

1st DISEC

*Advanced
General
Assembly*



TOPICS: Terrorism by Non-State Actors, Illicit Small Arms Trade

CHAIRS: Miles McDonald, Deacon Lesser

LAIMUN XXVIII

December 3-4

LAIMUN XXVIII

Letter from the Secretariat

3

Introduction to the USG

4

Introduction to the Dais

5

Committee Description

7

Topic A: Terrorism by Non-State Actors

8

Topic B: Illicit Small Arms Trade

25

LAIMUN XXVIII

December 3-4

Letter from the Secretaries-General

Dear Delegates,

On behalf of our entire staff, it is our pleasure to welcome you to Session XXVIII of the Los Angeles Invitational Model United Nations (LAIMUN) conference. LAIMUN XXVIII will take place on Saturday, December 3 and Sunday, December 4 of 2022 at the Mira Costa High School (MCHS) campus.

Our staff, composed of over 100 MCHS students, has been working tirelessly to make your debate experience the best it can be. You will find your dais members to be knowledgeable about the issues being debated and MUN procedure. We pride ourselves in hosting a conference that is educational and engaging, and we hope you take advantage of that as you prepare and debate.

At LAIMUN, we value thorough research and preparation. We ask that delegates write position papers following [these directions](#). The deadline to submit position papers to be considered for Committee and Research Awards is Friday, November 25 at 11:59 PM PT. The deadline to submit to be considered for Committee Awards is Thursday, December 1 at 11:59 PM PT.

We also encourage all delegates to read the [LAIMUN Rules of Procedure](#) for conference-specific information and as a reminder of points and motions that can be made during committee.

Feel free to reach out to our staff with any questions or concerns you may have. Delegates can find their chairs' contact information next to their committee profile and the Secretariat's email addresses on the staff page. Any member of the LAIMUN staff will be happy to assist you.

We look forward to seeing you in December!

Sincerely,

Allyssa Lessinger and Brady Stephens
Secretaries-General, LAIMUN XXVIII
secretarygeneral@mchsmun.org



Introduction to the USG

Hi Delegates! My name is Tucker and I'm the Under-Secretary General of General Assembly committees. This is my fourth year in the Mira Costa Model UN program and I am ecstatic to welcome you all to LAIMUN XXVIII.

I'm so excited to see various diplomatic strategies in committee regarding the pressing issues we encounter on a global scale. Our chairs will hold the delegates to high standards of research, diplomacy, speeches, and solutions.

At LAIMUN, we have a strict no pre-written resolutions policy—resolutions can only be worked on at your chair's discretion. Please verify that your work is authentic to ensure all delegates experience a fair and accurate simulation of a United Nations conference.

The Mira Costa Model UN program has provided me with incredible opportunities and lasting memories; I hope that LAIMUN XXVIII will be a memorable experience for you as well! Mira Costa MUN provides a profound opportunity for delegates to gain knowledge, confidence, speaking skills, and most importantly, a new understanding of international relations and current events. All LAIMUN XXVIII staff have worked hard to provide the best experience for everyone in attendance and we wish you the best of luck throughout your preparation!

If you have any questions or concerns, please don't hesitate to reach out to GA@mchsmun.org or other members of the Secretariat. I can't wait to see you in December!

Regards,

Allyssa Lessinger and Brady Stephens
Secretaries-General

Tucker Gauss
Under-Secretary General

Introduction to the Dias

Hi delegates,

My name is Miles McDonald and I am excited to announce that I will be one of your co-chairs for LAIMUN XXVIII's Advanced 1st DISEC. I am a senior at Mira Costa High School, and this is my fourth year within the program. I have debated my fair share of conferences, despite the limitations of COVID that have affected the ability for MUN travel. Most recently, I traveled to Berkeley to debate at BMUN. I am extremely excited to see all of you debate in person and hear the great international solutions that your countries have to offer and collaborate upon within this year's conference. Separate from MUN, I play club and high school soccer, of which I am lucky enough to have competed against top-level teams across the US and in Canada. I am extremely involved in all sports, and I spend most of my weekends watching games with my friends. Outside of committee, I enjoy going to the beach with my friends, listening to country music and volunteering as much as possible. I am a member of the volunteer group Amigos Unidos, which participates in philanthropies across Los Angeles. At school, I am more focused in the math and science departments, where I am a part of the Cybersecurity Club, and am intrigued in pursuing more advanced classes in college. I am extremely enthusiastic to oversee this committee and entertain substantive debates on the pressing 1st DISEC topics that affect our world.

All the best,

Miles McDonald

LAIMUN XXVIII

Hello there delegates, my name is Deacon Lesser and I am going to be your co-chair for this debate alongside Miles. I am a sophomore at Mira Costa and I really enjoy the Model UN program here. I've attended many conferences, travel and local, that I had a lot of fun in and I've been a legal for LAIMUN already. Being able to participate in LAIMUN and Model UN entirely was an honor, and I am hoping that this conference will be just as awesome as last year's!

I participate in a few activities in addition to MUN. I'm on the water polo team here at Costa, and I play year round school and club. Water polo is an extremely fun sport, but requires a lot of effort, consistency, and strategy, just like Model UN. I love being out in nature and some of my favorite activities are hiking, camping, and backpacking. I go fishing from time to time when I can, too. I'm also an avid skier, and I go up to Mammoth for a few weekends during the winter to have fun on the mountain. I love scuba diving, and just this year I received my advanced scuba diving certification, so I can participate in all the amazing night dives and wreck dives.

Just like all of these activities, MUN is pretty demanding but also rewarding to finally get to debate. As a chair, I am looking for well thought out solutions that can apply to many different countries but especially to the delegate's. Also, stand out solutions to me are those that try something new and different to try and solve a problem. That being said, I can't wait to be able to start committee. I have had a great experience so far in the program, just like I'm hoping for this to be a great experience as a conference for all of you. I'm looking forward to being a first-time chair for LAIMUN and it is my honor to be able to see you all debate.

