most of the funding of organizations like Boko Haram and al-Shabaab go to feeding and equipping their fighters, individual acts of terror take large amounts of money. Prominent terror attacks, however, have been decreasing in cost since the 9/11 World Trade Center bombing, which cost about \$500,000 (Kaplan). In comparison, the London train bombing of 2005 cost about \$14,000, and a 2006 attempt to bomb the World Cup in Germany cost less than \$500 (Temple-Raston). Stopping terrorism involves not only the cessation of large sources of funding but all cash flow for terrorists, since equipment is very cheap especially when procured through black markets. A 2012 study found that a suicide vest costs about \$1,200, while a car bomb can cost up to \$20,000. Although a lone wolf may not be able to afford such implements, terrorist organizations have the cash available to spend on attacks due to the cash flow they have coming from illegal activities.

The large quantity of resources that terrorists require has created entire markets that are supported by illicit activity. Over the past decade, the quantity of illegal firearms making their way into Western Europe to be used by terrorists like in the November 2015 Paris attacks has increased exponentially. The illegal firearm trade is worth over \$3.2 million, and the majority of this profit is from AK-47s left over from wars in the former Yugoslavia being smuggled to France, Germany, and the UK by small-time mules (Laville). Although only small quantities of

weapons are usually transported at a time on roads, the profit margin is huge and the demand is steadily increasing. Markets have sprung up not only in the trade of weapons but also of people. Smugglers and brokers work to get thousands of people in and out of terrorist-held territory, such as that in Syria and Iraq. It can cost over \$10,000 for a smuggler to help a defector leave ISIS territory, and even more to get someone to Turkey (Solomon). Without organized terrorism, these markets would not even exist, but they are currently thriving due to this unrest.

Methods of Funding:

There are a variety of methods in which terrorists are able to arm themselves and keep perpetuating attacks. Of these, one of the oldest and most profitable is the drug trade. The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), which is currently being disarmed, received the majority of its funding during the 1990s through involvement in the Colombian drug trade. By “protecting” farmers and relaying contraband to drug cartels, the FARC raked in about \$500 million each year up until the mid-2000s (Makarenko). Other terrorist groups have copied these schemes. Afghanistan is the world’s largest producer of opium, and the Taliban had taken advantage of this by taxing poppy farmers and drug traffickers to a profit of nearly \$400 million a year (Schmitt). Although the production of drugs may go against the ideology of some terrorist organizations, it is difficult to ignore such an immense source of profit sitting in controlled territory. The trading of drugs does not have to be local, however; Hezbollah is known to help traffic cocaine in Latin America in order to fund its operations in Syria (Browne). In many cases, the line between terrorist organizations and drug cartels is becoming increasingly blurred, as terrorists look across the world in order to find opportunities to make money from drugs.

The criminal element to organized terror is not only limited to drug trafficking but to all forms of money laundering. Although terrorists may be able to make money through unscrupulous means, it is more difficult to transport that cash where it is needed through legal institutions like banks and money transfer services. Instead, terrorists who need funds, like the members of Hezbollah trafficking cocaine, disguise the movement of funds through seemingly legitimate means, such as the sale of high-end used cars (Browne). Until they launch attacks, it is wise for terrorists to keep from drawing suspicion by handling large sums of money. For instance, in the aftermath of a \$50 million bank robbery, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) distributed cash amongst businesses, members, and random individuals in a sophisticated money laundering scheme in order to throw off the trail of the police (Associated Press). Large laundering plots like these that are high-value, however, are not representative of the schemes most terrorists use, as simplicity is a factor as much as risk and volume. Groups like al-Qaida and al-Shabaab have historically used both local methods of transferring money such as Hawala as well the creation false trade invoices (Freeman). The transfer of cash across borders is one of the largest sources of funding for terrorists.

