# "Another looming Proxy War in the Middle East? - Enabling Peace and Stability in Yemen"



# **Committee Guide**

**United Nations Security Council** 



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#### 1. Personal Introduction

Honorable Delegates of the OLMUN 2017 United Nations Security Council,

my name is Konstantin Krome, I am 20 years old and delighted to introduce myself as President of the Security Council at this year's OLMUN. Two years ago, I began with studying Political Science and Cultural Studies (Bachelor of Arts) at the University of Bremen with a special research interest in Political Theory and International Relations. Apart from my studies, I spend most of my free time on fitness training, cultural activities and voluntary work.

Since I am German-born but grown up in the Netherlands and with many contacts in the UK and beyond, I have always been internationally oriented. Hence, I appreciate intercultural settings such as OLMUN and am convinced that bringing young, motivated people together can make a difference for international politics in the future.

This will be my fifth OLMUN in a row of which I have participated in the UNSC three times as either delegate or president. Therefore, having once more the chance to guide this committee together with my dear friend Lukas is a great honor and responsibility for me which I am committed to fulfill. I am looking forward to heated debates, an intense crisis situation and (hopefully) not too many P5-caucuses.

It will be a pleasure for me to welcome you in our committee. See you soon,

Konstantin Krome

Honorable Delegates of the OLMUN 2017 United Nations Security Council,

it is my utmost pleasure to introduce myself as this year's President of the Security Council. My name is Lukas Hassebrauck, I am 21 years old, and am currently studying Political Sciences alongside German Literature at the University of Heidelberg, before moving to Paris in August in order to pursue my studies at the Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris (Sciences Po Paris). So far, my research has focused on Comparative Foreign and Security Policy Analysis, International Relations, and European Integration.

I was given the chance to participate in numerous Model UN and Model EU Conferences throughout Europe. My experiences include stays in Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania, and Ukraine. I have mainly gathered experience in representing P-5 countries in the UNSC. This is why I am especially looking forward to making my first chairing experience in this very special and decisive committee at the OLMUN 2017 Conference.

Together with my good friend and fellow MUNer Konstantin, I am committed to invest heavy efforts in order to ensure an outstanding MUN-adventure for you. We will give our very best to guide you through tough crisis scenarios, which will require all your diplomatic potential, through high-level Council debates, and to guarantee that we will reach an adequate solution for the topic at hand.

I am therefore looking forward to relying on your active participation during the sessions, your comprehensive preparation and broad knowledge on the issue, and your constructive engagement in order to bring forward your clever ideas on how to best ensure peace and stability in the Republic of Yemen.

Yours sincerely, Lukas Hassebrauck

#### 2. General Information

Dear delegates,

We feel more than delighted to welcome you to the session of one of the most prestigious committees at OLMUN 2017: The United Nations Security Council. We hope that with this guide you can achieve a more practical overview on our topic "Another looming Proxy-War in the Middle East? – Enabling Peace and Stability in Yemen" and receive some first impressions of what the debate will probably look like and how to prepare. In the following paragraph, we would like to share some organizational aspects before we stress the case of Yemen. First things first: Although most of you probably will be experienced delegates, we nonetheless recommend to read the common Rules of Procedure of OLMUN as well as the special RoP for the OLMUN UNSC. Even if the basic structure might be same at most Model United Nations, there can be striking differences in terms of certain motions or points and debate format in general. In case you are a newcomer: Don't worry, you will learn fast how negotiation works. However, studying the RoP in advance will make your stay in our committee much more pleasant, especially during the first day. Besides, we encourage you to read the **United Nations Charta** and especially those articles that refer to peace and security.

Apart from this procedural aspect, we also kindly ask you to conduct research regarding the topic at hand and your country (political structure, recent history, economy, bi-/multilateral partners, possible allies and opponents, considering other council members). This Committee Guide will not (!) prepare you sufficiently enough for the conference. Instead, it shall give you some introductory hints and advice in regard to our topic. In consequence, it will not replace your own research which is therefore recommended.

