



**SRMUN Atlanta 2024**  
**November 21-23, 2024**  
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Esteemed Delegates,

Welcome to SRMUN Atlanta 2024 and the Historical Security Council. My name is Jessica Case, and I have the pleasure of serving as your Director for the Historical Security Council (HSC)! This will be my third time as a SRMUN staff member, having previously served as an Assistant Director of the General Assembly Plenary for both SRMUN Atlanta 2023 and Charlotte 2024. I am currently a senior pursuing my Bachelor's degree in International Affairs with a concentration in Europe. Our committee's Assistant Director will be Kristina James. Kristina is a senior pursuing her Bachelor's degree in International Affairs.

The mission of the HSC is to simulate the Security Council during a distinct time period, in this case during the year 1990. Since the HSC is a highly-specialized committee which allows delegates to reenact significant historical events, I expect this to be replicated in the work and conduct of the delegates. After the Security Council has convened, the body will no longer follow the historical narrative with full accuracy to allow the delegates to shape their own narrative.

Focusing on the mission of the HSC, we have developed the following topics from 1990 for the delegates to discuss come conference:

- I. Rising Tensions in Somalia and Surrounding Member States
- II. International Security Implications of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- III. The Situation in Iraq and Kuwait

This background guide will serve as the foundation for your research, yet it should not be the extent of the research. Preparation is given to each topic to help guide delegates in their initial research, and to serve as a starting place for more in-depth studies. It is expected that delegates go beyond this background guide in preparation for their position paper and to better prepare themselves to contribute within the committee in November. Further, each delegation is urged to submit a position paper for consideration. Position papers should be no longer than two pages in length (single spaced) and demonstrate your Member State's position, policies, and recommendations on two of the three above topics. For more detailed information about formatting and how to write position papers, delegates can visit [srmun.org](http://srmun.org). **All position papers MUST be submitted no later than Friday, November 1st, by 11:59pm EST via the SRMUN website to be eligible for Outstanding Position Paper Awards.**

Both Kristina and I are excited for the opportunity to serve as your dais for the HSC! We wish you all the best of luck in your conference preparation and we look forward to meeting and working with each of you in Atlanta. Should any questions arise as you begin to prepare for this conference, please don't hesitate to reach out to your committee staff at the emails below.

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## History of the United Nations Security Council – 1990

The United Nations (UN) Security Council (SC) was established as one of the six main bodies of the UN under Article V of the United Nations Charter on October 24, 1945.<sup>1</sup> The Security Council is tasked with maintaining international peace and security.<sup>2</sup> The SC determines what constitutes a breach in peace and security in international, inter-state, and intra-state contexts.<sup>3</sup> The UN Charter compels Member States to accept and enact resolutions passed by the SC, making the council's decisions paramount to international security.<sup>4</sup> The Security Council is the only body within the UN with the power and ability to enforce decisions and demand action from all Member States to maintain international peace and security.<sup>5</sup> The SC held its first session on January 17, 1946, in London, United Kingdom.<sup>6</sup> Since then, SC sessions have been held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; Panama City, Panama; Geneva, Switzerland; and the permanent residence at the UN headquarters in New York, United States of America.<sup>7</sup>

The Security Council consists of 15 Member States: five permanent (P5) members and ten non-permanent, rotating members.<sup>8</sup> All SC Member States are granted one representative and vote.<sup>9</sup> Non-permanent members are elected for staggered two-year terms by the UN General Assembly (GA), with five seats replaced every year.<sup>10</sup> Additionally, it is expected that all Member State representatives on the SC be available at all times in case of an international crisis.<sup>11</sup> The founding P5 Member States of the SC, the Republic of China, the French Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR), the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, were considered to be the most powerful framers in the creation of the UN Charter in 1945, resulting in them receiving permanent member status.<sup>12</sup> P5 Member States have changed once since the formation of the UN, in 1971 when the People's Republic of China overtook the permanent Chinese seat from the Republic of China.<sup>13</sup>

The primary goal of the UN Security Council is to take any measures necessary in order to “maintain international peace and security” as defined in the UN Charter.<sup>14</sup> Per Chapter V: The Security Council (Articles 23-32), and Chapter VI: Pacific Settlement of Disputes (Articles 33-38), the SC is responsible for investigating any situation brought forth by a member of the United Nations.<sup>15</sup> The SC can also intervene on behalf of the international community in situations where peaceful settlements have failed. As per Chapter VII, the SC may decide which situations require non-forcible interruptions or armed force alongside the assistance of the Military Staff Committee, or a willing Member State, if necessary.<sup>16</sup> Non-forcible interruptions may include the SC calling on Member States

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations, Charter of the United Nations, *United Nations*, October 24, 1945, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>, (accessed February 5, 2024).

<sup>2</sup> United Nations Security Council, “What is the Security Council?,” *United Nations*, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/what-security-council>, (accessed February 5, 2024).

<sup>3</sup> United Nations, “Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression,” *Charter of the United Nations*, October 24, 1945, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>, (accessed February 5, 2024).

<sup>4</sup> United Nations, “Chapter V: The Security Council,” *Charter of the United Nations*, October 24, 1945, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>, (accessed February 6, 2024).

<sup>5</sup> United Nations Security Council, “What is the Security Council?”

<sup>6</sup> United Nations Security Council, “What is the Security Council?”

<sup>7</sup> United Nations Security Council, “What is the Security Council?”

<sup>8</sup> United Nations Security Council, “Security Council Members,” *United Nations*, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/security-council-members>, (accessed February 6, 2024).

<sup>9</sup> United Nations Security Council, “Security Council Members.”

<sup>10</sup> United Nations, Charter of the United Nations, *United Nations*, October 24, 1945, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>, (accessed February 6, 2024).

<sup>11</sup> United Nations Security Council, “FAQ,” *United Nations*, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/faq>, (accessed February 6, 2024).

<sup>12</sup> United Nations Security Council, “Current Members,” *United Nations*, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/security-council-members>, (accessed February 6, 2024).

<sup>13</sup> United Nations Security Council, “FAQ,” *United Nations*.

<sup>14</sup> United Nations, “Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression,” *Charter of the United Nations*, October 24, 1945, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>, (accessed February 9, 2024).

<sup>15</sup> United Nations, “Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression.”

<sup>16</sup> United Nations, “Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression.”

to apply economic sanctions to “prevent or stop aggression.”<sup>17</sup> As of 1990, the Security Council has only enforced and implemented two sets of sanctions, each having different forms and individual goals.<sup>18</sup>

The SC resolutions that invoked Chapter VII include S/RES/84 (1950), which advised Member States to aid the Republic of Korea against the breach of peace by the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) along with authorizing the Korean War.<sup>19</sup> Articles 42-48, of Chapter VII, outline the progression of measures that the SC can take in planning military action, including the authorization of peacekeeping missions.<sup>20</sup> The Security Council is also the only body within the UN to authorize, manage, amend, or end peacekeeping operations through the adoption of a resolution.<sup>21</sup> The first UN peacekeeping operations can be traced back to 1948 with the UN Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) and UN Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP).<sup>22</sup> UN Peacekeeping operations were operated through the UN Office of Special Political Affairs until the late 1980s.<sup>23</sup> Since then, the SC has authorized missions to India and Kashmir, the Congo, Lebanon, and other conflict-affected areas.<sup>24</sup>

Unlike other organs of the United Nations, the Security Council grants P5 Members with a “right to veto” voting power for substantive decisions.<sup>25</sup> If any one of the P5 Member disagrees or casts a negative vote in the Security Council, the proposed decision or resolution will not pass or be adopted by the committee. However, P5 Members may abstain from certain substantive matters, and not utilize their veto power.<sup>26</sup> Decisions on both procedural and substantive matters in the SC require nine affirmative votes.<sup>27</sup> All resolutions passed by the Security Council must be accepted and carried out by all Member States of the UN.<sup>28</sup>

The Members of the UN Security Council in 1990 were:<sup>29</sup>

- Canada
- China
- Colombia
- Côte d'Ivoire
- Cuba
- Democratic Yemen
- Ethiopia
- Finland
- France

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<sup>17</sup> United Nations Security Council, “Functions and Powers,” *United Nations*,

<https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/functions-and-powers>, (accessed February 9, 2024).

<sup>18</sup> Simon Chesterman and Béatrice Pouligny, “Are Sanctions Meant to Work? The Politics of Creating and Implementing Sanctions Through the United Nations,” *JSTOR* volume 9, no. 4 (December, 2003): 503-518, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27800499>.