Sincerely,

Deacon Lesser

Committee Description

DISEC or the Disarmament and International Security Committee is one of six committees under the General Assembly of the United Nations. It is tasked with the maintenance of international security, dealing with issues of disarmament and global threats to peace. Following the creation of the United Nations (and DISEC) after the conclusion of the first world war, DISEC set about to return the world to a state of peace, with its first resolution being an attempt to moderate and regulate the proliferation of nuclear weapons. This goal of maintaining global stability and peace is echoed throughout the history of DISEC. All member states of the United Nations having an equal voice, DISEC has proven to be one of, if not the most influential of all the United Nations bodies (in spite of the fact that its mandate limits its action to suggestions). DISEC committee sessions are structured in three stages: general debate, thematic discussions, and closing with actions on drafts. This proceeding allows for DISEC to best solve challenges to international security, and work efficiently in creating regulations for various armaments. DISEC works closely with other UN bodies such as the United Nations Disarmament Commission and the Geneva-based Conference on disarmament, which has helped achieve lower levels of international armaments. The dais hopes that delegates take the role of DISEC into account when preparing for debate at LAIMUN XXVIII.

Topic A: Terrorism by Non-State Actors

I. Background

When many of us think of major terrorist attacks, we think of 9/11, despite the fact that this atrocity happened years before most current high schoolers were even born. 9/11 was one of the most pivotal events in human history, forever altering not just the United States and their antiterrorism policies, but also our current world, domestic security, and political dynamics. This event sent shockwaves throughout the world, striking fear in citizens and governments—leading to extreme reactions. Aftershocks are still felt 20 years later, as the United States opposition to terrorism induced bombings and occupations throughout the Middle East that have been a factor in current Middle East conflicts. In addition, Islamophobia skyrocketed following the 9/11 attacks—increasing from just 28 hate crimes across the nation to 481 following the attack, having remained high since¹—ravaging the lives of Arab and Muslim Americans who had no connection to the attack beyond their familial and cultural ties.

More recent terrorist attacks have similar effects to those of 9/11's on a smaller scale, but are not nearly as publicized in the world news. Thus, the account of 9/11 represents terrorist attacks in most people's minds. However, since just 2014, terrorist attacks have taken place in 95 countries—the majority of which are in the Middle East, North Africa, and South Africa. Over

¹ Abdalla, Jihan. "Under the Prism': Muslim Americans Reflect on Life Post-9/11." September 11 News | Al Jazeera, Al Jazeera, 10 Sept. 2021, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/9/under-the-prism-muslim-americans-reflect-on-life-post-9>.

60% of these attacks since 2014 took place in Iraq, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Pakistan, and Syria².

Yet, terrorist attacks in these five countries do not fully encapsulate the most dangerous attacks to the world—attacks by non-state actors.

While not uniformly defined, non-state actors encompass non-sovereign entities that exercise significant political power or control over a territory and are outside the scope and power of an established, sovereign government—of which they often engage in using violence as a means to achieving their objectives. These non-state actors often have overarching objectives that relate to undermining racial or ethnic groups, dissent from and attempts to compromise government authority, and/or enhancing misogynistic values and laws, as well as attempts to establish discriminating or diminishing policies (such as conditions in voting laws and anti-abortion laws). Likewise to non-state actors, terrorism is loosely defined, as each case of an attack is subjective to its individual conditions, and hence, causes there to be no internationally recognized legal definition. While the line between different forms of conflict is often blurry, the key difference between terrorism by non-state actors and other forms of terrorism is in its relation to distinguished governments and conflicts. Actions of political violence and violent crimes such as actions distinctly committed by governments (state terrorism), actions during times of open combat (even if non-state actors are involved), one-sided violence, hate crime, and

²Annex of Statistical Information - United States Department of State.
<https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/239628.pdf>.

homicide may represent acts of terrorism but not necessarily fall under the category of terrorism by non-state actors.

Terrorism by non-state actors is especially dangerous to international security because of non-state actors' abilities to shift power and enact on their unlawful and immoral agendas that do not coincide with the United Nations' pursuit of global peace. Non-state actors residing in and engaging in conflicts in war-torn countries and unstable territories can lead to quick power grabs—disrupting the global geopolitical landscape. This has even been seen in Afghanistan, when the departure of the United States led to an insurgence of the Taliban, a longstanding Sunni Islamist Nationalist movement that played into a 78% increase in Afghanistan suicide and complex attacks in 2015 and heightened the number of terrorist attacks in Afghanistan³, effectively giving them freedom to enact upon their own agenda. In the weeks and months following the Taliban's takeover of what they have declared the “Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan,” they have significantly threatened the basic rights of those living in Afghanistan. This comes in light of their declaration to form a government guided by Sharia law (not the principles of democracy) and maintain basic rights. However, since then the government has kept women's secondary schools closed, blocked women from government and legislative roles, assaulted and detained journalists, and actively seeks out members of Afghanistan's former government and army⁴.

³ Nctc. “National Counterterrorism Center: Groups.” *National Counterterrorism Center | Groups*, https://www.dni.gov/nctc/groups/afghan_taliban.html.

⁴ “World Report 2022: Rights Trends in Afghanistan.” *Human Rights Watch*, 13 Jan. 2022, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2022/country-chapters/afghanistan>.