Perhaps one of the largest and most concerning form of money laundering comes from the appropriation of charity to fund terrorism. There are thousands of charities dedicated to assisting with the humanitarian crises in the Middle East, some of which provide a discrete front for terrorists looking to make and transfer money. For instance, agents of Hamas often take day jobs working for charities that make appeals both domestically and abroad for “humanitarian” donations that are then used to fund terror attacks (Levitt). The charitable sector is highly prone to abuse, as unsuspecting patrons from the Western world may be inadvertently funding

extremism. Faux charities are not only directed at foreigners but also at locals who may benefit from the essential services they provide. In the Islamic world, “zakat” is a mandated form of charity demanded from the common people that can often find its way towards funding local terrorist groups or extremist mosques. The abuse of charity by terrorists has created problems for legitimate charities who are helping people in the Middle East and Africa, as banks have recently stopped attempts to wire money to organizations like the Syrian American Medical Society, which gives essential supplies to hospitals in war zones, because they cannot verify that the money is not going to funding terror (Kuznia). The humanitarian repercussions of terrorist charities goes beyond the raw damage that an attack, funded by donors of all kinds, may do.

Although fake charities prey on smaller donors who may not know where their money is going, there are many wealthy “angel investors” who help provide the fuel for terrorism. The U.S. Treasury Department recognizes that there are “permissive jurisdictions” such as Qatar and Kuwait where it is easy for patrons to provide funding to extremists (Windrem). Sunni businessmen, many of whom have made money from the oil trade, have been known to divest millions of dollars into groups like al-Qaida and ISIS. Although many of these donors have been able to conceal themselves, others have been designated by states and organizations for their contribution to terrorism. For instance, the United States designated Abu Al-Hamid al-Mujil of Saudi Arabia for bankrolling al-Qaida and its affiliates using his charity, the International Islamic Relief Organization, as a proxy (Levitt). It is necessary for the international community to help put regulations in place that will stem the flow of funding from wealthy sources. This issue, however, grows more difficult, when considering the most powerful donors to terrorism: state actors. Although state sponsorship of terrorism is not necessarily connected to the funding of

terror, it is worth considering that Saudi Arabia has admitted to funding extremism before 9/11, and that some terrorist groups in Lebanon and Palestine have claimed that Iran provides their funding (Khalilzad, MEMRI). Large sources of funding for terrorist organizations are not necessarily easy to identify, but it is just as crucial to end them as it is to stop the smaller schemes of money laundering and drug trafficking.

Current Status:*The Terrorist State:*

Though it is but one of many groups that threaten peace and order, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) requires special attention from a financial perspective because of its unique economy. ISIL claims a large territory in Syria and Iraq as well as control over the people in that region, styling itself as a legitimate state, and leverages the myriad of resources at its disposal in order to fund its war machine. The organization is said to have accumulated \$875 million before June 2014, a substantial amount for an organization not officially recognized by any state (“How ISIS”). The majority of this cash flow comes from oil produced in eastern Syria, where ISIL-held fields would generate up to 40,000 barrels a day sold between \$25 and \$45 a barrel (“Inside Isis Inc”). The majority of this oil would go to local markets held by terrorists and rebels, bought and sold by independent traders who would use ISIL-owned refineries to produce petrol and diesel. Although profit margins have fallen recently due to coalition airstrikes targeting fields and refineries, there is still demand both inside and outside of ISIL-held territory, perhaps even by legitimate governments. Leaked emails on WikiLeaks allege that the son-in-law of Turkey’s president, Recep Tayyip Edrogan, is linked to a company that knowingly brought in

ISIL-produced oil through Kurdistan (McKernan). Furthermore, there have been recent claims that Bashar al-Assad's regime in Syria has bought massive quantities of oil through ISIL, based on truck movements in the region (F. Solomon). Although these claims are not completely founded as of yet, the implication that sovereign entities may be supporting ISIL's economy is concerning for global security.