<sup>19</sup> United Nations Security Council resolution 84, *Complaint of aggression upon the Republic of Korea*, S/RES/84 (1950), July 7, 1950, <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/112027?v=pdf>.

<sup>20</sup> United Nations, “Chapter VII: Action with Respect to Threats to the Peace, Breaches of the Peace, and Acts of Aggression.”

<sup>21</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping. “Role of Security Council,” *United Nations*, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/role-of-security-council>, (accessed February 10, 2024)

<sup>22</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, “About Us,” *United Nations*, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/department-of-peace-operations>, (accessed February 10, 2024).

<sup>23</sup> United Nations Security Council, “What is the Security Council?,” *United Nations*, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/what-security-council>, (accessed February 5, 2024).

<sup>24</sup> United Nations Peacekeeping, “Our History,” *United Nations*, 2021, <https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/our-history>, (accessed February 10, 2024).

<sup>25</sup> United Nations Security Council, “Voting System,” *United Nations*, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/voting-system>, (accessed February 11, 2024).

<sup>26</sup> United Nations Security Council, “Voting System,”

<sup>27</sup> United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*, United Nations, October 24, 1945, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>.

<sup>28</sup> United Nations, *Charter of the United Nations*.

<sup>29</sup> United Nations General Assembly, *Provisional Verbatim Record of the Thirty-Fourth Meeting, A/44/PV.34* October 18, 1989, <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/pro/n89/642/89/pdf/n8964289.pdf?token=JTknKOhLooN27YoPNx&fe=true>, (accessed February 11, 2024).

- Malaysia
- Romania
- Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
- United States of America
- Zaire

*Committee Directive*

It is important to note that all historical precedence, factual evidence, United Nations documentation, Member State policies, and all other material completed prior to 1990 will be utilized and considered accurate during this simulation. However, after the Security Council has convened, the body will no longer follow the historical narrative with full accuracy. Therefore, it will be the duty of the delegate to represent the ideology and positions of their given Member State to the best of their abilities in the circumstances that may arise. The committee will be given an open agenda in which they may choose to discuss any topic pertinent to the current state of affairs as of 1990.

## I. Rising Tensions in Somalia and Surrounding Member States

### *Introduction*

Somalia, and the autonomous Somaliland, sits on the easternmost peninsula of Africa, often referred to as the Horn of Africa.<sup>30</sup> Historically, Somalia's strategic geographic location heavily influenced their involvement within international trade, as the capital, Mogadishu, and other ports are primary points of contact from Northeast Africa to neighboring Member States.<sup>31</sup> Through the ports of Mogadishu and Berbera, exports such as gold, frankincense, and myrrh were traded for weapons, textiles, and more among merchants through the Indian Ocean trade routes.<sup>32</sup> Imports of weaponry and modern technology were used for security measures of essential trade centers and also for government utilization.<sup>33</sup> Thus, the progression of the Somalian economy due to cross-cultural contact allowed for the region to begin establishing "political and social identities."<sup>34</sup>

Beginning in 1875, many Member States claimed Somalia and Somaliland as overseas territories, including the United Kingdom, Italy, and France.<sup>35</sup> France established the first boundaries of Ethiopia and Somalia, which initiated the beginning of many boundary ratifications between the two Member States.<sup>36</sup> However, these boundary proposals were challenged as Ethiopia seized the Ogaden Region in western Somalia around 1900, attempting to fully invade Somalia.<sup>37</sup> Defensive reactions from Somalia, under British protection, shortly after the seize ultimately pushed Ethiopia to retreat from the Ogaden Region.<sup>38</sup> Later in 1948, following World War II, the Allied powers granted the Ogaden to Ethiopia, sparking war decades later over claim of the Ogaden region.<sup>39</sup>

In 1908, Italian powers officially began assuming administration over part of Somalia through agreements made with the British and Ethiopian governments.<sup>40</sup> Years later in 1940 after Italy would declare war on the United Kingdom, tensions would rise over which force could maintain most control of Somalia.<sup>41</sup> In November 1949, the UN General Assembly, through A/RES/289 (IV), declared Italy would uphold a nominal trusteeship over Somalia for the ensuing decade to aid in development, with full independence granted to Somalia thereafter.<sup>42</sup> Following the newly enforced Italian trusteeship, the British protectorate was dissolved, with all remaining British territories controlled by the British Military Administration.<sup>43</sup> The Haud region of the Ogaden was still under British occupation until 1955; however once the last British liaison officers withdrew from the region in 1954, Ethiopia was granted full jurisdiction.<sup>44</sup> The United Kingdom used the events following World War II to introduce democracy in

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<sup>30</sup> Sundus Ahmed, "The Horn of Africa," *BlackPast*, August 11, 2021, <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/the-horn-of-africa/>, (accessed April 1, 2024).

<sup>31</sup> Dua, Jatin. "Somalia and the Indian Ocean World," *Danish Institute for International Studies*, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep13443.6>, (accessed May 1, 2024)

<sup>32</sup> Dua, Jatin. "Somalia and the Indian Ocean World."

<sup>33</sup> Laitin, David D., and Said S. Samatar. "Somalia and the World Economy," *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 30, 1984, pp. 58–72. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4005687>, (accessed June 13, 2024)

<sup>34</sup> Dua, Jatin. "Somalia and the Indian Ocean World."

<sup>35</sup> "Somalia Profile – Timeline," *The British Broadcasting Corporation*, January 4, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-14094632>, (accessed April 1, 2024).

<sup>36</sup> "International Boundary Study No. 153," *United States of America Department of State, Office of the Geographer – Bureau of Intelligence and Research*, January 9, 1978, <https://library.law.fsu.edu/Digital-Collections/LimitsinSeas/pdf/ibs153.pdf>, (accessed April 1, 2024).

<sup>37</sup> "Somali Country Facts," *Permanent Mission of the Somali Republic to the United Nations, United Nations*, <https://www.un.int/somalia/somalia/country-facts>, (accessed April 1, 2024).

<sup>38</sup> Eshete, Tibebe. "Towards A History Of The Incorporation Of The Ogaden: 1887-1935," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 27, no. 2 (1994): 69–87, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41966038>.

<sup>39</sup> "Somali Country Facts," *Permanent Mission of the Somali Republic to the United Nations*.

<sup>40</sup> "Somalia (10/03)," U.S. Department of State - Diplomacy in Action, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/outofdate/bgn/somalia/36384.htm>, (accessed June 14, 2024).

<sup>41</sup> "Somalia (10/03)," U.S. Department of State - Diplomacy in Action.

<sup>42</sup> United Nations General Assembly Resolution 289 (IV), *Question of the Disposal of the Former Italian Colonies, A/RES/289 (IV)*, (November 21, 1949), [https://undocs.org/A/RES/289\(IV\)](https://undocs.org/A/RES/289(IV)).

<sup>43</sup> Janzen, J. H.A. and Lewis, Ioan M. "Somalia," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Somalia>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

<sup>44</sup> Metz, Helen Chapin, "Somalia: A Country Study," *United States Library of Congress, Federal Research Division*, 1993, <https://www.loc.gov/item/93016246/>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

the Somali region.<sup>45</sup> Thus, the Somali Youth League (SYL) — Somalia's first and most powerful political party of 1945 — strongly opposed further occupation of foreign forces, preferring immediate independence.<sup>46</sup> The impact of the SYL and other parties would become a source of unrest among the Somali population and neighboring Member States in the Horn of Africa.<sup>47</sup> On July 1, 1960, both the former British protectorate and Italian Somalia unified and created the independent Somali Republic, after more than 70 years of European domination.<sup>48</sup>

### *Post-Independence Tensions*

In the early 1960's, following independence, tensions formed surrounding the northern and southern regions of Somalia.<sup>49</sup> Clans were still very prominent in Somalia, as clan rivalry was at an all-time high.<sup>50</sup> The state was divided into five major clan group regions: the north-western Dir clan group, northern Isaaq clan group, north-western Darood clan group, central Hawiye clan group, and southern-most Rahanweyn clan group.<sup>51</sup> Independence led to many civilians adopting the "Greater Somalia" ideal – the belief that all regions and clans should unify under a single state - resulting in many independent conflicts towards surrounding Member States or clan regions that may interrupt the progression of this nationalistic belief.<sup>52</sup>

Nine years after Somali independence, the first Somali Prime Minister and President of the Somali Republic, Abdirashid Ali Shermarke was assassinated on October 15, 1969 by a former bodyguard of an opposing clan.<sup>53</sup> Immediately following the assassination, the military seized power from the civilian government and Mohammed Siad Barre became acting dictator of Somalia.<sup>54</sup> Barre established a new governing body, the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC), which established Somalia as a socialist republic.<sup>55</sup> Under the SRC, Barre aimed to end tribalism, combat corruption, and promote Somali unification.<sup>56</sup> Shortly after seizing power, Barre also adopted "Scientific Socialism" through the SRC – a social and political philosophy built upon the Marxist ideology– to "unite the nation and eradicate its ancient clan divisions."<sup>57</sup> The new regime focused on maintaining control of information among the preexisting clans and the roles of the clan leaders.<sup>58</sup> In 1971, Barre made tribalistic behavior, such as clan-based political associations and discourse, a criminal offense.<sup>59</sup> Following this, the Barre military government operated only through the Marehan, Ogadeen, and Dolbahante clans (three smaller clans of Somalia tied directly to Barre) to uphold hegemony over other clans.<sup>60</sup> The pursuit of "Greater Somalia" primarily centered on efforts to claim the entire territory of the Ogaden region, along with other territories in Djibouti and Kenya.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Metz, Helen Chapin, "Somalia: A Country Study," United States Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, 1993, <https://www.loc.gov/item/93016246/>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

<sup>46</sup> "Somali Country Facts," *Permanent Mission of the Somali Republic to the United Nations, United Nations*, <https://www.un.int/somalia/somalia/country-facts>, (accessed April 1, 2024).