The most important aspect that you should answer during preparations is, how your country can contribute to stabilize Yemen. Try to think in different dimensions (military, economy, finance, moral support in international organizations et cetera) and who might support your ideas. The position of your

country towards a certain political issue is called the "policy" of your country. One of the most important things to bear in mind when taking part in MUNs is to stick to your country's policy, not to your own opinion. Remember: the more realistic our debate is, the more fun all of us will have!

In order to outline your country's policy, we expect you to hand in a (at least) one-page **Policy Statement** and a one-page **Draft Resolution**. The latter delivers further recommendations and solutions of your country regarding our topic and should be formatted similarly to actual UN resolutions. For both assignments, you will be sent sample versions from other conferences. Once you have handed them in electronically, we will proofread them and you will receive a short feedback on it. We expect you to stick to the following **format**: *Times New Roman, font size 12, 1.5 line spacing, margins 2.5, justification, PDF. Make sure to title the files as PS\_CountryName and DR\_CountryName*. Please do so until **May 19**<sup>th</sup> latest. Assignments handed in after this deadline will not be considered as handed-in. Respective delegates will be not eligible for any potential awards.

Now, it is up to you: As you know, a good session is highly depended on previous research. The better you prepare, the better our simulation will be! If there is something on your mind regarding the conference, your preparation or anything else, please let us know and we will find a solution. Further information on the conference schedule will be either uploaded on <a href="http://www.olmun.org/">http://www.olmun.org/</a> or sent to you via e-mail. We are really looking forward to meeting you at the end of May, to experience one of the best student MUNs in Germany and to make it a memorable time for all of us.

See you soon,

Konstantin and Lukas

### 3. Policy Statements

Although there is no international or academic authority which sets criteria for policy statements we want to give you some guidelines on how to write a policy statement which will help you for your own preparations and your fellow delegates during the conference. Generally, the paper must show a clear and practical structure consisting of an introduction, main part and a conclusion.

Guiding questions for the introduction are the following:

- What country are you representing?
- What institution/body is the policy statement written for?
- What is the Council's topic?
- And why is your country affected by this issue? What is the reason why your country should be heard?

#### Questions for the main part:

- What issues/achievements are the most important ones for your country? Try to order the aspects correlating to their importance beginning with the most important issue.
- Why? What are the reasons and the motivation for your position?
- What allies/opponents do you have in this matter?

Try to create a leitmotif and use one paragraph of your policy statement to expound one aspect of your position. Try to use structuring phrases with connectives such as *firstly, secondly, ...* 

In the conclusion, you should repeat the core issues of your policy statement beginning with the least important one. Completely new aspects should not be addressed in the final part of the policy statement.

# 4. The United Nations Security Council

After the Second World War, the international community decided to implement a body to the newly founded UN to attempt to prevent the outbreak of more conflicts and maintain peace and stability in the world. In the following seventy years, the Security Council passed more than 2200 resolutions responding to global crises. It is considered to be the most powerful body of the United Nations since it has tremendous influence on the global agenda of security issues. Therefore, this Council has a range of options including the ascertainment of war and peace as well as the right of taking military action against any aggressor. Apart from that its duties include the recommendation of new member states to the UN and the Secretary General. To sum up, the most important ones are (United Nations 2017):

- to maintain international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations;
- to investigate any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction;
- to recommend methods of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement;
- to formulate plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments:
- to determine the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken;
- to call on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression;
- to take military action against an aggressor;
- to recommend the admission of new Members;
- to recommend to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary-General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice.

The Security Council consists of 15 members, of whom five are permanent and ten are non-permanent elected members by the General Assembly for terms of two years. Permanent members hold special rights including the right to veto on substantial matters. Under consideration of the Security Council, there might be observer states who participate in meetings as important parties to a dispute. They may participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the topic (United Nations 2017).

For Model United Nations like the OLMUN, representing a country in the Security Council is a task of great responsibility since there will only be 18 delegates in our committee. It is expected that all council members and observer states contribute to the session through speeches and negotiations during both formal and informal caucuses.

