



MES 2018

# **Middle East Summit**

## **(Political)**

Primary Topic

**Kurdish Autonomy**

Secondary Topic

**Prevention of State-Sponsored Terrorism**

## Foreword

Dear delegates,

A warm welcome to the Middle East Summit (MES) Political council 2017. The 21st Century has presented us with the Middle East that is arguably a global epicenter of conflicts, tensions, and complex diplomatic minefields. In this iteration of the conference, MES Political would be discussing two pressing issues posed to the Middle East today: Kurdish autonomy and the prevention of state-funded terrorism.

The Kurdish issue dates back to the post-World War I era, when the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923 dashed hopes for the existence of a modern independent Kurdistan. Though these treaties were signed in the previous century, their effects can still be seen in the Middle East today. After all, Kurdish nationalist sentiments had always existed before the signing of the treaty. However, such sentiments have recently spiked, with the consolidation of Kurds into armed groups as a result of the Syrian crisis, along with other geopolitical factors. Such sentiments have recently surfaced in the controversial Iraqi Kurdistan independence "yes" vote in 2017. Similarly, state-funded terrorism is a pertinent threat that destabilizes the region. Given the many proxy wars taking place there, along with the presence of numerous armed conflicts in the Middle East, there have been accusations against states believed to support terror groups to achieve certain geopolitical interests. These issues presented are undoubtedly complex, with numerous stakeholders, views, and associated facets. As such, we have put together this study guide, which we hope would be both instructive and informative for you, by explaining important aspects of the issues that need to be tackled for an effective resolution. On this note, we would like to wish you all the best in your preparations for the conference, as we look forward to a fruitful and intellectually-stimulating debate. Should you have any further queries, feel free to contact us at [p@middleeastsummit.org](mailto:p@middleeastsummit.org).

Best regards,

Gideon Tay Yee Chuen, Head Chair

Anastasia Teow and Jessica Glenn, Vice Chairs

## Primary Issue: Kurdish Autonomy

### Introduction

The Kurds are an ethnic group that mainly populate regions in Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Iran, and Armenia. Since the 7th century, they have lived under the rule of various empires and dynasties. Though the history of the Kurds runs centuries back into history, the modern-day fight for Kurdish independence and Kurdish nationalism may be traced back to the 1920s, with the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne that denied Kurds an independent state.

Since then, Kurds from these various nations have constantly rebelled and fought for a state to call their own. As such, they have been persecuted and oppressed by the various states they live in. With the recent surge in Kurdish nationalism, it is therefore paramount to tackle this century-old issue. The issue is indeed complex, with numerous stakeholders involved.

The formation of an autonomous Kurdistan requires the dismantling of four sovereign states and would be heavily opposed. Not fighting for the rights of the Kurds puts to shame the United Nations and its goals and would inevitably lead to more decades of unrest in the region. Meanwhile, granting partial autonomy to Kurdish regions though a seemingly good compromise may set the groundwork for a stronger Kurdish fight for independence in the future which would destabilise the region. Finding a perfect solution is impossible, but delegates have to strive to fight for their national interests, and yet find a compromise, to address the issue.



Figure 1. Map showing areas populated by Kurds<sup>1</sup>

## *Timeline of Events*<sup>2</sup>

7th Century	Kurds are conquered by Arabs, then Seljuk Turks, Mongols, the Safavid Dynasty, and finally the Ottoman Empire in the 13th century.
1920	Treaty of Sevres signed, and allows for an autonomous Kurdistan
1923	Treaty of Lausanne signed, replacing Treaty of Sevres. No Kurdish autonomy is granted.
1925	Shaik Said Kurdish rebellion in Turkey
1946	Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) dedicated to an independent Kurdistan is formed in Iraq. The short-lived Kurdish Mahabad Republic is set up in Iran.
1961	Kurdish rebellion in northern Iraq led by Mustafa Barzani, the KDP leader.
1970	Peace treaty between Iraqi government and Iraqi Kurds, giving them some self-rule.
1974	Iraqi rebellion led by KDP, seizing oil-rich region of Kirkuk, a traditionally Kurdish territory. Rebellion is suppressed.
1975	KDP leader Jalal Talabani leaves KDP to form Union of Kurdistan (PUK).
1978	Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) is created in Turkey
1984	PKK starts an armed struggle in Turkey
1988	Iraq kills thousands of Kurd civilians and thousands flee to Turkey. This is in retaliation to Kurdish support for Iran in the Iran-Iraq war

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<sup>1</sup> Caryl, Christian. "The Kurds Are Nearly There." *The New York Review of Books*. December 8, 2016. Accessed December 12, 2017.