<sup>47</sup> "Somali Country Facts," *Permanent Mission of the Somali Republic to the United Nations*.

<sup>48</sup> Reyner, Anthony S. "Somalia: The Problems of Independence," *Middle East Journal* 14, no. 3 1960: 247–55, 1960, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4323254>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

<sup>49</sup> "Somali Country Facts," *Permanent Mission of the Somali Republic to the United Nations*.

<sup>50</sup> "Somali Country Facts," *Permanent Mission of the Somali Republic to the United Nations*.

<sup>51</sup> "The Role of Clans in Somalia." European Union Agency for Asylum, <https://euaa.europa.eu/country-guidance-somalia-2023/role-clans-somalia>, (accessed June 16, 2024).

<sup>52</sup> "Somali Country Facts," *Permanent Mission of the Somali Republic to the United Nations*.

<sup>53</sup> "Somali Country Facts," *Permanent Mission of the Somali Republic to the United Nations*.

<sup>54</sup> Chaliand, Gérard, "The Horn of Africa's Dilemma," *Foreign Policy*, no. 30 (1978): 116–31. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1148190>.

<sup>55</sup> Chaliand, Gérard, "The Horn of Africa's Dilemma."

<sup>56</sup> Metz, Helen Chapin, "Somalia: A Country Study."

<sup>57</sup> John Darton, "Somalia Tries to Live by Both the Koran and 'Das Kapital,'" *The New York Times*, October 11, 1977, <https://www.nytimes.com/1977/10/11/archives/somalia-tries-to-live-by-both-the-koran-and-das-kapital.html>, (accessed April 8, 2024).

<sup>58</sup> Metz, Helen Chapin, "Somalia: A Country Study."

<sup>59</sup> Metz, Helen Chapin, "Somalia: A Country Study."

<sup>60</sup> "Understanding Civil Militia Groups in Somalia," ACCORD, August 2016, <https://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/understanding-civil-militia-groups-somalia/>, (accessed May 2, 2024)

<sup>61</sup> "Understanding Civil Militia Groups in Somalia," ACCORD.

Through the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF), a “pro-secessionist armed rebel militia,” Barre’s regime invaded Ethiopia through the Ogaden region in 1977, sparking the beginning of the Ogaden War.<sup>62</sup> In September 1977, Somalia controlled around 90 percent of the Ogaden Region, seized the Ethiopian town of Jijiga, and made advancements to seize Harar, Ethiopia.<sup>63</sup> Somali citizens and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) disagreed with these violent attacks, leading to Somalia’s loss of aid and support from the USSR, as well as Cuban forces who had supported Somalia.<sup>64</sup> In early 1978, both the USSR and Cuba openly extended support to Ethiopia, enabling the reconquest of the Ogaden region.<sup>65</sup> Indigenous Ogaden Somalis sought refuge within the modern borders of Somalia, steadily increasing clan tensions.<sup>66</sup> The attack on Harar orchestrated by Somalia was quickly and effectively countered by Ethiopian forces with support from USSR and Cuban forces, forcing Somali forces to retreat from Harar and allowing Ethiopia to recapture Jaldessa.<sup>67</sup> These events of early 1978 marked the final conflict exchange between Somalia and Ethiopia and resulted in over a million Ogadeni refugees seeking asylum in Somalia, increasing tensions due to lack of humanitarian aid.<sup>68</sup> Following the end of this Ogaden War and risking loss of popularity, the Barre regime formed various parliamentary agencies and militias, to counter possible threats or rebellion from Somali civilians.<sup>69</sup> These new installments were hostile to the Somali population and led to a group of officers from the Majeerteen clan to stage a coup d’etat against Barre’s dictatorship in 1978.<sup>70</sup> The coup’ d’etat failed, leaving roughly 2,000 civilians dead or displaced, with the government blaming the entire Majeerteen clan.<sup>71</sup>

### *Rising Conflict of the 1980s*

In the early 1980’s, the Somali National Movement (SNM) rose as new opposition against the Barre regime.<sup>72</sup> The Somali defeat in the Ogaden War and increasing insurgency within Somalia resulted in high levels of political insecurity within the Barre regime.<sup>73</sup> Throughout the 1980s, the government imposed restrictive measures on clan populations that were not the Marehan, Ogadeen, or Dolbahante to maintain power over civilians.<sup>74</sup> The most notable instance of this occurred from 1979 to 1986 as the Somali government committed grave acts of violence against the Majeerteen, the Hawiye, and the Isaaq clans through the Red Berets Presidential Brigade.<sup>75</sup> The government also established Mobile Military Courts (MMCs) to handle opposition groups and civilians within communities.<sup>76</sup> The MMCs were conducted by military officials and were often followed by unlawful executions of the defendants due to corruption and limited law expertise and accountability.<sup>77</sup> There was no legal nor

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<sup>62</sup> “Remembering the Ogaden War 45 Years Later: Four and a Half Lessons towards a Peaceful Future,” ACCORD, August 30, 2022, <https://www.accord.org.za/publication/remembering-the-ogaden-war-45-years-later/>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

<sup>63</sup> “Buried in the Sands of the Ogaden: Lessons from an Obscure Cold War Flashpoint in Africa.” War on the Rocks, September 6, 2019, <https://warontherocks.com/2019/09/buried-in-the-sands-of-the-ogaden-lessons-from-an-obscure-cold-war-flashpoint-in-africa>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

<sup>64</sup> “Buried in the Sands of the Ogaden: Lessons from an Obscure Cold War Flashpoint in Africa.”

<sup>65</sup> “Buried in the Sands of the Ogaden: Lessons from an Obscure Cold War Flashpoint in Africa.”

<sup>66</sup> Janzen, J. H.A. and Lewis, Ioan M. "Somalia," Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Somalia>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

<sup>67</sup> Lewis, I. M. “The Ogaden and the Fragility of Somali Segmentary Nationalism,” *African Affairs* 88, no. 353 (1989): 573–79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/723037>, (accessed July 11, 2024).

<sup>68</sup> Lewis, I. M. “The Ogaden and the Fragility of Somali Segmentary Nationalism.”

<sup>69</sup> “Somalia: Fall of Siad Barre and the civil war,” *World Peace Foundation*, August 7, 2015, <https://sites.tufts.edu/atrocityendings/2015/08/07/somalia-fall-of-siad-barre-civil-war/>, (accessed April 8, 2024).

<sup>70</sup> “Somalia: Fall of Siad Barre and the civil war,” *World Peace Foundation*.

<sup>71</sup> “Somalia: Fall of Siad Barre and the civil war,” *World Peace Foundation*.

<sup>72</sup> Mariel Ferragamo and Claire Klobucista, “Somaliland: The Horn of Africa’s Breakaway State,” *Council on Foreign Relations*, January 25, 2024, <https://www.cfr.org/background/somaliland-horn-africas-breakaway-state>, (accessed April 8, 2024).

<sup>73</sup> “Somalia: Fall of Siad Barre and the civil war,” *World Peace Foundation*

<sup>74</sup> Janzen, J. H.A. and Lewis, Ioan M. "Somalia."

<sup>75</sup> Abdisalam M. Issa-Salwe, “The Collapse of the Somali State: The Impact of the Colonial Legacy,” <https://arcadia.sba.uniroma3.it/bitstream/2307/5265/1/>, (accessed May 4, 2024).