#### 4.1 Council Members at OLMUN 2017

Permanent Members	Non-permanent	Observer States
	Members	
French Republic	Plurinational State of	Kingdom of Saudi
	Bolivia	Arabia
People's Republic of	Egypt	Islamic Republic
China		of Iran
Russian Federation	Ethiopia	Republic of
		Yemen (exile)
United Kingdom of Great	Republic of Italy	
Britain and Northern		
Ireland		
United States of America	State of Japan	
	Kazakhstan	
	Senegal	
	Kingdom of Sweden	
	Republic of Ukraine	
	Uruguay	

# 5. The Topic at Hand: Yemen at stake

The country of Yemen was formed during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Several regime changes took place from 1918 onwards, when its northern part became independent as North Yemen. As left-over of European imperialism, the southern part came under British colonial rule until 1971 (Global Security 2017). After the phase of decolonization, an armed conflict between North and South Yemen erupted, the latter being supported by communist USSR and its bandwagon states. During the Yemen Civil War from 1962-1970, also local stakeholders like Saudi Arabia (SA) and the United Arab Republic (UAR) became militarily involved (Global Security 2017). In 1990 after the fall of Soviet Russia, both states were reunited to a new sovereign state, the Republic of Yemen which nowadays represents a wide set of different ethnicities, religious beliefs and a fractured political system. These aspects are preconditions for the current war in Yemen which we will be our focus from now on.

Crucial for Yemen is its divide into a multi-fraction **tribal society** with **different religious beliefs**. Although 99 per cent of the population share Islamic values, just 40 per cent can be called Sunni "Shafais" while 60 per cent consider themselves as Shia "Zaydis" (CIA 2017, ICG 2015: 5). Zaydis populate the North-Western part of Yemen, while Shafais dominate the South and East. The capital of Yemen is Saana, while Aden is the economic center (picture 2).



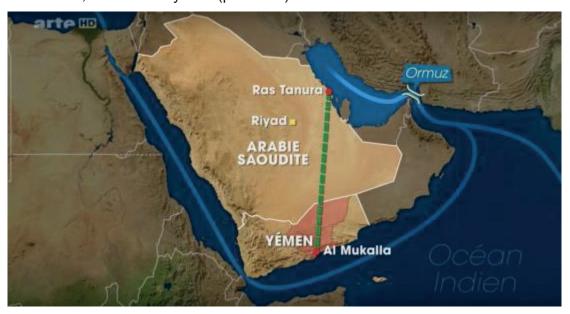
picture 2: religious divide in Yemen

Although these demographic groups co-existed peacefully for decades, socalled Sa'dah war erupted when the political-religious Houthi-movement backed predominantly by Shia Zaydis in the North West started to protest against the central government in 2004 (ICG 2015: 5, Sons/Heinze 2015). They demanded more political autonomy for their province and started to wage a violent uprising against president Ali Abdullah Salah, who became head of state in reunified Yemen in 1990 and from then on governed the country with authoritarian rule. Interestingly, Mr. Salah is a Shia Muslim himself. Albeit sharing same confession, the Houthis expressed their opposition to him and the Yemini political elite. So, when we take a close look on what happened back then, we can identify a classical non-religious power conflict between a government on the one hand and a sub-state actor on the other hand as very first root of today's tension (Victor 2016). This is important to keep in mind since the given set of war parties and the reason why they fight each other has been changing since 2004. Just five years later in 2009, Saudi Arabia intervened in Yemen on the basis that a pro-Shia movement could widen their influence in Yemen backed by Saudi Arabia's eternal rival Islamic Republic of Iran. Hence, the conflict in Yemen became part of the power struggle and sectarian violence between the two local hegemons in the Middle East. They again, are backed by their most influential donors, the United States of America and the Russian Federation. In 2011, Arab Spring erupted in the Maghreb states first, then spreading to the Levant and finally setting the whole Middle East on fire. Like in many states of the region, in Yemen a regime change took place and president Saleh was disempowered. He had to resign from office under the condition of free passage to the US. Following the constitution, power was transitioned to vice president Abdrabbuh Mansur Hadi, a Sunni Shafai, who became acting president from February 2012 onwards (Sons/Heinze 2015). In 2014, a conference monitored by the Gulf-Cooperation-Council (GCC) was held with the initial plan to restructure Yemen into a federation of six federal states which should gain more economic and political independence (Victor 2016). The Houthi alliance however, demanded an entirely independent region in the North of the country and consequently started to seize further parts of North Yemini territory. Soon, they were able to capture the capital Saana in September 2014 and president Hadi had to flee to Aden first which soon was taken by Houthi rebels as well. After that, Hadi had to leave the country entirely although calling the new-installed Houthi government illegitimate. Currently, he is exiled in Riad, Saudi Arabia. In consequence of Houthi takeover, a coalition of nine Arabian states under the lead of Saudi Arabia and backed by Western States launched the military missions "Operation Decisive Storm" and "Operation Restoring Hope" against Houthi positions in whole Yemen from March 2015 onwards (Sons/Heinze 2015). The overall aim of this coalition was to reinstall the previous Sunni and internationally recognized government under President Hadi and secondly to prevent that Shii-militias could seize further economically crucial areas in Yemen. But why are economic and geopolitical considerations so important for relevant stakeholders? To answer this question, one need to keep the peculiarities of the Arabian Peninsula in mind (picture 3). One strategic objective is the strait of Bab el Mandab which is connecting the Red Sea respectively the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aden, the latter being under direct influence of Iran, the rival of Saudi Arabia. In case the strait of Bab el Mandab would be totally controlled by Houthi rebels, Saudi Arabia would be fearing to lose another important maritime route into the hands of Iran which is suspected to support the Shia militias. Hence, controlling these passages is of the upmost importance for countries on the Arabian Peninsula to trade oil produced in their countries.