<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/2016/12/08/the-kurds-are-nearly-there>.

<sup>2</sup> Brunner, Borgna. "Kurdish History Timeline." *Infoplease*. Accessed December 12, 2017.

<https://www.infoplease.com/kurdish-history-timeline>.

1991	Iraqi Kurds rise against Saddam Hussein, and they control an autonomous region in Northern Iraq. Turkey lifts ban of use of Kurdish language in unofficial settings.
1992	Large scale attacks on PKK bases in Iraq by Turkish military
1993	Turkish Kurds granted limited autonomy by government
1994	In Iraq, KDP and PUK fight each other for control over autonomous Kurdish region
1995	Large scale attacks on PKK bases in Iraq by Turkish military
1998	PUK and KDP sign peace agreement
2007	Iran and Turkey attack Iraqi Kurdistan rebel bases
2017 <sup>3</sup>	Iraqi Kurdistan independence referendum votes "yes" for independence

### Key Terms

#### *Kurds*

Refer to people who are ethnically Kurdish, majority of which are Sunni Muslims. Belonging to the fourth-largest ethnic group in the Middle East, they are indigenous peoples of Mesopotamia in what is now south-eastern Turkey, north-eastern Syria, northern Iraq, north-western Iran and south-western Armenia.

#### *Kurdistan*

Refers to the notion of a state with a Kurdish population, with "Kurd" referring to the ethnic group and "-stan" meaning land. It is the land of the Kurds. Such a state does not exist in reality, and the borders of such a state are not well defined given the geographical spread of Kurds in the region and natural barriers.

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<sup>3</sup>"Iraqi Kurds offer to 'freeze' independence referendum result." BBC News. October 25, 2017. Accessed December 12, 2017. <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-41744376>.

### *Treaty of Sevres*

The treaty was signed on 10 August 1920 after World War 1, between the Allied powers and the Ottoman Empire, which was part of the defeated Central Powers. In Part III Section III Articles 62-64, it scheduled a referendum for the Kurdistan region to decide its fate. Though there was no consensus on where borders of a proposed state should be, the treaty finally outlined a truncated Kurdistan located in modern day Turkey, hence neglecting the Iraqi and Syrian Kurds.

### *Treaty of Lausanne*

Signed on 24 July 1923, the treaty sought to establish peace in the region after the Treaty of Sevres failed, given that Greece did not sign that treaty and the Turkish national movement opposed it. The treaty set the boundaries of modern day Greece and Turkey, but divided the land inhabited by the Kurds between Turkey, Iraq and Syria. As such, hopes for a united Kurdistan were dashed.