The Taliban's takeover is just one example of non-state actors gaining political or territorial power from violent actions in a long history of terrorist attacks. While the case of massacres, genocides, and attacks on civilians (of which many of these attacks throughout history can be considered terrorist attacks) is no new feat, the age of violently involving innocent citizens in a party's political, military, and territorial agendas has only become a regular act in recent times. Separate from the inevitable outliers, the majority of military groups and terrorist groups alike had a set of informal codes that distinguished violence from opposing military or political leaders and the general public. While disputed, the era of modern terrorism was characterized by professor David Rapoport to have evolved through "Four Waves of Modern Terrorism," agreeing with other researchers that terrorist groups rise and fall based on their ability to inspire others with their general strategic ambitions. These four waves are outlined by Rapoport as The Anarchist Wave (1878-1919), the Anti-Colonial Wave (1920s to 1960s), the Marxist/New Left Wave (1960s-1979) and the Religious Wave (1979), all of which were spurred by an originating catalyst event⁵. This change in terrorist actions began from the mid-nineteenth century as a result of failing attempts to democratically cause social revolution. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Karl Marx, and Mikhail Bakunin were large proponents of spurring political change, and eventually radical groups influenced by these people turned to violent means, such as targeted assassinations against leaders and civilians alike, in order to force political change. At the root of all modern terrorism was the developments of technology that allowed mass

⁵ Rapoport, David. *Waves of Global Terrorism: From 1879 to the Present*, New York Chichester, West Sussex: Columbia University Press, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.7312/rapo13302>

communication, enabling early terrorist acts to be used as propaganda machines in order to inspire groups across Eurasia.

In addition to the immediate effects that these attacks across the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries have caused for the perpetrators and victims, these actions inhibit reciprocations of violence and an escalation of conflicts. Using databases such as the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), which accumulates information on global terrorist attacks dating back to 1970, indicates that the number of worldwide terrorist attacks has remained relatively the same compared to the start of the century, although the impact of these attacks has been largely sporadic. The number of terrorist attacks worldwide reached a low in 2012 with 6,771 attacks from a high of 14,414 in 2007, somewhat steadily increasing since then to 10,172 attacks in 2020⁶. While there is a correlation between the number of attacks and deaths, the range from year to year in the global death toll from these attacks has been even more distinct. Deaths in the last decade ranged from as low as 7,827 in 2010 to as high as 44,490 in 2014. On the other hand, an increase in counter-terrorism efforts on a national, regional, and international level has led to an increase in unsuccessful attacks, from 12% in 2014 to 20% in 2017⁷. It is incredibly important for the United Nations to spearhead a collective effort against terrorist attacks, especially against those committed by non-state actors due to the widespread impacts just one singular attack could

⁶ Published by Statista Research Department, and Feb 17. "Terrorism: Number of Attacks Worldwide 2020." *Statista*, 17 Feb. 2022, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/202864/number-of-terrorist-attacks-worldwide/>.

⁷"A New Era of Conflict and Violence." United Nations, United Nations, <https://www.un.org/en/un75/new-era-conflict-and-violence>.

cause—implications stretch far beyond just the victims, threatening regional stability, global power dynamics, and every individuals' human rights.

II. UN Involvement

Due to the extreme threat associated with terrorist attacks, the United Nations has actively responded through the creation of multiple branches targeting international counter-terrorism measures, such as the United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism, the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee, and the Counter-Terrorism Committee. In the 21st century, the United Nations has escalated its approach to counter-terrorism measures, largely in response to terrorist attacks that have spurred international outrage and fear. Since 2001, the United Nations has passed six major resolutions targeting terrorism and cooperative counter-terrorism measures.

While terrorism was an issue and an appealing talking point for the United Nations for decades, the global fallout from the 9/11 attacks led to an immediate and unanimous passage of Resolution 1373 in the Security Council. Resolution 1373 created the first dedicated committee to the fight against terrorism with the institution of the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). In correspondence with the CTC, the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate (CTED) was created to support with policy decisions, assessments, and country visits, in which it has implemented 174 visits to 114 UN Member States since 2005. Since its inauguration, the UN has formed over 20 Resolutions regarding the CTC and CTED, including their continual renewal. A following resolution, 2005 Resolution 1624, prohibited UN member states from inciting any form of terrorist acts. In its 20 years, the CTC and CTED have completed 181 comprehensive missions

and follow-up visits in addition to its support on a national, regional, and international level in combatting terrorism across all facets of life.

One of the most influential UN programs in countering terrorism has been the implementation of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in 2006. This strategy has heavily contributed to the overall cooperation between member states and encouraged a cohesive effort across states in their fight against terrorism. While this strategy is actively changing, it is built upon 4 pillars, aimed at addressing conditions that influence the spread of terrorism, measures to fight terrorism, measures to support each states' ability to prevent and combat terrorism, and measures to ensure human rights are respected amid the fight against terrorism⁸. Related Resolutions, such as Resolutions 2178 (2014), 2396 (2017), and 2462 (2019), all emphasize and support related points of emphasis for the CTC and Counter-Terrorism Strategy. Resolution 2178 and 2396, headlined by President Obama, urged an increased emphasis be placed on the surge of and threat that Foreign Terrorist Fighters (FTFs) have against the fight against terrorism. In recent years, the United Nations has bolstered their efforts for strengthening multilateral counter-terrorism efforts. The UN formed the Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT) on June 15, 2017, in order to support member states in implementing the Counter-Terrorism Strategy, and the Counter-Terrorism Trust Fund in 2009. The inauguration of the UNOCT has led to the development of an international legal framework for individual states' fight against terrorism, the negotiation of 16 international treaties in the case of terrorist activity, and coordinated international responses to major terrorist attacks.

⁸ "UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy | Office of Counter-Terrorism." *United Nations*, United Nations, <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy>.