picture 3: geopolitical situation on the Arabian Peninsula

At April 10<sup>th,</sup> 2016, a ceasefire was brokered and peace negotiations between loyal forces to president Hadi and Houthi militias took place in Kuwait under the auspices of the United Nations. However, not all relevant stakeholders have been participating, e.g. terrorist extremist groups such as Al-Qaida on the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) as well as the local forces of so-called Islamic State (IS) (ICG 2015: 1). These non-state actors are predominantly located in the south-centred part of the country and successfully filled the power vacuum the Saleh-regime left in 2011 (Sons/Heinze 2015). Problematic about these two Sunni extremist actors is their financial backing through influential donors throughout the Arabic world - including Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates which are fighting side-by-side with their American allies. When simulating the crisis of Yemen in the Security Council, it will be a difficult task for Western allies of the Arab coalition how far they are willing to go in the matter of combatting terrorism financing. Extremist groups were pushed back out of the city of al Mukalla by the international coalition last year, being a further geopolitical important spot in the region. This city is capital of the Hadramout province, which is rich of natural resources and especially oil deposits. Saudi Arabia tries to install an oil pipeline to firstly connect both their own oil fields in the western part of SA as well as Hadramout and secondly to evade the strait of Hormuz, controlled by Iran (picture 4).



picture 4: Saudi Arabian oil pipeline project through Hadramout (red) source: Victor (2016)

Apart from failing statehood and the collective security disaster in Yemen, a devastating humanitarian situation comes into account as central problem that should be targeted by the United Nations. Although issues of Human Rights are not directly related to the practical work of the UNSC ("to maintain peace and stability"), we would like to draw your attention to this matter, since in accordance to UN-officials, more than 80 per cent of Yemini civil population are in need of foreign aid (UNHRC 2017). Nevertheless, competing war parties hinder international organizations such as the UN Human Rights Council to properly conduct humanitarian assistance through upholding a sea blockade.

# 6. What a possible Resolution could answer

A resolution on the Republic of Yemen should outline a roadmap on how to best ensure sustainable peace and stability in the country. It should therefore address and answer the following questions:

- Should **peace talks** between the parties take place?
  - Which questions should be dealt with during these talks?
  - Who should (not) be able to participate in these talks? (Please note: This question does also imply a stance on which parties your country considers to be legitimate actors within Yemen).
  - Should the talks be supervised by a special body? If yes, by whom?
- How could a ceasefire between the parties be best negotiated?
  - What are the prerequisites (e. g. disarmament, ceding of occupied territories, release of political prisoners, etc.) necessary for a ceasefire to be agreed upon by the parties?
  - Should a ceasefire be a precondition or a consequence for/of the peace talks?
- How could a transitional government be formed to bring back peace and stability in Yemen?
  - Which ethnic, religious, military, and political groups should (not)
    participate in the formation of the caretaker government?
  - O What should be the main function(s) of the government?