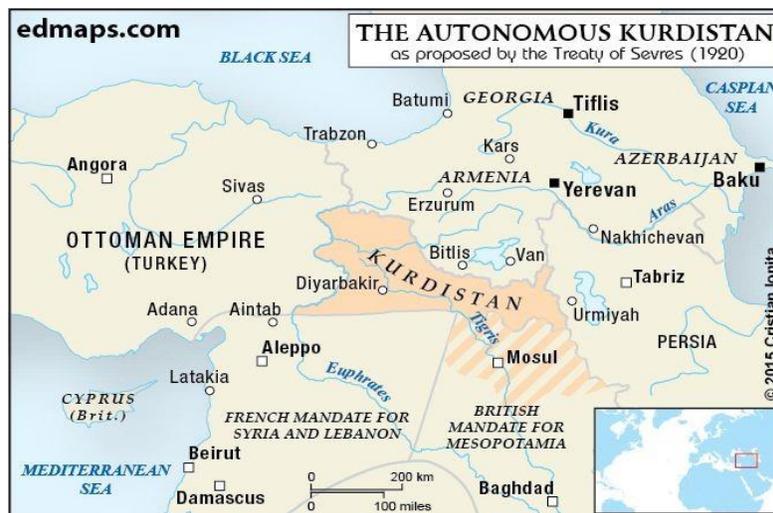


Figure 2. Proposed autonomous kurdistan region in Treaty of Sevres<sup>4</sup>

### *Turkish Kurd rebellions*

Soon after the formation of modern-day Turkey, an uprising led by Shaikh Said Piran in 1925 fought for an independent Kurdistan. Though quickly suppressed, several other large-scale Kurdish revolts can be seen in recent history. The Ararat rebellion of 1927 started with the self-declared independence of the Kurdish state on eastern Turkey, called the Republic of

<sup>4</sup> Vah, Vah. "Kurdistan Sevres 1920." Deviant Art. Accessed December 10, 2017. <https://vah-vah.deviantart.com/art/Kurdistan-Sevres-1920-576867641>.

Ararat. However, a lack of recognition by other states led to the rebellion's complete suppression by 1930.

Beginning in 1937, the Turkish government then began to implement various measures to suppress the Kurds further. For instance, they destroyed Kurdish villages, conducted massive deportations, and encouraged Kosovar Albanians and Assyrians to settle in the region to dilute the Kurdish ethnic composition. Moreover, the area was placed under permanent military siege till 1950 and the Kurdish language was banned. Kurds could only be referred to as "mountain Turks," and the words "Kurds" and "Kurdistan" was removed from dictionaries.

These measures, however, simply increased resentment amongst the Kurds. Such sentiments led to the formation of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in 1978, which persists to this day, fighting for equal rights and Kurdish autonomy in Turkey.

#### *Iraqi Kurd Rebellions*

Similar to their Turkish counterparts, the Iraqi Kurds have staged numerous revolts since the 20th century, such as the 1932 and 1943 Kurdish revolts. Both revolts were eventually put down by the Iraqi military. In 1958 however, relations warmed after a military coup in Iraq, as new Iraqi president Qasim invited Barzani, the leader in the 1943 revolt, back to Iraq and granted the Kurds regional autonomy.

Nevertheless, the First Iraqi-Kurdish War (1961-1970) and Second Iraqi-Kurdish War (1974-1975) still took place, as Barazani sought to establish an independent Kurdish state in north Iraq. Though the Kurds failed to achieve this goal, more revolts such as the Iraqi Kurdish rebellion during the Iran-Iraq war and the 1991 Kurdish uprising continued to take place. Most recently, the 2017 Iraqi Kurdistan independence referendum held unilaterally by the Kurdistan Regional Government led to resurfacing of conflicts.

#### *Syrian Kurd Rebellions*

Recently, the Syrian Kurds gained and secured land for the Syrian civil war which started in 2011 progressed into a multi-sided crisis with numerous groups. Their involvement in the crisis began as Kurdish People's Protection Units (YPG), and rebel factions clashed in the city of Ras al-Ayn. After that, they soon launched a campaign to capture Kurdish areas from Arab Islamist rebels.

As they fought against multiple groups, including ISIS, they gained some support from nations like the USA. Today, they control swathes of land in northern Syria, as they aim to preserve Kurdish autonomy as part of Syria. Furthermore, in September 2017, the Syrian government said they are open to negotiations for autonomy for Kurds in Syria.

### *Iranian Kurd Rebellions*

Iranian Kurd insurgencies include Simko's first revolt (1918-1922), 1926 Simko rebellion, the attempt to establish the Republic of Mahabad in Iranian Kurdistan at 1946, the 1967 and 1979 Kurdish revolts, and the KDPI insurgency in the mid-1990s. There have been renewed tensions in recent years, with a riot and attack by Kurdish group PJAK against Iranian checkpoints in May 2015. There is still low-level insurgencies present today, with clashes between Iranian revolutionary guards and the Kurdish PAK and PDKI starting April 2016.

## **Key Parties**

### *Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran*

These nations play host to a significant number of Kurds, who form a large minority in their population. As such, they reject the notion of an independent Kurdistan, as it would mean heavy economic losses, infringement of sovereignty and a large loss of land.