III. Topics to Consider

A. *The Role of Media in Targeted Terrorist Attacks*

In the last decade, there has been a clear increase in xenophobic, far-right, white-nationalist, and anti-Muslim attacks. These attacks can be largely attributed to the increased ease-of-access that these groups have with the advent of the internet and social media to convene, spread information, and collectively cause damage. For the same reason discussed earlier that modern terrorism has evolved, technology's ability to quickly pass information securely has enabled non-state actors to inspire others with their violent acts. The 2019 Global Terrorism Index found a 320% increase in far-right terrorism in the West over the past five years⁹, including fascism, racism, xenophobia, anti-immigration, and anti-Semitism. Inevitably, this increase in far-right terrorism comes from those placing blame on marginalized groups for individual, economic, or governmental problems. While factors such as an increased influx of Middle Eastern refugees have contributed to this, social media has acted as an enabler for violent acts. Social media offers these violent groups a platform to increase their outreach, indirectly leading to more extremist attacks. This form of terrorism has become even more dangerous because of its fear-causing implications. As a result, marginalized groups are less inclined to participate in elections and government, causing them to be misrepresented. In addition, a growing percentage of these attacks arise from individuals or small groups that are not affiliated with a specific terrorist group. Thus, this makes the perpetrators harder to identify, predict, and apprehend.

⁹ "Far-Right Terrorism Increase in the West Explained." *Vision of Humanity*, 7 Sept. 2021, <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/explainer-far-right-terrorism-in-the-west/>.

B. Using Developing Technologies to Prevent Future Terrorist Attacks

Biometrics. Facial recognition. Undetectable surveillance. As technology continues to develop alongside artificial intelligence, its ability to catch illegal movements and activities can prove the most influential factor in the fight against terrorism. Surveillance can oversee bomb making, empowering law enforcement agencies to catch these non-state actors in action. While technology like this is already being used to suppress individual rights (for instance, with Chinese surveillance against Uyghur Muslims), it can be used to disrupt the free flow of non-state actors and their actions. Governmental investigative agencies across the world are engaging with communications service providers in order to interrupt, investigate, and prosecute communications between groups that may lead to violent actions. Governments directly connected to their domestic telecommunications companies, such as Iran, already scavenge through this internet traffic in order to ensure the safety and security of their country. These techniques can be specifically directed towards counter-terrorism measures through the use of mass metadata to identify terrorist networks. With this, counter-terrorism groups can then intercept propaganda, prevent recruiting, and censor hate speech. However, with this increased surveillance, digitally and in public, comes the subsequent concern by individual citizens for their human rights. Many citizens believe that the threat of privacy invasion outweighs the threat of terrorism, with $\frac{3}{4}$ of adults in the US opposing the idea of sharing their metadata with involved government agencies to prevent terrorist attacks. This dynamic will continue to evolve as governments continue to survey in order to protect their domestic security.

C. The Implications Of Non-State Actors Gaining Power and Control over a People/Territory

Non-state actors offer an interesting dynamic to world politics, as individual states or multilateral groups dealing with non-state actors often incite violence that will eventually affect civilians. As the saying goes, “The most dangerous people are those who have nothing to lose.” On the other hand, the United Nations stands in line to lose everything if violent non-state actors (VNSAs) are not kept in check. As non-state actors gain power over specific regions, usually in war-torn countries and within territories bound by unstable governments, they often employ dictatorships and degrading laws under the mask of a “democratic upstart”. A notable example of this is the Taliban’s takeover of Afghanistan, and therefore the international community must preemptively work to prevent VNSAs from gaining power. The greatest problem with allowing VNSAs to take over a region is the UN’s and individual nations’ inability to take back control without inciting violence. The Taliban originally claimed to form a legitimate government, granting Afghani citizens essential human rights. This action prevented any states from easily fighting back against this takeover, as Afghanistan has been plagued with conflict for decades. In addition, the unprecedented prominence of terrorism that came following 9/11 has greatly diminished non-state actors’ access to funding. Major fundraising sites, businesses, and individuals in conflict-regions were heavily regulated to ensure a portion of profits were not being diverted to VNSAs. VNSAs hence have since had to rely on local funding, connecting with organized crime groups and criminal activities. The 2004 Madrid bombings, for example, were funded by a related organized crime group of Moroccan drug traffickers. A rise to power

gives non-state actors a larger base to create their own funding mechanisms, and they are no longer being regulated by an overseeing government. This severely threatens the dynamics of peace that the United Nations is determined to keep in check.

IV. Case Study

India is an interesting case for terrorist attacks, as it ranks high in most major indicators of terrorism's impact, yet is not in a state of war, not involved in a prolonged insurgency, and does not have major longstanding tensions between terror groups and national governments like the rest of the top countries being affected by terrorism. India's terrorist attacks stem from a wide array of problems, the majority of which are due to conflicts from surrounding countries within the region or the varying groups of non-state actors within the country, including Islamist, Communist, and separatist groups. In 2016, there were 43 active perpetrator groups involved in attacks, which is much greater than countries facing the most terrorist attacks. The wide variance in these groups has led to variance in the terrorism committed, from ethno-nationalist and religious terrorism to left-wing terrorism. Over half of the 2016 attacks were caused by Indian Communist or Maoist groups, while there was a massive increase in non-lethal terrorist violence, by separatist groups such as Gorkha Janmukti Morcha and Gorkha Liberation Army.

India ranks 12th, down from 8th in 2020, in the 2021 Global Terrorism Index (GTI), which analyzes the impact of terrorism based on incidents, fatalities, injuries, and property damage¹⁰. Despite this, India has a low percentage of fatalities and injuries when compared to the number of attacks, despite having one of the largest populations in the world. Even though there

¹⁰ "Global Terrorism Index: Countries Most Impacted by Terrorism." *Vision of Humanity*, 16 May 2022, <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/maps/global-terrorism-index/#/>.

has been a recent increase in lethality of terrorist attacks, with a 10% increase in mortalities in 2017, India remains well below the national average with just 0.5 deaths per attack, compared to a worldwide 2.3. This level of lethality can be largely attributed to the change in the types of terrorist attacks, in which terrorist groups are transitioning to infrastructure and facility attacks compared to what was once almost all bombings. Attacks with the intent to damage infrastructure and/or cause property damage nearly doubled from 2016 to 2017 (106 in 2016 to 198 in 2017), while bombing attacks declined significantly (from 424 in 2016 to 265 in 2017). In the 21st century, there have been a few especially violent events of terrorism, in which these attacks arose mass fear across citizens in the state. The most notable attacks have been the 2008 Mumbai Attacks (a series of coordinated terrorist attacks spanning four days), the 2016 Uri Attack (an attack killing 19 Indian security forces in Kashmir), the 2017 Amarnath Yatra attack in Jammu and Kashmir (7 Hindu civilians on pilgrimage killed), and the 2017 Andhra Pradesh (a railway sabotage that killed 60 civilians riding the railway system).