<sup>76</sup> “Somalia: Fall of Siad Barre and the civil war,” *World Peace Foundation*

<sup>77</sup> “Somalia: Fall of Siad Barre and the civil war,” *World Peace Foundation*

governmental framework supporting the MMCs, nor were any associated personnel acquainted with legal procedures.<sup>78</sup> As a result, human rights were widely disregarded and the MMCs were known for unjust sentencing.<sup>79</sup>

In an attempt to restore diplomatic ties, strengthen central governments, and stimulate economic growth, the Ethiopian and Somali governments signed a peace accord in 1988.<sup>80</sup> This accord significantly eased the strain between both governments and demilitarized the border, but it failed to address the Ogaden region and issue of the displaced individuals within the region itself.<sup>81</sup> This left Somali civilians and clans to view this accord as completely ineffective again increasing tension and distrust between both parties.<sup>82</sup>

### ***Recent Developments***

The Somali Civil War began in May 1988 after two attacks on the Somali cities by the SNM.<sup>83</sup> These events were triggered upon the SNM hearing anonymous threats of expulsion from their base of operations in Ethiopia post-peace accord.<sup>84</sup> Members of the SNM dispersed among different regions in Somalia, leading the Barre government to blindly target and attack Isaaq civilians believed to be helping the SNM.<sup>85</sup> Barre blamed the entire Isaaq clan for the attack as many members of the SNM were Isaaq, punishing the clan to discourage any future opposition against the government.<sup>86</sup> The Somali Army turned to looting to identify members of the SNM, resulting in countless casualties and excessive use of force in uninvolved communities.<sup>87</sup> The Somali Army utilized artillery in residential areas to substantial casualties.<sup>88</sup> As of January 1990 over 400,000 refugees have fled to Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda, where they face inhumane conditions in overcrowded camps.<sup>89</sup> In May 1990, 114 clan leaders issued the Mogadishu Manifesto, condemning the actions of the Barre regime and increasing tensions within the Member States.<sup>90</sup> This manifesto called for Barre to relinquish power before instability causes state collapse.<sup>91</sup>

The situation within Somalia has reached an all-time high in tension, instability, and threats to human rights. Delegates should consider what, if any, course of action to pursue considering allegations of attacks within residential areas and attacks against innocent civilians by the Barre government. The conflict has evolved into a regional and national issue, not just one between feuding clans. Delegates need to take account of how the surrounding Member States are handling the humanitarian issues with the influx of refugees. Somalia is currently in a fragile state economically, militarily, socially, and politically due to the instability within the current regime. Delegates should consider all these scenarios when deciding how to best assist in this current issue.

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<sup>78</sup> “Somalia: Information on the military court of Hargeisa (activities 1979-1980, 1987-1988),” Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 1 August 1991, SOM9177, <https://www.refworld.org/docid/3ae6abff20.html>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

<sup>79</sup> “Somalia: Information on the military court of Hargeisa (activities 1979-1980, 1987-1988),” Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada,

<sup>80</sup> Fascell, Dante, “SOMALIA Observations Regarding the Northern Conflict and Resulting Conditions (B-225870),” United States General Accounting Office, National Security and International Affairs Division, May 1989, <https://www.gao.gov/assets/nsiad-89-159.pdf>.

<sup>81</sup> Fascell, Dante, “SOMALIA Observations Regarding the Northern Conflict and Resulting Conditions (B-225870).”

<sup>82</sup> Fascell, Dante, “SOMALIA Observations Regarding the Northern Conflict and Resulting Conditions (B-225870).”

<sup>83</sup> Fascell, Dante, “SOMALIA Observations Regarding the Northern Conflict and Resulting Conditions (B-225870).”

<sup>84</sup> “Somalia: Fall of Siad Barre and the civil war,” *World Peace Foundation*, August 7, 2015, <https://sites.tufts.edu/atrocityendings/2015/08/07/somalia-fall-of-siad-barre-civil-war/>, (accessed April 8, 2024).

<sup>85</sup> “Somalia: Fall of Siad Barre and the civil war,” *World Peace Foundation*.

<sup>86</sup> “Somalia: Civil War, Intervention and Withdrawal 1990 – 1995,” *Refworld*, July 1, 1995, <https://www.refworld.org/reference/countryrep/writenet/1995/en/54273>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

<sup>87</sup> “Somalia: Civil War, Intervention and Withdrawal 1990 – 1995,” *Refworld*.

<sup>88</sup> Gilkes, Patrick, “Somalia: Conflicts within and against the Military Regime,” *Review of African Political Economy*, no. 44 (1989): 53–58, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4005835>, (accessed May 2, 2024).

<sup>89</sup> “Somalia: Civil War, Intervention and Withdrawal 1990 – 1995,” *Refworld*.

<sup>90</sup> Gilkes, Patrick, “Somalia: Conflict withing and against the Military Regime.”

<sup>91</sup> Ingiriis, Mohamed Haji, “The making of the 1990 manifesto: Somalia’s Last Chance for State survival,” [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262097843\\_The\\_Making\\_of\\_the\\_1990\\_Manifesto\\_Somalia’s\\_Last\\_Chance\\_for\\_State\\_Survival](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262097843_The_Making_of_the_1990_Manifesto_Somalia’s_Last_Chance_for_State_Survival), (accessed June 18, 2024)



## II. International Security Implications of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

### *Introduction*

Following the end of World War I, Vladimir Lenin and other members of the Russian Communist party began laying the foundations for a union to further expand the socialist ideologically.<sup>92</sup> The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR, or Soviet Union) was the world's first communist state, formally established in 1922.<sup>93</sup> While pursuing a unified socialist political and economic agenda, the USSR also allowed the individual Soviet Republics to maintain their traditions and culture.<sup>94</sup> In 1924, Joseph Stalin rose to power, developing the Soviet Union to become more dominant within the international system.<sup>95</sup> Stalin consolidated power within the regime, increasing control over state institutions and the Communist party.<sup>96</sup> Within two decades of its inception, the Soviet Union was considered the world's biggest state, continuing to expand its size and influence.<sup>97</sup> Following World War II, the USSR expanded its military capacity to include nuclear capabilities, which elevated the Soviet Union above many other world powers.<sup>98</sup> By the 1950s, the Soviet Union was a global superpower, leading to the rise of the Cold War as the USSR faced off against the other superpower, the United States of America.<sup>99</sup> In 1985, USSR General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev implemented economic and political measures to encourage more civic participation within the USSR.<sup>100</sup> However, these measures led to increased nationalism within different ethnic groups across Soviet Union Member States in Central and Eastern Europe, creating new challenges for the USSR.<sup>101</sup>

### *Soviet Influence on the International Community*

Prior to World War II, the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany came together to sign the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of 1939, also known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, which divided Central and Eastern Europe influence between the two regimes.<sup>102</sup> The pact effectively divided off the eastern territory in Poland to the Soviets, leaving everything west to the Germans.<sup>103</sup> This agreement led to the absorption of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania by the Soviet Union without formal agreements from the populations of these states.<sup>104</sup> However, Nazi Germany invaded Poland just a month after the signing of the pact, inciting World War II.<sup>105</sup>

Following victory in World War II, the Soviet Union increased its influence globally, most notably within Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>106</sup> The Soviet Union's influence in Europe culminated in the formation of the Iron Curtain: a "political, military, and ideological barrier" that separated the Western powers from the states that were controlled or influenced by the Soviet Union.<sup>107</sup> Among the Member States separated from the West by the Iron Curtain were East Germany and Czechoslovakia, notable instances of Soviet control over state functions.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Patrick H. O'Neil, "Russia" in *Essentials of Comparative Politics: With Cases*, vol. 7, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2020), 438-485.

<sup>93</sup> Patrick H. O'Neil, "Russia" in *Essentials of Comparative Politics: With Cases*.

<sup>94</sup> Jonathan Davis, "The Birth of the Soviet Union and the Death of the Russian Revolution," *JSTOR*, publication December 21, 2022, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://daily.jstor.org/the-birth-of-the-soviet-union-and-the-death-of-the-russian-revolution/>.

<sup>95</sup> Patrick H. O'Neil, "Russia" in *Essentials of Comparative Politics: With Cases*.

<sup>96</sup> Patrick H. O'Neil, "Russia" in *Essentials of Comparative Politics: With Cases*.

<sup>97</sup> Jonathan Davis, "The Birth of the Soviet Union and the Death of the Russian Revolution."

<sup>98</sup> Patrick H. O'Neil, "Russia" in *Essentials of Comparative Politics: With Cases*.