- Should sanctions on groups and/or individuals acting in Yemen be extended or terminated? If yes, which measures should be taken against whom? (Please be aware of both the measures already taken by the UNSC in the past, as well as their implementation)
- Which other measures (social, economic, military) could be taken in order to tackle the disastrous **humanitarian situation** in Yemen?
  - What is necessary in order to guarantee the security of civilians and humanitarian assistants on the ground?
- How could terrorism (AQAP, ISIL), human, arms, and drug trafficking, as well as smuggling in the Republic of Yemen, and on the Arabian Peninsula as a whole, be prevented?
  - Which committees and/or institutions already existing could be used for this purpose? If none, how should a newly established organization look like? What should (not) be covered by its mandate?

Please be also aware of the **crisis scenario** which should be addressed in the resolution. This event might very well change the strategic considerations of your country. It might enable you to build new alliances, to rely on traditional partners, or to recourse to unilateral action.

In order to be informed about the legal background of the resolution you will be expected to pass, we warmly encourage you to **read the preceding legal documents that have been adopted by the UNSC** on the matter. Of special importance are the following resolutions:

- UNSC Resolution 2201 (2015)
- UNSC Resolution 2204 (2015)
- UNSC Resolution 2216 (2015)
- UNSC Resolution 2266 (2016)
- UNSC Resolution 2286 (2016)

All documents can be found by following the given link: http://www.un.org/en/sc/documents/resolutions/

# 7. Actor Policies in the Republic of Yemen

#### a) The Yemeni exile government of President al-Hadi

The exile government of the Republic of Yemen consists of President al-Hadi and ministers who remained loyal to him. The government was forced to flee from the capital of Sana'a due to the military advancement of the Houthi forces in 2014. Since then, it has taken hold in the coastal city of Aden, where it established new government institutions before fleeing to Saudi Arabia. President al-Hadi is the sole democratically elected leader of the country. His presidency is backed by mostly western states, including the United States, the United Kingdom, and France. In his quest to regain power over the country, President al-Hadi supported the bombing campaign of the Saudi-led Arab coalition. He pledged to counter the presence of Al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula in case of his hold on power.

#### b) The Houthi militia forces

The Houthi militia forces are the second conflict party on the ground. They are the main enemy of the al-Hadi government and claim to represent the will of the ethnic minority of the Zaydi people. Their main aim is to secure independence (or legal autonomy) from the central government. The Houthis managed to conquer large territories in the western part of the country – most importantly the capital Sana'a. However, their forces recently suffer from losses caused by the military campaign launched by Saudi Arabia. The Houthis enjoy support of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the Russian Federation. They have been condemned by the United Nations Security Council several times for violating international law. However, it is still unclear how their continued supply with heavy weaponry could be effectively prevented.

#### c) Al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP)

Al-Qaeda on the Arabian Peninsula is a terrorist organization, which ranks among the most active and dangerous Al-Qaeda cells worldwide. The network has been responsible for terrorist attacks in the United States as well as in many European states. Most western states therefore perceive AQAP to be the actual

threat which to tackle in the Yemeni conflict. AQAP has taken huge advantage of the power vacuum in the country and has rebuild its personnel capacity and operative facilities. The terrorist organization has taken almost complete control over the mainly deserted Yemeni provinces of Marib, Shabwa, and Hadramaut in the central and eastern part of the country. However, its continued and nearly unchallenged presence in the region continues to be an enormous threat to international peace and stability and therefore urgently requires decisive answers by the international community.

#### d) Saudi Arabia

By intervening in the conflict in Yemen, Saudi Arabia firstly aims to contain Iranian influence in the region. This is mainly due to the Sunni-Shia divide between the countries. The Kingdom therefore established a military operation consisting of aerial bombing campaigns in order to support the claims of the exile government of President al-Hadi. These strikes have so far caused numerous terrible civil incidents. Nevertheless, Saudi Arabia managed to gather support of nine other Arab nations participating in the so called "Operation Decisive Storm" (Morocco, Egypt, Sudan, Pakistan, Jordan, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates). The Saudi-led coalition is backed by NATO and other major western powers. However, it is unclear whether Saudi Arabia will also be willing to deploy ground forces for heavy combat operations in Yemen.