India serves as an important case for the world, as violence has been steadily increasing and becoming more threatening to the integrity and security of the government. So, while it is not killing people at extreme rates per attack, it is a threat that must be dealt with. As a result of terrorist threats, India has established the 1967 Unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA), created a National Investigation Agency (NIA), and offered continual support for multilateral efforts. The original legislation allowed Parliament to limit established rights in the interests of India's security, sovereignty, and integrity, but was amended multiple times in the 21st century (once in 2008 in response to Mumbai terrorist attacks). With these amendments, the law created

new terrorist offences, defined a ‘terrorist act’ and changed the judicial structure in cases related to terrorism. The NIA came in response to the Mumbai attacks, placing a domestic emphasis on coordinating the investigation of cases including, but not limited to terrorism, without having to deal with jurisdictional permissions granted by individual states. India is primed to lead the charge against terrorist groups in counter-terrorism, as information about the perpetrator groups responsible is available and reported in 64% of attacks. In addition, India has been actively involved in enacting domestic legislation to protect and prevent terrorist attacks and is a strong proponent of the United Nations international and regional efforts against the fight against terrorism.

V. Guiding Questions

1. Nearly every country in the world has fallen victim to a terrorist attack. How has your country responded to attacks or the effects of an attack in its region and what domestic counter-terrorism have they put in place to prevent future attacks?
2. As security such as face scanning and biometrics continue to develop, governments will continue to threaten individuals’ human rights. How does the role of a country’s domestic security with surveillance work in an increasingly decentralized world as individuals continue to vie for more freedom? Does the threat of terrorism justify increased surveillance?
3. Many of these non-state actors are funded by illicit trades and other illegal activities. How can the funding of these non-state actors be disrupted and eventually lead to apprehensions?

4. How can states be discouraged from and prevent terrorists from using their lands as a safe haven for terrorists, as well as be encouraged to be involved in apprehensions without escalating violence?
5. How can countries regulate information being spread through social media that enhances and encourages hate-based terrorism without involving themselves in diminishing freedom of speech and other human rights?

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Topic B: Illicit Small Arms Trade

I. Background

The “illicit small arms trade,” also referred to as the “small arms trade,” “small arms proliferation,” or the “small arms market,” is a term for the widespread illegal buying and selling of small and light weapons. “Small arms” are defined as weapons intended for individual use: handguns, muskets or rifled muskets, shotguns, personal defense weapons, rifles (assault rifles, sniper rifles, carbines, etc.), submachine guns, light machine guns, and squad automatic weapons. “Light weapons” are infantry portable arms that are either kinetic firearms operated by two or more people, incendiary devices, or arms that shoot explosive munitions. Light weapons include but are not limited to general purpose machine guns, medium and unmounted heavy machine guns, portable flamethrowers, grenades and grenade launchers, rocket propelled grenades (RPGs), and mortars under 100 millimeters in caliber. Small arms and light weapons are generally weapons that may be handled by two or fewer people.¹¹

The long history of the small arms trade is intertwined with the colonial possessions of Europeans in the Americas and Africa. Firearms have been a mainstay of warfare and conflict since the 1400s, when the matchlock gun, the more efficient successor to the rudimentary wick-fired gun, first became prominent. Eventually, militaries without access to small arms and light weapons were easily overrun by more advanced forces, cementing the illicit small arms trade in history.

¹¹ *Small arms and light weapons: IPB - international peace bureau*. IPB. (n.d.). Retrieved October 20, 2022, from <https://www.ipb.org/small-arms-and-light-weapons/>

An important herald of modern weapon trafficking was the Triangular Trade. The Triangular Trade was a trade route running between Britain, Africa, and the Americas, forming a geographic triangle. England's East India Company used this triangle of trade routes to further British economic influence abroad, leading to the huge demand for firearms in Africa and the Americas¹². British colonial possessions in North America and The Caribbean provided raw materials and resources that were exported to Britain, where they were manufactured into guns and other weapons. From there, the arms were shipped to less developed warring African nations in return for slaves to be shipped and sold to the Americas, garnering further profits from British colonies. This trade passageway was extremely profitable for merchants who trafficked small arms between countries. The Triangular Trade contributed heavily to the long history that North and South America, the Caribbean, and Africa share with the illicit small arms trade as it pertains to the buying and selling of small arms and light weapons as well as norms surrounding gun culture.

Currently the small arms trade has grown into an international dilemma, with over one billion small arms now in circulation and responsible for nearly half of all violent deaths. Over 200,000 deaths worldwide each year between 2010 and 2015 were attributed to small arms. It is among the most lucrative businesses in the world, ranked by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) as worth \$95 billion in 2017. There are many different reasons to explain why the small arms trade has become so profitable. Private corporations help fuel the

¹² Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. (n.d.). *Transatlantic Slave Trade Key Facts*. Encyclopædia Britannica. Retrieved June 17, 2022, from <https://www.britannica.com/summary/Transatlantic-Slave-Trade-Key-Facts#:~:text=In%20a%20system%20known%20as,were%20supplied%20with%20raw%20materials>

problem of illicit small arms dealing, with the top 100 arms companies making nearly \$398.2 billion in 2017 alone. Both these corporations as well as state actors sustain the illicit market by providing small arms to military regimes and terrorist groups, by providing arms and munitions to drug lords, and by providing individuals and citizens with guns—all of which contributes to further conflict.