<sup>99</sup> Patrick H. O'Neil, "Russia" in *Essentials of Comparative Politics: With Cases*.

<sup>100</sup> Patrick H. O'Neil, "Russia" in *Essentials of Comparative Politics: With Cases*.

<sup>101</sup> Patrick H. O'Neil, "Russia" in *Essentials of Comparative Politics: With Cases*.

<sup>102</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact," *Britannica*, March 5, 2024, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/event/German-Soviet-Nonaggression-Pact>.

<sup>103</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact."

<sup>104</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact."

<sup>105</sup> The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact."

<sup>106</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Iron Curtain," *Britannica*, accessed May 10, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Iron-Curtain>.

<sup>107</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Iron Curtain."

<sup>108</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Iron Curtain."

Following its defeat, Germany was divided into occupied zones the four Allied powers: the United States (US), France, and Britain would be located in West Germany, and the Soviet Union would be occupying the East.<sup>109</sup> The capital Berlin was also split between the four powers, establishing the Cold War military and political environment.<sup>110</sup> By the 1960s, discontent within East Germany grew, with over 200,000 East Germans leaving the bloc in favor of West Germany in 1960 alone.<sup>111</sup> To combat East German emigration, Soviet officials and the East German Government constructed barbed wire barriers, which soon turned into cement barriers, across the border between the two Berlins: the Berlin Wall.<sup>112</sup> Further unrest in Czechoslovakia led to the Soviet Union invading in 1968 to combat the “Prague Spring” reform movement.<sup>113</sup> During the Prague Spring, the Communist party of Czechoslovakia implemented a lenient version of socialism.<sup>114</sup> In opposition, Soviet forces seized officials of the Czech Communist Party officials before assuming control of the Member State, returning it to a Communist satellite state.<sup>115</sup> During this time under Soviet control, Czechoslovakia was partitioned into sections based on the two main ethnic groups: the Czechs and the Slovaks.<sup>116</sup>

Internationally, the Soviet Union’s support for communist forces extended to Asia, with the Soviet involvement in the Vietnam War in 1955.<sup>117</sup> The Soviets were main suppliers of military aid to communist Northern Vietnam in the form of weapons, missiles, petroleum, and other commodities.<sup>118</sup> Soviet military aid also expanded to Cuba as Fidel Castro moved the country towards socialism.<sup>119</sup> As the USSR offered economic and military support to Cuba, Soviets also placed nuclear missile bases within Cuban territory.<sup>120</sup> This military escalation nearly started an international conflict between the USSR and the US, referred to as the Cuban Missile Crisis.<sup>121</sup> The Crisis deescalated once the US withdrew its naval blockade around Cuba, and the USSR removed its nuclear weapons from Cuban territory.<sup>122</sup> In late 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to support the pro-communist government.<sup>123</sup> During the height of the conflict, over 100,000 Soviet troops were present within Afghanistan.<sup>124</sup> The USSR’s invasion opened Soviet influence into the Middle East, allowing socialist ideology to continue spreading globally.<sup>125</sup>

### ***1989 Revolutions and the Collapse of the Berlin Wall***

Dissent for the Communist rule remained prevalent through the 1970s and 1980s; however, opposition was often suppressed by the Soviet Union.<sup>126</sup> For example, in 1980, the independent labor movement Solidarity political party in Poland turned political after Soviet forces pushed the movement underground.<sup>127</sup> As such, anti-Soviet Poland movements started the 1989 Revolutions, as civil unrest brought roundtable talks between the communist

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<sup>109</sup> David Morris, “The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall,” *Library of Congress Blogs*, November 1, 2019, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://blogs.loc.gov/international-collections/2019/11/the-rise-and-fall-of-the-berlin-wall/>.

<sup>110</sup> David Morris, “The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall.”

<sup>111</sup> David Morris, “The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall.”

<sup>112</sup> David Morris, “The Rise and Fall of the Berlin Wall.”

<sup>113</sup> John F. N. Bradley, Milan Hauner, & Z.A.B. Zeman, “Prague Spring: Czechoslovak history,” *Britannica*, April 5, 2024, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Prague-Spring>

<sup>114</sup> John F. N. Bradley, Milan Hauner, & Z.A.B. Zeman, “Prague Spring: Czechoslovak history.”

<sup>115</sup> John F. N. Bradley, Milan Hauner, & Z.A.B. Zeman, “Prague Spring: Czechoslovak history.”

<sup>116</sup> John F. N. Bradley, Milan Hauner, & Z.A.B. Zeman, “Prague Spring: Czechoslovak history.”

<sup>117</sup> BBC, “The Vietnam War-CCEA,” *BBC*, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/articles/zn4cqyc-zx686rd>.

<sup>118</sup> BBC, “The Vietnam War-CCEA,”

<sup>119</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, “National evolution and Soviet influence,” *Britannica*, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Cuba/National-evolution-and-Soviet-influence>.

<sup>120</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, “National evolution and Soviet influence.”

<sup>121</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, “National evolution and Soviet influence.”

<sup>122</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, “National evolution and Soviet influence.”

<sup>123</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Soviet invasion of Afghanistan: 1979,” *Britannica*, March 3, 2024, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Soviet-invasion-of-Afghanistan>.

<sup>124</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Soviet invasion of Afghanistan: 1979.”

<sup>125</sup> The Editors at Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Soviet invasion of Afghanistan: 1979.”

<sup>126</sup> Center for European Studies, “Solidarity and Other Political Movements Of 1989,” *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://europe.unc.edu/iron-curtain/history/the-fall-of-the-soviet-union/solidarity-and-other-political-movements-of-1989/>.

<sup>127</sup> Center For European Studies, “Solidarity and Other Political Movements Of 1989.”

government and the Solidarity party.<sup>128</sup> Talks concluded in the legalization of “independent trade unions, created the office of the Presidency (abolishing the power of the general secretary of the Communist Party), and established a Senate.”<sup>129</sup> Seats in Poland’s parliament were set aside for the Communist Party and parties with similar ideologies; however during the first election for the Senate, the seats of communist parties were taken by sleeper parties which flipped ideologies once elected to the Senate, nullifying communist influence.<sup>130</sup> Other Soviet satellite states repeated the same political transition process.<sup>131</sup> In Hungary, fractions of the Hungarian Communist Party split off and formed the Hungarian Socialist Party, leading to move liberal policies.<sup>132</sup> These liberalizing measures opened the border between Hungary and Austria, the first Eastern European Member State to break the Iron Curtain.<sup>133</sup>

Most notably, in October 1989, East Germany experienced mass civilian protests, with over 70,000 people supporting German unification and democracy.<sup>134</sup> The East German Government and USSR did not push back against these protests, shocking the international community due to the repressive history the Soviets had towards protests.<sup>135</sup> On November 8, 1989, as a result of civilian protests, the Berlin Wall officially came down.<sup>136</sup> The East German Government hosted a press conference announcing free travel for East Germans to leave towards other states but did not clarify if travel permits would be needed.<sup>137</sup> Although the government intended to implement permits the next morning, East German citizens rushed to the Berlin wall assuming they were suddenly granted free travel outside the state.<sup>138</sup> Masses of people flocked to the wall, where guards were overrun and gave orders to open the wall, thus crumbling the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain.<sup>139</sup> Less than eight days after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, hundreds of thousands of Czechs and Slovaks flooded the streets of Prague to protest the communist government.<sup>140</sup> By November 28, 1989, the Communist Party announced it would step down and leave Czechoslovakia.<sup>141</sup>

However, not all revolutions were nonviolent, most notably in Romania.<sup>142</sup> Romanians grew discontent with the communist regime’s oppressive measures which increased the export of food, causing wide-spread starvation, along with cutting of electricity and heat during the winters.<sup>143</sup> Additionally, the Romanian communist regime built the extravagant Palace of the People, or the Palace of Parliament, during this time of food and electricity scarcity, angering the Romanian population.<sup>144</sup> Romanians flooded to the streets to protest the communist regime.<sup>145</sup> As the Communist Party ordered the military to attack protestors, the armed forces took the side of the revolutionaries.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>128</sup> Center For European Studies, “Solidarity and Other Political Movements Of 1989,” *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://europe.unc.edu/iron-curtain/history/the-fall-of-the-soviet-union/solidarity-and-other-political-movements-of-1989/>.

<sup>129</sup> Center For European Studies, “Solidarity and Other Political Movements Of 1989.”

<sup>130</sup> Center For European Studies, “Solidarity and Other Political Movements Of 1989.”

<sup>131</sup> Center For European Studies, “Solidarity and Other Political Movements Of 1989.”