#### e) Islamic Republic of Iran

The Islamic Republic of Iran is supporting the Houthi military movement for the sake of weakening the Saudi's stance on the Arabian Peninsula and broadening Teheran's own influence over the region. Should the conflict in Yemen end successful for the Houthis, the Iran would win an important ally in direct regional neighbourhood to its arch rival. This would significantly shift the power balance in the whole Middle East. In the past, the Islamic Republic of Iran has tried to bypass the arms embargo on Yemen by smuggling weaponry meant for the Houthi forces over Oman. However, there hasn't been enough

solid prove of such action for an official condemnation of Iran so far. Moreover, Teheran proved its readiness to escalate the conflict further by threatening to establish a blockade over oil shipping trading routes along its coastal borders.

#### f) United States of America

The United States of America has been a supporter of the Hadi-led exile government and consequently demanded for its sole legitimacy in leading the country. Furthermore, it has supported the Saudi-led Operations "Decisive Storm" and "Restoring Hope" by providing military and logistical assistance, intelligence, air-refueling, and drone-strikes. However, a massive and direct military involvement of U.S. forces is neither planned nor intended by the U.S. Administration. The United States provided \$327 million in financial aid to the Republic of Yemen in 2016, and further actions included emergency food assistance, medical treatment and vaccination support, blankets and household goods for displaced families, and hygiene kits and water supplies to reduce the spread of disease. The strategically important location of the Republic of Yemen has led to increased U.S. activities along the coastal part of the country. Three U.S. Navy ships have been deployed to the southern Red Sea following renewed provocations of Houthi militias against American military vessels in October 2016. The U.S. Administration and its allies have a vital interest in preserving free and safe transit through the Bab al-Mandab chokepoint and upholding the global energy supply structure. The same is true of the Strait of Hormuz. It should be noted that any aggressive measure taken in an attempt at preventing the flow of energy-related resources from or to the Arabian Peninsula will be considered a grave violation of international law and a threat to regional peace and stability by the United States of America.

#### g) Russian Federation

The Russian Federation has not been actively involved in the conflict in Yemen in military terms. However, it has occasionally and repeatedly stated its support for the independence claim of the Houthi militias. Over the last years, a new Russian-Iranian axis in the Middle East seems to appear, which manifested

itself in the cooperation between the two states, and was born out of their shared desire to counterbalance U.S. and Saudi Arabian hegemony in the region. The Russian Federation uses the conflict in Yemen as a means to demonstrate that no solution in the region shall be found without its consent. Every resolution drafted by the delegates should therefore take into account the diffuse and special interest of Moscow in the region, which mainly cluster around the issues of energy resources, preventing radical Islam, and regaining its status as a world power on the international stage by being omnipresent in the region.

#### 8. Research

We expect our delegates to thoroughly prepare themselves through conducting online research. We would like to give you some hints in this matter and this is why we collected some webpages that might be useful.

- The homepage of the respective UN Committee: learn more about your committee, which countries are represented and what its tasks are. For our debate, it is important that we keep on track and focus on the relevant topics for the UNSC! This means: when being a representative in the Security Council some issues might be off-topic and not directly relevant (building schools/education in crisis regions is nice, but does not fall within the authority of the UNSC).
- **CIA world factbook**: here, you will find geographical, demographical and other relevant basic information about your country and Yemen.
- whatsinblue.org: this webpage lists current and expected upcoming agendas of the Security Council and delivers vivid essays on IR
- **regional and international press**: the very first thing you do(!): Read the most recent article in the Süddeutsche, BBC, Al Jazeera or Russia Today to get "in shape".
- (German) Foreign Ministry: most ministries of foreign affairs offer detailed country descriptions as well.
- Academic Databases and Literature: Scholar, Foreign Affairs etc.

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10. How to tie a Tie

# HOW TO TIE A TIE



picture 5: how to tie a Tie

weblogcartoons.com source: weblogcartoons.com