One example of the illicit small arms trade exacerbating military conflict can be seen through the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict¹³ is a dispute between the Republic of Armenia and the Republic of Azerbaijan over a piece of territory, Nagorno-Karabakh, which is officially part of Azerbaijan but contains a population 95% ethnically Armenian. The small arms trade plays a large role in this conflict as both countries' neighbor, Russia, fuels the conflict in order to garner larger profits. Russia, boasting the second largest arms industry in the world, is not only Azerbaijan's largest arms provider but also supplies Armenia with 94% of their arms according to the SIPRI. By unlawfully providing weapons to either party in the conflict, Russia's arms industry only grows. Conflicts that are fueled by the illicit small arms market are many in number, and not limited to those in semi-developed countries such as Armenia and Azerbaijan. In fact, Africa has become an epicenter for modern military conflict, and consequently a goldmine of profits for the global arms industry. The Uppsala Conflict Data Program has identified over 630 state and non-state based conflicts in Africa. Instances of violence specifically targeting civilians have dramatically

¹³ Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *Nagorno-Karabakh conflict* | *global conflict tracker*. Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved June 17, 2022, from <https://www.cfr.org/global-conflict-tracker/conflict/nagorno-karabakh-conflict>

increased as the number of violent protests also rises. Multiple religious conflicts and ethnic disputes such as conflict in South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as Nigeria's violent Boko Haram group have provided arms manufacturers with a constant demand for their products, furthering the impact of the small arms market.

Arms manufacturers also fuel gangs and drug lords through the small arms proliferation. A "gang" is an organized group of criminals, and gangs form all over the world in countries at every level of development. For instance, the Yakuza is among the largest groups of organized criminals in the world and is based in Japan. Multiple international mafias also exist. A "mafia" is an internationally organized body of criminals, referencing the infamous Italian mafia in Sicily. The United States also harbors gangs, such as the 18th Street Gang which is said to be responsible for at least one assault or robbery in Los Angeles per day¹⁴. Mafias and gangs contribute heavily to the misuse and trade of illicit firearms. Victims of robberies in the United States are held at gunpoint 40.6% of the time according to the United States Federal Bureau of Intelligence (FBI), and these firearms are always small arms or light weapons. The illicit small arms market has therefore contributed heavily to gang violence and thefts even in developed nations. Furthermore, the small arms trade has empowered drug lords and drug cartels to perpetrate further violence in illicit drug markets. A "drug lord" referred to the operator of an organization or network involved in illegal drug trafficking or smuggling. A "drug cartel" is an illegal organization involved in drug trafficking, operated by a drug lord. Drug lords and cartels

¹⁴ Becker More Articles: States & Cities Publi, S. (2018, March 26). *MS-13 and the other most dangerous gangs in America*. Showbiz Cheat Sheet. Retrieved June 17, 2022, from <https://www.cheatsheet.com/culture/dangerous-gangs-united-states.html/>

have become a serious problem, especially in South and Central American countries. Arms dealers only support further conflict in these countries, as in Mexico alone the number of cartel related homicides rose to 33,341, a record high. Almost all of these deaths involved firearms, exclusively small arms. By selling or providing cartels and gangs with small arms, firearm manufacturers contribute to rising global homicide figures.

Individual use unrelated to gang related activity or military operation also constitutes a large amount of small arms use. Suicides are now also on the rise and one of the most important and unrecognized facets of the arms industry's effects on regular people¹⁵. Three out of every five deaths related to firearm usage is a suicide rather than a homicide. This is largely because of the ease of access that many citizens, around the world but specifically in underdeveloped or war stricken countries, have when it comes to purchasing a firearm. Most victims of attempted suicide that survive regret their decision to end their life, but because suicides by firearm are much more likely to succeed than by any other method, suicide rates skyrocket when access to small arms is more easily available¹⁶. Whether said small arms are in fact easily available comes down to the impact that the illicit small arms trade has over a given country.

II. UN Involvement

The United Nations has created many resolutions regarding the control of the illicit small arms market. The first UN resolution that addressed the issue was in 2013 with Resolution 2117, which focused on the illicit trafficking of small arms and light weapons and destabilizing the

¹⁵ *Statistics*. Prevent Firearm Suicide. (2021, March 2). Retrieved June 17, 2022, from <https://preventfirearmsuicide.efsgv.org/about-firearm-suicide/statistics/>

¹⁶ Adwar, C. (2014, August 13). *The role of impulsiveness is one of the saddest things about suicide*. Business Insider. Retrieved June 17, 2022, from <https://www.businessinsider.com/many-suicides-are-based-on-an-impulsive-decision-2014-8>

accumulation and misuse of those firearms. The resolution urged member states to adhere to existing protocols and to ratify the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), as well as an array of other provisions, including demilitarizing ex-combatants, eliminating the supply of weapons to terrorists, etc. The ATT¹⁷, officially adopted on December 24, 2014, is a United Nations organized treaty whose objective is to establish common international standards for regulating the international trade of conventional arms, including small arms and light weapons. However, the ATT applies to all weapons including missiles and missile launchers, combat aircraft, warships, and other arms. Despite this, the ATT focuses on implementing standard national control systems in participating states to tackle an array of facets to the illicit arms trade. The treaty addresses exportation, importation, in transit or trans-shipment, brokering, diversion, record keeping and reporting, enforcement, and international cooperation, having been signed by 109 countries.

The United Nations also implemented the United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (UNPoA)¹⁸, which provided a framework for States to be able to act against the illicit trade of small arms. The UNPoA helped to organize better international cooperation between agencies, and created more uniform standards towards the manufacturing, licensing, and trafficking of small arms and light weapons. It also created punishments against violating UN

¹⁷ *The Arms Trade Treaty*. (n.d.). Retrieved June 18, 2022, from https://thearmstradetreaty.org/hyper-images/file/ATT_English/ATT_English.pdf?templateId=137253

¹⁸ United Nations. (n.d.). *Programme of action on small arms and its international tracing instrument – UNODA*. United Nations. Retrieved June 17, 2022, from <https://www.un.org/disarmament/convarms/salw/programme-of-action/>

Security Council arms embargoes, education programs about gun safety, and complying with UN international organs against terrorism and transnational organized crime.