Beyond the money earned by selling oil on the black market, ISIL sustains itself by exploiting the people and businesses under its control. When ISIL first began to expand into Iraq, most of their income came from looting the banks and businesses held by Iraqi officials then selling goods on the black market ("How ISIS"). However, as this source of cash began to wane with time, ISIL began to focus on taxation in the form of "zakat," considered a religious obligation. The group would tax farmers, businesses, traders, and even Iraqi salaries. These taxes, administered both by ISIL's leadership and local "Zakat Councils," would take payments not only in terms of cash but also in the form of crops and livestock from farmers and volunteer work from doctors and other professionals. It is estimated in a report published by Thomson Reuters that these various forms of taxation levied on citizens and outside traders could produce a profit of \$360 million a year (Swanson). Although ISIL controls a diversified set of income sources, it is coming under increasing economic pressure. As a result of coalition attacks on both oil and cash reserves, ISIL cut its fighters' salaries by half in early 2016 (Pagliery). Further hits to ISIL's ability to fund its government and military may help to accelerate its collapse and free the people under its domain from economic repression.

Fighting Financing:

Across the international community, there are more than a few organizations that have begun to focus on the financing that drives terrorist activity. The United Nations itself has spearheaded many studies and initiatives via its specialized agencies. For instance, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has expanded its anti-money laundering efforts to develop strategies that specifically target terrorist funding. It helped perform assessments of financial integrity programs in many countries and launched a donor-supported fund to provide training to combat the financing of terrorism (IMF). Not only have individual bodies of the UN like the IMF started programs to stop the funding of terrorism, but the UN has spearheaded collaborative studies that dictate holistic strategies for fighting terrorism. The Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), comprised of 25 entities including the CTC, IMF, and Interpol, released a working group report on “Tackling the Financing of Terrorism” in 2009 that recommended, among other things, that agencies take stock of existing implementations for fighting terrorist financing and avoid “rhetoric that ties [non-profit organizations] to terrorism financing in general terms” (“Working Group”). This specific report is important because it addresses the majority of factors relevant to terrorist financing while acknowledging existing legislation or human rights concerns. Although the solutions provided by the UN’s organizations have not led to an end to terrorism as of yet, they could provide a base on which a practical implementation or resolution can be built.

Along with the UN, there are a few external non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and state organizations that focus on stopping the funding of terrorism. The most notable of these is the FATF , formed in 1989, which is dedicated to monitoring money laundering and terrorist financing. Along with the Special Recommendations on Terrorist Financing, the FATF is known

for its blacklist of “Non-Cooperative Countries or Territories,” placement on which indicates that a state is not doing enough to fight financial crime and requires heavy monitoring. The current list of “high-risk” states includes North Korea and Iran; however the FATF recently decided to retain the suspension of countermeasures against Iran, which is seen as a step towards Iran being removed from the blacklist (“FATF Extends”). As with the UN and other NGOs, many states and governing organizations have developed programs to combat the funding of extremism, such as the Terrorist Finance Tracking Program (TFTP) administered by the U.S. Treasury Department which traces financial transactions in order to help map out terrorist networks (“Terrorist Finance”). In recent years, there have also been increased legislative efforts to fight the funding of terrorism. The European Commission passed a body of measures in December 2016 which brought EU standards more in line with those of the FATF, as well as tightening cash controls and increasing the efficacy of money freezing orders (“European Commission”). To effectively combat terror, existing resources might need to be leveraged for optimum effectiveness.

Bloc Positions:

The majority of the world claims to want to fight the funding of terrorism, with every state taking at least some steps to stop the financing of terrorism and money laundering, with the notable exception of North Korea. Although there are massive safeguards in place across the world’s biggest economies, such as Japan and Russia, there is disagreement over how to implement such policies on a global scale. In contrast to the US, which has taken the initiative in crafting coalitions to fight terror as demonstrated most directly by its engagement in the War on

Terror, China prefers to cut the financing for terrorism under “the UN’s leading role” by sharing intelligence and technology and eliminating poverty by order of ratified UN resolutions (Tiezzi). A state’s existing legislation on movement of funds, independence of financial and charitable institutions, and prosecution of terrorists will certainly affect how it wants the UN to address this issue. Even within political coalitions, such as the European Union, there may not be agreement on the means to fight the financing of terrorism, as, for instance, the strategy to combat terrorist funding in Hungary is not nearly as comprehensive as that in Germany. Though united against terrorism, the members of the developed world may want to protect their own interests against UN overreach or may prefer a centralization of financial power, depending on their existing policies.