<sup>132</sup> Center For European Studies, “Solidarity and Other Political Movements Of 1989.”

<sup>133</sup> Center For European Studies, “Solidarity and Other Political Movements Of 1989.”

<sup>134</sup> Mara Bierbach, “The peaceful protest that brought down East Germany,” *Deutsche Welle News*, September 10, 2019, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.dw.com/en/how-east-germans-peacefully-brought-the-gdr-regime-down/a-50743302>.

<sup>135</sup> Mara Bierbach, “The peaceful protest that brought down East Germany.”

<sup>136</sup> BBC, “Fall of Berlin Wall: How 1989 reshaped the modern world,” *BBC*, November 4, 2019, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-50013048>.

<sup>137</sup> BBC, “Fall of Berlin Wall: How 1989 reshaped the modern world.”

<sup>138</sup> BBC, “Fall of Berlin Wall: How 1989 reshaped the modern world.”

<sup>139</sup> BBC, “Fall of Berlin Wall: How 1989 reshaped the modern world.”

<sup>140</sup> Andy Kopsa, “Czechoslovakia’s Velvet Revolution Started 30 Years Ago—But It Was Decades in the Making,” *Time*, November 16, 2019, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://time.com/5730106/velvet-revolution-history/>.

<sup>141</sup> Andy Kopsa, “Czechoslovakia’s Velvet Revolution Started 30 Years Ago—But It Was Decades in the Making,”

<sup>142</sup> Michelle Kelso, “Romania” in *Central and East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*, ed. Zsuzsa Csörgő, nth ed., vol. 5, (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2021), 257-276.

<sup>143</sup> Michelle Kelso, “Romania” in *Central and East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*.

<sup>144</sup> Michelle Kelso, “Romania” in *Central and East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*.

<sup>145</sup> Michelle Kelso, “Romania” in *Central and East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*.

<sup>146</sup> Michelle Kelso, “Romania” in *Central and East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*.

Communist leaders were soon captured after an attempted flee.<sup>147</sup> These leaders were tried for the crimes of the communist regime, found guilty on charges of genocide by the Romanians, and executed.<sup>148</sup>

### *Recent Developments*

After more than eight years in Afghanistan, the Soviet Union has now begun the process of formal withdrawal starting in 1988 till 1989.<sup>149</sup> Per General Secretary Gorbachev, as the Soviets had yet to establish a clear and dominating force within the region, continued Soviet involvement is a burden on the Soviet economy.<sup>150</sup> While the withdrawal is currently supported both domestically and internationally, Afghan rebel groups have attacked Soviet troops during their departure, showcasing the continued resentment from groups against the Soviet backed government.<sup>151</sup> This leads to even greater instability within the state institutions and its ethnic groups as more ethno-conflicts arise.<sup>152</sup>

As political influence continues to decline, the Soviet Union has started decreasing its military influence and control within its satellite states.<sup>153</sup> The USSR created the Congress of the People's Deputies of the Soviet Union, reducing the Communist Party's domestic political control and establishing a nationwide election.<sup>154</sup> In February 1990, Article 6 of the Soviet Constitution was abolished, ending the political domination of the Communist Party the Soviet Union by removing the Communist Party as the leading party within the communist system.<sup>155</sup> In repealing Article 6, the Soviet Republics held parliamentary elections, where the Communist Party ended up losing political control within all its republics.<sup>156</sup>

As the Communist party is losing influence in these new elections, Soviet republics have begun declaring independence from the USSR at an alarming rate.<sup>157</sup> The United Nations has yet to discuss the events that have taken place within the USSR, which has potential to be a defining historical movement.<sup>158</sup> Currently, the United Nations General Assembly Plenary and the Security Council—where the Soviet Union is a permanent member and holds veto power—have not released statements nor passed resolutions regarding the seeming dissolution of the USSR.<sup>159</sup>

The situation within the USSR has been escalating rapidly as Member States have begun declaring independence. The USSR is in an unstable predicament where its rapidly losing control militarily, economically, and politically, which is now posing a serious threat to the stability of the international system, including the United Nations. Provocation of Soviet troops by Afghan attacks may cause the Soviets to cancel the withdrawal and more resources being channeled for a Soviet response to the actions by the Afghan rebels. Pulling more resources for this involvement could also lead to a potential rise in protests in the Soviet Republics and result in further international involvement from other Member States to minimize the potential impacts of another full-blown conflict. Delegates should consider the potential international security implications as more states leave the Soviet Union, including potential humanitarian concerns of migration, and national and ethnic divides. This is tied to regional stability, as the Soviet Union spans vast territory and encompasses three geographic regions: Eastern Europe, the Caucuses, and Central Asia. Among the biggest security concerns are Soviet nuclear weapons and their potential proliferation within and beyond the Soviet Union. Due to the collapse of communist satellite states, delegates should focus on

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<sup>147</sup> Michelle Kelso, "Romania" in *Central and East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*.

<sup>148</sup> Michelle Kelso, "Romania" in *Central and East European Politics: Changes and Challenges*.

<sup>149</sup> History.com Editors, "Soviets begin withdrawal from Afghanistan," *History*, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/soviets-begin-withdrawal-from-afghanistan>.

<sup>150</sup> History.com Editors, "Soviets begin withdrawal from Afghanistan."

<sup>151</sup> Barnett R. Rubin, "Afghanistan: The Last Cold-War Conflict, the First Post-Cold-War Conflict," *War, Hunger, and Displacement: Volume 2 2* (October 19, 2000): 23–52, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198297406.003.0002>.

<sup>152</sup> Barnett R. Rubin, "Afghanistan: The Last Cold-War Conflict, the First Post-Cold-War Conflict"

<sup>153</sup> Kristyna Foltynova, "The Undoing of the U.S.S.R.: How it Happened," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, October 1, 2021, accessed April 7, 2024, <https://www.rferl.org/a/soviet-union-collapse-timeline/31487661.html>.

<sup>154</sup> Kristyna Foltynova, "The Undoing of the U.S.S.R.: How it Happened."

<sup>155</sup> Kristyna Foltynova, "The Undoing of the U.S.S.R.: How it Happened."

<sup>156</sup> Kristyna Foltynova, "The Undoing of the U.S.S.R.: How it Happened."

<sup>157</sup> Kristyna Foltynova, "The Undoing of the U.S.S.R.: How it Happened."

<sup>158</sup> Yehuda Z., Blum, "Russia Takes Over the Soviet Union's Seat at the United Nations," *European Journal of International Law*, (1992): 354-361, accessed May 10, 2024, <http://www.ejil.org/pdfs/3/2/2045.pdf>.

<sup>159</sup> Yehuda Z., Blum, "Russia Takes Over the Soviet Union's Seat at the United Nations."

what might occur internationally if the Soviet Union itself were to potentially lose more of its republics. Member States should also consider the fact that the USSR is a P5 member on the United Nations Security Council, and what its instability and potential disillusion might mean for not only this seat, but the Security Council and international community at large.

### III. The Situation in Iraq and Kuwait

#### *Introduction*

Situated in the southwestern region of Asia, Iraq became internationally recognized in 1920 under British mandate as a Kingdom.<sup>160</sup> However, Iraqi political parties terminated the British mandate in 1932, leading Iraq to become fully independent as the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq.<sup>161</sup> Iraq was the first Arab state to gain membership and independence to the League of Nations under the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty.<sup>162</sup> Though no longer formally operating under British mandate, Iraq was heavily influenced by Western powers.<sup>163</sup> Iraqi civilians increasingly resented the Hashemite regime, believing foreign influences were prioritized over essential domestic social reforms.<sup>164</sup> Rising nationalism led civilian militia groups to revolt against the Hashemite government.<sup>165</sup> In 1958, the Iraqi Free Officers, a group of former army officers established a secret organization, staged a successful coup d'état against the Hashemite Monarchy.<sup>166</sup> In 1968, the Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party assumed central leadership over the Iraqi government.<sup>167</sup>

The southernmost neighbor of Iraq, Kuwait began as an autonomous sheikhdom in 1756.<sup>168</sup> Situated at the head of the Persian Gulf, Kuwait's strategic geographic location allowed for a prominent role in international trade between neighboring states.<sup>169</sup> Along with the discovery of oil in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and pressure from the Ottoman Empire to annex the region, Kuwait was a fully independent Arab State under British protection from 1920 to 1961.<sup>170</sup> Despite British involvement, Kuwait was not declared a formal protectorate due to its importance to the British Empire as a target from neighboring states.<sup>171</sup> The United Kingdom relied on future diplomatic Kuwaiti ties with Iraq to increase its importance in the region.<sup>172</sup> Instead of formal control, the United Kingdom opted for informal influence, providing military protection and diplomatic support to safeguard its interests in the region.<sup>173</sup> This calculated arrangement allowed Kuwait to maintain autonomy while benefiting from British assistance in maintaining security and stability.<sup>174</sup> On June 19, 1961, Kuwait became fully independent.<sup>175</sup>

#### *Iraq-Kuwait Relations*

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<sup>160</sup> "Iraq – Geography and Travel," *Britannica*, last modified April 1, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/place/Iraq>, (Accessed April 8, 2024).