### *Kurds*

Most Kurds hope for independence or at least some extent of autonomy within their respective nations. Nevertheless, amongst the Kurds, there are numerous groups which do occasionally fight against each other and refuse to work together to achieve common goals. For instance, in Syria, the YPG is supported by USA, Russia, and Iran, while the smaller Peshmerga group is supported by Iraqi Kurdistan and the Saudi-backed Syrian opposition.

While relying on different backing and support, these Kurdish groups are then forced to comply with some agreements with their backers, which prevent cooperation with other Kurdish factions. As such, it seems that a neo-imperialist game of divide-and-rule now exists, with regional powers preventing the rise and consolidation of the Kurds.

## *Israel*

Israel is the only state backer of the Iraqi Kurdistan referendum and the formation of an independent Kurdistan. This stance could be attributed to the intertwined history between the Kurds and the Jews, and the Kurdish Jewish population in Israel. Furthermore, the formation of Kurdistan would act to tip the regional power balance in their favour, as it creates internal troubles for Israel's longstanding enemy Iran by stirring up separatist sentiments there.<sup>5</sup>

### **Scope of Debate**

#### *Formation of Kurdistan or Provision of Autonomy*

A primary focus of the debate would be whether the international community should approve the establishment of Kurdistan or support increased autonomy. Hence, which solution should be adopted is up to debate. With regards to the formation of Kurdistan, a detailed process and timeline have to be agreed upon by delegates, which may include a referendum. For the provision of autonomy, there is also a large room for debate regarding the extent of autonomy and other related issues.

#### *Protection of Kurds*

Given the long history of persecution faced by the Kurds, possible measures to prevent this from happening in the future has to be debated and agreed upon, while considering the national sovereignty of nations implicated in any solutions proposed.

#### *Prevention of Future Violence*

Measures to prevent military conflict between Kurdish factions and between the Kurds and state governments should be debated and put in place.

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<sup>5</sup> David. "Israel Endorsed Kurdish Independence. Saladin Would Have Been Proud." The New York Times. September 22, 2017. Accessed December 12, 2017. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/22/world/middleeast/kurds-independence-israel.html>.

## Proposed Solutions

A possible solution is setting a timeline and guidelines regarding the formation of an independent Kurdistan. This ensures that the process is carried out and would not be indefinitely postponed, which could be the case if no specifics are given.

Another solution could be providing autonomy to Kurdish states in the region, while those regions remain parts of their respective nations. This could look more favorable to the four nations with large Kurdish populations as it ensures their country remains intact while calming down sentiments against their governments and separatist movements. A coordinated provision of autonomy would also reduce chaos in the region, as violence could erupt if one nation provides their Kurds autonomy before the other nations do.

To protect Kurds in the long-term, international third-party checks and balances can be put in place, along with pledges against states which persecute Kurds, which may come in the form of economic pressure such as trade sanctions.

## Conclusion

Given recent developments in the Kurdish issue, it is necessary for the international community to intervene to prevent the possibility of further violence, human rights abuses and bloodshed. Within the span of the conference, the council has to find a compromise in the form of a resolution to this issue.

## Relevant Documents

1. Treaty of Lausanne<sup>6</sup>
2. UN Security Council resolution 688<sup>7</sup>
3. Constitution of Republic of Iraq Article 140<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>"Treaty of Peace with Turkey and other instruments signed in Lausanne on July 24, 1923." UK Treaties Online. Accessed December 8, 2017. [treaties.fco.gov.uk/docs/pdf/1923/ts0016-1.pdf](http://treaties.fco.gov.uk/docs/pdf/1923/ts0016-1.pdf).

<sup>7</sup>UN Security Council, Security Council resolution 688 (1991) [Iraq], 5 April 1991, S/RES/688 (1991). Accessed December 8, 2017. <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f1598.html>

<sup>8</sup> *Constitution of the Republic of Iraq Article 140* [Iraq], 15 October 2005. Accessed December 8, 2017. <http://www.refworld.org/docid/454f50804.html>.