Although it may seem simple for the UN to suggest policies for every state to follow, there are economies that will need special assistance in stopping the financing of terrorism. In Africa, specifically in states like Somalia, Kenya, and Rwanda, money laundering is on the rise, partly as a result of al-Shabaab (Ngarambe). Although local banks are made aware of the dangers due to workshops and special bulletins, they lack the technology and strict legislation needed to effectively combat the financing of terrorism. More impoverished regions in Africa, South America, and Southeast Asia will need special attention in creating the infrastructure needed to combat the financing of terrorism. Graft and corruption also play a part in allowing the funding of terrorism in less stable regions. Contributing to Venezuela’s massive economic collapse is the money laundering done by its state oil company, which transferred billions of dollars to Iran and Hezbollah via fallacious construction deals (Bronner). Fighting terrorism also involves fighting corruption that can fund extremism, being careful not to tread on state’s rights.

Some of the most marked differences in policy come from the Middle East, where political divisions spill out into the fight against terrorism. Iran and Saudi Arabia, along with their respective allies, have been at odds for many years over economic, political, and religious disputes and have accused each other repeatedly of financing terrorism, often asking the international community for intervention. For instance, Iran would like a loosening of the economic restrictions placed upon it for its nuclear program and alleged financing of terrorism so that it may rejoin the rest of the financial world, a proposition that is opposed by nations such as the US and Saudi Arabia (“FATF Extends”). Currently, these divisions are on full display in the diplomatic conflict involving Qatar, which is accused of supporting terrorist groups like the Islamic State and Hamas by a group of states including Egypt, the UAE, and Saudi Arabia, who cut diplomatic ties with Qatar early June of 2017. This break in relations follows an alleged \$1 billion in ransom payments given to terrorist groups in exchange for the release of kidnapped members of the Qatari royal family; however, there are other grievances between Qatar and the rest of the Gulf States, such as Qatar’s cooperation with Iran, that may have contributed to this crisis (Wilson). No matter how this diplomatic crisis develops, it is necessary to clear up the status of Qatar’s financial integrity as well as create global standards in order to promote peace in the Middle East.

Committee Mission:

Suppressing the financing of terrorism is one of the major aims of the Counter-Terrorism Committee. The CTC must generate a set of policy guidelines that will aid states in restricting the all sources of funding for terrorists, including money laundering, charities and private donors,

or the black market trade of drugs and oil. To this end, this committee may potentially leverage the existing work done by agencies of the UN such as the IMF or NGOs like FATF, or try to consolidate the efforts already being done by individual Member States. Whether or not existing resources are used, the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate will be an invaluable asset in monitoring states for the trafficking of illegal funds and holding financial policy workshops. A defined set of definitions for what constitutes the financing of terror may better unite the international community on this issue so that the problem areas may be better focused on. While the CTC is unable to directly intervene in the economies of Member States or place sanctions on nations that fail to adopt financial integrity measures, it can provide recommendations to the Security Council for review. To protect innocent lives from the grip of terrorism, the CTC must create strategies that will end the financing of terrorist organizations and allow the world's economies to grow with integrity and stability.

Questions to Consider:

1. What are your country's laws against money laundering and terrorist activity? How are individuals and groups who fund terrorists prosecuted?
2. Are terrorists currently being funded using the economic apparatuses currently available in your country? If so, how are these illicit activities affecting the local economy?
3. Is it possible to stop the funding of terrorism while allowing for humanitarian functions like aid organizations and refugee programs to remain?
4. How could a potential UN resolution affect the current functioning of the global economy?

5. Should pre-existing guidelines, such as those from the FATF or CTITF, be used to guide the formation of a UN resolution on the subject?
6. Are specific clauses needed to deal with ISIL and its unique sources of funding?