<sup>161</sup> "Iraq – Geography and Travel," *Britannica*.

<sup>162</sup> "Anglo-Iraq Military Treaty," *Advocate of Peace through Justice* 88, no. 4 (1926): 214–16, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20661229>, (Accessed May 4, 2024).

<sup>163</sup> Sorby, Karol, "The free officers' movement and the 1958 Revolution in Iraq," *Institute of Oriental Studies*, Slovak Academy of Science, 2005. [https://www.sav.sk/journals/uploads/031212133\\_Sorby.pdf](https://www.sav.sk/journals/uploads/031212133_Sorby.pdf).

<sup>164</sup> Mullen, Thomas W., "The Military In Iraq," *Journal of Third World Studies* 5, no. 1 (1988): 102–12. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45192994>.

<sup>165</sup> Sorby, Karol, "The free officer's movement and the 1958 Revolution in Iraq."

<sup>166</sup> Thomas W. Mullen, "The Military In Iraq."

<sup>167</sup> "Iraq Profile – timeline," *British Broadcasting System*, October 3, 2018, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-14546763>.

<sup>168</sup> Crystal, Jill Ann, "History of Kuwait," *Britannica*, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/history-of-Kuwait>, (Accessed May 4, 2024).

<sup>169</sup> Crystal, Jill Ann, "History of Kuwait."

<sup>170</sup> Andrew B. Loewenstein, "'The Veiled Protectorate of Kuwait': Liberalized Imperialism and British Efforts to Influence Kuwaiti Domestic Policy during the Reign of Sheikh Ahmad al-Jaber 1938-50," *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, no. 2 (2000): 103–23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4284073>, (Accessed May 4, 2024).

<sup>171</sup> Andrew B. Loewenstein, "'The Veiled Protectorate of Kuwait'"

<sup>172</sup> Andrew B. Loewenstein, "'The Veiled Protectorate of Kuwait'"

<sup>173</sup> Andrew B. Loewenstein, "'The Veiled Protectorate of Kuwait'"

<sup>174</sup> Andrew B. Loewenstein, "'The Veiled Protectorate of Kuwait'"

<sup>175</sup> "A Guide to the United States' History of Recognition, Diplomatic, and Consular Relations, by Country, since 1776: Kuwait," Office of the Historian, United States Department of State, <https://history.state.gov/countries/kuwait>, (Accessed May 4, 2024).

Formal establishment of the borders between Iraq and Kuwait occurred in 1932, following Iraq's acknowledgment of the 1923 Kuwait land border letter.<sup>176</sup> Acknowledgment solidified boundaries and provided greater clarity and stability in the relationship between Iraq and Kuwait.<sup>177</sup> This agreement was reinforced in 1932 through the Iraq-Kuwait Convention on Boundaries of 1932, outlining the northern Kuwaiti border, with increased border security under British rule.<sup>178</sup> In 1938, oil was first discovered in Kuwait, a primary motivation for British presence in both Iraq and Kuwait.<sup>179</sup> While maintaining influence over both Iraq and Kuwait, the United Kingdom sought to foster diplomatic relations between the two states, even after Kuwaiti independence due to their connections with oil.<sup>180</sup> The United Kingdom extended offers of assistance to Kuwait, standing ready to intervene diplomatically if needed, to safeguard Kuwait's interests.<sup>181</sup> The UK's continued support of Kuwait, in spite of Iraq, was due to Iraq's claim of ownership over Kuwait, which the UK saw as a problem not only due to their regional interests but also regional stability.<sup>182</sup> This approach aimed to balance the United Kingdom's strategic interests in the region with its support for Kuwait's autonomy, facilitating stability and cooperation between the neighboring states.<sup>183</sup>

By June 1961, shortly after declaring independence, Kuwait emerged as the single largest Middle Eastern oil-producing state, significantly bolstering Kuwait's economy through this substantial revenue stream.<sup>184</sup> Following independence, domestic oil production accounted for around 3,000,000 Kuwaiti Dinars (KWD), or around 1,000,000 United States Dollars (USD), annually in exchange for goods and services to the state.<sup>185</sup> Iraq made multiple advances to maintain control of most oil production sites that lie along the shared borders.<sup>186</sup> Due to the increasing number of Iraqi advances, many frameworks were established in an attempt to maintain sovereignty of both Member States and ensure proper ownership of these oil sites.<sup>187</sup> From 1961 to 1963, Iraq made territorial claims over Kuwait.<sup>188</sup> The first claim made in 1961 publicly challenged Kuwait's independence and claimed Iraqi sovereignty over the "infant government."<sup>189</sup> As a result, British and Saudi Arabian forces began assembling in Kuwait, preparing for possible Iraqi attacks.<sup>190</sup> Upon seeing international defense posturing in Kuwait, Iraq agreed to not advance with weapons and did not further explore invasion.<sup>191</sup> However, Iraq continued further attempts to exercise control over Kuwait.<sup>192</sup> In the 1970s, Iraq proposed a plan to construct an oil terminal along the Kuwaiti coast in the Persian Gulf.<sup>193</sup> Ultimately, Kuwait turned down this proposal, yet Iraq proceeded in 1973 with the plan.<sup>194</sup> This encroachment led to the increasing distrust of Iraq throughout Kuwait and the international community.<sup>195</sup>

### ***Iraq-Iran War (1980-1988)***

<sup>176</sup> Gourraud, Pierre-Alexandre. "Chronicle of Border Conflicts between Iraq and Kuwait since the Early 20th Century." cfri, 2024. <https://cfri-irak.com/en/article/chronicle-of-border-conflicts-between-iraq-and-kuwait-since-the-early-20th-century-2024-02-02>.

<sup>177</sup> Gourraud, Pierre-Alexandre. "Chronicle of Border Conflicts between Iraq and Kuwait since the Early 20th Century."

<sup>178</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait," *India International Centre Quarterly* 18, no. 1 (1991): 129–43. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/23002125>, (Accessed April 3, 2024).

<sup>179</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>180</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>181</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>182</sup> Hasan, S. Shamir. 1995. "Britain and the Iraq-Kuwait Dispute." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 56: 881–88. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44158750>.

<sup>183</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>184</sup> Anthony H. Cordesman, Max Markusen, and Eric P. Jones, "Kuwait," *Stability and Instability in the Gulf Region in 2016: A Strategic Net Assessment*, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), 2016, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep23340.8>.

<sup>185</sup> Anthony H. Cordesman, Max Markusen, and Eric P. Jones, "Kuwait,"

<sup>186</sup> "The Gulf Crisis and Japan's foreign Policy," *Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan*, 1991, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/1991/1991-2-1.htm>, (Accessed April 8, 2024).

<sup>187</sup> Andrew B. Loewenstein, "'The Veiled Protectorate of Kuwait': Liberalized Imperialism and British Efforts to Influence Kuwaiti Domestic Policy during the Reign of Sheikh Ahmad al-Jaber, 1938-50." *Middle Eastern Studies* 36, no. 2 (2000): 103–23. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4284073>, (Accessed May 4, 2024).

<sup>188</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>189</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>190</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>191</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>192</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>193</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>194</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

<sup>195</sup> A. H. H. Abidi, "Origins and Dimensions of the Iraqi Claim Over Kuwait."