### Further Questions

1. Is the formation of an independent state Kurdistan a viable solution to the issue, considering the various parties and their influence? If so, what should the borders of this Kurdistan be?
2. Would providing autonomy to Kurdish-populated regions in Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey be a good solution? Would these nations agree with such a solution? To what extent should these regions be autonomous? Should the provision of such autonomy be coordinated in timing and extent amongst these 4 nations?
3. What measures can be taken to prevent future violence between the Kurds and state governments? What can be done to prevent the Kurds from becoming pieces in international proxy wars or power struggles in the region?
4. What can be done to prevent the discrimination and persecution of Kurds in these nations?

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## Secondary Issue: Prevention of State-funded Terrorism

### Introduction

Terrorism has been an unfortunate friend of news feeds of late with the general understanding of terrorism being "the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims." This issue has been further exacerbated by the fact that terrorist groups are financially backed by states which either share similar ideological motivations or serve to gain economic benefits from such a partnership (or both). Hence, it is pertinent to evaluate why resolutions passed has had limited success and thereby the key aspect that countries within the Middle East have to tackle to effectively counter the problem of terrorism.

In the Middle East, a notable example of state-sponsored terrorism is the Iranian-backed and Syria-allied Shia Muslim terrorist organisation - Hezbollah.<sup>9</sup> The fact that two decades worth of resolutions have still barely mulled the situation is worth consideration. Iran's leaders maintain that they do not support terrorism, but declarations by the US that Iran is still the top state sponsor of terrorism has contributed to the international community remaining unconvinced.<sup>10</sup>

Iran has not only reportedly<sup>11</sup> financially and logistically supported (with equipment ranging from artillery and drones to even armoured vehicles and missiles) Hezbollah in its operations against ISIS, Iraq and the Israeli defence forces along the Lebanese border, but it has also initiated and manipulated, via mainly financial and residency means, many Shia fighters from others states such as Afghanistan and Pakistan to participate in Assad's crackdown in Syria. The Shia fighters of whom Iran supports have also on numerous accounts committed severe war crimes against their opponents. Despite such actions being evidently in violation of the UN Security Council resolution 1701, the international committee is still wary on enforcing more sanctions on Iran due to the levy that the committee is attempting to strike with Iran between

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<sup>9</sup> Ganor Boaz, "Countering State-Sponsored Terrorism", *Ict.Org.II*, 1998, <https://www.ict.org.il/Article/1140/Countering#gsc.tab=0>.

<sup>10</sup> "State Sponsors: Iran." *Council on Foreign Relations*, Council on Foreign Relations, [www.cfr.org/background/state-sponsors-iran](http://www.cfr.org/background/state-sponsors-iran).

<sup>11</sup> "Country Reports On Terrorism 2016". 2017. *State.Gov*. <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/272488.pdf>.

controlling its production of more nuclear and chemical weapons<sup>12</sup>; and their support of expansive international terrorist organisations.

Currently, states listed as "State Sponsors of Terrorism" by the U.S. Department of State would face the general sanctions on: *(quoting directly)*

1. *A ban on arms-related exports and sales;*
2. *Controls over exports of dual-use items, requiring 30-day Congressional notification for goods or services that could significantly enhance the terrorist-list country's military capability or ability to support terrorism;*
3. *Prohibitions on economic assistance; and*
4. *Imposition of miscellaneous financial and other restrictions.*