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The World Economic Forum is a nonprofit organization that organizes meetings to discuss global economics and industry. This article, published in association with The Financial Times, discusses aspects of ISIL, including taxation and "loot markets," by which the group was able to make a substantial profit.

Solomon, Erika, Robin Kwong, and Steven Bernard. "Inside Isis Inc: The Journey of a Barrel of Oil." *Financial Times*. The Financial Times Ltd., 29 Feb. 2016. Web. 25 June 2017.

The Financial Times is a British newspaper focused on economics and investment. This info sheet provides maps and tables that allow the reader to track the movement of ISIL-produced oil, from extraction to smuggling into neighboring countries.

Solomon, Erika, and Ahmad Mhidi. "The Black Market Trade in Isis Fighters." *Financial Times*.

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Solomon, Feliz. "Oil and Gas Sales to Syria's Assad Are Propping Up ISIS." *Fortune*. Time Inc.,

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Fortune is an American publication that provides economic and political news and is best known for its Fortune 500 list of profitable companies. This article discusses reports from the U.S. and other governments that suggest that ISIL has found a market for its oil with the Syrian government.

Swanson, Ana. "How the Islamic State Makes Its Money." *The Washington Post*. WP Company,

18 Nov. 2015. Web. 25 June 2017.

This article discusses the differences between ISIL and more conventional terrorist groups and covers the means by which ISIL is able to fund its military and social programs.

Temple-Raston, Dina. "How Much Does A Terrorist Attack Cost? A Lot Less Than You'd

Think." *NPR*. NPR, 25 June 2014. Web. 09 June 2017.

This article analyses the costs of major terrorist attacks, revealing that some of the most significant terrorist attacks of the last decade did not cost significant amounts of money due to low cost of materials.

"Terrorist Finance Tracking Program." *Treasury Resource Center*. U.S. Department of the Treasury, 15 Mar. 2016. Web. 25 June 2017.

Published by the revenue-collecting arm of the U.S. government, this datasheet provides crucial information on the Terrorist Finance Tracking Program, the set of measures put in place by the U.S. government to track the movement of money relating to terrorism, including association with the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication.

Tiezzi, Shannon. "What Is China's Plan for Fighting Global Terrorism?" *The Diplomat*. The Diplomat, 28 Nov. 2015. Web. 25 June 2017.

The Diplomat is a Japanese magazine that provides coverage of events relating to the Pacific region of Asia. This article quotes Chinese ministers and studies Chinese response to terror attacks to formulate an analysis of China's involvement with global terrorism.

Wilson, Megan R. "At Center of Qatar Crisis, a \$1 Billion Ransom." *The Hill*. News Communications, Inc., 24 June 2017. Web. 25 June 2017.

The Hill is an American newspaper that focuses primarily on the U.S. government, especially Congress and the presidency. This article attempts to trace the source of the

diplomatic crisis currently gripping the Middle East, suggesting that a ransom allegedly paid to terrorists led to the breakdown of relations between Qatar and the Gulf States.

Windrem, Robert. "Who's Funding ISIS? Wealthy Gulf 'Angel Investors,' Officials Say."

NBCNews.com. NBCUniversal News Group, 21 Sept. 2014. Web. 09 June 2017.

This article provides comments from academic and U.S. intelligence sources to address investment into ISIL and ways to stop it funding.

"Working Group Report: Tackling the Financing of Terrorism." *CTITF Publication Series*

(2009): n. pag. *Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force*. United Nations, Oct. 2009. Web. 25 June 2017.

The Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTIF) is a body formed by the UN to support the implementation of its Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. This report contains the findings from several round-table discussions with international experts and provides a set of findings and recommendations relating to countering the funding of terrorist organizations.

Wright, Lawrence. *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. New York: Vintage, 2011. *Google Books*. Google, 2017. Web. 9 June 2017.

This Pulitzer Prize-winning book, written by journalist Lawrence Wright, provides an in-depth look at the history of the individuals and organizations involved with the 9/11

terrorist attacks. It offers a bevy of information on Islamic terrorism before the onset of the Global War on Terror.