The Arms Trade Treaty and the UNPoA have clearly not accomplished their objectives, as even eight years after the ATT was ratified and over two decades after the UNPoA was created global illicit small arms trading is on the rise. One of the main problems with the UNPoA is that it isn't a legally binding treaty, but rather a meeting designed to create international cooperation. It focuses on peripheral, almost irrelevant issues, such as 3-D printed guns. The UNPoA is not legally binding and many members can't or don't meet most or any of their quotas from the meeting. The ATT has also been shown to have many major flaws, as the number of small arms and light weapons being trafficked has only grown. Many of those problems are the same as those involved in the failure of the UNPoA. Of the countries involved in the ATT, only 60% submitted reports in 2018, nine of which were then made private, rendering them useless. Both programs rely on member nations accurately reporting their own issues, but the refusal of many nations to report information has rendered them ineffective.

Unfortunately, both of the most major UN actions against international small arms dealing have not been sufficient in quelling the issue due to the many problems each of them harbor. The illicit trade of small arms and light weapons therefore continues to rage on despite them, and although they helped to raise international cooperation levels, the United Nations is deeply lacking a new resolution regarding the small arms market.

III. Topics To Consider

A. The Production and Distribution of Unregistered Firearms

Firearms that are trafficked illegally are oftentimes unregistered by any governmental body. An unregistered firearm is one that is not attached to any serial number or code. Unregistered firearms, or “ghost guns,” are particularly dangerous because of their role in crimes¹⁹. Ghost guns pose a threat to the international community because they are much harder to track. Tracing firearms without serial numbers is exponentially more difficult than monitoring those with serial numbers. This allows terrorist organizations, criminals, and organized criminals to possess untrackable firearms. This can even be done legally, through a couple of different scenarios.

In many countries, ghost guns can be acquired completely legally. This is done through exploiting different loopholes in outdated laws. One of the main methods criminals or terrorist organizations use to obtain a firearm without a serial number is simply to build it themselves. Firearm parts can be bought and sold without any consequence and little to no regulation in most countries. This allows ordinary citizens to be able to purchase gun parts and assemble unregistered firearms on their own with negligible monitoring. Not only does this pose a threat to local communities because the lack of a background check or age requirement of any kind circumvents any mental health checks, allowing mentally unstable people to have access to guns, but it also allows unregistered firearms to be trafficked on a large scale to terrorist organizations that pose a threat to states and the international community.

B. The Solicitation of Illicit Small Arms to Terrorist Organisations

¹⁹ *Memo: The dangers of ghost guns* | *pressreleasepoint*. (n.d.). Retrieved October 21, 2022, from <https://www.pressreleasepoint.com/memo-dangers-ghost-guns>

Another topic to consider regarding the illicit small arms trade is the brokering of firearms to terrorist organizations. According to the SIPRI, the largest importer of firearms in the world is India importing around \$2.5 trillion worth of small arms into the country every year. India also happens to be in the top 12 countries most affected by terrorism²⁰, scoring a 7.432 on the Global Terrorism Index (GTI). The impact that small arms has on a country is also correlated with the access to small arms and light weapons that a given country has, highlighting the importance of terrorism prevention in ceasing the illicit small arms trade.

Many countries that score even higher on the GTI also have a high per capita importation of firearms. Preventing access of terrorist operations to small arms and light weapons is a large objective of the United Nations in disarming threatening organizations. Terrorist organizations account for very few actual deaths, but propagate fear and panic into local populations. Not only terrorist operations, but organized crime and gangs are also responsible for violence. Gangs in destabilized areas often rule over and terrorize local communities, with the help of firearms often imported or left behind by major firearms manufacturers and exporters such as the United States, Russia, or the United Kingdom. Even in developed countries, casualties arising from organized crime is one of the most major proponents of the small arms trade as gangs provide constant demand to small arms manufacturers. By focusing on solutions that address the demand for guns from terrorist organizations or organized criminals, the small arms trade will also be affected.

Military campaigns also define much of gun violence especially and almost exclusively in developing nations. Government repression as well as violent protests have risen recently as

²⁰ *Global terrorism index: Countries most impacted by terrorism*. Vision of Humanity. (2022, May 16). Retrieved June 17, 2022, from <https://www.visionofhumanity.org/maps/global-terrorism-index/#/>

conflicts in many areas escalate. In Bangladesh, the genocide of the Rohingya Muslims; in Yemen, a divisionary civil war; in Ukraine, a Russian invasion. The illicit small arms trade only helps to fuel these conflicts, and in return the conflict fuels the arms trade as gun manufacturers profit. Regulations around many of these countries' gun laws are thin if not nonexistent, and creating laws in order to protect vulnerable populations is a main goal of the United Nations.

C. The Task of Acquiring International Cooperation Among Nations and Corporations

International cooperation remains a major global issue that stands at the forefront of the illicit small arms trade despite the resolutions achieved by the ATT and UNPoA. The illicit small arms market is a global market, not a national market, and therefore requires global communication to address. The small arms proliferation crosses borders as weapons are trafficked between countries. When agencies from different nations do not cooperate with each other, it becomes exponentially more difficult to identify and expose illicit arms trafficking and brokering. Different countries have different policies, protocols, standards, and enforcement when it comes to illegal arms dealing, and therefore collaboration between countries is a vital part of handling the illicit small arms trade that the international community currently lacks. Standards not only for protocols but for government transparency are a large if not the largest problem regarding the illicit trade of small arms.