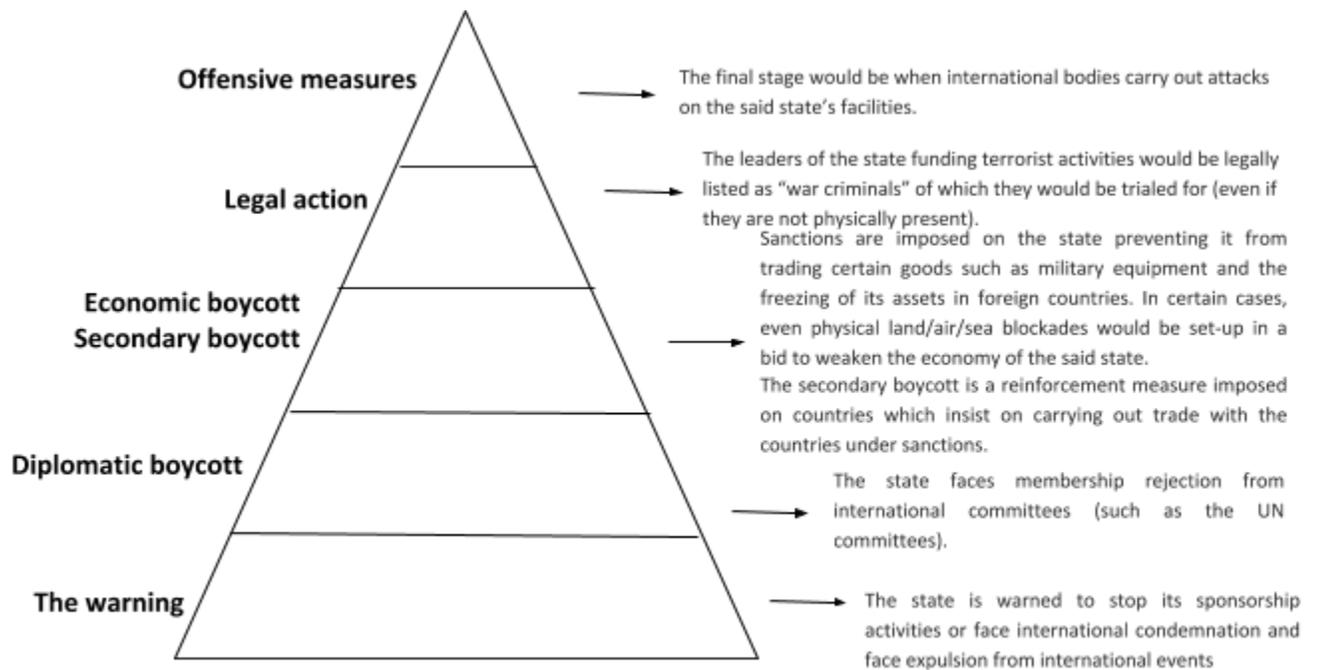


Figure 3: The five tiers of possible deterrents<sup>9</sup>

<sup>12</sup> "Iran Nuclear Deal: Key Details", *BBC News*, 2017, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-33521655>.

## Definitions

### *Sanctions*

Refer to a penalty attached to the disobedience of a rule enforced.<sup>13</sup>

## Key Parties

### *Iran*<sup>14</sup>

Iran is the main sponsor of Hezbollah which has been operating for a number of decades - with it claiming responsibility for multiple attacks over the years. Furthermore, Iran has extensive underground factories for the enrichment of uranium with the intention of creating nuclear weapons. This thus led to much frustration among the P5 + 1 in the UN who have sought to enforce stricter economic sanctions on Iran whilst manage their nuclear production. Eventually, the 2015 nuclear deal with Iran was brokered, yet only with partial success.<sup>9</sup>

### *Syria*<sup>14</sup>

Recently, Syria has shown increasing support towards Iran and Hezbollah due to their shared ideological beliefs. The Syrian government also sponsors Hezbollah for its own political motives as Hezbollah serves as one of the key military groups fighting against the Syrian Opposition. Syria has also been found to have broken the regulations set under the Chemical Weapons Convention using supposedly chlorine in attacks against the Syrian Opposition.

### *Saudi Arabia*<sup>15</sup>

Saudi Arabia has a strong stance against Hezbollah, notably because Hezbollah is a Shia Muslim group (with considerable success in its ideological indoctrination), whereas Saudi Arabia is a firm supporter of the Sunni Muslim group. The historical background of this

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<sup>13</sup> "Sanction\_1 Noun - Definition, Pictures, Pronunciation And Usage Notes | Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary At Oxfordlearnersdictionaries.Com", *Oxfordlearnersdictionaries.Com*, accessed 11 December 2017,

[https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/sanction\\_1](https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/sanction_1).

<sup>14</sup> "Chapter 3: State Sponsors Of Terrorism". U.S. Department Of State. Accessed 11 December 2017. <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2016/272235.htm>.

<sup>15</sup> Elias Ghazal, "Why Hezbollah Matters So Much In A Turbulent Middle East", *The Conversation*, 2017,

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religion-based animosity greatly influences Saudi Arabia's actions in regard to Iran and Syria's support of Hezbollah.