Much like Kuwait, Iran has also dealt with border disputes with Iraq, most notably over the last 50-mile stretch Shatt al-Arab waterway.<sup>196</sup> For Iran, access to the Shatt al-Arab River is vital for trade of crude oil.<sup>197</sup> While for Iraq, the Shatt al-Arab River remains the only access point to the Persian Gulf, thus remaining an increasingly important strategic location.<sup>198</sup> Disputes around this waterway continued until the 1937 Treaty of Saadabad, which gave Iraq more control over the river, whereas Iran was only granted little territorial control.<sup>199</sup> Despite the agreed-upon treaty, Iraq continued to not recognize Iran's territorial claims to the river.<sup>200</sup> Iran grew increasingly frustrated by this division of control and disregard of sovereign claims, as Iranian ships were required to pay dues to the Iraqi government to access the Persian Gulf.<sup>201</sup> Iran started to amass military tanks within the region to defend its sovereignty claims, leading to Iraqi withdraw due to unmatched military capabilities.<sup>202</sup> In 1975, the Iran and Iraq signed the Algiers Agreement to resolve the border disputes; however the Agreement was motivated by Iranian support for the Kurdish revolt within northern Iraq.<sup>203</sup> Iraq had to abandon their claims to the entire Shatt al-Arab waterway for Iran to stop supporting the Kurds.<sup>204</sup> When Saddam Hussein was elected President of Iraq in 1979, Hussein sought to adjust the Iraqi position by revoking support to the Algiers Agreement.<sup>205</sup>

Iraq invaded Iran through the city of Khūzestān in September 1980.<sup>206</sup> Iraq captured the city of Khorramshahr, as both Iraq and Iran attacked each other's oil tankers and infrastructure for oil production.<sup>207</sup> Both Member States saw major destruction to their oil supplies and production infrastructure, severely limiting exporting capabilities.<sup>208</sup> To finance the war, Iraq received loans from Kuwait, along with the United States, Saudi Arabia, and the Soviet Union.<sup>209</sup> Kuwait viewed the Iranian regime as a threat to domestic and regional stability, seeing the Iranian regime as an expansionist threat within the region.<sup>210</sup> Kuwait lent money to Iraq as a buffer zone preventing Iran from further expanding and becoming a bigger threat to the Kuwaiti agenda.<sup>211</sup> Kuwait also believed this loan would help shift Iraqi views of the ownership of the oil fields bordering Kuwait and Iraq, and lead to recognition of Kuwait's sovereign claims.<sup>212</sup> The US lent money to Iraq to help promote American foreign policy of Middle East stability, while the USSR loaned money through their previous military sales.<sup>213</sup>

In July 1987, the United Nations Security Council passed S/RES/0598, calling for the immediate ceasefire between Iran and Iraq.<sup>214</sup> Iran did not accept the resolution, as Iraq was not named the aggressor of the conflict.<sup>215</sup> With tensions further escalating, the Iranian government partnered with the Iraqi Kurds in northern Iraq, who sought to

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<sup>196</sup> Will D. Swearingen, "The Geopolitical Origins of the Iran-Iraq War," *JSTOR* volume 78, no. 4 (October, 1988): 405-416, <https://doi.org/10.2307/215091>.

<sup>197</sup> Alexander Melamid, "The Shatt al-'Arab Boundary Dispute" *JSTOR* volume 22, no. 3 (1968): 350-357, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4324304>.

<sup>198</sup> Alexander Melamid, "The Shatt al-'Arab Boundary Dispute."

<sup>199</sup> Alexander Melamid, "The Shatt al-'Arab Boundary Dispute."

<sup>200</sup> Alexander Melamid, "The Shatt al-'Arab Boundary Dispute."

<sup>201</sup> Alexander Melamid, "The Shatt al-'Arab Boundary Dispute."

<sup>202</sup> Alexander Melamid, "The Shatt al-'Arab Boundary Dispute."

<sup>203</sup> Will D. Swearingen, "The Geopolitical Origins of the Iran-Iraq War," *JSTOR* volume 78, no. 4 (October, 1988): 405-416, <https://doi.org/10.2307/215091>.

<sup>204</sup> Will D. Swearingen, "The Geopolitical Origins of the Iran-Iraq War."

<sup>205</sup> Will D. Swearingen, "The Geopolitical Origins of the Iran-Iraq War."

<sup>206</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Iran-Iraq War," *Britannica*, March 10, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Iran-Iraq-War>, (accessed April 7, 2024).

<sup>207</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Iran-Iraq War."

<sup>208</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War," *Social Science Docket* volume 10, no. 1 (2010): 58-59, <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,shib&db=pwh&AN=47660947&site=eds-live&scope=site&custid=ns235470>.

<sup>209</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>210</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>211</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>212</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>213</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>214</sup> United Nations Security Council resolution 598, *Iraq-Islamic Republic of Iran*, S/RES/0598, (July 20, 1987), <https://peacemaker.un.org/iraqiran-resolution598>.

<sup>215</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Iran-Iraq War," *Britannica*, March 10, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Iran-Iraq-War>, (accessed April 7, 2024).



push back against the current Iraqi government.<sup>216</sup> To punish the partnership, Iraqi forces utilized chemical weapons in an assault on the Iraqi Kurds.<sup>217</sup> Iraq's continued use of chemical warfare forced Iran to accept a ceasefire deal on July 20, 1988.<sup>218</sup> However, it wasn't until August 1988 that the ceasefire went into effect.<sup>219</sup>

### ***Recent Developments***

After the agreed Iraq-Iran ceasefire, Iraq sought to rebuild infrastructure destroyed during the war.<sup>220</sup> Rebuilding remained incredibly difficult, as Iraq had limited oil-exporting capacity due to the destruction at its top-producing oil fields, along with the international debt acquired during the conflict.<sup>221</sup> The Soviet Union forgave a significant portion of its loans and military assistance, as the conflict prevented Iranian expansion into the Union.<sup>222</sup> However, Kuwait, the United States, and Saudi Arabia refused to wave Iraq's debts, increasing hostile relations between the Member States.<sup>223</sup> As Kuwait provided an estimated 50 billion USD in interest-free loans, Iraq was able to begin the process of rebuilding to restart its oil production to pay off its debt.<sup>224</sup> Even though Iraq started producing enough oil to start repaying the debts owed, demand for oil was low.<sup>225</sup> With oil prices extremely low and supply over-stocked, Iraq was in an extremely unstable position.<sup>226</sup>

To redeem international standing and increase oil demands, Iraq accused Kuwait of exceeding oil quotas set forth by the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).<sup>227</sup> OPEC was created in 1960 by Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Venezuela as a means to "co-ordinate and unify petroleum policies among Member Countries, in order to secure fair and stable prices for petroleum producers."<sup>228</sup> Member States collectively decide and set quotas for how much oil is allowed to be produced and sold by each Member State to ensure stability and fairness among members.<sup>229</sup> As such, violating oil quotas would trigger the overall lowering of oil prices among all OPEC Member States.<sup>230</sup> Lowering oil prices would negatively impact the Iraqi economy, still lagging behind in oil production.<sup>231</sup> In July 1990, Iraq accused Kuwait of committing economic warfare through exceeding its OPEC oil quota, along with Kuwait's alleged slant drilling of the Rumaila oil field in Iraq.<sup>232</sup> As of July 1990, tensions between Iraq and Kuwait have reached an ultimate high, soiling diplomatic relations between the two Member States.<sup>233</sup>

The situation within the Middle East has now reached a point where the international community must act or watch the violations of Member State sovereignty through the collapse of diplomatic relations between two prominent oil-producing, Middle Eastern Member States. These historical tensions post an incredible security risk to the stability of not only the region, but the entire international system, as both Member States have control on the oil supply as well as Iraq's suspected connections to weapons of mass destruction. The situation presents a challenge of international norms of sovereignty and how the UN approaches the issue of this fundamental right within the UN Charter. Delegates must act to prevent the erosion of the norm of sovereignty and in turn, help resolve the territorial issue. If ignored, the international community could face another regional war, leaving two economically important Member States in disrepair, along with potential humanitarian crisis and a migration crisis within surrounding Member States.

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<sup>216</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Iran-Iraq War."

<sup>217</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Iran-Iraq War."

<sup>218</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Iran-Iraq War."

<sup>219</sup> The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, "Iran-Iraq War."

<sup>220</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War," *Social Science Docket* volume 10, no. 1 (2010): 58-59, <https://alansinger.net/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/10.1warandpeace.pdf>

<sup>221</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>222</sup> Mehr News Agency, "Loans That Never Paid Off," *Mehr News Agency*, August 16, 2003, <https://en.mehrnews.com/news/1262/Loans-That-Never-Paid-Off>.

<sup>223</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>224</sup> Mehr News Agency, "Loans That Never Paid Off."

<sup>225</sup> Mehr News Agency, "Loans That Never Paid Off."

<sup>226</sup> Mehr News Agency, "Loans That Never Paid Off."

<sup>227</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>228</sup> OPEC, "OPEC: Brief History," *OPEC.org* (OPEC, 2019), [https://www.opec.org/opec\\_web/en/about\\_us/24.htm](https://www.opec.org/opec_web/en/about_us/24.htm).

<sup>229</sup> OPEC, "OPEC: Brief History."

<sup>230</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>231</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>232</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."

<sup>233</sup> David Lonborg, "Background to the First Persian Gulf War."