Beyond the international community's failure to develop universal guidelines, the inconsistent adherence to existing standards guarantees that arms trafficking will never be stopped. Adherence to arms embargoes developed by the Security Council are often waived by many countries, and many simply do not abide by sanctions against illegal arms manufacturers

or dealers. Unfortunately, this often goes unpunished by the international community. However, holding countries accountable for failing to follow arms trade regulations is a major facet of controlling the illicit small arms market. As aforementioned, only 60% of countries submitted reports even though they were involved with the ATT, and there was no action to hold these states accountable for these discrepancies. Again, because the illicit small arms trade is a global market, countries must be able to work together in order to bring any action against it to life. Therefore, focusing on not only international cooperation and transparency but also international adherence to standard guidelines is imperative to dealing with the issue.

IV. Case Study

The destructive impact that the illicit small arms trade has on the infrastructure, government, and people in different countries is clearly exemplified in Northern Africa. Northern Africa is a region dominated by the Sahara Desert, and most large populations live either along the Nile River in Egypt or along the Mediterranean coastlines. One Northern African country in particular, Libya, helped to facilitate the small arms trade. The Libyan Civil War in 2011 caused an influx of weaponry to be used in the military campaign of the Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi, who occupied an autocratic rule over the Libyan population²¹. The Libyan Civil War began in February 2011 and ended that October, remarkably quickly. One of the main features of the war was Gaddafi's lost control over state arms depots, leading to widespread illegal arms trafficking across Libya. Most illegal trafficking occurs in environments that are difficult for the

²¹ *Brothers came back with weapons: The effects of arms proliferation from Libya*. PRISM | National Defense University. (2017, May 16). Retrieved June 17, 2022, from <https://cco.ndu.edu/News/Article/1171858/brothers-came-back-with-weapons-the-effects-of-arms-proliferation-from-libya/>

government to monitor, especially with the long history of illegal smuggling of goods across in the Sahel. Libya's borders with Tunisia to the north and Niger in the south proved to be focal points for small arms smuggling, as the porous borders allowed easy access for arms brokers to trade across international lines with no regulation. However the effects of the guns which might have been contained to Libya spread to many surrounding countries because of the illicit small arms trade.

One of the most clear cases of the effects of arms proliferation from Libya is in Mali. Tuareg fighters, a large ethnically Berber group spanning southwestern Libya, Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger, fled from Libya after the conflict to Mali, carrying with them previously rare light weapons such as mortars, heavy machine guns and medium machine guns. Those fighters helped to supply and arm existing Tuareg separatist forces in Mali, who surprised Malian armed forces with their supply of weapons. In just three months, the government lost control of large areas in Northern Mali to the rebellion. The rebellion raged on while Libyan arms continued to flow to Tuareg forces, aided by not only arms brokers but criminals that smuggled drugs and now also small arms. The initial defeat of the Malian armed forces led to Tuareg forces acquiring several further arms caches, distributing the contents of the weapons depots. When the capital Bamako became in danger of attack, France launched Opération Serval which, at its height, involved over 5,000 French troops, plus aircraft and armored vehicles in order to defend the government and quell the revolt. The conflict led to the deaths of some 3,000 civilians as well as the exodus of 150,000 Tuareg refugees.

Opération Serval was replaced with Opération Barkhane, an anti-insurgent operation which now works to counter small arms trafficking throughout Mali. However, the damage that the Tuareg revolt dealt was still massive, and was fueled greatly by the acquisition of small arms and light weapons that were previously rare, allowing Tuareg forces to revolt.

Damage from the Libyan Civil War didn't only spread to Mali, but to many surrounding nations. The Nigerian government seized three convoys with large amounts of arms and former Libyan officials fleeing Libya, found multiple suicides committed with guns originating from Libya, detained a convoy bound for Mali containing several tons of ammunition and weapons, and discovered multiple other incidents of illegal small arms smuggling. Tunisian officials stated that, "most military material used in terrorist attacks comes from Libya." There was a Tunisian seizure of 11 arms caches following the civil war, 2 of which were linked with opposition groups and 2 with smugglers, and multiple other incidents of small arms smuggling have been reported by officials on a smaller scale. The UN Security Council published a report on arms seized in Algeria at the end of the Libyan civil war, including 103 Kalashnikov rifles, 63 machineguns, 17 other firearms, 510 rockets, and 3 RPGs. In Egypt, arms trafficking became so prolific that one Egyptian author wrote that, "[i]t became clear that Egypt's poorly secured western border had turned from an amateur 9-millimeter pistol market into a fully-fledged arms trafficking hub." Egypt's borders became floodgates that opened to release a huge flow of RPGs, heavy machine guns, mortars, handguns, semi automatic weapons, and other small arms and light weapons.

The Libyan Civil War only showcases the impact that the illicit small arms market has, and the dangers of what could happen should it continue. The flow of weapons cannot simply be

contained to a conflict zone when the small arms trade comes into play, as is clearly seen in Mali, Niger, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, and the multiple other countries that have been severely affected by the proliferation of small arms globally. The importance of quelling the issue should therefore be evident to anyone that looks at global instances of arms proliferation.

V. Guiding Questions

1. How do importation and exportation laws affect the small arms trade?
2. How do arms embargoes work to act against the illicit trade of small arms and how can arms embargoes be protected?
3. What is the relationship between developed and developing countries when it comes to the flow of small arms, and how can it be quelled?
4. What problems do unregistered firearms present to the international community and what can be done to register weapons or seek out unregistered weapons?
5. What causes international noncompliance when it comes to the small arms trade and based on that, how can global transparency be achieved?
6. Where is the small arms trade most prevalent and how do those countries connect to major arms dealers?
7. In those areas where small arms trade is prevalent, how can solutions be geared towards those areas?
8. Why did the UN resolutions on the small arms trade such as the Arms Trade Treaty and UNPoA fail and how can they be revised in order to address those issues?

9. How does the lack of education surrounding the facets of the small arms market affect local and international communities, and how can educational differences between countries be leveled out?
10. What is the difference between state run and private arms manufacturers and how can solutions be geared towards one or the other?

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