*Lebanon*<sup>16</sup>

Lebanon being the country in which Hezbollah's forces are based in, faces pressure from both Hezbollah (whose members managed to obtain positions in the Lebanese government) and Saudi Arabia. The sudden resignation of Lebanon's prime minister in 2017 is likewise reminiscent of this conflict.

### **Scope of Debate**

Noting the clash of interests between preventing the outbreak of war and effectively halting state-sponsored terrorism, the Chairs would be keen on seeing debate on an appropriate level of compromise. Additionally, whilst juggling the contrasting needs of attaining economic growth in their less developed nations and ensuring global security, countries within the Middle East need to consider the implications of setting restrictions on an oil-rich state (e.g. Iran). The uncertain reactions of states which are in the possession of large, harmful weaponry are also worth consideration.

Lastly, the Chairs would be interested in debate on the effectiveness of past resolutions passed, through dialogue or the loose sanctions enforced on countries by means of entreating their silence or obedience in a certain issues. Debate should also focus on both short-term and long-term goals for a realistic representation of the situation.

### **Proposed Solutions**

*Establishment of a Coalition*

In order to monitor the issue of terrorism in the most objective manner possible, a coalition comprising of Middle Eastern nations could be established. This coalition should have at least 50% majority of mediator states (i.e. states that are not biased towards / against the Shia Muslims).

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<sup>16</sup> Daniel B. Shapiro, "Is Saudi Arabia Pushing Israel Into War With Hezbollah And Iran?", *Haaretz.Com*, 2017, <https://www.haaretz.com/middle-east-news/1.821085>.

### *Establishment of Economic Sanctions*

The coalition may request the UN to enforce a trade boycott on all state-sponsors of terrorism within the Middle East, This may include the freezing of all of such states' foreign assets. Should there be a lapse in the enforcement of said sanctions, the coalition may choose to physically enforce barricades in the form of land / air / sea barricades.

Conditions for early revocations of said sanctions were (enlisting the use of the Hezbollah example as a guide) :

I.e. Conditions that are individualistic to the level the state is involved in the sponsorship of the terrorist organisation.

In the first tier, Lebanon was to be subjected to the said sanctions unless its government was fully turned over to the formed coalition. In the 2nd tier, where it was to be enforced at the discretion of the coalition, if the Iranian and Syrian governments were not fully turned over to the coalition, the coalition could send an official petition to the UN for both governments to stand trial at the International Court of Justice on the record of having committed war crimes.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, the Chairs hope this study guide has proved useful in providing a general understanding on the issue, as well as the necessary platforms for delegates to launch into further research. Finally, the Chairs would like to wish the delegates all the best in their research and are looking forward to a time of exciting debate!

### **Relevant Documents**

Likewise, in order to duly understand the legal steps that many international organisations have taken in order to deal with this growing issue, due attention ought be paid to the listed articles below:

1. International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism (1999)

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<sup>17</sup> "International Convention For The Suppression Of The Financing Of Terrorism", *Un.Org*, 1999, <http://www.un.org/law/cod/finterr.htm>.

2. Security Council resolution 1373 (2001)<sup>18</sup>
3. Resolution 2178 (2014)<sup>19</sup>
4. Projects piloted against state-funded terrorism by The Financial Action Task Force (FATF)<sup>20</sup>

### **Further Questions**

1. What are the consequences taking offensive action on states that sponsor terrorism?
2. To what extent should the citizens' welfare be a priority?
3. How has religious animosity played a key role in this conflict?
4. How does this influence the forms of coalitions that realistically can be formed?
5. To what extent does the concept of "Mutually Assured Destruction" play an important factor in the types of proposed solutions?

### **Further Readings**

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4. Naji, Kasra. "Five Effects Of Lifting Iran Sanctions". *BBC News*, 2016.  
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<sup>18</sup> "Resolution 1373 (2001)", *Documents-Dds-Ny.Un.Org*, 2001,  
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<sup>19</sup> "Resolution 2178 (2014)", *Documents-Dds-Ny.Un.Org*, 2014,  
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<sup>20</sup> "About - Financial Action Task Force (FATF)", *Fatf-Gafi.Org*, accessed 14 December 2017,  
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